

**The Reconstruction of Post-War West
German New Music during the early
Allied Occupation (1945-46), and its
Roots in the Weimar Republic and
Third Reich (1918-45)**

PhD Submission, 2018

Cardiff University

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Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the development of new music in occupied Germany from the end of World War Two, on 8 May 1945, until the end of 1946, in terms of the creation of institutions for the propagation of new music, in the form of festivals, concert series, radio stations, educational institutions and journals focusing on such a field, alongside an investigation into technical and aesthetic aspects of music being composed during this period. I argue that a large number of the key decisions which would affect quite fundamentally the later trajectory of new music in West Germany for some decades were made during this period of a little over eighteen months. I also argue that subsequent developments up to the year 1951, by which time the infrastructure was essentially complete, were primarily an extension and expansion of the early period, when many of the key appointments were made, and institutions created. I also consider the role of new music in mainstream programming of orchestras, opera houses, chamber music societies, and consider all of these factors in terms of the occupation policies of the three Western powers – the USA, the UK and France.

Furthermore, I compare these developments to those which occurred in during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, of which I give an overview, and argue as a result that the post-war developments, rather than being radically new, constituted in many ways a continuation and sometimes distillation of what was in place especially in the Weimar years. I conclude that the short period at the centre of my thesis is of fundamental importance not only for the course of German new music, but that in Europe in general.

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Contents

	Acknowledgments	i
	A Note on Style	ii
	Introduction: Aims, Objectives, Literature Review and Sources	1
Chapter 1	Music and Modernism during the Weimar Republic, and into the Third Reich: institutions and aesthetics	17
Chapter 2	The Occupation of Germany: structure, denazification and music policies	103
Chapter 3	New music in early West German post-war musical life, 1945-46	143
Chapter 4	The new radio stations	210
Chapter 5	The first dedicated post-war institutions for new music	258
Chapter 6	The first post-war compositions	311
Chapter 7	The beginning of the <i>Darmstädter Ferienkurse für neue Musik</i>	342
Chapter 8	Conclusion: Towards post-war new music	360

Appendices

Appendix 1	Organisations for New Music in Weimar Germany and the Third Reich	A1
Appendix 2	First Licensed Post-War Concerts in the Three Western Zones, 1945-46	A3
	2a. American Zone	
	2b. British Zone	
	2c. French Zone	
Appendix 3	Documentation relating to Allied Music Policy	A11
	US and French Lists of Composers to Promote in Germany	
Appendix 4	Chronologies of New Music in Major German Cities, 1945-46	A13
	4a. Berlin	
	4b. American Zone – Bavaria: Munich, Nuremberg	
	4c. American Zone – Hesse: Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden	
	4d. American Zone – Württemberg-Baden: Stuttgart, Heidelberg and Mannheim	
	4e. British Zone – Hamburg	
	4f. British Zone – North-Rhine Westphalia: Cologne, Düsseldorf	
	4g. British Zone – Lower Saxony: Braunschweig	
	4h. French Zone – Baden-Baden, Freiburg, Konstanz, Tübingen	
Appendix 5	Festivals and other New Music Programmes, 1945-51	A151
	5a. Chronology of Festivals featuring New Music, 1945-1951	
	5b. <i>The Trossinger Musiktage</i> , 1945-1951	
	5c. <i>Musica Viva</i> , Munich, 1945-1951	
	5d. <i>The Überlinger Kulturwoche</i> 1945, <i>Konstanzer Kunstwochen</i> 1946, the <i>Tage moderner Musik</i> within the <i>Kunstwoche Tübingen-Reutlingen</i> 1946, and the <i>Konstanzer Musiktage</i> 1947	
	5e. New music at the <i>Haus am Waldsee</i> , Berlin-Zehlendorf, January-June 1946	
	5f. Eduard Erdmann's recital series, 1946	
	5g. The <i>Zeitgenössische Musikwoche</i> , Bad Nauheim, 1946, and the <i>Wochen für neue Musik</i> , 1947-49 and 1951	
	5h. The <i>Tage neuer Musik</i> , Bremen, 1946	
	5i. <i>Neue Musik Donaueschingen</i> , 1946-47, and the <i>Donaueschinger Musiktage für zeitgenössische Tonkunst</i> , 1950-51	
	5j. The <i>Darmstädter Ferienkurse</i> , 1946-51	
	5k. The concerts of the <i>Sinfonieorchester des Südwestfunk</i> , Baden-Baden, 1946-51	
	5l. The <i>Abende zeitgenössischer Musik</i> of the <i>Kulturbund</i> in Berlin, 1946-49	
	5m. The <i>Wittener Kammermusiktage</i> 1947-48, 1950	
	5n. The <i>Bayreuther Wochen – Neue Musik</i> , 1947, <i>Tagung für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung</i> , Bayreuth, 1948-50, and	

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a long process, which has involved many trips around the breadth of Germany, endless hours spent reading through old newspapers on microfilm, and also many hours studying scores and listening to recordings. There are many people with whom I have discussed ideas during the course of study, and who I would like to acknowledge: Franklin Cox, Barbara Eichner, Roddy Hawkins, Björn Heile, Martin Iddon, Beate Kutschke, Alexander Lingas, Shay Loya, Larson Powell, Peter Tregear, Erwin Warkentin are just a few of these.

The staff at many different libraries and archives have been unfailingly helpful, especially those at the British Library, the London School of Economics Library, the National Archives in Kew, the Staatsbibliothek in Hamburg, Berlin and Munich, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, the Archives Diplomatiques in Paris, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, the Technische Universität Berlin, the Haus am Waldsee in Berlin, the International Musikinstitut Darmstadt, the Institut für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung, also in Darmstadt, the state archives in Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, Darmstadt, Freiburg and Munich, the land archives in Berlin and Karlsruhe, the town archives in Cologne, Bonn, Bochum, Bielefeld, Dortmund, Wuppertal, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Überlingen, Konstanz, Tübingen, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, and the radio archives of Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Hessischer Rundfunk, Südwestfunk, Süddeutscher Rundfunk, and Bayerisches Rundfunk.

Thanks to my supervisors, Caroline Rae and David Beard, for many helpful suggestions. To Chris Sheppard for his immense patience when copy-editing my text for submission. And above all to my wife Lindsay, for everything I could possibly ask for.

A Note on Style

Throughout this thesis, I make many references to institutions, concepts and other terms in German, French and occasionally other languages. In order to avoid the type of mystique which some German terms (especially those associated with the Third Reich) can attain when continuously presented in italics, I have usually only italicised them when first used, or when they have not appeared for some time in the text. Capitalisation of the names of German institutions follows German practice, i.e. capitalisation of all nouns.

All quotation marks, including those which are parts of book or article titles, are given in British format. The references to archival files use the ‘signature’ indicated by the archives in question.

Where institutions have had a succession of different names at different points in time, I have attempted to make this clear. For composers who have themselves used Anglicised versions of their original names (e.g. Schoenberg and Krenek) I have referred to them as such, except where quoting another reference which uses their original forms, or (as in the case of Schoenberg/Schönberg) when referring to books and articles which do the same.

It is impossible to avoid employing some Nazi terminology, but I hope context will make it clear that in no sense does this imply an endorsement of this language.

Introduction

Aims, Objectives, Literature Review and Sources

This thesis investigates the roots and emergence of post-war West German new music, both the music composed and performed and the institutions supporting it. The central focus concerns the period from May 1945 to the end of 1946, about which relatively little is known. Primary source material relating to this period is not only extremely patchy but also scattered around many archives, newspapers, and some obscure printed sources. The finding and subsequent close examination of these materials, some for the first time, has been one of the main, most intensive and time-consuming aspects of this research project. The programming of new music by mainstream musical institutions, the appointment of key advocates of new music to important positions, the creation of new radio stations and their role in promoting new music, the emergence of a range of dedicated new music festivals, concert series and other institutions during the first year after the end of hostilities, and how these all related to the historical context, are dealt with in a comprehensive, comparative and scholarly fashion for the first time. These investigations have revealed significant new information regarding decision-making, organisation and programming, and shed valuable new light on their relationship to compositional developments and the subsequent evolution of new music in Western Germany. To provide a context for these developments, the thesis also considers roots going back to the Weimar Republic and Third Reich, and argues in contrast to many previous scholars that many post-1945 developments were foreshadowed in these earlier periods, and that the upheavals in German music after 1918 were, in aesthetic terms, of a greater magnitude and significance than that which followed 1945.

Fundamental Questions of Interpretation

The impetus for this research arose from questions which interested me as a performer of new music. Through my performing activities, I knew not only the extensive and elaborate nature of the contemporary (late twentieth-/early twenty-first century) realm of new music in Germany (especially in former West Germany), but also how a range of festivals, concert series and other institutions (especially those in Darmstadt,

Donaueschingen, Munich and Cologne), many with an international focus, had attained a prominent status by the 1950s, or at least were regarded as having done so in most histories of post-1945 music. Notwithstanding growing interest in new music in other countries, these developments significantly pre-dated the consolidation of new music cultures of comparable scale and scope in Austria, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Finland and elsewhere.

With this in mind I arrived at my most fundamental research question: how and why did such a new music culture and infrastructure grow in Germany in this relatively short period, and so rapidly after comprehensive defeat in World War Two, when many of the major cities in Germany were left in rubble in 1945 - the so-called *Trümmerzeit*? Should this be seen as a somewhat inevitable, even organic process? Was it the result of a good deal of chance and contingency, or did it arise from concerted and deliberate decision-making? If the last of these, then who were the individuals responsible, and how did they come to be in a position to make such decisions? More broadly, what if any role did the four occupying powers – the USA, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union – play in the shaping of musical life during the occupation period, 1945-49, and what were the longer-term consequences? If they did play a part, who were the officials charged with decisions relating to music and culture within the occupied zones, and how did their decisions interact with the aims and objectives of German citizens – including local and state politicians concerned with culture – who sought to present, perform, compose and educate about new music?

One interpretive model, which has informed a significant amount of writing on new music in Germany after 1945, provides a possible answer to my first question. This is the *Stunde null* or zero hour model, whereby following the surrender on 8 May 1945, Germany had no choice but to build itself anew, as if from nothing. Whilst used frequently, the term *Stunde null* has long been contested in its wider historical sense, not least by Bundespräsident Richard von Weizsäcker in 1985.¹ Significantly, the term is not to be found in German documents during the first years after the war,²

¹ Weizsäcker proposed the contentious term *Tag der Befreiung* instead; see the speech at <http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2015/02/150202-RvW-Rede-8-Mai-1985.pdf> (accessed 15 October 2017), and his later *Drei Mal Stunde Null? 1949 -1969- 1989* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 2001).

² See Stephen Brockmann, ‘German Culture at the “Zero Hour”’, in Brockmann and Frank Trommler (eds.), *Revisiting Zero-Hour 1945: The Emergence of Postwar German Culture*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 1996), p. 12.

although some have argued that it represents the feelings of many Germans at the time.³ Other writers and scholars have found the concept useful to explain the planning and action of the US occupation in particular.⁴ In musical terms, the *Stunde null* concept - which gained some currency with the appearance of the first volume of Ulrich Dibelius's *Moderne Musik*, originally published in 1966⁵ - implies a music created 'from scratch', which radically breaks with the past. A pointillistic music formed out of basic particles of sound, as various types of integral serialism could be described, satisfies this definition well. Yet, as I will argue in this dissertation, such music was in no sense a feature of the occupation period, and even the music of Webern, which at that time best fits the model, was only performed very occasionally. Furthermore, I will present evidence for a large degree of continuity of personnel, repertoire and much else across the May 1945 divide.

A more recent and influential model looks for explanation to the Cold War. This theory derives from a wider body of scholarship on culture which came in the wake of Serge Guilbaut's writings. These evoked geopolitical factors in a consideration of abstract expressionism and the way in which New York surpassed Paris as the leading international centre for the visual arts.⁶ A range of other writers applied similar approaches to other fields of culture, and in 1999, Frances Stonor Saunders published a monograph which considered music seriously in this context, as did Mark Carroll four years later, from a related but distinct perspective.⁷ These arguments in their simplest form are as follows: following the fourth Zhdanov decree of 1948, which attacked 'formalism' in music, many composers in the West whose work was perceived to flaunt such 'formalism' found particular favour, not least through the activities of the anti-communist Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), founded in 1950 by Nicolas Nabokov in Paris. The CCF received covert funds from the US Central Intelligence Agency channelled through various 'front' organisations, including the Ford Foundation. Integral serialism in particular served their

³ Rolf Steiniger, *Deutsche Geschichte: Darstellung und Dokumente, Band 1: 1945-1947* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1983), pp. 67-8.

⁴ Uta Gerhardt, *Soziologie der Stunde Null* (Stuttgart: Suhrkamp, 2005).

⁵ Dibelius uses the term 'das Jahr Null der modernen Musik'; *Moderne Musik nach 1945* (Munich and Zürich: Piper, 1997), pp. 15-17.

⁶ Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, translated Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983). This derives from a 1979 dissertation and was accompanied by various articles.

⁷ Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999); Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

propagandistic goals, and its rise to prominence should be viewed – according to the most didactic form of the argument – as a weapon of Western capitalist propaganda, or even a type of imperialism. Proponents of this theory also argue that as institutions of German new music, not least the *Internationale Ferienkurse* at Darmstadt, were created during the US occupation, even before the Zhdanov decree, they should be viewed as part of the same cultural programme. Stonor Saunders’ book, which undoubtedly draws upon wide archival research, nonetheless tends to draw wide-ranging conclusions not always backed up by the evidence, not least her claim that the Ferienkurse was ‘A bold initiative of the American military government’.⁸ I argue that such a claim is unsustainable (see Chapter 7), as have Amy Beal, Michael Custodis and Martin Iddon before me. Nonetheless, this type of supposition was reiterated in no less a work than Richard Taruskin’s *Oxford History of Western Music*.⁹ Detailed scholarly critiques of this broader argument, which have been taken seriously in other cultural fields, have often been ignored by those who find it suits their anti-modernist musical agenda.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Ian Wellens in particular has shown conclusively that there is no evidence for the CCF having shown any real favour towards dodecaphonic/serial music, compared to Nabokov’s clear preference for the music of Stravinsky.¹¹ As regards Germany, a study by Michael Hochgeschwender shows the activities of the German branch of the CCF to have been limited in nature, mostly centred around Berlin and a few non-serial composers such as Boris Blacher.¹² No document has ever been produced to substantiate the conspiratorial hypothesis that ‘the CIA funded Darmstadt’. There was indeed a little financial help from the US High Commission for Germany (HICOG), mostly to help performances of mainstream American composers, but as I will show in Chapter 8, there is no reason to see this as linked to the serial project with which Darmstadt in the 1950s is often associated.

⁸ Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, p. 23.

⁹ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Volume 5: The Late Twentieth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 20-21.

¹⁰ The specific claims of this body of work were critiqued in my paper ‘The Cold War in Germany as Ideological Weapon in Anti-Modernists, 1945-1955’, first given at ‘Radical Music History’ conference in Helsinki in 2011, then as part of the *impuls* course in Graz and at City, University of London in 2013.

¹¹ Ian Wellens, *Music on the Frontline: Nicolas Nabokov's Struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

¹² Michael Hochgeschwender, *Freiheit in der Offensive? Der Kongreß für kulturelle Freiheit und die Deutschen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998).

Literature Review

The writings mentioned above mostly consider new music as a whole (or music as one part of wider twentieth-century culture), rather than the specific new music culture in Germany, notwithstanding the portrayals of Darmstadt. As such, they are less immediately relevant to this thesis. Publications focusing on new music in West Germany include the extensive German ISCM series *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*,¹³ which are essentially contemporary journals or expanded newsletters, though they contain plenty of valuable data. Similarly, the four volume collection *Neue Musik im geteilten Deutschland*¹⁴ is a selection of primary sources from both West and East Germany rather than a detailed critical study. Alistair Williams has written on German music after 1968, mostly concentrating upon the work of Wolfgang Rihm and Helmut Lachenmann,¹⁵ while Martin Thrun's edited collection of essays and documentation of events focuses on German institutions (West and East) since the 1980s.¹⁶ There is however as yet no comprehensive scholarly history of German new music since the war and this dissertation aims to begin rectifying this omission.

Many of the standard histories of twentieth-century music or music since 1945 – such as those of Dibelius, Paul Griffiths, Glenn Watkins, Hermann Danuser or Célestin Deliège¹⁷ – are primarily histories of composition and compositional aesthetics. Some mention institutions like Darmstadt and Donaueschingen as places which allowed certain composers to flourish, but rarely look more deeply and more critically at how these institutions came about, how they were sustained, or what were the aesthetic, political and other motivations of those who ran them.

There are, however, various relevant histories of German institutions. The first scholarly study of Darmstadt, by Antonio Trudu, appeared in Italian in 1992, followed

¹³ *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 24 volumes (Frankfurt: Internationales Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, 1957-81).

¹⁴ Ulrich Dibelius and Frank Schneider (eds.), *Neue Musik im geteilten Deutschland*, four volumes (Berlin: Berliner Festspiele, 1993-99).

¹⁵ Alistair Williams, *Music in Germany since 1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). For my wider thoughts on this problematic book, see my review in *TEMPO* 68/268 (2014), pp. 116-21.

¹⁶ Martin Thrun (ed.), *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren. Eine Dokumentation zum deutschen Musikleben*, two volumes (Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994).

¹⁷ Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After*, third edition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer, 1995); Hermann Danuser, *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1984); Célestin Deliège, *Cinquante ans de modernité musicale: de Darmstadt à l'IRCAM, contribution historiographique à une musicologie critique*, revised edition (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2012).

a few years later by two edited collections of essays, *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart* and the four-volume *Im Zenit der Moderne*, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Ferienkurse. There is also Martin Iddon's more recent study of the Steinecke period,¹⁸ drawing extensively on the work of German scholars, as well as several collections of associated writings and other documents, interviews, and recordings.¹⁹ Whilst this body of work certainly does not lack critical perspectives, and contains large quantities of original and essential information, nonetheless these are mostly studies written by 'insiders' who may be perceived as beholden to the views or at least priorities of the participants. This is even true of Iddon, who includes a strong, balanced and original chapter on the founding of the institution, drawing upon many sources and wider literature which he and I exchanged, and about which we corresponded for a period regularly. My own approach seeks to place the Ferienkurse in the wider context of early post-war German new music and other events in the city, thus viewing it as less autonomous than have previous writers, while also maintaining a more critical distance from the protagonists' own discourse. Both Max Rieple and Joseph Häusler's books on the *Donaueschinger Musiktage* read like 'official' histories (which is not to deny their value),²⁰ though Werner Zintgraf's study of the progress of this and related festivals is especially rich in rare primary source material, enabling him to track the development of an institution on a deeper level.²¹ *Musica Viva* in Munich has been central to six book-length works,²² as well as

¹⁸ Antonio Trudu, *La "scuola" di Darmstadt. I Ferienkurse dal 1946 a oggi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1992); Rudolf Stephan, Lothar Kessel, Otto Tomek, Klaus Trapp and Christopher Fox (eds.), *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Daco, 1996); Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (eds.), *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt*, four volumes (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997); Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁹ Not least the important ongoing series of volumes titled collectively *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* which have appeared periodically since 1958. The Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt (IMD) has also been releasing a series of CD sets on the NEOS label entitled *Darmstadt Aural Documents* since 2013, and at the time of writing have just completed the digitisation of their archive, an invaluable resource for all future researchers: see <http://www.internationales-musikinstitut.de/archiv.html> (accessed 1 December 2017).

²⁰ Max Rieple, *musik in donauesschingen* (Konstanz: Rosgarten Verlag, 1959); Josef Häusler, *Spiegel der Neuen Musik: Donaueschingen. Chronik – Tendenzen – Werkbesprechungen* (Kassel, Stuttgart & Weimar: Bärenreiter and J.B. Metzler, 1996).

²¹ Werner Zintgraf, *Neue Musik 1921-1950. Donaueschingen, Baden-Baden, Berlin, Pfullingen, Mannheim* (Horb am Neckar: Geiger-Verlag, 1987). This and Zintgraf's *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen. Eine Dokumentation zur Reform der Musik für Harmonika-Instrumente und zur Entwicklung einer "pädagogischen Provinz"* (Karlsruhe: Von Loeper Verlag, 1983) have had a major influence on my work here extending this process to encompass Trossingen-Überlingen-Konstanz-Donaueschingen-Tübingen in Chapter 5.

²² Karl Heinz Ruppel (ed.), *Musica Viva* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1959); Renate Wagner (ed.), *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva* (Munich and Mainz: Schott and Piper, 1980); Renate Ulm

a range of articles, often a mixture of the factual and the laudatory. Barbara Haas and Carola Arlt in particular have situated this series in a wider context, though oddly they only make passing comments on its relationship to other similar series which emerged quickly in its wake, as I detail in Chapter 8.

In the mid-2000s, a new range of writings on post-war German music in general appeared, mostly written by historians. David Monod surveyed American occupation policy towards music, Toby Thacker produced the first comparative study of music policy in all four zones, extending into the ‘semi-sovereign period’ of 1949-55, and Elizabeth Janik published a highly detailed study of musical life in Berlin, with most sustained and original research on the occupation period, but placed within a wider context reaching back to Imperial Germany and forward to the present day.²³ A little later came Andreas Linsenmann’s study of music in the French zone,²⁴ similar in nature if stronger on fact-collecting than interpretation. All these writers brought a new level of historical fastidiousness and nuance to the subject, based upon detailed archival research, and established solid scholarly foundations for consideration of musical policy and its effects under occupation, drawing upon the approaches of earlier German scholars who had published on the wider cultural policy of the occupying powers. Together with such earlier studies, by Brewster S. Chamberlin, Ulrich Bausch and Gabriele Clemens and others,²⁵ this body of historical scholarship amply demonstrates the value of less composer-centred approaches, and the strategies of Thacker and Janik in particular have informed my own thinking quite deeply.

(ed.), *“Eine Sprache der Gegenwart” musica viva 1945-1995* (Munich and Mainz: Schott and Piper 1995); Carola Hafele, ‘Die Anfänge der *Musica viva* unter Karl Amadeus Hartmann (Magisterarbeit: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2002); Barbara Haas, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann 1905-1963. Zietzeugen und Dokumente zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2004); Carola Arlt, *Von den Juryfreien zur musica viva. Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Neue Musik in München* (Frankfurt et al: Peter Lang, 2010). Other writings on Hartmann also deal with *Musica Viva*, but none in as sustained a manner as Haas.

²³ David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, Brill & Biggleswade: Extenza Turpin, 2005).

²⁴ Andreas Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Intentionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949/50* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2010).

²⁵ Brewster S. Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern. Berliner Berichte der amerikanischen Information Control Section Juli-Dezember 1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1979); Ulrich M. Bausch, *Die Kulturpolitik der US-amerikanischen Information Control Division in Württemberg-Baden von 1945 bis 1949: zwischen militärischem Funktionalismus und schwäbischen Obrigkeitsdenken* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992) (hereafter simply *Kulturpolitik*); Gabriele Clemens (ed.), *Kulturpolitik im besetzten Deutschland 1945-1949* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994) (hereafter simply *Kulturpolitik*); Gabriele Clemens, *Britische Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949: Literatur, Film, Musik und Theater* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997) (hereafter simply *Britische Kulturpolitik*).

Nevertheless, as historians, none of them deal with aesthetic issues other than in a passing and generalised manner, and as such some of their characterisations of ‘modernism’ suggest a much less heterogeneous field than I believe to be the case. It is one thing to demonstrate that various policies of occupying powers led to certain types of music from their countries gaining wider exposure than hitherto, but another to consider the nature of this type of music. How did this relate to other work being performed and composed in Germany at the time?

All these studies look at music and musical life as a whole, whereas the objective of the present study is not only to focus on the narrower field of new music, but also investigate it in more detail than has been undertaken hitherto. One other influential book which has a related focus though a broader time period, Amy C. Beal’s *New Music, New Allies*, raises similar methodological issues to those above. Beal employs meticulous archival research, as well as interviews of relevant living musicians, to investigate the influence of American ‘experimental music’ in West Germany from 1945 to 1990.²⁶ As an historical musicologist rather than a wider historian, however, she is less concerned about social and political issues than the others, while – as one working in US academia, with its stratification of ‘historians’ and ‘theorists’, and definitely identifying with the former camp - she hardly engages with technical or aesthetic issues at all. Furthermore, she at least tacitly adheres to a historical model which is also partially implicit in Monod’s work, whereby the influence of the USA was the fundamental, if not only, rejuvenating force within a stale and tradition-bound German musical world. I believe this model to be simplistic and even nationalistic, and above all untenable with some knowledge of the radical developments in German music (and elsewhere in Europe) during the Weimar era, but to mention the equal if not greater importance of influences of music from France, Italy, Russia and elsewhere.

Scholarship on music and musical life as a whole in Weimar Germany, in either English or German, is relatively scarce and of variable quality. There are two broad collections of essays, of which that edited by Wolfgang Rathert and Giseler

²⁶ Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 182-3. I personally reject the concept of ‘experimental music’ as it is regularly employed in scholarly and other musical discourse, but to argue my reasons why is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Schubert contains a good deal of incisive information and perspectives,²⁷ whilst the massive two-volume study by Martin Thrun is vital for anyone studying the period, at least in terms of its musical institutions.²⁸ But otherwise, while the literature on key Weimar composers such as Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, Ernst Krenek and others is extensive and rich, and Nils Grosch and Stephen Hinton have explored in some depth two of the primary aesthetic movements,²⁹ there is not yet a full scholarly study of the period as a whole which marries musico-aesthetic and wider social, political and institutional concerns. In terms of the Third Reich and music, the studies by Erik Levi, Michael Kater and Fred Prieberg³⁰ are all essential for this thesis, amongst other writings, but in each of these musical modernism is only a partial or peripheral concern. Here it is central, and so again I have gone back to many primary sources, mostly journals, newspapers and books from the time. There are also many important studies of the murky pre-1945 pasts of influential figures in the music world, following the example of Kater, of which the studies by J. Alexander Colpa on Fortner, Michael Custodis and Friedrich Geiger on Steinecke and Strobel, Manuela Schwarz, also on Strobel, and Christian Lemmerich on Winfried Zillig, are exemplary.³¹ I have built upon this work with new archival data, especially in the case of Fortner and Strobel.

²⁷ Bryan Gilliam (ed.), *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Wolfgang Rathert and Giselher Schubert (eds.), *Musikkultur in der Weimarer Republik* (Mainz: Schott, 2001).

²⁸ Martin Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben bis 1933*, two volumes (Bonn: Orpheus-Verlag, 1995).

²⁹ Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999); Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: A Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York & London: Garland, 1989).

³⁰ Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994); Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); and *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Fred Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982); and *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker* (CD ROM, 2004).

³¹ J. Alexander Colpa, 'Germany's "Zero-Hour Myth" as a Context for the Stylistic Evolution in the Orchestral Music of Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987)' (hereafter simply 'Fortner') (PhD thesis: New York University, 2002); Michael Custodis, 'Zum Wirken von Wolfgang Steinecke bis 1950', in Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), pp. 145-62; Michael Custodis (ed.), *Traditionen, Koalitionen, Visionen. Wolfgang Steinecke und die Internationale Ferienkurse in Darmstadt* (Saarbrücken: PFAU, 2010); Michael Custodis and Friedrich Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung: Kontinuitäten im deutschen Musikleben am Beispiel von Werner Egk, Hilde und Heinrich Strobel* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013); Manuela Schwarz, "'Eine versunkene Welt". Heinrich Strobel als Kritiker, Musikpolitiker, Essayist und Redner in Frankreich (1939-1944)', in Isolde V. Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (eds.), *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus. Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)* (Mainz: Ars Musik Verlags, 2001), pp. 291-317; Christian Lemmerich, *Winfried Zillig. Komponist unter wechselnden Vorzeichen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012).

Initial Premises, Methodology and Sources

When first embarking on this research, it was already clear that it would be necessary to investigate the often chequered pasts of various individuals during the Third Reich. But I initially believed an assumption found in the work of many other writers, whereby there may have been sonic, aesthetic and technical continuities between music before and after 1945, but the institutions and infrastructure which were created in the latter period were quite new. Although a number of new music festivals were established in the 1920s, such as the one which moved from Donaueschingen to Baden-Baden to Berlin, I imagined the range of musical activity was nowhere near as widespread as came to be the case after 1945. The work of Thrun, however, demonstrates how this assumption is untenable. There was indeed an extensive network of festivals, concert series and other institutions sustaining and supporting new music through the Weimar Era, especially around the middle of the 1920s, including a significant number of institutions modelled loosely on Schoenberg's *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* in Vienna. So the network of comparable institutions which sprung up after 1945, while certainly distinctive in many ways, was less of a radically new phenomenon than often imagined. Furthermore, a conception of 'new music' as a realm of activity constituting a marked shift with nineteenth-century practices – and thus the rationale for a separate set of institutions devoted to its commissioning, performance and dissemination – was equally rooted in the Weimar era and the rush of writings on the subject in the wake of the important essay by Paul Bekker (see Chapter 1).

As stated above, my objective has been to focus the central part of my thesis upon period of around eighteen months immediately following the end of the war, when many of the key musical appointments and strategic decisions were made, and to investigate the music performed and composed, as well as the institutions which supported it. With the above in mind, this is contextualised through a broader section on German new music before 1945, especially in the Weimar era. At the end of the thesis, I explore both continuities and discontinuities, and the consequences for the later development of new music, in particular in the 1947-51 period. As the East German new music world proceeded quite independently of that in the West, a detailed investigation of its progenitor in the Soviet zone of Germany falls beyond the

scope of the present study. Nevertheless, where developments in this zone are directly relevant, especially in Berlin, I have provided the appropriate information.

I am deeply antagonistic towards a trend in musicology that has been developing during recent decades: that which presents an *a priori* argument, then cherry-picks selected data to reinforce this, or enacts a similar strategy with respect to a theoretical model. Theory should in my view be adapted to accommodate data, not vice versa. With this in mind, I have adopted a methodology which frames different sections in terms of answering questions, or illuminating context, rather than asserting dogmatic positions. The conclusions drawn from this data (which I am fully aware cannot be interpreted outside of some type of prior theoretical model) should emerge as a consequence of having digested the relevant information. In keeping with the multi-faceted and diffuse nature of cultural and other life in early post-war Germany, I develop different threads, which are brought together in the final conclusion.

This study deals with both individuals and institutions, and at least arguably with some historical processes whose importance exceed the actions of simple individuals. At the time of writing, the so-called actor-network theory of French philosopher Bruno Latour, which can entail an eliding of the distinction between human and non-human actors, is very much in vogue amongst academics. On the other hand, various high-profile historians, including the likes of David Starkey, Simon Schama, and Niall Ferguson, have gone somewhat to the other extreme and rejuvenated something resembling a ‘great man’ view of history. I do not believe that the work of disillusioned post-1968 intellectuals such as Latour, and all the determinism and fatalistic pessimism this can engender, is necessarily an improvement upon the dialectical formulation on individuals and social processes provided by Karl Marx, most memorably in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.³²

³² Karl Marx, ‘The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte’ (1851), in *Selected Writings*, edited David McLellan, revised edition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 329.

The events I will be chronicling and analysing do involve human agents at all levels, whether officials of military government, radio producers, musicians, or others. One of my core arguments is that without specific actions by particular individuals – especially those who occupied prominent positions right after 1945, such as Wolfgang Steinecke, Heinrich Strobel, Herbert Eimert or Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt – many aspects of the German new music world might have developed quite differently. Yet one should not neglect the circumstances and conditions which enabled them to assume positions of great power and influence, nor the cultural agendas of the American or French occupying powers. It is certainly possible to trace these phenomena back to directives from specific high-level government officials, which were then disseminated by others, but also plenty of reason to believe that other individuals would have acted similarly if they had been the ones giving the directives. Some of their nationalistic and political-strategic beliefs were widely shared in various strata of government and wider society. Certainly some individuals might have been sceptics or antagonists, and may have been in a position to put their distinct beliefs into action, but in such circumstances it is logical to conceive of dominant ideologies finding expression through individuals who accept them, whether passively (not having questioned them) or as active proponents. I would not wish to view the transmission of the ideologies as a wholly autonomous process, which would exclude the possibility that human agency might impede such a process, but simply accept that for statistical reasons some ideologies will not encounter a huge amount of resistance. Nonetheless, individual cases are what matter, so in general, I have endeavoured somewhat insistently to match roles to specific individuals, and consider their decision-making in terms of specific ideals and motivations, whilst viewing these in terms of the wider processes within which they played their part. Individuals such as John Evarts, René Thimmonier or Jack Bornoff were enacting US, French and British occupation and cultural policy respectively, but their actions cannot be viewed as purely synonymous with those of others working for the same powers, as becomes clear from examining changes of personnel. Similarly, Strobel or Eimert were not simply anonymous representatives of Germans of a particular class and education, but quite exceptional people, compared to some of their counterparts working for other radio stations.

The sources drawn upon for this research fall into four categories, of which the first concerns archival material. Microfilm copies of files of the Office of Military

Government, United States (OMGUS) and High Commission for Germany (HICOG) files are preserved at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, while the surviving British occupation files (extensive but thought still to be only a small fraction of the original materials) are in the National Archives in Kew. The Archives of the French Occupation in Paris, formerly housed in Colmar, are now preserved at the Archives diplomatiques in Paris. I have researched all of these collections extensively on repeated visits, and have also looked at further occupation-related collections at the British Library and the library of the London School of Economics. I have also consulted the main relevant German state and Land archives in Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Munich and Berlin, in addition to documents and correspondence at a wide range of city archives (especially those in Frankfurt and Darmstadt). A range of people working at other such archives have kindly made copies of relevant information and sent these to me. The Berlin Document Centre, now housed at the Bundesarchiv in the city, contains the files on prominent musicians collected by the Nazis, and other information relating to their denazification. The radio archives in Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Baden-Baden, Stuttgart, Munich have also been invaluable for material relating to broadcasting, and new music institutions supported by radio stations. Other vital information has been found in the various collections of documents, scores and other materials forming composers' estates kept at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, the Staatsbibliotheken in Hamburg, Berlin and Munich, and of course the archive of the Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt. If some material found through these resources, for example that on Stockhausen, Schnebel or Werner Meyer-Eppler, is not always directly referenced in this thesis, it has nonetheless informed wider perspectives and convictions. There will always be further interesting documentation to find either at new archives or those already visited, but I have endeavoured to be as comprehensive as possible (not least in the appendices) given finite time and finance.

The second category consists of newspapers and journals. I have read through as many German local newspapers for the 1945-46 period (and often beyond) as I have been able to during many months at the British Library collections, for reviews and articles but also concert listings. Also, this thesis would not have been possible without having thoroughly read all issues of *Melos/Neues Musikblatt*, *Musikblätter der Anbruch*, *Pult und Taktstock*, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Die Musik*, *Musica*, *Stimmen* and *Das Musikleben* published during the periods I survey, as well as consulting

lesser-known publications such as *Die Böttcherstrasse*, *Der Auftakt* and *Die Quelle*, and radio journals such as *Hörzu* and *Funk-Welt*.

As well as obviously absorbing existing secondary literature relating to my subject, and a large amount of wider historical writing, especially relating to the occupation, I have drawn extensively on a third category of sources: specialised – and often very rare and obscure – monographs and articles on individual towns and cities in the immediate aftermath of the war, many of them produced by those working at local archives. These have yielded vital data relating to 1945-46 and concerts, appointments, denazification and much else.

The fourth category of sources simply consists of musical materials in the form of scores and recordings. A significant amount of music from the Weimar, Nazi and early post-war eras is now forgotten, with few if any recordings. Where historical or contemporary recordings exist, I have endeavoured to listen to as many as possible, but otherwise have studied extant scores to gain a wider stylistic insight into musical developments of the time. While for reasons of space this thesis does not feature sustained musical analyses, I have endeavoured to avoid the approach I have called disparagingly ‘musicology without ears’, to ensure my work is informed at all times by aural or imagined aural (from score-reading) evidence.

Thesis Structure

Whilst a huge range of music and musical activity in both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich is relevant to this thesis, and I have consulted a good deal of primary source material on both eras, nonetheless it provides background and context rather than being the central focus of the thesis as a whole. With this in mind, I have endeavoured to distil the most important developments of both periods as succinctly as possible in Chapter 1, in which I also chart briefly the early careers of a group of individuals who become prominent after 1945 – Strobel, Stuckenschmidt, Eimert, Steinecke, Wolfgang Fortner, Hermann Heiß and Winfried Zillig. Chapter 2 explains the structure of the occupation, the objectives, agendas and policies of the three Allied powers with regards to musical life, and the complex area of denazification. The next three chapters deal with key infrastructural developments during the period from May 1945 to roughly December 1946. Chapter 3 details the extensive but diffuse role of new music in early concert life in general through the three Western zones,

concentrating upon those cities which would later become important new music centres. In this chapter I also explain the appointments of key individuals to leading musical positions, as also in Chapter 4, on the founding of the eight initial radio stations in the Western zones, and their policies towards new music. Chapter 5 does the same for festivals and concert series dedicated to new music, or those with a heavy concentration in this respect. Chapter 6 then deals with the nature of the actual music composed by key figures during this first year-and-a-half, and Chapter 7 brings together aspects of all the previous four to consider the first *Ferienkurse* at Darmstadt in August-September 1946. Finally, the first half of Chapter 8 gives an overview of the results and extensions of the developments explored in detail in the previous five chapters, and the second half draws some conclusions relating to the trajectory of German new music as a whole.

This study relies heavily on data, especially that relating to micro-details of appointments, programming, repertoire and the growth and changing nature of institutions. In order to remain within a reasonable word-length and also to keep the narrative both readable and focused on issues of interpretation, itself based upon original factual information, I have placed a significant amount of ‘prime data’ (that which can be collated into lists) in a range of appendices. The first of these contains lists of key texts, events and institutions in Weimar and Nazi Germany, the second a chronology of the first licensed concerts in the three Western zones after 1945. The third appendix lists ‘approved’ composers and works, while the fourth contains more detailed timelines, with some other key information, relating to musical life in major cities in these zones. The fifth is the most extensive, collecting together for the first time a comprehensive set of programmes for all major new music events in the period from 1945 to 1951, which sustain my conclusions. The final two appendixes are briefer sets of data on new music programming at wider music festivals, and of radio commissions.

This research project has yielded a large amount of new and significant information concerning the 1945-46 period that has not previously been explored. A large amount of the archival data used has either never been investigated before, or not specifically for the information it yields relating to new music and its institutions, while no other scholar has ever undertaken such a comprehensive survey of the data to be found in local newspapers. A few other musicologists have synthesised institutional and aesthetic issues in this context, but only for specific institutions

(mostly those in Darmstadt and Munich), while I have undertaken this comprehensively across the Western zones of occupied Germany. Important institutions such as the *Woche für Neue Musik* in Frankfurt, the *Konstanzer Kunstwoche* and others, have never received proper scholarly consideration before, while the Darmstädter Ferienkurse have mostly been viewed in isolation from other developments in German new music. Through these approaches, this thesis explains the foundations of and provides new interpretive models for a remarkable period of great significance for the history of new music. This has implications not only for those concerned with this period, nor solely for those drawn to music in Germany, but more widely through to the international infrastructure and aesthetics of new music in the present day.

Chapter 1

Music and Modernism During the Weimar Republic, and into the Third Reich: institutions and aesthetics

An understanding of post-1945 German new music requires some examination of the earlier musical ‘modernism’ in that country. Of all the significant dates and innovations which might signify such a development – the experiments of Liszt in the 1840s, Wagner’s new music-drama ideas in the 1850s, the premieres of major new works of Mahler and Richard Strauss in 1889,¹ or Schoenberg’s first ‘atonal’ music in 1908 – none is so strongly associated with a cultural and musical upheaval as 1918. In the wake of Germany’s military defeat, the abdication of the Kaiser, and an attempted communist revolution inspired by that in Russia the previous year, an explicit and self-conscious articulation of the concept of ‘new music’ (*Neue Musik*) emerged, alongside the growth of a wide range of festivals and institutions dedicated to this, not least the *Novembergruppe*, whose aims were clearly linked to wider political currents of the time.

In this chapter, I will consider how the principal institutional and aesthetic developments evolved during this crucial period, relating these to wider historical and political developments, and to the ways in which various individuals who would play important roles in post-1945 musical life made their contributions.

***Neue Musik* and its Institutions**

The critic Paul Bekker (1882-1937) and composer, pianist and essayist Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924) spearheaded the concept of a ‘new music’, which entailed both a palpable break with the immediate past and a programme for the future.² Building on earlier articles attacking German musical nationalism, and the excessive influence of other art forms,³ Bekker published in 1919 the first post-war exposition of the concept

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, translated J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley & Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1989), pp. 330-32.

² Carl Dahlhaus, “‘New Music’ as historical category”, in *Schoenberg and the New Music*, translated Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-4.

³ Paul Bekker, ‘Kunst und Krieg: Zwei Feldpostbriefe’ (1914), and ‘Musikalische Neuzeit’ (1917) in *Kritische Zeitbilder. Gesammelte Schriften 1* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921), pp. 177-97, 297.

of ‘Neue Musik’,⁴ arguing above all that music must reflect new times as had been brought about by the war and its aftermath.⁵ He saw potential in microtones, Lisztian splintering of tonality, allusions to non-Western traditions, and the use of medieval modes. But more crucially, he advocated a new emphasis upon *melody*, freed from harmonic subservience, and a renewed commitment to Bachian counterpoint. In this respect he cited approvingly the music of Max Reger (and some late Beethoven and Busoni), and a 1917 book on linear counterpoint by Ernst Kurth.⁶ Rhythm should be freer, unconstrained by rhythmic unity and periodicity. Bekker found inspiration in the music of Debussy, Delius, Mahler, Schoenberg and Franz Schreker, amongst others. He had portrayed Schreker as the heir to Wagner in a 1918 monograph, a view he moderated in a 1920 essay, whilst still counting him as a radical,⁷ though he also savagely attacked Strauss and later portrayed Wagner as outdated.⁸

Following the publication of his *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* in 1907,⁹ Busoni had moved towards a more experimental music. He employed a combination of near-atonality and archaic allusions, undermining them through the use of semitonal progressions, parallel chords, whole-tone and other unusual scales, mirror structures, and quotations from Native American music.¹⁰ His antagonism towards what Germany had become during the war, much of which he spent in Switzerland,¹¹ was expressed through opposition towards Wagner (and also

⁴ Paul Bekker, ‘Neue Musik’ (1919), in Bekker, *Neue Musik*, pp. 85-118. Bekker’s essay was originally published as an issue of *Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit* 6, ed. Kasimir Edschmid (Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1919).

⁵ For a comparison of the term ‘Neue Musik’ with the 14th century term *ars nova* and the 16th century *nuove musiche*, see Christoph von Blumröder, *Der Begriff “neue Musik” im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzschichler, 1981), pp. 7-12, and Dahlhaus, ‘“New Music” as historical category’, pp. 1-13. On the earlier provenance of the term ‘Neue Musik’ as an alternative to ‘Musik der Zukunft’, see Blumröder, *Der Begriff “neue Musik”*, pp. 28-31.

⁶ Ernst Kurth, *Die Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts. Bachs melodische Polyphonie* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1917).

⁷ Paul Bekker, *Franz Schreker. Studie zur Kritik der modernen Oper* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1919); ‘Franz Schreker’ (1920) in *Klang und Eros. Gesammelte Schriften 2* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922), pp. 20-22. See also Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 84-7, 110-11.

⁸ Paul Bekker, ‘Die Frau ohne Schatten. Uraufführung im Wiener Operntheater am 10. Oktober 1919’, in *Kritische Zeitbild*, p. 127, as translated in Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 112-13; Paul Bekker, *Richard Wagner: His Life in His Work*, translated M.M. Bozman (New York: Norton, 1931) (originally published in German in 1924), pp. i-vii, 1-36. Bekker called the music of Strauss’s opera hackneyed, crowd-pleasing, mannered, psycho-intellectual and illustrative, while in ‘Neue Musik’, pp. 96-7, he presented Strauss as a musical counterpart to industrialisation and capitalism.

⁹ Ferruccio Busoni, ‘Sketch for a New Aesthetic of Music’ (1907), in *Three Classics in the Aesthetics of Music* (New York: Dover, 1962), pp. 73-102.

¹⁰ For a good overview of the techniques in this period of Busoni’s work, see Jim Samson, *Music in Transition: A Study of Tonal Expansion and Atonality* (London: Dent, 1977), pp. 19-26.

¹¹ See Busoni to Marchese di Casanova, 3 November 1918, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, translated, edited and with introduction by Antony Beaumont, (London: Faber, 1987), p. 279. Unlike others,

Beethoven) and the replacement of classical beauty and simplicity with profundity.¹² In 1919, he advocated to his student Philipp Jarnach a new trinity of Palestrina (for line), Mozart (for form) and Berlioz (for sonority) as an alternative to nineteenth-century German traditions.¹³ The following month, in a letter to Bekker which was published on 7 February 1920 in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he declared it an objective to create a *Junge Klassizität*. Busoni agreed with Bekker on the importance of a return to melody as the begetter of harmony, and also called for the renunciation of sensuousness and subjectivity.¹⁴

Bekker and Busoni inspired a wide range of responses. The conductor Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966), who spent much of the war in Russia and witnessed the Revolution, wrote his own article on ‘Neue Musik’.¹⁵ Scherchen attempted to reconcile calls for renewed community engagement on one hand with the need for a music which rose above everyday life on the other. He praised Schoenberg’s Five Orchestral Pieces, op. 15, for their emphasis on melody rather than harmony. Conversely, Hans Pfitzner, who had attacked Busoni in 1917,¹⁶ published *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz* in 1920,¹⁷ aimed at Bekker, which sparked a wider debate on new music. Claiming that Bekker reversed a natural hierarchy of beauty and ugliness, Pfitzner attacked ‘atonal’ music (a term used broadly to encompass Schoenberg, early Hindemith and Krenek) for jettisoning prized Germanic

Busoni also saw little hope for emancipation in the United States, which he associated with racial persecution.

¹² See Busoni to Reinhardt, 15 April 1917, *ibid.* p. 258, and Busoni cited in Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), pp. 65-6.

¹³ Busoni to Jarnach, 2 December 1919, in *Selected Letters*, p. 301. Even Debussy was, to Busoni, ‘essentially Wagnerian’ because of his music’s ‘perpetually illustrative style’ (*ibid.* pp. 301-2). Busoni would reply angrily to a French critic of his work in the 1920s who advocated Wagner, arguing that Berlioz was the more important figure for later generations. See Edward J. Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni, a biography* (London: Eulenburg, 1974), p. 280.

¹⁴ Busoni to Emil Hertzka, 5 January 1920 in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, p. 303; Busoni to Paul Bekker, January 1920, in Busoni, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers* (New York: Dover, 1965), pp. 19-22. *Junge Klassizität* to Busoni was not a move ‘back’, but rather ‘Des Pudels Kern’ (the poodle’s core, a line from Part 1 of Goethe’s *Faust*). See Busoni to Jarnach, 22 March 1920, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, pp. 305-7.

¹⁵ Hermann Scherchen, ‘Neue Musik’, in *Freie Deutsche Bühne* 1/2 (July 9, 1919), pp. 35-9, and 1/4 (September 21, 1919), pp. 80-83.

¹⁶ Hans Pfitzner, *Futuristengefahr. Bei Gelegenheit von Busoni’s Ästhetik* (Leipzig: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, 1917), reproduced in Pfitzner, *Gesammelte Schriften, Band 1* (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926), pp. 185-223. For Busoni’s public response, see ‘The Future of Music: Open Letter to Hans Pfitzner’, in *The Essence of Music*, pp. 17-19.

¹⁷ Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom?* (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1920).

qualities of depth, warmth, spirituality and feeling.¹⁸ He went on ominously to associate Bekker with ‘the international Jewish tendency’, and bemoaned how ‘Russian-Jewish criminals’ of the Revolution claimed to pay tribute to German workers and others, defining a German as one who denied war guilt, was opposed to the loss of territory, and who sympathised with Bismarck, Kleist, Wagner and Ludendorff.¹⁹

There were many further responses, from Scherchen, Berg, Heinz Tiessen (1887-1971), Bartók, Schoenberg, conservative critics Walter Krug and Alfred Heuß, and many others,²⁰ some attacking or defending Pfitzner, others helping to consolidate an aesthetic and historiographical concept.²¹ In 1927, the young critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901-88) delineated divergent new music movements. The most important of these were, according to Stuckenschmidt, Schoenbergian dodecaphony, Stravinskian neo-classicism, influences from jazz, and mechanical approaches to interpretation. He also stressed international influence (especially from France and the United States, in the form of George Antheil).²² The aesthetic and technical categories he outlined have informed much subsequent thought and writing on the period.

The Novembergruppe

During the winter of 1918-19, as the new *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD) and the Spartacist League attempted unsuccessfully to incite a revolution,²³

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 5-11, 69-77, 108-9. See also Brian Israel Cherney, ‘The Bekker-Pfitzner Controversy (1919-1920): Its Significance for German Music Criticism during the Weimar Republic (1919-1932)’ (PhD thesis: University of Toronto, 1974), pp. 87-96 for a good summary.

¹⁹ Pfitzner, *Neue Aesthetik*, pp. 109, 123-4, 126-7.

²⁰ Hermann Scherchen, ‘Zu Hans Pfitzners “Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz”’, *Melos* 1/1 (1920), p. 20; Paul Bekker, “‘Impotenz’ - Oder Potenz? Eine Antwort an Herrn Professor Dr Hans Pfitzner’ (1920), in *Kritische Zeitbilder*, pp. 310-26; Alban Berg, ‘The Musical Impotence of Hans Pfitzner’s ‘New Aesthetic’ (1920), in Willi Reich, *The Life and Work of Alban Berg*, translated Cornelius Cardew (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), pp. 205-18; Heinz Tiessen, ‘Der neue Strom’, *Melos* 1/1 (1920), pp. 5-6; Béla Bartók, ‘The Problem of the New Music’ (1920) in Benjamin Suchoff (ed.), *Béla Bartók Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), pp. 455-9; Arnold Schoenberg, ‘New Music’ (1923), in *Style and Idea*, edited Leonard Stein, with translations by Leo Black (London: Faber, 1975), pp. 137-9.

²¹ Heinrich Grues, Eigel Kruttge and Else Thalheimer (eds.), *Von Neuer Musik* (Cologne: F.J. Marcan-Verlag, 1925); Ernst Bücken, *Führer und Probleme der neuen Musik* (Cologne: Tonger, 1924).

²² H.H. Stuckenschmidt, ‘Perspektiven und Profile. Wichtigste Stilveränderungen der letzten Jahre’, *Melos* 6/2 (February 1927), pp. 72-8.

²³ My wider historical summaries here and elsewhere in this chapter are derived from a synthesis of of Mary Fulbrook, *History of Germany 1918-2000: The Divided Nation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 19-48; Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany 1800-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 210-19, 233-5, 246-7; Golo Mann, *The History of Germany since 1789*, translated Marian Jackson (London:

many artists also set up collectives and councils, and issued manifestos.²⁴ The most important of these brought artists, architects, writers and others together in Berlin on 3 December 1918, to call for a fundamental revolution in both society and art.²⁵ Ten days later they produced a circular arguing that ‘revolutionaries of the spirit (expressionists, cubists, futurists)’ should all come together in light of the present situation.²⁶ A manifesto followed soon afterwards,²⁷ and more artists joined, including Hans Richter, George Grosz, Kurt Schwitters, Walter Gropius, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee.²⁸ They became known as *Die rote Novembergruppe* in the right-wing press, but did not adhere to any coherent socialist ideology.²⁹ They simply believed that social revolution presented fertile ground for artistic radicalism (as had been occurring in Russia), and sought to exert influence over many aspects of public artistic life.³⁰ They inspired other groups in Dresden, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Kiel, and Darmstadt.³¹

The first members of the music section of the Novembergruppe were Tiessen, Scherchen and Max Butting (1888-1976), who became the first leader from 1922 to 1925.³² They were joined by Stuckenschmidt, the French-Spanish Philipp Jarnach

Pimlico, 1996), pp. 324-335; Hagen Schulze, *Germany: A New History*, translated Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1998), pp. 195-202; Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 13-31, 352; Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich: How the Nazis destroyed Democracy and seized Power in Germany* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 58-65; and William L. Patch, Jr, *Heinrich Brüning and the Dissolution of the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 181-2.

²⁴ Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, pp. 23-4.

²⁵ Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1969), pp. 10-11. See also p. 55 for the minutes of this meeting.

²⁶ ‘November Group Circular’, 13 December 1918, reproduced in Anton Kaes, Martin Jay and Edward Dimendberg (eds.), *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1994), p. 477.

²⁷ See ‘November Group Manifesto’, in Kaes et al, *Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, pp. 477-8.

²⁸ Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 11.

²⁹ This could be found in another group founded in November-December 1918, the *Berliner Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, though few musicians, other than composer and painter Yefim Golyshev, were involved with this. See Eberhard Steneberg, *Arbeitsrat für Kunst: Berlin 1918-1921* (Düsseldorf: Edition Marzona, 1987).

³⁰ Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 15. An important article, ‘Die Novembergruppe’, published in *Die Gegner* 1 (1922), made clear that the pursuit of radical political goals was a matter for each individual, whilst the group’s priority was radical artistic goals (cited in Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), p. 46).

³¹ Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, pp. 12, 58-60; Armin Schulz, ‘Hinein in die Menschheitswogen’, in Galerie Bodo Niemann Berlin, *Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Galerie Bodo Niemann, 1993), p. 14; Sabine Welsch and Klaus Wolbert (eds.), *Die Darmstädter Sezession 1919-1997. Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel einer Künstlervereinigung* (Darmstadt: Institut Mathildenhöhe, 1997), pp. 41-2.

³² Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 39; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, ‘Musik und Musiker in der Novembergruppe’ (1928), reprinted in Werner Grünzweig and Christiane Niklew (eds.), *Hans Heinz*

(1892-1982), Kurt Weill (1900-50) and the Russian-Swiss Wladimir Vogel (1896-1984),³³ all Busoni students. Later Stefan Wolpe (1902-72), Felix Petryek, Jascha Horenstein, George Antheil, Hanns Eisler (1898-1962), and the Ukrainian Dada-ist artist and composer Yefim Golyshev (1897-1970), who had lived and studied in Germany since 1909, also became involved.³⁴ Butting, Tiessen and Jarnach organised a series of concerts of music previously only heard outside of Berlin. These concerts were held in small halls or people's homes, so they would appear well-attended.³⁵ The first such concert, on 19 March 1922, involved pianist and composer Eduard Erdmann (1896-1958) (who at this stage had already played for other events organised by Tiessen, Scherchen and others),³⁶ the Bruiner Quartet and singer Milly Hagemann, and featured music of Wolfgang Zeller, songs from Schoenberg's op. 6, and Artur Schnabel's 1920 *Tanzsuite* for piano.³⁷ Other concerts that year featured works of Erdmann himself, and Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, directed by Scherchen, whose first professional conducting experience was leading the first tour of this work in 1912.³⁸ A total of twenty-one concerts from 1922 to 1927 included works of members of the music section and a wide spectrum of contemporary composers: Satie, Ravel, Honegger, Berg, Hindemith, Webern, Krenek, Wellesz, Schulhoff, Stravinsky, Bartók, Kodály, Malipiero, Casella, and Martinů.³⁹ There were also lectures on music

Stuckenschmidt: Der Deutsche im Konzertsaal (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 2010), p. 33; Nils Grosch, 'Butting, Max', at *Grove Online*.

³³ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, 'Heinz Tiessen – der Freund', in Manfred Schlösser (ed.), *Für Heinz Tiessen 1887-1971. Aufsätze – Analysen – Briefe – Erinnerungen – Dokumente – Werkverzeichnis – Bibliographie* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1979), p. 10.

³⁴ Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, pp. 39, 46, 103; Zoltan Roman, 'The Weimar Republic as Socio-Cultural Context', in Austin Clarkson (ed.), *On the Music of Stefan Wolpe: Essays and Recollections* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003), p. 44.

³⁵ Max Butting, *Musikgeschichte, die ich miterlebte* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1955), p. 120; Rainer Peters and Harry Vogt, 'Die Berliner Novembergruppe und ihre Musiker', in *Stefan Wolpe: Von Berlin nach New York* (Cologne: Kölner Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, 1988), p. 48.

³⁶ See Franko Schmidt, 'Als Pianist gefeiert, als Komponist verstummt. Der Hamburger Hochschullehrer Eduard Erdmann', in Peter Petersen (ed.), *Zündende Lieder – verbrannte Musik. Folgen des Nazifaschismus für Hamburger Musiker und Musikerinnen* (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1995), pp. 82-9; and Heinz Tiessen, 'Eduard Erdmann in seiner Zeit', in Christof Bitter and Manfred Schlösser (eds.), *Begegnungen mit Eduard Erdmann* (Darmstadt: Erato-Press, 1968), pp. 25-69, on Erdmann's early career.

³⁷ The full programme is reproduced in Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 36, and Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, p. 31. A full list of all the Novembergruppe concerts is in Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, pp. 606-8.

³⁸ Dennis C. Hutchison, 'Performance, Technology, and Politics: Hermann Scherchen's Aesthetics of Modern Music' (hereafter simply 'Scherchen') (PhD thesis: Florida State University, 2003), pp. 7-13.

³⁹ Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 39; Peters and Vogt, 'Die Berliner Novembergruppe', p. 47.

by figures such as Bekker, who was also attached to the group.⁴⁰ It published his *Wesensform der Musik* in 1925.⁴¹

New Music Societies and Festivals

As well as the *Novembergruppe*, a large range of other societies sprang up after the war in Germany to present concerts of new music, many of them inspired by Arnold Schoenberg's *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen*, founded in November 1918 in Vienna.⁴² A comprehensive list is included in Appendix 1. The first in Berlin was the *Neue Musikgesellschaft*, founded by Scherchen in early 1919. Here the concerts were public and often on a bigger scale than Vienna, sometimes involving the Berlin Philharmonic (BPO) and Blüthner Orchestras. Composers programmed included Mahler, Strauss, Pfitzner, Schreker, Debussy, Busoni, Bartók, Kodály, Ravel, Schoenberg (including the Second String Quartet), and Tiessen, as well as earlier works of the likes of Liszt, Bruckner and Reger. Scherchen also programmed concerts of earlier music in the series,⁴³ initiating an approach which he and others would continue in the 1920s, and later in the post-1945 era. There followed a large range of concerts linked to the journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch (Mda)*,⁴⁴ and in 1921 a *Melos-Gemeinschaft zur Erkenntnis zeitgenössischer Musik* run by Scherchen, Tiessen and Erdmann, who programmed what Stuckenschmidt would call a model performance of *Pierrot*.⁴⁵

Away from Berlin, a *Verein für Theater- und Musikkultur* had already been founded in Frankfurt, involving Hindemith, Bernhard Sekles and others. They presented twelve chamber concerts over five winters from 1918 to 1923, including various works of Schoenberg and Hindemith.⁴⁶ Hindemith and Reinhold Merten also founded in 1922 a *Gemeinschaft für Musik*, which presented a series of private,

⁴⁰ Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, p. 27.

⁴¹ Paul Bekker, *Wesensform der Musik* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Novembergruppe, 1925).

⁴² See Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work* (London: John Calder, 1977), pp. 254-77, and Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (New York & London: Schirmer, 1986), pp. 81-102, 245-68 for more on the *Verein* and its activities. A full list of programmes for the series can be found in Smith and Walter Szmolyan, 'Die Konzerte der Wiener Schönberg-Vereins', in Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (eds.), *Musik-Konzepte 36: Schönbergs Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1984), pp. 101-4.

⁴³ Hutchison, 'Scherchen', pp. 25-6. The full programmes are in Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 599-600.

⁴⁴ See Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 507-9, 600-3 for the full programme.

⁴⁵ Stuckenschmidt, 'Heinz Tiessen', p. 12.

⁴⁶ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 677-9.

concerts (for which no-one was paid) from July to December 1922 with a wider and more radical range of music (including Hába, Honegger, Stravinsky, Webern, Bartók and Schoenberg).⁴⁷ By September Hindemith could boast of having established a musical community in Frankfurt,⁴⁸ though the community did not survive the hyperinflation of 1922-23.⁴⁹

In Cologne, a *Gesellschaft für neue Musik* was founded by philosopher Herbert Leyendecker and composer Heinrich Lemacher, who ran the organisation until 1927.⁵⁰ This was one of the most adventurous and long-lasting of all such organisations in the Weimar period, and played a major part in consolidating Cologne as a major city for new music. Stuckenschmidt and Schoenberg's student Josef Rufer (1893-1985) also started a series of concerts in Hamburg in September 1923, financed by a group of patrons. These series included music of all the members of the Second Viennese School, as well as Bartók, Busoni, Milhaud, Stravinsky, Hindemith and others, but lasted only six months before running out of money.⁵¹ Other societies would however present new music in the city from 1928.

The other major city for new music was Munich, where a *Vereinigung für zeitgenössische Musik* was established in March 1927 by composer Fritz Büchtger with pianist Udo Dammert and Franz Dorf Müller; their circle also came to include composers Werner Egk (1901-83), Carl Orff (1895-1982) and Karl Marx (1897-1985), and Scherchen, who rapidly established his control over the programming.⁵² The Vereinigung presented four major *Neue Musik-Wochen* between 1929 and 1931, in association with the major Munich orchestras, choirs, theatre and radio station. Scherchen once again mixed early (pre-baroque, some going back to the 12th century)

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp. 682-3.

⁴⁸ Hindemith to Emmy Ronnefeldt, September 1922, in *Selected Letters*, edited and translated Geoffrey Skelton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 29.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Skelton, *Paul Hindemith: The Man Behind the Music. A Biography* (London: Gollancz, 1975), p. 67.

⁵⁰ Thrun, *Neue Musik in deutsche Musikleben*, pp. 698-702; Hermann Unger (ed.), *Festbuch zur Hundertjahrfeier der Concert-Gesellschaft in Köln 1827-1927* (Cologne: Concert-Gesellschaft Köln, 1927), p. 201.

⁵¹ Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, pp. 292-3; Stuckenschmidt, 'Freundschaftliche Nähe und Spurensuche', *Neue Musikzeitung* 33 (June-July 1984), pp. 3-4; Peter Gradenwitz, *Arnold Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler. Berlin 1925-1933* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1998), p. 40.

⁵² Gabriele E. Meyer, 'Neue Musik-Wochen in München, 1929-1931', *Historisches Lexikon Bayern*, at http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_44916 (accessed 14 January 2018). Programmes for the 1928-29 season of the Vereinigung, and the 1930 and 1931 Neue Musik-Wochen, are available here.

and new music,⁵³ ranging from Honegger to Hába's quarter-tone opera *Matka* (1927-29), to works by members of the Vereinigung. However, representation of the Second Viennese School was small.⁵⁴ During the same period, the composer Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905-63) organised a chamber music series from 1928 to 1933, under the auspices of the German artists' association *Die Juryfreien*. Music played included that of Bartók, Casella, Alois Hába, Hauer, Hindemith, Krenek, Milhaud, Schulhoff, Stravinsky, Büchtger, Orff and Egk,⁵⁵ though Hartmann also showed no real inclination towards programming the Second Viennese School.

Festivals had been a growing presence in Germany since before the war, and some took over new music from more long-established organisations such as the *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* and *Schlesisches Musikfest*, which became more conservative in their programming.⁵⁶ This process accelerated during the Weimar era, increasing the gap between the 'new' (sometimes together with the 'old') and the 'mainstream'. The *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* (ADMV), originally founded in 1861,⁵⁷ presented a series of annual *Tonkünstlerfeste* from 1920 to 1932 in different German cities.⁵⁸ Friedrich Rösch took over the organisation from 1920 to 1926, then after his death Siegmund von Hausegger ran it until 1935.⁵⁹ In order to represent diverse aesthetic viewpoints, Tiessen, Scherchen, Hindemith and later Berg and Ernst Toch (1887-1964) sat on the panel at various times, and managed to programme a sizeable amount of radical music, especially from 1920 to 1924, alongside the work of more moderate or conservative figures.⁶⁰

But more significant was the founding of the *International Society for Contemporary Music* (ISCM) in London under the presidency of Edward J. Dent, its

⁵³ The city had been a leading centre for early music revival for several decades, especially with the founding of the *Deutsche Vereinigung für alte Musik* in 1905; see Tobias Grill, 'Die Rezeption der Alten Musik in München zwischen ca. 1880 und 1930' (MA Thesis: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2007).

⁵⁴ Meyer, 'Neue Musik-Wochen'

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 87. A full list of programmes for this series, with a range of reviews, can be found in Arlt, *Von den Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 129-46.

⁵⁶ See Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 311-20 for more on this process.

⁵⁷ See 'Tabular History of the Allgemeiner Deutsche Musikverein to 1937' at the archived web resource on the ADMV (home page and index at <https://web.archive.org/web/20050307085106/http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca:80/~admvm/admv.htm>) which provides the most comprehensive data available on the organisation, including a full archive of programmes from 1861 to 1937 (all pages accessed 24 July 2017).

⁵⁸ For the full programmes, see Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 361-7. All information on repertoire presented here is taken from this source.

⁵⁹ James Deaville, 'Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein', at *Grove Online*.

⁶⁰ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 338-46

first constitution established in January 1923. The ISCM was to hold annual festivals in different countries, with the aim of breaking down national barriers, though there were early tensions between German, Austrian and Czech representatives, who urged an avant-garde focus, and those from France, Britain and the US, who argued that any contemporary music should be eligible.⁶¹ The first four festivals had a good representation of German music, then the fifth took place in Frankfurt in 1927.⁶² This latter event was extravagant, international and forward-looking, with major works of Bartók, Berg, Hauer, Janáček, Pijper, Mosolov, Vogel, Turina, Copland, and Busoni's *Doktor Faustus*, and an enviable line-up of performers.⁶³ A German chapter of the ISCM was formed in Berlin in 1923, with Adolph Weissmann as president (in which position he remained until 1934), and a committee including Tiessen, Jarnach, Erdmann, Scherchen, Hába, Krenek, Rudolf Kastner and others. They programmed their first concert on 20 November that year (including the German premiere of Stravinsky's *Le sacre*), and further local groups sprung up in Leipzig (1924), Berlin (1925), Frankfurt (1928) and Hamburg (1929). Existing groups in Mannheim and Cologne adopted the statute.⁶⁴ An unsuccessful proposal was made to the ADMV for a fusion, but Hausegger was hostile to ISCM programming.⁶⁵ Around the end of the 1920s, to raise the profile of the German section, a pair of festivals in Bad Pyrmont, Lower Saxony were organised for 1930 and 1931, programmed by Butting and Tiessen.⁶⁶

But the festival with the strongest links to post-1945 new music was the *Donaueschinger Kammermusiktage*, which began in 1921.⁶⁷ After being lobbied by pianist, and head of the Basel Conservatory, Willy Rehberg, the wealthy Prince Max Egon of Fürstenberg asked his music director Heinrich Burkard to form a committee. This came to include composer Joseph Haas (1897-1960) and Erdmann, and an honorary council including Strauss, Pfitzner, Schreker, Busoni, Hausegger, and Artur

⁶¹ Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart* (hereafter simply *IGNM*) (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1928), p. 56; Anton Haefeli and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, 'International Society for Contemporary Music', at *Grove Online*.

⁶² For full programmes of all festivals up until 1933, see Haefeli, *IGNM*, pp. 479-91.

⁶³ Haefeli, *IGNM*, pp. 485-6.

⁶⁴ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutsche Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 437-8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 335-6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 438-41.

⁶⁷ On the early history and pre-history, see Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 9-11; and Horst Fischer, 'Geschichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Donaueschingen', in Heinz Bunse and Georg Riedmann (eds.), *Musikfreunde. Bilder aus der bewegten Geschichte eines Donaueschinger Vereins* (Donaueschingen: Mory's Hofbuchhandlung, 2013), pp. 33-9.

Nikisch.⁶⁸ They organised the first chamber music festival in July-August 1921. Hindemith's Third String Quartet was played (as were works of Hába, Krenek, Jarnach and Berg) and he became a regular presence, both as a composer and the viola player in the Amar Quartet. He joined the committee in 1924, replacing Erdmann, and stayed until 1930.

As Martin Thrun has argued, the connection with the principality of Fürstenberg lent the festival a ceremonial quality, but it also gave the events an anachronistic quality, with aristocratic guests rarely enjoying the music.⁶⁹ However many critics were very enthusiastic, especially about Hindemith, Jarnach and Krenek.⁷⁰ By 1923, Hába's microtonal Second String Quartet was programmed, then the following year Schoenberg (who travelled to conduct his Serenade op. 24), Webern (with two premieres), Hauer, Schulhoff, Bartók, Skryabin and others.⁷¹ In 1926, in an expanded festival, there was a selection of works for mechanical instruments as well as a concert for military orchestra.

Initially funded by the Prince and his son, with extra support in 1925 from Swiss patron Werner Reinhart, from 1926 the festival was supported by the town of Donaueschingen, the Baden Ministry of Culture and the Prussian Ministry of Arts, Science and Education, in part through the influence of Culture Minister Leo Kestenberg (see below).⁷² This all facilitated a move to the larger city of Baden-Baden the following year, after which time the number of concerts was increased to five. After some cuts from the various state funding sources (who had given a total of 36,000 RM in 1927), Hindemith consulted with his friend and brother-in-law Hans Flesch at Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk to negotiate a new subsidy of 30,000 RM from the *Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft* (see below).⁷³ The festivals in 1928-9 could then include major new *Zeitopern* (see below), including Hindemith's *Hin und zurück* (1927), as well as Weill/Brecht's *Mahagonny Songspiel* (1927), Bartók's Sonata for piano (1926), music for film from Milhaud, Toch and Hindemith, and radio works including Brecht/Hindemith/Weill's *Lindberghflug*. In 1930, when both Hindemith

⁶⁸ Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 11.

⁶⁹ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutsche Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 371-2, 376-7; see also Hanspeter Bennwitz, *Donaueschingen und die Neue Musik 1921-1955* (Donaueschingen: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Donaueschingen, 1955). Full programmes can be found in Häusler, *Donaueschingen*, pp. 424-31.

⁷⁰ A selection of the reception can be found in Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, pp. 385-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 389.

⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 379-81.

⁷³ *Ibid.* pp. 393-6.

and Burkard were working in Berlin, they decided to move the whole festival to the city, and mounted an ambitious event featuring choral, radio, gramophone, electric, and stage music and other types of *Gebrauchsmusik*, not to mention Hindemith's new *Grammophonplatten-eigene Stücke* (1930) for record players, and the radio play *Sabinchen* (1930). The critic Klaus Pringsheim argued that the real musical revolution took the form of new means of dissemination and interactions with modern life and technology.⁷⁴

In general, the profile of new music in different cities depended upon particular GMDs or other significant musicians there: those who did programme it include Hans Weisbach, GMD in Düsseldorf, 1926-33, and Jascha Horenstein at the opera in the city, 1930-33, Josef Krips, Hofkapellemeister in Karlsruhe, 1926-33, Scherchen with various orchestras in Leipzig and Gustav Brecher at the opera in the city, Fritz Busch in Stuttgart, 1918-22, Dresden 1921, and Bekker as Intendant at Kassel, 1925-27, and Wiesbaden 1927-32.⁷⁵ Berlin was the leading new music center, not only through the special societies, but also through appointments of sympathetic figures such as Erich Kleiber to the Staatsoper in 1923 (he conducted the world premiere of Berg's *Wozzeck* in 1925), Otto Klemperer to the Kroll Theatre in 1927, and Bruno Walter to the Städtische Oper in 1925.⁷⁶ Schoenberg's music was also played reasonably frequently after his move to the city in 1926.⁷⁷ Next was Frankfurt, where Scherchen also directed the historic Museum Concerts from 1922 to 1924,⁷⁸ with a series of concerts for new music, as well as festivals of Schoenberg in

⁷⁴ Klaus Pringsheim, 'Die grosse Musikrevolution', *Die Weltbühne* 26/27 (July 1, 1930), pp. 22-4, cited in Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 253-4.

⁷⁵ Wolfgang Horn and Rolf Willhards, *Rheinische Symphonie. 700 Jahre Musik in Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: Gudrun Horn Verlag, 1987), p. 163-6; Joachim Draheim, *Karlsruher Musikgeschichte* (Karlsruhe: Info Verlag GmbH, 2004), pp. 35, 140; Irene und Gunter Hempel, *Musikstadt Leipzig* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1984), pp. 116, 177-8; Fritz Hennenberg, *Das Leipziger Gewandhausorchester* (Frankfurt & Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1992), p. 62; Claudius Böhm and Sven-W. Staps, *Das Leipziger Stadt- und Gewandhausorchester. Dokumente einer 250jährigen Geschichte* (Leipzig: Verlag Kunst und Touristik, 1993), pp. 187-98; Ulrich Drüner, *400 Jahre Staatsorchester Stuttgart 1593-1993* (Stuttgart: Staatstheater Stuttgart, 1994), p. 132-5; Hans Schnoor, *Vierhundert Jahre Deutsche Musik Kultur: Zum Jubiläum der Staatskapelle und zur Geschichte der Dresdner Oper* (Dresden: Dresdner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1948), pp. 261-3, 277; Andreas Eichhorn, *Paul Bekker – Facetten eines kritischen Geistes* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002), pp. 105-22.

⁷⁶ Gerhard Brunner, 'Kleiber, Erich', at *Grove Online*; Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), pp. 275, 281-2; Peter Heyworth and John Lucas, 'Klemperer, Otto', at *Grove Online*; Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 175-200.

⁷⁷ Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, pp. 312, 317, 324-5, 334-5, 343-4.

⁷⁸ Hildegard Weber, *Das "Museum": Einhundertfünfzig Jahre Frankfurter Konzertleben 1808-1958* (Frankfurt: Verlag Waldemar Kramer, 1958), pp. 132-5. This includes a complete list of programmes.

September 1924⁷⁹ and Stravinsky in November 1925.⁸⁰ New music was also programmed by Clemens Krauss, GMD 1924-29 and William Steinberg, 1929-33,⁸¹ and especially by the first conductor of the Frankfurt radio orchestra from 1929, Hans Rosbaud, where he regularly conducted works of the Second Viennese School, Hindemith, Stravinsky and Bartók.⁸²

In nearby Darmstadt, new music was programmed by the *Freie Gesellschaft für Musik*, which ran from 1921 to 1926.⁸³ The city also became a major artists' colony through the founding of the *Darmstädter Sezession* in June 1919, heavily associated with expressionism and then the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and exhibiting artists from elsewhere such as Otto Dix, Kokscha, Picasso and Schwitters.⁸⁴ Hindemith joined the organisation in April 1924.⁸⁵ In Cologne, outside of the new music society, musical life was somewhat conservative at first under GMD Hermann Abendroth, responsible for the Gürzenich Orchester, though more modern works began to appear in programmes from the 1924-25 season onwards.⁸⁶ A similar situation applied in Munich.⁸⁷ In Hamburg, GMD Karl Muck programmed a range of first performances with the Philharmonic, though audiences were initially unsympathetic and even

⁷⁹ Schoenberg to Scherchen, 12 August 1924, in Schoenberg, *Letters*, p. 111, including the full programmes of the four concerts.

⁸⁰ Mohr, *Musikleben in Frankfurt*, pp. 381-2; Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, p. 681.

⁸¹ Albert Richard Mohr, *Das Frankfurter Opernhaus 1880-1980* (Frankfurt: Kramer, 1980), pp. 217-47.

⁸² Joan Evans, *Hans Rosbaud: A Bio-Bibliography*, with foreword by Pierre Boulez (New York, Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 17-25.

⁸³ Oswald Bill, 'Konzertleben in Darmstadt 1919-1939', in Hubert Unverricht and Kurt Oehl (eds.), *Musik in Darmstadt zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (Mainz, London, et al: Schott, 1980), p. 9; Philipp Schweitzer, 'Kammermusik in Darmstadt. Ein Überblick', *ibid.* pp. 49-6; Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 664-5, 742; Barbara Reichenbach, *Hermann Heiß: Eine Dokumentation* (Mainz: Schott, 1975), p. 9.

⁸⁴ Claus K. Netuschil, 'Die Gründung der "Darmstädter Sezession"', in Welsch and Wolbert, *Die Darmstädter Sezession*, pp. 15-40.

⁸⁵ Franz Josef Hamm, 'Kunstrevolution. Politik und Kunst', in Hamm (ed.), *Darmstädter Sezession. Kontakte zum rheinischen Expressionismus 1919-1929* (Bonn: Verein August Macke Haus, 1999), p. 41.

⁸⁶ See the comprehensive list of programmes in Irmgard Scharberth, *Gürzenich-Orchester Köln 1888-1988* (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 1988), pp. 230-44.

⁸⁷ See 'Die Ur- und Erstaufführungen', in Gabriele E. Meyer (ed.), *100 Jahre Münchner Philharmoniker* (Munich: Alois Knürr Verlag, 1994), pp. 470-75; and for the programming at the Staatsoper, *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Jubiläum 1811-1961. Musikalische Akademie, Bayerisches Staatsorchester* (Munich: Buchdruckerei Ludwig Storr, 1961), pp. 59-71; and Hans-Joachim Nösselt, *Ein ältest Orchester 1530-1980: 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester* (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1980), pp. 179-206.

hostile, having met a performance of Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat* at the Staatsoper in 1922 with whistles and rattling.⁸⁸

Early Post-1918 Aesthetic Continuities and Ruptures

A good deal of musical composition during the first five years after the war entailed consolidation, followed by the dismantlement of pre-war expressionism,⁸⁹ if we define this latter term broadly to incorporate atonal Schoenberg, some late Mahler, and the Strauss of *Salome* and *Elektra*, and a 'hyper-romanticism', as in the chromaticism, timbral opulence and sensuousness of subsequent Strauss, or the more detached and aestheticized music of Schreker. The early works of Hindemith, Weill, Tiessen, Butting, Eisler and Vogel broadly belong to such a category, albeit modified in some cases by the example and teaching of Busoni. Hindemith's earliest mature compositions reflect an interest in expressionism and Debussy, whose String Quartet he played while in the army.⁹⁰ These distinct forces come together in works such as the String Quartet in F minor, op. 10 (1918) (Ex. 1.1), though this also exhibits a tendency towards linear chromatic counterpoint rather than harmony.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Kurt Stephenson, *Hundert Jahre Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Broschek & Co, 1928), pp. 245-6; Erik Verg, *Hamburg Philharmonisch: Eine Stadt und ihr Orchester* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1978), p. 64.

⁸⁹ The first theoretical formulations of musical expressionism were Arnold Schering, 'Die expressionistische Bewegung in der Musik', in Max Deri et al, *Einführung in die Kunst der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: E.A. Seeman, 1919), pp. 139-61; Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1918), pp. 79-234; and James Simon, in 'Musikalischer Expressionismus', *MdA*, 2/11-12 (June 1920), pp. 408-11.

⁹⁰ Skelton, *Hindemith*, pp. 49-52; Paul Hindemith, *Zeugnis in Bildern* (Mainz: Schott, 1955), p. 8.

⁹¹ See Ian Kemp, *Hindemith* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 8-9.

Ex. 1.1. Paul Hindemith, String Quartet in F minor, op. 10 (1918). Published by Schott Music.

Hindemith used expressionist texts in his first two operas, *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (1919), after Kokoschka, and *Das Nusch-Nuschi* (1920), after Franz Blei, whilst continuing with a post-Wagnerian, post-Straussian idiom.⁹² The early works of Weill, from the String Quartet (1918) through the *Sinfonia sacra* (1922), to the Concerto for violin and wind instruments (1925) inhabit a similar world tempered by Busonian classicism. Schreker, who was hostile to new tendencies in some of his students such as Hába and Krenek, came to be viewed as antiquated by critics such as Weissmann.⁹³ Schoenberg took a similar attitude to Schreker,⁹⁴ arguing instead for

⁹² See Bork, ‘Hindemith und der “Frankfurter Expressionismus”’, pp. 75-9 for more exploration of this term.

⁹³ Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 176-95.

⁹⁴ Matthias Hansen, ‘Arnold Schönberg und seine Berliner Schüler’, in *Bericht über den 2. Kongreß der Internationalen Schönberg-Gesellschaft: “Die Wiener Schule in der Musikgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts”* (Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite, 1986), p. 220; Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, pp. 308-10, 326; Schoenberg, ‘Polemics against Krenek’ (1926), in Joseph Auner (ed.) *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 194-6.

more traditionally-rooted approaches and attitudes.⁹⁵ This ultimately led Schoenberg to espouse the supremacy of a German tradition,⁹⁶ and to a heated debate on Berlin Radio with critic Heinrich Strobel (1898-1970) and lecturer Eberhard Preussner, in which Schoenberg violently opposed Strobel's advocacy of new aesthetic tendencies, after Strobel had accused Schoenberg of appealing to just a cult.⁹⁷

Neue Sachlichkeit

The earliest breaks with expressionism came out of the fringes of the Dada scene. Czech-Jewish Erwin Schulhoff (1894-1942) satirised the German national anthem, notated a fake female orgasm, and wrote a piece entirely in rests.⁹⁸ Stefan Wolpe performed simultaneously on eight different recordings in a 1920 Dada event, and Golyshev's *Anti-Symphonie* featured in the first Dada exhibitions.⁹⁹ Kurt Weill also introduced elements of surrealism in both texts and employment of musical *objets trouvés* in the form of clichéd popular and vernacular styles in his cantata *Der neue Orpheus* (1925) and ballet-opera *Royal Palace* (1925-26).¹⁰⁰

But of more lasting significance was the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement, related in some ways to French neo-classicism from the 1890s onwards.¹⁰¹ It was anticipated by two books by Ernst Kurth, *Die Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts* (1917) (as earlier cited by Bekker) and *Romantische Harmonik* (1920),¹⁰² and by an essay by Eduard Erdmann contrasting an 'objective' '*Es-Musik*' of today with the subjectivity

⁹⁵ Arnold Schoenberg, 'Untitled tribute to Schreker', *MdA*, 10/3-4 (March-April 1928), p. 82.

⁹⁶ Arnold Schoenberg, 'National Music (1)' and 'National Music (2)' (both 1931), in *Style and Idea*, pp. 169-74. This was not however published until 1959, by Rufer (Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, p. 340).

⁹⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, 'Diskussion im Berliner Rundfunk mit Dr. Preussner und Dr. Strobel', in *Stil und Gedanke. Aufsätze zur Musik (Gesammelte Schriften 1)*, edited Ivan Vojtech (Stuttgart: S. Fischer Verlag, 1976), pp. 272-82; see also Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, pp. 341-2 for Schoenberg's admonition to Strobel.

⁹⁸ See Josef Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff: Leben und Werk* (Hamburg: Von Bockel, 1994), pp. 184-5.

⁹⁹ Austin Clarkson, 'Lecture on Dada by Stefan Wolpe', *The Musical Quarterly*, 72/2 (1986), pp. 209-11; Thomas Phelps, 'Von Dada, Anna & Anderen', *NZfM* 155/3 (1994), pp. 22-6, on Golyshev, Schulhoff, Wolpe and Dada.

¹⁰⁰ See Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: A Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York & London: Garland, 1989), pp. 89-90.

¹⁰¹ Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music*, pp. 3-12.

¹⁰² Kurth, *Die Grundlagen; Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners "Tristan"* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1920). See also David Neumeier, *The Music of Paul Hindemith* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 13-14.

and egotism of an earlier '*Ich-Musik*', epitomised by the work of Wagner.¹⁰³ Later, in 1922, Weissmann argued for musical 'purification' through employment of linear counterpoint, praising Hindemith and identifying other schools by way of example (with Jarnach foremost, because of his Parisian training).¹⁰⁴

The term *Neue Sachlichkeit* came into common usage with an exhibition of that name planned by Mannheim gallery director Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub for May 1923 (though it was postponed until June 1925). Painters featured, including Dix, Grosz, Max Beckmann and others, all focused upon objective depiction rather than expressionist introspection.¹⁰⁵ Its musical advocates adapted this into a break with the individualism of German Romanticism and aspired to a new rapprochement with mass culture and wider audiences.¹⁰⁶

No-one exemplified this new aesthetic more obviously than Hindemith, whose estrangement from romantic Germanic traditions dated back to the war.¹⁰⁷ From his *Kammermusik* op. 24, no. 1 (1922) for small orchestra (Ex. 1.2) and *Suite '1922'* for piano onwards, he adopted a transitional post-Stravinskian idiom. It was rhythmically incisive and metrically pointed (with frequent use of ostinatos), stressing bright and clear sonorities (avoiding richer string sounds) and clarity of line. Replete with dissonant, pan-diatonic and polytonal harmonies, it also frequently alluded to jazz and other popular genres. During the same period, he developed an interest in early music, and alluded to eighteenth-century polyphony in his contrapuntal Rilke setting, *Das Marienleben* (1922-23) (Ex. 1.3),¹⁰⁸ which avoids connotative instrumental writing, employs fluid and extravagant linear polyphony avoiding a clear bass line, and uses rhythms and forms from eighteenth-century models.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Eduard Erdmann, 'Beethoven und wir Jungen', *Vossische Zeitung* (16 December 1920), pp. 2-3, cited in Alexander Rehding, 'Magic Boxes and *Volksempfänger*: Music on the Radio in Weimar Germany', in Nikolaus Bacht (ed.), *Music, Theatre and Politics in Germany: 1848 to the Third Reich* (Aldershot & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 262.

¹⁰⁴ Adolf Weissmann, *The Problem of Modern Music*, translated M.M. Bozman (London: Dent, 1925), pp. 208-9, 213-7.

¹⁰⁵ Steve Plumb, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1918-33: Unity and Diversity of an Art Movement* (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2006), pp. 11-12; 48-9; Nils Grosch, 'Neue Sachlichkeit', at *Grove Online*. Grosh and Plumb, like many others, identify Hartlaub's use of the term as the first, though Kaes et al, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, pp. 475-6 point out its architectural use at the turn of the century.

¹⁰⁶ Nils Grosch, 'Neue Sachlichkeit, Mass Media and Matters of Musical Style in the 1920s', in Ralf Grüttemeier, Klaus Beekman and Bene Rebel (eds.) *Neue Sachlichkeit and Avant-Garde* (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013), pp. 185-201.

¹⁰⁷ Hindemith to Fried and Emma Lübbecke, 5 November 1918, in *Selected Letters*, p. 23

¹⁰⁸ Skelton, *Hindemith*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁹ See Kemp, *Hindemith*, pp. 13-14 for more on this.

6

Xylophon

Ex. 1.2. Paul Hindemith, *Kammermusik Nr. 1*, op. 24, no. 1 (1922-23). Published by Schott Music.

gen ge = sell = = te und un = auf = fäl = lig, licht zu licht, sich stell = te,
 da brachaus ih = rem Sein — ein Hin = = = ter = halt von sol = = dem Glanz, —

Ex. 1.3. Paul Hindemith, from Variation IV of ‘Vom Tode Mariä II. Thema mit Variationen’, from *Das Marienleben* (1922-23). Published by Schott Music.

Other composers who became associated with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* include Krenek, Weill (especially with the *Mahagonny Songspiel* (1927)) and to some extent Eisler. Strobel was the first to use the term *Neue Sachlichkeit* in a musical context, in a 1926 article. He saw alternatives to German romanticism and expressionism in the work of Debussy, in the folk-inspired music of Stravinsky, Bartók and Janáček, and in the objectivity of Hindemith and Casella, not least through employment of the rhythmic energy of jazz.¹¹⁰ Others, including Krenek, Weill, Stuckenschmidt and Butting, laid out a range of polemical arguments about the distance between composers and audiences in Germany, and the need for a wider musical dialogue with the external world.¹¹¹ Eisler, who had broken with his teacher Schoenberg and joined the KPD in

¹¹⁰ Heinrich Strobel, ‘“Neue Sachlichkeit” in der Musik’, *MdA* 8/6 (June-July 1926), pp. 254-6. Many of Strobel’s views were echoed in Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, ‘Neue Sachlichkeit in der Musik’ (1927), in Stuckenschmidt, *Die Musik eines halben Jahrhunderts 1925-1975. Essay und Kritik* (Munich: Piper, 1976), pp. 36-41.

¹¹¹ Ernst Krenek, ‘Music of Today’ (1925), in Cook, *Opera for a New Republic*, pp. 193-203; and , ‘“Neue Sachlichkeit” in der Musik’, *i 10* (Amsterdam) No. 6 (1927), pp. 216-18; available online at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/int001inte01_01/int001inte01_01_0056.php (accessed 16 January 2018); Kurt Weill, ‘Fort vom Durchschnitt! Zur Krise der musikalischen Interpretation’ (1925), in Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater: Gesammelte Schriften*, edited Stephen Hinton and Jürgen Schebera (Mainz: Schott, 2000), pp. 35-9; and ‘Shifts in Musical Composition’ (1927), translated in Kim

1926, urged composers to listen to the sounds of the street and engage with the audience, but saw in the Neue Sachlichkeit only the ‘individualisation of the economy’.¹¹² Later criticisms came from Ernst Bloch and Theodor Adorno, who each linked the movement to corporate capitalism and beyond to fascism.¹¹³

The post-Dawes economic recovery plan from 1924, following the hyperinflation of 1922-23, consolidated a positive view of America and American culture symbolised by the term *Amerikanismus*.¹¹⁴ This was reflected in the subject matter of the new *Zeitoper*n, operas with a contemporary setting, and sometimes featuring iconic aspects of modern life, from the automobile and telephone to marital disharmony and consumer society, such as Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* (1925), Erwin Dressel’s *Armer Columbus* (1927), Max Brand’s *Maschinist Hopkins* (1928), Hindemith’s *Neues vom Tage* (1929) and Schoenberg’s *Von heute auf morgen* (1930).¹¹⁵ A number of composers (not least Hindemith and Weill – see Ex. 1.4) employed constructions of African-American music (labelled as ‘jazz’) derived from ragtime, cakewalks, foxtrots etc.,¹¹⁶ or scores of American popular music such as those brought back from tours by Artur Schnabel.¹¹⁷ As J. Bradford Robinson has pointed out, before the late 1920s few in Germany would have had much chance to

Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1979), pp. 478-81; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, ‘Die Deutsche im Konzertsaal’, *Die Weltbühne* 23 (1927), pp. 631-3; Max Butting, ‘Die Musik und die Menschen’, *Melos* 6/2 (February 1927), pp. 58-63.

¹¹² Hanns Eisler, ‘On the Situation in Modern Music’ (1928), in Eisler, *A Rebel in Music: Selected Writings*, edited Manfred Grabs (Berlin: Seven Seas Publisher, 1978), pp. 30-31; ‘Zeitungskritik’ (1929), in *Musik und Politik: Schriften 1924-48*, edited Günter Mayer (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973), pp. 95-6.

¹¹³ Ernst Bloch, ‘Übergang: Berlin, Funktionen im Hohlraum’, ‘Zur Dreigroschenoper’, ‘Zeitecho Stravinskij’ and ‘Der Expressionismus, jetzt erblickt’ (1937), in *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985), pp. 212-27, 230-39, 255-63; Theodor Adorno, ‘On the Social Situation in Music’ (1932), translated by Wes Blomster, in Richard Leppert (ed.), *Adorno: Essays on Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 391-436.

¹¹⁴ A 1925 essay called this ‘the new European catchword’, incorporating ‘trusts, highrises, traffic officers, film, technical wonders, jazz bands, boxing, magazines, and management’. See Rudolf Kayser, ‘Amerikanismus’, *Vossische Zeitung*, No. 458 (27 September 1925), translated in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, pp. 395-7.

¹¹⁵ On the constructions of ‘America’ in these works, see Peter Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2013), pp. 34-9; and Arne Langer, ‘Das Amerika-Bild in der Oper der Weimarer Republik’, in Rathert and Schubert, *Musikkultur in der Weimarer Republik*, pp. 166-79.

¹¹⁶ Frank Tirro, ‘Jazz Leaves Home’, in Michael J. Budds (ed.), *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the Influence of “Hot” American Idioms on 20th-Century German Music* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), pp. 69-76, gives a good overall picture, though some outdated and inaccurate research in this essay is demonstrated in Elmar Juchem, review of *Jazz and the Germans*, *Notes* 59/4 (June 2003), pp. 888-90. See also Cook, *Opera for a New Republic*, pp. 77-81, 120-21, 138-41, 148-9.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 77-81.

hear recordings of New Orleans jazz,¹¹⁸ though some jazz bands began appearing from the middle of the decade.¹¹⁹

- - - **Moderato assai**
Der Verliebte von morgen

p
 De - ja - ni - ra, Ja - ni - ra - de, Ra - je -

Der Geliebte von gestern

Fi - scher.
 - - - **Moderato assai**

p grazioso

rit. tempo

42 *mf*
 di - na, Ni - ra - ja - de, - De - ja - ni - ra,

mf
 De - ja - ni - ra,

Der Ehemann *mf*

De - ja - ni - ra,

rit. tempo

42 *p* *legg.*

Ex. 1.4. Kurt Weill, from *Royal Palace* (1925-6). Published by Universal Edition.

¹¹⁸ J. Bradford Robinson, 'Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure', in Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, pp. 107-34.

¹¹⁹ Cook, *Opera for a New Republic*, pp. 92-3.

Neue Sachlichkeit composers were also drawn to mechanical instruments, ranging from the pianola to the Trautonium, and also to the new technology of the radio.¹²⁰ Stuckenschmidt was the most fervent advocate of mechanisation, inspired by the work of his friend George Antheil,¹²¹ and composed music using gramophone records (like Wolpe before him) to accompany Kurt Schmidt's *Mechanisches Ballett* at the Bauhaus, invited by photographer László Moholy-Nagy.¹²² He published a series of polemics from January 1925 onwards, proposing the demise of the human performer, whose imperfections would be superseded by mechanical devices.¹²³ Whole issues of both the Prague-based journal *Auftakt* and *Musikblätter der Anbruch* were then devoted to the issue of 'Musik und Maschine', with Stuckenschmidt dominating proceedings.¹²⁴ Even Schoenberg contributed, quite optimistic about new mechanical instruments in view of the limitations of performers' abilities to play the most demanding contemporary music.¹²⁵ The festivals at Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden championed mechanical composition in 1926-27, at the behest of Hindemith.¹²⁶ Works for mechanical organ and player piano by Hindemith, Ernst Toch and Gerhard Münch were programmed.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology has Changed Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2010), p. 121.

¹²¹ Whitesitt, *Antheil*, pp. 9-12; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren: Ein Leben mit der Musik unserer Zeit* (Munich, Kassel, Basel & London: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag/Bärenreiter, 1982), p. 54.

¹²² Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, pp. 58-60; *Musik im Bauhaus* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1979), pp. 4-7; Stuckenschmidt to Kliemann, 21 February 1968, in Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, p. 76.

¹²³ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, 'Die Mechanisierung der Musik', *Pult und Takstock* 2/1 (January 1925), pp. 1-8, reprinted in Stuckenschmidt, *Die Musik eines halben Jahrhunderts*, pp. 9-15; and for a fervent response opposing Stuckenschmidt, Erwin Stein, 'Realisierung der Musik', *Pult und Takstock* 2/3 (February-March 1925), pp. 28-32. Other sceptical replies from Walter Braunfels, Krenek and others are in 'Rundfrage', *ibid.* pp. 35-8. Ernst Toch would take a similarly de-individualising view to that of Stuckenschmidt, albeit with some nuances, in 'Musik für mechanische Instrumente', *MdA*, 8/8-9 (August-September 1926), pp. 346-9.

¹²⁴ *Der Auftakt* 6/8 (1926); *Sonderheft Musik und Maschine*; *MdA* 8/8-9 (October-November 1926), *Musik und Maschine*.

¹²⁵ Arnold Schönberg, 'Mechanische Musikinstrumente', *Pult und Takstock* 3/3-4 (March-April 1926), pp. 71-5; translated and reproduced in *Style and Idea*, pp. 326-30.

¹²⁶ In Hindemith's introductory essay, 'Zu unserem Programm' (1926), in Hindemith, *Aufsätze. Vorträge. Reden*, edited Giselher Schubert (Zürich and Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1994), pp. 16-8, he wrote with enthusiasm about the new mechanical pieces and instruments.

¹²⁷ Eberhard Preussner, 'Das sechste Donaueschinger Kammermusikfest', *Die Musik* 18/12 (September 1926), pp. 900-1; Erich Doflein, 'Die Neue Musik des Jahres', Part 2, *Melos* 5/11-12 (December 1926), pp. 371-2; Hans Heinsheimer, 'Kontra und Pro', *MdA* 8/8-9 (October-November 1926), pp. 353-6. Preussner compared works written directly for player piano unfavourably with recordings of similar pieces by Walter Gieseking. Heinsheimer arrived at similar conclusions, though Doflein was more positive about the results.

Radio broadcasting had begun in Germany in October 1923, with nine different districts (in Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich, Leipzig, Breslau and Königsberg) in operation by a year later. These ventures were privately owned, but the *Reichspostministerium* owned all the equipment and 51% of the voting capital in each station. The stations collected licence fees from listeners, to add to initial capital from private sponsors and some income from advertising.¹²⁸ A long-wave station, the *Deutschlandsender*, was also set up to broadcast to all of Germany,¹²⁹ and an umbrella organisation, the *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft* (RRG), was formed in May 1925.¹³⁰

Through the 1920s, around half the total output of most German stations was music, mostly *Schlager* music and singers. However, also a sizeable amount of art music was programmed,¹³¹ and some stations, especially those in Frankfurt, Berlin and Königsberg, used the medium to promote new music.¹³² Some stations commissioned new works, the first being Schreker's *Kleine Suite für Kammerorchester* (1928), then works of Hauer, Paul Graener, Hindemith, Toch and Weill's *Berliner Requiem*, and Butting.¹³³ Hindemith, whose *Anekdoten für Radio* (1925) was one of the first works written specifically for the medium,¹³⁴ composed a *Morität für das Radio 'Sabinchen'* for the Berlin festival in 1930,¹³⁵ and an early musical *Hörspiel*. Also important in this tradition is Toch's *Gesprochene Musik*

¹²⁸ Wilhelm Treue (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Rundfunks und Fernsehens* (Göttingen, Berlin & Frankfurt: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1957), pp. 14-16, 72-3; Hans Brack, *German Radio and Television: Organization and Economic Basis* (Geneva: European Broadcasting Union, 1968), p. 9.

¹²⁹ Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 12-13.

¹³⁰ Treue, *Dokumente*, p. 17.

¹³¹ Brian Currio, *A National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p. 20; for more detailed figures comparing the stations in Munich, Berlin, Königsberg and Breslau in 1927, 1929 and 1931, see Renate Schumacher, 'Programmstruktur und Tagesablauf der Hörer', in Joachim-Felix Leonhard (ed.), *Programmgeschichte des Hörfunks in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), Band I, pp. 382-3, 416.

¹³² Skelton, *Hindemith*, p. 78; Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*, pp. 42-4; Christopher Hailey, 'Rethinking Sound: Music and Radio in Weimar Germany', in Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, pp. 25-6.

¹³³ Hailey, 'Rethinking Sound', p. 26.

¹³⁴ Peter Andraschke, 'Paul Hindemith und der Beginn der Musik im deutschen Rundfunk', in Norbert Bolin (ed.), *Paul Hindemith – Komponist zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde* (Mainz: Schott, 1999), pp. 115-6.

¹³⁵ 'Paul Hindemiths "Morität für das Radio "Sabinchen"', at <http://www.rundfunkschaetze.de/en/fruheste-sendemitschnitte/hindemith-radiomoritat-sabinchen-1930/> (accessed 15 January 2018). The work was not however broadcast until later because of technical problems.

(1930) for radio, which includes the famed ‘Fuge der Geographie’ for spoken voices, and anticipates later works of Orff, Blacher and Egk.¹³⁶

Early radio could convey the spiky and clearly-delineated sonorities of the Neue Sachlichkeit better than it could the dense textures of much earlier symphonic work, which may have influenced composers’ use of instruments (as advocated by Max Butting).¹³⁷ Wider interest in the medium led the Berlin Musikhochschule and electronics firm Siemens & Halske to create a *Rundfunkversuchsstelle* in 1928, the first electronic music research studio in Germany.¹³⁸ Hindemith took a keen interest, and worked there with the engineer Friedrich Trautwein, writing several works for his new instrument, the Trautonium.¹³⁹ He also created his *Grammophonplatten-eigene Stücke* (1930) at the studio, juxtaposing and shifting the pitch of recordings of his speech or of the viola.¹⁴⁰

The later 1920s: *Gebrauchsmusik* and other developments

In the second half of the 1920s, composers including Hindemith and to some extent Weill embraced the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik*, which had been employed earlier in the decade by musicologists Paul Nettl, and then Heinrich Bessler, to distinguish historical self-standing and functional musics, a divide which Bessler claimed increased from the late nineteenth century, through a changing relationship between work and leisure.¹⁴¹ This gave a more secure foundation for those Sachlichkeiter

¹³⁶ The ‘Fuge der Geographie’, and more recently other sections from Toch’s work, have in the interim period received almost exclusively acoustic performances generally of a humorous nature, in ways which Carmel Raz has argued are at cross-purposes with the original intention. See Raz, ‘From Trinidad to Cyberspace: Reconsidering Ernst Toch’s “Geographical Fugue”’, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie* 9/2 (2012), pp. 227-43, also online at <http://www.gmth.de/zeitschrift/artikel/698.aspx> (accessed 15 January 2018).

¹³⁷ Hailey, ‘Rethinking Sound’, pp. 24-7. Schoenberg wrote on how he felt modern music was more well-suited for broadcast, in ‘Modern Music on the Radio’ (1933), in *Style and Idea*, pp. 151-2.

¹³⁸ Hailey, ‘Rethinking Sound’, p. 26.

¹³⁹ Thomas B. Holmes, *Electronic and Experimental Music: Pioneers in Technology and Composition* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 65-6.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Elste, ‘Hindemiths Versuche ‘Grammophonplatten-eigene Stücke’ im Kontext einer Ideengeschichte der Mechanische Musik im 20. Jahrhundert’, *Hindemith Jahrbuch* 25 (1996), pp. 195-221.

¹⁴¹ Paul Nettl, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tanzmusik im 17. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1921-22), pp. 257-65, cited in Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik. A Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933), with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), pp. 3-5; Heinrich Bessler, ‘Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens’, *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 1925, pp. 35-52, translated by Matthew Pritchard and Irene Auerbach as ‘Fundamental Issues of Musical Listening’, *twentieth-century music*, 8/1 (2012), pp. 49-70; Bessler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der*

distrustful of elite or esoteric music cut off from a wider public (as represented by Schoenberg's Verein, cited by Bessler).

Hindemith told his publisher Willy Strecker that he wished to move from 'music for music festivals' towards work with the *Jugendmusikbewegung*.¹⁴² He co-edited a series of publications of 'communal music for youth and for the house',¹⁴³ wrote various other pieces for youth groups such as *Sing- und Spielmusik für Liebhaber und Musikfreunde* (1928-29) and *Wir bauen eine Stadt* (1930), and by 1930 wrote that he had 'turned my back almost completely on concert music'.¹⁴⁴ Consistent with this position, his works such as the *Konzertmusik* pieces from 1930 onwards demonstrate greater tonal bias, phrases made up of easily apperceptible components, and a more conventional hierarchy between melody and harmony, though the upright rhythms, avoidance of romantic 'expression' and presence of non-functional chromatic pitches demonstrate that the music is of its time.¹⁴⁵ Adorno was implacably hostile to the appeals to artificial communality of *Gebrauchsmusik*, and Schoenberg was also unsympathetic, though Bekker came to be a late convert.¹⁴⁶

With the renunciation of romanticism and the publication of Kurth's contrapuntal treatise, it was also natural for Germans to look above all to the model of Bach. 'Back to Bach', a phrase used by Stravinsky in 1925,¹⁴⁷ became something of a slogan for composers with a more respectful attitude towards Bach and other baroque and pre-baroque music than Busoni, Schoenberg and others. This group included Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987), Ernst Pepping (1901-1981), Heinrich Spitta (1902-1972), and Hugo Distler (1908-1942), some of who will be discussed below. The movement can also be linked to the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, especially under the

Renaissance (Potsdam: Akademischer Verlagsgesellschaft, 1931). See also Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, pp. 5-17, for a detailed examination of Bessler's ideas.

¹⁴² Hindemith to Willy Strecker, 12 February 1927, cited in Skelton, *Hindemith*, pp. 85-6.

¹⁴³ Paul Hindemith, Fritz Jöde and Hans Mersmann (eds.), *Das neue Werk. Gemeinschaftsmusik für Jugend und Haus* (Mainz: Schott, 1927).

¹⁴⁴ Hindemith to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 8 May 1930, in *Selected Letters*, p. 59

¹⁴⁵ See Kemp, *Hindemith*, pp. 25-6 for more detail on these works.

¹⁴⁶ Theodor Adorno, 'Bewußtsein des Konzerthörers' (1930), in *Gesammelte Schriften 18* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2003), pp. 815-8; 'Kritik des Musikanten' (1932), included in 'Ad vocem Hindemith', *Gesammelte Schriften 17* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2003), pp. 222-9; Arnold Schönberg, 'Neue und veraltete Musik, oder Stil und Gedanke', in *Stil und Gedanke: Gesammelte Schriften, Band 1*, edited Ivan Vojtech (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1976), p. 471; Pritchard, 'Who Killed the Concert?', pp. 43-5.

¹⁴⁷ Henrietta Malkiel, 'Modernists Have Ruined Modern Music, Stravinsky Says', *Musical America*, January 10, 1925, p. 9, cited in Messing, *Neoclassicism*, p. 142; a longer citation is in 'Sharps and Flats', *The Musical Times*, 66/984 (February 1, 1925), p. 159. The term also seems to have grown in prominence in France with the publication of Charles Koechlin's article 'Le 'Retour à Bach'', *Revue musicale*, No. 8 (1926), pp. 1-12.

leadership of Fritz Jöde (1887-1970) in 1918, pursuing the rediscovery of instruments like the lute and gamba, and seeking for a return to a more organic and communitarian approach rooted in older practices.¹⁴⁸

Dodecaphony in Germany

Schoenberg's development of twelve-tone music in the early 1920s, with some roots in earlier work, has been investigated quite exhaustively, and so does not need repeating here.¹⁴⁹ However, for the purposes of this study, it is worth briefly summarising the work of Yefim Golyshev and Josef Matthias Hauer, which proceeded in parallel with Schoenberg's.

Golyshev's family had moved to Berlin in 1909, where he remained until 1933. Golyshev came to know Busoni, but there is no evidence of any contact with Schoenberg, though he may have heard some of his music, including *Pierrot lunaire*.¹⁵⁰ In 1914 Golyshev composed a five-movement dodecaphonic string trio, published in 1925 by Robert Lienau-Verlag as *Zwölftondauer-Musik*.¹⁵¹ The work has a type of arch form, which is provided by symmetrical distribution of rhythmic cells, and uses twelve-note sets, clearly numbered in the score. In each section, all twelve notes are used, but the order is quite free¹⁵² (see Ex. 1.5 for the opening). Golyshev

¹⁴⁸ See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 146-7, and Dorothea Kolland, *Die Jugendmusikbewegung: 'Gemeinschaftsmusik' – Theorie und Praxis* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), pp. 38, 42-3.

¹⁴⁹ The most important texts are Fusako Hamao, 'The Origin and Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method' (PhD thesis: Yale University, 1988); Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914-1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Martina Sichardt, *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (Mainz: Schott, 1990); Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908-1923* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Deborah H. How, 'Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25: From Composition with Twelve Tones to the Twelve-Tone Method' (PhD thesis: University of Southern California, 2009).

¹⁵⁰ For more detail and sources, see my 'Yefim Golyshev, Arnold Schoenberg, and the Origins of Twelve-Tone Music' (2014), at <https://ianpace.wordpress.com/2014/09/02/yefim-golyshev-arnold-schoenberg-and-the-origins-of-twelve-tone-music/> (accessed 15 January 2018).

¹⁵¹ This was detailed at Robert Lienau Musikverlage Magazin Archiv, Ausgabe Nr. 4 (2002), at <http://archive.is/1L7d> (accessed 16 January 2018). The only source for the original date is from Golyshev's widow (Gojowy, *Neue sowjetische Musik*, p. 103 n. 362a), so it may possibly have been written later.

¹⁵² Peter Deane Roberts, 'Efim Golyshev (1897-1970)', in Larry Sitsky (ed.), *Music of the Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde: A Biocritical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), pp. 174-5. Roberts also notes that Golyshev allows static repetition of a note, passing a note from one instrument to another, and doubling at the octave or unison.

uses a notation system similar to that developed in 1909 by Busoni,¹⁵³ by which a note with a cross inside the notehead indicates a sharp, while others are natural.¹⁵⁴

I
Mezzo-Forte

Jef Golyscheff

Largo

Violino

Viola

Violoncello

pizz.

arco

Ex. 1.5. Yefim Golyshev, opening of String Trio (1914). Published by Robert-Lienau Verlag.

¹⁵³ Ferruccio Busoni, *Versuch einer organischen Klavier-Noten-Schrift* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, c.1909).

¹⁵⁴ This technique was also used by Nicolas Obouhow soon afterwards, though it is not clear whether either composer was aware of the other's activities (see Larry Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 254-5).

Golyshev appears to have written a few other dodecaphonic works, which are lost, before becoming involved with Dadaists, and working in the visual arts.

Hauer discovered his own ‘twelve-tone law’ in the summer of 1919,¹⁵⁵ and employed it in his piano piece *Nomos*, op. 19 (1919)¹⁵⁶ (Ex. 1.6), using a looping technique and derivation of left-hand chords from pitches in the right-hand melody. He played the work at a concert of Schoenberg’s Verein on 28 May 1920,¹⁵⁷ and that year also published *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*,¹⁵⁸ the first theorisation of the method. Here he argues for equal temperament, non-repetition or omission of a note within a given series, and distinguishes between ‘melody’, something spiritually present in a musical person but which may originate either intuitively or ‘post-creatively’ following a sonic experience, and physical ‘tone’.¹⁵⁹ This certainty led him to an austere view of musical timbre, and rejection of many nineteenth-century orchestral developments (preferring discretely-tuned instruments such as the piano, harmonium and organ, which allowed the avoidance of any deviations from equal temperament).¹⁶⁰ This was a form of objectivism which preceded that of Stuckenschmidt and Toch.

¹⁵⁵ Hauer claimed that he had discovered this as a workable principle after a process of examination of his own earlier works. See Hauer, ‘Die Tropen’, *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6/1 (January 1924), pp. 18-21; reproduced in Josef Matthias Hauer, *schriften-manifeste-dokumente* (hereafter simply *schriften*), edited Joachim Diederichs, Nikolaus Fheodoroff and Johannes Schweiger, DVD ROM (Vienna: Verlag Lafite, 2011), pp. 272-4. All page numbers to Hauer articles refer to the version in *schriften*, except for *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*.

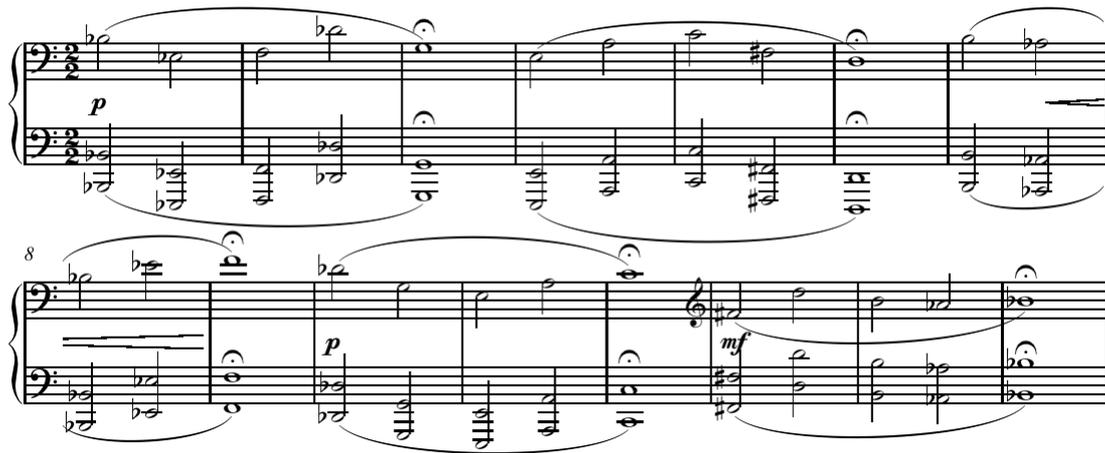
¹⁵⁶ This work is dated 25-29 August 1919. See John Covach, ‘The Music and Theories of Josef Matthias Hauer’, (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1990), p. 116. Hauer’s previous work, *Prometheus Bound*, op. 18, dating from just two weeks prior to *Nomos*, also uses some twelve-tone units, though less consistently (ibid. pp. 135-7).

¹⁵⁷ Szmolyan, ‘Die Konzerte des Wiener Schönberg-Vereins’, p. 105. The date is given by Szmolyan as 14 May, but corrected to 28 May in Bryan Simms, ‘Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?’, *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10/2 (November 1987), pp. 118-20.

¹⁵⁸ Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (Leipzig and Vienna: Verlag Waldheim-Eberle, 1920). This was an expanded revision of his earlier 1918 book *Über die Klangfarbe*, op. 13.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. pp. 5, 9; see also Covach, ‘The Music and Theories of Hauer’, pp. 26-7.

¹⁶⁰ Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, pp. 17, 32-6, 62; see also John Covach, ‘Twelve-tone theory’, in Thomas Christensen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 604-5. Hauer would argue that ‘Everything purely musical is contained within the interval – everything’ (Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, p. 17).



Ex. 1.6. Josef Matthias Hauer, opening of *Nomos* for piano, op. 19 (1919).
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 Vienna (01 601).

Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* (Ex. 1.7), published in the November 1921 issue of *Melos*, is made up of two- or three-bar 'building blocks' (Hauer's term was *Bausteine*) in three parts.¹⁶¹ This piece was the source of various tension between Hauer and Schoenberg, who saw the piece while working on the Prelude from the Suite op. 25,¹⁶² leading to some heated correspondence and writings in 1922-3.¹⁶³ The approach of the two composers was clearly different: Hauer grouped a row into two hexachords, by which any series containing the same group of pitches in each hexachord would be known as a trope (a term he first used in 'Sphärenmusik'),¹⁶⁴ whilst Schoenberg was concerned that the row should remain recognisable in all of its

¹⁶¹ See Hauer's view of Bausteine in 'Die Tropen', pp. 272-4, and How, 'Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude', pp. 137-9.

¹⁶² How, 'Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude', pp. 137-9. How points out Hauer uses nothing like mirror transformations, tritone transpositions, 'tonic' and 'dominant' polarities, reordering of pitches, multi-layer row complexes, and the like.

¹⁶³ This also followed Schoenberg's reading of Hauer's article 'Sphärenmusik', in *Melos* 3/3 (June 1922), pp. 132-133; reprinted in Hauer, *schriften*, pp. 262-3. See Schoenberg to Hauer, 25 July 1923 (unsent), reproduced in Simms, 'Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music', pp. 122-3. See also Arnold Schoenberg, 'Hauer's Theories' (1923), in *Style and Idea*, pp. 209-13; Josef Matthias Hauer, 'Atonale Musik', in *Die Musik* 16/2 (November 1923), pp. 103-6; reprinted in Hauer, *schriften*, pp. 254-5; Helmut Kirchmeyer, 'Schönberg und Hauer: Eine Studie über den sogenannten Wiener Prioritätsstreit', *NZfM* 127/6 (June 1966), pp. 258-63.

¹⁶⁴ Hauer's employment of the term is a little confusing, as in 'Sphärenmusik' he refers to individual hexachords as tropes, later changing the term to refer to complimentary pairs. This explains why he identifies 80 tropes in 'Sphärenmusik' in 1922 (p. 263), then 44 in 'Die Tropen' in 1924 (pp. 273-4). See Covach, 'The Music and Theories of Hauer', pp. 155-9.

transformations.¹⁶⁵ However, Schoenberg's adoption of hexachordal mirror constructions in his American period clearly drew upon Hauerian tropes. Hauer was freer with pitch re-organisation, allowing major or minor sevenths, and chromatic half-steps with momentary tonal implications, though he rarely used inversion techniques. Furthermore, Hauer was less attached to traditional forms, and in this respect anticipates the post-1945 avant-garde.¹⁶⁶ Rather, he presented outré theories tracing his work back to Mesopotamian and Egyptian culture, contrasting Greek theatre unfavourably with the culture of the 'Orient' and evoking the Tao.¹⁶⁷ He was fixated on a mystical use of the term *Melos*, as 'a wholly spiritual process in musical people' derived only from pitch.¹⁶⁸ Hauer contrasted 'Melos' with 'Rhythmus', associating the former with atonal music (saying that "'a"-tonal music is also "'a"-rhythmic') and the spiritual, the latter with tonal music and the material.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ As Deborah How points out ('Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude', pp. 73-74), in Schoenberg's later 'Composition with Twelve Tones (1)' (1941) (in *Style and Idea*, p. 241), he mentioned his initial worry that the use of a single row would lead to monotony, and for this reason employed complicated devices.

¹⁶⁶ See Dixie Lynn Harvey, 'The Theoretical Treatises of Josef Matthias Hauer' (PhD thesis: North Texas State University, 1980), pp. 29-32 for more comparative evaluation of the two composer's techniques.

¹⁶⁷ Josef Matthias Hauer, *Deutung des Melos: Eine Frage an die Künstler und Denker unserer Zeit* (Leipzig, Vienna and Zurich: E.P. Tal, 1923), in *schriften*, p. 138, 154-5; Covach, 'The Music and Theories of Hauer', pp. 46-50.

¹⁶⁸ Hauer, *Vom Melos zur Pauke* (1925), in *schriften*, p. 205. See also Monika Lichtenfeld, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie der Zwölftontechnik bei Josef Matthias Hauer* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1964), pp. 49-52. The term can be found as early as Hauer's first article entitled 'Atonale Musik', from 1919 (see *schriften*, pp. 254-5).

¹⁶⁹ Hauer, *Vom Melos zur Pauke*, pp. 205-6; and 'Atonale Musik (b)' (1923), *ibid.* pp. 268-70; Monika Lichtenfeld, 'Hauer, Josef Matthias', at *Grove Online*; Covach, 'The Music and Theories of Hauer', pp. 50-51.

Präludium für Celesta

Die Hauptgesänge zeigen gelben Platz, mir für die Noten, sind dann für diesen

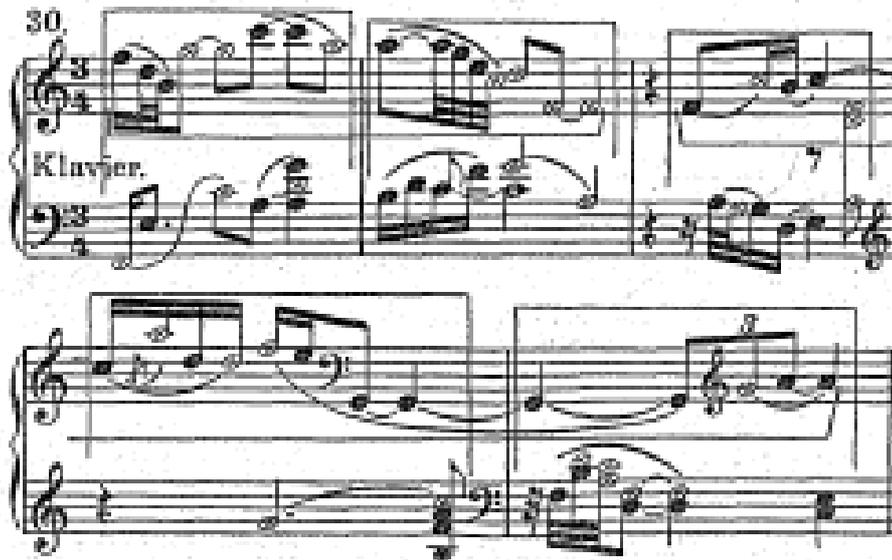
Hauptgesang ja, auf dem Malob

Ex. 1.7. Josef Matthias Hauer, opening of *Präludium für Celesta* (1921).¹⁷⁰

After Hauer's 'Atonale Musik', the next twelve-tone treatise was Eimert's *Atonale Musiklehre* (1924). Eimert was close to Golyshev, adopted Golyshev's notation

¹⁷⁰ Published in *Melos* 3/1 (November 1921), Notenbeilage.

device, and credited him with having written the first twelve-tone work.¹⁷¹ He also alluded to Kurth's *Grundlagen* on the difference between classical-era melody and the melodic requirements of linear polyphony, in particular the avoidance of periodic divisions as would generate a sense of vertical tonality.¹⁷² For counterpoint, he also stressed avoidance of octaves and unisons, and calculated how many harmonies could be produced with various numbers of voices, as would Erwin Stein, Hauer, Klein and Bruno Weigl the following year.¹⁷³ To combine melody and harmony, Eimert included some very basic examples of complementarity (though this term is not used) (see Ex. 1.8), but there is no mention of inversion and retrograde, and only one mention of Schoenberg.¹⁷⁴



Ex. 1.8. Herbert Eimert, *Atonale Musiklehre* (1924), p. 17. Published by Breitkopf & Härtel.

If Golyshev found an advocate in Eimert, then Hauer found one in the composer Hermann Hei (1897-1966). Born in Darmstadt, Hei was involved with the Freie

¹⁷¹ Herbert Eimert, *Atonale Musiklehre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hrtel, 1924), p. 31.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 6; Kurth, *Grundlagen*, pp. 147-65.

¹⁷³ See Michiel Schuijjer, *Analyzing Atonal Music: Pitch-class Set Theory and Its Contexts* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp. 115-23 for a comparative survey of different chord-counting methods around this time and both earlier and later.

¹⁷⁴ As a composer who 'breaks with traditional harmonic teaching, but without getting beyond harmonious caprice' and as such is branded as 'the example of an impure atonality' (*Atonale Musiklehre*, p. 31).

Gesellschaft, for which pianist Ellie Bommersheim performed twelve-tone works of Hauer and Schoenberg.¹⁷⁵ Heiß first met Hauer in Donaueschingen in 1924,¹⁷⁶ and wrote his own twelve-tone *Vier Klavierstücke* that year, followed by a range of other works in this idiom. He worked with Hauer for three months in the autumn of 1925 in Vienna, and was influenced by Hauer's treatise *Vom Melos zur Pauke* (1925), considering the expandability of his basic ideas, and the importance of viewing the twelve tones of the row as a single unit.¹⁷⁷ Heiß would later use his piano piece *Komposition E-Fis-D* (1925-26) as an example of his adoption, development and expansion of Hauer's principles. He employed a row first divided into two groups of six in the first movement, freely allowing tonal associations (see Ex. 1.9), then alternating groups of 1 and 11, 2 and 10, 3 and 9, etc., in the next, then using one group of six as a bass ostinato, and similar strategies elsewhere in the cycle.¹⁷⁸

Ex. 1.9. Hermann Heiß, opening of *Komposition E-Fis-D* (1925-26). Published by Verlag Hochstein, Heidelberg.

¹⁷⁵ Barbara Reichenbach, *Hermann Heiß: Eine Dokumentation* (Mainz: Schott, 1975), pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁶ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, p. 419.

¹⁷⁷ Heiß, manuscript 'Das Fremdwort Thema', cited in Reichenbach, *Heiß*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷⁸ See *ibid.* pp. 11-12 for details of how Heiß himself described the processes.

Many of the other strongly characterised movements of the work resemble the music of Hindemith and the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, which Heiß, like Eimert, managed to fuse with dodecaphony. It is likely that Heiß contributed the section on rhythmic principles and non-coincidence of polyphonic attacks, to Hauer's treatise *Die Zwölftontechnik*, of which he was the dedicatee.¹⁷⁹

Pedagogy and Journalism

Modernist figures took up important pedagogical positions, often thanks to the pianist and educator Leo Kestenberg (1882-1962), who became music advisor to the Prussian state government in December 1918. He appointed Schreker to run the Berlin Musikhochschule, and Scherchen, and later Schnabel, Hindemith and Tiessen, to teach modern music.¹⁸⁰ Alois Hába, Paul Höffer, Jascha Horenstein and Ernst Krenek all came to study at this dynamic institution.¹⁸¹ Kestenberg gave a professorship at the *Akademie der Künste* in 1920 to Busoni, whose students included Vogel and Weill,¹⁸² then after Busoni's death Schoenberg took up the position, starting in 1926, and choosing Josef Rufer as his assistant. The students at Schoenberg's lectures included Roberto Gerhard, Nikos Skalkottas, Walter Goehr, Winfried Zillig, Peter Schacht, and Norbert von Hannenheim, though Schoenberg usually avoided lecturing on twelve-tone composition.¹⁸³ Elsewhere, Kestenberg and Konrad Adenauer appointed Walter Braunfels as co-director of the new Cologne Musikhochschule, with Philip Jarnach as a professor (in which role he taught Günter Wand, Jürg Baur and Bernd Alois Zimmermann).¹⁸⁴ In Frankfurt, Bernhard Sekles directed the Hoch'sche Konservatorium from 1923, where he broadened the curriculum and introduced the

¹⁷⁹ Hauer, 'Zwölftontechnik' (1926), in *schriften*, pp. 225-32; Harvey, 'The Theoretical Treatises of Hauer', pp. 225-32.

¹⁸⁰ Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 117-21; Albrecht Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music? The Cases of Walter Braunfels, Heinz Tiessen, Eduard Erdmann and Philipp Jarnach', in Erik Levi (ed.), *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music* (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2014), p. 14.

¹⁸¹ Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 118-23.

¹⁸² The most comprehensive study of Busoni's teaching during this period is Tamara Levitz, 'Teaching New Classicality: Ferruccio Busoni's master class in composition, 1921-1924' (PhD thesis: University of Rochester, 1994).

¹⁸³ Gradenwitz, *Schoenberg und seine Meisterschüler*, pp. 28, 38-40; Ludwig Holtmeier, 'Vergessen, Verdrängen und die Nazimoderne. Arnold Schönbergs Berliner Schule', *Musik & Ästhetik* 5 (1998), p. 16; Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, pp. 224-5, pp. 227-32.

¹⁸⁴ Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music?', p. 13; Stefan Weiss, *Die Musik Philipps Jarnachs* (Cologne: Dohr, 1996), pp. 143, 172, 175, 286, 323-4. Weiss makes clear that Zimmermann was not officially a student of Jarnach, but often visited his composition classes.

first ever class in jazz, directed by Mátyás Seiber, to the horror of both Pfitzner and Schreker.¹⁸⁵

New music in Weimar Germany was supported by a range of journalists around the country, including established names such as Alfred Einstein, Weissmann, Hugo Leichtentritt, and Bekker, joined by younger figures including Karl Holl, Theodor Adorno, Strobel, Hans Mersmann (1891-1971), Stuckenschmidt and Eimert. The *Feuilleton* sections of newspapers allowed cultural critics to publish detached but vivid pictures of everyday life, an approach which also informed new music criticism, which appeared in those sections.¹⁸⁶

Three German-language journals provided arenas for discussion of new music. These were *Musikblätter der Anbruch*, launched by Universal Edition (UE) in Vienna in 1919, with the major editing done by Alfred Kalmus, succeeded by Paul Amadeus Pisk and Paul Stefan;¹⁸⁷ *Melos*, founded and edited first by Scherchen (then Mersmann and Strobel), and mostly self-published until taken over by Schott's in 1933;¹⁸⁸ and *Auftakt*, published by the Musikpädagogischer Verband in Prague from 1920 to 1938 and edited from 1921 by Erich Steinhard, one of the founders of the ISCM.¹⁸⁹ Each combined longer features on composers or theoretical and aesthetic areas with reviews of new works, performances and publications, sometimes devoting whole issues to single composers. Hindemith, Stravinsky, Weill and to a lesser extent Schoenberg all received generous coverage. Scherchen made *Melos* into the most cogent and polemical of the three, setting down in the first issue the need to address the break with tonality, the relationship between tone and word, interactions with other art forms and the sociological basis of music.¹⁹⁰ Many of the above critics wrote

¹⁸⁵ Susan C. Cook, 'Jazz as Deliverance: The Reception and Institution of American Jazz during the Weimar Republic', *American Music*, 7/1 (Spring 1989), p. 40; Jonathan Wipplinger, 'The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany' (PhD thesis: University of Michigan, 2006), pp. 255-303.

¹⁸⁶ There are numerous important studies of the *Feuilleton*, such as Gernot Steigert, *Feuilleton für alle: Strategien im Kulturjournalismus der Presse* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998) (especially pp. 75-110); Michael Beinert, *Die eingebildete Metropole. Berlin im Feuilleton der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992); and Almut Todorow, *Das Feuilleton der "Frankfurter Zeitung" in der Weimarer Republik. Zur Grundlegung einer rhetorischen Medienforschung* (Tübingen: Max Niemayer Verlag, 1996). See also Cherney, 'The Bekker-Pfitzner Controversy', pp. 34-8.

¹⁸⁷ Ole Hass, 'Musikblätter der Anbruch (1919-1937)' (2004), at <http://www.ripm.org/pdf/Introductions/ANBIntroEnglish.pdf> (accessed 28 July 2017).

¹⁸⁸ Ole Hass, 'Melos (Berlin 1920-1934)' (2005), available at http://www.ripm.org/journal_info.php5?ABB=MEL (accessed 28 July 2017).

¹⁸⁹ Marc-André Roberge, 'Focusing Attention: Special Issues in German-Language Music Periodicals of the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 27/1 (1994), p. 76. A full list of all issue titles can be found *ibid.* pp. 97-8.

¹⁹⁰ Hermann Scherchen, 'Melos', *Melos* 1/1 (February 1920), p. 2.

for these journals, while Weissmann, Adorno and Bekker were also employed by *Die Musik*, which maintained a balanced position.¹⁹¹

On the other hand, the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, edited by Alfred Heuss from 1920, associated new music with a Jewish/Bolshevik conspiracy,¹⁹² whilst also attacking foreign (especially French) composers and disdaining ‘internationalism’. The journal would later become affiliated to Alfred Rosenberg’s *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (KfdK), which it endorsed in 1929.¹⁹³ Elsewhere, the term *Musikbolschewismus*, used in February 1919 by Bruno Schrader of Schoenberg’s *Verklärte Nacht*, and Max Chop of Golyshev’s *Symphonie aggregate*,¹⁹⁴ spread quickly amongst conservative critics, who applied it to Berg, Tiessen, Busoni, Erdmann and others.¹⁹⁵ Those labelled as such did not need to be Russian, communist, Jewish or foreign, and could write tonal or atonal music (or jazz); what mattered was that their work was seen to threaten established German traditions.¹⁹⁶

Conservatism from 1929

The period of economic slump and political instability following the Wall Street Crash of October 1929 saw an increased conservative reaction against modernism, not least with the publication of Richard Eichenauer’s *Musik und Rasse* in 1932, which claimed that atonality, microtones and other modern tendencies were a result of Jews following a ‘law of their race’ to destroy ‘harmonious polyphony’.¹⁹⁷ Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg had formed the KfdK in 1928.¹⁹⁸ It was implacably hostile to Jews,

¹⁹¹ Cherney, ‘The Bekker-Pfitzner Controversy’, pp. 27-8.

¹⁹² See for example Alfred Heuss, ‘Vom Tonkünstlerfest in Düsseldorf’, *ZfM* 89/13-14 (July 8, 1922), pp. 289-94.

¹⁹³ Joel Sachs, ‘Some Aspects of Musical Politics in Pre-Nazi Germany’, *Perspectives of New Music*, 9/1 (Autumn-Winter 1970), pp. 74-81, 86, 89-91.

¹⁹⁴ Bruno Schrader, ‘Musikbrief aus Berlin’, *NZfM* 86/7-8 (27 February 1919), p. 43; Max Chop, review in *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 77/9 (26 February 1919), p. 145; both cited in Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus. Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918-1938* (Stuttgart & Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 1994), pp. 32-3.

¹⁹⁵ See John, *Musikbolschewismus*, pp. 33-6 for a range of early examples.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 46-50. See also pp. 58-88 on how the term gained weight following Pfitzner’s book.

¹⁹⁷ Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1932), pp. 273-4. This came in the wake of Paul Schultze, *Kunst und Rasse* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1935), first published in 1928, cited in Alan E. Steinweis, ‘Anti-Semitism and the Arts’, in Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (eds.), *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2006), p. 19.

¹⁹⁸ Olaf Peters, ‘From Nordau to Hitler: “Degeneration” and Anti-Modernism between the Fin-de-siècle and the National Socialist Takeover of Power’, translated Steven Lindberg, in Peters (ed.), *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (Munich, London & New York: Prestel, 2014), pp. 22-3.

communists, modernists and jazz. Its leader in Thuringia, Hans Severus Ziegler, became ‘Culture, Art and Theatre Specialist’ in the region after a right-wing coalition including the NSDAP won power there in 1930, and used his position to prohibit some performances. What the KfDK presented were various concerts around the country of canonical Austro-German works and conservative composers such as Paul Graener (1872-1944), Max Trapp (1887-1971) and Hans Bullerian (1885-1948).¹⁹⁹

As programming changed and institutions such as the Krolloper closed, Strobel wrote about the ominous situation for art, and published a series of theses on the contemporary situation, in collaboration with Mersmann.²⁰⁰ More widely, the 1920s ideals of wider public engagement did not accord with some of the tastes of concert-goers, as argued (too starkly) by Michael Kater.²⁰¹ In the face of cuts and political opposition, modernists were in a beleaguered position.

Musical Life and Organisations in the Third Reich

Many writers have analysed the nature and course of musical organisations after Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933, so I will give only a very brief summary here. Initially Rosenberg’s KfDK attempted to control music,²⁰² but received little backing from Hitler. Joseph Goebbels was appointed to run the new *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (hereafter simply the ‘Propaganda Ministry’) on 13 March, and immediately took charge of most responsibility for culture (including radio), leaving the KfDK further marginalised.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 25.

²⁰⁰ Heinrich Strobel, ‘Neue Musik – erledigt?’, *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, No. 601 (25 December 1930), cited in Cherney, ‘The Bekker-Pfitzner Controversy’, p. 63; Strobel, ‘Kunst oder Agitation?’, *Melos* 11/7 (July 1932), pp. 238-9; Hans Mersmann and Heinrich Strobel, ‘Zehn Thesen zur heutigen Lage’, *Melos* 11/1 (January 1932), pp. 11-13.

²⁰¹ Michael H. Kater, ‘The Revenge of the Fathers: The Demise of Modern Music at the End of the Weimar Republic’, *German Studies Review* 15/2 (May 1992), pp. 302-3. Kater’s claims about much of the music being only comprehensible by a small elite audience does not hold up in the case of Weill, for example.

²⁰² Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 14-15; Toby Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels: Life and Death* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 156.

²⁰³ See Joseph Goebbels, ‘The Tasks of the Ministry of Propaganda’ (15 March 1933), in Anson Rabinbach and Sander Gilman (eds.), *The Third Reich Sourcebook* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2013), p. 455; and David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, second edition (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 31.

Goebbels had some sympathy towards particular varieties of modernism, in strong contrast to his traditionally-minded arch-enemy Rosenberg.²⁰⁴

Goebbels created the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK) on 15 November 1933. One of its elements was the *Reichsmusikkammer* (RMK) which completed the takeover from the KfdK.²⁰⁵ Richard Strauss became the first President of the RMK, with Furtwängler as Deputy, but his position became untenable after he insisted on standing by his Jewish librettist Stefan Zweig, and because of his lack of wholehearted sympathy for the regime.²⁰⁶ He resigned in 1935 and was replaced by Peter Raabe on 13 July.²⁰⁷ Also that year, Paul Graener was appointed to run the composers' section, claiming that German people 'once again want Romanticism'.²⁰⁸ The other significant organisation was Robert Ley's *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF), for which Nazi musicologist and critic Herbert Gerigk ran the music section.²⁰⁹ They organised a large number of concerts and operas, featuring German high classics and lighter music, touring workplaces and communities.²¹⁰ By 1937, the KfdK, renamed the *Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde* (NSKG) in 1934, was subsumed by this.²¹¹

At the beginning of the regime, there was a general atmosphere of regular censure.²¹² The RMK regulated membership with questionnaires checking racial purity,²¹³ and on 1 September 1935, Goebbels circulated privately a list of 108 musicians whose work was not to be performed under any circumstances. Many of these were Jewish, though neither Mahler nor Schoenberg were included.²¹⁴ Earlier that year, the NSKG had issued a *Liste der Musik-Bolschewisten*, which included many Jewish names, and those married to or associated with Jewish people.²¹⁵ Raabe

²⁰⁴ For examination of this rivalry, see Frederic Spotts, *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (London; Hutchinson, 2002), pp. 74-7; and Thacker, *Goebbels*, pp. 167-8.

²⁰⁵ See Joseph Goebbels, 'Speech at the Opening of the Reich Chamber of Culture' (November 15, 1933), in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, p. 457; and Thacker, *Goebbels*, pp. 155-6.

²⁰⁶ Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939: How the Nazis won over the Hearts and Minds of a Nation*. London: Allen Lane, 2005), p. 189; Boyden, *Strauss*, pp. 302-13.

²⁰⁷ Boyden, *Strauss*, pp. 311-13.

²⁰⁸ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 22, 24-6; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2474-5.

²⁰⁹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 16.

²¹⁰ Shelley Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 56-8, 76-87, 203-6.

²¹¹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 16-17; Baranowski, *Strength through Joy*, pp. 51-2.

²¹² Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 11-13; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, p. 84.

²¹³ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 17-19; Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music?', pp. 9-10.

²¹⁴ Friedrich Geiger, 'Die "Goebbels-Liste" vom 1. September 1935. Eine Quelle zur Komponistenverfolgung im NS-Staat', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 59/2 (2002), pp. 104-12.

²¹⁵ The full list is reproduced in John, *Musikbolschewismus*, pp. 360-61. Names included composers Berg, Butting, Höffer, Thiessen and Webern (though not Hindemith, Krenek, Schoenberg or Weill),

also introduced a new censorship office at the RMK in 1937 requiring all foreign music to be submitted to the Propaganda Ministry for ratification.²¹⁶

Following the Law for the Reconstitution of the Civil Service of 7 April 1933, all but a few Jewish people were removed from public sector jobs, and also from private or semi-public institutions, including orchestras and theatres.²¹⁷ All major concert venues removed the bulk of music by Jewish composers from their repertoire.²¹⁸ By November 1936 Goebbels announced that Germany now had ‘German’ music, theatre, film, literature, etc.,²¹⁹ and by 1939, RMK officials spoke of the ‘extirpation’ of the Jews from ‘the cultural life of our people’.²²⁰ ‘Jewish’ music was portrayed as privileging technique over substance, subservient to commercial imperatives, and substituting abstract intellectualism for Germanic tonal structures.²²¹ Composer and musicologist Karl Blessinger linked twelve-tone music to ‘Jewish egalitarianism’ in 1939, reprinted the following year in Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk’s *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, which attempted to consolidate the Jewishness-atonality link.²²²

Nazi Aesthetics and the Situation of Modernist Music

It is wrong to assume that all ‘modernist’ music was banned or driven underground during the Third Reich, or that Nazi aesthetic ideology was wholly coherent or consistent.²²³ Its different manifestations mirror wider Nazi anti-capitalism and anti-industrialism, its contempt for feudal hierarchies (which, believers said, should be replaced by those of race and ideology), and its desire for industrial growth on the

conductors Scherchen and Schmidt-Isserstedt, critics and writers Bekker, Doflein, Einstein, Mersmann, Strobel, and Stuckenschmidt

²¹⁶ ‘Anordnung über unerwünschte und schädliche Musik’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 19 December 1937, reproduced in Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Ullstein, 1963), p. 362.

²¹⁷ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 75-83.

²¹⁸ Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010), p. 3.

²¹⁹ Goebbels cited in Pamela M. Potter, ‘Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of “Germanization”’, in Huener and Nicosia, *The Arts in Nazi Germany*, p. 85.

²²⁰ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 82.

²²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 76-7.

²²² Karl Blessinger, *Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Mahler. Drei Kapitel Judentum in der Musik als Schlüssel zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1939), as cited in Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1940), pp. 246-7.

²²³ As pointed out in Joan Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/3 (Autumn 2003), p. 525.

road to war.²²⁴ The period from 1933 to 1939 saw an attack on ‘elitism’ and intellectualism, complemented by the promotion of the fading genre of *Hausmusik*.²²⁵ Published attacks on modernist music grew quickly,²²⁶ leading to withdrawal of works such as Webern’s Six Pieces for orchestra, scheduled for the 1933 ADMV.²²⁷ In a series of Nuremberg Rally speeches, Hitler attacked varieties of modernism such as cubism, Dadaism and futurism (though he praised modern technology),²²⁸ while Goebbels called in November 1933 for a ‘steely romanticism’ in German culture, which combined aspects of the modern and the pre-modern.²²⁹ However, he had long been enthusiastic about at least some modern artists, and supported exhibitions of futurism and other modernism in 1934-5.²³⁰ In June 1934 he told the RKK that Nazis were ‘standard bearers of the most advanced modernism’ and that ‘to be modern means to be close to the spirit of the age, or even in advance of it’.²³¹

The first major clash between factions came with the ‘Hindemith affair’. Hitler had seen *Neues vom Tage* in 1929 and was appalled by the music and the spectacle.²³² However, other Nazis looked favourably upon Hindemith’s change of musical direction after this time, and on the planned opera *Mathis der Maler* - they viewed Matthias Grünewald as a major figure of the Gothic era. The Symphony from the

²²⁴ Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945. Volume 2: State, Economy and Society 1933-1939* (hereafter simply *Nazism 2*), revised edition (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 184-5.

²²⁵ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 131-4.

²²⁶ See for example ‘Bolschewismus in der Musik’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 10, 1933, reprinted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, p. 365; Paul Graener, ‘Aufklang’, *Die Musik* 25/9 (June 1933), pp. 641-2, reprinted *ibid.* pp. 73-4; Georg Gräner, ‘Deutsche und undeutsche Musik’, *Die Musik* 26/2 (November 1933), pp. 90-93.

²²⁷ Erik Levi, ‘Atonality, 12-Tone Music and the Third Reich’, *Tempo*, New Series, No. 178 (September 1991), pp. 18-19.

²²⁸ Adolf Hitler, Speech at the NSDAP Congress on Culture (3 September 1933); ‘Art and Its Commitment to Truth’ (September 1934), in Rabinbach and Gilman, *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, pp. 116-18, 489-90; Max Domarus, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932-1945. Volume Two: The Years 1935 to 1938*, translated Chris Wilcox and Mary Fran Gilbert (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), pp. 695-6; *Offizieller Bericht über den Verlauf des Reichparteitag mit sämtlichen Kongressreden: Der Parteitag Grossdeutschlands, vom 5. bis 12. Sept. 1938* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1938), p. 85.

²²⁹ Joseph Goebbels, Lecture on ‘Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben’, given in Berlin, Großer Saal der Philharmonie, 15 November 1933, in Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Goebbels-Reden. Band 1: 1932-1939* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), p. 137. The implications of this are developed in Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²³⁰ Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, translated Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (London; Vintage, 2015), pp. 33-5; Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 24, 45.

²³¹ Cited in Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, p. 88. For the reasons given above, I do not agree with Levi’s argument that this speech was at odds with that from November 1933.

²³² *Ibid.* p. 180.

opera, premiered by Furtwängler on 12 March 1934, features almost Stravinskian moments such as the ‘resolution’ onto an unresolved ninth in the fourth bar of Ex. 1.10, and the pointed false relations. Elsewhere, the vivacious but contrapuntal writing, with sprinklings of quartal progressions, and the use of bare fifths to frustrate traditional voice-leading, are not so far from the music of *Cardillac* eight years earlier.

Ziemlich lebhafte Halbe (♩108 - 112)

Ex. 1.10. Paul Hindemith, Symphony from *Mathis der Maler* (1934), first movement. Published by Schott Music.

While some Nazi critics acclaimed the new work,²³³ a debate ensued in *Die Musik*, in which various critics held up Hindemith’s earlier work and associations (and the hated Strobel’s advocacy of Hindemith).²³⁴ The NSKG exploited this situation to secure broadcast bans and some restrictions on performances. There were ferocious denunciations, and even Furtwängler’s intervention in support of Hindemith, writing to Goebbels to protest, was of no use.²³⁵ Ultimately the affair led Hindemith to leave the country, and he settled in the United States in 1940.²³⁶

This event emboldened those who hated ‘atonality’, and led to further attacks after a successful performance of Berg’s *Lulu Suite* in November 1934 by Erich

²³³ Ibid. p. 179.

²³⁴ Friedrich Welter, ‘Hindemith – Eine kulturpolitische Betrachtung (Ein Nachwort zum 1. Deutschen Komponistentag)’, *Die Musik* 26/6 (March 1934), pp. 417-22; Friedrich W. Herzog, ‘Berlin’, *Die Musik* 26/7 (April 1934), pp. 530-1; ‘Nochmals: Hindemith – ein Kulturpolitischer Fall’, *Die Musik* 26/8 (May 1934), pp. 596-9.

²³⁵ ‘The Hindemith Affair: Exchange between Wilhelm Furtwängler and Joseph Goebbels, 1934’ (first published in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 November 1934), in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, pp. 548-50.

²³⁶ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 181-2.

Kleiber and the Berlin Staatskapelle.²³⁷ The Nazi critic Walter Trienes wrote what was claimed to be an elaboration of Goebbels' views on atonality, with detailed racial critiques of Schoenberg, and of Mersmann, Hauer, Busoni and Berg, who were said to epitomise 'exotic' and 'mixed' rather than German styles.²³⁸ Further prominent attacks on atonality came from Rosenberg and Berthold Nennsteil,²³⁹ and continued through the course of the war, most prominently from Ernst Bücken.²⁴⁰

Raabe, a dedicated follower of Hitler, had nonetheless conducted works of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Erdmann, Tiessen, Skryabin and others when GMD in Aachen from 1918 to 1929, and had been impressed by Berg's *Wozzeck*.²⁴¹ A book published the same year as he took over the RMK presents an ambivalent view of modernism and German tradition, whilst stressing the need for musical education in the latter.²⁴² He also called for cultural decisions to be left in the hands of those knowledgeable in the respective fields, rather than bureaucrats, misquoting a passage from *Mein Kampf* in support of this.²⁴³ In characteristic divide-and-rule fashion, Goebbels appointed a rival in the form of Heinz Drewes, GMD in Altenburg, to run a music department at the Propaganda Ministry. Drewes came to submit reports to

²³⁷ As in Fritz Stege, 'Berliner Musik', *ZfM* 102/1 (January 1935), p. 41; 'Unsere Meinung. Alban Berg und die Berliner Musikkritik', *Die Musik* 27/4 (January 1935), pp. 263-4; and to some extent Alfred Burgartz, 'Alban Bergs "Lulu"-Musik. Uraufführung im Berliner Staatsopernkonzert', *Die Musik* 27/4 (January 1935), pp. 263-4.

²³⁸ Walter Trienes, 'Deutsche Musik oder Atonalität?', *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, 19 December 1934, reprinted in *Die Musik* 27/4 (January 1935), pp. 306-7.

²³⁹ Alfred Rosenberg, 'Weltanschauung und Kunst' (1935), in *Gestaltung der Idee. Blut und Ehre II. Band. Reden und Aufsätze von 1933-1935*, edited Thilo von Trotha (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1939), p. 337; Berthold Nennstiel, 'Der Teufel', *Deutsches Bildungswesen* (1936), pp. 2-4, cited in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, p. 366.

²⁴⁰ Ernst Bücken, *Musik der Deutschen* (Cologne: Stauf Verlag, 1941), pp. 293-4.

²⁴¹ Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872-1945)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 92-4, 101.

²⁴² Peter Raabe, *Die Musik im Dritten Reich* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1935), pp. 15-17.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 29-30. The passage cited by Raabe – 'Der völkische Staat duldet grundsätzlich nicht, daß über Belange besonderer Art Menschen um Rat oder Urteil gefragt werden, die auf Grund ihrer Erziehung und Tätigkeit nichts von der Sache verstehen können' ('In principle, the völkische state does not condone the seeking of advice or opinions on specialised matters from those who cannot understand them, because of their education and activity') – is a misreading or misremembering of the passage in *Mein Kampf*, which is 'Der völkische Staat duldet grundsätzlich nicht, daß über Belange besonderer, zum Beispiel wirtschaftlicher Art Menschen um Rat oder Urteil befragt werden, die auf Grund ihrer Erziehung und Tätigkeit nichts von der Sache verstehen können' (Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, one volume edition, 851-855th edition (Munich: Franz Eher, 1943), p. 502). Without the specific qualifier of the 'economic' ('wirtschaftlich', so that one should change to 'specialised, for example economic, matters' for 'specialised matters' in the translation above), it is easier for Raabe to make out this statement applies to culture.

Goebbels detailing ‘atonal’ works favoured by Raabe (including Wolfgang Fortner, described by Goebbels as ‘no genius, but also no degenerate music’).²⁴⁴

In 1938, Goebbels said national socialism had ‘swept away the pathological phenomena of musical Jewish intellectualism’.²⁴⁵ This was around the same time as the notorious *Entartete Musik* exhibition in Düsseldorf in May, organised by Ziegler. This has been amply discussed elsewhere;²⁴⁶ here it is simply worth noting how it affected key figures of this study. Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Weill, Schreker, Toch, Krenek, Stravinsky and Hindemith were all held up for censure and ridicule, Weissmann and Strobel were presented as ‘two prominent pioneers of *Musikbolschewismus*’, whilst the covers of texts such as Schoenberg’s *Harmonielehre*, Hába’s *Neue Harmonielehre*, Hauer’s *Vom Melos zur Pauke*, and of books by Hindemith, Weissmann and Mersmann were reproduced in the booklet. Jazz (and jazz-inspired works of Hába and Schulhoff) and youth music educators also came in for censure.²⁴⁷

Yet the significance of *Entartete Musik* can be overestimated. It was never repeated, and only attended in Düsseldorf by a few prominent musicians, and there were no guidelines for musical practice or future policy.²⁴⁸ Stravinsky continued to be widely performed elsewhere in Germany until the wartime ban.²⁴⁹ Raabe was unhappy, and tendered his resignation on 15 May, though this was not accepted by Goebbels, nor published.²⁵⁰ Goebbels wrote very critically in his diary about the

²⁴⁴ Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. 54; Goebbels, diary entry for 22 October 1937, in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923-1941. Band 4* (Munich: Saur, 2000) (hereafter *Tagebücher 4*), (Munich: Saur, 2000), p. 370.

²⁴⁵ Goebbels, Lecture at *Düsseldorfer Musiktagen 1938*, in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 29 May 1938, reproduced in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, p. 463.

²⁴⁶ The most comprehensive resource remains Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth (eds.), *Entartete Musik. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938* (Düsseldorf: der kleine verlag, 1988).

²⁴⁷ All material, including Ziegler’s opening speech, was printed in Hans Severus Ziegler, *Entartete Musik. Eine Abrechnung* (Düsseldorf: Völkischer Verlag G.m.b.H, [1938]).

²⁴⁸ Pamela M. Potter, ‘Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of “Germanization”’, in Huener and Nicosia, *The Arts in Nazi Germany*, p. 93; Albrecht Dümling, ‘The Target of Racial Purity: The “Degenerate Music” Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938’, in Richard A. Etlin (ed.), *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 60.

²⁴⁹ Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany’, pp. 569-70, 577-81.

²⁵⁰ Dümling, ‘The Target of Racial Purity’, p. 60.

exhibition,²⁵¹ which he did not see as in line with his wishes for the RMK; it closed after three weeks.²⁵²

I identify three strains of modern music which achieved recognition and sometimes significant success during the Third Reich. Some aspects of the wider activities of the composers in question are also relevant to their role in post-war musical life. Each strain can be viewed as a ‘moderated’ section of traditions emanating from three composers: Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Hindemith respectively.

‘Moderate’ Twelve-Tone Music: Winfried Zillig and Paul Klenau

The once-common belief in a fundamental opposition between atonality and fascism is now known to be simplistic. Webern, for example, was revealed in the 1970s to have had Nazi sympathies,²⁵³ though that seems not to have helped his career during the Reich. But ‘mild’ dodecaphonists Winfried Zillig and Paul von Klenau, who have been explored by a range of scholars, did have some success.²⁵⁴ Zillig faced some difficulties after the premiere in Düsseldorf on 11 February 1933 of his first opera *Rosse* (1932), a tonally slippery work mixing *Wozzeck*-like material with folk-like writing elsewhere, in part because of association with a ‘Schoenberg school’ (the work contains a row also used in Berg’s *Lulu*), but it was not censored. His second opera, *Das Opfer* (1937), premiered in Hamburg, which came on the back of a range of successful film and theatre scores and NSKG commissions, was a heroic tale of self-sacrifice during Scott’s trip to the Antarctic. This was most amenable to Nazi

²⁵¹ Goebbels diary entry of 29 May 1938, cited in Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, pp. 191-2. Goebbels had, by contrast, worked hard towards the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, but there may have been a variety of motives here. See Olaf Peters, ‘Genesis, Conception, and Consequences: The “Entartete Kunst” Exhibition in Munich in 1937’, in *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (Munich, London & New York: Prestel, 2014), pp. 108-16.

²⁵² Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, pp. 191-2.

²⁵³ Hans and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of his Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 526-32; Kathryn Bailey, *The Life of Webern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 166-75.

²⁵⁴ In particular by Werner Schmidt-Faber, in ‘Atonalität im Dritten Reich’, in Ulrich Dibelius (ed.), *Herausforderung Schönberg. Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte* (Munich: Hanser, 1982), pp. 110-36; then Hans-Günter Klein, in ‘Atonalität in den Opern von Paul von Klenau und Winfried Zillig – zur Duldung einer im Nationalsozialismus verfehmten Kompositionstechnik’, in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth 1981* (Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter, 1984), pp. 490-94; and Levi, ‘Atonality, 12-Tone Music, and the Third Reich’.

ideology and won some critical success.²⁵⁵ Zillig employed a Berg-like strategy of creating tonal implications through a row made up from four triadic chords (see Ex. 1.11).

a)



b)



Wie Ritt - mei - ster Oates sich op - fert

Ex. 1.11. Winfried Zillig, fundamental row, as appears in the fourth aria of Oates, and triadic row (derived from extractions from the row grouped into pairs of notes), from *Das Opfer* (1937).²⁵⁶ Published by Universal Edition.

Zillig further blended dodecaphony with tonality in *Die Windsbraut* (1941), which had a successful premiere in Leipzig, and further performances elsewhere.²⁵⁷

Klenau, who had been involved with Schoenberg's music since the early 1920s, portraying an inexorable march towards atonality in near-militaristic terms in a

²⁵⁵ A range of contemporary critiques of the work can be found in Schmidt-Faber, 'Atonalität im Dritten Reich', p. 131. One extremely positive review of the work was Heinz Fuhmann, 'Winfried Zillig: "Das Opfer." Uraufführung am Hamburgischen Staatstheater', *ZfM* 104/12 (December 1937), pp. 1395-6. Zillig described the work to Schoenberg as having had an 'enormous press success' and also a favourable public response – see Zillig to Schoenberg, 22 August 1938, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=18792 (accessed 19 January 2018).

²⁵⁶ As cited by Zillig himself in the first Appendix to Josef Rufer, *Die Komposition mit zwölf Tönen* (Berlin & Wundstadel: Max Hesses Verlag, 1952), p. 180. This whole section, with thoughts on twelve-tone composition by a range of then-contemporary composers, is omitted from the English version of Rufer's book. See also Thomas Phelps, 'Zwölf-töniges Theater - "Wiener Schüler" und Anverwandte in NS-Deutschland', in Hanns-Werner Heister (ed.), *"Entartete Musik" 1938 – Weimar und die Ambivalenz*, Teil I (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 2001), pp. 199-202 for more detail on Zillig's manipulation of the rows.

²⁵⁷ Willy Stark, 'Winfried Zillig: "Die Windsbraut". Uraufführung im Neuen Theater zu Leipzig', *ZfM* 108/6 (June 1941), pp. 410-11; Wilhelm Jung, 'Winfried Zillig: "Die Windsbraut". Uraufführung im Neuen Theater zu Leipzig', *Die Musik* 33/10 (July 1941), pp. 354-5; Phelps, 'Zwölf-töniges Theater', p. 203; Claudia Maurer Zenck, 'Aufbruch des deutschen Geistes oder Innere Emigration? Zu einigen Opern der 1930er und 1940er Jahre', in Heister, *"Entartete Musik" 1938*, Teil I, p. 222.

tribute from 1924,²⁵⁸ had even fewer scruples about appropriating atonality and dodecaphony for the Nazi cause. Any loyalty was dropped when in 1933 he claimed the non-Jewish Hauer as the inventor of twelve-tone technique.²⁵⁹ Klenau's opera *Michael Kohlhaus*, premiered in Stuttgart in November 1933, combined diatonic with total chromatic and dodecaphonic material. While the work was criticised by Friedrich Herzog for similarities to *Wozzeck*, Fritz Stege wrote that claims that it was dodecaphonic came from journalists with a 'Marxist past', and he described it as sensuous and accessible, though uneven.²⁶⁰ But Klenau wrote an unabashed defence of the technique to Stege, and a whole series of articles claiming a provenance from Wagner, describing a row as a 'totality' and later calling his technique 'totalitarian'.²⁶¹ This strategy appears to have been successful, and Klenau received commissions for operas *Rembrandt van Rijn* (1937) and *Elisabeth von England* (1939), in a similar musical vein, and received various positive reviews for these and other works.²⁶²

Returning to Zillig: his wider activities deserve consideration on account of his prominent role in post-war Germany. He had been one of Schoenberg's favourite pupils in Berlin,²⁶³ and achieved early success as a conductor, working as assistant to Erich Kleiber in Berlin in 1927-28, then in Oldenburg in 1928-32 (during which periods he performed major works of Schoenberg and Berg),²⁶⁴ followed by positions in Düsseldorf, 1932-37, and Essen, 1938-40. Then Zillig was appointed principal

²⁵⁸ Paul von Klenau, 'Tonal – A Tonal', in *MdA* 6, Sonderheft (August-September 1924), pp. 309-11. This was in a special tribute issue for Schoenberg's 60th birthday.

²⁵⁹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 184.

²⁶⁰ Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Oper', *Die Musik*, 26/7 (April 1934), p. 541; Fritz Stege, 'Berliner Musik', *ZfM* 101/4 (April 1934), pp. 402-3.

²⁶¹ 'Zu Paul von Klenaus "Michael Kohlhaus"', *ZfM*, 101/5 (May 1935), pp. 530-31 (response to Stege); Paul von Klenau, 'Über die Musik meiner Oper "Michael Kohlhaus"', *Die Musik* 27/4 (January 1935), pp. 260-62; 'Musik im Zeitalter der Stilwende', *Die Musik* 27/7 (April 1935), pp. 561-6; 'Auf der Suche nach der musikalischen Form', *Die Musik* 27/9 (June 1935), pp. 651-7; 'Wagners Tristan und die "Zwölftonmusik"', *Die Musik* 27/10 (July 1935), pp. 727-33; Levi, 'Atonality, 12-Tone Music and the Third Reich', p. 21 (reference to 'totalitarian'). This latter also demonstrates Klenau's clear anti-semitism, quoting from a letter to Herzog.

²⁶² For example Herbert Gerigk, "'Rembrandt van Rijn". Klenau-Uraufführung in der Staatsoper', *Die Musik* 29/5 (February 1937), pp. 356-7; and Wilhelm Matthes, 'Paul von Klenau', *ZfM* 106/3 (March 1939), pp. 237-43.

²⁶³ Phelps, 'Zwölftöniges Theater', p. 185; Winfried Zillig, 'Begegnungen mit Schönberg', *Stimmen* 16 (1949) p. 446; Zillig, 'Entwurf einer Biographie nach Notizen des Autors', in *Variationen über neue Musik* (Munich: List Verlag, 1964), p. 164; Christan Lemmerich, 'Winfried Zillig: Anpassung und Engagement. Aspekte eines widersprüchlichen Lebensweges', in *Musik-Konzepte 117/118: Arnold Schönbergs "Berliner Schule"* (Munich: edition text+kritik, 2002), p. 153.

²⁶⁴ Gregory S. Dubinsky, 'Zillig, Winfried (Petrus Ignatius)', at *Grove Online*; Matthias Henke, 'Ein Freund! Ein guter Freund? Winfried Zilligs Beziehung zu Arnold Schönberg', in *Arnold Schönberg in Berlin. Bericht zum Symposium 28.-30. September 2000, Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 3 (2001), pp. 194-5.

conductor of the *Reichsgautheater* of occupied Poznań, in Poland.²⁶⁵ This was part of the area which Nazis called the *Warthegau*, which underwent extensive ‘Germanisation’ during the occupation: from 1940 Himmler deported over 260,000 Poles, closed Polish schools, theatres, museums, libraries and other institutions, banned the Polish language, and settled 408,000 ethnic Germans from elsewhere in Eastern Europe there by May 1943. The Gauleiter, Arthur Greiser, was a fanatical racial ideologue who was responsible for the first mass gassings in the extermination camp of Chelmno in early December 1941.²⁶⁶ Zillig wrote music for a special ‘Warthegau celebration’ at the end of August 1941 and received a prize, in the presence of Raabe, of 1000 RM for his contributions to the ‘II. Posener Musikwoche’.²⁶⁷ However, by 1942, Zillig was unhappy at Poznań and sought relocation, while Greiser turned against the local theatre Intendant and had his contracts and those and others, including Zillig, terminated in the 1942-43 season. A letter Zillig wrote to his sister in November 1943 corroborates his later claims to have been ‘choked’ by the destruction of lives,²⁶⁸ but he remained in the city, writing film scores and receiving a new production of his opera *Die Windsbraut* in spring 1944, before being forced into the army in January 1945.²⁶⁹ In a letter from 1961, perhaps bolstered by apologetics from Adorno and Peter Gradenwitz,²⁷⁰ and by the absence of any objections from Schoenberg,²⁷¹ Zillig decried other ‘fellow travellers’ during the

²⁶⁵ Christian Lemmerich, *Winfried Zillig. Komponist unter wechselnden Vorzeichen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012), pp. 62-6.

²⁶⁶ Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939-1945: How the Nazis led Germany from Conquest to Disaster*. (London: Allen Lane, 2008), pp. 31-6, 57. A comprehensive account of Greiser’s activities can be found in Catherine Epstein, *Model Nazi: Arthur Greiser and the Occupation of Western Poland* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 7-8, 135-40, 164-92. Increased knowledge of this period and its implications for Zillig are taken most seriously in Zenck, ‘Aufbruch des deutschen Geistes’, pp. 221-2, and Lemmerich, *Zillig*, pp. 64-72.

²⁶⁷ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, p. 7988; ‘Verleihung des Posener Musikpreises’, *Die Musik* 33/12 (September 1941), p. 431.

²⁶⁸ Phelps, ‘Zwölftöniges Theater’, p. 194; Zillig to Maria Zillig, 6 November 1943, cited in Lemmerich, *Zillig*, p. 67. An earlier letter from Carl-Hellmut Haas to Zillig of 7 January 1935, cited *ibid.* p. 133, demonstrates that Zillig had no sympathy for national socialism.

²⁶⁹ Lemmerich, *Zillig*, pp. 70-72; Zenck, ‘Aufbruch des deutschen Geistes’, p. 222; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7988; Phelps, ‘Zwölftöniges Theater’, p. 194.

²⁷⁰ Theodor Adorno, ‘Zilligs Verlaine-Lieder’ (1961), in *Gesammelte Schriften 17* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2003), pp. 123-32; and ‘Winfried Zillig: Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit’ (1964), *ibid.* pp. 318-26; Gradenwitz, *Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler*, pp. 54-5. Fred Prieberg points out that Adorno’s advocacy, and false claims that Zillig’s work had been banned in 1933, led to his being viewed for a long time as a type of inner emigrant. See Prieberg, ‘Nach dem “Endsieg” oder Musiker-Mimikry’, in Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günter Klein (eds.), *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1984), p. 300.

²⁷¹ Zillig to Schoenberg, 4 June 1945; Schoenberg to Zillig, 17 January 1946, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=18793 and

Third Reich,²⁷² but in a manner which failed to acknowledge, and could be viewed as masking, his own complicity.

Stravinskian Modernism

If some post-Schoenberg dodecaphonic music could gain acceptance in the Third Reich, this was even truer of music indebted to Stravinsky. Due to residual anti-Slavic prejudice, false beliefs of Jewishness, association with modernism and *Musikbolschewismus*, not to mention allusions to jazz, many Nazi ideologues, especially from the KfdK, attacked his work and placed him on a list of ‘Jewish and Bolshevik’ composers at the end of March 1933.²⁷³ But with the help of his publisher and statements attesting to his non-Jewish, anti-Bolshevik credentials, Stravinsky’s works received a range of performances (and a recording of *Jeu de cartes* by the BPO),²⁷⁴ up until 1 February 1940, when Stravinsky was banned as a naturalised citizen of France, an enemy nation.²⁷⁵

Five composers have been identified by Michael Kater as part of a school of Nazi modernism, all with links to Stravinsky: Carl Orff, Werner Egk, Boris Blacher, Gottfried von Einem and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny,²⁷⁶ of whom the first three are relevant to this study. The relationship of Orff’s music to that of Stravinsky is superficial rather than epigonal. Orff shares with Stravinsky the use of static motives, ostinato, clear, dry and hard-edged sonorities, plentiful use of percussion, free mixing of diatonic pitches, and an attitude to drama alternating between calm and hysteria. However, in his major works from *Schulwerk* (1931-4) onwards, including his major achievements, cantatas *Carmina Burana* (1936) and *Catulli Carmina* (1941-3), and operas *Der Mond* (1936-8) and *Die Kluge* (1941-2), Orff employed a much higher degree of metrical and rhythmic regularity, mostly stepwise melodic writing in Western modes, derived from German folk song, with occasional forays into chant or

http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=4205 (accessed 20 January 2018).

²⁷² Zillig to Fritz Piersig, 17 August 1961, cited in Lemmerich, ‘Zillig’, p. 161.

²⁷³ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 182; Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany’, pp. 535-7.

²⁷⁴ Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany’, pp. 533-41, 544-66; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 183.

²⁷⁵ Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany’, pp. 569, 581-4.

²⁷⁶ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 177-95, 226-32.

injections of wide leaps, distinguishing his work even from the Stravinsky of *Les noces*, an obvious influence.

Orff already felt estranged from the wider new music scene by the early 1930s, but was targeted by the KfdK, having set the Jewish poet Werfel and the Marxist Brecht.²⁷⁷ He and his publisher Schott tried to generate wider interest in the *Schulwerk*, not least from the *Hitlerjugend* (HJ), but had limited success.²⁷⁸ *Carmina burana* was in many ways an expansion of the achievements of the *Schulwerk* (occasionally quoting from it) on a grander scale for adults, using a physical musical language to portray a world of gambling, drink and sex which was by no means anathema to Nazi culture.²⁷⁹ It won praise from its first performance on 8 June 1937, as part of the last ADMV festival in Frankfurt, from critics in the *ZfM* (claiming it as an ‘art rooted in the people’) and *NMb*.²⁸⁰ Herbert Gerigk was more ambivalent, due to the ‘jazz voicing’ and ‘exotic musical practice’, though he did not rule out that this might beget wider valuable musical developments.²⁸¹ But Orff had the backing of Raabe as organiser of the ADMV, and Nazi-backed Frankfurt opera director Hans Meissner, and this helped the work take off later that year. It was played regularly throughout Germany during the war.²⁸² This idiom was developed further in his subsequent works, with the introduction of rhythmic unpitched chanting in *Der Mond*, and of chanting around a few chords in *Catulli Carmina*, making the voices sound closer to percussion instruments. These works won high approval from Goebbels, who wrote in his diary on 12 September 1944 that Orff was not an ‘atonal’ composer and that *Carmina burana* exhibited ‘extraordinary beauties’, though he was less keen

²⁷⁷ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 115-9.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 119-22.

²⁷⁹ On the subject of sexuality in the Third Reich, Elizabeth D. Heinemann’s pathbreaking work, especially as regards the youth movements, corrects many assumptions of earlier scholars (not least George Mosse) and demonstrates how promiscuity – viewed as a means of expanding the race – was often encouraged so long as it remained within strict racial and heteronormative boundaries; Heinemann, ‘Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?’, in Dagmar Herzog (ed.), *Sexuality and German Fascism* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 22-66. Michael Kater does cite correspondence suggesting some Nazis objected to the sexual content of this work (*Composers in the Nazi Era*, p. 123), but these may not have encompassed the whole spectrum of Nazi ideology.

²⁸⁰ Horst Büttner, ‘Hochkultur und Volkskunst. 68. Tonünstlerversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins vom 8. bis 13. Juni in Darmstadt und Frankfurt a. M.’, *ZfM* 104/8 (August 1937), pp. 872-3; ‘Zur Aufführung in Frankfurt: Carl Orffs “Carmina Burana”’, *NMb* 16/27 (May 1937), p. 7.

²⁸¹ Herbert Gerigk, ‘Carl Orffs “Carmina Burana”’, *Die Musik* 29/10 (July 1937), pp. 701-2. Kater goes too far in describing this review, which also appeared in the *Völkische Beobachter*, as ‘vitriol’ (*Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 124).

²⁸² Michael H. Kater, ‘Carl Orff im Dritten Reich’, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 43/1 (1995), p. 11; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 123-8.

on the texts.²⁸³ By the end of the war Orff had won one of the major RMK prizes and been placed on the *Gottbegnadten-Liste*, making him exempt from conscription.²⁸⁴

Like Orff, Werner Egk encountered scepticism in the early days of the regime, but in October 1934 he published an article in the *Völkische Kultur* making clear his opposition to the ‘catastrophe of individualism’ represented by atonality, and linking the use of ‘pre-classical principles of form’ to recent political developments in the country.²⁸⁵ Following this, a report by Erich Dörlemann in *Die Musik* argued that the ‘clarity, its aggressiveness, its soul-like dynamism, and activist strength’ of Egk’s music was both rooted in the *Volk* and had the power to inspire them.²⁸⁶ His second opera *Die Zauberflöte* (1935) was premiered in Frankfurt, and appealed to both Nazi ruralist idealism and anti-semitism in its tale of a simple farmhand who chooses a peasant over an aristocratic woman, though interrupted by an unsympathetic character named Guldensack (Money-Bags), a Jewish archetype.²⁸⁷ The music relates to Stravinsky only in terms of a general propensity for repetitive writing and a degree of harmonic stasis, much less so than in Orff. Otherwise, Egk’s predominantly diatonic or pentatonic folk-like melodies are closer to Weber’s *Freischütz*, though his employment of non-functional chromatic pitches to colour the harmony would not be out of place in a late work of Satie or some members of *Les six* (see for example Ex. 1.12).

²⁸³ Goebbels, diary entry for 12 September 1944, in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Teil II: Diktate 1941-1945. Band 14* (Munich: Saur, 1996), p. 466.

²⁸⁴ Oliver Rathkolb, *Führertreu und Gottbegnadet. Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich* (Vienna: ÖBV, 1991), p. 176.

²⁸⁵ Werner Egk, ‘Musik gestern und heute’, *Völkische Kultur* I/10 (October 1933), pp. 208-11, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1301.

²⁸⁶ Erich Dörlemann, report in *Die Musik* 26/3 (December 1933), p. 225, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1302.

²⁸⁷ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 6. As Fred Prieberg points out, this story was partially based upon the anti-semitic tale by the brothers Grimm, ‘Der Jude im Dorn’, which was presented in various contexts during this period. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1305-6.

The image shows a musical score for the prelude of Egk's *Die Zaubergeige* (1935). It is written for piano and consists of two systems of four measures each. The music is in 2/4 time and features complex harmonic structures with frequent changes in key signature and meter. Dynamics include *f*, *ff*, and *(hervor)*.

Ex. 1.12. Egk, *Die Zaubergeige* (1935), from Vorspiel. Published by Schott Music.

Other moments employ overlaid harmonies in a manner closer to bitonality, but these serve essentially as localised deviations from tonal norms. The opera eschews Wagnerian or Straussian chromaticism, later nineteenth-century approaches to the integration of text and music, or estrangement of these such as found in Weimar operas. Nor is there much in the way of unresolved dissonance as in Stravinsky's work from *L'histoire*; the debt to Stravinsky is evidenced in Egk's musical eclecticism and moments of grotesquerie.

The opera was a great success, leading Intendant Heinz Tietjen to appoint Egk as Kappellmeister at the Staatsoper, with a salary of 20,000 RM.²⁸⁸ That year, Egk also won a gold medal for his *Olympische Festmusik*, with Goebbels' advocacy,²⁸⁹ and by 1937, *Die Zaubergeige* was being staged in 32 different houses. His next opera, *Peer Gynt* (1938), employed music from jazz and cabaret, with dissonance and

²⁸⁸ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 8.

²⁸⁹ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1309-10; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 185. Goebbels wrote in his diary that Egk's Olympic music 'was very beautiful' (entry for 12 June 1936, in *Tagebücher 3/II*, p. 105).

syncopation, to characterise the trolls.²⁹⁰ Hitler attended a performance in January 1939, together with Goebbels, and declared his immense approval.²⁹¹ Egk was appointed head of the RMK composers' section in May 1941 (replacing Graener), and able to support other like-minded non-romantic but non-atonal composers including Blacher and von Einem.²⁹² His ballet *Joan von Zarissa* (1940), based upon old French motives, was presented around 30 times at the Paris Opéra during the occupation, conducted by Egk himself, and won some support from Heinrich Strobel, with whom he was in contact there.²⁹³

Boris Blacher (1903-75), born in northern China to a Baltic German father and a half-Jewish mother before moving to Berlin in 1922, had developed an interest in Schoenberg, Stravinsky and jazz while studying from 1924 to 1931.²⁹⁴ The titles of early works *Jazz-Koloraturen* (1929), *Drei Studien über jüdische Volkslieder* for string trio (1931) and *Hinein in die rote Einheitsfront* (1931)²⁹⁵ demonstrate his engagement with three things anathema to Nazi ideologues. He received little attention during the first two years of the Reich, with only his collection of pastiches, *Kleine Marschmusik*, publicly performed.²⁹⁶ The NSKG presented his *Capriccio* op. 4 (1933) in Berlin in 1935, but it was attacked by Fritz Stege for its 'noisy effects and rhythmic crudities' and links to Stravinsky, Weill and jazz.²⁹⁷ However, Blacher's fortunes lifted after the premiere of his *Konzertante Musik* op. 10 (1937) in Berlin in December 1937. This is a thoroughly accessible and affirmative work, dominated by syncopations throughout, with occasional bitonality which always leads to resolution (see Ex. 1.13), as with other occasional Stravinskian harmonies. The *Konzertante*

²⁹⁰ Hermann Killer, 'Werner Egks "Peer Gynt"', *Völkische Beobachter Nord* 331 (November 27, 1938), cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1312.

²⁹¹ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 9-10.

²⁹² Ibid. pp. 13-17. Egk's views on Schoenberg and atonality were made clear in his 'Musik als Ausdruck ihrer Zeit', in Alfred Morgenroth and Peter Raabe (eds.), *Von deutscher Tonkunst: Festschrift zu Peter Raabes 70. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1942), pp. 23-8, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1320-21.

²⁹³ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 18-19; 'Der Schaffende Künstler', *ZfM* 106/6 (June 1939), p. 676.

²⁹⁴ Josef Häusler, 'Blacher, Boris', at *Grove Online*.

²⁹⁵ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 231; Thomas Eickhoff, 'Kalter Intellekt in der Nachfolge Strawinskys? Zu Boris Blacher und der Rezeption seiner Werke im Nationalsozialismus', in Günther Wagner (ed.) *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1999* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 1999), p. 159.

²⁹⁶ David Drew, 'After 1933: Blacher, Music-Politics, and the Postwar Management of Historical Evidence', in Heribert Henrich and Thomas Eickhoff (eds.), *Boris Blacher* (Hofheim: Wolke, 2003), p. 130.

²⁹⁷ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 231.

Musik was soon performed widely around Germany and recorded by the BPO under Schüler for Electrola in 1939.²⁹⁸

Molto Allegro ♩ = ♩
legg e stacc molto

Bsn 1, 2

Hn in F 1, 2

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello
Double-Bass

20

f legg. e stacc.
Solo

simile

cresc

cresc

cresc

cresc

sf

pp

pp

Ex. 1.13. Boris Blacher, *Konzertante Musik*, op. 10 (1937). Published by Bote & Bock.

²⁹⁸ 'Neuaufnahmen in Auslese', *Die Musik* 31/9 (June 1939), p. 620.

Blacher continued to have a steady stream of performances, with mostly good reviews even in Nazi publications, through the rest of the Reich.²⁹⁹ He did however take a number of risks, such as referring to Berg's *Wozzeck*, banned at the time in Germany, in the programme booklet for his opera *Fürstin Tarakanowa* (1940), premiered in Wuppertal in 1941,³⁰⁰ and using clandestine records and foreign broadcasts to teach von Einem about Stravinsky, Hindemith, Milhaud, Schoenberg and jazz.³⁰¹

Back to Bach

The composers associated with the 'Back to Bach' slogan also achieved some prominence in Nazi Germany. The leading figure amongst them was Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987), who was such a central figure after 1945 that his earlier life and work warrant more detailed attention. Fortner was raised in a musical culture in Leipzig which was conservative and rejected romantic individualism in favour of a 'mandarin' ethos.³⁰² His earliest mature works, from the late 1920s, employed techniques of Renaissance and Baroque music whilst also demonstrating a strong influence of Hindemith, on whose chamber music he produced a dissertation for his state exam. These led to a publishing contract with Schott, a composer portrait article by Strobel, and a teaching post at a new *Kirchenmusikalisches Institut*, founded in Heidelberg in 1931.³⁰³ The differences between Fortner and Hindemith are analysed incisively in J. Alexander Colpa's comparison of Fortner's Organ Concerto (1932) and Hindemith's *Kammermusik Nr. 7* (1927): Hindemith alludes to popular musics and uses expanding forms of nineteenth-century progressive tonality, rejuvenating a music which acknowledges at least some of its roots, while Fortner uses no such allusions, sticks to fixed tonal centres, is considerably more indebted to Baroque forms, though also uses modern techniques such as whole-tone scales.³⁰⁴ Ex. 1.14, from the Concerto for string orchestra (1933), similarly shows how what might be

²⁹⁹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 232.

³⁰⁰ Eickhoff, 'Kalter Intellekt in der Nachfolge Strawinskys?', p. 160.

³⁰¹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 228.

³⁰² See Colpa, 'Fortner', pp. 15-41 for a detailed consideration of this.

³⁰³ Ibid. pp. 76-89; Heinrich Strobel in *Der Weihergarten*, Nr. 4/5 (1931), p. 25f, cited in Matthias Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof der Moderne* (Friedburg, Berlin and Vienna: Rombach, 2008), p. 25; Ludwig Finscher, 'Musik am Hof, in der Kirche und im Bürgerhaus', in Elmar Mittler (ed.), *Heidelberg. Geschichte und Gestalt* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996), p. 425.

³⁰⁴ Colpa, 'Fortner', pp. 50-75. Hindemith was not impressed by the younger composer's efforts – see Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 32.

suspended and immobile dissonances in Stravinsky or Hindemith (for example in bar 13) are brought to a smooth resolution through voice-leading.

Ex. 1.14. Wolfgang Fortner, Concerto for string orchestra (1933), first movement, bars 11-16. Published by Schott Music.

Fortner encountered difficulties early in the Reich for having composed relatively atypical works such as the Orff-like didactic *Chor des Fräuleins* (1930), with sexual content and singers representing female typists, or *Arbeiterlied*, based upon a text of

Alfred Döblin.³⁰⁵ He was branded a ‘Kulturbolschewist’ in 1933, and if his own later account is to be believed, suffered regional bans and exclusions from bigger musical events.³⁰⁶ His letters demonstrate an increasing paranoia from this time on, arising from his homosexuality and economic circumstances.³⁰⁷ He tried to make some accommodation with Nazi organisations (working as a guest conductor for the Nazi labour union),³⁰⁸ and concentrated on composing a range of sacred choral works, including his *Eine deutsche Liedmesse* (1934), which was however one of the pieces removed from the ADMV in 1936, despite objections from Raabe. Following this, he published an article on music theory and teaching in which he lay down his anti-tonal credentials, saying that ‘If Schoenberg founded the mathematics of his twelve-tone harmony with the view that only in this direction would progress be possible, then this is probably the ultimate evidence of uprootedness, and it is apparent that a nihilism drifted from this development’.³⁰⁹ The world premiere of his *Sinfonia concertante* by the BPO under Carl Schuricht on 26 October 1936 finally brought critical praise, from Nazi critics Gerigk and Stenge.³¹⁰

Fortner also founded a private *Heidelberger Kammerorchester* in 1936, which he later took on foreign tours to France and Italy,³¹¹ playing international repertoire, though they also performed NS-dedicated pieces of Fritz Büchtger and Wilhelm Maler.³¹² At the same time, he was asked to take over a string orchestra for the HJ in

³⁰⁵ See Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 89-95 for more on these works, published in a volume also including representations of poems of Bertolt Brecht and Franz Werfel.

³⁰⁶ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591. Fortner, life story, undated.

³⁰⁷ As argued very convincingly in Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 102-10; also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 171 and Brigitta Weber, *Wolfgang Fortner und seine Opernkompositionen* (Mainz: Schott, 1995), pp. 224-5.

³⁰⁸ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 171.

³⁰⁹ Wolfgang Fortner, ‘Musiklehre und Kompositionsunterricht’, *Deutsche Musikkultur* 1/2 (1936-37), pp. 104-10 (quotation p. 106). Both Prieberg (*Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, p. 1638) and Kater (*The Twisted Muse*, p. 171) cite later re-publications of this essay from the 1940s and so misdate it.

³¹⁰ See Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 162-76. Colpa identifies Nazi tropes in some of the language in these reviews, in terms of references to the *Volk*, phrases implying historical determinism and references to ‘will, the rendering of music as a commodity, and sporting metaphors, or suspicion of “concert stars”’, but this is exaggerated, as many such attributes and sentiments can be found in German and some non-German musical criticism both before and after the Third Reich. The work was examined in detail in Erich Schütze, ‘Wolfgang Fortners Sinfonia concertante (Eine Werkbetrachtung.)’, *Die Musik* 29/10 (July 1937), pp. 736-8.

³¹¹ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591. Fortner, life story, undated; ‘Biographische Daten’, in Hinrich Lindlar (ed), *Wolfgang Fortner. Eine Monographie. Werkanalysen, Aufsätze, Reden, Offene Briefe 1950-1959* (Rodenkirchen: P.J. Tonger, 1960), p. 14; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1636, 1638.

³¹² Performances of Bartók, Stravinsky and Frommel by the orchestra are documented in ‘Tageschronik’, *Die Musik* 38/7 (April 1936), p. 558; Friedrich Baser, ‘Heidelberg’, *Die Musik* 31/9 (June 1939), pp. 639-40, and others in Colpa, ‘Fortner’, p. 146 n. 62. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1633, 804-12, 4422-6 on the performances of Büchtger and Maler, and more on those composers’ chequered careers.

Heidelberg, which he directed until 1939.³¹³ Amongst the players were the young Ulrich Dibelius (later to become a major critic and writer on Fortner's work), Rolf Reinhardt (later a major conductor and pianist) and Rudolph Stephan (later an important musicologist).³¹⁴ He had considerable success with his choral and orchestral work *Von der Kraft der Gemeinschaft* (1936), which used a text by Nazi writer Wolfram Brockmeier, with high profile performances in 1937-38 in Göttingen, Danzig (to celebrate the cultural superiority of the Prussian enclave there), Berlin and Hamburg, and a glowing review in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.³¹⁵ As a result of this and his HJ work, an NS-Dozentbundführer report called him 'a good comrade' and said 'Politically, he is held to be reliable and unobjectionable'.³¹⁶

Fortner's later claim that his compositions were viewed as 'undesirable' (*unerwünscht*) in the Reich, and were mostly premiered and performed abroad, is only a partial truth. Whilst the Concerto for Strings, Harpischord Concerto and *Nuptiae Catulli* were premiered in Basel, the first of these received at least 10 further performance in German cities, and the second was played in the Baden-Baden festival in 1936.³¹⁷ Numerous other orchestral, choral, chamber and solo works were performed and premiered in Germany, especially those propagandistic ones from 1937 onwards.³¹⁸ He joined the NSDAP on 20 January 1941, membership number 7,818,245, from an application of 1 September 1939,³¹⁹ claiming later that he could no longer refuse to do so. Fortner then gave concert tours for the Wehrmacht and

³¹³ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591. Fortner, life story, undated.

³¹⁴ Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof*, pp. 32-7.

³¹⁵ Paul Egert, 'Zeitgenössisches Musikschaffen', *Die Musik* 30/2 (November 1937), p. 113; Colpa, 'Fortner', p. 150; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1633-4.

³¹⁶ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1634-5; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1982), p. 247; Prieberg, 'Nach dem "Endsieg" oder Musiker-Mimikry', in Heister and Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, p. 303; Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof*, p. 29; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 171

³¹⁷ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1631-2; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 115; Colpa, 'Fortner', pp. 189-220.

³¹⁸ For a detailed list of premieres and further performances of Fortner's orchestral works during the Third Reich, see Colpa, 'Fortner', pp. 527-31; on other works, Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1631-40, Weber, *Fortner*, pp. 258-9.

³¹⁹ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591. Fortner, life story, undated; Information stamped by Charles V. Bond, Specialist Division, Denazification Division Team #7, 19 November 1946, onto memo requesting information from Public Prosecutor, Heidelberg, to MG Heidelberg. Fortner's own life story did not make this fact clear at all. The source for the dating of the original application is Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1631.

helped with musical training for members of the armed forces, whilst still teaching in Heidelberg, before, as it appears, serving as a soldier in the last period of the war.³²⁰

Other composers associated with this movement, who had successful careers during the Reich, include Hugo Distler (1908-42), whose choral and organ music broke more strongly with late romantic subjectivity and continuity, and Ernst Pepping (1901-81), who had in the 1920s composed in a Hindemithian chromatic linear polyphonic style.³²¹ Pepping then concentrated on choral and organ music in archaic styles with aspects of a modern sensibility, as with the whole-tone progression which cuts into the modal writing in the left hand of Ex. 1.15.³²² He wrote two important texts, denouncing atonality and stressing the ‘communalism’ of Baroque music, and the replacement of romantic subjectivity with musical linearity, in *Stilwende der Musik* (1934), but then sought for a re-integration of modality and nineteenth-century harmony in *Der polyphone Satz* (1943).³²³

³²⁰ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591. Fortner, life story, undated; Wolfgang Fortner, ‘Meldebogen auf Grund des Gesetzes zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus vom 5.3.1946’, 2 May 1946 (response to sixth question on form ‘Zugehörigkeit zur Wehrmacht, Polizeiformation, RAD, OT, Transportgruppe Spper u.ä.’).

³²¹ In three unpublished concerti from 1926-27 apparently similar in nature to some of the Hindemith *Kammermusik*. These are discussed in Ute Henseler, ‘Ernst Peppings frühe Kammermusik im Kontext der Zwanziger Jahre’, in *Pepping-Studien I: Analysen zum Schaffen der Jahre 1926-1949* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), pp. 9-26, cited in Ian D. Sutherland, ‘From Weimar Republic to Third Reich: Composing agency in changing socio-cultural contexts’ (PhD thesis: University of Exeter, [2013?]), p. 205.

³²² This is broken by what appears to be a leading note, but resolves downwards to a D minor harmony. Similarly, Sutherland notes combinations of pentatonicism, whole-tone scales and atonal chromaticism in the *Sonatina* for piano (1931) (*ibid.* p. 218).

³²³ Ernst Pepping, *Stilwende der Musik* (Mainz: Schott, 1934), pp. 79-92; *Der polyphone Satz I: Der cantus-firmus Satz*, second edition (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1950), pp. 5-20. See also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 165; and Sutherland, ‘From Weimar Republic to Third Reich’, pp. 207-13.

Lebhaft

Ex. 1.15. Ernst Pepping, Chorale Partita, ‘Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten’ (1932), fourth movement. Published by Schott Music.

Other figures who can be loosely grouped with the ‘Back to Bach’ movement include Karl Höller, Johann Nepomuk David, Kurt Hessenberg, and Hermann Zilcher, though the latter two exhibit few modern elements. Most important for this study is Paul Höffer (1895-1949) from a background in ‘Back to Bach’ and *Gebrauchsmusik*, and a long teaching career at the Berlin Musikhochschule from 1923, becoming a Professor in 1933. After early mixed fortunes in the Reich, from the mid-1930s Höffer wrote stage works, cantatas for children, music based on folk songs and propagandistic works (including an award-winning *Olympischer Schwur* in 1936),³²⁴ in part to rehabilitate his reputation after inclusion in the ‘Liste der Musik-Bolschewisten’.³²⁵ Many marches and militaristic works (some written in collaboration with the HJ and KdF) followed, as well as works of *Hausmusik* and settings of folk songs, which were celebrated in the press.³²⁶ His oratorio *Der reiche*

³²⁴ Boyden, *Strauss*, p. 325.

³²⁵ Charlotte Erwin and Erik Levi, ‘Höffer, Paul’, at *Grove Online*.

³²⁶ See for example Friedrich W. Herzog, ‘Paul Höffer: “Lob der Gemeinschaft”’, *Die Musik* 30/5 (February 1938), pp. 340-41; Paul Egert, ‘Zeitgenössisches Musikschaffen’, *Die Musik*, 30/2 (November 1937), p. 112; Erich Schütze, ‘Zeitgenössische Chormusik’, *Die Musik* 31/7 (April 1939),

Tag (1938) is a conservative work with some modern elements, including a baritone solo accompanied by just a snare drum, and hints of bitonality. Höffer won a major prize for his Piano Concerto at the Reichsmusiktagen in Düsseldorf in 1939,³²⁷ and received a 5000 RM from Drewes in 1944 for the composition of the oratorio *Mysterium Liebe*.³²⁸

Internationalism

A common ideological trope from 1945 onwards maintained that from 1933 to 1945, Germany was cut off not only from modern, but also international, musical developments. Conservatives had since the 1920s attacked international music without roots in national traditions, described by Pfitzner as an ‘anti-Volk internationalism’ (*völkerfeindliche Internationalismus*).³²⁹ But some embraced plural nationalisms, in the manner of the ‘nationalist cosmopolitics’ that originated in the early post-Enlightenment era,³³⁰ without forsaking a basic attitude of German supremacy (and excluding Jewish people).³³¹ In 1935, Nazi critic Hermann Killer distinguished ‘Marxist-inspired political internationalism’ and ‘all-world-artistry’ (*Allerweltsartistentum*), which he despised, from international cultural exchange, which he essentially favoured.³³² Raabe went further, denying that music need choose between nationalism and internationalism, arguing that the concept of ‘world-citizenship’ (*Weltbürgertum*, a term from Goethe) could be reconciled with national allegiances and roots.³³³

pp. 472-3. (on *Der reiche Tag*); and Hermann Halbig, ‘Alte und neue Volkslieder in neuzeitlicher Bearbeitung’, *Die Musik* 30/7 (April 1938), pp. 463-6. For a later celebratory article on Höffer’s work is Dietrich Stoverock, ‘Paul Höffer’, *ZfM* 110/2 (February 1943), pp. 56-9.

³²⁷ Stoverock, ‘Höffer’, p. 58.

³²⁸ Erwin and Levi, ‘Höffer, Paul’; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 3144-55; SL, ‘Höffer, Paul’, *MGG* Personenteil Him-Kel 9, p. 103; Klee, *Kulturlexikon*, pp. 253-4.

³²⁹ Hans Pfitzner, ‘Vorwort zur dritten Auflage’, in *Gesammelte Schriften Band II: Zur Grundfrage der Operndichtung*, third edition (Augsburg: Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926), pp. 109-10.

³³⁰ See Daniel S. Malachuk, ‘Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century’, in Diane Morgan and Gary Banham (eds.), *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 139-62.

³³¹ See for example the view of South-Slavic folk music undermined by Jewish city-dwellers and commerce in Walther Wunsch, ‘Der Jude im balkanslawischen Volkstum und Volkslieder’, *Die Musik* 30/9 (June 1938), pp. 595-8.

³³² Hermann Killer, ‘Musik und Internationalität’, *Die Musik* 27/9 (June 1935), pp. 642-3.

³³³ Peter Raabe, ‘Nationalism, Internationalismus und Musik’, *Die Musik* 27/11 (August 1935), pp. 801-3.

Such thinking was at the heart of the *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten*, founded by Strauss, while at the RMK. This organisation, active from 1934 to 1939, with representatives from 19 European countries, was designed to protect authors' international rights, nurture international collaboration to protect composers' professional interests, and organise exchange concerts between nations. It came to stand as a *de facto* counterpart to the ISCM.³³⁴ It organised festivals and conferences around Europe, including in Hamburg in 1935 (in association with the ADMV, and in which context Killer and Raabe made their statements), Stuttgart in 1938 and Frankfurt in 1939, as well as exchange concerts between Berlin, Wiesbaden, Karlsbad, Zurich and Vichy. Krenek called the organisation *Die Blubo-Internationale* (with *Blubo* referring to *Blut und Boden*) soon after its inception,³³⁵ though this description became less appropriate over subsequent years.

There were a considerable number of other international music festivals (some of which will be discussed in the next section), concerts and exchanges in Nazi Germany. Examples include a festival in Wiesbaden in May 1939, bringing together musicians from France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, special concerts of English, French and Italian/Hungarian music from the BPO in 1936-37, a series of *Meistern des Auslands* by the Dresden Philharmonic around the same time, and a series of exchange concerts with numerous countries from 1937 organised by the Akademie der Künste in Berlin.³³⁶ Many societies for co-operation and cultural exchange between Germany and other countries were formed before and during the Third Reich, especially with Italy, beginning in 1931,³³⁷ with Spain from 1930, intensifying after 1939, and with other 'friendly nations' under far-right governments, including Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. With many of these there were special

³³⁴ For a concise overview, see Petra Garberding, 'Strauss und der Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten', in Walter Werbeck (ed.), *Richard Strauss Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), pp. 42-7. More detail on the history of the organisation can be found throughout Benjamin G. Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2016).

³³⁵ Austriacus [Ernst Krenek], 'Die Blubo-Internationale', in *23: Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift* 17-19 (15 December 1934), pp. 19-25.

³³⁶ Gerhard Weckerling, 'Wiesbaden', *Die Musik* 31/9 (June 1939), p. 642; Karl Laux, 'Dresden', *Die Musik* 29/5 (February 1937), pp. 373-4; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, p. 280; Fritz Stege, 'Berliner Musik', *ZfM* 104/2 (February 1937), p. 183.

³³⁷ This relationship is explored at length in Andrea Hoffend, *Zwischen Kultur-Achse und Kulturkampf. Die Beziehungen zwischen 'Drittem Reich' und faschistischem Italien in den Bereichen Medien, Kunst, Wissenschaft und Rassenfragen* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998) and Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*.

concerts or wider events of culture and music to celebrate the relationships.³³⁸ Cultural links with Japan, which dated back to the late nineteenth-century, increased after the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936, and a similar pattern ensued. Conductor Hidemaro Konoye came repeatedly to conduct major German orchestras, especially the BPO, and his score *Etenraku* (1930), based on a traditional gagaku melody, was played widely throughout the Third Reich and the territory of its allies.³³⁹

Societies linking Germany with France, Britain and Poland ceased activities after Raabe banned music from enemy nations on 1 October 1939.³⁴⁰ On the other hand, in 1940-41 the BPO hosted a series of government-ordered concerts with foreign guest conductors from Spain, Italy, Japan and Croatia.³⁴¹ Belgium, the Netherlands and various Nordic countries were viewed as racial allies of Germany, especially after occupation, reflecting ideologies dating back to the founding of the fanatical *Nordische Gesellschaft* in 1921.³⁴² As early as 1933, Grieg and Sibelius were presented as shining examples of music of *Blut und Boden*,³⁴³ while after the occupation of Belgium, Flemish composers (including César Franck) were presented as having been marginalised by ‘Jewish and Francophile interest groups’ and ‘an intellectual Brussels clique’.³⁴⁴ During the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact, Russian

³³⁸ There are many reviews and articles about these in *Die Musik*, *ZfM* and other journals. See for example Max Unger, ‘Deutsch-Italienisches Musikfest in Venedig’, two parts, *ZfM* 106/11 (November 1941), pp. 744-5; *ZfM* 106/12 (December 1941), pp. 795-6; Günter Haußwald, ‘Deutsch-Spanisches Musikfest in Bad Elster’, *ZfM* 108/8 (August 1941), pp. 538-9; Gerhard Schultze, ‘Deutsch-ungarisches Austauschkonzert’, *Die Musik* 31/9 (June 1939), p. 637; and Hermann Killer, ‘Berliner Konzerte’, *Die Musik* 59/2 (November 1942), p. 59 (on a German-Romanian evening).

³³⁹ See in particular Kyungboon Lee, ‘Japanese Musicians Between Music and Politics During WWII: Japanese Propaganda in the Third Reich’, *Itinerario* 38/2 (August 2014), pp. 121-38. Again, appearances of Japanese and Korean musicians were documented in the leading musical journals.

³⁴⁰ The *Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft* is investigated in Guido Müller, *Europäische Gesellschaftsbeziehungen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Das Deutsch-Französische Studienkomitee und der Europäische Kulturbund* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005).

³⁴¹ Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, p. 298.

³⁴² Wolf Stegemann, ‘Nordische Gesellschaft – eine ideologisch völkisch-rassistische Organisation der NSDAP mit Rothenburgs bürgerlicher Hautevolee’, *Rothenburg unterm Hakenkreuz*, 20 January 2014, at <http://www.rothenburg-unterm-hakenkreuz.de/die-nordische-gesellschaft-eine-ideologisch-voelkisch-rassistische-organisation-der-nsdap-mit-rothenburgs-buergerlicher-hautevolee/> (accessed 18 January 2018).

³⁴³ Henning Rechnitzer-Möller, ‘Nordische Musik’, *Die Musik*, 26/1 (October 1933), pp. 69-71.

³⁴⁴ Nikolaus Spanuth, ‘Wandlungen im belgischen Musikleben’, *Die Musik* 33/6 (March 1941), pp. 211-2; Spanuth, ‘Deutsche Musik im besetzten Gebiet. Erstaufführungen in Belgien’, *ZfM* 108/7 (July 1941), pp. 459-60. See also Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium 1940-1944* (New York et al: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 127, 130-1 on Nazi favour for Flems over Walloons.

music received a certain boost, with special performances in Cologne, Kiel, Baden-Baden and Berlin, including works of Prokofiev.³⁴⁵

A Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer, directed by George Schünemann, continued its activities even after the outbreak of war, with 1940 courses in Berlin-Potsdam and Salzburg entertaining Bulgarian, Rumania, Yugoslavian, Swiss, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, American, Russian, Italian, Hungarian and Slovak students.³⁴⁶ Nonetheless, one should not underestimate German domination: several surveys of concert programming in *Die Musik* and *ZfM* from 1940 to 1942 demonstrated that the number of German works was around 3-5 times that of music from all other countries combined.³⁴⁷

New Music Festivals

Some Nazi critics saw music festivals as occasions for national prestige,³⁴⁸ though others felt they hindered more natural and organic developments of German musical life.³⁴⁹ But political directives and the wider cultural climate made such events quite different from their Weimar era counterparts. At the ADMV festival in Dortmund in June 1933, works of Braunfels and Webern were withdrawn, and a Schoenbergian string quartet by Peter Schacht came under strong attack.³⁵⁰ After a thoroughly Nazified festival in Wiesbaden in 1934, Raabe took over the presidency, and in the festival in Weimar in June 1936, he programmed some composers earlier denounced for atonality or cultural bolshevism, including Fortner, Reutter, Hugo Herrmann and Tiessen.³⁵¹ This led Ziegler and Hermann Ambrosius to organise against Raabe,³⁵²

³⁴⁵ See Hermann Unger, 'Musik in Köln', *ZfM*, 106/12 (December 1939), p. 1160 and various adverts and listings in that journal in 1940; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, pp. 292-8.

³⁴⁶ 'Hochschulen, Konservatorien und Unterrichtswesen', *ZfM* 107/10 (October 1940), pp. 654-6; Rosen, 'Deutschland im europäischen Musikaustausch', pp. 68-9.

³⁴⁷ Anton M. Topitz, 'Was brachte die Spielzeit 1940/41 im Konzertsaal?', *Die Musik* 33/12 (Sep 1941), pp. 423-6; Wilhelm Altmann, 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1941/42 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *ZfM* 109/2 (February 1942), pp. 54-61; and *ZfM* 109/3 (March 1942), pp. 102-10; 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1942/43 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *ZfM* 110/2 (February 1943), pp. 59-68.

³⁴⁸ Hans Stephan, 'Musikfeste und Weltanschauung', *Die Musik* 30/2 (November 1937), pp. 91-3. This compares such festivals to the Olympic Games.

³⁴⁹ Richard Litterscheid, 'Musikfeste in der Zukunft', *Die Musik* 30/10 (July 1938), pp. 649-52.

³⁵⁰ See for example Ernst August Schneider, 'Das 63. Tonkünstlerfest des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins', *Die Musik* 25/10 (July 1933), p. 768.

³⁵¹ 'Tonkünstlerfest in Weimar', *NMb* 15/17 (May 1936), p. 6.

and the composers were removed. After the final ADMV event in Frankfurt and Darmstadt in June 1937, the organisation was abolished.³⁵³ In its place, Raabe organised the *Reichsmusiktagen* in Düsseldorf in 1938 and 1939, free of any excursions into modernism, with a major address by Goebbels, who offered ‘ten commandments’ for music.³⁵⁴

In Donaueschingen, composer Hugo Herrmann founded a new *Volksmusikfest* in 1934, replacing the older avant-garde event.³⁵⁵ It ticked many of the right political boxes, with programming listing ‘Neue Musik für die Jugend’, ‘Neue Hausmusik’, ‘Neue Gemeinschaftsmusik’ and ‘Neue Unterhaltungs- und Gebrauchsmusik’.³⁵⁶ Herrmann wrote an article to accompany the first event, arguing that the distinction between folk and art music could become redundant.³⁵⁷ Further festivals took place yearly from 1936 to 1939, developing links with the KdF and the NS-Reichssymphonie Orchester, though also with Paul Sacher’s chamber orchestra and early music groups from Freiburg and elsewhere.

Quite different in nature was the *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest*, founded in Baden-Baden in 1936 by the then GMD of the town, Herbert Albert, and running from 1936 to 1939.³⁵⁸ This featured music from seventeen countries, with a minority of late romantic composers. German music favoured Sachlichkeiter and Back-to-Bach figures like Fortner, Pepping, Frommel and Egk. Stravinsky attended in 1936 to hear his Concerto for Two Pianos (and *Perséphone* was played in 1938), while Bartók’s Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste was given its German premiere there in 1937. There was however no music of Schoenberg and his school other than Winfried Zillig’s *Tanzsymphonie* in 1938. Fred Hamel, reviewing the first festival, compared it to the events in Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden in the

³⁵² Goebbels, diary entry of 16 June 1936, in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923-1941. Band 3/II* (Munich: Saur, 2001), p. 108.

³⁵³ For a generally factual account of the 1937 festival, see Erich Limmert, ‘Der ADMV in Darmstadt und Frankfurt’, *NMb* 16/28 (June/July 1937), p. 3; see also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 20-21.

³⁵⁴ Joseph Goebbels, ‘Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens’, reprinted in Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth (eds.), *Entartete Musik. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938* (Düsseldorf: der kleine verlag, 1988), p. 123.

³⁵⁵ For a detailed account of the events leading to this, see Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 69-81.

³⁵⁶ Häusler, *Donaueschingen*, p. 117, and pp. 431-5 for the full programmes during this period.

³⁵⁷ Herrmann, ‘Neue deutsche Volksmusik Donaueschingen’, *Die Musik* 27/1 (October 1934), pp. 44-5.

³⁵⁸ These events are analysed in detail in Joan Evans, ‘“International with National Emphasis”: The *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest* in Baden-Baden, 1936-1939’, in Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (eds.), *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933-1945* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), pp. 102-13, including a full list of works performed. On Albert, a conductor and pianist who led a mostly untainted life during the Third Reich, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 93-4.

1920s,³⁵⁹ though Herzog took a different view, distinguishing the new event as an ‘international music festival with national emphasis’, the language of the Ständiger Rat.³⁶⁰

The other important new music festival, the only one of its type to have been created in the Third Reich and which continues to the present day, was the *Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik*, founded in the Ruhr region in 1936 by composer Robert Ruthenfranz (1905-1970), a Hindemith student and NSDAP member from July 1937.³⁶¹ Ruthenfranz mounted seven festivals until the end of the war, the first beginning just two weeks after that in Baden-Baden. But the programming at Witten was very different, dominated by conservative or mainstream German composers like Distler, Genzmer, Graener, Pepping or Pfitzner. Ruthenfranz would later portray the festival as a form of ‘silent opposition’ to the regime, but in reality there was little to differentiate it from any number of approved new music events in Germany during this period.

Other Organisations for New Music

City-based new music organisations, such as proliferated in the Weimar era, fell in number but did not die out completely during the Third Reich. Of the organisations created before 1933, those in Greifswald, Nuremberg and one of the Munich series remained (see Appendix 1). New societies were founded in Berlin (two societies), Frankfurt (directed by Gerhard Frommel) and Dresden in 1935-36, and then later on Heinrich Lemacher refounded the former society in Cologne, under the chairmanship of Nazi ideologue and scourge of atonality Ernst Bücken.³⁶² In 1942 further societies were formed in Essen, Düsseldorf, and Münster (directed by Heinz Dressel).

The Frankfurt society had quite an international flavour from an early stage, with a concert entitled ‘Zeitgenössische Musik des Auslandes’, with French, Spanish

³⁵⁹ Fred Hamel, ‘Das Musikfest in Baden-Baden’, *NMb* 15/17 (May 1936), p. 5.

³⁶⁰ Friedrich W. Herzog, ‘Musik der Völker in Baden-Baden’, *Die Musik* 28/10 (1936), p. 781.

³⁶¹ Frank Hentschel, *Die ‘Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik’: über Geschichte und Historiografie aktueller Musik* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), pp. 19-21.

³⁶² Robert von Zahn, “‘Als ob sich eine lang aufgestaute Musizierlust plötzlich Bahn bräche’”. Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46’, in Georg Mölich and Stefan Wunsch (eds.), *Köln nach dem Krieg. Facetten der Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: Janue, 1995), p. 235.

and Czech composers.³⁶³ Between 1936 and 1939 Frommel programmed such adventurous works as Stravinsky's Octet, a Hindemith piano sonata, the second Bartók Violin Sonata, and works of Debussy, Roussel, de Falla, Malipiero and Martinů, as well as more regular German fare. There was even a talk in the 1936-7 season from a Dr. Trefzger from Stuttgart on 'oriental and European music'.³⁶⁴ In Munich, Fritz Büchtger programmed mostly standard German fare, but also (before the war) works of Bartók, Janáček, Lars-Erik Larsson, Roussel and Cherepnin.³⁶⁵

The Nuremberg series was however the most significant and sustained of its type, with eight concerts per season, and a focus upon premieres. Founded by Adalbert Kalix in 1931, it had originally featured microtonal music of Hába and works of Toch, Hindemith and others.³⁶⁶ After 1933 Kalix removed Jewish and 'kulturbolschewistische' composers, continuing with safe Germans such as Fortner, Egk and Degen, alongside Hungarians Bartók and Dohnányi, though the programming broadened again in 1937-8, with works of Prokofiev, Ernesto Hallfer and Claude Delvincourt.³⁶⁷ During the first ten years, 500 works by 164 composers from 15 countries were presented, involving most of the major Nuremberg musical institutions.³⁶⁸ The Cologne series, on the other hand, was conservative, but had a few oddities, in particular the world premiere of Bernd Alois Zimmermann's String Trio on 23 June 1944.³⁶⁹

As before, the amount of new music in regular series in different cities varied depending upon the individuals responsible. Münster featured a fair amount under GMD Eugen Pabst, and then considerably more when Hans Rosbaud, who pushed Stravinsky's music in particular, took over in 1937, followed by Heinz Dressel from 1941.³⁷⁰ Another important centre was Essen, first under MD Johannes Schüler from 1933 to 1936, with Hindemith's *Mathis* symphony and works of Debussy, de Falla,

³⁶³ August Kruhm, 'Frankfurt a. M.', *ZfM* 103/4 (April 1936), p. 494.

³⁶⁴ K.F., 'Der Frankfurter Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik', *NMb* 15/21 (November 1936), p. 2.

³⁶⁵ There were many reviews of these events in different journals, for example 'Musik in München', *NMb* 15/15 (March 1936), p. 2; Erich Valentin, "'Junge Deutsche Komponisten". Eine Woche zeitgenössischer Musik in München. 15.-23. Oktober 1937', *ZfM* 104/11 (November 1937), pp. 1271-2; and Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Uraufführungen zeitgenössischer Musik in München', *Die Musik* 35/2 (November 1942), pp. 57-8.

³⁶⁶ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben*, Band 2, pp. 731-2.

³⁶⁷ Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 297.

³⁶⁸ See Karl Foessel, 'Zehn Jahre im Dienste zeitgenössischer Musik', *ZfM* 108/12 (December 1941), pp. 791-2. The Nuremberg series was regularly covered in the *ZfM* through the course of its existence.

³⁶⁹ Von Zahn, 'Der Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46', pp. 235-6.

³⁷⁰ Christoph Schmidt, *Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik im Gau Westfalen-Nord: Regionale Strukturen und locale Milieus (1933-1945)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2006), pp. 307-11; Evans, *Rosbaud: A Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 34-6.

Ravel, Casella, Emil Petters, as well as Fortner, Egk and others. Schüler also programmed baroque and modern works together. Albert Bittner took over in 1936 and continued first in a similar vein, then pushed further the tendency towards European modernism, with works of Bartók, Françaix, Halftter, Malipiero, Henk Badings, Roderich von Mojsisovic, Kodály and others.³⁷¹ An article in *Die Musik* in August 1938 compared new music in Dortmund, Bochum, Essen, Duisburg, Mülheim and Gelsenkirchen,³⁷² finding Essen to be the most adventurous, for which Bittner and Schüler were commended. Ultimately Bittner's efforts were weaponised by *Die Musik* in an article in May-June 1941, the city presented as a 'defiant stronghold' of German art, with music as part of the 'armoury' of the Reich.³⁷³ There was also a surge of new music in Braunschweig, after Ewald Lindemann became GMD in Spring 1936, with early summer festivals of 'Zeitgenössische Dichter und Komponisten' from 1936 to 1939.³⁷⁴

A new music event over two evenings in Bad Pyrmont in 1933 featured the likes of Höffer, Distler and Höller.³⁷⁵ Similar programming characterised series in Kassel from 1933 to 1939, in Stuttgart from 1935 to 1937, in Bad Nauheim from 1935 to 1937, in Bad Godesberg in 1936, Pyrmont again in 1936 to 1937, Darmstadt in 1936, 1939 and 1941, and Berlin from 1941 to 1943. Only a few one-off events, such as those in Lübeck 1937 and Ludwigshafen in 1940 and 1941, demonstrated the more outward-looking programming of festivals and series in Baden-Baden, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Münster, Essen and Braunschweig.³⁷⁶ The BPO and the Berlin

³⁷¹ Again many of the Essen concerts were covered in several journals. See for example Hans Georg Fellmann, 'Großer Erfolg des "Mathis"', *NMb* 13/2 (December 1934), p. 6; Wolfgang Steinecke, 'Neue Musik im Ruhrgebiet. Moderne konzertante Werke', *Die Musik* 29/7 (April 1937), pp. 500-2; and Richard Litterscheid, '"Musikfest der Stadt Essen". Ein Fest aus Anlaß des 100jährigen Bestehens des Essener Musikvereins', *Die Musik* 30/7 (April 1938), pp. 477-9.

³⁷² Mally Behler, 'Der westdeutsche Konzertanteil an der Gegenwartsmusik', *Die Musik* 30/11 (August 1938), pp. 772-3.

³⁷³ Mally Behler, 'Vom Musikleben in der Waffenschmiede des Reiches', *Die Musik* 33/8-9 (May-June 1941), pp. 314-6.

³⁷⁴ See for example Ernst Brandt, 'Festwoche "Zeitgenössische Dichter und Komponisten" in Braunschweig', *ZfM* 103/8 (August 1936), pp. 985-6; and 'Festwoche Zeitgenössischer Dichter und Komponisten in Braunschweig', *ZfM* 106/8 (August 1939), pp. 880-1.

³⁷⁵ Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Das junge Deutschland in der Musik. Zwei Festabende zeitgenössischer Musik in Bad Pyrmont', *Die Musik* 25/12 (September 1933), p. 917.

³⁷⁶ Information on programming taken from numerous reviews and listings in *NMb*, *ZfM* and *Die Musik*, and also Klaus Matthias, 'Musikgeschichte Lübecks im 20. Jahrhundert. Kirchenmusik und Konzertwesen', in Arnfried Edler and Heinrich W. Schwab (eds.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck* (Kassel et al: Bärenreiter, 1989), p. 194; and for the series *Musik der Gegenwart* in *FddKB* 23/11 (15 November 1942).

Rundfunk-Orchester also played a steady stream of international new work,³⁷⁷ whilst there were splatterings of this in Dresden, Duisburg, Flensburg and Ulm. However, Hamburg, Leipzig, Stuttgart and Munich remained conservative other than for special events.

Radio and Technology

Goebbels, unlike Rosenberg, valued radio greatly and sought to exploit its potential. Determined to rid broadcasting of 'Jewish-Marxist writers', he fired many staff within the first six months of the regime, transferred all responsibilities to the Propaganda Ministry, and made all the nine stations subject to central control from the RRG.³⁷⁸ He appointed former sailor and motor mechanic Eugen Hadamovsky to control the station, as *Reichssendeleiter* in early 1934.³⁷⁹ To make radio more accessible, the Nazis subsidised production of low-cost receivers called *Volksempfänger*, leading to an increase in the number of households with a radio from 4.5 out of 20 million in 1933 to 16 out of 23 million in 1942. This was now a regime characterised by mass communication.³⁸⁰

Hadamovsky used light entertainment to induce more people to listen (and thus to hear propaganda), but this led to an increase of 59% in 1932 to 69% in 1937 of the total proportion of music broadcast. 87% of this was light music.³⁸¹ There were nonetheless attempts to encourage more to listen to serious music. The efforts of Hadamovsky, Raabe and others, resulted eventually in nationalistic programmes called 'Hour of the Nation' and 'Music of the Great Masters' broadcasting German

³⁷⁷ Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, pp. 256-314; Matthias Meyer and Christian-Albrecht Bard, *Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Berlin 1923-1998* (Berlin: Berlin Rundfunk-Orchester und -Chöre, 1998), p. 75.

³⁷⁸ Currio, *A National Acoustics*, p. 21; Welch, *Politics and Propaganda*, p. 39; Noakes and Pridham, *Nazism 2*, p. 190; Angsar Diller, *Rundfunkpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), pp. 134-42 (including a diagram of the hierarchical structure).

³⁷⁹ Welch, *Politics and Propaganda*, p. 39; Klee, *Kulturlexikon*, p. 209.

³⁸⁰ Richard Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich* (London: Phoenix, 2005; first published 1971), p. 506; Welch, *Politics and Propaganda*, pp. 41-2. Currio, *A National Acoustics*, p. 21.

³⁸¹ Willy Rickartz, 'Musik und Rundfunk', *Die Musik* 29/4 (January 1937), p. 242; Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich*, pp. 507-8; Rita von der Grün, 'Funktionen und Formen von Musiksendungen im Rundfunk', in Heister and Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, p. 100; Currio, *A National Acoustics*, p. 20.

canonical works.³⁸² A late-night series of contemporary music (thus anticipating post-war programming) was introduced in the 1934-35 season, with a range of repertoire, especially contemporary opera.³⁸³ Rosbaud was able to keep some modern music alive, including Debussy, Bartók, and Stravinsky, on Frankfurt Radio, while Cologne Radio broadcast their own *Zeitgenössische Musik* series, featuring world premieres, on alternate Thursdays from 1935.³⁸⁴

The most significant technological innovation during the period was the invention of magnetic tape and the Magnetophon, by the *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft* (AEG) in conjunction with the BASF subdivision of the chemical company IG Farben, and first exhibited in 1935 at the Berlin Radio Fair.³⁸⁵ This enabled high quality recordings to be broadcast on the radio, reducing the need for radio live concerts.³⁸⁶ Otherwise, wider music-technological developments were limited. An *Institut für musikalische Technologie* was founded in Breslau in April 1933, but it is not clear that any lasting developments were pioneered here.³⁸⁷ More significant was the group for *Musik und Technologie* founded at the Berlin Musikhochschule in 1936, which by 1939-40 developed into a full *Abteilung für Film- und Elektromusik*, equipped with a range of instruments.³⁸⁸ This group also championed the Trautonium, for which Harald Genzmer wrote a series of works (combining the disembodied whining sound of the instrument with a late romantic musical language). These received relatively high-profile performances and generated wider interest.³⁸⁹

³⁸² Rickartz, 'Musik und Rundfunk', p. 243; Kurt Herbst, "'Keine Angst vor der Sinfonie'", *Die Musik* 29/4 (January 1937), pp. 278-80; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, pp. 133-4; Currio, *A National Acoustics*, pp. 124-35.

³⁸³ W. St., 'Programmgestaltung der Rundfunk', *NMb* 14/6 (April 1935), p. 2; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, pp. 136-7.

³⁸⁴ Evans, *Rosbaud: A Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 27-31; W. St., 'Ein neues Oratorium', *NMb* 14/10 (September 1935), p. 2; 'Ein Wort zu den Konzertprogrammen', *NMb* 14/10 (September 1935), pp. 3-4.

³⁸⁵ David L. Morton Jr., *Sound Recording: The Story of Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 111-4; David Dunn, 'A History of Electronic Music Pioneers', originally printed in *Eigenwelt der Apparatwelt: Pioneers of Electronic Art*, catalogue for *Ars Electronica 1992*, online at <http://www.daviddunn.com/~david/writings/pioneers.pdf> (accessed 19 September 2017), p. 10.

³⁸⁶ Meyer and Bard, *Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Berlin*, pp. 75-9.

³⁸⁷ 'Tageschronik', *Die Musik* 25/8 (May 1933), p. 639; Hermann Matzke, 'Über Wesen und Aufgabe der musikalischen Technologie', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11/2 (1954), pp. 146-56.

³⁸⁸ Fritz Stein, 'Aus der Arbeit der Staatl. Akademischen Hochschule für Musik in Berlin', *ZfM* 107/7 (July 1940), pp. 390-1.

³⁸⁹ Günther Weiß, 'Gespräch mit Harald Genzmer im November 1982', in Erich Valentin et al, *Harald Genzmer* (Tützing: Hans Schneider, 1983), pp. 27-30; Erich Valentin, 'Ein Humanist unter den Musikern. Versuch eines Genzmer-Porträts', *ibid.* p. 20; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp.

Pedagogy and Journalism

Primary and secondary musical education were reformed properly only in 1938, focusing upon communal singing, and some basic theory and appreciation.³⁹⁰ The HJ, on the other hand, took a most active role, directing special schools and camps, where instrumental, vocal and rhythmic skills could be learned in a martial fashion. HJ groups played at many political events, and also came to be influential in many conservatories.³⁹¹ Fritz Jöde worked with various HJ groups and played a major role in turning the Weimar youth movement into a more heavily racialised and militarised equivalent, coming to believe strongly in the value of the Nazi revolution for that movement.³⁹²

Amongst the most prominent Nazi critics were Herbert Gerigk, who sought to distance himself from backward-looking conservatism,³⁹³ and Fritz Stege, an arch-enemy of Stuckenschmidt, but who recognised the need to win support from musically sophisticated readers.³⁹⁴ The previously independent *Die Musik* became heavily politicised after Friedrich W. Herzog became editor in April 1934 (succeeded by Gerigk in September 1936), with many aggressively anti-semitic articles. It was declared the official organ of the NSKG, then in October 1937 Rosenberg announced that it would represent the view of the Führer.³⁹⁵

The *ZfM*, while nationalistic, was somewhat more restrained, while avoiding criticising the regime directly.³⁹⁶ *Melos* was taken over by the government in August 1934 and renamed *Neues Musikblatt* (though Strobel remained editor for a period). It came to feature more nationalistic articles, though it did also mention some works of

1970-71; Dietz Degen, 'Das Trautonium. Ein Beispiel elektrischer Musikinstrumente', *Die Musik* 33/3 (December 1940), pp. 90-94.

³⁹⁰ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 134-5.

³⁹¹ Ibid. pp. 135-42.

³⁹² Ibid. pp. 148-9.

³⁹³ Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, p. 179; Herbert Gerigk, 'Keine "Restauration der Greise"', *Volksparole Düsseldorf*, 20 June 1934, reproduced in *Die Musik* 26/10 (July 1934), p. 793.

³⁹⁴ Colpa, 'Fortner', p. 170.

³⁹⁵ Marc-André Roberge, '*Die Musik* (1901-44): La transformation d'un périodique à travers trois périodes de l'histoire allemande' (PhD thesis: University of Toronto, 1988), pp. 57-65; Fabian R. Lovisa, *Musikkritik im Nationalsozialismus* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1993), p. 39; Rainer Sieb, 'Der Zugriff der NSDAP auf die Musik. Zum Aufbau von Organisationsstrukturen für die Musikarbeit in den Gliederungen der Partei' (PhD thesis: University of Osnabrück, 2006), p. 73; Herbert Gerigk, 'Aufgabe und Verpflichtung', *Die Musik* 30/1 (October 1937), p. 1.

³⁹⁶ Levi, *Musik in the Third Reich*, pp. 234-7.

Stravinsky, Milhaud, Bartók and others.³⁹⁷ Eventually *Die Musik*, *ZfM*, the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* and *NMb* were all combined in April/May 1943 into a single publication, *Musik im Kriege*, edited by Gerigk.³⁹⁸ In this the coverage of new music was minimal.³⁹⁹

People – Composers and Performers

Life was disrupted for many modernist composers and musicians after the Nazis came to power. Schoenberg and Schreker were both dismissed from the Berlin Musikhochschule. Schreker died of a stroke in 1934, while Schoenberg left Germany in 1933 first for France and then for the United States, where he spent the rest of his life.⁴⁰⁰ Hindemith's plight has already been discussed; Bekker, Eisler, Weill, Toch and Schnabel all travelled elsewhere in Europe before moving to the US, Wolpe saw his brother brutally beaten in clashes between storm troopers and the KPD, and himself moved through Czechoslovakia, then to Moscow and Vienna before relocating in British-mandated Palestine in May 1934. He taught and composed there until 1938, and then moved to New York. Vogel moved back to Switzerland, Krenek remained in Austria before also moving to the USA in 1937, and Schulhoff died in the Bavarian concentration camp of Wülzburg.⁴⁰¹ Scherchen settled in Winterthur, Switzerland, and maintained a busy schedule around the rest of Europe for the whole period, whilst being regularly denounced in the Nazi press.⁴⁰² Some documentation suggests that he considered some entreaties from Goebbels in 1941 to allow him to return to take up a major position, but this never got much further.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁷ Hass, 'Melos'; Levi, *Musik in the Third Reich*, p. 232; Lovisa, *Musikkritik im Nationalsozialismus*, p. 63.

³⁹⁸ Lovisa, *Musikkritik im Nationalsozialismus*, p. 208.

³⁹⁹ Levi, *Musik in the Third Reich*, pp. 240-41.

⁴⁰⁰ Hailey, *Schreker*, pp. 287-95; Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, pp. 237-8.

⁴⁰¹ Christopher Hailey, 'Bekker, (Max) Paul (Eugen)', at *Grove Online*; Blake, 'Eisler'; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 88-9, 104, 106, 116-18 (on Weill, Schulhoff and Schnabel); Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7213 (on Toch); Clarkson, 'Stefan Wolpe's Berlin Years', pp. 390-91; Clarkson, 'Wolpe, Stefan' at *Grove Online*; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Twentieth-Century Composers; Germany and Central Europe* (New York, Chicago and San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 119-23 (on Vogel); John Lincoln Stewart, *Ernst Krenek: The Man and his Music* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 93-8, 178-219.

⁴⁰² Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 55; ...alles hörbar machen, pp. 374-5; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 6073; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 128-9. One denunciation appeared in Fritz Stege, 'Randglossen zum Musikleben', *ZfM* 100/4 (April 1933), p. 378.

⁴⁰³ Hansjörg Pauli, 'Hermann Scherchen. Nazigegegnert und Exponent der Moderne', in Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen (eds.), *Musik im Exil. Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1993), pp. 65-8; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 129;

From the Berlin circles, only Erdmann (see below), Tiessen, Butting, Jarnach and Stuckenschmidt, as well as some of Schoenberg's pupils, including Rufer and Zillig, remained in Germany. The primary representatives of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* had left, and also those associated with *Gebrauchsmusik*, though the latter attitude survived in a modified form in Nazi Germany, and its primary ideologue, Bessler, became an SA member and hardline anti-semitic.⁴⁰⁴ The critic Rudolf Sonner wrote gloatingly in 1938 of the flight of many of these figures and its effect on 'the mentality of the Jewish race' which he claimed had undermined German music culture.⁴⁰⁵

The activities of Zillig, Orff, Egk, Fortner, Pepping and Höffer during the Reich have already been discussed. Tiessen portrayed himself in 1962 as a selfless inner emigrant despairing of the political situation,⁴⁰⁶ but in fact he had a reasonable career from 1939, because of Drewes, who had previously been his student. He cultivated high-level contacts, received subsidies, wrote militaristic choral works, and was supported to become a full salaried professor in the *Musikhochschule* in 1943.⁴⁰⁷ Jarnach's career during the Reich has not been extensively researched, but he certainly had a stream of performances of new work and continued teaching at the *Cologne Musikhochschule*.⁴⁰⁸ Walter Braunfels, who was half-Jewish, can reasonably be considered an 'inner emigrant'. His negative thoughts on the regime are documented in early correspondence, and he was removed from the Hochschule in 1934, relocating to Bad Godesberg then the Bodensee, losing his RMK membership in 1938, so he could no longer legally perform in public.⁴⁰⁹ He continued to compose, developed contacts with exiled musicians such as Scherchen and Bruno Walter, and

Aktennotiz der RMK & RKK (Abt. Kulturpersonalien) BA Namensakte Scherchen, reproduced in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 6080-1.

⁴⁰⁴ Bessler wrote an article linking Schiller's views on aesthetics to the political programme of Hitler, and stamped 'Jude' upon all works by Jewish author in the Heidelberg musicological library. See Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof*, pp. 28-9; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 426-8; Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, pp. 82-5.

⁴⁰⁵ Rudolf Sonner, 'Aufbau und Kultur seit 1933', *Die Musik* 30/7 (April 1938), pp. 435-7.

⁴⁰⁶ Heinz Tiessen, *Wege eines Komponisten* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1962), pp. 56-7.

⁴⁰⁷ Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music?', p. 19; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 7193-5.

⁴⁰⁸ Wilhelm Jung, 'Das Musikleben der Gegenwart. Leipzig', *Die Musik* 27/8 (May 1935), p. 627; Alfred Burgartz, 'Das Musikleben der Gegenwart. Berlin', *Die Musik* 27/9 (June 1935), p. 700; Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music?', p. 20; Hanspeter Krellmann, 'Ich war nie Avantgardist'. *Gespräche mit dem Komponisten Jürg Baur* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968), pp. 12-14.

⁴⁰⁹ Ute Jung, *Walter Braunfels (1882-1954)* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1980), pp. 289-90, 614-17; Erik Levi, 'Braunfels, Walter', at *Grove Online*; Dümling, 'What is Internal Exile in Music?', p. 18.

was further denounced by his former colleague Hermann Unger in 1941 for hiring Jewish musicians.⁴¹⁰

Another composer most deserving of the term ‘inner emigrant’ is Hartmann, though as has been pointed out, his access to independent wherewithal through his father-in-law facilitated this option.⁴¹¹ Influenced politically by Scherchen, Hartmann set a Hebrew song in his First String Quartet (1933), and indirectly attacked the regime in his chamber opera *Des Simplicius Simplicissimus Jugend* (1934). He inscribed ‘Dachau 1933/34’ on the performing score of his *Miserae*, first performed at the ISCM in Prague in 1935, with a dedication to ‘my friends, who had to die in the hundreds and who are sleeping in eternity, we shall not forget you’.⁴¹² Through much of the Reich, he travelled widely, and built networks of contacts, whilst remaining quiet about his work in Germany.⁴¹³ Hartmann also studied with Webern briefly in November 1942, but did not adopt dodecaphony.⁴¹⁴ He managed to avoid conscription through a friend who was a high-level military physician.⁴¹⁵

Hermann Heiß had not the same financial freedom, and was forced to compromise. Early on during the Reich, he was ferociously attacked by the Rosenberg faction for association with ‘The Jew Schoenberg’ and for ‘Marxist ideals’, after a concert in March 1934 in which his Concerto for piano and winds was programmed alongside works of Höffer, von Hannenheim and Bartók.⁴¹⁶ From this point onwards, he changed direction, and from 1935 to 1941 he wrote a large number of militaristic and propagandistic works, some of which were performed widely, and some songs collected in the *Liederbuch der Lutwaffe* (1939). Heiß claimed that these had all been lost in the bombing of Darmstadt, but plenty of documentation remains.⁴¹⁷ He returned to conventional composition after gaining a teaching position in 1941 at the *Heeresmusikschule* in Frankfurt, and received some private commissions from Willy

⁴¹⁰ “Zeitlos unzeitgemäß”. *Der Komponist Walter Braunfels 1882-1954. Eine Ausstellung der Köln Musik* (Cologne: Wienand, c. 1995), pp. 58-9; Dümling, ‘What is Internal Exile in Music?’, p. 18.

⁴¹¹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, pp. 234, 238.

⁴¹² Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 88-90.

⁴¹³ Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, p. 45.

⁴¹⁴ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 236. For a detailed account of this time based upon the two composers’ correspondence, see Hans Moldenhauer, ‘Webern an Hartmann. Bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe und Postkarten’, in Renata Wagner (ed.), *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva* (Mainz, London, New York and Tokyo: Schott, 1980), pp. 81-91.

⁴¹⁵ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 238.

⁴¹⁶ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 2796; Herbert Henck, *Hermann Heiß, 1897-1966: Nachträge einer Biografie* (Deinstedt: Kompost-Verlag, 2009), pp. 146-74.

⁴¹⁷ For extensive details of this range of activity, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2792-802; and Henck, *Heiß*, pp. 187-307.

Müller at the *Süddeutscher Musikverlag*, including for his *Symphonisches Konzert* for piano and orchestra (1944), which would be played at Darmstadt in 1946. Heiß also re-engaged with twelve-tone music, re-establishing contact with fellow Hauer student Othmar Steinbauer.⁴¹⁸

Josef Rufer's activities during this period have not been researched in detail. We know he worked as a music critic for several newspapers and remained teaching in Berlin after Schoenberg's departure.⁴¹⁹ In September 1940 Rufer was conscripted into the army, serving in the Luftwaffe until November 1942, based in the Hanover area. Later he would claim to have been deeply shocked to see the camps in Poland, having previously believed claims of them to be propaganda. After his military service, he could move back to Berlin, and after his house was bombed in February 1944, moved into a property vacated by an SS officer in the district of Zehlendorf.⁴²⁰

Hugo Herrmann, who ran the *Volksmusikfest* in Donaueschingen from 1934 to 1939 and whose vital work immediately after the war will be discussed in Chapter 5, also composed many nationalistic and militaristic works. These include *Neues Deutschland* (whose text includes 'heil, Führer, dir, heil deutschem Volk/und heil dem deutschen Wort') and an arrangement of the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* for chromatic harmonica⁴²¹ as well as a range of sacred and other works, some based on folk music and Gregorian chant.⁴²² He was also amongst those whose works were removed from the ADMV festival in 1936. From 1935, though, he came to run a new *Hohner-Handharmonika-Fachschule* in Trossingen, founded with the help of the Hohner instrument firm,⁴²³ helped by his friendship with local Centre Party politician Karl Gengler, who had a strong interest in the accordion and harmonica.⁴²⁴ Herrmann also published articles on Unterhaltungsmusik, the importance of folk instruments, and

⁴¹⁸ Henck, *Heiß*, pp. 324-89, 454-9; Reichenbach, *Heiß*, p. 17; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2801-2.

⁴¹⁹ Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, pp. 282-3; Bruce Saylor and Michael von der Linn, 'Rufer, Josef (Leopold)' at *Grove Online*; Edith Gerson-Kiwi, 'Gradenwitz, Peter (Emanuel)', at *Grove Online*.

⁴²⁰ This is mostly based upon Rufer's own account to Schoenberg in a letter of 11 November 1945, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=15488 (accessed 20 January 2018). No other correspondence is known to have survived between Rufer and Schoenberg from 27 March 1939 until this date. Rufer's view of the camps is in Gradenwitz, *Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler*, p. 41.

⁴²¹ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2883-4.

⁴²² 'Neue Werke für den Konzertsaal', *Die Musik* 27/1 (October 1934), p. 77.

⁴²³ See Christoph Wagner, *Hermann Schittenhelm. Meisterspieler und Pionier der Handharmonika-Orchesterbewegung* (Trossingen: Harmonikamuseum Trossingen, [1993]), pp. 11-39 on the background of the Hohner firm leading to the establishment of the Fachschule.

⁴²⁴ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, pp. 19-22, 27-31.

approaches to musical form, but avoided using explicitly racist language.⁴²⁵ He joined the NSDAP, membership number 7,229,753, on 1 November 1939, and wrote a *Marsch nach Osten 1941/42*, to celebrate the German invasion of the Soviet Union.⁴²⁶

Eduard Erdmann, another key figure discussed in Chapter 5, had a much more murky career during the Reich than some earlier commentators imagined.⁴²⁷ His *Fragebogen* argues that he left the Musikhochschule in Cologne in 1935, after the removal of Jewish and other professors, to devote himself to performing.⁴²⁸ He joined the RMK in 1936, and the NSDAP in 1937, membership number 4,424,050, later claiming that he was forced to following threats to his four children.⁴²⁹ After this, he played widely, mostly standard German repertoire, including Hermann Götz's Piano Concerto with the BPO under Furtwängler in 1938, and with his old duo-partner Giesecking the premiere of a four-hand work by Harald Genzmer.⁴³⁰ Medical examinations deemed him unfit for military service,⁴³¹ and through the war he played at KdF events, concerts for soldiers, and a recital of major German piano literature following a lecture by Raabe, who had conducted Erdmann's First Symphony back in 1920.⁴³² In 1943-44, he was trusted enough to be issued with travel permits to play

⁴²⁵ Hugo Herrmann, 'Ethos der Unterhaltungsmusik?', *Die Musik* 30/7 (April 1938), pp. 447-50; 'Über die Bedeutung der Volksmusikinstrumente im deutschen Musikleben', *Die Musik*, 31/2 (November 1938), pp. 79-82; 'Über die Verwendung technisch neuer Instrumentalmittel', *Die Musik* 32/12 (September 1940), pp. 401-2; 'Die Phantasie als musikalische Form', *Die Musik* 33/5 (February 1941), pp. 161-2.

⁴²⁶ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2883, 2888.

⁴²⁷ As in Cook, *Opera for New Republic*, pp. 77-8 and Stewart, *Krenek*, pp. 185-6. As late as 1996, Erdmann was still portrayed as an 'inner emigrant' in a WDR portrait concert; See 'Vorwort', in *Komponieren in dunkler Zeit. Sechs Portraitkonzerte im Kleinen Sendesaal des WDR*, (Cologne: WDR, 1996), reproduced at <http://www.erdmann.jp.sa.de/EE04frame.htm> (accessed 20 January 2018).

⁴²⁸ AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 422, Erdmann Fragebogen, 27 July 1946. This is taken entirely at face value in Volker Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde* (Neukirchen: Nodle Stiftung Seebüll, 2009), pp. 50-52, but I have seen no necessary reason to doubt it.

⁴²⁹ AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 421, RMK booklet, Vorläufiger Ausweis Nr. 205567; File 422, Erdmann Fragebogen, 27 July 1946; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1437. In this Fragebogen, unlike the undated one in this file (probably slightly earlier), Erdmann pointed out that he had never worn a party badge, and always kept his membership strictly secret; in a later Fragebogen of 21 July 1947, he would also add that he had never attended a party meeting. See also Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, p. 52, who demonstrates that Erdmann was indeed living under continual fear of denunciation and repression.

⁴³⁰ Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, pp. 39-40, 53-8; Robert Oboussier, 'Konzerte in Berlin 1935-1938', in Bitter and Schlösser, *Begegnungen mit Eduard Erdmann*, pp. 179-80.

⁴³¹ AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 421, Wehrpaß, from Flensburg, 20 September 1938. Erdmann's Wehrnummer was 96/375/2. This includes details of three occasions, in 1938, 1943 and 1944, when Erdmann was medically examined for military service.

⁴³² Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, pp. 56-8; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1438.

both in Axis and occupied countries such as Italy, Denmark and Slovakia, and also in neutral Sweden and Finland.⁴³³

People - Critics

Four different critics – Wolfgang Steinecke, Heinrich Strobel, Herbert Eimert and Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt - all played key roles in the construction of an infrastructure for new music after 1945. All of their biographies from 1933 to 1945 are complicated. The youngest of these was Steinecke (1910-1961), the founder of the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*, who had previously studied musicology under Friedrich Blume and Fritz Stein at Kiel,⁴³⁴ and produced a German-centered dissertation on parody in music.⁴³⁵ From 1934, Steinecke worked as a critic for various papers and journals, especially *Der Mittag* in Düsseldorf.⁴³⁶ In May 1938, he covered the *Entartete Musik* exhibition in two articles for the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (DAZ),⁴³⁷ writing that the objective of the show was fulfilled in a ‘highly effective and impressive manner’, though he generally wrote in a subjunctive form. Steinecke’s comments were regularly quoted in newspaper articles that year.⁴³⁸ Soon afterwards, he argued that Goebbels’ theme of ‘Musik und Volk’ was the highpoint of the first Reichsmusiktage, and argued that young musicians in Nazi youth and student

⁴³³ AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 421, Reisepass No. 26962. The passport contains stamps for all of Erdmann’s travels during this period.

⁴³⁴ See Custodis, *Traditionen – Koalitionen – Visionen*, pp. 13-21 on Steinecke’s early life up to this point.

⁴³⁵ Wolfgang Steinecke, *Die Parodie in der Musik. Kieler Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Heft 1* (Wolfenbüttel and Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1934).

⁴³⁶ For example, reviewing Hindemith’s *Mathis* Symphony in the last issue of *Melos* before closure – see Wolfgang Steinecke, ‘Junge Kunst: Hindemith dirigiert seinen *Mathis*’, *Melos*, 13/7 (July-August 1934), pp. 246-7. Other important articles include his ‘Reichsmusiktage in Düsseldorf’, *Neues Musikblatt* 37 (May-June 1938), pp. 34; ‘Der “Ständige Rat” in Frankfurt’, *Neues Musikblatt* 46 (Aug-Sep 1939), pp. 4-5; ‘Historismus und Unmittelbarkeit’, *Neues Musikblatt* 50 (January 1940), pp. 1-2.

⁴³⁷ Wolfgang Steinecke, ‘Reichsmusiktage in Düsseldorf’, *Neues Musikblatt*, May/June 1938; “‘Entartete Musik’. Eröffnung der Düsseldorfer Ausstellung’, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 May 1938; ‘Was die Ausstellung “Entartete Musik” zeigt’, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 1938. These are both reproduced in facsimile in Dümling and Girth, *Entartete Musik*, p. XXXI.

⁴³⁸ Michael Custodis, “‘unter Auswertung meiner Erfahrungen aktiv mitgestaltend’: Zum Wirken von Wolfgang Steinecke bis 1950’, in Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), pp. 145-6.

organisations had become aware of their role as the ‘bearer of the future destiny of German music culture’.⁴³⁹

Steinecke echoed Killer, Gerigk and others in dismissing the idea of an ‘International Music’, linking it to national insecurity, and said that only music stoked by the ‘force of one’s particular ethnicity’ could be internationally meaningful.⁴⁴⁰ Responding to his teacher Blume’s lecture on ‘Music and Race’,⁴⁴¹ Steinecke wrote that German music, despite a ‘sequence of foreign invasions’, had proved able to absorb these without being ‘blurred’ by the ‘bad racial stock’, because the German ‘racial soul’ (*Rassenseele*) remained self-evident.⁴⁴² He also wrote on music for the *Hessische Landeszeitung*, the local NSDAP organ in Darmstadt, and here compared Wagner’s *Lohengrin* to the March into Poland, just ten days after the invasion, also comparing the current situation with Wagner’s activities in Dresden in 1849.⁴⁴³ In 1940, Steinecke wrote that new music had overcome stylistic copying (a reference to neo-classicism) by a re-establishment of ‘communal cohesion and connection to life’.⁴⁴⁴

Steinecke worked in various administrative jobs for music, but managed to avoid joining the NSDAP himself, declining an offer from the RMK, in connection with a choir, which might have forced him to join. But from 1941, he worked for the Berliner Terra-Film-G.m.b.H., with a monthly salary of 300 RM.⁴⁴⁵ This firm had

⁴³⁹ Steinecke, ‘Die Düsseldorfer Reichsmusikstage’, in *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, 9 June 1938, pp. 213-214, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 6845. A modified version of this article, without the material on ‘Musik und Volk’, appeared in *NMb* 27/37 (May-June 1938), reproduced in Dümmling and Girth, *Entartete Musik*, p. XXX, and Lovisa, *Musikkritik im Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 309-12.

⁴⁴⁰ Custodis, ‘Zum Wirken von Wolfgang Steinecke bis 1950’, p. 146.

⁴⁴¹ See Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, pp. 184-8, and Anselm Gerhard, ‘Musicology in the “Third Reich”: A Preliminary Report’, in *The Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 525-7, for more on Blume’s work in this respect, especially in his book *Das Rasseproblem in der Musik. Entwurf zu einer Methodologie musikwissenschaftlicher Rasseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel and Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1939).

⁴⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 146-8.

⁴⁴³ Wolfgang Steinecke, ‘Theater-Beginn mit Wagners “Lohengrin”. Festliche Neuinszenierung zur Spielzeit-Eröffnung im Landestheater’, *Hessische Landeszeitung*, 11 September 1939. Steinecke had written several other pieces on Wagner for this paper in the previous month.

⁴⁴⁴ Steinecke, ‘Historismus und Unmittelbarkeit’, *NMb*, 19/50 (Jan 1940), pp. 1-2, also cited in Colpa, ‘Fortner’, p 181 n. 117 (my modified translation of ‘Gemeinschaftsverbundenheit und Lebensbezogenheit’).

⁴⁴⁵ A letter from the RKK to the production chief of Terra-Filmkunst, Herr Triemer, raised no objections raised to Steinecke’s contract, for which he was assigned a monthly salary of 300 RM. Triemer to Produktionschef der Terra-Filmkunst G.m.b.H., April 11, 1941, Bundesarchiv Berlin (hereafter BA), BDC, RKK/Filmnacheeis, Steinecke, Wolfgang. Custodis appears to have found a different document from the same date, but which gives similar information (Custodis, ‘Zum Wirken Wolfgang Steinecke bis 1950’, pp. 151-2).

produced *Jud Süß* in 1940, and continued to produce films of a similar nature.⁴⁴⁶ He continued working for *Der Mittag* until a late stage, reviewing Fortner's Piano Concerto in 1943 and detailing its roots in Baroque German traditions and use of folk song rather than any modern elements.⁴⁴⁷

Heinrich Strobel's position was more complex on account of his wife, Hilde Levy, being Jewish. Despite having warned about the dangers for music in 'Kunst oder Agitation', mentioned earlier, in a review of the ADMV festival in Dortmund in July 1933, Strobel was able to reconcile worries about both inflexible modernism and false returns to romantic idioms by appealing to Goebbels' concept of 'steely romanticism'.⁴⁴⁸ Two months earlier, after visiting the *Maggio Musicale* in Florence, Strobel praised the strong support for avant-garde music in fascist Italy, and proclaimed that 'Special credit certainly goes to Mussolini, who knew from the very beginning how to win the support of Italy's modern artists'.⁴⁴⁹

These articles may have facilitated his obtaining in 1934, in mysterious circumstances, an exemption from the Propaganda Ministry from a law for journalists forbidding anyone married to a non-Aryan from becoming an editor,⁴⁵⁰ thus enabling him to continue editing *Melos*, renamed *Neues Musikblatt* after it was taken over by the government.⁴⁵¹ He also wrote for the next four years for the *Berliner Tageblatt*.⁴⁵² Three years later he similarly managed to be placed on a special list of art editors.⁴⁵³ However, he had earlier come under attack during the Hindemith affair, because of the anti-romantic and anti-Wagnerian views expressed in his 1928 book on the composer,⁴⁵⁴ and was included in the July 1935 NSKG list of Musikbolschewisten.⁴⁵⁵ Following this, he visited London and Oxford in November, and wrote fondly of British composers, performers and listeners.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁴⁶ See Custodis, 'Zum Wirken Wolfgang Steinecke bis 1950', pp. 151-3, for more on this.

⁴⁴⁷ Steinecke, 'Ein Klavierkonzert von Wolfgang Fortner. Uraufführung in Heidelberg', *Der Mittag*, some time in April 1943, cited in Colpa, 'Fortner', pp. 180-84.

⁴⁴⁸ Heinrich Strobel, 'Das Tonkünstlerfest in Dortmund', in *Melos* 102/7 (July 1933), p. 242.

⁴⁴⁹ Heinrich Strobel, 'Florenz im Zeichen der Musik', *Melos*, 12/5-6 (May-June 1933), p. 207, as cited and translated in Evans, 'Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany', p. 533 n. 23.

⁴⁵⁰ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse to Strobel, 19 March 1934.

⁴⁵¹ Hass, 'Melos (1920-1934)'.
⁴⁵² Alfred Grant Goodman, 'Strobel, Heinrich', at *Grove Online*.

⁴⁵³ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda to Strobel, 22 December 1937. Strobel had requested this on 10 November 1937.

⁴⁵⁴ Heinrich Strobel, *Paul Hindemith* (Mainz: Schott, 1928); 'Paul Hindemith – Kulturpolitisch nicht tragbar', *Die Musik* 27/2 (November 1934), pp. 138-40.

⁴⁵⁵ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7062.

⁴⁵⁶ Heinrich Strobel, 'Musikalischer Besuch in England', *NMb* 15/13 (January 1936), p. 3.

In 1938, Strobel welcomed the *Anschluss*, paying tribute to the Führer for unifying ‘the home of Bach and Mozart, Beethoven and Bruckner’⁴⁵⁷ (a celebration of German tradition strongly at odds with his view expressed in other periods). He even gained approval from the police to adopt the pseudonym Karl Frahm, under which he published a cookbook.⁴⁵⁸ But the tide was turning against Strobel, and he could not have been unaware of the implications of Reichskristallnacht of 9-10 November 1938 for him and his wife. Internal documents between different Nazi departments demonstrate that his marriage to a Jew resulted in his being seen as dangerous, though a Gestapo document found nothing wrong with him in specifically *political* terms.⁴⁵⁹

From his earliest journalism, Strobel’s interest in French music and culture is clear. He holidayed regularly in the country, spoke the language well, and visited an artists’ colony in Aix-en-Provence in 1936, making contact with German exiles and also with Milhaud. He had also cultivated the directors of the *Institut Français* in Berlin, Henri Jourdan and Jean Arnaud,⁴⁶⁰ who would be crucially important to him in the future. Arnaud wrote a reference to the French authorities, enabling Strobel and his wife to relocate in Paris on 26 April 1939, with further help with financial issues from their friend Hermann Heimerich.⁴⁶¹ Here he could write at first with relative freedom, completing his book on Debussy.⁴⁶² However, following the outbreak of war in September, he was interned, first in Antibes, then at a notorious camp at Les

⁴⁵⁷ Heinrich Strobel, ‘Österreichs Beitrag zur deutschen Musik’, *Neues Musikblatt* 17/36 (April 1938), cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7063.

⁴⁵⁸ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Strobel to Herrn Landesleiter für Schrifttum, 7 February 1939; Landesleiter to Präsidenten der Reichsschrifttumskammer, 3 March 1939. The book was published as Karl Frahm, *Koche mit Karl Frahm* (Berlin: F.A. Herbig, 1939).

⁴⁵⁹ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Reichsverband der deutschen Presse to RSK, 27 April 1939, and NSDAP Berlin to Landesleitung der RSK, 25 May 1939; Geheimes Staatspolizei, Berlin, document of June 9, 1939. Strobel’s ‘Fragebogen zur Bearbeitung des Aufnahmeantrages für die Reichsschrifttumskammer’, 4 March 1939, *ibid.*, documents his work for the DAZ from February 1939, and annual income of 5690 RM.

⁴⁶⁰ On Strobel’s French connections, see the pioneering research of Manuela Schwartz, in her ‘Exil und Remigration im Wirken Heinrich Strobels’, in Stefan Drees, Andreas Jacob and Stefan Orgass (eds.), *Musik – Transfer – Kultur. Festschrift für Horst Weber* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2009), pp. 386-7; and Schwartz, “‘Eine versunkene Welt’”. Heinrich Strobel als Kritiker, Musikpolitiker, Essayist und Redner in Frankreich (1939-1944)’, in Isolde V. Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (eds.), *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus. Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)* (Mainz: Are Musik Verlags, 2001), p. 301.

⁴⁶¹ Schwartz, “‘Eine versunkene Welt’”, pp. 300-1; LABW Staatsarchiv Freiburg F 196/1 Nr. 9535. Heimerich to Strobel, 10 May 1939. Heimerich acted as a type of plenipotentiary for the Strobels, setting up a foreign account in which to transfer money from the sale of properties.

⁴⁶² Heinrich Strobel, *Claude Debussy* (Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1940); Heinrich Strobel, *Claude Debussy*, translated André Cœuroy (Paris: Edition Balzac, 1943).

Milles, south of Aix-en-Provence, together with other exiles.⁴⁶³ Hilde, who remained free, contacted Jourdan again, and with the help of Paul Sacher, Paul Claudel and Stravinsky, they secured his release on 16 March 1940, returning to the Château-Noir. But after the Nazis occupied France on 10 May, he was held by the gendarmerie, while Hilde was sent to a camp in Gurs.⁴⁶⁴ They were both released in the autumn,⁴⁶⁵ returning to Paris with an OWK (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht).⁴⁶⁶

By now, Strobel's licence to be an editor had been removed, leading the DAZ feuilleton editor to write pleading letters to the government for his readmittance.⁴⁶⁷ However, he found work (at first writing as Karl Frahm)⁴⁶⁸ for Goebbels' paper *Das Reich*, and then from February 1941 to March 1944 for the *Pariser Zeitung*, a violently anti-semitic Nazi occupation paper.⁴⁶⁹ Musical life was now dominated by classic German repertoire, with French music severely reduced, by quotas introduced in November 1943. Manuela Schwartz has established through documents in Bonn that Strobel was part of the circles involved in such measures and fully aware of them.⁴⁷⁰ He started to get invitations to speak on music, was sent by the German Consulate General to visit several towns in the South to talk about a photo exhibition of the Bach family, on new German music in Bordeaux, and on Radio Paris.⁴⁷¹

Many of Strobel's articles for the *Pariser Zeitung* have been cited by Schwartz and Prieberg. Many of the writings were on French or French-based composers, from Massenet to Françaix, but others presented nationalistic propaganda. A few examples should suffice to demonstrate this: he paid tribute to HJ composers whose work was performed in a concert he travelled to attend in Vienna in 1942, comparing this work favourably with the 'bloodless intellectualism' (*blutleeren Intellektualismus*) of the

⁴⁶³ Susan Zucotti, *The Holocaust, the French and the Jews* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 33. For a detailed account of the inmates at Les Milles (including a great many artists and intellectuals such as Max Ernst and Robert Liebknecht, son of Karl) and the appalling conditions there, see Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 95-114. The painter Peter Lipman-Wulf recalled conversations with Strobel attesting to his disdain for all music between Mozart and the beginning of modern times, especially Wagner (Schwartz, "*Eine versunkene Welt*", p. 302).

⁴⁶⁴ Schwartz, "*Eine versunkene Welt*", p. 303.

⁴⁶⁵ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Strobel to Metzner, Leiter der Gruppe Schriftsteller, 16 February 1941.

⁴⁶⁶ As indicated in a letter from Strobel from 1941, cited in Schwartz, 'Exil und Remigration', pp. 390-391 n. 18.

⁴⁶⁷ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Paul Fechtner to Metzner, 4 January 1941, Strobel to Metzner, 16 February 1941, and Fechter to Metzner, 21 February 1941.

⁴⁶⁸ BA/BDC RKK/RSK, Strobel, Heinrich, Strobel to Metzner, 16 February 1941.

⁴⁶⁹ Schwartz, "*Eine versunkene Welt*", p. 307.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 296-300, 303-4.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 304-5.

Second Viennese School;⁴⁷² he claimed that a visit of the BPO to Paris would bring serious music to those who had had no previous contact with it;⁴⁷³ he wrote approvingly of a book asserting César Franck's German blood ancestry (in line with Nazi racial ideas on Belgium);⁴⁷⁴ and gave the highest praise to a concert of the Wehrmacht singing Bach, comparing this favourably with French offerings.⁴⁷⁵ Strobel noted the lack of smooth forms or appealing melodies in the music of Honegger, attributing this to his 'Allemanic blood' and adding patronisingly that 'One must not allow oneself to be perturbed by certain melodic "gallicisms"'.⁴⁷⁶ Eight days after the D-Day landings, Strobel (who had also been made to guard fortifications of Paris) wrote of 'the inviolable heights of German artistic practice, and the ethical power of German music which spans a continent' in the context of a BPO tour.⁴⁷⁷ He would have had opportunities to hear major works of Messiaen during this time, but no evidence has been found of his having written on him.⁴⁷⁸

But alongside this must be borne in mind that, at least according to Strobel's later account, Hilde was able to avoid deportation only by having false papers provided by an Oberstleutnant Bofinger, who led the radio branch of the German propaganda department, after which she hid until the time of the Liberation in August 1944.⁴⁷⁹ Strobel himself spent much time with Soulima Stravinsky (who had remained in France when his father went to the USA) to stay out of the way and avoid

⁴⁷² Heinrich Strobel, 'Wiens musikalische Sendung. Zur Eröffnung der "Woche zeitgenössischer Musik"', *Pariser Zeitung*, 6 May 1942, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7066.

⁴⁷³ Heinrich Strobel, 'Werkkonzert der Berliner Philharmoniker. Erster sehr gelungener Versuch in einem französischen Betrieb', *Pariser Zeitung*, 23 May 1942, cited in Schwartz, "'Eine versunkene Welt'", p. 296.

⁴⁷⁴ Strobel, 'Der Musiker Caesar Franck', *Pariser Zeitung*, 19 December 1942, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7067. The book was Reinhold Zimmermann, *Cäsar Franck, ein deutscher Musiker in Paris* (Aachen: Heimat-Verlag, 1942).

⁴⁷⁵ Strobel, 'Soldaten singen Bach', *Pariser Zeitung*, 23 April 1942, cited in Schwartz, "'Eine versunkene Welt'", pp. 311-12.

⁴⁷⁶ Strobel, 'Zur Arthur Honegger-Premiere in der Grossen Pariser Oper', *Pariser Zeitung*, n. d., cited in Schwartz, "'Eine versunkene Welt'", p. 308.

⁴⁷⁷ Strobel in *Pariser Zeitung*, June 14, 1944, cited in Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 66.

⁴⁷⁸ Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace: How French Artists and Intellectuals Survived the Nazi Occupation* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 219; Christopher Dingle, *The Life of Messiaen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 80-83; Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Olivier Messiaen: Oiseaux Exotiques* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), p. 10. In Paris, the *Quatuor pour la fin du temps* received its first public performance in June 1941, *Les Offrandes oubliées* in January 1942, and *Visions de l'amen* in May 1943, though the latter was an invitation-only concert to subvert the Nazi ban on performances of unpublished French work.

⁴⁷⁹ AOFK/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Untitled and undated biographical document by Strobel. This was probably written to accompany Strobel's *Fragebogen* of 25 January 1946, which is kept in the same file.

conscription.⁴⁸⁰ Following the Liberation, both the Strobels were denounced and interned in Drancy; Hilde was released in December 1944 (though later interned again), Heinrich in January 1945.⁴⁸¹ Some of their account is backed up by documents by French officials from the time.⁴⁸² Subsequent events, leading to Strobel's being appointed head of music at the new radio station in Baden-Baden, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The early life of Herbert Eimert, a seminal figure in the history of new music and electronic music in Cologne and mentor to Karlheinz Stockhausen, is somewhat obscure, with documentation not yet available to researchers. He had left school at 17 to fight in the First World War for patriotic reasons, was injured and later caught pneumonia, but received two Iron Crosses.⁴⁸³ He subsequently studied violin, piano, composition and conducting at the Cologne Musikhochschule with Franz Bölsche, Hermann Abendroth and others.⁴⁸⁴ However, according to Eimert's account, Bölsche was appalled by his *Atonale Musiklehre* mentioned earlier and by his composition of a dodecaphonic string quartet, and intervened to have him expelled from the institution.⁴⁸⁵ For a while Eimert played piano for silent films and wrote programme notes for concerts, and studied at Kölner Universität with musicologist Ernst Bücken, later a leading Nazi ideologue, philosopher Nicolai Hartmann and others.⁴⁸⁶ During this time, he had a range of performances of his compositions, worked for the radio

⁴⁸⁰ Schwartz, “*Eine versunkene Welt*”, p. 305.

⁴⁸¹ AOFC/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Untitled and undated biographical document by Strobel. This was probably written to accompany Strobel's *Fragebogen* of 25 January 1946, which is kept in the same file.

⁴⁸² AOFC/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Memo from Préfet de Police, 24 April 1945. This confirms Strobel's interment under an order of 4 October 1944, and a stipulation of 12 January 1945 for him to live in a special residence and report to them.

⁴⁸³ Helmut Kirchmeyer, *Kleine Monographie über Herbert Eimert* (Stuttgart & Leipzig: S. Hizele Verlag, 1998), pp. 4, 15-16 n. 9-11. The biography presented in Christian Blüggel, *E. = Ethik + Ästhetik: Zur Musikkritik Herbert Eimerts* (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 2002), pp. 9-10, is a condensed version of that in Kirchmeyer.

⁴⁸⁴ Blüggel, *E. = Ethik + Ästhetik*, p. 9.

⁴⁸⁵ From an autobiographical sketch for his own 65th birthday, broadcast on Monday, 9 April 1962. Apparently all the Musikhochschule records from that time are lost, probably destroyed in the war; Kirchmeyer laments that at the time of his writing, the proper history of the institution has not yet been written, though also suggests that the connections of so many major figures at the Hochschule at the time to the Nazis was a disincentive towards study of the subject right after the war (*Kleine Monographie*, p. 17 n.16).

⁴⁸⁶ ‘Herbert Eimert’ at http://www.elektropolis.de/ssb_eimert.htm (accessed 21 January 2018). See Blüggel, *E. = Ethik + Ästhetik*, pp. 17-43 for an in-depth consideration of Eimert's writings in the context of Hartmann's philosophy.

station in Cologne, and as a critic at the *Kölnische Stadtanzeiger* in 1930.⁴⁸⁷ In 1931, he submitted his doctorate, on 17th- and 18th century musical form structures.⁴⁸⁸

In May 1933, in a shift of tone from his earlier writings, he argued that it was necessary that art music to be informed by folk music, or that ‘the moral substance must correspond to German feeling’.⁴⁸⁹ That year he took a position as an editor for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, for which he worked until 1945, for which Karl H. Ruppel also wrote as an arts correspondent from Berlin, and for a period Stuckenschmidt from Prague.⁴⁹⁰ This paper had survived a round of bannings, after supporting the crack-down on left-wingers following the Reichstag fire, the subsequent burning of books, and the removal of Konrad Adenauer from the mayoralty.⁴⁹¹ It would go on to present *Kristallnacht* as a spontaneous outbreak provoked by an international Jewish conspiracy, justify the invasions of Czechoslovakia, Poland and France, and at the time of the Allied Invasion, support the *Volkssturmbataillone*, children and men conscripted from September 1944 onwards to fight the invaders.⁴⁹²

The arts coverage in the feuilleton of the paper has however been argued to be separate, and an important place for continuing propagation of modernist ideas.⁴⁹³ Christian Blüggel has argued that Eimert managed to preserve neutrality despite

⁴⁸⁷ See Kirchmeyer, *Kleine Monographie*, p. 17 n. 17 for more details ‘Chronologie – Neue Musik im WDR’, in Frank Hilberg and Harry Vogt (eds.), *Musik der Zeit 1951-2001: 50 Jahre Neue Musik im WDR. Essays- Erinnerungen – Dokumentation* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 2002), p. 189; John Covach, ‘Eimert, Herbert’, at *Grove Online*.

⁴⁸⁸ Herbert Eimert, *Musikalische Formstrukturen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Formbeschreibung* (Augsburg: Benno Filser Verlag, 1932).

⁴⁸⁹ Eimert, ‘Musikkultur aus dem Volk’, in *Stadt-Anzeiger für Köln und Umgebung*, No. 255 (21 May 1933), p. 415, cited in Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 59.

⁴⁹⁰ Klaus-Dieter Oelze, *Das Feuilleton der Kölnischen Zeitung im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 245-8. For the purposes of this study, I have researched the *Kölnische Zeitung* issue by issue for 1935, and then practically all issues from 1938 until 1945, to locate articles by Eimert, and also checked various secondary sources which quote them.

⁴⁹¹ ‘Der Sinder Feier’, *Kölnische Zeitung*, 2 May 1933; and other articles on 14 March and 21 May 1933, cited in Albrecht Kieser, ‘Notizen über ein verdrängtes Kapitel Kölner Zeitungsgeschichte. Kölner Zeitungen im Nationalsozialismus’, *Neue Rheinische-Zeitung*, 27 February 2008. This article draws extensively upon Vanja Budde, *Die Auseinandersetzung der Kölnischen Zeitungen mit dem Nationalsozialismus, 1930-1934* (Master’s thesis: Cologne, 1994); and Josef Hofmann, *Journalist in Republik, Diktatur und Besatzungszeit: Erinnerungen 1916-1947* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1977).

⁴⁹² ‘Waffenbesitz für Juden verboten’; ‘Die Folgen des Falls Grünspan’; ‘Die Entjudung der Deutschen Wirtschaft’; *Kölnische Zeitung*, 10, 12 and 16 November 1938; other articles from the paper from 31 August 1938, 27 March 1941, 26 January 1945; Gregoria Palomo-Suárez, *Kindersoldaten und Völkerstrafrecht. Die Strafbarkeit der Rekrutierung und Verwendung von Kindersoldaten nach Völkerrecht* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2009), pp. 44-7.

⁴⁹³ Hans Dieter Schäfer, ‘The Young Generation’s Non-National Socialist Literature in the Third Reich’, in Neil H. Donahue and Doris Kirchner (eds.), *Flight of Fantasy: New Perspectives on Inner Emigration in German Literature* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), pp. 48-9.

official warnings, and was also saved from joining the NSDAP by a curious illness.⁴⁹⁴ However, this must be tempered by Eimert's words on how the unwavering views of Pfitzner (discussed above), after the latter had won the Goethe Prize in 1934, 'gives his name, in the German cultural world, the sound and rank of the strongest musical-moral power of the present'.⁴⁹⁵ On nationalistic Flemish composer Renaat Veremans' opera *Anna-Marie*, performed as part of an exchange with Pfitzner's *Palestrina*, Eimert wrote that affinities of German and Flemish language and art cause a 'bridge of spiritual understanding'.⁴⁹⁶ After hearing Richard Trunk's *Feier der neuen Front*, whose text includes an ecstatic praise of Hitler, Eimert wrote that it is 'an example of 'how the poetic word comes through in a political sense with the fullest sound through the music' and that the work made 'the strongest impression'. Here Eimert may have tactically avoided praising it unequivocally, saying that, on account of its being well known, it 'need not be praised again here'.⁴⁹⁷ He also wrote positively about a cantata about Hitler by Hermann Ungar.⁴⁹⁸

Nonetheless, many other of Eimert's reviews embraced a more conventional, if somewhat stuffy, form of criticism, without any obvious Nazi or nationalistic allusions. Several of his articles from the last years of the war concern music with wartime or nationalistic connections, and while unashamed of these (for example suggesting that Beethoven's concept of struggle 'embodies the very essence of musical militancy' (*Kämpfertum*), nonetheless he generally avoided making a direct link with the contemporary war.⁴⁹⁹ Eimert also wrote film criticism for the paper, including sycophantic praise for presentations of the films of the 'Nordische Gesellschaft' in the presence of the Reich minister, and fulsome tribute to the Ufa film *Der alte und der junge König*, in which Emil Jannings' portrayal of Friedrich Wilhelm I was clearly modelled on the Führer. Eimert drew attention to how Jannings brought to the part a sense of 'duty and Fatherland', and talked about how in the film,

⁴⁹⁴ Blüggel, E. – *Ethik + Ästhetik*, p. 10.

⁴⁹⁵ Herbert Eimert, 'Hans Pfitzner', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 25 August 1934, cited in Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 217.

⁴⁹⁶ Herbert Eimert, 'Anna-Marie – ein flämische Oper', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1938, precise date unknown, previously cited complete at 'Nederlandistiek Wien', Universität Wien, at http://www.ned.univie.ac.at/lic/autor_biblio.asp?paras=/lg;4/lt;1/aut_id;152/bib_lit_id;2/&bol_window=1&wTID=6&zid=6168 (accessed 3 August 2008, now taken down).

⁴⁹⁷ Herbert Eimert, 'Musikalische Morgenfeier', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 6 May 1935.

⁴⁹⁸ Herbert Eimert, 'Heldnahmslos', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 25 May 1937.

⁴⁹⁹ E., 'Vom Kampf in der Musik' (source of quote); Herbert Eimert, 'Das musikalische Ehepaar Bismarck'; 'Musikalische Fest- und Feldordnung', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 16 May and 1 December 1944, 26 January 1945.

due to Goebbels' intervention, one could 'feel the breath of the present' and how the film now 'in a contemporary manner rehabilitated a heroic parent figure'.⁵⁰⁰

Like Heiß, Erdmann and Strobel, Stuckenschmidt encountered Nazi opposition at the beginning of the regime, after breaking an unofficial Stravinsky boycott and giving prominent support for modernist and Jewish composers. He continued his advocacy with an effusive review of Peter Schacht's String Quartet in the *Vossische Zeitung* in June 1933, though he came close to Nazi language when attributing the fact that Schacht had not struggled with a highly personal musical language due to the 'Nordic heavy-bloodedness of his nature'.⁵⁰¹ But after his defence of Kleiber's performance of Berg's *Lulu Suite*, Stuckenschmidt was banned from publishing, and then attacked strongly by Fritz Stege in 1935,⁵⁰² amongst others. He wrote dejectedly about the isolation of German concert life from the international world, and a new trend of 'bourgeois manners' and a "'Biedermeier" style' in contrast to earlier times.⁵⁰³ He found some refuge in Prague in 1937, where he wrote for the *Prager Tageblatt* and then *Der Neue Tag*. His tone changed after the Nazi occupation, writing of 'the great camaraderie of the defensive struggle' (though in the context of 'chance and fate'), in the context of military song, wishing a KdF event in March 1940 well, then the next year praised a concert in June of Italian military and fascist music, and stressed the importance of Nazi cultivation of folk music.⁵⁰⁴ He also contributed pieces to the *Kölnische Zeitung*,⁵⁰⁵ where for example he wrote a very positive view of a series of German concerts in May 1940 (with the *Sudetendeutsche Philharmonische Orchester* as the only Czech musicians involved), which featured a speech by Rosenberg on 'Culture and War'.⁵⁰⁶ By October 1941 he was parroting full Nazi propaganda, saying Hitler was finally bringing 'peace and order' to a continent

⁵⁰⁰ Herbert Eimert, 'Der alte und der junge König. Westdeutsche Erstaufführung des Jannings-Films in Düsseldorf', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 2 February 1935.

⁵⁰¹ Stuckenschmidt in *Vossische Zeitung*, 25 June 1933, cited in Gradenwitz, *Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler*, p. 268.

⁵⁰² Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 120.

⁵⁰³ Stuckenschmidt cited in Meyer and Bard, *Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Berlin 1923-1998*, p. 67.

⁵⁰⁴ Stuckenschmidt, 'Wir vom grünen Bataillon' (source of quote); 'Prags erste deutsche Chorfeier'; '135 uniformierte Bläser. Das Prager Konzert der G. I. L.'; 'Herzland Böhmen', *Der Neue Tag*, 25 November 1939, 4 March 1940, 25 and 29 June 1941, all cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 7088-90.

⁵⁰⁵ The reviews I have located from this latter publication run from 3 November 1939 to 16 July 1940.

⁵⁰⁶ H.H. Stuckenschmidt, 'Prager Kunstwochen. Konzerte, Aufführungen, Ausstellungen, Vorträge', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 14 June 1940.

and ‘is supported by a believing nation’.⁵⁰⁷ Just as alarming is an article from January 1942 on racial ideologue Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in whose correspondence with Cosima Wagner Stuckenschmidt claimed there is a ‘peculiar atmosphere of high spiritual tension in which these two spirits move’.⁵⁰⁸ He also was made to write criticism from Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania in 1940,⁵⁰⁹ the latter of which has been described by Kater as mild Nazi propaganda.⁵¹⁰

Stuckenschmidt appears to have joined the NSDAP in mid-June 1940, though no membership number is known. He later told Fred Prieberg that he had been entered into the party by Konstantin von Neurath, the *Reichsprotector in Böhmen und Mähren*, against his will.⁵¹¹ Two letters from the Hauptstelle Kulturpolitisches Archiv mention his membership, but using a passive construction (‘Stuckenschmidt kürzlich in die NSDAP aufgenommen worden sein’ and similarly in the second letter). The second letter, dated 25 January 1941 and following up on one from 7 August 1940, says that Stuckenschmidt’s admission was provisional, and no information has since been received.⁵¹² After Neurath lost power to Reinhard Heydrich, Stuckenschmidt claims he feared arrest, and so volunteered for the Wehrmacht,⁵¹³ where from June 1942 he worked first as an interpreter, based in Potsdam,⁵¹⁴ then afterwards as a soldier, spending much of 1943-44 in Italy, in Abbadia San Salvatore and then Rome,⁵¹⁵ until he was taken prisoner by the Americans in 1945.

⁵⁰⁷ Stuckenschmidt, ‘Neue Zeiten für die “Bertramka”’, *Der Neue Tag*, 28 October 1941, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7091.

⁵⁰⁸ Stuckenschmidt, ‘Houston Stewart Chamberlain’ *Der Neue Tag*, 9 January 1942, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7092.

⁵⁰⁹ See Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 231 on the pressures on Stuckenschmidt at this time.

⁵¹⁰ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 120.

⁵¹¹ Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 231. Oddly, in *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 7077, Prieberg suggests Stuckenschmidt was never a member, but this may refer to the fact that such membership was involuntary.

⁵¹² BA/BDC, RKK/RSK, Stuckenschmidt, Hans Heinz, Hauptstelle Kulturpol. Archiv, Dr. Gk./Kl. To Pg. Dr. Kinzel, Gauleitung Sudetenland der NSDAP, Gaupropagandaamt/Hauptstelle Kultur Reichenberg – Ober-Rosenthal, 18 June 1940; Hauptstelle Kulturpol. Archiv, Dr. Gk./Eck., to Gauleitung Sudetenland der NSDAP, Reichenberg, Postschliessfach 90, 25 January 1941. ‘Gk’ and ‘Eck’ almost certainly refer to Hans Gerigk and Hans Eckardt; ‘Kl’ is not clear.

⁵¹³ Stuckenschmidt to Klaus-Dieter Oelze, 20 February 1980, cited in Oelze, *Das Feuilleton der Kölnischen Zeitung*, p. 248.

⁵¹⁴ Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, p. 234.

⁵¹⁵ AdK Stuckenschmidt, Hans Heinz, File 2666, Wehrmacht Photographs, 1942-1944.

Chapter 2

The Occupation of Germany

The four-power occupation of Germany led to distinct forms of administration and policy, which informed the reconstruction of musical life. In this chapter, I will outline the nature of the divisions of the defeated country, the administrative structure of the three Western zones, early planning and policy relating to culture and music, and the basics of denazification policy and implementation.

The Foundations of Occupation Zones and Policies

The organisations shaping military planning for occupation were the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), one of the centres of British and American military strategy from late 1943, which also had ultimate control of French and Canadian forces, and European Theatre of Operations United States Army-Communications Zone (ETOUSA-COMZ). Both were under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On 1 July 1945, ETOUSA was renamed United States Forces, European Theater (USFET), and on 14 July this took the place of SHAEF.¹

The earliest policy directive was CCS (Combined Chiefs of Staff) 551, dated 28 April 1944, essentially allowing for military government to be established in occupied territory.² SHAEF transposed this into practical policy in their *Handbook of Military Government in Germany* and Public Safety Manual, published in August and September respectively.³ Another SHAEF directive, of 9 November 1944, concentrated on removal of all Nazis from public office and elimination of Nazi organisations, which was the beginning of denazification policy.⁴ In the same month, following early plans to divide Germany into three zones (US, UK, USSR), a

¹ Bryan T. van Sweringen, 'Variable Architectures for War and Peace: U.S. Force Structure and Basing in Germany, 1945-1990', in Detlef Junker et al (eds.), *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990: A Handbook, Volume 1* (Washington, DC and Cambridge: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 217-18. USFET was modified and renamed European Command (EUCOM) on 15 March 1947.

² Earl Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 59.

³ Ian Turner, 'Denazification in the British Zone', in Turner (ed.), *Reconstruction in Post-War Germany: British Occupation Policy and the Western Zones, 1945-55* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), p. 245.

⁴ 'SHAEF Directive, eradication of Nazism, November 1944', in OMGUS, *Denazification, cumulative review: Report of the Military Governor (1 April 1947 – 30 April 1948) No. 34*, pp. 17-22, available at http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History_Denazi (accessed 1 August 2017). This was followed by another directive the following March; see TNA/PRO/WO 205/391, 'Removal from Office of Nazis and German Militarists', 24 March 1945.

framework was set down for an Allied Control Council (CC) for Germany, consisting of the Commanders-in-Chief for each zone which would constitute the supreme body of control.⁵ In Autumn 1944, the French had also drawn up plans for a zone of their own, and begun training officials.⁶ Also in November 1944, SHAEF issued Military Government (MG) Law No. 191, prohibiting all printed publications, broadcasting, theatre, film and music, and any activities of the Propaganda Ministry.⁷

The nature of the division of Germany - though not yet the exact boundaries – was decided at the Yalta Conference of 4-11 February 1945. Four zones, including one for the French, were agreed, and France was admitted to the CC.⁸ This affected late Allied military planning, with French forces instructed to capture major cities in the south-west, including Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden, Freiburg and Stuttgart, all in April. They also narrowly beat the Americans to take Ulm the same month,⁹ carving out in the process a significant region of control, the rest having been overtaken by American, British and Canadian forces after breaching the Rhine in March.¹⁰

Demilitarisation, denazification and political re-education were informed most fundamentally by US Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067 (JCS 1067), drafted in the winter of 1944-45 and first issued in April 1945 (but not made public until August).¹¹ This required the unconditional surrender of Germany, and gave full legislative,

⁵ 'Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany', 14 November 1944, in OMGUS, *Denazification, cumulative review*, pp. 5-8.

⁶ See Jürgen Klöckler, *Abendland – Alpenland – Alemannien. Frankreich und die Neugliederungsdiskussion in Südwestdeutschland 1945-1947* (Munich: R. Oldebourg Verlag, 1998), pp. 33-5, and Marc Hillel, *L'Occupation Française en Allemagne 1945-1949* (Paris: Balland, 1983), pp. 69-103 on the early planning for the French Zone.

⁷ *Laws and Orders of Military Government: Complete Collection up to June 30th 1945/Gesetze und Verordnungen der Militärregierung: Vollständige Sammlung bis zum 30. Juni 1945* (Braunschweig: Control Council, 1945), p. 32. The date for issuing the original Law 191 was given as 24 November 1944 in U.S. Dept of State, *Germany 1947-1949: The Story in Documents* (Washington DC: US Government Print Office, 1950), p. 594, which can be considered reliable because of its source.

⁸ 'Protocol of the Proceedings of the Crimea (Yalta) Conference, February 11, 1945 [Extracts]', *Documents on Germany, 1944-1959: Background Documents on Germany, 1944-1959, and a Chronology of Political Developments affecting Berlin, 1945-1956* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1959), pp. 8-10; see F. Roy Willis, *The French in Germany, 1945-1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 8-14 on the negotiations leading to acceptance of France's status as a fourth occupying power.

⁹ See Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 14-21, on these crucial last months and their role in General de Gaulle's negotiations as to the exact borders of the French Zone.

¹⁰ See Earl Ziemke, 'Germany, battle for', in I.C.B. Dear, *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 380-82 on the final months of the war on the Western Front.

¹¹ Michael Balfour and John Mair, *Four-Power Control in Germany and Austria* (London: New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 23-4. The full text, 'Directive to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany', is in *Germany 1947-1949*, pp. 22-33.

executive and judicial authority to occupying forces, who would issue proclamations, orders and instructions determined by Allied Commanders in their zone. The CC was formally constituted as the 'supreme organ of control over Germany', and its authority was paramount through the whole country. Nonetheless, decentralisation - including autonomous regional, local and municipal German administration - was presented as an administrative objective, though the CC could make central decisions on essential public services, finance, foreign affairs and production and distribution of essential commodities. The Military Government of Occupation (MG) should stress Germany's responsibility for the situation it had brought upon itself (with German authorities communicating this message), occupy Germany as a defeated enemy nation, without fraternisation, and work to eliminate Nazism and militarism, prosecute war criminals and effect industrial disarmament and demilitarisation, as well as enforcing reparations and restitution. The German economy must be run to meet the needs of the occupying forces and living conditions in Germany must not exceed that of neighbouring countries. Further details were given, including need for coordination of media policy and over German education, to completely eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and encourage democratic ideas, while allowing schools to re-open as early as possible. The fundamentals were embodied in Eisenhower's Proclamation No. 1 of 7 May 1945, instructing officials to remain in posts and take directives from MG,¹² then in detailed policy in a directive of 7 July, including 136 mandatory categories for removal from office.¹³ JCS 1067 would remain operative until 15 July 1947, when superseded by JCS 1779.¹⁴

At the time of the surrender on 8 May 1945, the representatives of the Allied Powers were General Dwight D. Eisenhower for the US, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery for the UK, Général Jean de Lattre de Tassigny for France, and Marshal Georgy Zhukov for the USSR. On 5 June 1945, following the German surrender on 8 May, a Declaration on German Defeat and Assumption of Supreme Authority was

¹² The full text is in W. Friedmann, *The Allied Military Government of Germany* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1947), pp. 277-8.

¹³ The 7 July directive is reproduced in full in *Denazification: cumulative review*, pp. 23-36.

¹⁴ In *Germany, 1947-1949*, pp. 33-41. On the negotiations over JCS 1067 from the issuing of the first draft in April through to the end of the Potsdam Conference, see John Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military, 1945-1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 5-18. JCS 1067 superseded the earlier plan by US Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau for a 'pastoralisation' of Germany without higher education or heavy industry, which were for a while Allied policy; see Henry Morgenthau Jr., *Germany Is Our Problem* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945); and Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany: From Shadow to Substance, 1945-1963* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 23.

issued, signed by representatives of the four Allied Powers. Amongst other things, this ordered Allied control of all communications and declared that the four powers would determine the boundaries and status of Germany.¹⁵ The same day, two further statements were issued, one declaring the sub-division of German into four zones controlled by the respective Commanders-in-Chief (CICs) within the frontiers of 31 December 1937,¹⁶ and giving Berlin an Inter-Allied Governing Authority consisting of four Commandants appointed by their CICs,¹⁷ and the other declaring the formal constitution of the CC.¹⁸ This arrangement came into effect a month later,¹⁹ and a map indicating the exact boundaries (see Fig. 3.1; Fig. 3.2 gives a more detailed map published the following year) was issued by the US State Department to the press on 15 August.²⁰ The populations of the UK, US, French and Soviet zones were 21,936,000, 16,783,000, 3,312,297 and 17,900,000 respectively.²¹ Their headquarters were in Bad Oeynhausen, Frankfurt, Baden-Baden and Berlin.

The division of Berlin is shown in Fig. 3.3. The Western districts had a total population of 2,013,000 in 1946, while the Soviet district had 1,174,000.²² German government in the city consisted of an Assembly (*Stadtrat*) and Executive (*Magistrat*) under a Lord Mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*), all of which had to take orders from the

¹⁵ 'Declaration Regarding the Defeat of Germany and the Assumption of Supreme Authority with Respect to Germany by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic', 5 June 1945, in Beate Ruhm von Oppen, *Documents on Germany under Occupation 1945-1954* (London: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 29-35, and *Documents on Germany*, pp. 13-18.

¹⁶ 'Statement by the Governments of the United Kingdom, The United States, the USSR, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic on Zones of Occupation in Germany', 5 June 1945, in von Oppen, *Documents on Germany*, p. 35, and *Documents on Germany, 1944-1959*, p. 18.

¹⁷ On the planning of sectoral division of Berlin by a committee headed by Clement Attlee, see Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 74. Further agreements of 7 and 26 July gave more detail to the Berlin arrangement in more detail, adding that solutions to problems common to all zones must be passed unanimously and that each section of local government must include one or two representatives of each Allied Commandatura; for the text of these, see von Oppen, *Documents on Germany*, p. 39; *Documents on Germany, 1944-1959*, p. 21-4.

¹⁸ 'Statement by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR and the Provisional Government of the French Republic on Control Machinery in Germany', 5 June 1945, in von Oppen, *Documents on Germany*, pp. 36-7.

¹⁹ Michael Balfour, *West Germany: A Contemporary History* (London: Biddles, 1982), p. 115. On fruitless French attempts in July to persuade the Americans to give over Karlsruhe, Wiesbaden and perhaps Stuttgart to them, see Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 20-21.

²⁰ Reproduced in *Documents on Germany, 1944-1959*, between pages 19 and 20.

²¹ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 96-7; Paul F. Myers and W. Parker Maudlin, *Population of the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin, etc.* (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1952), p. 70; Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 107; James L. Scott, *Projections of the Population of the Communist Countries of Eastern Europe, by Age and Sex: 1965-1985* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 2.

²² Myers and Maudlin, *Population of the Federal Republic of Germany*, p. 50.

Kommandatura of the city, consisting of the Commanders of the forces occupying the four sectors.²³

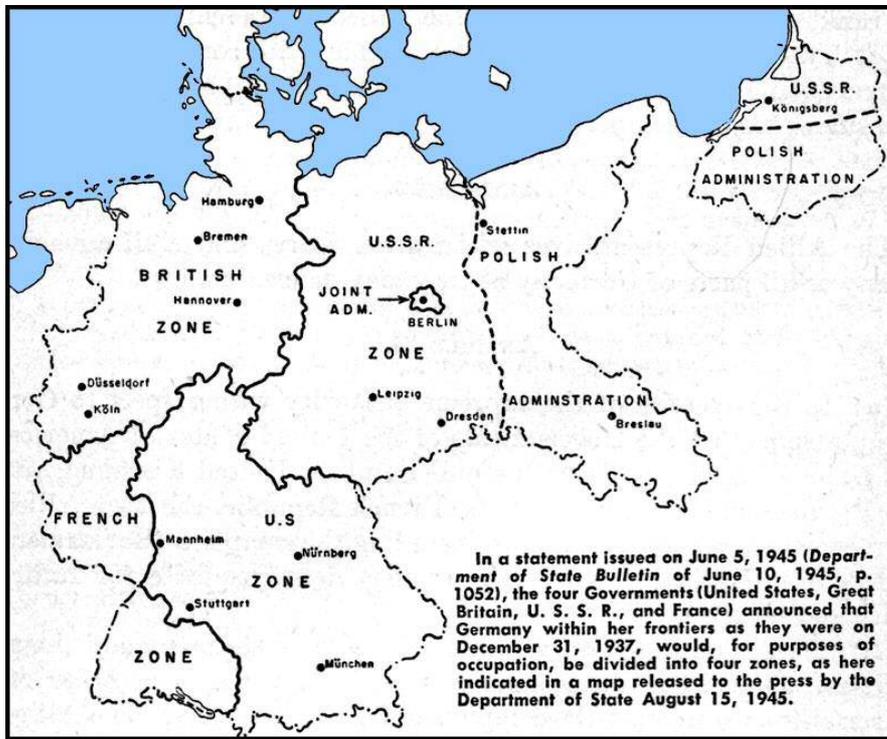


Fig. 3.1. Map issued on 15 August 1945 indicating zonal boundaries.²⁴

²³ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 106.

²⁴ Taken from US Department of State, *The Axis in Defeat: A Collection of Documents on American Policy Toward Germany and Japan* (Washington DC: Department of State, 1945), p. 70. Available online at <https://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/Dip/AxisInDefeat/Defeat-3.html> (accessed 10 August 2017).



Fig. 3.2. Map showing borders of zones and earlier German regions.²⁵

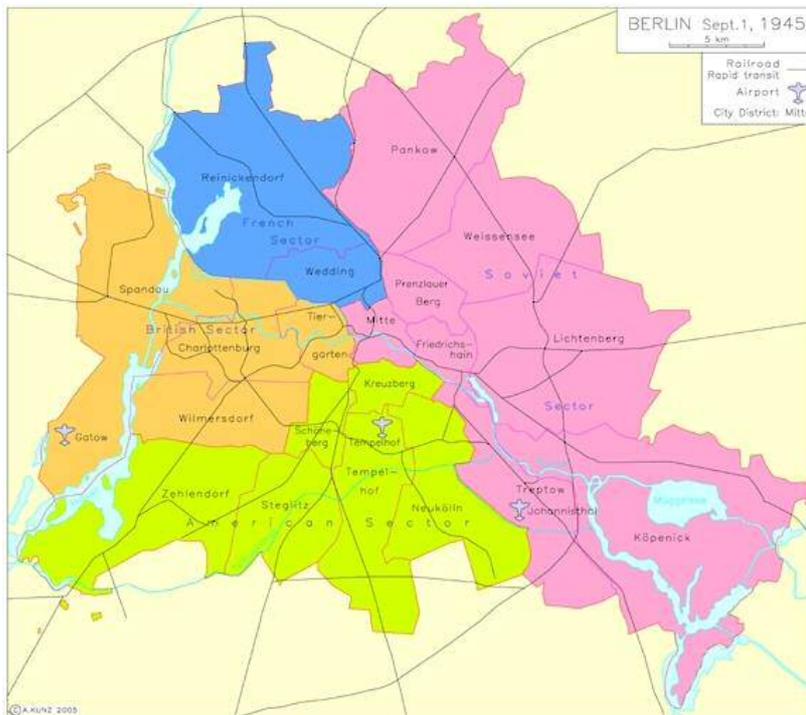


Fig. 3.3. Berlin under quadripartite control.²⁶

²⁵ U.S. Army map, at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/other/us-army_germany_1944-46_map3.htm (accessed 15 October 2017). In public domain.

²⁶ Map taken from http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/map.cfm?map_id=522 (accessed 10 August 2017).

The zonal boundaries were thus determined prior to the last major Allied conference, in Potsdam from 17 July to 2 August 1945. A further extended statement was made public on 2 August together with JCS 1067, so that the two should be read together.²⁷ The main section consisted of a reiteration of the earlier decrees on disarmament and demilitarisation, administration, laws and the judicial system, education and the economy. Details were also given of the establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers made up of the four occupying powers and China, to draw up peace settlements with Germany and other Axis nations. Equally significant was a chapter on reparations, allowing occupying powers to undertake removals from their zone, and appropriate German external assets. The statement also fixed Germany's new borders, ceding most of East Prussia to the USSR and moving the Western frontier of Poland to a line connecting the Oder and western Neisse rivers, a major loss of German territory. It also permitted the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which led to an influx of many millions of refugees to Germany.²⁸

Charles de Gaulle, then Chairman of the Provisional French Government, bitterly resented the fact that the French were not invited to Potsdam. A declaration by the Provisional Government made it clear that the French did not recognise the agreement and would not be bound by it.²⁹ De Gaulle and his successors aimed for a permanent presence in Germany and territorial gains, specifically the separation from Germany of the industrial heartland of the Ruhr, as well as the Rhineland and Saar, with a large amount of French control of each.³⁰ The other allies would not accept this for the Rhineland, while a series of ongoing negotiations led to the creation of an International Authority for the Ruhr in April 1949, and ultimately the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1953. The French did however manage for a decade to claim the Saar as their own. It was proclaimed independent of Germany in

²⁷ The full text is 'The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference, July 17 – August 2, 1945', in *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents 1941-1949*, revised edition (Washington, DC: Dept. of State, 1985), pp. 34-40. A shorter version with commentary is in Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 80-90.

²⁸ For a detailed recent study of this, see R.M. Douglas, *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁹ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 39. In 1947, William Friedmann already commented that the link between the French and the other Western allies was 'practically nil', as with the Soviets; Friedmann, *Allied Military Government*, p. 15.

³⁰ Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 30-36.

1947 in a special union with France, and only returned to Germany after a plebiscite in 1955.³¹

The CC was not a lasting success. It first met on 30 July 1945, towards the end of the Potsdam Conference, and thereafter three times per month, with each power occupying the chair for a month at a time, beginning with the Americans. They would issue a short communiqué to the press after each meeting, but it proved difficult from the outset to agree upon this.³² From September, French officials obstructed and vetoed various legislation, opposing any central German administration until the Western borders (and thus France's territorial claims) had been sorted out.³³ By December 1945, a report in the *New York Times* suggested that four-power control had already failed, without a single joint policy or coherent vision for the country.³⁴ Certainly plans for a unified but decentralised country controlled by Germans would be blocked by the Soviets.³⁵ Furthermore, there were differences of policy, emphasis and implementation in the three Western zones. Negotiations in late 1946 led to the establishment of *Bizonia*, the economic unification of the British and American zones, effective from 1 January 1947, to the consternation of the Soviets, and with reservations from the French.³⁶ However, as it became clearer that the French only had a chance of succeeding in some, not all, of their territorial aims, they drew closer to the Bizonal powers. Following the last CC meeting in March 1948, the French participated in Currency Reform (introducing the Deutschmark) on 20 June, and the term *Trizonia* began to be used.³⁷ After the Soviet-driven Berlin Blockade, which began four days later and lasted through until May 1949, a formal Trizonal Agreement was agreed on 8 April 1949 and made public on 26 April.³⁸ This cleared the way for the founding of the Bundesrepublik on 23 May.

³¹ McInnis, 'The Search for a Settlement', pp. 38-41; Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 38-9. Barbara Marshall, in *The Origins of Post-War German Politics* (London, New York and Sydney: Croon Helm, 1988), pp. 12-4, considers unsuccessful British plans to introduce 'socialism' to the Ruhr at the behest of Ernest Bevin.

³² Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 92.

³³ Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 27-8.

³⁴ Anne O'Hare McCormick, *New York Times*, 5 December 1945, cited in Edgar McInnis, 'The Search for a Settlement', in McInnis, Richard Hiscocks and Robert Spencer, *The Shaping of Postwar Germany* (London and Toronto: Dent, 1960), p. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 45-56.

³⁶ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 137-47.

³⁷ Frederic Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), pp. 349-50; Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation*, p. 129.

³⁸ 'Trizonal Fusion Agreement' (Washington, April 26, 1949), in James K. Pollock, James H. Meisel, and Henry L. Bretton (ed.), *Germany under Occupation: Illustrative Materials and Documents*, revised edition (Ann Arbor, MI: George Wahr Publishing Co, 1949), pp. 291-4.

For the purposes of this study, however, it is logical to consider the three Western Zones separately, as each had distinct administrations, priorities, approaches to denazification, and most crucially in this context music and cultural policies. In general, it was only after the central period for this thesis of 1945-46 that such policies began to coalesce. The Soviet Zone, run by the *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland* (SMAD), and after 1949 the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR), does not play a significant role in this study, other than when Soviet actions and policies influenced or affected developments in the Western Zones and then the Bundesrepublik, or when the Soviets had sole control of Berlin prior to the division of the city. Nonetheless, it is worth noting at this stage that the promotion of Russian and Soviet culture, and especially music, was as integral to SMAD policy³⁹ as it was for the French and Americans (though somewhat less so for the British). From the time of their arrival in Berlin, the Soviets also plundered cultural artefacts, including books, instruments and manuscripts from the Conservatory, and removed skilled personnel, including some performing artists, to the USSR, not always voluntarily.⁴⁰ Overall, the Zone, including Berlin, was run in a highly centralised manner, allowing the Soviets to override local German decisions.⁴¹

The period from 1945 to 1949 (and then the ‘Semi-Sovereign’ period of 1949 to 1955) saw a gradual transfer of powers from the occupiers to German hands. This occurred at differing rates and manifested itself in different ways across the country. The Americans established hand-picked councils at commune, town and state level in July 1945,⁴² leading to elections in January, April and May 1946 respectively. Then the British did the same in September 1945, but did not begin to hold elections until September-October 1946.⁴³ The French brought in regulations and elections for local government in June-September 1946, with appointed mayors from local councils, and a traditional system of directly elected state officials.⁴⁴ On 6 September 1946, US

³⁹ ‘Bericht des Leiters der Politischen Hauptverwaltung der Streitkräfte der UdSSR I. Šikin’, 30 March 1946, and ‘Memorandum A. Panjuškins, K. Kuzakovs und M. Burcevs’, in Bernd Bonwestch et al (eds.), *Sowjetische Politik in der SBZ 1945-1949: Dokumente zur Tätigkeit der Propagandaverwaltung (Informationsverwaltung) der SMAD unter Sergej Tjul'panow* (Bonn: Dietz, 1998), pp. 224-5 and 249-250, cited in Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 101-2.

⁴⁰ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 98-9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 97.

⁴² This appears to have been a highly haphazard process. William Friedmann suggests that a CO might back ‘the first apparently innocuous citizen he met in the street’ to be mayor; Friedmann, *Allied Military Government*, p. 17.

⁴³ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 186-7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 190.

Secretary of State James Byrnes gave his important ‘Stuttgart Speech’, which affirmed a commitment to German economic reconstruction and self-government combined with an indefinite US military presence, and a need to share resources between the different zones.⁴⁵

By late 1946, the country had been thoroughly decentralised into a series of *Länder* of roughly equal size (though varying populations), with a large degree of power autonomous of central government. The Americans created new states of Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse in September 1945, and in July 1946 the British established the state of North Rhine-Westphalia from former Prussian provinces, and in November that of Lower Saxony from several smaller states. The old monolith of Prussia was abolished in February 1947.⁴⁶ The French merged the Northern part of their Zone into the state of Rhineland-Palatinate in August 1946, then created assemblies here and in their sections of Baden and Württemberg in November, leading to elections in May 1947. The Saar was run like another state at first, but then a separate Customs Union was proclaimed between this and France, to cement the closer control over this area.⁴⁷

No administrative units beyond MG were supposed to be set up at the level of the zones, but this principle was broken by the Soviets setting up various directorates for theirs from July 1945 onwards,⁴⁸ which was an early setback for the authority of the CC and its directorates. This led to the Americans creating some directorates from early 1946. The British did so more gradually, beginning a little afterwards, with the formation of a Zonal Advisory Council in Hamburg in March of that year, and the French had established a civil administration in Koblenz from January 1946, though this was less significant because of the general centralisation of French government.⁴⁹

Denazification

German denazification has been analysed and assessed by many, in terms of ideals of ‘collective guilt’ as well as of revenge or moderate reform. The scale of the task, the onset of the Cold War, and the unwillingness of various occupying authorities to co-

⁴⁵ ‘Restatement of U.S. Policy on Germany’, in *Documents on Germany*, pp. 35-42.

⁴⁶ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 192-3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 197

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 199.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 199-200.

operate with leftists have been offered as explanations for its limited achievements.⁵⁰ Fundamental questions, as outlined by Michael Balfour, are relevant to the denazification of the musical culture: how many people to remove from office, what exactly constituted Nazism, how feasible was it to establish categories, with limited time, resources and knowledge? And of course, at the national level: how can the country be run without many senior skilled individuals, and what can be done with all those removed from office, whilst maintaining a stable society?⁵¹ Early negative vetting in the US zone of musicians like Carl Orff, Eugen Jochum and Richard Strauss alienated many people. While at first the authorities remained unmoved, eventually all were reintegrated, as an outcome of the complications and inconsistencies between zones, relaxation of policy, and the transfer of responsibility to Germans.

US and British denazification policies have their intellectual origins in the research on the subject of Frankfurt School thinkers such as Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse, and the conclusions of some British conferences which considered issues such as the differences between Catholic and Protestant Germans.⁵² JCS 1067 was the key document evolving from this, calling for the dissolution of Nazi organisations, repeal of racial laws, and removal of ‘active supporters of Nazism or militarism’ as well as those otherwise hostile to Allied purposes in most public, quasi-public and private organisations, including education and the media. Specific categories were established for those who were active supporters: (1) those who had held office in Nazi organisations; (2) those who had participated affirmatively in Nazi crimes, racial persecutions or discriminations; (3) those who had been explicit believers in Nazism or racial and militaristic creeds; (4) those who had voluntarily given significant moral or material support to Nazis or the party.⁵³

⁵⁰ See Perry Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany: A History 1945-1950* (Chalford: Tempus, 2007), pp. 10-15 for an overview of the existing scholarship.

⁵¹ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 171-2.

⁵² See Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 17-37 on the development of denazification policy up to JCS 1067; Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse and Otto Kirchheimer, *Secret Reports on Nazi Germany: The Frankfurt School Contribution to the War Effort*, edited Raffaele Laudani (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); and TNA/PRO/FO 1049/72, ‘The Future of Germany’, as cited in Edwin J. Warkentin, *The History of U.S. Information Control in Post-War Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), pp. 16-22, on the important conference and report produced in 1944.

⁵³ In *Germany, 1947-1949*, pp. 33-41. On the negotiations over JCS 1067 from the issuing of the first draft in April through to the end of the Potsdam Conference, see Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, pp. 5-18.

The 7 July directive determined 136 mandatory categories for removal and exclusion, including all those in official positions in major Nazi or Nazi-affiliated organisations and ministries (including the DAF and RKK), academic, legal and business figures who had received honours or otherwise been directly linked to the Reich, propagandists, those involved in racial and political oppression, and so on. Discretionary removals could be applied to those linked to affiliated military organisations, who joined the NSDAP before 1 May 1937, members of Nazi or facilitating organisations (around 12 million people),⁵⁴ and others. The process was also set out whereby MG would screen individuals, using various extant documentation, require officials of governmental or civil agencies or enterprises to complete *Fragebogen* (questionnaires),⁵⁵ to be reviewed by Supervising Officers, who would forward their findings and recommendations regarding appointment, retention, or removal. However, the different occupiers enacted their own distinct policies, leading the American authorities to fear that some Nazis would simply move to the zone where these were most lax. This led to a CC paper of 5 November 1945 which forbade the employment of a German in one zone after they had been dismissed in another,⁵⁶ and then to CC directives 24 (12 January 1946), stating policy for all four zones, and 38 (24 October 1946), extending the sanctions from removal from office to judicial process, based upon the Nuremberg Trial verdicts.⁵⁷

The history of denazification features gradual transfer of responsibilities from Allied to German hands, at differing rates in the three zones. It would be too simplistic to claim that German officials were always more lenient than Allied ones (where long-term anti-Nazis and socialists were involved, the opposite could be true) but it has been reasonably claimed that Germans tended to be more sympathetic towards so-called *Mussnazis* who said they were forced to join the party, or *Maikäfer*, who had been initially drawn to the movement, but then moved away from it, or simple conformists with no aptitude to rebel against an ideological consensus.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 171. There were around 8 million NSDAP members, and 4 million belonging to affiliated organisations.

⁵⁵ These had been drafted by Major Aldo Raffa around May 1944, based upon a similar document called the *Scheda Personale* used in Italy; Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 38-40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 183-5.

Germans initially gave support to the programme, but this support dissipated by late 1945, leading to wider discontent up until the founding of the Bundesrepublik.⁵⁹

The specific manifestations of denazification in each zone will be covered briefly in their respective sections. It is worth noting here how differences and inconsistencies affected the careers of various musicians. Walter Giesecking was performing in various cities in the British Zone by September 1945. He was banned after appearing on the US blacklist in October, but could continue in the French Zone until January 1946.⁶⁰ After an appeal from the Hessian minister-president's office for him to play in a charity concert, a long process led to Giesecking's name being removed from the US blacklist on 31 January 1947, enabling him to perform Hindemith's *Die vier Temperamente* and the Walter Piston *Concertino* in the 1947 Frankfurt *Woche für Neue Musik* (see Appendix 5g). The British allowed Franz Konwitschny, a Nazi supporter since the early 1920s who had toured the *Ring* cycle around the Greater Reich and occupied territories, to become director of the opera in Hanover.⁶¹ Similarly, when Eugen Jochum left Munich in July 1945, fearful that he would be ranked black by American intelligence and forced to leave his position at the Philharmonic, he was made conductor of the Hamburg Philharmonic, under British control. The Soviet authorities tried to woo Wilhelm Furtwängler, because of his high profile, when under interrogation by the American authorities,⁶² while Berliner Rundfunk presented a series of concerts of Hans Pfitzner when he was already on the Black List.⁶³

The Beginnings of Information Control: The Psychological Warfare Division

Musical policy and authorisation of concerts were directed from the beginning of the occupation by departments of Information Control. These grew out of the British-American Psychological Warfare Division (PWD), which was created in early 1944,

⁵⁹ Ibid. pp. 191-211.

⁶⁰ 'Chronik des geistigen Lebens', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 19 September 1945; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 157-8.

⁶¹ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 3881-3. Konwitschny had encountered denunciations in 1937, on account of hiring a Jewish singer and even for appearing 'only a little Aryan'. This may have contributed to the British having not seen him as a full Nazi.

⁶² Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 128-37.

⁶³ IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, John Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 18 May 1946.

shortly before D-Day, with the approval of Eisenhower.⁶⁴ It was headed by US Brigadier General Robert McClure, with British politician and academic Richard Crossman as his deputy,⁶⁵ staffed with various individuals who would later run areas of Information Control, many who had previously lived or worked in German-speaking Europe, and had extensive knowledge of German and other languages.⁶⁶

In the winter of 1944-45, PWD was assigned control of media and censorship during occupation, and moved to headquarters in Paris and started to train people for information control and entertainment. Two large District Information Services Control Commands (DISCCs) were created: DISCC 6870, for the Eastern Military District (Bavaria), controlled by Colonel Bernard B. McMahon, and DISCC 6871, for the regions of Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bremen, controlled by Lt. Col. John Stanley.⁶⁷ By the end of April 1945, DISCC 6870 would move into Munich, and DISCC 6871 into Wiesbaden, while PWD as a whole moved to Bad Homburg.⁶⁸

On 18 April, a 'Directive for Psychological Warfare and Control of German Information Services' was agreed between McClure, Elmer Davis, the director of the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Chief of Staff of SCHAEF, and issued by 6 June.⁶⁹ This directive envisaged that the occupation would be short, necessitating the speedy establishment of control. There were to be three phases: (i) the continued issuing of propaganda, to demoralise enemy units, and orders to civilians, as well as monitoring potential insurrections, promoting anti-Nazi sentiment, and assuaging German fears about the occupation; (ii) setting up newspapers and radio transmission;

⁶⁴ Daniel Lerner, *Sykewar: Psychological Warfare against Germany, D-Day to VE-Day* (New York: George W. Stewart, 1949), pp. 11, 23. On other US and British civilian propaganda organisations which preceded this, including the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and Office of War Information (OWI), and the British Political Warfare Executive (PWE) and Political Intelligence Department (PID), and the intricate relations between different groups, with no central authority, see *ibid.* pp. 47-66.

⁶⁵ *The Psychological Warfare Division, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force: An Account of its Operations in the Western European Campaign 1944-1945* (Bad Homburg: [OMGUS], 1945); reprinted (Location unknown: PsyWar.Org, 2007), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁶ Lerner, *Sykewar*, pp. 73-8.

⁶⁷ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 367; Wilfried Schöntag, 'Office of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden', in Christoph Weisz (ed.), *OMGUS-Handbuch: Die amerikanische Militärregierung in Deutschland 1945-1949*, second edition (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995), p. 533; *MG Weekly Information Bulletin* No. 2 (4 August 1945), p. 8.

⁶⁸ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 369; NARA RG 260 390/42/16/5 Box 69. 'History. Information Control Division: Office for Military Government for Germany (U.S.)', December 1944 to June 1946, p. 25. This document is called hereafter *ICD History I*. Similarly Box 70. July 1, 1946 to June 30, 1947 is hereafter *ICD History II*, and Box 70. July 1. 1947 to June 30. 1948 is hereafter *ICD History III*. My profound thanks to Erwin Warkentin for providing me with his transcripts of these, from which I take the paginations used. See Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 41-3 for wider thoughts on interpreting the documents, which have informed my work here.

⁶⁹ *ICD History I*, pp. 5, 103.

(iii) allowing other vetted individuals to run other information services under PWD's control (including 'entertainment' and thus music).⁷⁰

By the time of the German surrender, practically all newspapers, radio stations, theatres, cinemas and concert halls in SHAEF territory were closed down.⁷¹ Four days later, on 12 May 1945, SHAEF issued the *Manual for the Control of German Information Services*, which included a fleshed-out version of Law 191, and 'Information Control Regulation No. 1', which detailed material on the necessity of registering with Military Government and obtaining a license. Music accompanying religious services, the sale of food or drink, or a licensed theatrical activity, was allowed freely, but other musical performances, publications or recordings required that a license be sought.⁷² Each DISCC should have a Film, Theatre and Music Control Section (replacing PWD's Entertainment Section), with a Chief Officer, two Officers for film, one for Theatre and Music as a whole, and separate officers for Theatre and Music who would supervise production in their respective fields.⁷³

By the end of May, PWD policies were relaxed, with some freedom granted to anti-Nazi German writers, and encouragement of music and other cultural activities. Earl Ziemke attributes this to the influence of 'the more dulcet timbre of Soviet-operated Radio Berlin'.⁷⁴ After the dissolution of SHAEF in July 1945, the Americans and British pursued similar policies in information control, while the French and Soviets followed their own independent courses.⁷⁵

The US Zone

US policy for military government was devised with combined input from the State Department and the War Department, though with little coordination between the two. The former was focused more upon the role of education (in the more literal sense of schools and universities) in effecting a 'deintoxication' of German and other Axis

⁷⁰ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 17-18.

⁷¹ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, pp. 367-8.

⁷² 'Law No. 191. Amended (1)' in *Germany 1947-1949*, pp. 594-5; and 'Information Control Regulation No. 1. Control of publications radio broadcasting, films, theatres and music', in *Manual for the Control of German Information Services* (hereafter simply *Manual*), reproduced in *The Psychological Warfare Division*, pp. 188-9. Regulation also found in GLAK/OMGUS 3/411-1/15, 'Directive for Psychological Warfare and Control of Information Services', 2 November 1945.

⁷³ *Manual*, pp. 230-2

⁷⁴ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 368.

⁷⁵ Balfour, *West Germany*, p. 112.

populations.⁷⁶ The major officers in charge from the outset were Deputy Military Governor General Lucius Clay, working in Berlin for the Control Commission, and Chief of Staff General Bedell Smith in Frankfurt, who received orders directly from Washington.⁷⁷

The two large military districts (Bavaria, Hesse/Württemberg-Baden/Bremen) and the US sector of Berlin each had area commanders and MG staff; the latter would report through the former to Frankfurt. In October 1945 MG staff were separated from army commands and made subordinate to Offices of Military Government (OMGUS) in Frankfurt and Berlin, by which time the zone had been divided into separate Länder in Bavaria, Greater Hesse and Württemberg-Baden, amongst which staff were re-grouped.⁷⁸

Denazification in the American zone began with simple removal of the most prominent figures, then implementation of the 7 July and subsequent directives.⁷⁹ Law No. 8 in September outlawed public institutions from employing members of the NSDAP or affiliate organisations, other than as ordinary labour. For orchestras, these would prohibit such people from working in the positions of conductor, assistant, deputy, manager, concert manager, and member of executive committee.⁸⁰ In October 1945, the American authorities opened a special psychological screening centre in Bad Orb, in northern Hesse, in which a variety of tests would be applied to those sent there, to ascertain whether those sent there displayed signs of ‘authoritarian personalities’ such as were thought to indicate a predilection towards Nazism.⁸¹ This centre, to which Carl Orff, Hans Rosbaud and Bertil Wetzelsberger would be sent, remained in operation until August 1946.⁸²

By January 1946, the nuances and ‘grey areas’ were better understood, not least by ICD.⁸³ After a report had recommended extending German participation in

⁷⁶ James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 13-39.

⁷⁷ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 102-3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Amendments from 15 August and 26 September can be found in *Denazification (Cumulative Review)*, pp. 37-8, 49-51. The structure I present for denazification in each zone into phases is informed by the model of Marie-Bénédicte Vincent, in ‘Punir et rééduquer: le processus de dénazification (1945-1949)’, in Vincent (ed.), *La dénazification* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2008), pp. 23-6

⁸⁰ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/1, Preliminary Meeting of Theater-Music Officers, 20 October 1945.

⁸¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 65-6; Bianka J. Adams, *From Crusade to Hazard: The Denazification of Bremen Germany* (Lanham, Toronto and Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2009), pp. 67-8

⁸² Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 144.

⁸³ Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 51-3.

light of earlier inconsistency of implementation,⁸⁴ a new ‘Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism’ was issued on 5 March.⁸⁵ This required all Germans aged 18 or over to complete new, somewhat shorter, questionnaires (*Meldebogen*), with denazification cases tried at tribunals (*Spruchkammern*), which determined whether individuals fell into one of five categories: 1. ‘Major Offenders’; 2. ‘Offenders’; 3. ‘Lesser Offenders’; 4. ‘Followers’; 5. ‘Exonerated’. This was carried out with a large degree of German help.⁸⁶ *Prüfungsausschüsse*, organisations which undertook preliminary investigations, were set up manned by Germans: one such was created in Stuttgart in March 1946, to examine performers.⁸⁷

However, this was a huge undertaking, not always pursued zealously by Germans, leading to further frustration on the part of Clay, with some further amnesties from August 1946 (which signifies the beginning of Vincent’s last phase) to the beginning of 1947, for nominal ‘followers’ without official responsibilities.⁸⁸ Clay attempted to re-appropriate some denazification powers, but in light of Byrnes’ Stuttgart speech, this was ultimately forlorn. In August 1947, Washington issued an instruction to end denazification by 1 April 1948, leading to an acceleration of the process during the last months.⁸⁹ By 1950, 13 million Germans had been registered and 958,000 tried, with 25,000 ranked as ‘Major Offenders’ or ‘Offenders’, and 595,000 as ‘Lesser Offenders’ or ‘Followers’. More than half-a-million were punished, but most of these sanctions were in the form of fines. More than 23,000 were banned permanently from public office.⁹⁰

In November 1944, the Americans had drawn up some early provisional ‘Black and Grey’ lists mostly of artists involved with the media – on these Hans Knappertsbusch was listed as ‘grey’, and Hans Pfitzner as ‘black’.⁹¹ In October 1945, by which time many musical activities had already resumed, the central FTM department made public the first of seven more comprehensive lists, on the basis of

⁸⁴ Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, pp. 102-3.

⁸⁵ Reproduced in full in Pollock, *Germany under Occupation*, pp. 152-69; see also Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, pp. 103-6.

⁸⁶ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 177; Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 64.

⁸⁷ *ICD History II*, p. 62.

⁸⁸ Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, pp. 106-10; Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 73-4; Vincent, ‘Punir et rééduquer’, pp. 25-6.

⁸⁹ Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, pp. 158-62.

⁹⁰ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 79-81.

⁹¹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/246-2/5, “‘Black and Grey’ List of Persons Concerned in Press, Radio and Film Matters in Germany”, 16 November 1944. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 48-9. I am grateful to Erwin Warkentin for providing me with a copy of this full early list, from which all further references are taken.

captured intelligence files.⁹² Five categories were created, two ‘Whites’, ‘Grey’ and two ‘Blacks’. The December 1945 list expanded that from October, and that in April 1946 created a new set of categories of ‘White (A)’, ‘White (B)’, ‘Grey-Acceptable’, ‘Grey-Unacceptable’ and ‘Black’ (former D and E). Overall, from 5625 musicians considered, 301 (5.4%) were designated White-A (compared to 11.2% average of all artistic fields considered), 1618 (28.8%) White-B, and 19.6% were ranked black.⁹³

In terms of musical policy, the US authorities were highly conscious of the difficulty of their own task, believing they needed to prove themselves culturally in the context of a German culture which many held in some awe.⁹⁴ Edward Barrett, the overseas director of OWI, noted before the end of the war that Nazi propaganda had portrayed America to Europeans as ‘backward, barbaric, decadent’, and ‘not to be included among the progressive, civilized nations of the world’, so the US must convince such Europeans ‘that America has a culture’.⁹⁵ Various early PWD planners, including Davidson Taylor, former head of classical music broadcasting at CBS, and Sam Rosenbaum, lawyer and vice-president of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, both of who worked at Radio Luxemburg after it was captured in October 1944, distinguished art from popular entertainment. They knew Germans would not doubt the prowess of the US in terms of the latter, but also that they needed convincing with respect to the former.⁹⁶ Furthermore, it soon became clear that the US also had to compete with major Soviet cultural and propagandistic initiatives, which would similarly portray the US as a materialistic and culturally barren wilderness.⁹⁷ However, the US officers were confident of the value and importance of American

⁹² GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/1, Preliminary Meeting of Theater-Music Officers, 20 October 1945. All of the lists have been usefully compiled onto an online source by Erwin J. Warkentin. See ‘The White, Grey, and Black List: American Media Control in Post-War Germany 1944-1947’, at <http://www.erwinslist.com/index-en.html#The Database> (accessed 14 August 2017). There are seven known lists, from October 1945, December 1945, April 1946, June 1946, August 1946, November 1946, and March 1947. Where no other source is given, information on classification is taken from here. The April 1946 list can be found in IfZ/OMGUS 11/47-1/7, that of June in IfZ/OMGUS 11/47-3/25, August in IfZ/OMGUS 11/47-3/26, and November in IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-1/48. The lists were publicised in ‘Die “Weiße Liste” deutscher Kultur. Ausschaltung nationalsozialistischer Elemente aus dem Kunstleben’, *Neue Zeitung*, 25 October 1945.

⁹³ Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 183, 242.

⁹⁴ See Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 123-4.

⁹⁵ Cited in Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁹⁷ See Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, pp. 17-18.

new music, which they believed could stand alongside that of Germans and other Europeans. For this reason, they pursued an active policy for its promotion.⁹⁸

US Information Control Division (ICD), which was formally designated on 13 July 1945, with headquarters in Bad Homburg, Hesse,⁹⁹ grew out of PWD. It would take over all its duties after the latter was dissolved in August,¹⁰⁰ especially after directives on 22 and 28 May on re-education, control of communications, and the restarting of cultural activities.¹⁰¹ Like PWD, ICD functioned independently of the rest of the Office of Military Government (OMGUS), as a division of USFET, until 11 December 1945, so McClure could act with some autonomy. It was only fully integrated with the rest of OMGUS by 28 February 1946.¹⁰² McClure had already been designated director of the new organisation by June 1945, answering to the Secretary General and Director of Administrative Services (who in turn answered to the Military Governor and Deputy Military Governor, and other deputies). He had initially three subordinate staff, dealing with Press & Publications, Film, Theatre and Music (FTM), and Radio.¹⁰³ Davidson Taylor became FTM head in May 1945, succeeded by film composer Heinz Roemheld by October, then Eric T. Clarke (who had first joined the branch on 22 September) by December at the latest.¹⁰⁴ At this stage the department was sub-divided into Film on one hand, and Theatre and Music (T&M) on the other.¹⁰⁵ Drama professor and pre-1933 director of the Hamburg Opera Benno D. Frank, of Central European Jewish birth, ran T&M until 1948.¹⁰⁶ Frank recognised the important role of both music and theatre in German cultural life, but

⁹⁸ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 124. Janik argues that 'Before 1945, however, New Music had not made significant inroads into either German or American musical repertoires', a questionable point depending on the precise definition of 'New Music'.

⁹⁹ Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 33.

¹⁰¹ See *ICD History I*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 24.

¹⁰³ Josef Henke and Klaus Oldenhage, 'Office of Military Government for Germany (US)', in Weisz, *OMGUS-Handbuch*, pp. 16-7.

¹⁰⁴ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 22; Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 140 n. 217; Ursula Hardt, *From Caligari to California: Erich Pommer's Life in the International Film Wars* (Providence, RI, and Oxford: Bergahn, 1996), p. 168 n. 15; *ICD History I*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰⁵ *ICD History I*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰⁶ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 122; Jochen Zulauf, *Verwaltung der Kunst oder Kunst der Verwaltung. Kulturverwaltung, Kulturförderung und Kulturpolitik des Landes Hessen 1945-1960* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1995), p. 27; Guy Stern, 'In the Service of American Intelligence: German-Jewish Exiles in the War against Hitler', in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 37* (1992), pp. 463-4; Martin J. Manning and Herbert Romerstein, *Historical Dictionary of American Propaganda* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 112; Pamela M. Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2016), pp. 92, 120.

also how they had been ‘perverted’ by the Nazis ‘to fit into their vicious propaganda program’. The task of ICD was to cultivate anti-Nazi Germans to turn these people into ‘an instrument in democratizing and civilizing German cultural life’.¹⁰⁷ Walter Hinrichsen, the former head of Hinrichsen Edition in Leipzig, ran the Music Branch of ICD as a whole from 1946 to 1947,¹⁰⁸ while composer Harrison Kerr was appointed in December 1946 as ‘Chief of Music, Art, and Exhibits section of the Civil Affairs Division, Reorientation Branch, Department of Army’, working from New York.¹⁰⁹ The music professor John Evarts (see Chapter 3) took over Theatre and Music from summer 1948 to 1951, whilst also continuing to work in Wiesbaden for the ICD branch for Hesse.¹¹⁰ At this point the general ICD headquarters was moved from Bad Homburg to Bad Nauheim, while Clarke, Hinrichsen, as well as John Bitter in Berlin and Newell Jenkins in Stuttgart (also see Chapter 3), all retired from government service.¹¹¹ In 1948, some activity relating to music (with dwindling numbers of officers) came under the auspices of the new Education and Cultural Relations Division (ECRD), founded in the spring of that year under the leadership first of Herman Wells, and then Alonzo Grace.¹¹²

As well as DISCC 6870 and 6871, created by PWD, a further Theater Information Services Control Command (TISCC 6840) was created to supervise some activities in several zones and also administer Information Control for the American sector of Berlin.¹¹³ Lt. Col. Frederick M. Leonard was in charge of this unit.¹¹⁴ The structures changed at the end of January 1946, with DISCC 6871 split into separate divisions for the three regions,¹¹⁵ and Film separated from Theatre and Music.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, many staff were moved from Bad Homburg to Berlin.¹¹⁷

McClure had a low view of many Germans, and wrote jubilantly to his wife on VE Day that ‘We will rigidly control all newspapers, films, theatre, radio music, etc. in Germany!’, believing much of the licensing system (see below) or any self-

¹⁰⁷ Benno Frank, ‘No Bread and Circuses for Germany’, *MG Weekly Information Bulletin* 30 (23 February 1946), p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ See Harrison Kerr, ‘Information Control in the Occupied Areas’, *Notes*, Second Series 4/4 (September 1947), pp. 432-3.

¹¹⁰ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 38-9; Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 31.

¹¹¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 168.

¹¹² Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 188.

¹¹³ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 367.

¹¹⁴ *MG Weekly Information Bulletin* No. 2 (4 August 1945), pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁵ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, ‘The first two years’, undated.

¹¹⁶ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, OMGWB, ICD, ‘Annual Report’, 9 July 1946.

¹¹⁷ *ICD History I*, p. 31.

regulation to be relatively futile. With the head of his intelligence section, Alfred Toombs, who shared his general outlook, he sought to replace the existing German cultural elite with new individuals committed to what he perceived as democratic values, while instilling through re-education a general sense of collective German guilt.¹¹⁸

The principle enacted in both the American and British zones was to give a licence to the Intendant of a theatre, owner of a concert hall, director of an orchestra, concert promoter, recording manufacturer or music publisher, so as to make a single individual responsible for programming. Following Law No. 8, they had to register all their employees, including musicians.¹¹⁹ They were also required to provide programs to their respective DISCC at least 72 hours before the event, and list all composers, works and participants.¹²⁰

Those wishing to work in film, theatre or music had to visit an ICD/FTM music office, where they would fill out their Fragebogen and other forms, whose vetting by other (non-music) officers would take between three weeks and six months. Licence seekers were vetted first, then major soloists, then more ordinary orchestral musicians, technicians and others.¹²¹ At the same time, officers also worked hard to help cultural organisations obtain building materials, fuel, extra rations, as well as some grants, to enable them to function.¹²² Many theatres or concert venues had been destroyed or were being used by the occupying forces, so performances had to be relocated to far-from-ideal venues.¹²³ By 30 June 1946, 69 music-related licences had been issued (to orchestras, opera companies, music publishers, producers of performances, phonograph recording manufacturers) and registrations granted to 7933 musicians.¹²⁴ By this stage it was agreed that conductors, singers, soloists and speakers no longer required approval, but just a single registration.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Henke and Oldenhage, 'Office of Military Government for Germany (US)', p. 115; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 33-5; Colonel Alfred H. Paddock, Jr, 'Major General Robert Alexis McClure: Forgotten Father of US Army Special Warfare', reprinted at <http://www.psywarrior.com/mcclure.html> (accessed 11 August 2017); Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 59 and pp. 28-31 for more on McClure.

¹¹⁹ Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 183-4; Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 225; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 52.

¹²⁰ ICD *History I*, pp. 124-5.

¹²¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 51-2.

¹²² Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 225.

¹²³ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 378.

¹²⁴ ICD *History I*, p. 125.

¹²⁵ IfZ OMGUS 11/39-2/3, 'Unterausschuss Theater, Musik und Rundfunk. Sitzung am 14.6.1946 in Stuttgart, Villa Reitzenstein. Kurzprotokoll'.

The first formal directive of ICD was issued on 4 September, allowing increased freedom to German licensees, so long as they did not produce Nazi/militarist propaganda or endanger or oppose the occupiers, though this mostly applied to news media.¹²⁶ Another directive of 23 October instructed COs of Information Control units to use German personnel and agencies, though these Germans must not be given the power to authorise or exclude people. The US authorities were also careful to guard against any too-great concentration of power which could lead to Information Control Units becoming like new Propaganda Ministries, and therefore wanted to promote democratic local associations.¹²⁷ Plans for devolution of powers to Germans were drawn up by the beginning of 1946.¹²⁸

Following the denazification law of March 1946, a meeting of Länder representatives agreed plans for three-person boards for T&M licensing, as well as a board of appeal.¹²⁹ Ultimately, on 15 June 1947, registration was brought to an end.¹³⁰ No new applications would then be accepted, and only those already with valid ICD registrations, or who had received a Spruchkammer classification of group 4 or 5, could appear in public performances. Some could, however, be given special licenses following an intelligence examination.¹³¹

Policies on music for re-education developed gradually. Rosenbaum had submitted a 'Draft Guidance on Control of Music' to McClure in April 1945,¹³² then SHAEF issued Music Control Instruction No. 1 on 19 June. This prohibited all military music and all that associated with Nazism. It also indicated the need to prevent the performance of any 'inflammatory' music, which led the DISCCs to

¹²⁶ *ICD History I*, pp. 17-20.

¹²⁷ GLAK/OMGUS 3/411-1/15, Directive for Psychological Warfare and Control of German Information Services, 23 October 1945.

¹²⁸ IfZ OMGUS 11/39-1/12, James K. Pollock, Senior Representative of the Deputy Military Governor to Mr. Eric Rossmann, Secretary General of the Länderrat, Stuttgart, 2 February 1946. Various problems, in particular relating to exemption from licensing for those employed by state-run enterprises, are detailed in IfZ/OMGUS 11/39-1/12, Information Control, 'Highlights of Länderrat Committee meeting as noted by RGCO observer', 16 April 1946; 'Bemerkungen und Vorschlaege fuer den Nachrichten-Kontroll-Ausschuss' (unterbreitet von dem ODIC Vertreter bei der Versammlung des Laenderrat-Nachrichten-Kontrollausschusses in Stuttgart am 16/4/46)'.¹²⁹ IfZ OMGUS 11/39-1/12, 'Information Control, Highlight Summary of the Laenderrat Committee action as noted by RGCO Officer', 11 March 1946.

¹³⁰ Already by 22 March 1947 minor employees were exempted from registration. This meant all musicians except record manufacturers and in radio anyone except Intendants, Business Managers, production Managers and Chief Engineers, or performers if they had comparable responsibilities; Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 64.

¹³¹ GLAK/OMGUS 3/407-3/3, 'History of Registering, Wuerttemberg-Baden', in Quarterly History of Theater and Music Control Branch, period 1 April – 1 July 1947.

¹³² Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 22.

scrutinise concert programmes for some works of Beethoven, Wagner which might be viewed as symbolic, and even some nationalistic works of Chopin and Sibelius. Neither Pfitzner nor Strauss were banned, but there should not be special concerts devoted to their work.¹³³ A report written a little over one year into the occupation also indicated a particular take on the type of German music to encourage, specifically lesser-known works not especially favoured by the Nazis, such as Haydn symphonies, Mozart concertos or Schubert chamber music, as well as the likes of Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Offenbach or Hindemith, who had been prohibited for racial or political reasons.¹³⁴

But more importantly, a list of ‘Foreign Composers Whose Works are to be Encouraged in Germany’ (see Appendix 3) was also included with the June 1945 instruction, and included a large number of composers from the US. These would have been informed by solicited suggestions from US composers prior to the end of the war. Those consulted included Roy Harris, who was working for the New York Office of OWI, and was tasked with finding composers to represent American culture in Europe. Also consulted were Henry Cowell, who was working for OWI as well and who helped prepare a large range of recordings, and Elliott Carter.¹³⁵ The names are mostly indicative of mainstream interwar music, with few dodecaphonists, nor other iconoclasts such as André Jolivet, Alois Hába, Cowell himself, or Harry Partch (though Ives made it onto the list). A meeting of Theater and Music Officers in October 1945 decided to make scores of American music available as soon as possible, by sending microfilms, and handwritten copies to be made if these could not be reproduced in playable size. Copies would be distributed to each of the main music officers in the zone, and the parts held in a central loan library.¹³⁶

Another dimension to musical re-education emerged from a circular from McClure in May 1946. He saw French, Soviet and British artists performing in Germany, and wanted to bring US musicians too, once again in order to ‘disprove the belief, consistently fed by Nazi propaganda, that Americans have no understanding for the arts’. A list of suggested musicians, to be allowed to appear in the US Zone

¹³³ IfZ/OMGUS 5/243-2/1, ‘Music Control Instruction No. 1’, 19 June 1945. A meeting in January 1946 clarified a ban on music linked to Nazi, nationalistic, militaristic, imperialist and racial ideas; IfZ/OMGUS 11/39-1/12, Memorandum of Committee Meeting, 29 January 1946 - attached document ‘Anweisung Nr. 1/Instruction No. 1’

¹³⁴ *ICD History I*, p. 125.

¹³⁵ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 10-11.

¹³⁶ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/1, Preliminary Meeting of Theater-Music Officers, 20 October 1945.

from the beginning of July, was attached, including violinists Joseph Fuchs and Patricia Travers, and pianists William Kapell and Eugene List, as well as a variety of singers, and a proposed committee, all of which would lead to an active touring programme. McClure suggested that programming should emphasise ‘recent American works including works written in the U.S. by former European composers who have become American citizens or are residing in the United States’.¹³⁷

A US policy statement of 5 June 1946 on re-education was also significant, quite different from the sentiments of McClure and Toombs, and anticipating Byrnes’ Stuttgart speech a few months later. The statement related re-education, cultural and moral, to the rehabilitation of the German people, and to the development of a peaceful economy, aiming for national unity and self-respect. After seeking previously simply to eliminate Nazism and militarism, the US asserted that ‘a program for the reconstitution of German cultural life has been initiated’. Re-education would entail a sense of obligations between peoples and nations, respect for the individual, active democratic participation, respect for truth, and tolerance between different cultural and racial groups.¹³⁸ From this point, most of the starkest aspects of ICD policy were relaxed, and more individuals reintegrated into musical life.

The British Zone

The British authorities were perceived at the outset as ‘gentleman’ occupiers (though the behaviour of soldiers was often quite inconsistent with that image), from a birthplace of democracy, now in control of cities such as Hamburg and Hanover with strong historic links to the UK.¹³⁹ Overall, Germans had a positive view of the running of their zone for much of the first year, but this changed significantly after the cutting of food rations in March 1946.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5/270-2/2. Robert A. McClure, ‘Use of U.S. Artists in Democratic Reorientation of Germany’, 14 May 1946; TNA/PRO/FO 946/57 Bishop to Dukes, 5 June 1946, with McClure memo attached.

¹³⁸ ‘Long Range Policy Statement for German Re-education’, 5 June 1946, in *Germany 1947-1949*, pp. 541-2.

¹³⁹ Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler*, pp. 133-5, 202.

¹⁴⁰ Barbara Marshall, ‘German Attitudes to British Military Government 1945-47’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 15/4 (October 1980), pp. 655-84.

Earlier planning documents from 1943 and 1944 indicate a clear wish to stress re-education, rather than punishment. The concept of re-education was vague, but entailed firm but just policies; one paper from August 1943 from the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), chaired by Con O'Neill, argued that 'no attempt should be made in the German way to ram the conqueror's culture down the conquered's throat', though policy hardened as the war drew to a close.¹⁴¹ A 1944 conference on 'The Future of Germany' considered differences between Catholic and Protestant Germans, concluding that militarism was rooted in the Prussian North,¹⁴² a large part of which they came to occupy. Nonetheless, the policies which resulted focused upon promoting pluralism in politics and the media, rather than the extensive advancement of the occupier's culture in the other three zones, and are reflected in a gentler approach to the promotion of British music.

Accordingly, denazification was pursued in the interests of re-education, with less vigorous removal of individuals than in the US zone. One planner, socialist academic T.H. Marshall, had recognised the need to keep some NSDAP members with appropriate skills, and recognised only the most senior ones would have made policy.¹⁴³ Biddiscombe and Erwin Warkentin note that British officers often connected with conservative middle-class individuals whom they felt to be similar to themselves, and were impressed by their language skills, even when those individuals might hold Nazi or extreme nationalistic views. Some officers were open to distinctly German conceptions of democracy, and made a priority simply of putting the 'right' people in charge.¹⁴⁴

The British authorities did not at first accept JCS 1067, though their draft interim directive of June 1945, issued on 26 July, was similar. A category of 'more than nominal participants' was vague, left to the judgement of the local officers. A further directive of 5 September excluded some fields like food and agriculture,

¹⁴¹ David Welch, 'Priming the Pump of German Democracy. British 'Re-Education' Policy in Germany after the Second World War', in Ian D. Turner (ed.), *Reconstruction in Post-War Germany: British Occupation Policy and the Western Zones, 1945-55* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 216-9.

¹⁴² TNA/PRO/FO 1049/72, 'The Future of Germany', as cited in Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 16-22. Warkentin points out how this neglects Nazi roots in Bavaria and Austria.

¹⁴³ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 83-7. Ian Turner, however, points out that the Political Division in the British Government were more inclined towards the 'artificial revolution' which would be brought about by replacing the old ruling class with others, in this case German anti-Nazis. This view was strongly at odds with that of the Intelligence Division; Turner, 'Denazification in the British Zone', pp. 242-3.

¹⁴⁴ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 91; Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 13-14.

though not culture.¹⁴⁵ The British did not accept the 7 July US directive and were deeply opposed to anything like US Law No. 8.¹⁴⁶ They did use the categories provided by the Americans for the first year, then drew up five categories of their own in October 1946.

However, the British had to adhere to Control Council directives 24 and 38. The first of these, on 12 January 1946, led to a Policy Instruction No. 3 five days later, authorising German-staffed 'principal committees' to administer the process. By April, measures were relaxed, so individuals could request the reason for exclusion and appeal if there was new evidence, while only certain sectors of the population needed to register at all.¹⁴⁷

Between May 1945 and September 1946, the British had removed 156 000 people from office,¹⁴⁸ though the scale of the task proved problematic, and some Germans felt the British were insufficiently thorough.¹⁴⁹ By late 1946, the task was devolved to Germans as far as possible, then the Länder took over all responsibility in October 1947.¹⁵⁰ By this time, 2,144,000 cases had been examined, leading to 347,000 job dismissals and 2320 prosecutions for *Fragebogen* falsification, a significant lower rate than in the US zone. The process in general was brought to an end on 1 January 1948.¹⁵¹

From their section of PWD, the British created three field teams called Information Control Units, which carried out centrally-determined policies. No. 1 covered the North Rhine and Westphalia districts, No. 8 Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg, and No. 30 Hanover, Braunschweig and Oldenburg. A little later a further unit was established in Berlin.¹⁵² They were generally divided into separate

¹⁴⁵ Jill Jones, 'Eradicating Nazism from the British Zone of Germany: Early Policy and Practice', *German History* 8/2 (1990), pp. 158-9.

¹⁴⁶ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 90-91, 100; Turner, 'Denazification in the British Zone', pp. 246-7.

¹⁴⁷ Vincent, 'Punir et rééduquer', pp. 26-8. A German translation of the full text of Zone Policy Instruction No. 3 can be found in Ingrid Lange (ed.), *Entnazifizierung in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Richtlinien – Anweisungen – Organisation* (Siegburg: Respublica-Verlag, 1976), pp. 233-40, whilst the revised April version is in TNA/PRO/FO 1012/110. 'Zone Policy Instruction No. 3 (Revise)'.

¹⁴⁸ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 174. Already by the end of September 1945, the official British journal claimed that 40,000 Nazis had been dismissed from important positions in their zone; 'British Dismiss 40,000 Nazis', *British Zone Review* 1/5 (24 November 1945).

¹⁴⁹ See the example of denazification in Hanover in Marshall, *Origins of Post-War German Politics*, pp. 49-52, and also Marshall, 'German Attitudes to British Military Government', p. 669.

¹⁵⁰ Turner, 'Denazification in the British Zone', pp. 239-40; Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 179; Vincent, 'Punir et rééduquer', pp. 28-9; 'Ordinance No. 110 (British Zone)', in *Denazification (cumulative review)*, pp. 150-55.

¹⁵¹ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 115.

¹⁵² TNA/PRO/FO 1056/23. 'Note on Information Control Units', 25 May 1946.

departments, for Press, Publications, Films and Entertainment or Theatre and Music,¹⁵³ and officers were issued with the same SHAEF *Manual* as their US counterparts. A general policy statement from 5 May 1945 required licences for publications, operating broadcasting, producing films, manufacturing any mechanical reproductions (such as discs or tapes) and production of plays and musical performances in public places.¹⁵⁴

In July 1945, Major-General Alec Bishop, formerly Deputy Director-General of PWE, became head of the new Public Relations and Information Services Control (PR/ISC), which took over from Information Control Units.¹⁵⁵ He would remain in the post until October 1946, when he was succeeded by Cecil Sprigge, then in October 1947 by Raymond Gauntlett, who stayed in the position until the summer of 1949.¹⁵⁶ Bishop's deputy was Brigadier W.L. Gibson, who served as acting PR/ISC head for a two month period in the summer of 1946.¹⁵⁷ ISC was initially run by Brigadier A.G. Neville, then by Michael Balfour from April 1946 to September 1947.¹⁵⁸

The main PR/ISC headquarters were in Bünde (near Detmold), and Advance Headquarters in Berlin. Other branches were in Düsseldorf, Hanover, Hamburg and Kiel.¹⁵⁹ Broadcasting, as a concern which ran across different areas of the zone, was run centrally by ISC.¹⁶⁰ In general, the primary focus was on the media as a primary vehicle for re-education, and in order to project British values and an already rather antiquated notion of 'the British way of life'.¹⁶¹ ISC was a much smaller affair than its American equivalent, reliant upon military intelligence, and only produced its first report in January 1946.¹⁶² Under such conditions the enactment of a major and far-reaching cultural policy would have been almost impossible.

¹⁵³ TNA/PRO/FO 1013/1912, 'Functions of No. 1 Information Control Unit', 28 December 1945, cited in Clemens, *Britische Kulturpolitik*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁴ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25. 'General Policy for the Control of German Information Services and Public Entertainment', 5 May 1945.

¹⁵⁵ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/23. 'Note on Information Control Units', 25 May 1946; Michael Balfour, 'In Retrospect: Britain's Policy of "Re-Education"', in Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson (eds.), *The Political Re-Education of Germany & Her Allies: after World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 144; Christopher Knowles, *Winning the Peace: The British in Occupied Germany, 1945-1948* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 15.

¹⁵⁶ Clemens, *Britische Kulturpolitik*, pp. 97, 99.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 97; Marshall, *Origins of Post-War German Politics*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁸ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25. 'Short Term Info Control Policy in the British Zone', minutes of meeting on 12 July 1945; Clemens, *Britische Kulturpolitik*, p. 97; Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Michael Balfour, 'In Retrospect', p. 145.

¹⁶⁰ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/23. 'Note on Information Control Units', 25 May 1946.

¹⁶¹ Welch, 'Priming the Pump of German Democracy', pp. 224-5. For more details on this, see Clemens, *Britische Kulturpolitik*, pp. 38-56.

¹⁶² Marshall, 'German Attitudes to British Military Government', pp. 657-8.

Some early plans for highbrow musical broadcasting had been devised by BBC actor and programme maker Marius Goring, working with composer Berthold Goldschmidt. Goring decided programming should not have a propagandistic function, but should include ‘works by English, American, Russian composers’ and ‘works by composers who have been banned’, within other more standard programmes, and also concerts ‘consisting of new and “difficult” works, e.g. Bartok, etc.’ The Overseas Music Director, Stuart Wilson, also wanted to include Schoenberg and others, but had difficulty finding available recordings. Policy was also developed after various trips in the winter of 1944-45 to occupied areas of Germany, and to Radio Luxembourg after its capture in September 1944, the outcome of which was simply that it was felt important to maintain high standards of musical performance.¹⁶³ At PWD, Crossman was concerned about the use of music to incite pro-Nazi sentiment, and chaired a meeting of the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) on 21 March 1945, which considered that this might be counteracted by the introduction of a modernist repertoire (and also early music) to Germany.¹⁶⁴ How much these ideas directly influenced actual policy in the zone is unclear, but they are certainly to some degree congruent with the result.

A letter of 13 June 1945 from P. Ritchie Calder to Bishop (both then working for PWE), mostly dealing with US information control plans, showed a degree of naïvete when indicating that licences for music would be granted ‘under the principle of “blanketing” the bad with the good (and that means re-introducing into Germany international standards of culture) rather than by rigorous eradication’ (though also by banning all Nazi and militaristic music).¹⁶⁵ This ignored the extent to which the Nazis had associated themselves with high culture, not to mention certain forms of internationalism.

However, a document which was produced on 18 June, clarifying aims and objectives of Information Control, showed a better understanding. The aims were to ensure German compliance with occupying policy, and train ‘a new generation of authors, journalists, broadcasting staff, film and theatre producers, in Western

¹⁶³ Toby Thacker, “‘Liberating German Musical Life’: The BBC German Service and Planning for Music Control in Occupied Germany 1944-1949”, in Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove (eds.), *‘Stimme der Wahrheit’: German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2003), pp. 84-7.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 86-8; Nicholas J. Cull et al, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the present* (Santa Barbara, CA and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2003), p. 100.

¹⁶⁵ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25, P. Ritchie Calder to Bishop, 13 June 1945.

standards of thought and behaviour which have never been continuously and sympathetically presented to the German public'.¹⁶⁶ This was translated into a series of objectives, most of which related to media, but an appendix dealing with music said:

Control of musical performances raises fewer and less difficult problems than other branches of information control. Frequent and high quality musical performances will have a valuable relaxing effect on German morale and should therefore be encouraged.¹⁶⁷

Priorities derived from this including bringing Germans 'into contact again with musical tastes and developments from which they have been cut off'. Such tastes and developments included banned music (with Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer and Hindemith, though not Schoenberg, given as examples) and that which developed outside Germany. Means of achieving the aim included using British musical organisations and German experts for advice. A black list was not recommended, and none ever produced,¹⁶⁸ while the policy on Strauss and Pfitzner was the same as that in the US zone. A further memorandum indicated that foreign and banned music 'should be encouraged but not insisted upon'.¹⁶⁹

The surviving documentation of memorandums, minutes of meetings and correspondence clearly shows that the British officers' primary concern from the outset was media (press and radio), then to a lesser extent books and film, all reflecting common British artistic priorities, with theatre a much smaller concern, and music smaller still.¹⁷⁰ Other than a moderate wish to promote some British music, the officers had little sense of a deeper role for music in framing consciousness, as perceived by officers in other zones. In his first speech to the press in mid-August

¹⁶⁶ TNA/PRO/FO 898/401, 'Information Control in the British Occupied Zone of Germany', 18 June 1945.

¹⁶⁷ TNA/PRO/FO 898/401. Information Control in the British Occupied Zone of Germany, 18 June 1945. Appendix B, 'The Control of Music'.

¹⁶⁸ There is one list from March-July 1946 of those excluded in the British Zone to be found in American files; IfZ/OMGUS 5/244-1/11, 'List of Persons dismissed, rejected or refused employment in the British Zone, 1/3/46-31/7/46', also cited in Thacker "'Liberating German Musical Life'", p. 80.

¹⁶⁹ TNA/PRO/FO 898/401. Instruction to Wing Commander Price, British Information Control – Berlin, undated.

¹⁷⁰ Some early documents do not even mention music at all, such as the brief on 13 July 1945 (except for the briefest mention of symphony concerts being broadcast on Radio Hamburg), TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25, 'Information Control Projects'. Then in a directive from six days later, TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25, 'Control Commission Directive for Information Control', 19 July 1945, indicates major plans already underway to bring British films and books to Germany, but no mention of anything comparable for music.

1945, Bishop was at pains to distinguish the British operation from a new type of propaganda ministry, saying they simply wished to ‘introduce Germans again into the wider world and to cultural activities banned by the National Socialists’.¹⁷¹

Music and theatre were initially categorised as ‘Entertainments’, with theatre and music still seen by December as ‘primarily to provide recreation for the public’.¹⁷² However, in March 1946 various individuals recommended the section be renamed ‘Theatre and Music’ to avoid confusion with light entertainment, or that for troops.¹⁷³ Theatre director Ashley Dukes was the initial ISC ‘Entertainments Advisor’,¹⁷⁴ then placed in charge of film, theatre and music for the British Zone in general, and specifically for Berlin, from later in 1945.¹⁷⁵ Unsurprisingly, he paid more attention to theatre than music. Brian Dunn was working for the section by July 1946, and became the main Theatre and Music Officer by early 1947 at the latest.¹⁷⁶

Overall, the British employed a light touch with respect to music policy, to facilitate early re-activation of musical life, only intervening in more serious cases involving denazification. A report by Dukes from March 1946 made clear that most music and opera was provided municipally, and the only problems foreseen were a possible lack of strings and reeds (he asked that these be classified as essential imports into Germany), and the difficulties encountered by artists attempting to move between zones.¹⁷⁷ The US authorities were happy for a time to facilitate concerts involving as performers or composers some of their own officers (like Bitter or Nabokov), but in order to avoid amateurishness PR/ISC initiated an agreement with ICD OMGUS whereby ‘no Military Government official may take advantage of his position to participate in German cultural activities’.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ General Bishop, “Wir wollen kein neues Propagandaministerium”, in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 14 August 1945, or *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 15 August 1945.

¹⁷² TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, ‘Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2’, 19 December 45, p. 20.

¹⁷³ TNA/PRO/FO 946/8. Ashley Dukes, ‘German Theatres and Music’, 15 March 1946; TNA/PRO/FO 946/57. ‘German Theatres and Music’, 3 May 1946; Major Thomson to DIS, 4 June 1946.

¹⁷⁴ He is referred to in an article considering German musical and theatrical personnel to consider for ISC, from July 1945. See TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25, ‘Notes on Visit of Major-General W.H.A. Bishop and Major O.C. Wortree to HQ 30 Corps and 8 Corps’, 26/27 July 1945.

¹⁷⁵ Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 153.

¹⁷⁶ TNA/PRO/FO 946/57, Dunn to Policy and Planning Section Public Relations Branch, 18 July 1946; R.C. Symonds to E.H. Underwood, 24 January 1947.

¹⁷⁷ TNA/PRO/FO 946/8, Ashley Dukes, ‘German Theatres and Music’, 15 March 1946, then a rather dismissive response to some of these proposals, TNA/PRO/FO 946/57, ‘German Theatres and Music’, based upon information by Ashley Dukes, 3 May 1946; Major Thomson to DIS, 4 June 1946.

¹⁷⁸ TNA/PRO/FO 946/57, Dunn to Policy and Planning Public Relations Branch, 18 July 1946. The policy to this respect dated from 28 February 1946.

In May 1946 plans were firmed up to bring British soloists, conductors and musical institutions to Germany.¹⁷⁹ Over a period, the British Council also worked with Dunn and helped provide scores of British music for the Inter-Allied Music Library (see Chapter 3).¹⁸⁰ In July 1946 a UK Parliamentary Select Committee investigating expenditure visited Germany and concluded that licensing was simply a job being created to occupy British personnel.¹⁸¹ Eventually, in February 1948, all responsibility for that work was handed over to German authorities,¹⁸² so the primary purpose of ISC was removed.

The French Zone

The enmities between France and Germany ran deep after three wars, though the French post-war occupation would bring about the most lasting long-term relationship. This was a relationship between two nations which feared but did not underestimate each other, both of which understood the fundamental and existential importance of high culture, compared to the British authorities, who saw it as a minor concern, and the Americans, who were struck by a fear of perceived inferiority.

A document from October 1944, during the early planning for occupation, gives a good idea of the ideological mindset involved.¹⁸³ A section entitled ‘L’instruction et l’éducation des Cadres et de la Troupe’ included a passage on ‘The German Mentality and National Socialism’. This identified a pan-Germanic tendency, hostility towards the French, a myth of racial superiority, belief in the enslavement of others, and an apologetic attitude to hatred, saying that ‘the enemy is everywhere: in the town and in the country, the man as with the woman and also the child’. The French soldier was instructed to ‘encourage the new prestige of France’, through making the Germans aware of French civilisation, including Renaissance humanism, eighteenth-century classicism, the conception of the free man, the global influence of the French Revolution, and the significance of World War One. He was told to exhibit pride in French values and contempt towards the German people, who were

¹⁷⁹ TNA/PRO/FO 946/57. ‘German Theatres and Music’, 3 May 1946.

¹⁸⁰ TNA/PRO/FO 946/57. R.C. Symonds (British Council) to E.H. Underwood (Deputy Director for Information Services, COGA), 24 January 1947.

¹⁸¹ Patricia Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People: Germans under the British 1945-50* (London and Chester Springs: Peter Owen Publishers, 2001), p. 58.

¹⁸² Thacker, “‘Liberating German Musical Life’”, p. 81.

¹⁸³ This can be found in Hillel, *L’Occupation Française*, pp. 71-5.

supposedly spiritually inferior, who distrusted the civilised world and who lacked the capacity for critical thinking. In the process, the document mirrored some of the attitudes, for example the sense of superiority, disparaged in the Germans. However, the document, whilst recognising the importance of imposing authority, nonetheless warned against any acts of violence or insolence, saying ‘we are not the Nazis’. Fraternisation and marriages with Germans were to be forbidden, and religious services would be held separately.

There was a longer history of ‘cultural diplomacy’ as an active component of French foreign policy. It can be traced back to the establishment in the Foreign Ministry in 1909 of a special section for the promotion of French culture abroad (it became known in 1920 as the *Services des Oeuvres Françaises à l’Étranger*, and was re-formed in exile in London in 1941). In addition, the government had supported, since 1922, an organisation which supported cultural exchange through the course of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁴ A *Commission de rééducation du peuple allemande* was set up under the direction of Germanist Edmond Vermeil, from the Sorbonne, and by late April 1945 at the latest, a French propaganda section for Germany was confirmed.¹⁸⁵ Henry Laugier was appointed Director of Cultural Relations, and tasked by French foreign minister Georges Bidault with restarting the *Services des Oeuvres*, and effected a seemingly small but in fact significant change in terms of the conception of institution’s work: from cultural *activities* to cultural *relations*, thus placing culture at the centre of the diplomatic strategy.¹⁸⁶

The French occupation was a much more centralised affair than those in the other Western zones. After the end of hostilities, General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny ran the areas then under French control for a period of just eleven weeks, from bases in Karlsruhe and Lindau (neither of which would be part of the eventual French Zone). De Lattre believed the Germans to be impressed above all by grandiose spectacles communicating at an emotive level, and so attempted in a bizarre manner to create such a thing from a French point of view, and, in the process, to restore the morale of French troops. To this end, he brought the National Opera Company from

¹⁸⁴ The 1922 organisation was the *Association française d’expansion et d’échanges* (renamed *Association Française d’Action Artistique* (AFAA)). See Margarete Mehdorn, *Französische Kultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: politische Konzepte und zivilgesellschaftliche Initiativen 1945-1970* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 33-7

¹⁸⁵ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25 Capitaine Fayard to Jean Marie Carre, 24 April 1945.

¹⁸⁶ Mehdorn, *Französische Kultur*, pp. 38-9. The new *Direction générale des Relations Culturelles* in the Foreign Ministry came into being on 17 July 1945, following an ordinance issued in April.

Paris, gave regal receptions to the Sultan of Morocco and the Bey of Tunis, and had 2000 Algerian cavalymen with torches line the route of American General Jacob L. Devers. He attempted to bring artists, architects and musicians from the *Villa Médici*, a French art school in Rome, to work on building and decorating barracks and composing military music, and he set up camps in the zone for French deportees and concentration camp inmates. But the extravagance of this quickly bred antipathy in Germans, whilst de Lattre did little to help relationships between military and civilian administrators.¹⁸⁷ All of these factors led to his replacement as the French Zone was set up on a formal basis, though the spectacles created a precedent for the Konstanzer Kunstwoche in 1946 (see Chapter 5).

De Lattre was replaced by Marie-Pierre Koenig, a colleague of de Gaulle who had been involved in the Ruhr occupation in 1923 and was military governor in post-Liberation Paris.¹⁸⁸ He was also highly musical, and played the piano, according to the flautist Gustav Scheck, who worked closely with him.¹⁸⁹ Koenig took up the new position of *Commandement en chef française en Allemagne* on 31 July 1945. Three associate generals worked directly under him, the most important of whom was former Resistance fighter and director general of the Ministry of the Interior Émile Laffon, who became Administrator General.¹⁹⁰ Laffon's socialist-inclined outlook contrasted with Koenig's Gaullist politics.¹⁹¹ Koenig took up his position five days after the boundaries of the French Zone were finalised. The area had suffered relatively little war damage and encompassed some of the former Reich's least Nazified areas.¹⁹² It was run from the luxurious spa town of Baden-Baden, with Koenig reporting directly to the President of the French Provisional Government. He remained in position until the founding of the Bundesrepublik.

From the beginning, Koenig allowed French families, parents, friends and cousins of officers to come and settle. Baden-Baden, home to 31,000 Germans, gained 35,000 French residents by November 1945, according to one report.¹⁹³ Furthermore,

¹⁸⁷ On de Lattre's short period in control, see Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 74-7, from which I take most of the above information.

¹⁸⁸ Hillel, *L'Occupation*, pp. 162-5, 168.

¹⁸⁹ Gustav Scheck, 'Präludien', in *Staatliche Musikhochschule Freiburg im Breisgau. Festschrift zur Einweihung des Neubaus 1984* (Freiburg: Promo Verlag, 1984), p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 79.

¹⁹¹ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 158.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 156; Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 73.

¹⁹³ As noted in Présidence du Conseil, *Articles et Documents, La Suisse*, November 1945, cited in Hillel, *L'Occupation*, p. 169. Kurt Hochstuhl, 'Baden-Baden – französische Stadt an der Oos', in Karl

many individuals who had been associated with the Vichy regime found work in the occupation, sometimes in quite senior positions.¹⁹⁴ This was the behaviour of an occupying power attempting to create a long-term presence.¹⁹⁵ Koenig also remained relatively independent of Berlin and the CC, only occasionally attending meetings of the latter.¹⁹⁶ The most fundamental decisions were taken in Paris, by the *Comité interministériel des Affaires Allemandes et Autrichiennes*, chaired by de Gaulle, at which the commanders-in-chief for Germany and Austria were present. They first issued occupation directives on 20 July 1945, on matters including the re-establishment of press and broadcasting, the re-opening of primary and secondary schools, and the investigation of the situation in the major universities.¹⁹⁷ In general, this Paris-centered operation caused many problems – not least concerning cultural affairs - as few decisions were properly communicated to regional commanders.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the French delegated far fewer decisions to Germans than did the occupying powers in other zones.¹⁹⁹

At the outset, during de Lattre's tenure as governor, there were tough measures, with internments, NSDAP members held hostage, and multiple executions of Nazis in response to murder of French soldiers.²⁰⁰ After this, various studies have suggested that French denazification was focused upon 'de-prussianisation', ridding their zone of the influence of Prussian militarism and expansionism,²⁰¹ which was

Moersch and Reinhold Weber (eds.), *Die Zeit nach dem Krieg: Städte im Wiederaufbau* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2008), p. 41, gives a figure of 14,000 by July 1945.

¹⁹⁴ For examples of these, including one of the three associate generals, see Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 79-80; see also pp. 83-6 on the discontent this phenomenon created, with one Communist member of a committee of enquiry describing the zone as 'the refuge of thousands of Vichyites who went there either to be forgotten or to carry on with their work of treason' (p. 86). See also Richard Gilmore, 'France's Postwar Cultural Policies and Activities in Germany: 1945-1956' (PhD thesis: University of Geneva, 1971), pp. 56-8.

¹⁹⁵ Hillel, *L'Occupation*, p. 162.

¹⁹⁶ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 105.

¹⁹⁷ Rainer Hudemann, 'Kulturpolitik im Spannungsfeld der Deutschlandpolitik. Frühe Direktiven für die Französische Besatzung in Deutschland', in Franz Knipping and Jacques Le Rider (eds.), *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik in Deutschland, 1945-1950* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1987), pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁸ Jürgen Klöckler, 'Grundzüge der französischen Kulturpolitik im besetzten Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', in *Konturen neuer Kunst. Konstanzer Kunstwochen 1946* (Konstanz: Buchhandlung Gess GmbH, 1996), p. 15.

¹⁹⁹ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 106.

²⁰⁰ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 159-61.

²⁰¹ Jean-Christophe Notin, *Les Vaincus seront les Vainqueurs: La France en Allemagne 1945* (Paris: Perrin, 2004), pp. 373-4; 'Note sur le problème Allemand', 19 July 1945, in Henri Ménudier (ed), *L'Allemagne occupée 1945-1949* (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1990), pp. 178-81; Reinhard Grohnert, *Die Entnazifizierung in Baden 1945-1949* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991), pp. 57-8.

also in line with de Gaulle's policy of German decentralisation.²⁰² Laffon differed from the official position, arguing that Prussian Junkers and militarists, while undoubtedly a major force, relied upon plenty of support from industrialists, financiers and others, which influenced policies.²⁰³ However, these measures were less systematic than elsewhere, leading some to believe the French zone was the most favourable for ex-Nazis.²⁰⁴ Michael Balfour has drawn attention to the suggestion that French officials were more concerned that individuals would be amenable to French supervision than by their pasts,²⁰⁵ while Marie-Bénédicte Vincent stresses regional variety within the zone²⁰⁶ and early involvement of Germans from October 1945.

The more conservative French officers (especially those with Vichyite pasts) felt, like their British counterparts, natural sympathies with Germans of their own class, though the socialists or ex-Resistance fighters amongst the officers favoured strong anti-Nazis.²⁰⁷ Those dismissed in 1933, or who had lost positions through political dissent, were frequently reinstated, though the French authorities used fewer German employees than other occupying powers.²⁰⁸ But the predominant view emphasised consideration of individual cases rather than blanket measures such as penalising NSDAP membership. Sanctions included fines, compulsory retirement or reduction of salary, which Roy Willis argues were viewed as a means of wiping away responsibility.²⁰⁹

A Directive CAB/C 722, of 19 September 1945, devolved some responsibility to Germans. District committees (*Säuberungskommissionen* or *Chambres d'Épuration*), were formed, made up of German anti-Nazis and representatives of political parties, churches and trade unions, with personnel approved by a French *Service de l'Épuration*. These bodies would evaluate cases sent to them on the basis of Fragebogen by local *Untersuchungsausschüsse* (*Delegations d'Instruction*), and would recommend sanctions to MG.²¹⁰ The French authorities assembled a long list

²⁰² Gilmore, 'France's Postwar Cultural Policies', pp. 30-1; Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 158.

²⁰³ Grohnert, *Die Entnazifizierung in Baden*, pp. 58-60.

²⁰⁴ See Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 13, and pp. 59-62 for examples of this amongst actors.

²⁰⁵ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 176.

²⁰⁶ This is the view found in Notin, *Les Vaincus*, p. 373.

²⁰⁷ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 159, 161-3; Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 149

²⁰⁸ See Notin, *Les Vaincus*, p. 374.

²⁰⁹ Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 163.

²¹⁰ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 166-7, 172-3.

of 130 categories, some derived from the SHAEF *Handbook*.²¹¹ However, like the British but unlike the Americans, they did not require all the adult population to register, only those employed in senior positions in public or semi-public administration.²¹² By the turn of 1945/46, evidence was found of unsuitable Germans being hired in contravention of the CC paper from November, and Laffon launched a purge.²¹³

Nonetheless, French officials mostly ignored CC Directive No. 24 issued in January 1946. Between January and June 1946, 77,924 individuals were examined, and around 42% of these (so around 32,730) were dismissed or excluded, though the severity of the judgements varied, with those in the Hesse-Palatinate region more severe than in the south of Württemberg, say.²¹⁴ Some re-centralisation was enacted by Carlos Schmid, premier of Württemberg-Hohenzollern, to maintain consistency, and a German special commissioner was appointed in May to oversee activities. Similar models were adopted in the Palatinate and South Baden.²¹⁵ In mid-1947, denazification was handed to the Länder, who created their own Spruchkammern, though French magistrates still handled some prosecutions of major offenders. The process was brought to an end by Koenig on 17 November 1948, with only high-level Nazis still pursued.²¹⁶ By February 1950, when the process was finally brought to a close, 669,068 cases had been heard, and 316,566 categorised.²¹⁷

Laffon had overall charge of four Directorates, in the first of which, Administrative Affairs, there were three relevant sub-sections which determined cultural policy. The three key individuals in charge of these were Raymond Schmittlein, head of the *Direction de l'éducation publique*, Jean Arnaud, head of the *Direction de l'Information*, and René Thimonnier, head of the *Bureau des Spectacles et de la Musique* (BSM), founded on 22 July 1945 as a sub-section of the *Beaux-Arts* department, which was itself one of five divisions of Schmittlein's section.²¹⁸

²¹¹ Ibid. pp. 166-8; Vincent, 'Punir et rééduquer', pp. 29-30.

²¹² Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 168.

²¹³ Ibid. p. 169.

²¹⁴ Vincent, 'Punir et rééduquer', p. 30.

²¹⁵ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 170-2; Willis, *The French in Germany*, pp. 156-9.

²¹⁶ Vincent, 'Punir et rééduquer', pp. 30-1; Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 179-81.

²¹⁷ Justus Fürstenau, *Entnazifizierung. Ein Kapitel deutscher Nachkriegspolitik* (Neuwied and Berlin: Luchterhand, 1969), p. 228.

²¹⁸ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 27. For the structural organisation of the French Military Government, and also organisation-plan of the *Direction de l'éducation publique* and its departments and their sub-sections, see Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 81; and Jérôme Vailliant, 'Einleitung', in

Schmittlein spoke openly about ‘changing the mentality of a people’,²¹⁹ and in a report from January 1948, he located the roots of aggressive German nationalism in romantic German nineteenth-century education, Bismarckian imperialism, and Nazi ideology. Re-education would be most effective with younger people, and so he argued that all sorts of nationalist mythology and cults of heroism and death, including those embedded in classical German literature, should be challenged, while marginalised traditions (including the work of Friedrich Klopstock, Kant on peace, Jean Paul, Heine or Fichte) should be recovered.²²⁰

Thimonnier was well-familiar with German society and culture through study, military service in the Rhine in 1923-5, then work at the Education Ministry, dealing with the Saar region. After military call-up, he was captured and remained a POW of the Germans from 1940 to 1945, before being freed and returning to France in April of that year.²²¹ He was also a conductor and composer (in what appears to be a mild late nineteenth-century idiom), having conducted regularly while in captivity, and was able to get a few works published or performed in the French Zone.²²²

The French re-education programme had culture, and specifically French culture, at its heart. The authorities brought over theatre companies to perform Anouilh or Molière, ballet, marionettes, cabaret artists, the *Comédie française* and *Théâtre de l’Atelier*, and more. There was also a range of art exhibitions, including an important one entitled *France-Pays de Bade* in Baden-Baden in May 1946, which foregrounded historic links between France and Baden. Between this date and 1949, such exhibitions were presented in 50 cities in various zones,²²³ while there were 405 French cultural events between 30 April 1946 and 13 July 1947 in Baden-Baden

Vaillant (ed.), *Französische Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1984), pp. 14-5; *1945-1999. Dokumente Französischer Präsenz in Baden-Baden* (Baden-Baden: Stadtmuseum Baden-Baden, 1999) (hereafter *Dokumente Baden-Baden*), pp. 16-17. For more detail on the BSM, its structure, and Thimonnier’s background, see Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor*, pp. 58-78.

²¹⁹ George Cuer, ‘L’action culturelle de la France en Allemagne occupée (1945-1949)’, *Revue d’histoire diplomatique* 100 (1987), p. 12.

²²⁰ Raymond Schmittlein, ‘Die Umerziehung des deutschen Volkes’, in Vaillant, *Französische Kulturpolitik*, pp. 164-79.

²²¹ Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor*, pp. 67-9.

²²² Ibid. pp. 71-4. For Thimonnier’s activity in captivity, see ‘Les programmes musicaux des Oflags IID-IIB’, at http://s225821866.onlinehome.fr/Les_CAMPS7_Activites2_3_Programmes.php (accessed 17 October 2017).

²²³ Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 178; ‘La propaganda française’ in *La France en Allemagne*, numéro special – Information et Action culturelle (August 1947), pp. 56-9; Cuer, ‘L’action culturelle’, p. 41.

alone.²²⁴ There were complaints that Germans in the zone were ‘stuffed with culture’ but not food, but nonetheless the cultural programme was successful.²²⁵ The French language was also heavily promoted, with many teachers and lecturers brought from France to work in the zone.²²⁶

Music was no less important than other art forms, and was based upon policy drawn up by Thimonnier in July 1945, which received enthusiastic approval from the French government. Thimonnier recognised the central importance of music for many Germans, more than any other art form. Because it emphasised formal construction and abstraction, rather than presenting a coherent vision, music was especially susceptible to mystical appropriation for the extolling of racial supremacy. However, Thimonnier clearly believed that some music, including Wagner, was dangerous not in itself, but because of the uses to which it had been put. He believed the Germans to be profoundly musical, but mostly ignorant of foreign tendencies and aesthetics, only accepting figures like Berlioz whose aloof individualism mirrored their own. With this in mind, he rejected others’ proposals simply to flood German musical life with French works, but suggested instead a plan in several stages. The first stage would introduce to German audiences French composers more agreeable to German taste, examples being Berlioz, Gounod, Bizet, Florent Schmitt and Honegger. Then their distinct and specifically French qualities would be stressed, and then on this basis it would be argued that both the great French and the great German composers invoke and celebrate not only their race, but wider human values as well. Finally, French music and musicians most distant from their earlier German tastes would be programmed. When Germans realised the limits of their training, as well the dangers of being ostracised from the rest of the musical world, then they might thus come to admire the art of Debussy, Ravel or Fauré, and others from what Thimonnier considered the ‘magnificent musical renaissance’ in France from the late nineteenth-century. Practical plans for action (not included in the published form of the essay), included removing artists on grounds of earlier political activity, and banning all works inspired by Nazi or pan-German ideology, and also the national anthem and ‘certain songs which exalt revanchist spirit’. Thimonnier also suggested banning all music written in Germany since 1933 other than by composers who the Nazis had

²²⁴ *Dokumente Baden-Baden*, p. 17.

²²⁵ Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 179.

²²⁶ Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 157-8.

themselves boycotted, but this ban was not implemented. ‘Propagande positive’ included seeking out collaboration from German conductors and other musicians, and refusing licences to those who were hostile. Additionally, it embraced bringing French musicians to Germany, to perform music in line with the plans (noting in particular German ignorance of French symphonic works), the inclusion of programme texts on technical and aesthetic matters, and the building of cultural exchanges between the two countries. Proposals for licences or events should be cleared with French officers, who would inspect the programming in particular.²²⁷

All of this was essentially borne out in subsequent actions during the occupation period, though concentrated primarily in South Baden.²²⁸ I have found just one list of works to be promoted by the BSM, dating from mid-1947, of chamber music by composers such as Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, Dukas, Roussel, Milhaud, Florent Schmitt, Ibert and Messiaen, which is reproduced in Appendix 3. The same types of composers, and those listed above, were also promoted for orchestral and other concerts.

If French cultural policy was initially informed by nationalistic considerations, it soon eased into an emphasis on French-German collaboration and exchange, which is one of the most lasting legacies of the period, including for music. This was promoted from an early stage by several far-sighted individuals, such as the Jesuit priest and Dachau survivor Jean du Rivau, who in August 1945 founded a *Gesellschaft für übernationale Zusammenarbeit (BILD: Bureau international de liaison et de documentation)*, and produced journals in both languages – *Documents* and *Dokumente* – to this end.²²⁹ Another journal, *Lancelot*, presented a range of

²²⁷ AOFAA/AC 528/5, Centre d'Organisation du Gouvernement Militaire en Allemagne, Division Propagande-Information, Section Théâtre, Sous-section Musicale, Project d'Organisation et de Propagande, Paris, Thimonnier, ‘Principes d’une propagande musicale française en Allemagne occupée’, 3 July 1945; and Présidence du Gouvernement provisoire de la République Française, Commissariat Général aux Affaires Allemandes et Autrichiennes (signed Schmittlein), to Thimonnier, The first part of this article was printed in a practically identical form as ‘Principes d’une Propagande musicale française en Allemagne occupée’, *La revue musicale* 202 (October 1946), pp. 309-16. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 27-8, and Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor*, pp. 70-1.

²²⁸ French cultural politics were centered upon Rhineland-Palatinate and South Baden (Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, p. 159), but the latter was much more important for music.

²²⁹ Jean-Charles Moreau, ‘Jugendarbeit und Volksbildung in der französischen Besatzungszone’, in Vaillant, *Französische Kulturpolitik*, p. 28; Joseph Rován, ‘France-Allemagne 1948-1998’, in Laurent Bouvet et al, *France-Allemagne: Le bond en avant* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 1998), p. 15. A detailed survey of this journal can be found in Henri Ménudier, ‘La Revue *Documents*’, in Franz Knipper and Jacques Le Rider (eds.), *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1950. Ein Tübinger Symposium, 19. und 20. September 1981* (Tübingen, ATTEMPTO, 1987), pp. 349-87, including a complete table of contents. There were numerous articles on culture, but only one (by Walter Dirks in 1949) on music.

French thinking, much of it on German issues, to an educated, elite, audience.²³⁰ The French philosopher, politician, Resistance fighter and fellow Dachau survivor Joseph Rovin, published an article in the journal *Esprit* entitled ‘L’Allemagne de nos mérites’, insisting that Germans be treated not as they had treated the French, but in a manner consistent with universal rights and values and respect for human dignity. He implored the French to love the Germans as they should any nation.²³¹ Between 1948 and 1952, a newspaper was published in both German and French, *Aussprache – Eine europäische Zeitschrift*, edited by French journalist Charles Maignial, to which many leading French and German intellectuals contributed.²³²

Clearly all three zones were run very differently, with distinct approaches to licensing, denazification, re-education, and cultural policy. Furthermore, there were significant regional differences within each zone, some of which remained as responsibilities were taken over by Germans. All these factors would affect musical life as it began in different regional cities across the three zones, in terms of appointments, programming policy, broadcasting, and the creation of new musical institutions. This will be explored in detail in the next three chapters.

²³⁰ Gilmore, ‘France’s Cultural Policies’, pp. 205-6.

²³¹ Joseph Rovin, ‘L’Allemagne de nos mérites’, *Esprit* 13/115 (1 October 1945), pp. 529-40. Rovin’s call to ‘aime l’esprit allemand’ was probably more of a call for understanding and love for a people rather than urging any sympathy for German nationalism.

²³² Charles Maignial, ‘*Aussprache*, eine deutsch-französische Zeitschrift (1948-1952)’, in Vaillant, *Französische Kulturpolitik*, pp. 153-60.

Chapter 3

New Music in early West German post-war musical life

The period from May 1945 until around the end of 1946 saw the re-establishment of concert life and musical institutions all over occupied Germany. During this time, many different individuals who were eager to gain power and influence upon the future trajectory of musical life manoeuvred themselves into significant positions. In this chapter, I will examine these developments in the three Western zones, in order to ascertain which types of institutions were founded or re-founded, and what was the nature and extent of their commitment to new music. I will also consider the individuals responsible and how they managed to gain the positions they did, especially where some of them had compromised past histories. Furthermore, I will relate the trajectories of institutions, programming and individual careers to the wider cultural and other agendas of the occupying powers. Radio stations and dedicated institutions for new music formed during this period will be investigated in Chapters 4 and 5.

I have endeavoured to find as much information as I can on new music in all major urban centres in Western Germany, and focus on those cities which I have found to be most significant either during this period or soon afterwards, but will add some brief material on others. Appendixes 2a-c give comprehensive lists of the first licensed concerts in each of the three Western Zones, while Appendixes 4a-h give detailed timelines for musical and some other developments in all primary cities under investigation, including references to a large range of data sources which inform the analysis here.

A very common ideology took hold from an early stage amongst German commentators, expressed clearly by Edmund Nick in the American-sponsored *Neue Zeitung* in October 1945:

For we had, so to speak, been kicked and kicked on the ground for twelve years. Our concerts rarely had any value other than as an acoustic museum of older music. Now there is much with which to catch up. [*Nun gilt es viel nachzuholen*] Our ears need tutoring to

become open again for new music. We have to hold on, so that we can return to a better place amongst the leading musical nations.¹

The concept of *Nachholbedarf* or ‘catching up’ rested fundamentally on the assumption that German musical life over the previous 12 years had been a wilderness, in which little modern or internationalist music had been heard. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, this view is at best only partially true. However, few of those already in positions of power and authority immediately after the war spent much time surveying the fine details of programming during the Third Reich, and so were not in a position to challenge this view. As a result, it gained momentum, and was convenient for those musicians and others who had far from uncompromised or unblemished pasts during Nazi Germany, but who needed to reinvent themselves as pioneers of musical reconstruction and rebirth.

New Music in Cities Occupied Before the German Surrender

Most concerts in Germany had come to an end with Goebbels’ declaration of total war in August 1944,² though they had continued in Berlin, where musicians had been exempted from military service, right up until mid-April 1945.³ The very first concert in an occupied city of which I have found evidence was in Aachen, the first German city which fell to the Allies on 21 October 1944.⁴ This city is of great musico-historical importance as its previous GMDs had included Peter Raabe and Herbert von Karajan.⁵ Whilst the detailed recovery of cultural activity in this transitional period is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace,⁶ the first documented musical event, a ‘Karlsfest’, took place on 28 January 1945. It featured new or recent orchestral and choral compositions prominently, though these were by composers such as Karl Kraft and the local *Kapellmeister*, Theodor Bernhard Rehmann, both of whom had

¹ Edmund Nick, ‘Über neue Musik’, *Neue Zeitung*, 28 October 1945. This article went on to advocate Bertil Wetzelsberger as the best guide to lead people to new music, on account of his recent performances in the *Musica Viva* series of Mahler, Busoni and Debussy.

² Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 24.

³ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 83. The Philharmonic played for the last time before the war’s end on 11 April, the German Opera House on 16 April, and the State Opera on 18 April.

⁴ Charles Messenger, ‘Aachen’, in I.C.B. Dear and M.R.D. Foot (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 1.

⁵ Peter Massmann, ‘150 Jahre Aachener Musikleben’, in Hans-Jochem Münstermann (ed.), *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Aachen II* (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1979), pp. 88-9.

⁶ For more on American control of the city in general, under the control of Major Hugh Jones see Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, pp. 41-4; and Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 44-7.

remained active through the Nazi era.⁷ Otherwise, there is little evidence of musical activity in other cities which were occupied before the general surrender of 8 May, other than in Karlsruhe, where some was organised by the French regime within ten days of the capture of the city on 4 April.⁸

Soviet-Controlled Berlin

Following the surrender of the Berlin city commandant on 2 May 1945,⁹ Soviet forces maintained sole control over the city for the next two months, before the other Western Allies entered the city and formal boundaries between zones were finalised.¹⁰ This period is notorious for the systematic rape of Berlin women by Soviet soldiers, as well as for looting on a large scale, and many deaths of both children and adults,¹¹ However, there were at the same time a large number of significant developments relating to culture and music. A detailed timeline can be found in Appendix 4a. The most significant developments during these two months were the beginning of concerts by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (BPO) and other organisations, including the *Hochschule für Musik* and the radio station, and the very beginnings of a series of concerts in the Zehlendorf region in which new music would come to feature prominently. Also, two organisations were founded - the *Kammer für Kunstschaffenden* and *Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands* – the latter of which in particular had a major influence over musical events.

The *Kammer* was formed as part of a mini power-grab against the former headquarters of the RKK on 45 Schlüterstraße, Charlottenburg, in which all files on artists were kept. A group of individuals, centered around theatre official Klemens Herzberg, came together in this building to direct cultural activities and start denazification, while a rival faction run by exiled communist Otto Winzer took over

⁷ 'Karlsfest', *Aachener Nachrichten*, 24 January 1945. Rehmann (1895-1963) had been *Domkapellmeister* for the city since 1925, and was not an NSDAP member; see Preiberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, p. 5476, and for a little more detail, Michael Tunger, *Klingende Kathedrale: Domkapellmeister Theodor Bernhard Rehmann 1895-1963. Leben und Werk, Dokumentation* (Aachen: Mainz, 2005), pp. 407-11. On Kraft (1903-78), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, p. 3922.

⁸ Willis, *The French in Germany*, p. 17; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 16.

⁹ David Clay Large, *Berlin* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 365.

¹⁰ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 99.

¹¹ See Antony Beevor, *Berlin: The Downfall 1945* (London: Viking, 2002), pp. 406-17 for a vivid account of these horrific times, and Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 76-7. In May 1945, 2000 people died daily; by August it was 4000, and 19 out of every 20 babies born in the American Zone of Berlin in July failed to survive.

the cultural department of the city council (*Magistrat*). This latter group also included actor Paul Wegener, director Ernst Legal, bass-baritone Michael Bohnen, and the general director of the Preußisches Staatstheater and former director of the Bayreuth Festival, 1931-44, Heinz Tietjen.¹² After this group met with the Soviet authorities in the second half of May, Herzberg was replaced by Wegener, and the Kammer was brought under the formal control of the Magistrat, dealing with licences, theatre repertoire, appointments, and disputes between workers and management.¹³

The first concert, by the Berlin Kammerorchester, took place in Bürgersaal des Schöneberger Rathauses on 13 May, five days after German surrender.¹⁴ It was followed five days later by a concert of Mozart, Beethoven (the Ninth Symphony), Borodin and Chaikovsky by members of the former radio orchestra and the BPO in the Haus des Rundfunks.¹⁵ Tietjen had been appointed head of Berlin's musical affairs on 15 May by the Soviet commandant of Berlin, General Nikolai E. Berzarin,¹⁶ despite his prominent role in the Third Reich.¹⁷ Tietjen had ambitious plans for denazification and merging of orchestras, but following manoeuvrings against him, he was demoted and replaced first by Bohnen and then on 24 June by Legal, a known anti-fascist who had directed the Krolloper in the 1920s together with Otto Klemperer.

After meetings in mid-May with a spokesperson for the players and the management, the BPO were then given a licence to resume activities, with Russian-born Leo Borchard appointed to replace Furtwängler as conductor. They gave their

¹² For a thorough study of the Kammer, see Bärbel Schrader, 'Die erste Spielzeit und die Kammer der Kunstschaaffenden', in Ursula Heukenkamp (ed.), *Unterm Notdach. Nachkriegsliteratur in Berlin 1945-1949* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1996), pp. 229-66, and for a briefer but no less incisive study, Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin 1945-1948*, translated Kelly Barry (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 39-49.

¹³ Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater*, pp. 48-9; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 73.

¹⁴ Winfried Ranke, Carola Jüllig, Jürgen Reiche and Dieter Vorsteher, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete. Eine Berliner Chronik 1945-1949* (Berlin: Nishen, 1990), p. 50.

¹⁵ Jörg-Uwe Fischer and Igrid Pietrzynski, 'Zeittafel Berliner Rundfunk und Rundfunkpolitik in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone und in Berlin', in "Hier spricht Berlin ..." *Der Neubeginn des Rundfunks in Berlin 1945* (Postdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1995), pp. 17-18; Hans Borgelt, *Das war der Frühling von Berlin* (Munich: Schneekluth, 1993), p. 38; 'Kino, Konzert, Theater in Berlin', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 17 May 1945. Ranke et al, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete*, p. 52 mistakenly lists this as a concert by members of the Deutsche Oper (which would become the Städtische Oper).

¹⁶ Sabine Vogt-Schneider, "Staatsoper Unter den Linden" oder "Deutsche Staatsoper". *Auseinandersetzungen um Kulturpolitik und Spielbetrieb in den Jahren zwischen 1945 und 1955* (Berlin: Ernst Kuhn, 1998), p. 14.

¹⁷ See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 7195-203.

first concert on 26 May.¹⁸ The *Große Rundfunkorchester* (later the *Rundfunkinfonieorchester Berlin*) was re-formed under conductor Leopold Ludwig on 3 June, and a chamber music association was formed the same day. There was a ballet evening at the *Deutsche Oper* on 15 June, and a concert by the orchestra of the Staatsoper under Karl Schmidt (soon succeeded by Johannes Schüller) on 16 June.¹⁹ By the end of June, there were regular concerts throughout the city.²⁰

Articles in the Soviet-controlled *Tägliche Rundschau* demonstrated an early wish by the occupying power to promote Russian music,²¹ and various programmes included mostly nineteenth-century Russian works, which paved the way for more recent Russian/Soviet music. Wider new music came to the city through a broadcast concert on 4 July by a new *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für moderne Musik*. It included pianist Gerty Herzog, the wife of Boris Blacher, with music written between 1890 and 1938 by Hindemith, Schoenberg (some songs from *Das Buch der hängenden Garten* (1908-09)), Weill, and Stravinsky.²² There was also a broadcast of Hindemith's *Mathis* Symphony the following day.²³

In May, critic and art enthusiast Franz Wallner-Basté was able to set up a district art office in the South-West Berlin district of Zehlendorf.²⁴ Working with a committee including Tietjen, Herzberg and some others, which submitted plans to Berzarin, he could organise concerts, and negotiated an agreement with the BPO to host open-air concerts in the Park am Waldsee, at the back of the Haus am Waldsee, on Argentinische Allee 30, beginning on 19 June. Also in June, pianist Gerhard Puchelt won favour after playing music of Bartók and Hindemith there to the deputy

¹⁸ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, 'Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2', 19 December 1945, p. 23; Misha Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra: The Berlin Philharmonic 1933-1945* (London: Souvenir Press, 2010), pp. 221-3; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre BPO*, Band 3, p. 187

¹⁹ Fischer and Pietrzynski, 'Zeittafel Berliner Rundfunk', p. 20; Ranke et al, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete*, pp. 56-8; 'Kammermusik in Schöneberg', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 6 June 1945, and listing for opera concert in issue of 14 June 1945; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 83; Chamberlain, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 16; Heukenkamp, *Unserem Notbach*, p. 457.

²⁰ As is clear from the listings in the *Tägliche Rundschau*.

²¹ See for example 'Michael [sic] Glinka der berühmte russische Komponist'; Annemarie Schuckar, 'Schostakowitsch im Berliner Musikleben. Leo Borchards Pläne mit den Philharmonikern'; and Ai. Hi., 'Russische Musik – Russische Dichtung', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 3, 7 and 29 June 1945.

²² Fritz Brust, 'Moderne Musik', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 6 July 1945, cited in Maren Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen. Zu den Musikverhältnissen in der SBZ/DDR 1945 bis 1952* (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 2002), pp. 21-2.

²³ 'Hier spricht Berlin', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 4 July 1945.

²⁴ Franz Wallner-Basté, 'Betrifft: Musikabteilung. Aus den Akten des Kulturrats Zehlendorf', in *Musikstadt Berlin zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Musikalische Bilanz einer Viermächtestadt* (Berlin and Wiesbaden: Bote & Bock, 1956), pp. 10-28; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 121-2.

leader of the district authority,²⁵ while Josef Rufer was invited to create a *Studio für Neue Musik* (see Chapter 5), after endearing himself to local American forces, possibly helped by some recommendation sent from Schoenberg.²⁶

The Soviets dismissed Fritz Stein, the former director of the *Hochschule für Musik*, in Charlottenburg, and replaced him in late June/early July with his brother-in-law Bernard Bennedik, who had a stronger anti-Nazi record.²⁷ There were also various other dismissals, including the composition teacher Hermann Grabner, who had been involved with the SA.²⁸

The *Kulturbund*, the closest thing to the Novembergruppe of the Weimar period, had been planned by exiles in Moscow from Nazi Germany (many of them KPD members), especially the writer Johannes Becher, who returned to Berlin on 10 June, aiming to tap ‘anti-imperialist trains of thoughts’ on cultural renewal amongst millions of Germans.²⁹ After receiving a Soviet licence on 25 June, the Kulturbund, of which Legal and Bennedik became part, held an opening evening at the Haus des Rundfunks on 3 July. This included a BPO concert, and many unashamedly political statements calling for the rejection of National Socialism in order to ‘reawaken the great German culture, the pride of our fatherland, and found a new German intellectual life’.³⁰ Guidelines called for intellectuals to unite and imbibe a ‘militant

²⁵ Weekly report of Musikabteilung for 4-9 June 1945, in Wallner-Basté, ‘Betrifft: Musikabteilung’, p. 15; Heukenkamp, *Unterm Notdach*, pp. 541-2; ‘Nur wer die Liebe hat, darf hart urteilen. Zum 100. Geburtstag des Kritikers Walther Karsch’, *Tagesspiegel*, 11 October 2006.

²⁶ Various correspondence between Schoenberg and Rufer from this period, available at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_result.php?UID=7ffde2097611d1c696d4cf3a59858ba2&max_result_reached (accessed 28 January 2018), show that Schoenberg recommended Rufer make contact with Pfc. David N. Jackson, to whom Schoenberg forwarded a letter, though it seems as if Rufer had already been in touch with Jackson.

²⁷ Christine Fischer-Defoy, *Kunst, Macht, Politik. Die Nazifizierung der Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Berlin* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1988), p. 276; Fischer-Defoy, “Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”. *Die Westberliner Kunst- und Musikhochschulen im Spannungsfeld der Nachkriegszeit* (Berlin: Hochschule der Künste, 2001), pp. 244-6.

²⁸ LAB C Rep 120 Nr. 88, Aufnahme der Geschäftstätigkeit der Hochschule für Musik. Fragebogen for Hermann Grabner, dated 15 May 1946; Abteilung für Kunst, Musik to Abteilung für Volksbildung, 18/6/46; Abteilung für Volksbildung to Senat der Hochschule für Musik, 27 June 1946; Abteilung für Volksbildung to Herrn Polizeipräsidenten Berlin, 27 June 1946.

²⁹ On the precise chronology of the *Kulturbund* and its relationship to the Kammer, see David Pike, *The Politics of Culture in Soviet-Occupied Germany, 1945-1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 80-81, and for considerable detail Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater*, pp. 72-106, and especially Magdalena Heider, *Politik – Kultur – Kulturbund. Zur Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands 1945-1954 in der SBZ/DDR* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1993).

³⁰ Aufruf zur Gründung des “Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands”, *Manifest des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1945), p. 4. This document mentions Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Albert Einstein and others; the only two musicians to be mentioned are Leo Blech and Otto Klemperer, both Jewish. Elsewhere in the *Manifest* there are few mentions of music.

democratic world view', re-evaluate historical development of German intellectual life and re-establish 'objective standards and values', thus attempting to separate aspects of German tradition from what it had become under Hitler.³¹

Berlin under Four-Power Control

Four-power control of Berlin is generally dated from 7 July 1945, when the Allied *Kommandatura* was first formally established.³² Most important musical developments took place in the US, Soviet and British sectors, as the French sector consisted of mainly working-class neighbourhoods with no important musical institutions.³³ The *Kommandatura*, which included music and theatre officers,³⁴ created a Cultural Affairs Committee to deal with major decisions concerning orchestras and opera houses, and Estonian-German exile Michael Josselson, who had worked for PWD, was assigned as the Cultural Affairs Officer for the city.³⁵

The Kammer, now located in the British sector, continued for a while, but failed to win wider support and was ultimately wound up and replaced by an arts department in the Magistrat, run by musicologist Alfred Berner, in April 1946.³⁶ The Kulturbund thrived, however, and won support from many artists and intellectuals (and some international organisations),³⁷ though Soviet fears about its tolerance for 'bourgeois tendencies in art and literature' led them to fill it with functionaries.³⁸ They created a working commission on music, run first by Bennedik, and then Heinz

³¹ 'Leitsätze des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands. Beschlossen von der Gründungskundgebung des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands in Berlin', 3 July 1945, in *Um die Erneuerung der deutschen Kultur. Dokumente zur Kulturpolitik 1945-1949* (Berlin: Dietz, 1983), pp. 68-70; also cited in Pike, *The Politics of Culture*, p. 85. See also Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 400-402.

³² Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 118; Clay Large, *Berlin*, p. 388

³³ Elizabeth Janik, "'The Golden Hunger Years': Music and Superpower Rivalry in Occupied Berlin", *German History* 22/1 (2004), p. 77. Wider French influence upon classical music in the city, as surveyed in Ulrich Wahlich, *Die Franzosen in Berlin. Besatzungsmacht - Schutzmacht - Partner für Europa* (Berlin: Jaron Verlag, 1996), does not appear to have been particularly significant during the period under consideration.

³⁴ Accounts of meetings of allied Music and Theatre Officers can be found in American reports, reproduced in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*.

³⁵ Vincent Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov: A Life in Freedom and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 186.

³⁶ Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater*, pp. 51-5; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 103-6, 118-19; Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, pp. 9-29.

³⁷ For example, a statement in support by the British Council for German Democracy, received in March 1946. See 'Welt-Botschaft geistiger Demokratie. Der "Britische Rat" an den Kulturbund', *Tagesspiegel*, 17 March 1946.

³⁸ Naimark, *The Russians in Germany*, pp. 402-3.

Tiessen from January 1946. Tiessen brought to the commission the likes of composer Paul Höffer, conductor Karl Ristenpart, and later on critics Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Walter Hart and Erwin Kroll.³⁹ Their major activities on behalf of new music will be discussed in Chapter 5. They formed branches elsewhere in the Soviet Zone, and more loosely allied *Kulturbünde* (because of Western occupying powers' resistance to organisations linking cities or crossing zonal boundaries)⁴⁰ were formed in Mainz, Karlsruhe, Ludwigshafen, Überlingen, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Düsseldorf, Göttingen, Wiesbaden and elsewhere in 1945-6.⁴¹ Other groups in Frankfurt, Munich and Konstanz shared a similar purpose, though these would in time grow further away from the Berlin organisation as it became embroiled with the wider Soviet cultural agenda.

The Soviet sector contained the Staatsoper, for which Legal was appointed director in August 1945,⁴² the Haus des Rundfunks, and several second-tier orchestras.⁴³ The *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland* (SMAD) formed a cultural division in August 1945, run by Alexander Dymshitz, with Sergei Barsky as its musical specialist.⁴⁴ These individuals won much respect from Berlin artists and intellectuals for their knowledge of German literature and music.⁴⁵ Dymshitz obtained scores and recordings of Russian music from Moscow, not least that of Prokofiev and Shostakovich, and his cultural officers would work together with

³⁹ AdK Nachlass Tiessen, File 2110, Kulturbund to Tiessen, 28 January 1946; Tiessen to Kulturbund, 16 February 1946; List of Kommission, undated; Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen*, p. 124.

⁴⁰ Heider, *Politik-Kultur-Kulturbund*, pp. 40-54.

⁴¹ Carola Spies, 'Der Kulturbund zur Demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands. Seine Anfänge in Westdeutschland aufgezeigt anhand der Entwicklung in Düsseldorf', in Deiter Breuer and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann (eds.), *Öffentlichkeit der Moderne. Das Moderne in der Öffentlichkeit. Das Rheinland 1945-1955* (Essen: Klartext, 2000), p. 70; Eva Moser, 'Überlingen 1945 – Deutsche Kunst unserer Zeit', in Landesstelle für Museumsbetreuung Baden-Württemberg (ed.), *Neuordnungen. Südwestdeutsche Museen in der Nachkriegszeit* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002), pp. 60-1; 'Deutscher Kulturbund Stuttgart', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 16 February 1946; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945-1949* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), pp. 82-6; 'Kulturelle Nachrichten', *Tagesspiegel*, 4 June 1946; Franz Götting, 'Freier Kulturbund Wiesbaden', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 9 July 1946; Heider, *Politik-Kultur-Kulturbund*, p. 54.

⁴² See Vogt-Schneider, "Staatsoper Unter den Linden" oder "Deutsche Staatsoper", pp. 17-18; and for more on Legal's early work with the Staatsoper, Werner Otto, *Geschichte der Deutschen Staatsoper Berlin. Von der Gründung der Kapelle bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsoper, 1982).

⁴³ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, 'Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2', 19 December 1945, p. 23; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ Pike, *The Politics of Culture*, p. 92; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 99-101.

⁴⁵ See Rudolf Reinhardt, *Zeitungen und Zeiten: Journalist im Berlin der Nachkriegszeit* (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 1988), pp. 72-3; George Clare, *Berlin Days 1946-1947* (New York: Dutton, 1990), pp. 79-81; Borgelt, *Das war der Frühling von Berlin*, pp. 344-5, 379-80; and Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, pp. 179-80, all also cited in Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 100 n. 42.

orchestras to ensure they played this unfamiliar repertoire correctly,⁴⁶ while the *Tägliche Rundschau* continued to promote such music.⁴⁷ However, there was much communist opposition towards German music from the Weimar era, a prejudice based on the lack of ‘real democracy’ in Weimar, and the music’s ‘inexpressive naturalism’, ‘lifeless formalism’ and ‘crass expressionism’ (thus anticipating the Zhdanovite critiques of 1948-49). Meanwhile Weill and Brecht’s *Dreigroschenoper*, which opened at the Hebbel Theatre, Kreuzberg, on 15 August 1945, was claimed to have violated imperatives of (socialist) realism.⁴⁸ Karl Laux wrote critically of the ‘harsh sounds’ of the ‘atonal’ music of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Krenek, Pepping and Reutter, calling instead for a ‘new tonality’ which would fulfil the role of the earlier *Junge Klassizität*.⁴⁹ In the same paper, composer Siegfried Borris, who taught in the British sector, was also sceptical about both older expression and the ‘childish shocks’ of post-1918 music, and sought wider intelligibility combined with deep intellectual content to produce a ‘life-affirming music’.⁵⁰

The US sector included relatively undamaged areas on the outskirts of the city such as Zehlendorf and Steglitz which became important musical and cultural centres, for example the Titania Palast cinema, the base of the BPO, which came under US control.⁵¹ Henry Later became the first Film, Theatre and Music officer for Berlin ISC in July 1945, and was joined in August by others including John Bitter, conductor of the Miami Symphony and a former assistant to Leopold Stokowski.⁵² They were joined in September by emigré Russian composer Nicolas Nabokov, who had been vetted in 1943 to work for the predecessor of the CIA, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS).⁵³ Nabokov’s official position was to advise McClure on activities of the music branch of ISC, and to eject Nazis from German musical life, avoid concerts becoming nationalist manifestations, and protect the ‘monuments’ and ‘treasures’ of German

⁴⁶ Naimark, *The Russians in Germany*, pp. 429-30.

⁴⁷ See for example Rodienow, ‘Die 7. Sinfonie von Schostakowitsch’; Siegfried Borris, ‘Ein Küber des neuen Lebensstils. Schostakowitschs V. Sinfonie im philharmonischen Konzert’; and Peter Frey, ‘Russische Kammermusik. Kabalewskij und Shostakowitsch erstaufgeführt’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 14 August 1945, 9 July and 2 August 1946.

⁴⁸ Max Keilson, ‘“Ismus” oder Kunst?’, *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 1 October 1945; and examples given in Pike, *The Politics of Culture*, pp. 165-8, 188-95.

⁴⁹ Karl Laux, ‘Atonal – Versuch einer volkstümlichen Klarstellung’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 29 March 1946, cited in Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen*, pp. 41-2.

⁵⁰ Siegfried Borris, ‘Kommt ein neuer Expressionismus in der Musik?’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 12 September 1946.

⁵¹ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 87.

⁵² Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 30; ‘Captain Bitter gibt das Zeichen. Interview mit einem amerikanischen Dirigenten’, *Tagesspiegel*, 19 December 1945; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 38.

⁵³ Giroud, *Nabokov*, pp. 180-82.

culture now under US control. But in reality he and the others also helped find venues, instruments, parts, scores, heating and lighting for musicians, to stimulate musical activity. Also, according to his own account, Nabokov was viewed as the best individual for liaising with Soviet officers and convincing them to participate in quadripartite music control.⁵⁴

Nabokov wrote a report in late October 1945 which is very important in terms of subsequent US musical policy. After arriving first in Bad Homburg, he had visited various places in the Western zones to examine musical life, and concluded that (a) Germany had been isolated from international developments for around 13 years (here he was being over-simplistic); (b) musical work from the time was of little value, certainly compared with that produced in Allied countries (which would write off major works of Orff, Strauss, Egk, Fortner and Blacher); (c) Germans needed to be made aware of the latter; and (d) while many German musicians wished for this, there was an acute shortage of scores and performing materials.⁵⁵ This led him to advocate the establishment of an Interallied Music Library, which was supported by all four occupying powers, and was opened on two floors of the Staatsbibliothek on 28 September 1946, with a small concert featuring composers from the four occupying countries.⁵⁶ By June 1946, the library had already received around 600 British, 200 Soviet, 100 French and 100 American scores.⁵⁷ By the end of 1947, further branches had been opened in Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Munich, Hamburg and Düsseldorf.⁵⁸ More broadly, Nabokov's conclusions, which also emphasised re-education of Germans,⁵⁹ allowed a clear line to be drawn between musical activity before and after 1945, which suited many musicians well.

US officials noted a lax approach to denazification and a reverence for art and artists on the part of the Soviets, which forced a degree of US flexibility to prevent musicians fleeing to the Soviet Zone.⁶⁰ They were happy to support Borchard, as a

⁵⁴ Nabokov, *Old Friends and New Music*, pp. 216-7, 222.

⁵⁵ OMGUS 10/18-1/1, Nicolas Nabokov, 'Bericht über einen Aufenthalt in Berlin', 24 October 1945, in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, pp. 188-195.

⁵⁶ 'Musik – Brücke zwischen den Nationen. Interalliierte Musik-Leihbibliothek', *Tagesspiegel*, 2 October 1946. The composers performed were Copland, Debussy, Britten and Shostakovich. Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèvre performed alongside the Dünschede Quartet and pianist Fritz Guhl.

⁵⁷ Warkentin, *History of US Information Control*, p. 188.

⁵⁸ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/13 (November 1947), p. 394.

⁵⁹ OMGUS 10/18-1/1, Nabokov to Colonel Powell, 24 October 1945, in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 194.

⁶⁰ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/13, Henry C. Alter, 'Recommendations of Film, Theatre and Music Sub-Section', 18 July 1945. See also Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 120, Pike, *The Politics of*

‘thoroughly reliable anti-nazi’, but he was mistakenly shot and killed by a US soldier on 23 August.⁶¹ His immediate replacement, Robert Heger, a former NSDAP member who had performed for Hitler’s birthday,⁶² was soon dismissed and replaced by the young Romanian Sergiu Celibidache. Celibidache had lived in Berlin since 1936, studying with Tiessen and Hugo Distler at the Hochschule, and shown an interest in new music, working with the singer Carla Henius on Schoenberg’s *Das Buch der hängenden Garten*,⁶³ and writing to a friend about his admiration for Stravinsky and Hindemith.⁶⁴ He had conducted the *Kammerorchester Hans von Benda* on 19 August 1945, and also entered a competition organised by the Soviets to find a conductor for their radio orchestra.⁶⁵ After success here, he was invited to conduct the BPO for the first time on 29 August, and after very positive responses from press, public and musicians, he became the licence holder of the orchestra at the beginning of December,⁶⁶ and would go on to conduct a healthy amount of new music.

Another major success story was the production of the ‘light’ *Dreigroschenoper* at the Hebbel Theatre, keenly supported by ISC, which had 100 performances between August 1945 and January 1946.⁶⁷ At the same time, Wallner-Basté found ISC support as he enacted an artistic programme of high seriousness in Zehlendorf, and was able to create a *Zehlendorfer Spieleinung für Alte Musik* to run alongside the Studio für Neue Musik.⁶⁸

Culture, pp. 185-6, and Nicolas Nabokov’s view on Soviet willingness to employ ‘useful’ Nazi musicians amenable towards their wider agenda, in his *Old Friends and New Music* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951), p. 217.

⁶¹ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 121.

⁶² Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2762-4; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre BPO*, Band 3, p. 314.

⁶³ See Henius’s account in Klaus Umbach, *Celibidache – der andere Maestro. Biographische Reportagen* (Munich & Zürich: Piper, 1995), pp. 90-92, and for a wider account of Celibidache’s time in Berlin, *ibid.* pp. 86-101.

⁶⁴ Celibidache to Eugen Trancu-Iași, 1945, in Sergiu Celibidache, *Scrisori către Eugen Trancu-Iași* (Bucharest: Edition Ararart srl, 1997), p. 34.

⁶⁵ TNA/PRO/FO 371/47602, ‘Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2’, 19 December 1945, p. 23; *Berlin. Kampf um Freiheit und Selbstverwaltung 1945-1946* (Berlin: Senat von Berlin, 1957), p. 78; Bertrand Brouder, ‘Biography’, in Serge Ioan Celibidachi, *Celibidache!*, edited Klaus Gerke, translated Tania Calingaert (Chicago, IL: Facets Multi-media, 2001), pp. 12-14.

⁶⁶ Brouder, ‘Biography’, p. 14; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre BPO*, Band 3, p. 315; OMGUS 5/242-3/13, ‘Weekly Report’, 26 October 1945, in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, pp. 200-201; Erich Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null: Erinnerungen an die Zeit des Untergangs der alten Philharmonie vor 50 Jahren* (Berlin: Werner Feja, 1996), p. 43.

⁶⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/13, Alter, ‘Semi-Weekly Report’, 25 July 1945; Bitter and Later, ‘Weekly Report’, 4 August 1945; Bitter, Alter and Hogan, ‘Semi-Weekly Report’, 8 August 1945; -Il., ‘Hundertmal, “Dreigroschenoper”, *Tagesspiegel*, 19 January 1946.

⁶⁸ Weekly reports of 29 July – 4 August 1945 and 3-8 September 1945, in Wallner-Baste, ‘Betrifft: Musikabteilung’, pp. 18-19; LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 1258, Wallner-Baste, *Wochenbericht*, 12-18 August 1945. A list of concerts can be found in HaW KL Schuttschdiv. ‘Musik, Lichtbildervorträge,

In the British Sector, the first Theatre and Music officer was a Major Turner, then from early September Ashley Dukes (see Chapter 2) took general charge of film, theatre and music in Berlin.⁶⁹ The major institution in this sector was the Deutsche Oper, renamed the *Städtische Oper* in November 1945.⁷⁰ This received a large subsidy (100,000 RM yearly, twice that of the Staatsoper) from the Magistrat from July,⁷¹ and could mount regular and affordable operas and orchestra concerts, mostly conducted by Austrian Leopold Ludwig. Ludwig was however dismissed and prosecuted in March 1946 after having lied on his Fragebogen about NSDAP membership,⁷² and many felt the orchestra's programming lost its flair from this point.

The Arbeitsgemeinschaft für moderne Musik organised another concert on 4 September 1945, with music of Françaix, Hindemith, Krenek and Stravinsky.⁷³ While I have not found evidence of any subsequent concerts by the organisation, these nonetheless anticipate the series in Zehlendorf and Charlottenburg in 1946, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. Bennedik, meanwhile, was preparing the Hochschule für Musik for its reopening on 28 October, and rejected various former faculty members, including violinist (and NSDAP member since 1932) Gustav Havemann⁷⁴ and Paul Höffer. An interviewing officer took a personal dislike to Höffer, after he willingly provided malicious information on colleagues within the first five minutes of an interview, and concluded he was unlikely to be able to work in a collegiate manner.⁷⁵ Havemann was ranked Black on the US lists of April 1946, as was Höffer in June,

Veranstaltungen ab 1946'. However, this list certainly has a number of omissions, as some concerts mentioned in various weekly reports from Wallner-Basté's office do not appear here.

⁶⁹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/13, 'Film-Theater-Music Sub-Section Semi-Weekly Report', 22 August, 1 September 1945; OMGUS 5/242-3/13, 'FTM Semi-Weekly Report', 12 September 1945, in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 153.

⁷⁰ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, 'Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2', 19 December 1945, p. 23; 'Wieder Städtische Oper. Rückkehr zur alten Bezeichnung', *Der Morgen*, 2 November 1945.

⁷¹ Order by Berliner Magistrat of 11 July 1945, cited in Vogt-Schneider, "*Staatsoper Unter den Linden*" oder "*Deutsche Staatsoper*", p. 45.

⁷² 'Kunstsplitter', *Der Berliner*, 16 March 1946; 'Leopold Ludwig vor Gericht', *Der Berliner*, 23 March 1946; LAB/OMGUS 4/8-1/7, 'Music Report', 11 April 1946; 'Leopold Ludwig verurteilt', *Der Berliner*, 6 April 1946; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 4362.

⁷³ 'Veranstaltungs-Vorschau', *Der Morgen*, 3 September 1945; H.-th., 'Neue modern Tonkunst. Françaix – Hindemith- Strawinsky', *Der Morgen*, 6 September 1945.

⁷⁴ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2713-36.

⁷⁵ LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 88, Aufnahme der Geschäftstätigkeit der Hochschule für Musik. Aktenvermerk, 23 August 1945. The identity of the officer is not clear, but on the day mentioned of the interview, 8 August 1945, Höffer mentioned in his diary a visit from Bennedik. See "Eine Weltkatastrophe liegt dazwischen, aber ich selbst sitze noch immer an dem selben Fleck". Aus den Tagebüchern von Paul Höffer 1945-1949' (subsequently simply 'Höffer, "Tagebüchern"'), in Fischer-Defoy, "*Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein*", p. 275-6.

though in November his classification was raised to Grey-Acceptable. Tiessen was also by-passed, in part because of having been recommended by Havemann, though the decision was explained in terms of limited resources and expectations of composition students.⁷⁶ The approved composition teachers were Justus Hermann Wetzel, Konrad Friedrich Noetel, Siegfried Borris and Hermann Wunsch, whilst Blacher was appointed to teach ‘Musik des Ausländers’ (foreign music) and theory.⁷⁷ There were various entreaties to Hindemith to return and become the new director, not least from Höffer, who thought this would help his own prospects,⁷⁸ but these came to nothing.⁷⁹ This left the field open for the creation of a rival institution with a stronger faculty for new music, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A large amount of new music was performed in mainstream concerts in Berlin during in the first year, including works of Busoni, Debussy, Ravel, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Shostakovich (including the German premiere of the Fifth Symphony by the BPO under Celibidache), Kabalevsky, Elgar, Holst, Vaughan Williams, Eugene Goossens and Frank Bridge. There were several performances of Barber’s *Adagio* for strings, and works by lesser-known figures like Marcel Poot, Hans Chemin-Petit and Raoul Koczalski, and by Berlin-resident composers including Höffer, Tiessen, Nabokov, Blacher, Borris, Noetel and Wunsch (see Appendix 4a for more details). However, from a detailed survey of the programmes of the Städtische Oper, the BPO, the Rundfunk Symphonie Orchester Berlin and the concerts at the Haus am Waldsee between May 1945 and August 1946, Elizabeth Janik finds only 2.94% of music performed constituted ‘New Music’ (in the sense defined by Martin Thrun, involving ‘progressives’ such as Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Bartók). On the other hand, 17.18% was ‘Modern’ music (figures deemed by Thrun to be more

⁷⁶ LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 88, ‘Aufnahme der Geschäftstätigkeit der Hochschule für Musik. Aktenvermerk’, 23 August 1945.

⁷⁷ Ibid; LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 88 ‘Aufnahme der Geschäftstätigkeit der Hochschule für Musik. Geschäftsverteilungsplan der Abteilung für Volksbildung’; LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 1460, ‘Zulassung von Musik – und Gesangsschülern und Lehrern, 1945-1949’; Boris Blacher, ‘Antrag auf Zulassung als Lehrer zur Berufsausbildung auf den Gebiete der Bühne, des Films, der Artistik, der Musik’, 7 August 1945; ‘Neuaufbau der Berliner Musikhochschule’, *Neue Zeitung*, 29 September 1945.

⁷⁸ As is clear from his diary entries in Höffer, ‘Tagebüchern’, 21 September, 6 October, 26 November 1945, pp. 276-7.

⁷⁹ See ‘Ruf an Paul Hindemith’, *Berliner Zeitung*, 21 September 1945; ‘Der Meister der polyphonen Musik’, *Berliner Zeitung*, 21 November 1945; and Ha., ‘Um Hindemith’, *Berliner Zeitung*, 10 April 1946, all cited in Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 82 n. 4. Some mistakenly reported that Hindemith had accepted, but Hindemith’s weariness of these requests is clear from a letter to his publisher Willy Schrecker on 26 December 1945, in Giselher Schubert, ‘Hindemith und Deutschland nach 1945. Biografisches aus seinem Briefwechsel’, in Ulrich Tadday (ed.), *Musik-Konzepte 125/126. Der späte Hindemith* (Munich: edition text+kritik, 2004), p. 11.

conservative, such as Pfitzner, Reger and Ravel). In the Soviet sector the figures were 2.93% and 25.86%.⁸⁰ This advantage would remain for the next three years (during which period the percentage of ‘new’ music increased in both halves of the city), then the balance shifted in 1950.⁸¹ The most performed composers across the city during the first year were Prokofiev, Leo Spies and Hindemith, each with 9 works, Stravinsky with 8 and Kodály with 7.⁸²

One key figure in Berlin musical life is missing from most of this: Stuckenschmidt, who had been held since the end of the war as a POW (where he gave lectures on music to other POWs, on subjects including romantic music, Wagner, contemporary opera and the sociology of operetta).⁸³ After his release, Stuckenschmidt returned to Berlin on 22 May 1946, according to his autobiography, and apparently met with Rufer and Höffer a few days later.⁸⁴ He appears not to have had problems with denazification,⁸⁵ and was almost immediately afterwards given a position at DIAS (see Chapter 4). He met with Nabokov for the first time in late May/early June, at a BPO concert,⁸⁶ the beginning of an important relationship. Stuckenschmidt would later take up a teaching position at the *Technische-Universität Berlin*, which re-opened on 9 April 1946.⁸⁷ His wife Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèvre had earlier returned to performing and teaching, joining the faculty of the *Internationales Musikinstitut* (see Chapter 5) on its opening in January 1946, and going on to regain the type of prominence as a performer of new music she had earlier had in the 1920s and early 1930s. However, she had also been a member of the NSDAP since 1939, membership number 7,078,309,⁸⁸ which she did not mention on her March 1946

⁸⁰ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 312.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 312-3.

⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 320. After these, the next were Paul Höffer (3 works), Nicolas Nabokov (3), Samuel Barber (3), Schoenberg (3), William Grant Still (2), Shostakovich (2) and Bartók (2).

⁸³ AdK Stuckenschmidt, Hans Heinz. File 45, ‘Material für Vorträge in Attichy, Mai-Juli 1945’.

⁸⁴ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, p. 177, and *Margot. Bildnis einer Sängerin* (Munich: Piper, 1981), p. 44-5. In both books Stuckenschmidt mentions going to a Reger-concert given by Margot (accompanied by Oskar Rothensteiner, also the bassoonist at the BPO) at the Haus am Waldsee (dated in *Margot* as 25 May), which was where he met with Rufer and Höffer, but I have found no other record of this concert in various newspapers consulted, nor in the Haus am Waldsee archives.

⁸⁵ I have not found any documentation of Stuckenschmidt’s denazification in the Landesarchiv Berlin, the Berlin Document Centre, or his archive at the Akademie der Künste.

⁸⁶ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, pp. 177-8. The concert was probably that which took place on 2 June, featuring Nabokov’s own *Parade*.

⁸⁷ ‘Technische Universität Berlin eröffnet’, *Tagesspiegel*, 10 April 1946.

⁸⁸ LAB C Rep 031-01-02, Stuckenschmidt, Margarete, ‘Anlage zum Fragebogen von Margarethe Stuckenschmidt, Frage Nr. 41’, 31 March 1948.

Fragebogen.⁸⁹ This came to the attention of the US authorities in Berlin in September 1947, and she was forbidden from singing. She appealed against the decision, claiming that she had been entered into the party without her knowledge, and had left in 1944.⁹⁰ She was helped by testimonies from others, including composer Edwin Hartung, who recalled her pleading for the return of her confiscated piano from the NSDAP leader in Prague, and being told that being a party member would have helped her.⁹¹ The commission concluded her membership was no more than nominal,⁹² and she was able to return to work.

The US Zone

Outside of Berlin, musical activities began somewhat tentatively in the rest of the US Zone, as for example when a request to give concerts in Mannheim in May 1945 was denied by local officers. However, more senior MG officials then encouraged this, in part in response to similar activity from the Soviets in their zone, and by November 1945, 130 theatre companies and musical groups had been licensed.⁹³ Appendix 2a contains a comprehensive list of the first authorised concerts, most in the principal cities in July 1945, and mostly by local orchestras.

From the beginning of 1946, a supply of scores of American music arrived, making possible a new range of performances first in Frankfurt, Bad Nauheim, Kassel and Darmstadt,⁹⁴ some of which Benno D. Frank attempted to co-ordinate.⁹⁵ Samuel Barber's *Adagio* for strings was widely performed and became iconic of the US

⁸⁹ AdK Hinnenberg-Lefèbre, Margot. File 10, Fragebogen, 16 March 1946. This file contains various other correspondence relating to Hinnenberg-Lefèbre's denazification.

⁹⁰ LAB C Rep 031-01-02, Stuckenschmidt, Margarete, Margarethe Stuckenschmidt to Entnazifizierungskommission für Kulturschaffende Berlin, 20 March 1948, with Fragebogen.

⁹¹ LAB C Rep 031-01-02, Stuckenschmidt, Margarete, Erwin Hartung, 'Eidesstattliche Erklärung', 14 November 1947; O.E. Hasse, 'Eidesstattliche Erklärung', 16 November 1947.

⁹² LAB C Rep 031-01-02, Stuckenschmidt, Margarete, 'Protokollsatzung aus der Hauptverhandlung am 12. Mai 1948 in Sachen der Sängerin Margarethe Stuckenschmidt, geb. Am 21.7.1901, Wohnhaft in Berlin-Tempelhof, Thurying 45'.

⁹³ IfZ/OMGUS 3/408-2/26, 'History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946'; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945-1949* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), p. 70; Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 378.

⁹⁴ 'Kulturelles Leben: Neues aus der Musik', *Tagesspiegel*, 2 February 1946; the first scores made available were Quincy Porter's Music for Strings, Virgil Thomson's *The Plow that Broke the Plains*, and Douglas Moore's *Village Music*; *ICD History I*, p. 129. Others which arrived early on were Randall Thomson's Second Symphony, Piston's *The Incredible Flutist*, Elliott Carter's *Holiday Overture*, and Harrison Kerr's First Symphony; see LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, Monthly Report, Military Governor, U.S. Zone, No. 7, for January 1946, 20 February 1946, p. 11.

⁹⁵ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/1, Frank to Saron, 7 January 1946.

occupation. However, a report for the journal *Modern Music* in April 1946 indicated lukewarm initial responses and a need for wider familiarity.⁹⁶ The programme proceeded, and by the end of June 1946, 71 performances had been given of 33 musical works by US composers, and scores of 100 further works made available.⁹⁷ Some imported scores from emigré and other composers, including Stravinsky, Milhaud, Hindemith and Bartók, and also Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Honegger, were also made available for a while, though in the summer of 1946 Harrison Kerr narrowed the range of these to keep the programme focused.⁹⁸

Bavaria

A 1972 history of music in Bavaria portrays a quick recovery of musical life after the war, with increasing internationalisation and individualisation, and new local associations of Bavarian composers, with the likes of Egk, Orff, Hartmann and Joseph Haas said to be most ‘firmly grounded in the cultural heritage of their Bavarian homeland’.⁹⁹ This is generally accurate, and reflects both the successes and failures of US cultural officers of the time. The importance of local associations and ‘cultural heritage’ also explains how there could be a wide range of modern music performed, but little engagement with the post-war avant-garde for several decades.

The Bavarian Theatre and Music office got off to a shaky start, after the first chief, Harry Bogner, was dismissed on grounds of ‘gross efficiency’, while his successor Arthur Vogel only lasted until August 1945. But then followed American pianist Edward Kilenyi (1910-2000), who had studied in Budapest with Dohnányi, who had a musical reputation in Europe and in Germany before the war, and who worked at Radio Luxembourg as part of PWD from 1944.¹⁰⁰ He was joined in October by John Evarts, formerly a professor of music at Black Mountain College,¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Boris Kremenliev, ‘News from Overseas: Musical Mission to Germany’, *Modern Music* 23/4 (1946), p. 278, cited in Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁷ Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, p. 186.

⁹⁸ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 118-9.

⁹⁹ Hans Schmid, ‘Überblick’, in Robert Münster and Schmid (eds.), *Musik in Bayern. I. Bayerische Musikgeschichte. Überblick und Einzeldarstellungen*, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1972), pp. 61-2.

¹⁰⁰ David Monod, ‘Internationalism, Regionalism, and National Culture: Music Control in Bavaria, 1945-1948’, *Central European History* 33 (2000), pp. 348-50; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 21-2; IFZ/OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Vogel, ‘Daily Report’, 20 June 1945 mentions making trips with Kilenyi.

¹⁰¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 38; Andrew Kohn, ‘Black Mountain College as Context for the Writings of Wolpe’, in Clarkson, *On the Music of Stefan Wolpe*, p. 112.

who came from Frankfurt to work as Kilenyi's assistant.¹⁰² Kilenyi's sympathies were with the music of Stravinsky, Hindemith and some French composers rather than so much for American music, and he was a believer in the superiority of the subsidised German system. David Monod reasonably concludes that Evarts was of a similar persuasion, and both believed in the theory of twelve years of isolation.¹⁰³ They distrusted those they deemed too 'Bavarian' (including Orff and Hans Knappertsbusch), a concept they associated with provincialism, restoration and conspiratorial Catholicism, in contrast to the internationalist outlook they favoured.¹⁰⁴

In Munich, which had a strong claim to have been the German heartland of Nazism, there was a pressing need for reform, as the Philharmonic and the Staatsoper had become heavily Nazified.¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of the war, the two were merged, with their last productions being of Orff's *Carmina Burana* and Egk's *Joan von Zarissa*.¹⁰⁶ The US officers worked with writer and former city library director Hans Ludwig Held, who was appointed as head of the municipal culture department in September 1945.¹⁰⁷ A detailed timeline of events can be found in Appendix 4b.

One of the first musicians interviewed was Karl Amadeus Hartmann, who Vogel and Theatre officer Gerard W. van Loon met in June 1945, then Kilenyi a few days later. Vogel and van Loon were impressed by Hartmann's freshness of musical outlook, involvement with the Juryfreien before 1933 (see Chapter 1) and relationships with Scherchen and Webern, and thought him an ideal candidate to be musical director of Radio Munich. He does not appear to have wanted this position, and he was appointed instead to be 'Dramaturg und Leiter der Morgenveranstaltungen' (matinées) on 15 September with a contract running through to the end of August 1946, with a monthly salary of 700 RM.¹⁰⁸ In this capacity Hartmann began a series of new music concerts which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁰² IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, 'Weekly Report', 26 October 1945; Kilenyi, 'Weekly Report', 12 December 1945; Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 9 January 1946.

¹⁰³ Monod, 'Internationalism', pp. 351-3.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. pp. 354-5.

¹⁰⁵ Marita Krauss, *Nachkriegskultur in München. Münchner städtische Kulturpolitik 1945-1954* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1985), p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Cornelia Hofmann and Katharina Meinel, 'Dokumentation der Premieren von 1653 bis 1992', in Hans Zehetmair and Jürgen Schläder (eds.), *Nationaltheater. Die Bayerische Staatsoper* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1992), p. 307.

¹⁰⁷ See Krauss, *Nachkriegskultur*, pp. 13-28 on Held's background. This book draws extensively on the Held Nachlass.

¹⁰⁸ Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 48-9.

After considering various candidates, the T&M officers invited Eugen Jochum to conduct the Philharmonic, and Hans Knappertsbusch to conduct the Staatsoper. This reflected limited knowledge on their part: Knappertsbusch's prominent position in Nazi musical culture is familiar; less well-known is that as GMD of Hamburg, Jochum had conducted Nazi songs and performed at propagandistic events early in the regime, was appointed Staatskapellmeister by Hitler himself in 1936, conducted in four occupied countries in October 1940, and conducted the BPO in the propagandistic film *Wunschkonzert* later that year. He had also conducted in Łódź in Poland, the site of a terrible ghetto for 160 000 Jews from April 1940 onwards, and his concert had been praised as part of the 'Germanification of this city'.¹⁰⁹ Both men were included on the *Gottbegnadeten-Liste* mentioned in Chapter 1, together with Clemens Krauss, Karl Böhm, Herbert von Karajan, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt and others.¹¹⁰ Both were also on the American black list of November 1944, but this does not appear to have been consulted by Vogel and Kilenyi.¹¹¹ The Philharmonic began giving concerts in July, and the Staatsorchester the following month. However, following the US directive of 7 July, Jochum returned to Hamburg, in the British Zone, which David Monod attributes to fear of losing his position. Knappertsbusch took over both institutions, but proved poor at the management side and at consideration of others.¹¹² When he was graded Black in the October 1945 lists, he was mandatorily dismissed, leaving the reputation of T&M in tatters.¹¹³

To recover activities, Kilenyi engaged Hans Rosbaud in November to take over the Philharmonic and prepare some operas as guest conductor at the Staatsoper. Rosbaud was helped by the testimony of anti-Nazi Alsatian citizens (having previously worked in occupied Strasbourg) and his friendship with Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Hindemith.¹¹⁴ Now there was a conductor with a clear track record of commitment to new music, and he wasted no time performing such work, not least for

¹⁰⁹ Klee, *Kulturlexikon*, pp. 283-4; Carl Maria Holzapfel, 'Krieg und Kunst', *Die Musik* 33/1 (October 1940), p. 3; Erwin Leiser, *Nazi Cinema*, translated Gertrud Mande and David Wilson (London: Secker & Warburg, 1974), p. 33.

¹¹⁰ Rathkolb, *Führertreu und Gottbegnadet*, p. 176.

¹¹¹ BHA/OMGB 10/48-1/5, HQ, DISCC 6870, 'Weekly Report', 26 October 1945, cited in Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 49.

¹¹² Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 61-2; IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/18, McMahon, 'Summary of Activities for Week Ending 3 August 1945'.

¹¹³ IfZ/OMGUS 5/291-3/4, Alfred Toombs to Colonel Powell, 17 October 1945; IfZ/OMGUS 5-242-3/19, Will Roland, 'Weekly Report', 3 November 1945.

¹¹⁴ Krauss, *Nachkriegskultur*, pp. 59-60; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 62-4; Joan Evans, 'Hans Rosbaud and New Music: From 1933 to the early Postwar Period', in Riethmüller, *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik?*, pp. 127-9.

Hartmann's series (see Chapter 5). During 1945-6, Rosbaud conducted Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, three major works of Hindemith, Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, Berg's Violin Concerto, Copland's *An Outdoor Overture*, and various special radio and chamber concerts featuring new music. He and Hartmann founded the first post-war German section of the ISCM in February 1946, with the full blessing of Evarts,¹¹⁵ and Rosbaud also gained permission to form a *Verband Münchener Tonkünstler* in June.¹¹⁶ The Staatsoper worked with a series of conductors through the first year, then Kilenyi invited the young Hungarian-Jewish Georg Solti, whom he had known in Budapest, to conduct *Fidelio* in March 1946.¹¹⁷ This was a great success, and Solti was made music director in September, in which position he remained until 1952. From 1948, he would conduct major operatic and theatrical works of Hindemith, Sutermeister, Joseph Haas, Stravinsky and Orff, and a few orchestral works of Barber, Hindemith and Kodály.¹¹⁸

Orff visited the music officers in July 1945, hoping to find work, but was unsuccessful.¹¹⁹ Later Evarts would write of his antipathy both to the music of Orff and the cult around him.¹²⁰ By December, Orff had met with his former student and now T&M officer Newell Jenkins, who would help him find work in Stuttgart. Egk, for his part, met Jenkins at Orff's house over Christmas 1945, but this did not lead anywhere. After being ranked Black in the April 1946 list, Egk initiated a charge against himself so as to be tried by the German judiciary, following the new rules of March 1946. Ultimately he was cleared during the course of May 1947, and would go on to have a flourishing career.

Outside of Hartmann's series to be discussed in Chapter 5, and some special broadcasts from Radio Munich, discussed in Chapter 4, the remainder of Munich's musical life remained conservative until the end of 1945.¹²¹ But then the situation began to change, and performances ensued of chamber and orchestral music of Debussy, Ravel, and Hindemith, and the latter's song cycle *Marienleben*, presented

¹¹⁵ IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, John Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 4 February 1946.

¹¹⁶ 'Kulturelle Nachrichten', *Tagesspiegel*, 29 June 1946.

¹¹⁷ Monod, 'Internationalisation', pp. 356-7.

¹¹⁸ Jürgen Schläder and Robert Braummüller, Schläder, Jürgen and Braummüller, Robert. *Tradition mit Zukunft: 100 Jahre Prinzregententheater München* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996), pp. 349-50; Hans-Joachim Nösselt, *Ein ältestes Orchester 1530-1980. 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester*, with an introduction by Wolfgang Sawallsich (Munich: Bruckmann, 1980), pp. 200-5.

¹¹⁹ IfZ/OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Vogel, 'Daily Report', 19 July 1945.

¹²⁰ From Evarts' 'Diary: Spring-Summer 1947', cited in Monod, 'Internationalism', pp. 353-4.

¹²¹ Heinz Pringsheim, 'Musikstadt München im Aufbau?', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 January 1946.

by the *Freunde der Residenz*, a group of artists who came together following the destruction of the major cultural centre, the *Maximilianische Residenz*.¹²² This organisation's early concerts also included premieres of the Silesian composer Günter Bialas, who had settled in the city in 1946.¹²³ Rosbaud's Verband also founded a new *Studio für moderne Musik*, a successor to the Vereinigung of the late 1920s, towards the end of 1946, with Hans Mersmann as director.¹²⁴ They opened with a performance of Schoenberg's First Chamber Symphony, with a lecture on Schoenberg by Mersmann and an analysis with orchestra examples by Rosbaud, which was received enthusiastically. The Studio followed this with a similar session on Berg's Violin Concerto, and then performances of Hindemith, Stravinsky, Bartók and others.¹²⁵

The *Hochschule für Musik* only re-opened in 1946 (as its original building had been destroyed), with Joseph Haas as director. There were no prominent composers teaching there until Orff (who taught from 1950), but Mersmann was appointed as a professor of music history, analysis, folk song and contemporary music, until he became director of the Cologne Musikhochschule the following year.¹²⁶

In another iconic Nazi city, Nuremberg, at first former SA *Sturmführer* Alfons Dressel was appointed GMD, but was dismissed after Kilenyi and Vogel visited the city in June 1945.¹²⁷ The most significant events for new music were part of the symphony orchestra concerts with the Städtisches Orchester, directed by former Pfitzner student Rolf Agop, beginning in September (see Appendix 4b for a full timetable). These featured new music from an early stage, with Hindemith's *Nobilissima Visione* on 9 December, and in February a guest appearance by Bitter to conduct Barber's *Adagio*, and a concert with Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* and Stravinsky's *L'oiseau de feu*, all in the midst of the heavily monitored Nuremberg

¹²² Heinz Pringsheim, 'Hindemith: Marienleben', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 April 1946; *50 Jahre Freunde der Residenz München 1945-1995* (Munich: Freunde der Residenz, 1995), pp. 24-32, 40-7.

¹²³ Gabriele E. Meyer, *Günter Bialas: Werkverzeichnis* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), pp. 45, 75, 101.

¹²⁴ Wolfgang Gieseler, 'Zwischen Klassik und Moderne', in Hermann Glaser, Lutz von Pufendorf and Michael Schöneich (eds.), *So viel Anfang war nie. Deutsche Städte 1945-1949* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989), p. 247.

¹²⁵ 'Ein Studio für moderne Musik errichtet', *Neue Zeitung*, 18 November 1946; Fritz Schieri, 'Mersmann, Hans', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 17 (1994), at <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd116905026.html#ndbcontent> (accessed 30 September 2017); Evans, *Rosbaud*, pp. 43-4; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), p. 188.

¹²⁶ Schieri, 'Mersmann, Hans'.

¹²⁷ Clemens Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg 1945-1950. Kulturpolitik, kulturelles Leben und Bild der Stadt zwischen dem Ende der NS-Diktatur und der Prosperität der fünfziger Jahre* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1999), pp. 52-3, 119, 128; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 1236; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 51.

Trials in the city. Critics were positive,¹²⁸ but audiences less so, whilst the costs of such productions were steep.¹²⁹ Despite some subsequent reductions, in the first three seasons the orchestra nonetheless gave first and city premieres of works of Hindemith, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Shostakovich, Blacher and various others, and on 19 January 1947 gave Walter Piston's Second Symphony, the first Bavarian performance of a major US symphonic work since the end of the war.¹³⁰

There was also a series of fourteen events from October 1945 to May 1946 at the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*, organised by the director, Dr. Ernst Günter Troche.¹³¹ Each of these focused on a musical form, genre or medium, and some traced a path from traditional repertoire towards new or recent works such as those of Prokofiev or Rudi Stephan,¹³² to help contextualisation. Furthermore, the composer Willy Spilling re-founded his *Collegium Musicum* ensemble in the autumn of 1946, to give a series of eight chamber concerts foregrounding in particular new American music, and placing music and poetry together. One critic saw in Spilling's work a continuation of that carried out until 1943 by Adalbert Kalix, and it led to the founding in early 1947 of an *Arbeitskreis für neue Musik*,¹³³ and a series of *Studio-Konzerte* with lectures, directed by Agop.¹³⁴

At Bayreuth, there were mostly light concerts put on from the end of May 1945 by a newly formed *Bayreuther Symphonieorchester* in the occupied Festspielhaus to American troops.¹³⁵ The orchestra gave public concerts from September in the *Deutsches Theater*, mostly with a similar repertoire, though they

¹²⁸ Eva-Marie Funk-Schneider, 'Klassik und Moderne'; Arthur Schopf, 'Als Gast: Major John Bitter'; Funk-Schneider, 'Sinfonische Programmusik', *Nürnberg Nachrichten*, 22 December, 9 February and 2 March 1946.

¹²⁹ See the report by Luise Hensolt-Soldan from August 1946, cited in Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg*, pp. 152-3.

¹³⁰ Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg*, p. 154 n. 99; IfZ/OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 18 January 1947.

¹³¹ Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg*, p. 120. An article from around six weeks into the series concluded, however, that the Nuremberg population cared little about the aspirations of this series (F.-Schn., 'Gedanken zu Nürnberger Konzerten', *Nürnberg Nachrichten*, 8 December 1945).

¹³² See Dr. Karl Foessel, 'Zwei Klavierabende', *Nürnberg Nachrichten*, 9 February 1946; Dr. Karl Foessel, 'Zweimal: Das Lied', *Nürnberg Nachrichten*, 9 March 1946.

¹³³ Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg*, p. 156.

¹³⁴ Erich Limmert, 'Lichtblick in Nürnberg', *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 422; Wachter, *Kultur in Nürnberg*, p. 156; 'Städtisches Orchester Nürnberg', advert in *Melos* 14/13 (November 1947), p. 397.

¹³⁵ Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 198-201; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 24; IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/18, Lieutenant Ira Richards, 'Report on Mission No. 6 (1 to 4, 6 to 12 June 1945)', 13 June 1945; W. Bronnenmeyer, *Vom Tempel zur Werkstatt. Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele* (Bayreuth: Niehrenheim Verlag, 1970), p. 96.

eventually played Hindemith's *Mathis* Symphony in December 1946.¹³⁶ The Festspielhaus was returned to German control in July 1946, and the mayor of Bayreuth, Oskar Meyer, gained permission from the US authorities to mount operas and concerts there again, though (crucially!) without Wagner.¹³⁷ In discussions between German and American officials about the future of the festival, one idea was to make it into a centre for contemporary opera, while Franz Wilhelm Beidler, a Swiss grandson of Wagner, suggested a foundation to facilitate new creative work, with a committee including Thomas Mann, Leo Kestenberg, Alfred Einstein, Mersmann, Schoenberg, Hindemith, Honegger, Tiessen, Hartmann and others.¹³⁸ These came to nothing after lawyers advised that the decisions remained in the hands of the Wagner family, and the Wagner festival opened again in 1951.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, other initiatives for new music proceeded from 1947, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Musical life also began in Augsburg, Bamberg, Coburg, Dachau, Erlangen, Hof, Ingolstadt, Passau, Regensburg, and Würzburg,¹⁴⁰ though with only sporadic

¹³⁶ Albrecht Bald, 'Das Bayreuther Symphonieorchester und das Festspielhaus 1945-1948. Aufstieg und Niedergang eines oberfränkischen Nachkriegsorchesters', *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken* Band 82 (2002), pp. 363-6; 'Bayreuther Symphonie-Orchester im Festspielhaus', *Fränkische Presse*, 23 August 1946 (for an overview of the orchestra's plentiful activities); Arno Erfurth, 'Paul Hindemith, der Komponist der Oper "Mathis der Maler"', F. Ho., '4. Symphoniekonzert', *Fränkische Presse*, 10 and 13 December 1946.

¹³⁷ See the correspondence in Michael Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1976), pp. 125, 127-9; Spotts, *Bayreuth*, p. 202; Sabine Henze-Döhring, 'Kulturelle Zentren in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone: der Fall Bayreuth', in Clemens, *Kulturpolitik*, pp. 41-2; 'Ausnahmestand am Festspielhügel. Bilder aus dem Jammertal der 120jährigen Festspielgeschichte', *Heimat Kurier* 29/7-8 (1996), pp. 6-7. My profound thanks to Barry Millington for providing me with a copy of the latter publication.

¹³⁸ Franz Wilhelm Beidler, 'Richtlinien für eine Neugestaltung der Bayreuther Festspiel. I. Entwurf', 31 December 1946; 'Vorschläge für die Zusammensetzung des Stiftungsrates der "WR Festspiel-Stiftung"', 3 January 1947; Beidler to Oskar Meyer, 3 January 1947, in Karbaum, *Bayreuther Festspiele*, pp. 131-4.

¹³⁹ Karbaum, *Bayreuther Festspiele*, pp. 98-9; Spotts, *Bayreuth*, pp. 202, 212.

¹⁴⁰ My conclusions here derive from consulting IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/15, Evarts, 'Special Report – Music Control in Bavaria – June 1945 to July 1946'; Wolfram Bauer (ed.), *Trümmer, Jepps und leere Mägen. Chronik der Stadt Augsburg 1945-1948* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 1995), pp. 31-63; Isolde Maierhöfer, *Bamberg. Geschichte und Kunst. Ein Stadtführer* (Weißhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1973), p. 126; Wolfgang Pfister, *Die Bamberger Symphoniker. 50 Jahre Orchesterkultur in Bamberg* (Bamberg: Verlag Fränkischer Tag, 1996), pp. 16-67, 213-44; Johannes Conrad and Hans Neubauer, *Theater in Bamberg. Bericht und Dokumentation 1945-1958* (Bamberg: Verlag Fränkischer Tag, 1985), pp. 9-52; Martin Lorenz, 'Die Geschichte des Coburger-Landestheater-Orchesters', in Harald Bachmann and Jürgen Erdmann (eds.), *150 Jahre Coburger Landestheater* (Coburg: Coburger Landestheater, 1977), pp. 234-5; 'Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Coburg e.V.', at <http://jojo-wixsite.com/musikfreunde>; 'Aus der Chronik der Musikfreunde Neustadt bei Coburg' at http://www.musikfreunde-coburg.de/backup%20alte%20page/pages/frames/frame_gard.html (both accessed 30 September 2017); Cornelia Reim, 'Das Musikleben in Dachau der Nachkriegszeit', in Annegret Braun and Norbert Göttler (eds.), *Nach der "Stunde Null" II. Historische Nahaufnahmen aus den Gemeinde des Landkreises Dachau 1945 bis 1949* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2013), pp. 129-56; Sigrid Albrecht, "'Im Anschluß an die bewährte und geschätzte Tradition": Musik in Erlangen', in Jürgen Sandweg and Gertraud Lehmann (eds.), *Hinter unzerstörten Fassaden. Erlangen 1945-1955*

programming of new music. The Augsburg and Bamberg orchestras played a few pieces of Hindemith, and also Stravinsky, Honegger and Fortner in Bamberg,¹⁴¹ while that in Erlangen incorporated similar figures and younger German and local composers.¹⁴² On the whole, audiences were conservative, an obstacle for more adventurous programmers.¹⁴³ Erwin Warkentin argues that none of the many symphony orchestras in the state (more than anywhere else in the US zone) programmed modern works, but this is too simplistic.¹⁴⁴

The US officers were informed in October 1946 by the Bavarian ICD chief that all programming decisions would now be left to Germans.¹⁴⁵ This infuriated Evarts, who also had to preside over the return of dismissed figures such as Knappertsbusch and Jochum, so he and other officers concentrated on pushing for performances of American works, as will be described in Chapter 8.

Hesse

Hesse, Württemberg-Baden and Bremen were all controlled centrally by DISCC 6871 in Wiesbaden, with Frank Rosenthal as the first director of the Theatre and Music section.¹⁴⁶ The section was split into three divisions in January 1946, as mentioned in Chapter 2. In the region of Hesse, William Dubensky, a violinist who had been shot through the hand in 1944, became the first Chief of Theatre and Music from the

(Erlangen and Jena: Palm & Enke; Junge & Sohn, 1996), pp. 872-901; Hans Fegert, *Luftangriffe auf Ingolstadt. Geheime historische Dokumente, Fotos und Zeitzeugenberichte aus den Jahren 1939 bis 1945* (Kösching: 3K-Verlag, 1989), p. 31; Hans Pimmer, *Redemokratisierung des Konzertlebens in Ostbayern nach dem II. Weltkrieg. Wiederaufbau in drei Stadtkreisen* (Egelsbach, Cologne and New York: Verlag Hänssel-Hohenhausen, 1993); Herbert Schott, *Die Amerikaner als Besatzungsmacht in Würzburg (1945-1949)* (Würzburg: HartDruck, 1985), pp. 112-4, 147-52. Various OMGUS reports also provide a good deal of information about the progress of musical life in numerous of these cities.

¹⁴¹ 'Im Ludwigsbau'; 'Das 3. Städtische Symphoniekonzert', *Schwäbische Landeszeitung*, 4 and 8 January 1946; Pfister, *Die Bamberg Symphoniker*, p. 228; 'Die Bamberger Symphoniker bringen in der Spielzeit 1947/48', advert in *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 431.

¹⁴² IfZ OMGUS 5/242-3/18, Edward H. Littman, Report on Information Control Survey in Erlangen, 2 July 1945; Willi Roland, Film, Theater and Music Report for Week Ending 20 July 1945, 21 July 1945; Albrecht, 'Musik in Erlangen', pp. 892-4; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/9 (July 1947), p. 266.

¹⁴³ See Warkentin, *History of U.S. Information Control*, pp. 184, 314.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Monod, 'Internationalism', pp. 358-9.

¹⁴⁶ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, 'History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946'; Bausch, *Kulturpolitik*, pp. 118-9. Thomas Steiert lists John Scott as working together with Rosenthal during this period; Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', p. 57.

beginning,¹⁴⁷ and worked at various times with A. Konrad Kvan, Robert R. La Branche, Kurt Singer, and Rosenthal.

The principal city in Hesse, a new state combining the former Grand Duchy of Hesse with most of the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, was Frankfurt-am-Main, decimated from bombing. A timeline is given in Appendix 4c. The most important initial appointment was that of former music critic Karl Holl to re-start the city theatre, and then to run a unit of the city *Kultusministerium* (given this specific title) from early 1946.¹⁴⁸ Concerts began somewhat slowly, then Bruno Vondenhoff, who had been GMD at the Stadttheater Freiburg from 1938 to 1944,¹⁴⁹ was appointed as the permanent Intendant for the opera in October, with which position came the direction of the Museum concerts.¹⁵⁰ He presided over major celebrations of Hindemith's 50th birthday, as the composer had grown up in the vicinity of the city. This involved three dedicated concerts in November, included a lecture by Holl, a complete performance of *Ludus tonalis* by Hindemith's long-term collaborator Emma Lübbecke-Job, the German premiere of *Die vier Temperamente* (with Lübbecke-Job) and the *Mathis* Symphony.¹⁵¹ A rapturous preview article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, by Dresden critic Ernst Krause, portrayed Hindemith as a daring radical who had been driven away, and who had broken with bourgeois tradition but returned to fundamentals of polyphony, line and strict form.¹⁵² His reviews were equally laudatory, and began to consolidate a theme whereby Hindemith had moved away from Weimar exploration (about which some critics remained sceptical) towards consolidation of an idiom, which was more affirmatory and concise. For the purposes of this argument Krause enlisted Shostakovich, Krenek, Weill and Kaminski.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Dieter Emig and Alfred G. Frei, 'Office of Military Government for Hesse', in Weisz, *OMGUS-Handbuch*, p. 381.

¹⁴⁸ On Holl, see Jochen Zulauf, *Verwaltung der Kunst oder Kunst der Verwaltung. Kulturverwaltung, Kulturförderung und Kulturpolitik des Landes Hessen 1945-1960* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1995), pp. 24-41.

¹⁴⁹ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 7432-4.

¹⁵⁰ 'Neuer Intendant der Frankfurter Oper', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 October 1945.

¹⁵¹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/21, '6871st DISCC Weekly News Letter No. 12 for Military Government, Western District (22-28 November 1945)', 26 November 1945; 'Frankfurt ehrt Hindemith', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 November 1945.

¹⁵² Ernst Krause, 'Paul Hindemith 50 Jahre', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 16 November 1945.

¹⁵³ M.B. and E.K., 'Hindemith-Tage in Frankfurt'; Ernst Krause, 'Musikalische Reminiszenzen'; *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27 and 30 November 1945. Marxist critic Ernst Hermann Meyer, in 'Der Leidensweg der deutschen Musik', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 November 1945, argued from a somewhat different perspective for international cooperation, 'realism', and 'a new humanity, new warmth, new life and new vitality' in music.

After a concert in January 1946 by Vondenhoff, including Stravinsky's *L'oiseau de feu* and Chaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony, a T&M report concluded that 'The Slavic temperament is difficult for the orthodox schooled Germans to grasp'.¹⁵⁴ However, the Museum concerts continued to feature (relatively) modern music, including the first American compositions in March/April, using newly-available materials: Randall Thompson's Second Symphony, Elliott Carter's *Holiday Overture*,¹⁵⁵ then orchestral and chamber works of David Diamond, Harrison Kerr, and others. There were also premieres of mainstream German works of Abendroth, Braunfels, Raphael and Sehlbach, the German premiere of the Berg Violin Concerto with Gustav Lenzewski, and performances of Hindemith and Stravinsky.¹⁵⁶ Vondenhoff's opera programming was less adventurous, with Janáček's *Jenůfa* the only modern work in the first season, described by MG as a 'hit premiere'.¹⁵⁷ However, the following season saw productions of Stravinsky's *L'histoire* and Hindemith's *Mathis*.¹⁵⁸

In December 1945, a *Freie Deutsche Kulturgesellschaft* was founded along the lines of the Berlin Kulturbund, by individuals including local culture minister Eberhard Beckmann and music and social critic Walter Dirks. It made its first public appearance on 19 May 1946 with the launch of a new *Studio für moderne Musik*, directed by Vondenhoff, with a concert featuring works of Roussel, Janáček, Stravinsky and Sutermeister, and with speeches in the presence of several ministers.¹⁵⁹ The ensuing concert series, like that in Nuremberg, came to be regarded as having a pedagogical as well as musical function. In July a concert of Schoenberg's Second Quartet, Ravel's Quartet and songs of Hindemith was seen as an attempt to trace the transitional path of music since the turn of the century, between 'visual' and

¹⁵⁴ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/21, 'Weekly Situation Report of Theater and Music Section. Week ending 12 January 1946'. Nonetheless, one critic wrote of the works 'luminous power'; M.B., 'Fünftes Museumskonzert', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 18 January 1946.

¹⁵⁵ M.B., 'Kammerkonzert des "Museums"'; M.B., 'Mahlers "Lied von der Erde"'; E.K., 'Neue amerikanische Musik', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 29 January, 12 February, 5 April 1946; Weber, *Das "Museum"*, p. 139; IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/15, 'Semi-Monthly Activity Report of Theater & Music Section, Film, Theater and Music', 15 April 1946. Weber, *Das "Museum"*, p. 139 mistakenly lists Virgil Thomson rather than Randall Thompson.

¹⁵⁶ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/15, Theater & Music Section, 'Review of Activities for the Month of May 1947'; Weber, *Das "Museum"*, p. 139.

¹⁵⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5/8-1/2, 'Weekly Military Government Summary No. 37', 25 June 1946.

¹⁵⁸ 'Premierenverzeichnis der Oper von 1945 bis 1972', in Heinrich Heym (ed.), *Frankfurt und sein Theater*, second edition (Frankfurt: Verlag Waldemar Kramer, 1971), pp. 275-8.

¹⁵⁹ 'Notizen. Musik', *Darmstädter Echo*, 24 April 1946; E.K., 'Neue Musik in Frankfurt. Auftakt der "Freien Deutschen Kulturgesellschaft"', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 21 May 1946; Zander, *Vondenhoff*, p. 475.

‘sonic’ approaches, while Schoenberg embodied both a crisis in tonality and ‘a sensitive and unconsciously controlling mind’.¹⁶⁰ This created an interpretive context for further performances of Schoenberg in Bad Nauheim later that month (see Chapter 5). Lenzewski introduced the third concert, a piano recital by Lübbecke-Job with music of Bartók, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Ravel and Skryabin, by arguing that music could no longer serve as comfort or enjoyment, if it was to explore new combinations and shapings of sound.¹⁶¹

As in Berlin, there were calls for Hindemith to return to Frankfurt and take up the directorship of the Hochschule (which would not re-open until 1947).¹⁶² In a new intellectual and cultural journal, Dirks compared the times with the period after the Thirty Years’ War, and argued that Hindemith’s music was a vital reflection of them.¹⁶³

There are many myths surrounding the establishment of the nearby city of Darmstadt as a major centre for new music. I will summarise here the detailed timeline in Appendix 4c, while the first *Ferienkurse für neue Musik* in August-September 1946 will be considered in Chapter 8. Within hours of the fall of the city on 25 March 1945, the US forces appointed lawyer Ludwig Metzger to be mayor, working with Weimar-era politician Ludwig Bergsträsser as the governor for the wider Hessian region of Starkenburg and acting as US liaison.¹⁶⁴ A Major Wilson W. Williver was US Civil Administration Officer,¹⁶⁵ and by early 1946 at the latest, a Captain Laird was in charge of cultural and educational issues in the city for MG.¹⁶⁶

On 23 June, Wolfgang Steinecke wrote to the US authorities to detail his previous experience and offer himself for work in a cultural field.¹⁶⁷ He included a

¹⁶⁰ E. K-r., ‘Freie Deutsche Kulturgesellschaft’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9 July 1946.

¹⁶¹ Erwin Kester, ‘Studio für moderne Musik’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 November 1946.

¹⁶² See ‘Kommt Hindemith nach Frankfurt?’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15 March 1946; ‘Paul Hindemith soll Leiter der Frankfurter Musikhochschule werden’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 20 March 1946.

¹⁶³ Walter Dirks, ‘Heinrich Schütz und das neue Beidermeier’, *Frankfurter Hefte* 1/3 (June 1946), pp. 85-86 and ‘Hindemith und diese Stunde’, *Frankfurter Hefte* 1/4 (July 1946), pp. 28-39. See also Anthony Bushell, ‘Prescribing for the New Germany: The Journal *Frankfurter Hefte* in its First Year of Publication (1946)’, *German Life and Letters*, 51/1 (January 1998), p. 119.

¹⁶⁴ Susanne Király, *Ludwig Metzger. Politiker aus christlicher Verantwortung* (Darmstadt and Marburg: Hessischen Historischen Kommission Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 156-7; Moritz Neumann, *1945 nachgetragen. In den Trümmern von Darmstadt. Das Ende der Diktatur und die Monate nach dem Krieg* (Darmstadt: Edward Roether Verlag, 1995), pp. 36-8, 76-8, 179-81; Margarete Dierks, *Darmstadt. 1945-heute* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1973), pp. 9-10.

¹⁶⁵ Diether Degrief, ‘Kriegsende’, in *Darmstadt in der Stunde Null*, pp. 22-3; Király, *Metzger*, pp. 160-61.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Kultur in kleinen Meldungen’, *Darmstädter Echo*, 6 February 1946.

¹⁶⁷ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Steinecke, document from 23 June 1945. This is not addressed to anyone.

rather idealised *Lebenslauf*, claiming he had turned down compromising positions in the Nazi era, such as jobs in occupied Colmar or Alsace, to maintain his personal freedom and political independence. He also denied involvement with party newspapers, not mentioning his writing for the swastika-clad *Hessische Landeszeitung* (see Chapter 1).¹⁶⁸ He followed this up with a letter to Metzger,¹⁶⁹ to whom Steinecke had also been recommended by Darmstädter Sezession co-founder Willi Hofferberth.¹⁷⁰ After Steinecke met with and impressed Metzger, and completed his Fragebogen on 4 August,¹⁷¹ he was appointed on 10 August to run the cultural department for Darmstadt, first on a temporary, then indefinite, contract.¹⁷² An MG document from the beginning of December confirms that the local American officials had found Steinecke acceptable for the position.¹⁷³

Steinecke organised an art exhibition on the history of the city, and a series of *Feierstunden: Dichtung und Musik*, one of which included works of Schoenberg, Berg and Willy Burkhard.¹⁷⁴ There were also chamber concerts, including one of modern French string quartets. Steinecke also facilitated the foundation in October 1945 of the *Neue Darmstädter Sezession*, modelled on its predecessor mentioned in Chapter 1.¹⁷⁵ Their first exhibition, *Zeitgenössische Kunst im südwestdeutschen Raum*, included a *Hindemith-Feier* with Lübbecke-Job giving the first German performance of *Ludus Tonalis* (ten days before playing the work in Frankfurt).¹⁷⁶ Then followed a symbolic concert of the work of Stuttgart-born, Darmstadt-resident, Jewish composer Paul

¹⁶⁸ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Steinecke, 'Lebenslauf'.

¹⁶⁹ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Steinecke to Metzger, 23 July 1945. This letter is also printed in full in Custodis, 'Zum Wirken von Wolfgang Steinecke', pp. 160-2, and Custodis, *Traditionen - Koalitionen - Visionen*, pp. 104-6.

¹⁷⁰ Ludwig Metzger, *In guten und in schlechten Tagen. Berichte, Gedanken und Erkenntnisse aus der politischen Arbeit eines aktiven Christen und Sozialisten* (Darmstadt: Reba Verlag, 1980), pp. 104-5.

¹⁷¹ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Steinecke Personalbogen, 4 August 1945. This included some detail of Steinecke's work for Terra-Film AG and for the *Vereineigte Pressedienste* in Berlin. Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt*, p. 9, says that 'Steinecke never undertook a formal denazification process', but this is to give a misleading definition of denazification, for reasons detailed in Chapter 3.

¹⁷² Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Contract from 10 August 1945, 'Betr.: Den Kulturreferenten Dr. Wolfgang Steinecke'; IfZ/OMGUS 5/7-2/1, Historical Report on October 1945, 5 November 1945; Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692, Memo from Oberbürgermeister, 22 November 1945.

¹⁷³ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 22 P 1692. 'Abschrift. Office of Military Government SK & LK Darmstadt LK Gross'Gerau. Det F 12 2d Mil Govt Regt Apo 758. US Army', 1 December 1945.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix 4c for the sources for these and other events.

¹⁷⁵ Sabine Welsch and Klaus Wolbert (eds.), *Die Darmstädter Sezession 1919-1997. Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel einer Künstlervereinigung* (Darmstadt: Institut Mathildenhöhe, 1997), pp. 42, 235.

¹⁷⁶ Elke Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik in der Nachkriegszeit 1945-1949* (Darmstadt: Justus von Liebig Verlag, 1996); Lübbecke-Job, letter of 2 November 1945, in Schäfer, 'Die Hindemiths und die Lübbeckes', p. 323. Lübbecke-Job would also go onto play the work in Mannheim.

Ottenheimer, who had been imprisoned at Theresienstadt.¹⁷⁷ Ottenheimer also gave a concert with his wife Susi of Lieder of Mahler, Berg, Schoenberg, Ottenheimer and Hindemith as part of the second Sezession event in December, entitled *Befreite Kunst*, a review of which in the *Darmstädter Echo* set the history of German art in a wider foreign context, and hearkened back to movements like *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter*.¹⁷⁸ The exhibition also featured a whole concert of music by young local composer Hans Ulrich Engelmann (1921-2011), where he met a representative from publisher Schott, as well as Wolfgang Fortner, with whom Engelmann would later study, while the Lenzewski Quartet played Bartók's Second.¹⁷⁹ This sort of programming anticipated that of the Ferienkurse after a few years.

After the 18th-century *Orangerie-Haus* was repaired by mid-November, concerts, plays and operas were hosted there from December by the Landestheater, with Wilhelm Heinrich appointed Intendant and Carl Mathieu Lange as GMD.¹⁸⁰ Steinecke also managed to re-open the *Landesmusikschule* in December, despite destruction of its premises, instruments and music collection, and appointed musicologist Friedrich Noack as its director.¹⁸¹ In the new year he also re-opened the *Volkshochschule*, the first of its type in post-war Germany, with a cobbled-together lecture series, though including Karl Holl speaking on German music.¹⁸² Other events in 1946, including the founding of a second artists' association, the *Neue Hessische*

¹⁷⁷ Friedrich Noack, 'Kompositions-Abend Paul Ottenheimer'; and Jed (Zeichnung H. Pfeil), 'Der heimgekehrte Komponist', *Darmstädter Echo*, 28 November and 1 December 1945; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 5067; Oswald Bill, 'Ottenheimer, Paul', at <http://www.darmstadt-stadtlexikon.de/o/ottenheimer-paul.html> (accessed 6 October 2017).

¹⁷⁸ Claus K. Netuschil, 'Befreite Kunst. Zur Gründung der "Neuen Darmstädter Sezession" und zu einer Ausstellung in Darmstadt 1945', in Welsh and Wolbert, *Die Darmstädter Sezession*, pp. 251-77; Robert d'Hooghe, "'Befreite Kunst". Zu einer Ausstellung in Darmstadt', *Darmstädter Echo*, 12 December 1945.

¹⁷⁹ Erich Boye, 'Kompositionsabend Engelmann', *Darmstädter Echo*, 22 December 1945; Hans Ulrich Engelmann, *Vergangenheitsgegenwart. Erinnerung und Gedanken eines Komponisten* (Darmstadt: Justus von Liebig Verlag, 2001), p. 31.

¹⁸⁰ IfZ/OMGUS 5/7-2/2, OMGUS Hessen, September 1945, Historical Report, 9 October 1945; IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/321, '6871st DISCC Weekly News Letter No. 10 for Military Government, Western District (7-14 November 1945)', 14 November 1945; *Darmstädter Echo*, 8 December 1945; Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, p. 100.

¹⁸¹ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 21, 'Wochebericht für die Zeit vom. 16.9 – 22.9.45', 24 September 1945; Dierks, *Darmstadt 1945-heute*, p. 66; article in *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, late September/early October, cited in Neumann, *1945 nachgetragen*, p. 308; Engels and Vonderheid-Ebner, 'Kultureller Neubeginn', p. 45; Erich Boye, 'Hessische Landesmusikschule', *Darmstädter Echo*, 22 December 1945.

¹⁸² IfZ/OMGUS 5/7-3/5 Weekly Summary, 6 February 1946; -hb-, "'Darmstädter Gegenwartsfrange". Eröffnung der Darmstädter Volkshochschule', *Darmstädter Echo*, 6 February 1946; Ludwig Bergsträsser, diary entry for 14 January 1946, in Bergsträsser, *Befreiung, Besatzung, Neubeginn. Tagebuch des Darmstädter Regierungspräsidenten 1945-1948*, edited Walter Mühlhausen (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987), p. 75; 'Vorträge der Volkshochschule'; "'Darmstadt als Kunststadt'", *Darmstädter Echo*, 23 January, 3 April 1946.

Kunstverein (later *Darmstädter Kunstverein*), and a special promotional week in March 1946, boosted the cultural prestige of the city.¹⁸³ There were several performances of music of Günter Raphael, who had been declared Jewish by the Nazis,¹⁸⁴ of Hindemith's *Nobilissima Visione*, French string quartets, and in a Sezession event, a string trio by Darmstadt-based Hermann Heiß (probably his Trio from 1930),¹⁸⁵ in what would have been one of his first post-war performances. A critic noted the relationship of the Trio to the twelve-tone music of Schoenberg and Hauer.¹⁸⁶ Heiß had fled the city after the bombing in September 1944 and spent six months in Vienna before returning to his home area and settling in the nearby town of Groß-Umstadt. At some early point, he organised private events at the house of Ottenheimer, reading texts and playing the piano to select circles.¹⁸⁷ His *Sinfonisches Konzert* for piano and orchestra received a much-heralded world premiere in May, with Else C. Kraus as soloist. Heiß was portrayed in the *Echo* as a flexible and non-dogmatic student of twelve-tone music,¹⁸⁸ though an extended review, which portrayed Heiß, Blacher, Debussy and Stravinsky as composers of 'illegal' music, was not uncritical, finding some of the work formless.¹⁸⁹

Another Sezession event was dedicated to the music of Wolfgang Fortner,¹⁹⁰ which helped cement connections with the Heidelberg Kulturbund with which Fortner was also involved (see below). Both Heiß and Fortner, the composition teachers at the first Ferienkurse, were now solidly established in Darmstadt, and also in Heidelberg, as I will discuss below.

In Wiesbaden, where concerts began at the same time as in Frankfurt, conductors Hans Müller-Kray and Otto Schmidtgen programmed modern works from autumn 1945, including music of Hindemith, Debussy, Ravel, Kodály and Wolf-

¹⁸³ Engels and Vonderheid-Ebner, 'Kultureller Neubeginn', pp. 44-5.

¹⁸⁴ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 5425-32. Raphael did however gain a number of performances during the Reich, so was not as banished as one might have thought from the publicity surrounding the Darmstadt concerts.

¹⁸⁵ Reichenbach, *Heiß*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁶ H.H., "'Darmstadt lebt'". Die vierte Veranstaltung der Neuen Sezession. Ton', *Darmstädter Echo*, 13 March 1946.

¹⁸⁷ Reichenbach, *Heiß*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸⁸ Gt., 'Hermann Heiß. Ein Darmstädter Komponist', *Darmstädter Echo*, 8 May 1946.

¹⁸⁹ -n-, 'Erfolg "illegaler" Musik. Drittes Sinfoniekonzert im Landestheater', *Darmstädter Echo*, 15 May 1946.

¹⁹⁰ Elke Gerberding, 'Die Darmstädter Kulturpolitik in der Nachkriegszeit. Der Rahmen für den Beginn der "neuen Darmstädter Sezession" nach dem Krieg', in Welsh and Wolbert, *Die Darmstädter Sezession*, p. 242; 'Wolfgang Fortner', *Darmstädter Echo*, 13 April 1946. Performances of Fortner's music in Heidelberg had earlier been mentioned in Robert d'Hooghe, "'Freie Gruppe'", *Darmstädter Echo*, 30 January 1946.

Ferrari (see Appendix 4c). The Spring of 1946 saw music of Mahler and Stravinsky, and two works clearly chosen by or to satisfy ICD: Howard Hanson's Third Symphony and Randall Thompson's Second. In August 1946, the Mendler Quartet gave a concert in the spirit of times, with music 'from four nations': the USA (Piston, Porter), the Netherlands (Badings), France (Françaix) and Germany (Hindemith).¹⁹¹ There was also a *Wiesbadener Kulturwoche* in September 1946, organised by the new *Freier Wiesbadener Kulturbund*, opening with a performance of Ottmar Gerster's *Festliche Musik*.¹⁹² The event featured an exhibition of artists deemed *entartet* in the Third Reich (which should also be viewed in light of the fact that the 'Central Collecting Point' for looted art was in Wiesbaden),¹⁹³ and a concert by the Lenzewski Quartet of works of Debussy, Schoenberg, Bartók and Hindemith, preceded by a lecture by Heinrich Strobel.¹⁹⁴ The seriously damaged Wiesbaden theatre was run on a limited basis until it was taken over by the state of Hesse in autumn 1946, with Otto Henning as Intendant and Bulgarian Ljubomir Romansky, who had worked in Frankfurt since 1940, as music director. From this point until the end of the occupation, the theatre presented a wide range of contemporary works including three operas of Hindemith, and works of Menotti, Blacher, Honegger and Stravinsky.¹⁹⁵

New music came more slowly to the fourth major city in Hesse, Kassel, until music director Richard Kotz performed works of Hindemith, Stravinsky and the Barber *Adagio* from March to June 1946, encouraged by an article by Ernst Krause in the local newspaper.¹⁹⁶ Later, in 1947, a new *Hessische Sezession* in the city would also organise a range of solo and chamber concerts of new music, while Kotz would become increasingly adventurous.¹⁹⁷ In Bad Homburg, concert life was dominated by

¹⁹¹ HRA, 'Kammermusik der Völker', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 22 August 1946.

¹⁹² 'Kulturnachrichten', *Die Zeit*, 29 August 1946; WK, 'Auftakt der Wiesbadener Kulturwoche', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 24 September 1946.

¹⁹³ This is surveyed in detail in Tanja Bernsau, *Die Besatzer als Kuratoren? Der Central Collecting Point Wiesbaden als Drehscheibe für einen Wiederaufbau der Museumslandschaft nach 1945* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013).

¹⁹⁴ Wo, "'Entartete' Malerei des 20 Jahrhunderts'; HRA, 'Moderne Kammermusik', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 25 September 1946.

¹⁹⁵ Karl Heinz Roland, 'Nullpunkt und neuer Anfang 1945-1953', in Alexander Hildebrand, Eva Christina Vollmer and Karl Heinz Roland, *Theater in Wiesbaden 1765-1978* (Wiesbaden: Hessisches Staatstheater, 1978), pp. 98-100.

¹⁹⁶ Fritz Keller, '10. Symphoniekonzert', Ernst Krause, 'Fragen der Gegenwartsmusik'; 'Spielplan'; Fritz Keller, 'Elftes Symphoniekonzert'; F. Keller, '14. Symphoniekonzert', *Hessische Nachrichten*, 16, 20 March, 6 April and 15 June 1946.

¹⁹⁷ Gerhard Panzer, 'Wie der Phönix fliegen lernte: Beziehungen aus der Asche. Beziehungsanalysen der Kasseler Künstlergruppe "Hessische Sezession" (1946-1949)' in Panzer, Franziska Völz and Karl-Siebert Rehberg (eds.), *Beziehungsanalysen. Bildende Künste in Westdeutschland nach 1945. Akteure,*

a new *Rhein-Mainische Philharmonie*, run by a Dr. Paul Brehm for a year until his previous NSDAP and SS membership were discovered.¹⁹⁸ More significant was a landmark concert on 6 October 1945 by Lübbecke-Job with the German premieres of all three of Hindemith's piano sonatas,¹⁹⁹ rapturously reviewed.²⁰⁰

Württemberg-Baden and Bremen

Following the division of DISCC 6871 in January 1946, the T&M department for Württemberg-Baden became a six-man operation, divided into four sections. Conductor Newell Jenkins became T&M branch chief, based in Stuttgart, in which position he remained until August 1947, with William Castello as his deputy from April 1946. Rosenthal, with the conductor and critic Jerome Pastene, took control of Heidelberg, while the young playwright Charles Sherman and theatre enthusiast Gerhard Gimpertz administered Ulm and Karlsruhe respectively. In May 1946, Rosenthal returned to the US and Castello took on special responsibility for Stuttgart, while Gimpertz left the branch soon afterwards. Then Sherman was transferred to Karlsruhe, where he remained until early April 1947, and the office was combined with that in Heidelberg. Theatre and literature enthusiast and one-time pianist Michael Weyl took over the Ulm office, remaining there until the beginning of 1947, when it was closed.²⁰¹

The city in the region with the largest existing culture of new music was Stuttgart, the site of important premieres of Schreker and Hindemith in the 1920s, and the Gesellschaft zur Pflege zeitgenössische Musik from 1924 to 1932. This was first occupied by French troops on 22 April 1945, who quickly appointed lawyer Arnulf

Institutionen, Ausstellungen und Kontexte (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2015), pp. 72-3; Harald Merkel, 'Kassel regt sich', *Melos* 14/7-8 (May-June 1947), p. 224; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/9 (July 1947), p. 266.

¹⁹⁸ 'Veranstaltungen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 21 December 1945; IfZ OMGUS 5/348-1/8, 'Weekly Report of Theater and Music Section, May 31 to June 6, 1946'.

¹⁹⁹ Schäfer, 'Die Hindemiths und die Lübbeckes', p. 323; 'Kunst und Kultur in Kürze', *Neue Zeitung*, 18 October 1945.

²⁰⁰ M.B., 'Hindemith-Konzert in Bad Homburg', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 10 October 1945; equally positive were E.K., 'Sonaten von Paul Hindemith', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 27 October 1945, and more briefly 'Deutsche Kulturwochenschau', *Hessische Nachrichten*, 13 October 1945.

²⁰¹ IfZ/OMGUS 3/408-2/26, 'History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946'; GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, The first two years, undated; OMGWB, ICD, Annual Report, 9 July 1946; Bausch, *Kulturpolitik*, p. 119 (Bausch mixes up Sherman and Gimpertz in terms of their areas of responsibility at this time); Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', p. 57; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 38.

Klett as mayor.²⁰² The French occupiers wasted no time establishing their presence there, allowing concerts for combined audiences of German citizens and French troops within days (see Appendix 4d).²⁰³ Klett worked closely with Carlo Schmid, appointed as director of the *Landesverwaltung für Kultus und Unterricht* for Württemberg by the French. In June, Albert Kehm was appointed Intendant for the Staatstheater, a position he had held in the Weimar era, and conductor Willy Steffen as music director for the city.²⁰⁴ As it became clear that the French were to be made to hand over control of the city to US forces, they enlisted their own commitment to high culture as a propaganda weapon, spreading rumours that the Americans would close theatres and concert halls as a punishment for concentration camps, as noted by US officials in June.²⁰⁵ To prove them wrong, upon assumption of US control of Stuttgart at 00:00 on 8 July, a licence to perform music was given by US representatives to a municipal official at 00:01, and Schubert's *Trout* Quintet performed at 00:02. An orchestra concert was broadcast later that day, on Radio Stuttgart.²⁰⁶ Concerts then began on a regular basis at the theatre in August, then operas from October.²⁰⁷ The US also appointed Theodor Heuss in September 1945 as head of the *Kultusministerium* in Stuttgart, where he would remain until December 1946.²⁰⁸

Hans Rosbaud presented to the authorities a proposal for the organisation of Stuttgart musical life, in which he identified four key sections - theatre, concerts, the Musikhochschule, and the radio. Rosbaud wrote of 'a wonderful chance to create something absolutely new [...] a musical life from the very beginning without the slightest compromise.' This would involve stylistically-aware performance of pre-

²⁰² Otto Borst, *Stuttgart. Die Geschichte der Stadt* (Stuttgart and Aalen: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1973), pp. 433-5.

²⁰³ IfZ/OMGUS 5/267-3/4, Davidson Taylor, Chief, Film, Theater and Music Control Section, to McClure, 27 June 1945. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 36.

²⁰⁴ Christa Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur? Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik des Stuttgarter Oberbürgermeisters Arnulf Klett', in Edgar Lersch, Heinz H. Poker and Paul Sauer (eds.), *Stuttgart in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), pp. 481-2, 489; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 103; Borst, *Stuttgart*, p. 442.

²⁰⁵ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/20 Weekly Situation Report of the Film, Theater, and Music Control Section, 6871st DISCC, 30 June 1945. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 36-7.

²⁰⁶ IfZ/OMGUS 3/408-2/26, 'History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946'; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 37.

²⁰⁷ Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', p. 58; 'Dokumentation der Uraufführungen, Erstaufführungen Neuinszenierungen in Oper und Ballett (1912-1987) und Schauspiel (1912-1944)', in Wolfgang Gönnerwein (ed.), *Die Oper in Stuttgart. 75 Jahre Littmann-Bau* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1987), pp. 336-7.

²⁰⁸ Birgit Braun, *Umerziehung in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone: die Schul- und Bildungspolitik in Württemberg-Baden von 1945 bis 1949* (Münster: Lit, 2004), p. 53; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 110; Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', pp. 57-8. In Württemberg-Baden this was called the *Kult*- rather than *Kultusministerium*.

classical works on old instruments and a series of contemporary music concerts, for a limited audience (so somewhat in the manner of Schoenberg's Verein). Similarly, for the Hochschule he wished to appoint a key personality in contemporary music,²⁰⁹ probably having himself in mind. However, Kehm refused to consider Rosbaud for any type of position, arguing that he had been compromised during the Nazi era,²¹⁰ and ultimately Rosbaud went to Munich instead. Tensions continued between Kehm, who was enthusiastic about US denazification, and Klett and Heuss, who wanted to make prestigious cultural appointments. But this changed with the arrival of Newell Jenkins in January 1946. He had studied in Dresden, Freiburg and Munich (with Orff) from 1932 to 1939, then with Hindemith at Yale,²¹¹ and so was immersed in the cultural world he was now administering. As Jenkins was more sympathetic to the agendas of Heuss and others, Kehm ended up leaving his post in February,²¹² while Berlin music-critic Karl-Heinz Ruppel was appointed theatre director.²¹³ Jenkins also hoped to win the position of Intendant for Orff, and sent him to the screening centre at Bad Orb, but the verdict of 'grey-acceptable' was insufficiently high for the composer to be acceptable to intelligence officers for a senior position.²¹⁴ Various others were considered to be music director, including Herbert von Karajan, Erich Kleiber, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, and Georg Solti, but ultimately the positions of Intendant and chief conductor went to Bertil Wetzelsberger.²¹⁵

Whilst there had been some performances of new music in 1945, including several of chamber and solo works of Hindemith, Wetzelsberger organised more high-profile events, beginning with a performance of the Barber *Adagio* together with Hindemith's *Nobilissima Visione*, to great success.²¹⁶ He went on to present Barber's

²⁰⁹ GLAK/OMGUS 12/89-3/7, Hans Rosbaud, Reorganisation of the Stuttgart Music Life, undated. Steiert dates this as from June 1945 – 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', pp. 58-9.

²¹⁰ Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', pp. 58-60; Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', pp. 483-4, and especially von Haken, "'The Case of Mr Rosbaud.'", pp. 101-15.

²¹¹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, p. 190; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 38.

²¹² Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 38, 110-11.

²¹³ Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', p. 484. The writer Carl Zuckmayer, who had taken U.S. citizenship and returned to write reports for the American war ministry during a trip in late 1946 and early 1947, identified Ruppel as a 'progressive newspaper man' and 'an active opponent of the Nazis'. See Zuckmayer, *Deutschlandbericht für das Kriegsministerium der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, edited Gunther Nickel, Johanna Schrön and Hans Wagener (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004), pp. 167-8, 267.

²¹⁴ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/7. Jenkins to Evarts, 7 January 1946; Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', p. 478; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 67-8.

²¹⁵ Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', p. 484; Kurt Honolka, 'Die Ära Schäfer 1945-1972', in Gönnerwein, *Die Oper in Stuttgart*, pp. 88-91.

²¹⁶ Erwin Bareis, 'Festliches Konzert', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 24 July 1946; Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', p. 63.

First Essay for orchestra and Violin Concerto,²¹⁷ and most importantly the German premiere of Hindemith's full opera *Mathis der Maler* on 13 December 1946. In 1947 he would go on to present Stravinsky's *L'histoire* and the world premiere of Orff's *Die Bernauerin* (see Chapter 8).²¹⁸

Other developments during the first year included the founding of the *Stuttgarter Philharmoniker*, and for a short period the *Stuttgarter Kammerorchester*.²¹⁹ More significant at this stage was the re-establishment of the Musikhochschule, which both Klett and Heuss viewed as an integral part of Stuttgart's musical life, under the directorship of Hermann Keller.²²⁰ This reopened at the beginning of February 1946, with a concert of Debussy, Ravel and Reger, and the following year Johann Nepomuk David was appointed to the composition faculty.²²¹ David would go on to teach Helmut Lachenmann. Overall, the important role of the city for new music became clearer in 1947, as will be discussed in Chapter 9.

The university town of Heidelberg had a significant past history relating to new music, after Skryabin and Stravinsky had spent time in the city.²²² An early American intelligence document specified 'cultural aims' for the city, centered around the theatre, but more widely viewing culture in terms of the perpetuation of 'European thinking, Democratic-German tendencies, and absolute closeness to the problems of our time'.²²³ As detailed in Appendix 4d, concerts began in August and by December the *Städtische Musikbühne* was also presenting operas. By November, Hans Speier noted in his diary that the city was populated by bookshops, and was full of adverts for concerts, theatre performances and recitations.²²⁴

²¹⁷ Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart', p. 63.

²¹⁸ 'Dokumentation der Uraufführungen, Erstaufführungen, Neuinszenierungen in Oper und Ballett (1912-1987) und Schauspiel (1912-1944)', pp. 291-367, in Gönnenwein, *Die Oper in Stuttgart*, pp. 337-8.

²¹⁹ Ruth Renée Rief, *Die Stuttgarter Philharmoniker. Ein historisches Porträt* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 1999), pp. 61-7; Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', p. 491.

²²⁰ Mack, 'Hauptstadt der Kultur?', p. 486; Heuss to Reinhold Nägele, 17 May 1946, in Theodor Heuss, *Erzieher zur Demokratie: Briefe 1945-1949*, edited Ernst Wolfgang Becker (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2007), p. 169.

²²¹ 'Einführung in die Ausstellung', in Nicole Bickhoff (ed.), *Im Takt der Zeit – 150 Jahre Musikhochschule Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 2007), pp. 14, 24; 'Chronik der Stuttgarter Landes- und Stadtgeschichte 1912-1987', in Gönnenwein, *Die Oper in Stuttgart*, p. 260.

²²² Ludwig Finscher, 'Musik am Hof, in der Kirche und im Bürgerhaus', in Elmar Mittler (ed.), *Heidelberg. Geschichte und Gestalt* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996), p. 422.

²²³ GLAK/OMGUS 12/8-3/1. 'Intelligence Report No. 36, 6871st DISCC, APO 655, Heidelberg Detachment', 23 July 1945.

²²⁴ Hans Speier, diary entry of 16 November 1945, in Speier, *From the Ashes of Disgrace: A Journal from Germany 1945-1955* (Amherst, MA: Massachusetts University Press, 1981), pp. 34-5.

Much the most important presence in the city for new music was of course Fortner, who as mentioned in Chapter 1 had been based in Heidelberg since 1931, and would remain there until his death in 1987.²²⁵ According to his own account, after the end of the war Fortner gave a private recital for American and German friends, with works of Mozart, Schubert and Ravel. A General was very impressed and sent his wife to take music theory lessons with Fortner in exchange for food packets, and Fortner made some contacts within the regime.²²⁶ As early as 4 August 1945, Fortner's *Geistliche Abendmusik* was premiered in the Providenzkirche. This was a setting of a biblical text in the manner of a baroque model, combining an air and chorale with instrumental parts, whilst employing modern harmonic and rhythmic devices.²²⁷ An early meeting of the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Institut* for the city cited him as an important figure to help remedy neglect of contemporary music.²²⁸ He was also able to take up his teaching position at the Kirchenmusikalisches Institut when it re-opened for the winter semester of 1945-46.²²⁹

Several artistic associations were formed in the city. Richard Treiber, violinist and leader of the orchestra in Mannheim, formed a *Gesellschaft der Musik- und Kunstfreunde* in August 1945.²³⁰ Then, after some press criticism of the limitations of cultural situation in the city, the mayor Karl Bauer met with others in December 1945 to discuss the formation of a local *Kulturbund*, an umbrella organisation for other Heidelberg cultural institutions.²³¹ Because of delays caused by practical difficulties in receiving an ICD licence, in the meantime a *Freie Gruppe* of artists was formed in January 1946, including art historian Gustav Hartlaub, theatre director Fritz Henn, then in charge of the Heidelberg opera house, Fortner and violinist Bernhard Klein,

²²⁵ Matthias Roth, 'Der Komponist Wolfgang Fortner und sein "Kohlhof-Club"', in Georg Stein (ed.), *Die Insel im Wald: 300 Jahre Heidelberger Kohlhof* (Heidelberg: Palmyra, 2006), p. 132.

²²⁶ Staatsbibliothek München, Nachlass Wolfgang Fortner, Sammlung A. Fortner, 'Über die Nachkriegszeit', Heidelberg, 25 November 1977.

²²⁷ 'Musik in Heidelberg', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 5 September 1945. This was the first issue of this newly licensed local newspaper. This work is not specifically mentioned in Heinz Werner Zimmermann, 'Geistliche und Chormusik', in Heinrich Lindlar (ed.), *Wolfgang Fortner. Eine Monographie. Werkanalysen, Aufsätze, Reden, Offene Briefe 1950-1959* (Rodenkirchen: P.J. Tonger, 1960), pp. 40-54.

²²⁸ Stadtarchiv Heidelberg AA 454/47 (1945-47). G. Hartlaub. Protokoll. Undated.

²²⁹ Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof der Moderne*, p. 92. See also Roth, "'Intensiv – routinert – anregend" – Der Komponist Wolfgang Fortner als Dozent am Heidelberger KI', *Hochschule für Kirchenmusik Heidelberg: Nachrichten*, Heft 2 (October 2007), pp. 11-14.

²³⁰ Klaus Weiler, *Gerhard Taschner – das vergessene Genie. Eine Biographie*, with introduction by Ingolf Turban (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2004), pp. 93-4.

²³¹ Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945-1949* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), pp. 79-80.

amongst leading members.²³² At their launch event at the university, on 13 January, another work of Fortner's was premiered, his slightly severe, polytonal and contrapuntally strict Serenade for flute, oboe and bassoon (1945), in which the local critic clearly discerned the influence of Stravinsky.²³³ The group also presented a range of talks and exhibitions. The Kulturbund finally came into being in May, led by Hartlaub and publisher Dolf Sternberger. Whilst this had more of a literary focus, one member was artist Hans Haffenrichter, a friend of Hermann Heiß.²³⁴ He and his wife Ursula, a singer whom Heiß had accompanied, organised a performance of Heiß's works in their own house in July.²³⁵

The violinist Gerhard Taschner had led the BPO until their last concert on 4 April 1945, when he played the Beethoven Violin Concerto to Albert Speer and his staff. Immediately afterwards, with the help of Speer, he fled Berlin first for Kulmbach, Bavaria, and then went to Bayreuth, where he played several concerts after the end of the war, including some with the Sinfonieorchester. Then Taschner contacted Treibert, an old friend, who invited him to play two concerts in January 1946 for the Gesellschaft.²³⁶ Here he met Fortner, who had just finished his Violin Sonata, dedicated to Karl Freund. Fortner helped Taschner to find accommodation through a friend, wine merchant Carl Jung, in Rüdesheim am Rhein, in Hesse, around 30 km from Wiesbaden. Here Taschner met with Walter Giesecking and cellist Hoelscher, who gave concerts as a trio in February, the first of which included the premiere of Fortner's Sonata.²³⁷ They went on to play a range of other chamber concerts during the rest of the year, including works of Hindemith, Szymanowski,

²³² Ibid. pp. 80-81, 261; S.W., "Die Freie Gruppe" (Heidelberg): Moderne Musik – Bildende Kunst – Dichter-Abend. Wolfgang Fortner – Dr. Hartlaub – Ernst Glaeser', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 19 January 1946.

²³³ S.W., "Die Freie Gruppe".

²³⁴ See Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*, pp. 82-6, on the first few years' activity of the Heidelberg Kulturbund; also E.K., 'Herrschaft der Freiheit. Dolf Sternberger im Heidelberger Kulturbund', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 7 May 1946 on the opening of the organisation. Heiß had dedicated several works from the 1920s onwards to Hans Haffenrichter, and given various concerts in 1937 accompanying Ursula; Henck, *Heiß*, pp. 191-7.

²³⁵ Karl Balsler, 'Heidelberg: Kompositionsabend Hermann Heiß', *Darmstädter Echo*, 24 July 1946. At this concert were played Heiß's *Komposition E-F-D* for piano, his *Liederkreis nach Hermann Claudius*, Sonate for flute and piano (recently premiered in Bad Nauheim) and *Tagkantate* for voice, flute and piano (after texts by Karl Balsler, who reviewed the event).

²³⁶ Weiler, *Taschner*, pp. 87-9, 93-4. On Taschner's early life and career in general, see *ibid.* pp. 40-89. The programmes of Taschner's Heidelberg concerts can be found in Ursula Jung, 'Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Rüdesheimer Zeit von Februar 1946 bis August 1950', in Walter Gerstberger, *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner: vom ersten Bogenstrich gefangen* (Augsburg: B. Wissner, 1998), p. 260.

²³⁷ Weiler, *Taschner*, pp. 94-9 (including more on the Taschner-Hoelscher-Giesecking trio); Jung, 'Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner', pp. 261-2, 266-73 (including full programmes of trio concerts).

Cyril Scott and others, while Fortner decided to write his new Violin Concerto for and in collaboration with Taschner, which he did during the spring and summer of 1946.²³⁸

During that spring, the young Hans Werner Henze decided to leave Bielefeld, where he had been earning money playing the piano in military casinos and accompanying operetta songs, and doing low-paid work as pianist and conductor at the Stadttheater.²³⁹ He first enlisted the help of pianist Regina Trenkler, who had moved from Berlin to Bielefeld, to introduce him to her teacher Wladimir Horbowksi in Tübingen, with the aim of securing a recommendation for him to study with Blacher in Berlin. This involved crossing into the American Zone and then the French; Henze and Trenkler were successful with the first but not the second. After being held in detention for 8 days, they travelled to Heidelberg instead, where Trenkler had friends. Henze knew of Fortner's reputation, and that he was resident in the city. They arranged to meet, and Trenkler played Fortner some of Henze's early Hindemith-like works. Fortner agreed to accept Henze as a composition student, and he enrolled in the Kirchenmusikalisches Institut. Whilst supporting himself by giving private tuition to a Heidelberg family, Henze's daily lessons with Fortner apparently consisted primarily of traditional counterpoint, while Henze also helped with the preparation of a piano reduction of Fortner's new Violin Concerto.²⁴⁰

After Jerome Pastene took control of T&M in January 1946, he apparently befriended Henze,²⁴¹ helping the young composer gain access to other musical figures in the region. Furthermore, he signed off a registration for Fortner on 1 March, allowing him to work as a lecturer, chamber orchestra conductor and music teacher.²⁴² Two months later, Fortner completed a *Meldebogen* in Heidelberg, in which he did not hide his NSDAP membership, nor his direction of the HJ orchestra in 1936-39,

²³⁸ Weiler, *Taschner*, pp. 111-15.

²³⁹ Hans Werner Henze, *Bohemian Fifths: An Autobiography*, translated Stewart Spencer (London: Faber & Faber, 1998), pp. 54-5; Henze, 'German music in the 1940s and 1950s', in Henze, *Music and Politics: Collected Writings 1953-81*, translated Peter Labanyi (London: Faber and Faber, 1982), pp. 34-5.

²⁴⁰ Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, pp. 58-62.

²⁴¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 123. Monod does not provide a source for this information, whilst Henze makes no mention of Pastene in his autobiography, nor in 'German music in the 1940s and 1950s'; Pastene's name is also nowhere mentioned in the major biography of Henze: Jens Rosteck, *Hans Werner Henze: Rosen und Revolutionen* (Berlin: Ullstein Buchverlage, 2009).

²⁴² Staatsbibliothek München, Nachlass Wolfgang Fortner, Sammlung A. Militärregierung Deutschland, Nachrichtenkontrolle. Urkunde der Registrierung. Fortner's *Meldebogen*, completed two months later, mentions a license No. 1515 to work as an educator, and that he had been categorised as a *Mitläufer*. See GLAK 465a 59/5/5591, 'Wolfgang Fortner, Meldebogen auf Grund des Gesetzes zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus vom 5.3.1946', document dated 2 May 1946.

but pointed out that he had undertaken no other military or political service.²⁴³ In June, however, Fortner was graded Black, in which category he remained in the lists of August 1946 and March 1947. He nonetheless remained active, and would teach in the first Ferienkurse at Darmstadt in August-September 1946, the reasons for which I will consider in Chapter 7.

Otherwise, there were performances of a fair amount of modern music in Heidelberg from early 1946, including works of Debussy, Ravel, Hindemith, and a repeat performance of Fortner's *Geistliche Abendmusik*. A similar situation applied in nearby Mannheim, where Richard Laugs, who had worked as an assistant to Schnabel, and had championed work of Wilhelm Petersen and Harald Genzmer in the 1930s, was appointed Kapellmeister for the city.²⁴⁴ He was interested in American music, and in spring 1946 conducted the German Walter Piston's *The Incredible Flutist* and Samuel Barber's overture *The School for Scandal*, to the great satisfaction of Pastene.²⁴⁵

In March 1946 the critic Jürgen Petersen published an important extended article on modern music in the local *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*.²⁴⁶ Petersen had worked on Goebbels' speeches and part-celebrated the war as a 'heightened form of existence', but here portrayed the likes of Egk and Orff as outsiders, which he certainly knew better than to do, though he did present a more nuanced picture than others of the profile of foreign composers, noting that while German-Jewish composers were forbidden, the likes of Kodály, Françaix and Stravinsky continued to be played. Nonetheless, Petersen argued that much German music could learn from other traditions, and went on to list a range of composers from the US, UK and Russia. However, at the top of Petersen's list was Hindemith, and in particular his *Ludus Tonalis*, which he compared to Bach's *Das wohltempierte Klavier*. His article, and the events in Heidelberg and Mannheim, set the stage for the first post-war Schwetzingen festival in June, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

There was considerably less new music activity in the other Württemberg-Baden cities in which T&M branches had been created. In Karlsruhe (described by

²⁴³ Ibid. Fortner also pointed out his membership of the RKK from 1933/34 to 1945.

²⁴⁴ Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*, pp. 269-75; Kurt Heinz, *Richard Laugs. Der Künstler – Der Pädagoge – Der Mensch* (Self-publication, 1990), pp. 4-13.

²⁴⁵ -ler, 'Amerikanische Musik. Erstaufführung beim Mannheimer Sinfoniekonzert', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 16 March 1946; 'Kulturelles Leben: Neues aus der Musik', *Tagesspiegel*, 9 April 1946; Heinz, *Laugs*, p. 9; GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Pastene to Jenkins, 23 March 1946.

²⁴⁶ Jürgen Petersen, 'Wo steht die moderne Musik?', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 30 March 1946.

Newell Jenkins to Hindemith as ‘far and away the most Nazified city’),²⁴⁷ Otto Matzerath had been GMD since 1940, and was allowed to remain in the position.²⁴⁸ Programming was light or conservative until Matzerath programmed Robert MacBride’s *Strawberry Jam* in late March/early April 1946. It provoked mixed reaction, with some hissing and other signs of disdain.²⁴⁹ Matzerath responded with an article in the journal *Weltbild* arguing that audiences had to be prepared for new music via Bach and Mozart, which in turn provoked a furious response in *Melos*, probably by Strobel.²⁵⁰ There was also little new music in Ulm, on the Bavarian border, other than a couple of performances of Hindemith and some piano music of Debussy and Ravel brought by Monique de Bruchollerie in May 1946,²⁵¹ though this situation would change within a few years.²⁵² A report on the activities of ICD in Württemberg-Baden during the first year identified too much effort to foist American films and music on the public, which might respond better to gentler approaches, while noting the success of some events. Overall, however, programming was not viewed as significantly different from that in preceding eras, other than the re-admission of a few previously banned composers, and a few newer dramatic works by Stravinsky, Strauss and Orff.²⁵³

The other region in the US Zone was the city-state of Bremen, which American forces took over from the British in April 1945.²⁵⁴ Captain Alex Saron and a Corporal Klages ran T&M at the outset, followed an officer called Tochey from December.²⁵⁵ Lawyer Richard Ahlers was given a licence as Intendant of the

²⁴⁷ Jenkins to Hindemith, 8 March 1946, in Schubert, ‘Hindemith und Deutschland nach 1945’, p. 15.

²⁴⁸ *Karlsruhe 1945. Unter Hakenkreuz, Trikolore und Strenenbanner*. Im Auftrag der Stadt Karlsruhe verfaßt von Josef Werner (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1985), pp. 269-70; IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/20, Weekly Report of the Theater & Music Section, week ending 29 September 1945. An earlier report (Weekly Situation Report for the Film, Theater & Music Control Section, Week E, 25 August 1945) included a large section on Karlsruhe by Dubensky.

²⁴⁹ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, ‘The last two years’, undated, also quoted in Beal, ‘The Army, the Airwaves and the Avant-Garde’, p. 477; Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 121-122;

²⁵⁰ ‘Übersteigter Enthusiasmus für neue Kunst!’, *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 296.

²⁵¹ ‘Eröffnungswoche der Ulmer Volkshochschule’; ‘Ulmer Volkshochschule eröffnet’, *Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung*, 20 and 27 April 1946, the latter quoted in full in Glaser et al, *So viel Anfang war nie*, pp. 164-5; WI, ‘Konzert Professor Scheck-Seemann’; WI, ‘Klavierabend Monique de la Bruchollerie’, *Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung*, 3 April and 22 May 1946.

²⁵² Ernst Kapp, ‘Drei Jahre neue Musik in Ulm’, *Melos* 16/7-8 (July-August 1949), p. 212.

²⁵³ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, ‘History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946’.

²⁵⁴ However, from December 1945 through 1946, British rules and directives applied, and Bremen did not officially become the fourth state in the US Zone until 1 January 1947. See Adams, *From Crusade to Hazard*, pp. 59-60.

²⁵⁵ IfZ OMGUS 5/242-3/20, 6871st DISCC Detachments as of 24 October 1945; IfZ OMGUS 5/242-3/21, 6871st DISCC Detachments as of 19 December 1945.

Philharmonische Gesellschaft,²⁵⁶ and the *Bremer Philharmoniker* began rehearsals in early July 1945, first under their existing conductor Fritz Rieger (NSDAP member 8,419,679),²⁵⁷ who was then dismissed in favour of Helmut Schnackenburg, who had been dismissed as GMD in 1943 for performing banned music and having Jewish friends.²⁵⁸ Concerts began in September, then the opera house opened in October. New music was however represented most strongly in the field of chamber music, with a series of performances, primarily of Hindemith, through the course of the year.²⁵⁹ This would culminate in a special new music event in July 1946, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. Afterwards, Schnackenburg would go on to conduct around 8-10 important performances of new music per year from 1946 to 1948, including three Shostakovich symphonies, works of Hindemith, Stravinsky, Milhaud, Ibert, Delius and Copland, and in 1948 Messiaen's *Les offrandes oubliées*.²⁶⁰

Some reports from around a year into the occupation give some idea of US perceptions of musical life in their zone. One entitled 'A Report on Our Problem in Germany', published in July 1946, disdained the German system of state subsidy, claiming (in the context of theatre, though the findings would be equally applicable to music) that under such a system cultural production reflected the wishes and tastes of bureaucrats with an interest in maintaining the status quo, rather than those of the 'ordinary German'. It advocated the removal of all state controls on German theatre and music,²⁶¹ which would have brought musical life more into line with an American commercial model. This recommendation was never followed; had it been, it is very unlikely that Germany would have developed a flourishing culture for new music. Another report from Benno D. Frank the following month, reflected a view more

²⁵⁶ Klaus Blum, *Musikfreunde und Musici: Musikleben in Bremen seit der Aufklärung* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1975), pp. 541-2.

²⁵⁷ 'Aus deutschen Städten', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 3 July 1945; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 5751; Blum, *Musikfreunde*, p. 534-8.

²⁵⁸ Theodor Spitta, diary entry for 27 June 1945, in Ursula Büttner and Angelika Voß-Louis (eds), *Neuanfang auf Trümmern. Die Tagebücher des Bremer Bürgermeisters Theodor Spitta 1945-1947* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1992), pp. 171-2; IfZ OMGUS 5/242-3/20, Weekly Situation Report for the Film, Theater and Music Control Section, Week Ending 7 July 1945. On Schnackenburg's far from untarnished past history, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 998, 1337, 1624, 3518, 4914, 5156, 5226, 5439, 6250, 6995, 7228, 7243., and Blum, *Musikfreunde*, pp. 490-93, 512-14, 528-9, 540 (including some excerpts from Schnackenburg's unpublished *Tätigkeitsbericht*).

²⁵⁹ 'Veranstaltungen'; Emanuel Kretschmer, 'Uraufführung: Sonate von Hindemith'; Kretschmer, 'Uraufführungen: Werke von Drechsler'; Hedwig Rohde, 'Bremer Kulturleben'; Klaus Wagner, 'Bremer Konzerte'; 'Veranstaltungen'; Dr. Ludwig Roselius, 'Philharmonische Gesellschaft', *Weser Kurier*, 27 October, 3 and 7 November, 8 December 1945, 23 March, 1 and 11 May 1946.

²⁶⁰ Blum, *Musikfreunde und Musici*, pp. 548-9.

²⁶¹ Warkentin, *History of US Information Control*, pp. 206-23.

common amongst ICD officers, that a great and decentralised German tradition of theatre and music prior to 1933 had been reduced to propaganda, with most prominent, articulate and liberal personalities removed, and little positive response from the German public (both of which claims were certainly exaggerated). However, Frank felt very positive about the achievements of ICD, especially the fact that over 100 musical works by US composers had been performed in their zone.²⁶² Newell Jenkins noted however that ‘Mendelssohn, Mahler, Tchaikowsky and Offenbach are now done to death because they were forbidden before’, remarking wryly that when one institution presents a play or musical work, almost all others nearby do the same.²⁶³ But this lack of ‘initiative’, in Jenkins’ words, certainly did no harm in enabling the US officers to pursue their cultural agenda successfully.

The British Zone

Musical life in the British Zone tended to begin with church concerts, which did not generally require licences or MG permits, and move on to a wider range of events.²⁶⁴ The rate at which concert life began was similar to that in the US Zone, as the range of dates for first events collected in Appendices 2a and 2b demonstrates. Orchestras and opera companies were re-formed, usually first giving concerts for troops before going on to perform for the German public; soon afterwards would follow chamber, solo and Lieder recitals. In some cities (for example Bonn or Dortmund), it took longer for the orchestras to be reformed and for suitable performance premises to be found, so the overall move towards a broad and active concert life was slower.

In reports from August and September 1945, the British noted that all musical performances were being ‘greeted with great enthusiasm’ and were playing to

²⁶² IfZ OMGUS 5/348-1/15, Benno D. Frank, ‘Theater and Music in Germany’, 6 August 1946. A note attached to a further document in this file, ‘Music of American Composers forwarded to the Inter-Allied-Music Lending Library at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Germany for use by German orchestras’, 8 August 1946, also lists the following US composers as having been played in Germany up until this point: Leonard Bernstein, Elliott Carter, Howard Hanson, Charles Ives, Nicolas Nabokov, Quincy Porter and Virgil Thomson. Erwin Warkentin gives a complete list of symphonic works up to June 1946, of Barber, Bernstein, Ernest Bloch, Carter, Copland, David Diamond, Hanson, Harris, Ives, Piston, Porter, Schuman, Roger Sessions and Randall Thompson; Warkentin, *History of US Information Control*, p. 311.

²⁶³ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, OMGWB, ICD, Annual Report, 9 July 1946.

²⁶⁴ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, ‘Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2’, 19 December 1945, p. 20.

capacity houses,²⁶⁵ and by the end of the year they were pleased that most of the larger cities had active professional orchestras and a full range of concerts and recitals.²⁶⁶ These included many performances of operatic arias and extracts, much standard 19th and 20th century repertoire, re-incorporating works of Mendelssohn, Mahler, and various French and Russian composers, and not excluding composers such as Wagner and Bruckner with strong associations with the Third Reich. PR/ISC noted that the programmes ‘do not contain anything very sensational’, mentioning just a few minor new works.²⁶⁷ The authorities found it hard to promote music from the English-speaking world. One German lawyer interviewed in Hamburg, whilst full of praise for English literature, spoke dismissively of the ‘pots and pans and screeching noises called “music”’ which accompanied Anglo-Saxon democracy. He thought that ‘most of today’s Anglo-Saxon music is negro in origin’, and ‘This negro primitive music is not what the German considers as music’, particularly despising the use of German musicians in dance bands.²⁶⁸ This was hardly encouraging, though British officials continued their work, with some modest successes.

Hamburg

Hamburg was for several centuries viewed as a ‘city without culture’,²⁶⁹ and various histories of the city in the immediate post-war years make little mention in particular of its classical musical life.²⁷⁰ This view, and the consequent neglect, are not without

²⁶⁵ TNA/PRO FO 1056/518, Progress Report for August 1945; Progress Report for September 1945.

²⁶⁶ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, ‘Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2’, 19 December 1945, p. 20.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 21.

²⁶⁸ TNA/PRO FO 1056/22, ‘Subject – Current Opinions in Hamburg’, sent by Philip Balfour to Bishop, 23 February 1946. Other interviews with an electrical engineer and a printer from the city did not produce similar sentiments concerning music, however.

²⁶⁹ See Matthew Jeffries, *Hamburg: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2011), pp. ix-xiv. Jeffries traces the reputation of the city for philistinism in the 19th and 20th centuries, but nonetheless argues that it made a considerable contribution to the arts; in music through the work there of Handel, Telemann, C.P.E. Bach, Liszt, Wagner, Brahms and Mahler. However, beyond the introduction he barely mentions music until the arrival of the Beatles in the 1960s.

²⁷⁰ Rolf Italiaander, in *Anfang mit Zuversicht: Kultur in Hamburg nach dem Krieg* (Hamburg: Johannes Asmus Verlag, 1984), mainly mentions music (and then mostly light music) in the context of theatre and dance, though he does draw attention to encountering Stravinsky, Ravel, Bartók, Orff and Klebe in the latter context in the late 1940s (p. 141). There is almost no mention whatsoever of culture in Hans Dreckmann, *Hamburg nach der Kapitulation. Erinnerungen an 1945/46* (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 1970), whilst Uwe Bahnsen and Kerstin von Stürmer, *Die Stadt, die leben wollte. Hamburg und die Stunde Null* (Hamburg: Convent Verlag, 2004), reserves this to a few portraits of influential people. Marie-Agnes Dittrich, *Musikstädte der Welt: Hamburg* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990) deals extremely

some foundation, and the importance of the city for new music in the context of the British Zone is certainly not comparable with that of Cologne. Nonetheless, some of the city's wider musical developments, which are traced in detail in Appendix 4e, are worth noting briefly.

A Hans-Harder Biermann-Ratjen was appointed to run the culture department for the city by Rudolf Petersen, who had himself been appointed mayor by the British military commander, Colonel H.W.H. Armytage.²⁷¹ Biermann-Ratjen lasted until January 1946,²⁷² because of some Nazi associations, after which he was replaced by Ascan Klée Gobert.²⁷³ On the British side, a Major Lambert became Music Officer for the city by July 1945, and Jack Bornoff was appointed Music Controller for the radio station (see Chapter 4).²⁷⁴

The Philharmonic began giving sold-out concerts in July,²⁷⁵ at first under the direction of Albert Bittner, whose commitment to new music (based on his activities in Essen discussed in Chapter 1) may have outweighed questions of his NSDAP membership, and his having served as *Oberleiter* at the Hamburg Staatsoper, conducting their last concert, on 25 April 1945, i.e. just before the end of the war.²⁷⁶ A few days after the first concert, Biermann-Ratjen gave a talk on Radio Hamburg, arguing for the rejuvenation of a German humanistic tradition in the arts which he believed had been distorted by the Nazis. Berthold Lehmann was brought down from Lübeck to conduct some more orchestral concerts, as Bittner prepared to take up the

briefly with the immediate post-war period (pp. 107-109), as does Carmen Hillers and Steffen Wolf, *Klangvolle Zeiten. Musik in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Schell Musik, 2009).

²⁷¹ Dreckmann, *Hamburg*, pp. 33-42; Peter Gabrielsson, 'Zwischen Kapitulation und Senatsneubildung: die hamburgische Verwaltung in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren', in *Hamburg nach dem Ende des Dritten Reiches: politischer Neuaufbau 1945/46 bis 1949. Sechs Beiträge* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000), pp. 16-22.

²⁷² TNA/PRO FO 1014/165, 'Notice of Removal from Position as Senator', 23 November 1945; Rudolf Peterson, memo on 'Signature of Dr. Biermann-Rathjen [sic]', 3 December 1945; M.B. McPherson, Memo on 'Denazification', 21 January 1946. Whilst informed of his dismissal in November 1945, Biermann-Ratjen was asked to stay and undertake routine work pending the appointment of his successor.

²⁷³ Gabrielsson, 'Zwischen Kapitulation und Senatsneubildung', pp. 20-22; Dreckmann, *Hamburg*, pp. 42-3; Christof Brauers, *Die FDP in Hamburg 1945 bis 1953: Start als bürgerliche Linkspartei* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2007), pp. 125-6 (on Biermann-Ratjen's dismissal).

²⁷⁴ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 15, 56.

²⁷⁵ Walter Tormin, 'Hamburg nach dem Ende des Dritten Reiches: politischer Neuaufbau in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit (1945/46 bis 1949)', *Hamburg nach dem Ende des Dritten Reiches*, p. 72; Dr. W.B., 'Konzert in Hamburg'; Dr. W.B., 'Eröffnungskonzert der Philharmonie', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 27 June and 2 July 1945; Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, *Lübeck Diary* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1947), entry for 2 July 1945, p. 160.

²⁷⁶ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 467-9; Norman-Mathias Pingel, 'Bittner, Albert', in Manfred R. W. Garzmann and Wolf-Dieter Schuegraf (eds.), *Braunschweiger Stadtlexikon – Ergänzungsband* (Braunschweig: Joh. Heinr. Meyer Verlag, 1996), p. 23.

music directorship in Braunschweig (see below). However, the British authorities were especially keen to recruit Eugen Jochum, who as mentioned earlier in this chapter was likely to face imminent difficulties in Munich, though the British found him perfectly acceptable. Bornoff travelled down to meet him in Munich, and both recruited musicians from the now-disbanded Reich Bruckner Orchestra before returning to Hamburg for Jochum to take up the directorship of the Philharmonic.²⁷⁷ Jochum's return was trumpeted by an article in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, which presented him as a figure able to bring the music of foreign nations to Hamburg, as Biermann-Ratjen had urged, as well as to champion new music, and suggested that now listeners might be able to hear modern English, Russian and French composers, and the likes of Mahler, Schoenberg, Egon Wellesz and Toch, from a conductor with a clear record of commitment to new work.²⁷⁸ Another critic argued that audiences were now positively inclined towards unfamiliar music after years of suppression, and past scenes which had accompanied premieres of Schoenberg, Hindemith and others were now unthinkable.²⁷⁹

Jochum conducted Mahler's Fourth Symphony in August 1945, then Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis* soon afterwards, also touring this work in Schleswig-Holstein, followed by works of Rudolf Mengelberg, Pfitzner and then the German premiere of Hindemith's Symphony in E-flat in October.²⁸⁰ One critic found the Vaughan Williams to be 'A truly compelling fusion of medieval and modern sound-worlds', which left a 'deep, poignant impression',²⁸¹ whilst another staunchly defended Hindemith, espousing the allure of the motives, rhythms and 'sculptural' use of the instruments.²⁸² The previous month, a critic had called Hindemith an 'atonal revolutionary' who had overcome the 'sentimental subjectivity of romantic music, which had found its final fruition in Richard Strauss' and returned

²⁷⁷ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 40-41, 57; 'Konzerte in Hamburg', reproduced in Verg, *Hamburg Philharmonisch*, p. 72.

²⁷⁸ Dr. M.B., 'Die Philharmonie auf neuen Wegen', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 26 July 1945. Some similar arguments were also made in Dr. H. W.-W., 'Jochum kommt wieder', *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 21 July 1945.

²⁷⁹ Dr. W.B., 'Das Publikum unserer Konzerte', *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 11 August 1945.

²⁸⁰ Jochum's programmes with the Philharmonic during this period are listed in 'Konzertliste', in Eugen-Jochum-Gesellschaft (ed.), *Eugen Jochum* (Annweiler: Plöger, 2005), p. 229-30.

²⁸¹ Dr. W.B., 'Ein englisches Meisterwerk im XI. Sinfonie-Konzert', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 3 September 1945.

²⁸² Dr. H. W.-W., 'Hindemith im philharmonischen Konzert', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 30 October 1945. The Stross-Quartett had played his Third String Quartet earlier in the month – see Dr. H. W.-W., 'Auftakt des Stross-Quartetts', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 18 October 1945, whilst Radio Hamburg also broadcast a recording of the first Piano Sonata, played by Gerhard Gregor, on 17 October.

to ‘the pure tonality of the old-classical period of Bach and his forerunners’.²⁸³ In February 1946, Jochum conducted the *Mathis* Symphony, and in May Schnackenburg, guesting from Bremen, conducted Stravinsky’s *Dumbarton Oaks*. Critic Josef Marein called Hindemith and Stravinsky the most universal and far-sighted of contemporary composers, and noted the unanimous enthusiasm of the audiences, even linking an interest in forbidden jazz with an openness to Stravinsky, though he also saw in the latter’s work an exemplar of Goethe’s notion of architecture as ‘frozen music’.²⁸⁴

Musical life grew rapidly with many orchestral, chamber and Lieder concerts staged by August. The Staatsoper was also re-launched, after reconstruction of the badly damaged opera house, under the musical direction of Günther Rennert, with the first production (of Mozart’s *Figaro*) in January 1946. They presented Hindemith’s *Nobilissima Visione* as part of a *Kulturwoche* in the city from 16 June to 1 July 1946 (not primarily a musical event). Marein was again effusive, contrasting a neo-baroque grandeur on Hindemith’s part with other composers’ ‘romantic yearnings’. Like Dirks (mentioned earlier in this chapter), he drew parallels with the period after the Thirty Years’ War, in this context comparing Hindemith to Heinrich Schütz.²⁸⁵

North Rhine-Westphalia

Cologne, which had been almost as badly damaged as Hamburg, was to become the leading centre for new music in the British Zone, and later one of the most important in the world, though the role of the British occupiers in this was not huge. When under US control from March until June 1945 (see Appendix 4f for a full timeline), Konrad Adenauer, who had been imprisoned several times during the Third Reich,²⁸⁶ was appointed mayor of the city, a position he had previously held from 1917 until 1933, during which time he censored Bartók’s *The Miraculous Mandarin* following

²⁸³ é., ‘Bildnis der Woche. Paul Hindemith’, *Neue Hamburger Press*, 12 September 1945.

²⁸⁴ J. Marein, “‘Dumbarton Oaks’”, *Die Welt*, 17 May 1946; Josef Marein, ‘Die Weg Igor Strawinskis. Zur Hamburger Aufführung des Kammerkonzerts in Es’, *Die Zeit*, 23 May 1946.

²⁸⁵ Josef Marein, ‘Hindemith und Purcell’, *Die Zeit*, 27 June 1946; ‘Hindemith und Purcell. “Nobilissima Visione” – “Dido und Aeneas”’, *Die Welt*, 28 June 1946.

²⁸⁶ Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Konrad Adenauer: A German Politician and Statesman in a Period of War, Revolution and Reconstruction. Vol. 1: From the German Empire to the Federal Republic, 1876-1952*, translated Louise Willmot (Providence, RI, and Oxford: Berghahn, 1995) (hereafter simply *Adenauer I*), pp. 291-4.

its controversial premiere on 27 November 1926.²⁸⁷ The *Kölnischer Kurier* was published from early April, using staff from the *Kölnische Zeitung*. Herbert Eimert was allowed to remain as music critic and would become an enthusiastic propagandist for new music in the city.²⁸⁸

Adenauer demanded that concerts and theatre be re-established, as had already occurred in Berlin.²⁸⁹ Like so many others, he viewed culture as a force for salvation and for ‘the flourishing of a new life out of such ruins’,²⁹⁰ telling Stephen Spender that the Nazis had left Germany ‘a spiritual desert’.²⁹¹ On 14 June Adenauer appointed Josef Kroll, a professor of classical philology and rector of the University, to run cultural affairs for the city.²⁹² The same day, the US authorities granted Heinz Pauels a licence to re-create the city orchestra,²⁹³ which had been extensively associated with new music under Hermann Abendroth during the Weimar Era, and also during the tenure of Eugen Pabst from 1936 to 1944.²⁹⁴ They gave their first concerts for British troops in June and July, then for the German public in August. The first works of new music were the world premiere of 27-year old Paul Breuer’s *Konzertante Musik im alten Stil*, then Pauels’ own *Drei Gesänge*.²⁹⁵ In November they took up their older name of the *Städtisches Gürzenich-Orchester*.²⁹⁶

²⁸⁷ David Cooper, *Béla Bartók* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 219-20.

²⁸⁸ Robert von Zahn, ‘Kulturhunger und Sättigung. Der Wiederaufbau eines städtischen Musiklebens’, in Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (ed.), *Kunst und Kultur in Köln nach 1945* (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 1995), pp. 47-8; see also von Zahn, ‘“Als ob sich eine lang aufgestaute Musizierlust plötzlich Bahn bräche”. Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46’, in Georg Mölich and Stefan Wunsch (eds.), *Köln nach dem Krieg. Facetten der Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: Janus, 1995), pp. 223-39, for citations from various of Eimert’s articles for this publication.

²⁸⁹ As noted in a Military Government Report of 1-2 June 1945, cited in Erberhard Illner, ‘“Eröffnung demnächst”. Atmosphärisches zum Kölner Kulturleben 1945’, in Mölich and Wunsch, *Köln nach dem Krieg*, p. 167.

²⁹⁰ Verwaltungsbericht 1945, p. 51, cited in Illner, ‘Atmosphärisches zum Kölner Kulturleben 1945’, p. 167

²⁹¹ See Stephen Spender, *European Witness* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1946), pp. 50-53.

²⁹² Illner, ‘Atmosphärisches zum Kölner Kulturleben 1945’, p. 167. Kroll remained in this position until 1 April 1946, when he was succeeded by Wilhelm Steinforth (ibid. p. 170). Both Kroll and Steinforth established their office in the opera house, which Robert von Zahn points out suggests the place which they saw at the centre of cultural development. See von Zahn, ‘Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46’, p. 238.

²⁹³ On Pauels, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 5139-40; Wolfgang Seifert, *Günter Wand: So und nicht anders. Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, revised and expanded edition (Mainz: Schott, 2007), p. 142. Pauels (1908-1985) was a student of Braunfels, who had worked since 1932 at the Cologne Opera, first as a répétiteur, then assistant to the choir director, taking up this position himself from 1943 to 1944. He never joined the NSDAP.

²⁹⁴ On the Gürzenich orchestra’s engagements with new music, see Heinrich Lindlar, ‘Moderne, Zeitgenössische, Neue Musik’, in *Das Gürzenich Orchester. 75 Jahre Stadtkölnisches Orchester* (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1963), pp. 51-66.

²⁹⁵ Full programmes can be found in Angelus Seipt, ‘Hundert Spielzeiten – Eine Dokumentation aller Konzerte’ in Irmgard Scharberth (ed.), *Gürzenich-Orchester Köln 1888-1988*, with contributions from

The conductor Günter Wand (1912-2002), like Pauels, was also a composer, having studied with Philipp Jarnach.²⁹⁷ He became interested in new music whilst living in Wuppertal between 1932 and 1934, where he heard works of Berg, Stravinsky, Schreker, Hindemith and others.²⁹⁸ He conducted the Gürzenich for the first time in October 1945, then was appointed director in November, giving the remaining seven pairs of concerts. Between then and the end of 1946, he would conduct Hindemith's Violin Concerto and *Nobilissima visione*, Ravel's *Ma mère l'oye* and Piano Concerto in G, the world premiere of Bernd Alois Zimmermann's *Scherzo sinfonica*, Braunfels' *Der Tod der Kleopatra* and *Te Deum*, Honegger's Second Symphony, and works of Breuer and Hermann Schroeder, a pattern of commitment which he would maintain in subsequent seasons. Otherwise there was a small amount of new music featured in chamber, opera and choral concerts, which began in Autumn 1945.

Adenauer had persuaded Braunfels to return to the city to direct the re-establishment of the *Musikhochschule*, assisted by Jarnach and Hermann Zitzmann.²⁹⁹ However, on 6 October 1945, the military commander of the North Rhine Province, Brigadier-General Sir John Barraclough, dismissed Adenauer from his position, probably on grounds of Adenauer's lack of progress in clearing up the city, continued appointments of former Nazis, conservative eschewal of anti-fascists, and refusal to countenance the idea of collective guilt.³⁰⁰ Adenauer was replaced by CDU politician Hermann Pünder in November,³⁰¹ under whose authority the urgency of cultural rebuilding in the city appears to have diminished. Unhappy with Adenauer's dismissal and the general direction of British occupation policy, Braunfels left the city for

Konrad Adenauer, Dieter Gutknecht, Angeuls Seipt and photos from Klaus Barisch (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 1988), pp. 253-4.

²⁹⁶ Scharberth, *Gürzenich-Orchester*, pp. 89-90. During the Third Reich the city orchestra had been known as the *Orchester der Hansestadt Köln* (Seifert, *Günter Wand*, p. 147).

²⁹⁷ See Seifert, *Günter Wand*, pp. 48-9 on Wand's studies with Jarnach.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 58.

²⁹⁹ Robert von Zahn, "Erziehung durch die Musik, nicht nur zur Musik". Walter Braunfels und die Staatliche Hochschule für Musik Köln, in "Zeitlos unzeitgemäß". *Der Komponist Walter Braunfels 1882-1954*, conceived Katrin Pollems, realised and produced Erika Sonnenschein and Werner Wittersheim (Cologne: Kölner Philharmonie, 1992), p. 38.

³⁰⁰ On the circumstances surrounding Adenauer's dismissal, see Schwarz, *Adenauer I*, pp. 320-28. Adenauer's own account, including a copy of his dismissal letter from Barraclough, can be found in Konrad Adenauer, *Memoirs 1945-53*, translated Beate Ruhm von Oppen (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), pp. 31-5.

³⁰¹ 'Chronik der Jahre 1945-1947 in Köln', in Otto Dann (ed.), *Köln nach dem Nationalsozialismus. Der Beginn des gesellschaftlichen und politischen Lebens in den Jahren 1945/46* (Wuppertal, Peter Hammer Verlag, 1981), p. 250.

Überlingen, by Lake Constance in the French Zone, where he would become involved in the first new music festival since the war (see Chapter 5).³⁰² In the meantime, the rather more compromised composer Heinrich Lemacher, who had written militaristic works for prominent occasions during the Nazi era,³⁰³ took up the Musikhochschule initiative, bringing together a range of former colleagues to help with this.³⁰⁴

Progress was slow, and a new and rival institution was being established in Detmold. This was an initiative of the cellist Hans Münch-Holland, building on private teaching courses he had established in October 1945, Detmold councillor Richard Moes, and composer and teacher Wilhelm Maler, who would go on to become the director.³⁰⁵ It was envisaged that the relatively undamaged city would provide a tranquil alternative to the urban locations of most other leading Hochschulen.³⁰⁶ With the backing of various local German officials, an advisory committee was set up in January 1946, and in response to a formal proposal a provisional authorisation was granted by the British authorities in March, and following some difficulties was confirmed in August.³⁰⁷ It opened in October, originally as a *Streicherakademie* (Strings Academy), though composition was also an important factor from an early stage, with first teachers Günter Bialas, Johannes Drießler and Kurt Thomas.³⁰⁸ It would become known as the *Nordwestdeutsche Akademie*.

³⁰² Michael Custodis, 'Walter Braunfels' (2006), in Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen (eds.), *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, edited (Hamburg: University of Hamburg, 2005-), at http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001413.jsessionid=98C72BF7B59477EE2D51923B2750E603?wcmsID=0003 (accessed 1 November 2017).

³⁰³ See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 4183-5. Lemacher was however granted permission to teach at the Musikhochschule on 17 July 1946, and even given a place on the city denazification committee for culture. See Michael Custodis, 'Entnazifizierung an der Kölner Musikhochschule am Beispiel von Walter Trienes und Hermann Unger', in Riethmüller, *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik?*, p. 66.

³⁰⁴ Dietmar von Capitaine, *Conservatorium der Musik in Köln. Zur Erinnerung an die wechselhafte Geschichte einer musikpädagogischen Einrichtung der Stadt Köln*, revised edition (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2009), p. 123.

³⁰⁵ Richard Müller-Dombois, 'Die Gründung der Nordwestdeutschen Musikakademie Detmold', in *Lippische Mitteilungen* 46 (1977), pp. 5-9.

³⁰⁶ Christian Bode, Werner Becker and Claudius Habbich (eds.), *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Deutschland/Colleges of Art and Music in Germany* (Munich, London & New York: Prestel Verlag, 2001), p. 48; Wolfgang Horn, 'Wandel ohne tiefgreifende Zäsur. Musikleben nach dem Krieg', in Klaus Honnef and Hans M. Schmidt (eds.), *Aus dem Trümmern. Kunst und Kultur im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1945-1952: Neubeginn und Kontinuität* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1985), p. 476.

³⁰⁷ Müller-Dombois, 'Die Gründung', pp. 18-32.

³⁰⁸ Lina Jung, 'Die Nordwestdeutsche Musik-Akademie Detmold', in Herbert Barth (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Musikwelt* 1 (1949/50) (Bayreuth: Verlag Julius Steeger, 1949), pp. 197-8.

Braunfels, who returned to Cologne in March and threw himself back into the work on the Musikhochschule,³⁰⁹ had followed the developments in Detmold with some suspicion, but in the end the Cologne institution opened first, on 9 May 1946, with a limit of 250 students, as the British were concerned about creating too many unemployed musicians.³¹⁰ Braunfels became the first post-war President, claiming in his opening speech that it was a duty ‘to restore Mozart once more to his rightful place’³¹¹ (though later that year a letter showed that he had moved from anti-Nazism to the mentality of the early Cold War, recognising only ‘two possibilities: communism or Christianity’).³¹² Lemacher was appointed to run music seminars, Jarnach, Schroeder and Rudolf Petzold for composition, and Wand for conducting.³¹³ Braunfels also brought in Hans Mersmann as a ‘second director’ in 1947, and Mersmann would soon take on most of the actual direction of the institution, becoming sole director after Braunfels’ retirement in 1950.³¹⁴

Braunfels was ultimately something of a traditionalist, more favourably inclined towards the work of Strauss, Pfitzner or Kaminski than their more radical counterparts, though he had been impressed by the premiere of *Mathis* in Zürich in 1938.³¹⁵ Other figures led the city in a direction more hospitable towards modernism. Members of a new *Kölner Concert-Gesellschaft* in early 1946, including Eimert, Lemacher and Jarnach (and Braunfels) attempted to win support from Pünder for wider musical initiatives, but these met with a half-hearted response.³¹⁶ So Lemacher, Eimert and also Wand took their own initiative, with a special ‘Werbekonzert für die neue Musik’, in the form of a piano recital by Tiny Wirtz on 12 April.³¹⁷ She played the world premiere of *Extemporale* by Zimmermann, whose String Trio Lemacher had programmed with the former Cologne Gesellschaft in June 1944, with works of Alfons Scharrenbroich, Prokofiev, Bartók, Ottmar Schoeck, Ravel, Skryabin and

³⁰⁹ Ute Jung, *Walter Braunfels (1882-1954)* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1980), p. 302.

³¹⁰ Von Zahn, ‘Erziehung durch die Musik’, pp. 39-40; Capitaine, *Conservatorium der Musik in Köln*, pp. 123-4. Full official permission for the opening had been given on 24 April.

³¹¹ HStAD, NW 60, Nr. 720, Walter Braunfels, Lecture for the Opening of the Musikhochschule, 9 May 1946, pp. 154ff, cited in Von Zahn, ‘Erziehung durch die Musik’, p. 40.

³¹² Braunfels to Schuchter, 25 October 1946, cited in Jung, *Braunfels*, p. 302.

³¹³ Capitaine, *Conservatorium der Musik in Köln*, pp. 126-7.

³¹⁴ Michael Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik. Zum Kölner Musikleben nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), p. 35.

³¹⁵ Frithjof Haas, “‘Timelessly Unfashionable’”, translated Maroula Blades and Joerg Heinrich, at <http://www.walter-braunfels.de/wb-html/essay?lang=en> (accessed 30 October 2017).

³¹⁶ von Zahn, ‘Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46’, p. 230-31.

³¹⁷ Ibid. p. 235; Br., ‘Werbekonzert für Neue Musik’, *Kölnische Rundschau*, 16 April 1946; Robert von Zahn, ‘Geburt zweier Szenen. Neue und Alte Musik in Köln’, in *Kunst und Kultur in Köln nach 1945*, p. 81 (with Wirtz’s account of how the concert came about).

Musorgsky. A review for the *Kölnische Rundschau* was extremely positive, not least about the use of rhythm and tone-colour (not traditionally Germanic attributes) in the foreign pieces.³¹⁸

Wand had also been appointed GMD of the city for a ten-year period on 1 April, the youngest person to occupy such a role, backed by Lemacher, Eimert, Braunfels and Ken Bartlett (see Chapter 4).³¹⁹ Following this appointment, which was warmly welcomed by the *Rundschau* as a route towards internationalism and support of new music,³²⁰ he performed the premieres of Zimmermann and Braunfels mentioned earlier, alongside the German premiere of Stravinsky's *Symphony in C*, and gave Wirtz her solo debut. Lemacher, Wand and Eimert then attempted to have the Gesellschaft established on a permanent basis. They were turned down by the British, though they would succeed in March 1948, turning the society into a Cologne branch of the ISCM.³²¹ Nonetheless, a new circle of painters, writers, scholars and musicians, including Zimmermann, Wirtz and various students of Lemacher and Jarnach, came together in 1946 under the name of *Die Werkstatt*, initiated by journalist Wolfram Gerbracht. They managed to organise cheaply-priced events, some including new music or jazz, and the organisation generated its own circle.³²²

No other city in the Rhineland had quite such a vibrant or energetic commitment to new music, but there were very significant developments in Düsseldorf, the principal city in North Rhine Westphalia. Despite an extended difficult period, as the British authorities had part-requisitioned the opera house for troop entertainments, limiting the scope for public concerts (see Appendix 4f for a timeline), the new GMD Heinrich Hollreiser managed to mount multiple performances of Hindemith and Stravinsky, and, in a nod to the occupiers, Britten's *Sinfonia da Requiem* in winter 1946-47.³²³ Remaining in the position until 1951,

³¹⁸ Br., 'Werbekonzert für Neue Musik'.

³¹⁹ 'Kulturelles Leben: Musik und Kunst', *Tagesspiegel*, 18 April 1946; Seifert, *Günter Wand*, pp. 152-165; Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation*, p. 50; Scharberth, *Gürzenich-Orchester*, p. 254.

³²⁰ Be., 'Günter Wand Generalmusikdirektor', *Kölnische Rundschau*, 9 April 1946.

³²¹ Seifert, *Günter Wand*, p. 166; von Zahn, 'Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46', p. 236; Martin Thrun, 'Reaktionelles Nachwort', in *Klangraum. 40 Jahre Neue Musik in Köln 1945-1985* (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 1991), p. 352. The reasons for turning down the application remain obscure.

³²² von Zahn, 'Geburt zweier Szenen', p. 69 and 'Die Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46', pp. 237-8; Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation*, p. 49.

³²³ Dr. Paul Müller, 'Kammerorchester unter Hollreiser'; 'Hindemiths Es-dur Sinfonie. Erstaufführung in Düsseldorf', *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 9 January and 23 February 1946; Dr. P.M., 'Igor Stravinsky: "Die Geschichte vom Soldaten". Neuinszenierung im Düsseldorfer Opernhaus'; 'Sinfoniekonzert in

Hollreiser and some other guests would continue to programme a steady range of new works. Solo and chamber concerts featured lesser-known British works by Tovey, York Bowen, Bax and others, as well as early Schoenberg, Hauer, Hindemith, Fortner, and the first of a string of regular premieres by Jürg Bauer.³²⁴

Winfried Zillig also managed to find a way back into musical life. After the end of the war, he had worked for a while in Salzburg, both as a journalist and organising concerts of new music,³²⁵ but when made to leave Austria he settled in Lamponding, near Traunstein, in Bavaria.³²⁶ After a difficult period without work, and during which his child was stillborn, he applied for denazification, and was interrogated rigorously about his work in Poznań. Zillig appears to have received favourable treatment from Evarts in Munich, possibly because of his closeness to Schoenberg, whom Evarts had come to know in California, and received full clearance in early 1946 to work as a conductor and composer in the US zone.³²⁷ After planning to present a new music concert series in Munich, he was offered a position as first Kapellmeister in Düsseldorf, where he had previously worked from 1932 to 1937. He took up the position in July, and also successfully completed a new denazification in March 1947.³²⁸ Zillig had a mission to bring contemporary music to the German people, whilst recognising how deep-rooted were their conservative listening expectations.³²⁹ He would come later to play a major role in promoting Schoenberg and twelve-tone composition.

Musical programming during this period was mostly quite conservative in Duisburg under GMD Georg Jochum (though this would change by the 1947-48

Düsseldorf'; 'Kritische Umschau. Mahler und Hindemith', *Rheinische Post*, 20 March, 27 April, 8 May 1946; Oy., '4. Symphoniekonzert in Düsseldorf', *Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung*, 3 January 1946.

³²⁴ Hans Hubert Schieffer and Hermann Josef Müller, *Neue Musik in Düsseldorf seit 1945. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte und zum Musikleben der Stadt* (Cologne: Verlag Christoph Dohr, 1998), pp. 22-4, 38-9.

³²⁵ Lemmerich, *Zillig*, pp. 70-72; Zillig to Schoenberg, 21 January 1946, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=18794 (accessed 30 January 2018).

³²⁶ Lemmerich, *Zillig*, p. 160.

³²⁷ Ibid. pp. 161-2.

³²⁸ Ibid. p. 167; 'Der Düsseldorfer Spielplanentwurf', *Rheinische Post*, 20 July 1946; Phelps, 'Zwölftöniges Musik', p. 194.

³²⁹ As Zillig made clear in letters to Schoenberg of 31 December 1946 and 17 April 1947, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=18795 and http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=18796 (accessed 30 January 2018).

season),³³⁰ Dortmund, Hagen, Herford and Bonn.³³¹ Despite the new Musikakademie, Detmold appears to have been similar, though documentation of concert life is patchy, and there would be a series of *Kulturtage* in mid-1947 with a generous amount of new music by Hindemith, Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Roussel, de Falla, Malipiero and others. A *Gesellschaft für neue Musik* was founded in the autumn.³³² Bochum began similarly,³³³ though the quantity of new music increased in the 1946-47 season and then Kapellmeister Emil Peeters began a new series of *Musik unserer Zeit im Spiegel alter Meister*, contextualising new works.³³⁴ Wuppertal was mostly conservative under the continuing music directorship of Fritz Lehmann,³³⁵ though his successor

³³⁰ Horn, 'Wandel ohne tiefgreifende Zäsur', p. 475; Rose Vetter, 'Kulturpolitik in Duisburg nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', in *Duisburger Forschungen* 35 (1987), pp. 309-15; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947), p. 352; 'Orchesterkonzerte der Stadt Duisburg 1947/48', *ibid.* p. 357.

³³¹ This conclusion comes from a survey of existing literature, archival documents and newspaper reports on these cities and their cultural lives in the immediate post-war era: Stadtarchiv Dortmund StA 62, 'Verwaltungsbericht 1945-1952'; and various essays in Günther Högl (ed.), *Dortmund im Wiederaufbau 1945-1960. Eine Dokumentation des Stadtarchivs Dortmund* (Dortmund: Verlag Fr. Wilh. Ruhfus, 1985); Philharmonisches Orchester der Stadt Dortmund (ed.), *Sinfonie der Hundert-Porträt eines Orchesters* (Dortmund: Harenberg Edition, 1997); Dr. Rudolf Schroeder, 'Geschichte des Dortmunder Musikvereins', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Dortmunds und der Grafschaft Mark* Vol. LX (1963), pp. 215-79; Gustav Luntowski, Günther Högl, Thomas Schilp, and Norbert Reimann, *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund* (Dortmund: Harenberg Verlag, 1994), pp. 459-96; Rudolf Schroeder, *Das Dortmunder Konservatorium. Zur Geschichte eines Kulturinstitutes* (Dortmund: Verlag Fr. Wilh. Ruhfus, 1969), pp. 160-67; Maria Elisabeth Brockhoff, 'Musik', in Wilhelm Kohl (ed.), *Westfälische Geschichte*, Band 2. *Das 19. und das 20. Jahrhundert. Politik und Kultur* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1983), pp. 519-42; Rainer Pape, *Herford zwischen Kapitulation und Währungsreform 1945-1948* (Leopoldshöhe: heka-Verlag, 1996), pp. 51-5, 106-8, 135-43; Horn, 'Wandel ohne tiefgreifende Zäsur', pp. 475-6; Heinz-Dieter Terschüren, 'Die Geschichte des Beethoven Orchesters Bonn', in Norbert Schloßmacher (ed.), *100 Jahre Beethoven Orchester Bonn. Impressionen aus einem Jahrhundert Orchestergeschichte* (Bonn: Stadtarchiv Bonn, 2007), pp. 32-8; also surveys of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, *Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung*, *Westfälische Nachrichten*.

³³² 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 307; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/13 (November 1947), p. 394.

³³³ Gustav Seebold and Ingrid Wölk, 'Chronik der laufenden Ereignisse. Bochum 1945-1991', in Johannes Volker Wagner (ed.), *Wandel einer Stadt. Bochum seit 1945* (Hagen: Universitätsverlag Dr. N Brockmeyer, 1993), pp. 3-27; Johannes Volker Wagner (ed.), *Von Trümmerfeld ins Wirtschaftswunderland. Bochum 1945-1955. Eine Dokumentation* (Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1989), pp. 38-40, 205-14; Ursula Fries, "...für die schwerarbeitende Bevölkerung". *Kulturpolitik in Bochum 1945 bis 1960* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992).

³³⁴ 'Das Orchester der Stadt Bochum. Konzertspielzeit 1946/47', advert in *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), p. 61; Dieter Bloch, *Vom Stadtmusicus zum Philharmonischen Orchester. 550 Jahre Musik in Bochum* (Bochum: Verlag Laupenmühlen & Dierichs, 1973), p. 124.

³³⁵ Werner Wittersheim, 'Wellenbewegungen im Tal. Köpfe, Künstler, Charaktere aus 150 Jahren Orchestergeschichte', *Geschichte im Wuppertal* 21 (2012), pp. 57-8; Marianne Wick, *Besessen von Musik. Der Dirigent Fritz Lehmann* (Berlin: Stapp Verlag, 1990), pp. 60-70; Ursula Eckart-Bäcker, 'Städtisches Musikleben in der Zeit von Ende 1941 bis Ende 1945', and Ingo Schmitt, 'Zur Geschichte des Musikhochschul-Instituts Wuppertal – Informationen und Gedanken zum Wirken von Helmut Schaefer in Wuppertal', in Joachim Dorfmueller (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Wuppertal* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1981), pp. 168-81; also surveys of the *Westdeutsche Rundschau*.

from 1947, Hans Weisbach,³³⁶ introduced a proposal in 1948-49 for a series of *Konzerte mit moderner Musik*, including Stravinsky, Strauss, Hindemith, Egk, Fortner, Honegger, Bialas and others, which went ahead with mixed success at first, and was helped with educational initiatives by Fortner.³³⁷ Krefeld was conservative for two seasons, but then music of Hindemith, Ravel, Stravinsky and Shostakovich was presented by Franz-Paul Decker, leading towards the one-off *Tage moderner Musik* which would take place in May 1948 (see Chapter 8).³³⁸ On the other hand, in several small towns, including Kleve and Viersen, there was a steady stream of new music from the outset.³³⁹

In other cities, new music was pushed by new GMDs, such as Felix Raabe in Aachen in 1946-47, who performed many local and British composers,³⁴⁰ or Gustav König, who was appointed as GMD in Essen in 1943, and re-assumed the position in April 1946 after a period as a POW, and conducted Sutermeister, Strauss, Casella, Françaix and Stravinsky in his first concert in July. He then opened the 1946-47 season with works of Hindemith, Stravinsky and Françaix and programmed many other pieces of modern music for that season.³⁴¹ In Münster, Heinz Dressel remained as GMD, and organised parallel series of orchestra concerts, one with a greater amount of new and unusual music.³⁴² He was already cited in November 1945 as a key individual making Münster the ‘Kulturstadt’ of the region.³⁴³ For the 1946-47

³³⁶ ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 14/7-8 (May-June 1947), p. 230; the somewhat milder programmes for the 1948-49 season, with works of Stravinsky, Blacher (*Der Großinquisitor*), Hindemith, Bartók and Reger, are in ‘Konzertgesellschaft Wuppertal’, advert in *Melos* 15/10 (October 1948), p. 286.

³³⁷ Wittersheim, ‘Wellenbewegungen im Tal’, pp. 58-9.

³³⁸ Christoph Dohr, *Musikleben und Komponisten in Krefeld. Das 20. Jahrhundert* (Krefeld: Joh. Von Acken, Druckerei und Verlag, 1992), pp. 26-31, 111-4; ‘Chronik des geistigen Lebens’; ‘Krefelder Kulturwoche’, *Rheinische Post*, 6 and 17 April 1946; ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 307.

³³⁹ Norbert Bolin, ‘Neue Musik für Orchester nach 1945 in Nordrhein-Westfalen’, in *Zeitklänge: Zur Neuen Musik in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1946-1996* (Cologne: Studio, 1996), pp. 26-7.

³⁴⁰ Maßmann, ‘150 Jahre Aachener Musikleben’, pp. 89-90; Westdeutsche Theater- und Konzertspielpläne’, *Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung*, 30 August 1946; Joseph Eidens, ‘Musik in Aachen’, *Rheinischer Merkur*, 5 July 1947.

³⁴¹ Kerstin Schüssler, “‘Das Orchester hat sich vorzüglich eingeführt...’”. Die Geschichte der Essener Philharmoniker’, in *100 Jahre Essener Philharmoniker 1899-1999* (Essen: Druck-Team Hütte, 1999), pp. 16, 36; fm., ‘Von Strauß bis Strawinsky. Moderne Musik in Essen’; Beginn der Konzertspielzeit in Essen’; ‘Veranstaltungen’; fm., ‘Kammermusik in Essen’, *Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung*, 26 July, 6 September, 11 and 25 October 1946; ‘Konzerte der Stadt Essen 1946/47’, advert in *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), p. 59.

³⁴² Stadt Münster (ed.), “‘Theater tut not’”. *Zum kulturellen Neubeginn in Münster 1945 bis 1956* (Münster: Münstersche Zeitung, 1996), pp. 25-7, 42-3; ‘Reges kulturelles Leben in Münster Tradition’; ‘Reiches kulturelles Leben blüht trotz den Ruinen’, *Neue Westfälische Zeitung*, 29 March and 23 April 1946.

³⁴³ ‘Münster als Kulturstadt. Vorbildliche Maßnahme des Oberbürgermeisters’, *Neue Westfälische Zeitung*, 9 November 1945.

season he programmed works of Hindemith, Pfitzner, Braunfels, Pepping, Stravinsky, Elgar, Britten, Dukas, Mahler, Ravel, Respighi, and Shostakovich.³⁴⁴ In the city there was also a range of lectures on twentieth-century piano music by Franz and Ena Ludwig, and a series of lectures and performances organised by the Westfälische Schule with work of Toch, Höffer, Jarnach and Hindemith.³⁴⁵ In Bielefeld, the orchestra, under the direction of Hans Hoffmann, presented a moderate range of new music in the first year, building towards 17 contemporary works in the 1947-48 season.³⁴⁶

Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein

If the range of new music in North Rhine-Westphalia was extensive, it was considerably more patchy in the other two major states in the British Zone. Hanover was the first city in any of the four zones to mount operas (on 11 July 1945) and retained a prominence in this field.³⁴⁷ But despite a certain amount of early enthusiasm for Hindemith and articles on his work as early as August 1945,³⁴⁸ the orchestra, under Arno Grau, performed primarily mainstream repertoire in their first concerts.³⁴⁹ The British authorities appointed Franz Konwitschny, a former NSDAP and SA member who had been blacklisted by the Americans, to be GMD in late 1945, and he remained until 1949,³⁵⁰ though he was suspended a few months after his appointment, and Grau took over again, helped by Rudolf Krasselt.³⁵¹ Krasselt

³⁴⁴ 'Münsters Musikprogramm 1946/47. Die Pläne des Städtischen orchesters für die neue Spielzeit', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 17 August 1946; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), p. 188.

³⁴⁵ K., 'Vorstoß in musikalisches Neuland'; 'Mehr moderne Musik', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 5 February and 15 March 1947.

³⁴⁶ Andreas Bootz, *Kultur in Bielefeld, 1945-1960* (Bielefeld: AJZ Verlag, 1993), pp. 29-33; F., 'Sinfonie-Uraufführung', *Westfalen-Zeitung*, 26 March 1946; 'Kleiner Bielefelder Kulturspiegel. Sinfonie-Konzert: Hindemith und R. Strauß'; 'Zeitgenössische Musik', *Freie Presse*, 25 May and 1 June 1946; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 307.

³⁴⁷ Thomas Grabe, Reimar Hollmann and Klaus Mlynek, *Wege aus dem Chaos. Hannover 1945-1949* (Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag, 1985), pp. 151-2; TNA/PRO/FO 371/47602. 'Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2', 19 December 1945, p. 21.

³⁴⁸ Swyny, 'Sie waren verboten – nicht vergessen. Paul Hindemith', *Neue Hannoverscher Kurier*, 7 August 1945; Gerhard Schulz, 'Neuer Hindemith. Deutsche Erstaufführung in Pymont', *Neue Hannoverscher Kurier*, 5 October 1945.

³⁴⁹ 'Konzert – und Opernbesuch wieder erlaubt', *Neue Hannoverscher Kurier*, 10 July 1945, and various subsequent listings in the newspaper.

³⁵⁰ -s. 'Konwitschny dirigiert im Rundfunk', *Neue Hannoverscher Kurier*, 16 November 1945; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 57; Priebert, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 3881-3. Thacker mistakenly refers to him as 'Hans' Konwitschny.

³⁵¹ Rebecca Grotjahn, 'Das Städtische Orchester 1921 bis 1956', in *Das Niedersächsische Staatsorchester Hannover 1636 bis 1986* (Hanover: Schlütersche, 1986), pp. 153-5.

conducted the *Mathis* Symphony in October 1946, while the 1946-47 opera season included works of Braunfels, Stravinsky and Blacher.³⁵² The *Kammermusik-Gemeinde* in the city played a more significant amount of new music than the orchestra or the opera, with a range of presentations of Hindemith, Bartók, Françaix, Malipiero and others in 1945-46.³⁵³ There would be a *Gesellschaft für neue Musik* formed in late 1947 under the direction of Hans Mersmann.³⁵⁴

More significant was the city of Braunschweig, where Albert Bittner was appointed GMD and Jost Dahmen Intendant of the Stadttheater.³⁵⁵ A full timeline can be found in Appendix 4g; Bittner and Dahmen programmed Wolf-Ferrari's opera *Il segreto di Susanna* in October 1945, and in February 1946 (by which time Dahmen had been dismissed and replaced by Heinrich Voigt),³⁵⁶ Bittner conducted staged performances of Vaughan Williams' *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains* and Stravinsky's *L'histoire*. Werner Oehlmann (a long-term writer for the Nazi paper *Das Reich* who wrote approvingly of ghettoisation of Jews in Poland),³⁵⁷ took over the direction of the *Städtische Musikschule*,³⁵⁸ and also wrote for the *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, giving plenty of attention to new music. He was effusive about the Vaughan Williams/Stravinsky coupling, portraying the post-impressionist and celestial English composer as the antipode of the percussive and grotesque Russian.³⁵⁹

There was also a *Braunschweiger Kulturverein* was formed in May 1946, and a full *Braunschweiger Kulturwoche* took place from 26 May until 2 June. The latter

³⁵² Ibid. p. 153; 'Veranstaltungen'; Werner Oehlmann, 'Begegnung mit Hindemith'; 'Veranstaltungen'; Klaus Wagner, 'Moderne Musik', *Hannoversche Neuste Nachrichten*, 5 and 16 October, 30 November, and 7 December 1946; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 425

³⁵³ Heinrich Sievers, *Kammermusik in Hannover. Historisches, Gegenwärtiges – Kritiken, Meinungen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Wirkens der Hannoverschen Kammermusik-Gemeinde 1929-1979* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), p. 140; Gerhard Schulz-Rehden, 'Moderne Musik. Konzert der Kammermusik-Gemeinde', *Neue Hannoversche Kurier*, 8 February 1946.

³⁵⁴ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 425.

³⁵⁵ 'Stadtchronik Braunschweig. Einträge für das Jahr 1945', Seite 3, at http://www.braunschweig.de/kultur_tourismus/stadtportraet/geschichte/stadtchronik.html?id4=1945&seite=3 (accessed 1 November 2017); Ferdinand Kösters, *Als Orpheus wieder sang... Der Wiederbeginn des Opernlebens in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Münster: Edition Octopus, 2009), p. 403. Bittner's taking up of the position in Braunschweig was announced in the Düsseldorf-based *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 29 August 1945 ('Musik').

³⁵⁶ 'Staatstheater Braunschweig unter neuer Leitung', *Neue Hannoversche Kurier*, 5 March 1946.

³⁵⁷ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 5002-4, in particular the citation of 'Verwandelter Osten. Reise im Generalgouvernement', *Das Reich*, 2 November 1941.

³⁵⁸ 'Stadtchronik Braunschweig. Einträge für das Jahr 1945', Seite 4, at http://www.braunschweig.de/kultur_tourismus/stadtportraet/geschichte/stadtchronik.html?id4=1945&seite=4 (accessed 27 January 2018).

³⁵⁹ Werner Oehlmann, 'Modernes Musiktheater. Vaughan Williams und Igor Strawinski', *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 27 February 1946. Oehlmann's subtitle was 'From Heaven down through the World to Hell' ('Von Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle'). Werner Schumann, 'Musik in Braunschweig. Williams und Strawinski', *Neue Hannoversche Kurier*, 15 March 1946, presented a similar view.

event was centred around the theatre, with a modest range of new music, and also the exhibition *Befreite Kunst* which had previously been seen in Darmstadt and Celle.³⁶⁰ This was preceded by a special presentation of the ubiquitous Wolfgang Fortner, whose *Serenade*, *Violin Sonata* and *Fragment Maria* were performed, and who gave a talk suggesting that a lack of ‘cultural curiosity’ amongst German audiences needed to be overcome by regular new music performances.³⁶¹ Oehlmann also spoke about new music during the Kulturwoche, arguing that after ‘impressionism, expressionism, atonal music, classicism and objectivism’, the language of today embodied ‘new simplicity’ (using the term *Neue Einfachheit* two-and-a-half decades before it would become current) and ‘inwardness’ (*Innerlichkeit*).³⁶²

The city also hosted Eduard Erdmann’s new music recital series (see Chapter 5), and in the 1946-47 season Bittner conducted Hindemith, Mahler, Pepping, Holst, Busoni, Ravel and Prokofiev,³⁶³ while the theatre presented Orff’s *Orpheus* and *Die Kluge*.³⁶⁴ This and what followed laid the ground for the important *Festliche Tage für Neue Kammermusik* in the city, which ran from 1949 (see Chapter 8).

But the culture for new music elsewhere in Lower Saxony was limited. The only new works played in the first year in Osnabrück were token pieces of Elgar and Delius and one Hindemith Violin Sonata,³⁶⁵ though Bruno Hegmann programmed more with the orchestra in 1946, and a regular range of new works were presented in the 1947-48 season.³⁶⁶ There appear to have been few significant performances of new music in early post-war Hildesheim and Lüneburg,³⁶⁷ though there were a few

³⁶⁰ ‘Kulturwoche der Stadt Braunschweig’, *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 14 May 1946; ‘Befreite Kunst’; Ernst Meyer-Hermann, ‘Musik in Celle’, *Neue Hannoversche Kurier*, 26 February, 8 March 1946.

³⁶¹ Oe. [Oehlmann], ‘Wolfgang Fortner’, *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 1 June 1946.

³⁶² ‘Die Kulturwoche in Braunschweig. Vortragsreihe der Volkshochschule’, *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 1 June 1946.

³⁶³ Advert for ‘Staatstheater Braunschweig. 10 Sinfoniekonzerte des Staatstheater-Orchester (September 1946 bis Mai 1947)’, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), p. 28.

³⁶⁴ Oe., ‘Ursprung und Gegenwart. “Orpheus” und “Die Kluge” im Staatstheater’, *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 8 November 1946.

³⁶⁵ Wido Spratte, *Zwischen Trümmern... Osnabrück in den Jahren 1945 bis 1948* (Osnabrück: H. Th. Wenner, 1990), pp. 107-17; Karl Kühling, *Theater in Osnabrück. Im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Osnabrück: [n.p.], 1959), pp. 87-95; ‘Das 9. Sinfoniekonzert’; ‘Kulturelles’; ‘Deutsche Kulturtage in Osnabrück’, *Osnabrücker Rundschau*, 3 and 24 May and 12 July 1945; various other articles and listings in *Osnabrücker Rundschau* and *Neues Tageblatt*.

³⁶⁶ Klaus Laßmann,*alles mit Orchester! Konzerte in Osnabrück 1767-2003* (Osnabrück: Musikverein Osnabrück, 2003), pp. 381-9; ‘Konzerte 1947/48 Osnabrück’, advert in *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947), p. 359.

³⁶⁷ Manfred Overesch et al, *Renaissance einer Kulturstadt. Hildesheim nach dem 2. Weltkrieg* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1998), pp. 217-20, 258-65; Ute Horstmann, *theater theater. 75 Jahre Stadttheater Hildesheim. Eine Dokumentation* (Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1984), pp. 81-7; Hans-Martin Koch, ‘70 Jahre Theater Lüneburg’, *Landeszeitung*, 29 September 2016,

more in Oldenburg, which had a very active musical life from soon after the war.³⁶⁸ Musical life in the university town of Göttingen was centred at first around standard and baroque repertoire rather than new music, though this changed after the appointment of Fritz Lehmann as GMD in August 1946.³⁶⁹ Bad Pyrmont, which had been such an important centre for new music during the Weimar and Nazi eras, had become mainly a nexus for visiting orchestras (some of whom played new music) keen to use the undamaged concert hall,³⁷⁰ though things changed with the forming of the *Nordwestdeutsche Philharmonie* in autumn 1946.³⁷¹

The situation was even starker in the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein. Lübeck was traditionally conservative from 1945 until 1948,³⁷² when Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, formerly conductor in Baden-Baden, became GMD.³⁷³ Flensburg, the site of Hitler's anointed successor Karl Dönitz's beleaguered government for a

at <https://www.landeszeitung.de/blog/kultur-lokales/365223-70-jahre-theater-lueneburg> (accessed 7 November 2017); various articles and listings in the *Lüneburger Landeszeiten*.

³⁶⁸ Hans Fritsch, *Zeuge der Kapitulation und des kulturellen Neubeginns im Oldenburger Land 1945-1948. Aus den Tagebüchern eines Nachrichtenoffiziers und Konzertagenten* (Oldenburg: Heinz Holzberg Verlag, 1987), pp. 37-85; Christoph Schwandt, 'Vom ersten "Freischütz" zu "Itzo-Hux". Musiktheater in Oldenburg von der Operngründung bis heute'; Ernst Hinrichs, 'Von der Hofkapelle zum Staatsorchester. 150 Jahre Konzertleben in Oldenburg' in Heinrich Schmidt (ed.), *Hoftheater – Landestheater – Staatstheater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des oldenburgischen Theaters 1833-1983* (Oldenburg: Heinz Holzberg Verlag, 1983), pp. 324-9, 360-64; articles and listings in the *Neues Oldenburger Tagblatt* and *Nordwest-Zeitung*. The latter paper also draws attention to some new music performed in nearby Wilhelmshaven in the 1946-47 season.

³⁶⁹ Jürgen Gidiom, 'Kulturelles Leben in Göttingen' in Rudolf von Thadden, Günter J. Trittel, with Marc-Dietrich Ohse (eds.), *Göttingen. Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt. Band 3: Von der preußischen Mittelstadt zur südniedersächsischen Großstadt 1866-1989* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 565-89; Maneja Yazdani, 'Theater und Kultur in Göttingen in den Nachkriegsjahren 1945-1955', in Maren Büttner and Sabine Horn (eds.), *Alltagsleben nach 1945. Die Nachkriegszeit am Beispiel der Stadt Göttingen* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2010), pp. 262-5; *Göttingen 1945. Kriegsende und Neubeginn. Texte und Materialien zur Ausstellung im Städtischen Museum 31. März – 28. July 1985* (Göttingen: Stadt Göttingen, 1985), pp. 222-34; Burkhard Egdorf, *Von der Stadtkapelle zum Göttinger Symphonie-Orchester*, edited Michael Schäfer (Göttingen: Göttinger Symphonie-Orchester, 1987), pp. 95-9, 101-3; Wick, *Besessen von Musik*, pp. 61-78; Dr. Wolfgang Hallwachs, 'Kulturelles Leben in Göttingen', *Hessische Nachrichten*, 10 November 1945; various early post-war issues of the *Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung*.

³⁷⁰ Dieter Alfter and Wolfgang Warnecke, *Bad Pyrmont in den Fünfziger- und Sechzigerjahren* (Erfurt: Sutton Verlag, 2014), p. 25.

³⁷¹ Titus Malms, 'Wie Pyrmont Sitz bedeutender Orchester wurde', *Dewezet*, 28 September 2016, at https://www.dewezet.de/hintergrund/hintergrund-seite_artikel.-wie-pyrmont-sitz-bedeutender-orchester-wurde-arid.834968.html (accessed 7 November 2017).

³⁷² Klaus Matthias, 'Musikgeschichte Lübecks im 20. Jahrhundert. Kirchenmusik und Konzertwesen', in Arnfried Edler and Heinrich W. Schwab (eds.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck* (Kassel et al: Bärenreiter, 1989), pp. 195-6; 'Aufgeführte Werke', *ibid.* pp. 220-1; Gerhard Meyer, 'Lübeck im Jahre 1945. Ein Überblick', in Meyer (ed.), *Lübeck 1945* (Lübeck: Verlag Schmidt-Römhild, 1986), pp. 113-4; Johann Hennings and Wilhelm Stahl, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, Volume 1 (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1951), p. 237; and see in particular the various entries on musical life in the city from immediately after the war's end in Dickens, *Lübeck Diary*, pp. 142-3, 154-5, 192, 200-1, 221, 237-8, 253-4, 269-73 (with detailed observations of GMD Berthold Lehmann), 275-6, 288, 290, 292, 297, 299-300, 302-3, 305-6, 310, 319, 331

³⁷³ Matthias, 'Musikgeschichte Lübecks', pp. 196-9; 'Aufgeführte Werke', pp. 221-3.

few weeks after the war, was equally mainstream.³⁷⁴ Things were a little different in the state capital of Kiel in the second season (1946-47), after conductor Paul Belker announced, at a press conference, a commitment to modern and international music, with many planned performances.³⁷⁵ However, after a mixed public reception to Hindemith's *Mathis* Symphony, various modern pieces were cancelled,³⁷⁶ though there would be a well-reviewed week of new music in June 1947.

It was individuals such as Jochum, Wand, Lemacher, Eimert, Hollreiser, König, Dressel and Bittner who made new music happen in the British Zone, though there is little sign that many of them, except perhaps Jochum, were specifically appointed by the British for this reason. However, a fair amount of British music was programmed by those keen to win or maintain favour with the occupiers, and various articles drew attention to the links between British and German traditions. One such in the *Neue Hamburger Presse* in October 1945 compared British composers' use of older formal models with German modernism, suggesting that the British did so more often.³⁷⁷ Another, in *Die Zeit* argued for the primacy of melody and choral singing in English traditions, stressed the influence of 16th and 17th century English music upon German composers, and the hospitality of England to Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Mendelssohn. Then in the late 19th century, the article argued, England created a new profile of its own through the work of Delius (noted to be of German descent), Elgar or Vaughan Williams (working within a symphonic tradition). The highest praise was for Britten, 'a younger, admittedly more moderate brother of our Hindemith', presented as embodying a break with the earlier figures, with Walton, Ireland, Bax, Warlock and Tippett represented as being somewhere in between.³⁷⁸ Jack Bornoff (see Chapter 4) published an article in music in Germany in the British periodical *Tempo* in March 1946, celebrating the range of work which could be performed again, including that of Jewish composers, various other Europeans, and British figures, the performances of whose works were listed in detail.³⁷⁹ Bornoff

³⁷⁴ 'Neuerweckte Musikkultur', *Neue Westfälische Zeitung*, 8 February 1946; various reviews and listings in the *Flensburger Tageblatt*.

³⁷⁵ W.W., 'Die Städtischen Symphonie-Konzerte', *Kieler Nachrichten*, 21 September 1946.

³⁷⁶ Dr. Hellmuth Steger, 'Arbeitswoche "Neue Musik"', *Kieler Nachrichten*, 28 June 1946; Torsten Prawitt, *Kieler Kulturleben in der Trümmerzeit 1945-1948* (Kiel: Gesellschaft für Kieler Stadtgeschichte, 1986), pp. 36-8. See *ibid.* pp. 21-4, 35-7, 39-41 on earlier programming.

³⁷⁷ A.M., 'Englands Beitrag zur Musik. Die Entwicklung von den Bardensängern bis zur Jetztzeit', *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 13 October 1945.

³⁷⁸ 'Musik in England', *Die Zeit*, 28 February 1946.

³⁷⁹ J. Bornoff, 'Music in Germany', *Tempo*, No. 14 (March 1946), pp. 13-14.

appeared to view this as a success; its lasting effect is debatable, and is probably most marked in the sustained reputation of Britten as an opera composer, whose works were programmed in many German opera houses long after the occupation. British occupation had a modest effect upon musical life, but had never really set out to achieve much more than that.

The French Zone

Musical life began relatively early in cities which would come to be in the French zone of Germany, with concerts beginning in Tübingen, Konstanz, Trossingen and Freiburg before zonal boundaries had been finalised. Following the Postdam Conference, musical life was also re-started in Mainz, Baden-Baden and Saarbrücken in August and various other cities in the autumn. A full list of dates is given in Appendix 2c. In general, the French authorities were quickest and most pro-active in promoting their own music and organising guest appearances by French musicians. New music was overwhelmingly concentrated in seven locations – Baden-Baden, Freiburg, Donaueschingen, Konstanz, Überlingen, Trossingen and Tübingen. The events in Überlingen, Donaueschingen and Trossingen (and the most significant ones in Konstanz and Tübingen) will be considered in Chapter 5.

At the centre of the zone was the relatively lightly damaged spa town of Baden-Baden, where the formal occupation began on 12 April, when French troops set up headquarters in the Hotel *Terminus*. Lieutenant-Colonel François Moutenet was appointed military governor two days later, and Ludwig Schmitt was made mayor.³⁸⁰ However, the early period was far from stable: Schmitt was dismissed just a month later and replaced by a city lawyer, Walter Beck, who himself ultimately resigned in January after facing much public criticism, to be replaced by Eddy Schacht.³⁸¹ As mentioned in Chapter 3, thousands of French people moved into the city, leading to severe housing and food shortages, alleviated in part by an order of August requiring anyone who had arrived since 1 September 1939, or who was an NSDAP member, to leave.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Kurt Hochstuhl, 'Baden-Baden – französische Stadt an der Oos', in Karl Moersch and Reinhold Weber (eds.), *Die Zeit nach dem Krieg: Städte im Wiederaufbau* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2008), pp. 37-9.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 42-3, 49.

³⁸² *Dokumente Baden-Baden*, pp. 10-11.

A new *Kultur-Rat* was founded by writer and musicologist Heinrich Berl in the summer of 1945 with the backing of French authorities, and used similar rhetoric to the Berlin *Kulturbund*.³⁸³ Among its members were conductor Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who had conducted the town orchestra since 1937, and another in the occupied Polish city of Bydgoszcz from 1940.³⁸⁴ Lessing and Karl Assmus conducted many early concerts with a re-assembled town orchestra from August onwards.³⁸⁵ Somewhat ironically, Lessing had also been the first German to conduct in occupied France (with the Baden-Baden orchestra), giving a highly publicised concert in Strasbourg soon after the take-over.³⁸⁶ The new orchestra played standard repertoire with only odd works of new music (see Appendix 4h). However, it would morph into the radio orchestra, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Freiburg-im-Breisgau had been a centre for international new music in the Weimar era, but this had changed drastically under GMD Franz Konwitschny (see above in the context of Hanover),³⁸⁷ and while his successor Bruno Vondenhoff had restored a certain internationalism, he was unable to protect himself against Nazi machinations, being married to a ‘half-Jew’.³⁸⁸ The French occupied the city on 21 April 1945, and despite the destruction of most of the important cultural buildings by bombing in November 1944, regeneration was underway.³⁸⁹ Maurice Jardot controlled the local *Service des Beaux-Arts*, which organised most events, and the first concert took place at the end of July 1945, directed by Vondenhoff.³⁹⁰ By mid-September there were regular concerts (more details and sources can be found in

³⁸³ Ibid. pp. 16-17; Achim Reimer, *Stadt zwischen zwei Demokratien. Baden-Baden von 1930 bis 1950* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2005), pp. 274-5.

³⁸⁴ Rudolf Vierhaus (ed.), *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie. Kraatz – Menge*, second edition (Munich, K.G. Saur Verlag, 2006), p. 386; ‘100 Jahre deutsches Musikleben’, *Die Musik* 32/7 (April 1940), p. 252.

³⁸⁵ Klaus Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt. Der Kurort im alten und neuen Glanz* (Bonn: Keil Verlag, 1985), p. 224; Hochstuhl, ‘Baden-Baden’, p. 44.

³⁸⁶ Hans Meseke, ‘Das Kur- und Sinfonie-Orchester Baden-Baden als erstes deutsches Orchester im deutschen Elsaß’, *Die Musik-Woche* 36 (7 September 1940).

³⁸⁷ Hans Schadek, ‘Kulturelles Leben in Freiburg’, in Heiko Haumann and Schadek (eds.), *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg. Band 3. Von der badischen Herrschaft bis zur Gegenwart*, second edition (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2001), pp. 666-7; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 229-33, 3881-3 (on Balzer and Konwitschny); Thomas Salb, *Trutzbürg Deutschen Geistes. Der Stadttheater Freiburg in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Romanch Verlag, 1993), pp. 332-50.

³⁸⁸ Schadek, ‘Kulturelles Leben in Freiburg’, pp. 667-8; Salb, *Der Stadttheater Freiburg*, pp. 166-71.

³⁸⁹ Walter Vetter, ‘Die Situation’, in Vetter (ed.), *Freiburg in Trümmern 1944-1952* (Freiburg: Verlag Rombach, 1982), pp. 9-17. This book includes a very wide range of pictures and text giving a clear idea of the extent of the devastation and rebuilding of the city, including the theatre, pp. 132-3, 157.

³⁹⁰ Bernd Boll, ‘Kontinuität und Neubeginn. Kultur in Freiburg 1945-1952’, in Ulrich P. Ecker (ed.), *Freiburg 1944-1994. Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Stadt Freiburg i. Br., 1996), p. 181; C.H.H., ‘Reges Kulturelles Leben in Freiburg’, *Südkurier*, 13 November 1945.

Appendix 4h). Wilhelm Schleuning, GMD from 1944, at first had his contract terminated, but after Vondenhoff departed for Frankfurt was able to resume his position.³⁹¹ He programmed music of Jean Rivier, Ravel and Françaix in his fourth concert, to the delight of local critic Hanns Reich.³⁹² The military government organised concerts with Freiburg musicians playing Françaix, Duparc, Fauré and Hahn, and recitals by various French musicians, including pianist Jean-Charles Richard, the Calvet Quartet, pianists Samson François and Monique de Brouchollerie, and cellist André Navarra.³⁹³ As elsewhere, the local press also lauded the work of Hindemith as the major representative of modern German music.³⁹⁴

But the most important legacy of the first year was the establishment of a new *Hochschule für Musik*, an initiative of the city administration and the French military authorities, acting on advice from musicologist Wilibald Gurlitt. Gurlitt was a leading exponent of historical instruments, and previously had been a professor at the university, but was dismissed in 1937 for ‘non-Aryan sympathies’ (his wife was Jewish).³⁹⁵ Instantly reinstated on 8 May,³⁹⁶ Gurlitt also supported some plans of his former student, flautist Gustav Scheck, who was also deeply involved with early music,³⁹⁷ and favoured by the French authorities, enabling him to tour around multiple cities from autumn 1945.³⁹⁸ He would be involved in the events in Überlingen and Konstanz to be discussed in Chapter 5. There had been a Musikschule in existence since 1930, run by Adolph Weismann and musicologist Erich Doflein, which Gurlitt

³⁹¹ Schadek, ‘Kulturelles Leben in Freiburg’, p. 662; Salb, *Der Stadttheater Freiburg*, pp. 171-2.

³⁹² Hanns Reich, ‘Viertes Sinfoniekonzert des Städt. Orchesters unter Generalmusikdirektor Wilhelm Schleuning’, *Badische Zeitung*, 1 February 1946

³⁹³ Hanns Reich, ‘Frieburg i. Br. Meldet:’, *Melos* 14/4 (February 1947), p. 122.

³⁹⁴ Cited in Boll, ‘Kontinuität und Neubeginn’, p. 190.

³⁹⁵ Eckhard John, ‘Der Mythos vom Deutschen in der deutschen Musik: Musikwissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus’, in John, Bernd Martin, Marc Mück and Hugo Ott (eds.), *Die Freiburger Universität in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Freiburg and Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz, 1991), pp. 163-9; Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, p. 103-4. Gurlitt’s replacement at the university was Joseph Müller-Blattau.

³⁹⁶ Ursula Huggle, ‘Die Freiburger Musikhochschule und ihre Vorläufer’, *Schau-ins-Land* 121 (2002), p. 230.

³⁹⁷ Boll, ‘Kontinuität und Neubeginn’, p. 189; John, ‘Der Mythos vom Deutschen’, p. 178; Dieter Gutknecht, ‘Musikwissenschaft und Aufführungspraxis’, in Harmut Krönes (ed.), *Alte Musik und Musikpädagogik* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 219-20. For more on Gurlitt, see *ibid.* pp. 163-9. Scheck’s own account of the opening of the Hochschule is published as Gustav Scheck, ‘Präludien’, in *Staatliche Musikhochschule Freiburg im Breisgau. Festschrift zur Einweihung des Neubaus 1984* (Freiburg: Promo Verlag, 1984), pp. 6-19, though his claims of Nazi persecution are challenged in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 6058.

³⁹⁸ Huggle, ‘Die Freiburger Musikhochschule’, pp. 237-8.

had at first tried to resurrect.³⁹⁹ Scheck's idea was for a summer academy in the small Bodensee town of Meersburg, with sections for historical performance, classical and romantic chamber music and contemporary music.⁴⁰⁰ He put the plan to Koenig, who was very enthusiastic and positive, but was unsuccessful in securing funding. However, Gurlitt managed to persuade the mayor of Freiburg, Wolfgang Hoffmann, to support a full new Musikhochschule.⁴⁰¹ It opened on 2 May 1946, with financial support from both the municipal authorities and the state, and official authorisation from French military commander Lieutenant-Colonel Monteux.⁴⁰² Scheck became the first director, and the faculty included Carl Seemann and Edith Picht Axenfeld for piano, Margarete von Winterfehdt for voice, and Ulrich Grehling and Georg Kulenkampff for violin, most of whom had a good reputation for new music.⁴⁰³ On the composition faculty was Harald Genzmer (see below under Tübingen), who was soon made co-director and first Professor of Composition. The institution was referred to as a 'Bauhaus of Music', and the commitment to new music⁴⁰⁴ (and early music) has continued from its adoption as a state institution (*Staatliche Hochschule für Musik*) to the present day (with later teachers including Fortner, from 1957, and also Klaus Huber, Brian Ferneyhough and Mathias Spahlinger). Dieter Schnebel and Heinz-Klaus Metzger, two figures to become of great importance in the German new music world of the 1950s and 1960s, both studied there from 1949 to 1952.⁴⁰⁵

Cultural activities were also started early after the war in the city of Konstanz, on the Swiss border. The governance did not settle down until the arrival of Resistance fighter and Communist Party member Marcel Degliame, sent from Paris in November 1945 to be commander for the city.⁴⁰⁶ The French civilian Georges Ferber

³⁹⁹ Harald Heckmann, 'Freiburg im Breisgau', in *MGGI*, Bd. 4, p. 877; Huggle, 'Die Freiburger Musikhochschule', pp. 209-31.

⁴⁰⁰ Schenk, 'Präludien', pp. 6, 8.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid. pp. 8-14.

⁴⁰² Ibid. pp. 12, 15-6; Huggle, 'Die Freiburger Musikhochschule', p. 232, 234-6.

⁴⁰³ Wölfarth, 'Freiburgs Musikhochschule', p. 22; Schenk, 'Präludien', p. 12; Norbert Bolin, 'Musikhochschulen in Baden-Württemberg', in Norbert Bolin and Andreas Bomba (eds.), *Musikland Baden-Württemberg* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2006), pp. 104-5; 'Kulturelles Leben: Hochschulnachrichten', *Tagesspiegel*, 11 May 1946; Stanisław Dybowski, 'Edith Picht-Axenfeld', at <http://en.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/detail/name/axenfeld/cat/3/id/2836> (accessed 28 January 2018). Picht-Axenfeld joined the faculty in 1947.

⁴⁰⁴ As argued in 'Kunst, die nicht verdirbt. Deutschlands modernste Musikhochschule in Freiburg', *Illustrierten Funkwelt*, 23 November 1949, reproduced in Wölfarth, 'Freiburgs Musikhochschule', p. 25. This article accompanied a broadcast about the institution on SWF.

⁴⁰⁵ Paul Attinello, 'Schnebel, Dieter (Wolfgang)'; and Hanspeter Krellmann, 'Metzger, Heinz-Klaus', at *Grove Online*.

⁴⁰⁶ Georges Ferber, 'Ernstes und Heiteres aus ungemütlicher Zeit 1945 – Wie es von der anderen Seite aussa', in Helmut Maurer (ed.), *Die Grenzstadt Konstanz 1945* (Konstanz: Verlag des Südkurier,

became cultural and information officer, and played a major role in facilitating Konstanz's cultural life.⁴⁰⁷ A timeline is given in Appendix 4h; there was not much contemporary music played in the year before the *Kunstwochen* (see Chapter 5), just a few concerts with works of Skryabin, Pepping, and several events featuring French composers such as Fauré, Debussy and Ravel.

In the primarily agricultural region of Württemberg-Hohenzollern, the university town of Tübingen was the only moderately large urban area, and so became the administrative capital. Around 5000 French soldiers and civilians were moved there after the US had taken control of Stuttgart.⁴⁰⁸ They brought French artists and musicians as early as September 1945, including violinist Miguel Candela and pianist Jeanne Marie Darré.⁴⁰⁹ Musical activities, many at first centred on the university, were gradually built through the course of 1945, culminating in the first large-scale symphony concert with the Staatstheater orchestra on 13 February 1946, from which point the number of performances was very large – 143 concerts in 1946 and 111 in 1947.⁴¹⁰

Modern music began to appear from end of 1945, and in particular featured as both composer and performer Harald Genzmer, now resident in the city and responsible for organising and playing in some of the first concerts there. Genzmer drew upon the work of Wagner, Strauss and Reger, but also Hindemith, and had also

1988), pp. 31-5; Klöckler, *Abendland – Alpenland – Alemannien*, pp. 36-7; Peter Hölzle, 'Konstanz oder Constance-sur-Mer? – Segen und Fluch der Randlage', in Moersch and Weber, *Die Zeit nach dem Krieg*, pp. 222-3.

⁴⁰⁷ Jürgen Klöckler, 'Grundzüge der französischen Kulturpolitik im besetzten Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', in *Konturen neuer Kunst. Konstanzer Kunstwochen 1946* (Konstanz: Buchhandlung Gess GmbH, 1996), p. 16; Hölzle, 'Konstanz oder Constance-sur-Mer?', p. 226. See Ferber, 'Ernstes und Heiteres aus ungemütlicher Zeit 1945', pp. 36-40, for his own account.

⁴⁰⁸ Udo Rauch, 'Tübingen bei Kriegsende', originally at http://www.tuebingen.de/25_12202.html (accessed 30 October 2011), archived at http://www.tuepedia.de/wiki/Kriegsende#T.C3.BCbingen_bei_Kriegsende_1945_-_Artikel_von_Stadtarchivar_Udo_Rauch (accessed 15 October 2017).

⁴⁰⁹ Manfred Schmid (ed.), *Tübingen 1945. Eine Chronik von Hermann Werner* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 1986), pp. 152-155; Otto Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften IV. Zur Musikwissenschaft 1909-1960. Konzertkritiken 1923-1933 und 1945-1952*, collected together with Ulrich Klein, edited Günther Wille (Amsterdam: Verlag B.R. Grüner, 1975), pp. 430-32.

⁴¹⁰ Edgar Lersch, 'Das Kulturleben in der Stadt Tübingen vom Zusammenbruch bis zur Währungsreform (1945-1948)' (hereafter simply 'Das Kulturleben'), in *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 43 (1984), pp. 337-40; Lersch, 'Rückbesinnung auf Bewährtes – Auseinandersetzung mit der Moderne. Das Kulturleben in Tübingen 1945-1948', in Franz Knipping and Jacques Le Rider (eds.), *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik in Deutschland, 1945-1950* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1987), pp. 283-4.

taken a strong interest in the Trautonium, writing several works for the new instrument.⁴¹¹

Genzmer had had a flourishing career in the Third Reich, receiving a bronze medal for a work performed at the 1936 Olympics, being performed by KdF and SS organisations, and receiving a grant from Goebbels' ministry.⁴¹² He was ranked Black in the US list of April 1946,⁴¹³ but that does not appear to have affected his activities in Tübingen. Otherwise in the city, there was a steady stream of French music, often played by French performers, and a sizeable number of performances of Hindemith, and a few other German composers such as Jarnach and Ottmar Gestmar. As critic Otto Weinreich would comment, the city's musical life came to be characterised by a German-French collaboration,⁴¹⁴ which set the foundations for the *Tage moderner Musiker* of August 1946, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

There were concerts all around Rhineland-Palatinate, but relatively little new music. Exceptions included music of Hermann Reutter in Mainz, and Hindemith's *Mathis* Symphony, performed in a few locations by the Ludwigshafen-based Pfalzorchester, generally to negative reviews. There was a small amount of French music from visiting artists and orchestras, and a successful series at Mainz University of Hindemith, Marx, Orff, Schoenberg and others.⁴¹⁵ Overall, despite the efforts of some such as conductor Karl Maria Zwißler in Mainz and Otto Winkler in Koblenz, there was not the same level of public interest as elsewhere in the zone.

As for the Saar region, this was administered differently, reflecting the wish of the French ultimately to annex the territory. Gilbert Grandval, a Parisian from an Alsatian Jewish family who was close to Léon Blum, was appointed Military

⁴¹¹ See Günther Weiß, 'Gespräch mit Harald Genzmer im November 1982', in Erich Valentin et al, *Harald Genzmer* (Tützing: Hans Schneider, 1983), pp. 27-30.

⁴¹² Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 1970-71; Klee, *Kulturlexikon*, p. 177. In Weiß, 'Gespräch mit Harald Genzmer', p. 32, Genzmer deals with the whole period between 1937 and 1946 in a few sentences.

⁴¹³ In the 1982 interview, Genzmer mentions that he was asked by Joseph Haas about when he might come to Munich, around the same time as Genzmer started working in Freiburg. He says that simply that 'The negotiations with the American authorities of the time were, however, so complicated that eventually I lost interest'. See Weiß, 'Gespräch mit Harald Genzmer', pp. 33-34.

⁴¹⁴ See Otto Weinreich, 'Tage Moderner Musik', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, 9 August 1946, in Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften IV. Zur Musikwissenschaft 1909-1960. Konzertkritiken 1923-1933 und 1945-1952*, collected together with Ulrich Klein, edited Günther Wille (Amsterdam: Verlag B.R. Grüner, 1975), pp. 463-4.

⁴¹⁵ Uwe Baur, 'Alte und neue Töne. Musik im Diskurs', in Franz-Josef Heyen and Anton M. Keim (eds.), *Auf der Suche nach neuer Identität. Kultur in Rheinland-Pfalz im Nachkriegsjahrzehnt* (Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1996), pp. 285-338; I. Fr., 'Neue Musik an der Mainzer Universität'; Kr., 'Konzert mit Fragebogen', *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947), pp. 349-50.

Governor of the region on 30 August 1945.⁴¹⁶ Cultural life in the capital, Saarbrücken, got properly underway after the appointment of jurist Willy Schüller as cultural director for the city.⁴¹⁷ A young French Lieutenant and amateur composer, François-Régis Bastide, arrived in November to run culture from the French side.⁴¹⁸ One source suggests that programming in late 1945 featured works of Stravinsky, Bartók, Hindemith, Honegger, Debussy and Ravel, but it is not clear which musicians were involved.⁴¹⁹ The authorities also created a new conservatory in 1947, which was turned into a full Hochschule 10 years later.⁴²⁰ Bastide brought Walter Giesecking, renowned for his performances of French music, from US supervision in Wiesbaden, to teach there.⁴²¹

The French cultural programme was ambitious for their relatively small zone – between August 1945 and December 1946 the BSM had brought into operation or re-operation 21 theatre troupes and 29 groups of musicians, with a steady injection of French soloists,⁴²² as well as the *opéra-comique* to present Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Concerts Colonne and Orchestre de la Radiodiffusion Française and several chamber groups. They also supported German musicians such as Taschner and Giesecking who were committed to French work, and facilitated tours of French artists to major cities in other zones. By August 1947 an article in an occupation journal could boast proudly of the many Germans who had been introduced to French music,

⁴¹⁶ Bronson Long, *No Easy Occupation: French Control of the German Saar, 1944-1957* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2015), p. 20.

⁴¹⁷ Ursula Thinnies, 'Aufbruch nach 1945', in Dagmar Schlingmann and Harald Müller (eds.), *Grenzenlos. 75 Jahre Saarländisches Staatstheater* (Berlin: Verlag Theater der Zeit, 2013), p. 52; Paul Burgard, 'Die Saarlandmacher. Der Aufbau des Saarländischen Rundfunks und die Autonomie des Landes 1946-1955', in Rainer Hudemann (ed.), *Medienlandschaft Saar: von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart. Band 1, Demokratisierung und Kontrolle (1945-1955)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010), pp. 136-9.

⁴¹⁸ Charles Scheel, 'Musik als Anker politischer und medialer Attraktivität', in Hudemann, *Medienlandschaft Saar 1*, pp. 198-9; François-Régis Bastide, *La Troisième Personne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951). Bastide's novel is thought to be one of the main documents of the early period, with thinly fictionalised characters.

⁴¹⁹ Doris Seck, *Nachkriegsjahre an der Saar. Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit. Das Saarland von 1945 bis 1950*, with an introduction by Hans-Walter Hermann (Saarbrücken: Buchverlag Saarbrücker Zeitung, 1982), pp. 48-9.

⁴²⁰ Heinrich Küppers, *Bildungspolitik im Saarland 1945-1955* (Saarbrücken: Minerva-Verlag Thinnies & Nolte, 1984), p. 130; Bode, Becker and Habbich, *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Deutschland*, p. 191.

⁴²¹ Werner Müller-Bech, 'Zur Geschichte der Hochschule des Saarlandes für Musik und Theater', in *50 Jahre Hochschule des Saarlandes für Musik und Theater* (Saarbrücken: Hochschule des Saarlandes für Musik und Theater, 1997), pp. 19-20; Scheel, 'Musik als Anker', p. 197.

⁴²² Klöckler, 'Grundzüge der französischen Kulturpolitik', p. 13.

from Rameau to Franck, Debussy to Messiaen.⁴²³ Much of this music established a permanent place in German concert programming, to an extent which exceeded that from the two other Western occupiers.

Soviet Zone

Whilst the Soviet Zone is not strictly a part of this study, a few details of the situation of new music there are valuable for comparative purposes. Before the Zhdanov decree of 1948, it can fairly be said that new music was promoted as energetically there as in the three Western zones, though unsurprisingly with a greater emphasis on Russian and Soviet composers. Herbert Albert took up the directorship of the Leipzig Gewandhausorchester, and performed works of Shostakovich, Khachaturian, Stravinsky, Mahler, Bartók, Britten, Hindemith, as well as the world premiere of Boris Blacher's *Orchestervariationen über ein thema von Niccolò Paganini* (1947), in the following seasons.⁴²⁴ A range of new music was presented in Dresden, including a moderately adventurous repertoire from the Staatskapelle under Joseph Keilberth,⁴²⁵ whilst Karl Laux, who ran the music department of the state government in Saxony from 1945 to 1948,⁴²⁶ promoted a range of modern work (though with a greater bias towards Soviet work). Hermann Abendroth also conducted Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny in Weimar.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ 'Les Spectacles: II – Theater et Musique', in 'La propagande française' in *La France en Allemagne*, numéro special – Information et Action culturelle (August 1947), pp. 46-8, 81-2.

⁴²⁴ Böhm and Staps, *250 Jahre Leipziger Stadt- und Gewandhausorchester*, pp. 209-28; Hennenberg, *Das Leipzig Gewandhausorchester*, pp. 75-80.

⁴²⁵ Karl Laux, *Nachklang. Rückschau auf sechs Jahrzehnte kulturellen Wirkens* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1977); Eberhard Kremtz, 'Die Staatskapelle und ihre Chefdirigenten von Karl Böhm bis Kurt Sanderling (1933-1966)', in Matthias Herrmann and Hanns-Werner Heister (eds.), *Dresden und die avancierte Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Teil II: 1933-1966* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002), p. 184; Heinemann, Michael, 'Musiktheater für ein sozialistisches Deutschland. Die Dresdner Oper in den Anfangsjahren der DDR', in Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym (eds.), *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa* (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder, 2004), pp. 504, 507-8, 511.

⁴²⁶ Matthias Herrmann, "'Selbstkritisch das Musikleben betrachten". Bemerkungen über einheimische Musiker und über das Musikverständnis der Nachkriegszeit in Dresden', in Herrmann and Heister, *Dresden und die avancierte Musik II*, p. 155.

⁴²⁷ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 43; Michael Kater, *Weimar: From Enlightenment to the Present* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 316-7.

Conclusion

In all the principal cities in the US Zone (Munich, Frankfurt and Stuttgart) and some smaller ones (Nuremberg, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Wiesbaden and especially Darmstadt) a culture for new music developed in the course of the first eighteen months, usually as part of 'mainstream' programming, though in Munich new music and standard repertoire were more stratified. A similar situation applied in the Rhineland, especially in Cologne, and several smaller cities, and also in Hamburg and Braunschweig, all in the British Zone. Frequently the overt justification given by programmers, whether German or from the occupiers, was the common rhetoric relating to *Nachholbedarf*, with few ever questioning this.

In almost all cases the programming revolved around the work of Hindemith and Stravinsky, then a fair amount of French and Russian 20th-century music, and then a certain number of American and British works were performed strategically in their respective zones. Plenty of German composers with prominent reputations in Nazi Germany also continued to be played, not least Fortner, Pepping, Höffer, Reutter, Genzmer and others, and many of their false or partial stories of having been excluded were taken at face value. The US authorities were highly pro-active in encouraging new and American music and made various appointments with this in mind. The British did this to a lesser degree, though succeeded in getting a steady stream of performances. But they did not have any strong agenda concerning the relative merits of their music compared to that from Germany.

The situation was quite different in the French Zone, where the mission to promote and spread French culture was more explicit, immediate and intense, though also concentrated in specific places. This led to a steady stream of French music in programmes from an early stage as an integral part of the repertoire, but not so explicitly promoted as 'new music'.

In all zones, performances of Schoenberg or any other dodecaphonic composers were highly exceptional; nor was this music that important a part of what many considered to be 'new music'. However, a view was already settling which maintained that the experimentation of the Weimar period was over, and a new language had emerged. This was epitomised by the music of Hindemith and Fortner.

Chapter 4

The New Radio Stations

Radio stations, and their associated orchestras and other bodies, have played a crucial and central role in the development of new music in Germany from 1945 to the present day. But how did they come to be in this situation? In this section, I will outline how each of the principal radio stations in the Western Occupation Zones were started or re-started after the end of the war, give details of the key individuals involved and those responsible for music, consider how some of those individuals came to be employed there, and examine the types of programming involved and the role of new music. I will also consider the founding of new radio orchestras at most of these stations.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, after war broke out, it became a crime to listen to foreign stations, with penalties including fines, imprisonment or even death. Furthermore, stations in occupied territories became seen as ‘German’, and listeners were provided with a map showing to which stations were permitted. Nonetheless, many Germans still listened to the BBC’s German service, and in 1944, a joint base was set up at Radio Luxembourg (after it was liberated by American forces in October)¹ to broadcast material from this service, the London-based ‘American Broadcasting station in Europe’ and the ‘Voice of America’, all run by PWD.² The latter’s first chief of radio, Davidson Taylor, began by making the Radio Luxembourg orchestra use American and British conductors and soloists, and focus upon non-German repertoire. Edward Kilenyi was brought in to help with this; he and Taylor’s deputy Sam Rosenbaum managed to collect a wide range of classical recordings by artists acceptable to the Allied powers.³

Radio policy developed differently in each of the zones, reflecting the priorities of the four occupying powers. Each used it to broadcast announcements and directives, and regularly reminded listeners that they were hearing a station of military government. However, less than half the population – mostly in urban areas - had good working radios, and hardly any were battery-operated, thus requiring

¹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 21.

² Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio Across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 16-18. Badenoch does however underestimate the extent of wartime planning for broadcasting.

³ Monod, *Settling Scores*, pp. 21-2.

functioning electricity. The British were the most creative in solving these problems, by attaching radio receivers to loudspeakers in public places (though this proved an unpopular move, reminiscent of the Nazi era), and developing their own new device, the *Jedermann-Gerät*, which could pick up FM.⁴

Radio broadcasting maintained various structural and technical continuities with the pre-1945 era. All major stations except that in Cologne continued to broadcast at the same frequencies as before. The Post Office continued to collect licence fees, which remained at the same amount. Nonetheless, there was a clear return to the type of decentralised system which appertained during the Weimar era.⁵ Even the most centralised organisation, *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk* (NWDR), in the British Zone, would eventually splinter into three distinct components (*Norddeutscher Rundfunk* (NDR), *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (WDR), and *Sender Freies Berlin* (SFB)) in the mid-1950s.

American planners had laid out the foundations of their broadcasting plans in the ‘Manual for the Control of German Information Services’. They envisaged some continuing use of radio by PWD, and separation of networks broadcasting to occupying forces on one hand, and to Germans and foreign workers, on the other, but with the ultimate aim of handing over control to licensed and supervised Germans, when SHAEF was no longer necessary.⁶ A further American directive from mid-July 1945 clarified that music and theatrical activities on the radio must concur with other policies for these fields, and that the officers for the latter should advise radio stations upon request. German employees could be used for music- and theatre-related work on radio, provided they had not otherwise been banned by FTM officers, and were not more than nominal Nazis or sympathizers.⁷

Despite the wishes of some, especially amongst American ICD, for the commercialisation of radio, practical difficulties and demands of re-education led them to maintain the public service model.⁸ The licence fee was the sole primary source of revenue for the radio stations until limited commercial advertising (which

⁴ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, pp. 23-5.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁶ See Hans Bausch, *Rundfunkpolitik nach 1945. Ersten Teil: 1945-1962* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), pp. 65-7, including the relevant section of the manual.

⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5/243-2/1, Joseph L Lazenby, Lieut. Colonel, FA, Executive Officer (US Forces European Theater, ICD APO 757), to Commanding Officer, 6870 DISCC, 17 July 1945.

⁸ Mandy Tröger, ‘What Makes “Free” Radio? U.S. Media Policy Discussions in Postwar Germany, 1945-1947’, *International Journal of Communication* 7 (2013), pp. 1993-2009.

had been banned in 1936) was allowed, first at RIAS in 1948, then from soon afterwards into the 1950s at other stations (increasing with the advent of television), though NDR and WDR held out against this development.⁹ By 1968, this advertising revenue would amount to about 85 million DM for the seven stations running advertising, compared to a net income for the nine Land stations of 351 million DM.¹⁰

Hamburg, Cologne and *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk*

The first German station to come under Allied Control was that in Hamburg, after the city was taken over on 3 May 1945, the day that British troops first occupied the city, by a T (Target) Force.¹¹ This was led by Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Lieven, who had formerly worked in newspapers, Major Paul A. Findlay, formerly a senior BBC engineer, and Lieutenant Geoffrey Perry, a German-Jewish refugee who was born Horst Pinschewer in Berlin in 1922 and had worked as a newspaper photographer.¹² By 7 pm on 4 May, using German engineers who had previously worked for the station, the first British-controlled broadcasts were being transmitted by Lieven, with Perry as the station announcer.¹³ Lieven served as the first Chief Controller, replaced at the beginning of July by Lieutenant Colonel Keith N.H. Thomson, then soon afterwards, after Thomson left to work as a control officer in Cologne, by Ralph Poston, previously programme director for the station, who remained in the post until the early summer of 1946.¹⁴ Hugh Carleton Greene took over on 1 October 1946, remaining until mid-November 1948 at the request of

⁹ Burton Paulu, *Radio and Television Broadcasting on the European Continent* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 98-100.

¹⁰ Brack, *German Radio and Television*, pp. 22-3.

¹¹ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 18.

¹² Arnulf Kutsch, 'Unter britischer Kontrolle. Der Zonensender 1945-1948', in *Der NDR. Zwischen Programm und Politik. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte*, ed Wolfram Köhler (Hannover, Schlütersche Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei, 1991) pp. 84-5; Anthony Grenville, 'German-Jewish refugees and German public service broadcasting', *Association of Jewish Refugees Journal*, July 2015, at <http://www.ajr.org.uk/index.cfm/section:journal/issue:Jul15/article=17652> (accessed 16 June 2017).

¹³ *Ibid.*; Sir Hugh Greene, *The Third Floor Front: A View of Broadcasting in the Sixties* (London: Bodley Head, 1969).

¹⁴ Kutsch, 'Unter britischer Kontrolle', pp. 104-5; Florian Huber, 'Re-education durch Rundfunk. Die Umerziehungspolitik der britischen Besatzungsmacht in Deutschland am Beispiel des NWDR 1945-1948' (PhD dissertation, University of Osnabrück, 2005), pp. 152-3; Hans-Ulrich Wagner, "'Mittler zwischen Kirche und Rundfunk". Der Kirchenfunk', in Hans-Ulrich Wagner (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks*, Band 2 (hereafter *NWDR2*) (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008), p. 182.

Germans.¹⁵ By July, an agreement had been made whereby MG would pay salaries, but German authorities would be expected to pay for all the facilities.¹⁶ Initial broadcasts were for general directives to the German population, and then the station took over the programmes of Radio Luxembourg and the German-speaking service of the BBC, before developing a series of programmes of its own.¹⁷ A directive from the Control Commission in July made clear that the purpose of the station was ‘to provide news, talks and features of the type which serve the ends of British reconstruction and education policy’, and to be a testing ground for future German producers, writers, speakers and others.¹⁸ By November, another document made clear that the function of the station was ‘to provide for the British Zone a “Home Service” on the lines of the B.B.C. Home Service’.¹⁹ The costs were met initially through some temporary credit arrangements, organised by Alec Bishop.²⁰

A principal figure responsible for recruiting German staff for the station was Walter Eberstadt, born in Frankfurt in 1921 and resident in Britain from 1935, now renamed Captain Walter Everitt, who had trained for Information Control and worked for SHAEF at Radio Luxembourg.²¹ He came to Hamburg around a week after VE-Day²² and was responsible for recruiting future major stars such as Axel Eggebrecht and Peter von Zahn.²³

Eventually control was handed over to Germans through 1947-8 (officially with Regulation 118 on 1 January 1948), with a Board of Governors selected by a body of trustees including heads of cultural and administrative bodies, and formally

¹⁵ Dierk L. Schaaf, ‘Der Nordwestdeutsche Rundfunk (NWDR). Ein Rundfunkmodell scheitert’, in Winfried B. Lerg and Rolf Steininger (eds.), *Rundfunk und Politik 1923-1973* (Berlin: Verlag Volker Spiess, 1975), p. 298; Alan Bance, ‘Introduction’ in Bance (ed.), *The Cultural Legacy of the British Occupation of Germany: The London Symposium* (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1997), p. 16.

¹⁶ TNA/PRO/FO 1056/25, A.G. Neville to Bishop, 17 July 1945.

¹⁷ Hans-Ulrich Wagner, ‘1945 bis 1947: Der NWDR unter britischer Kontrolle’, at http://www.ndr.de/der_ndr/unternehmen/geschichte/1945-1947-Der-NWDR-unter-britischer-Kontrolle.nwdr107.html (accessed 16 June 2017).

¹⁸ TNA/PRO/FO 898/401, ‘Information Control in the British Zone of Germany’, 4 July 1945.

¹⁹ TNA/PRO/FO 1049/204, ‘Respective Functions of B.B.C. Service and Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk’; cited in Hans-Ulrich Wagner, ‘Das Ringen um einen neuen Rundfunk: Der NWDR unter der Kontrolle der britischen Besatzungsmacht’, in Peter von Rügen and Hans-Ulrich Wagner (eds.) *Die Geschichte des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks* (hereafter simply *NWDR I*) (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 2005), p. 21.

²⁰ Wagner, ‘Das Ringen’, p. 19.

²¹ Walter Eberstadt, *Whence we Came, Where we Went: A Family History* (Edison, NJ: W.A.E. Books, 2002), pp. 219-26. Eberstadt worked here together with Poston.

²² *Ibid.* p. 329.

²³ Grenville, ‘German-Jewish refugees and German public service broadcasting’.

constituted on 12 March 1948.²⁴ Among the board members at the turn of 1948-49 was Walter Braunfels, in his role as President of Musikhochschule in Cologne.²⁵

The first director of the music section, employed from 3 May 1945 onwards, was Eigel Kruttge, who had fulfilled a similar position from 1933 to 1945. Kruttge had previously studied with Schnabel, worked as Klemperer's assistant, given some presentations for the Gesellschaft für Neue Musik in Cologne, and co-edited the 1925 volume *Von neuer Musik*.²⁶ However, he had also joined the NSDAP in 1937, which fact created some discontent among various non-Nazi musicians. Poston dismissed him a few months later, despite having been pleased with his work. Only after being exonerated in an appeal in February 1948 could Kruttge work in radio again, and he did not receive a firm position at NWDR again until 1952, though he was a co-founder and later artistic director of the *Musik der Zeit* series (see Chapter 8).²⁷ His successor was musicologist Friedrich Schnapp, who had worked in radio in Frankfurt and Berlin, been close to Rosbaud and Furtwängler, and built up a range of English contacts; Schnapp and his successors, Edmund Ringling and Hans Ebert,²⁸ all worked for relatively short periods in this role up until February 1947. After this time Fred Hamel, a former musicologist and critic for the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, who had given numerous lectures at Darmstadt in 1946 (see Chapter 7), and was now

²⁴ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, pp. 221-2; Peter von Rügen, 'Konflikte, Kämpfe, Kontroversen: Der NWDR unter deutscher Verantwortung', in *NWDR1*, p. 87.

²⁵ Von Rügen, 'Konflikte, Kämpfe, Kontroversen', pp. 92-3.

²⁶ Heinrich Lemacher, 'Die Gesellschaft für neue Musik in Köln (Die Anfangsjahre ihrer Geschichte). 2. Ein Überblick über die Jahre 1922/25', in Willi Kahl, Heinrich Lemacher and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des Rheinlands* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1956), pp. 75-6; Lemacher, 'Die Gesellschaft für Neue Musik in Köln 1925-1933', p. 141; Rainer Peters, 'Musik der Zeit – in Geschichte und Gegenwart', in Frank Hilberg and Harry Vogt (eds.), *Musik der Zeit 1951-2001* (Cologne: WDR, 2002), p. 33.

²⁷ BA BDC RKK/RSK, Krüttge, Erich; WDR-Archiv/Biografien. Kruttge, Eigel; Wagner, 'Das Ringen', pp. 30-31. One newspaper article from the time suggests that Kruttge conducted a studio performance of Mendelssohn's Italian Symphony in what would have been the very early days of the new orchestra. See Dr. H. W.-W., 'Musik im Radio Hamburg', *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 11 August 1945.

²⁸ Ebert took over the Musik section in October 1946. See 'Chronik des geistigen Lebens', *Rheinische Post*, 30 October 1946.

editor of *Musica*, took over.²⁹ He was succeeded in the autumn by Harry Hermann Spitz, a Jewish editor who had been dismissed from his position in 1933.³⁰

Soon after the station was taken over, a Lord Woolton made representations to the Foreign Office in London, having been advised by Sir Adrian Boult of concerns that broadcasting in general would be controlled by the Americans, leading to a domination of jazz and swing, which Woolton thought would breed resentment amongst Germans. The response was to say that no undertaking could be provided that jazz would not be broadcast to Germans, but that the quantity of ‘serious’ music broadcast by the BBC’s German service would be increased.³¹ But Radio Hamburg would rapidly demonstrate a similar moderate commitment to this type of music. By 9 May 1945, the broadcasts consisted of recorded music described as ‘to suit all tastes’ from 16.30 to 22.30 (including records of Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Smetana, Dvorák and Delibes, as well as lighter dance music),³² punctuated by military government announcements; this pattern remained for several weeks.³³ From 27 May classical concerts were being broadcast.³⁴ Modern music appeared by autumn 1945 at the latest, including a programme of modern English music which went out on 9 September, and a broadcast of Hindemith’s First Piano Sonata, played by Gerhard Gregor.³⁵

From June 1945 broadcasting was placed under the control of PR/ISC. The model here was that of the BBC, with a centralised public service structure.³⁶ Control Officers Everitt, Poston and Alexander Maass took control of the selection of German

²⁹ Hamel is listed as head of the music section from 1947 in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 2619; Custodis, *Traditionen – Koalitionen – Visionen*, p. 39; and Oscar Thompson (ed.), *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, eleventh edition (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1985), p. 900, though Vollberg (see below) makes no mention of him. I am thus extrapolating that he filled this position for this period, before going on to work for Deutsche Grammophon in 1948, where he arguably had the greatest impact.

³⁰ Andreas Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’” – Programm-Hegemon mit Kulturmacht. Die Musik im NWDR-Hörfunk’, in *NWDR2*, pp. 235-6; ‘Friedrich Schnapp (1900-1983)’, biography and interview with Gert Fischer, at http://patangel.free.fr/furt/schna_fr.htm (accessed 11 May 2018); Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People*, p. 181.

³¹ TNA/PRO/FO 371/C2520, M.T. Flett to C.O. Neill, 24 May 1945 and 26 May 1945; O’Neill to Flett, 31 May 1945; Flett to O’Neill, 5 June 1945; O’Neill to Flett, 14 June 1945; see also Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People*, pp. 180-181.

³² Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, pp. 229-30.

³³ Huber, ‘Re-education durch Rundfunk’, pp. 123-4.

³⁴ ‘Konzerte im Hamburger Rundfunk’, *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 28 May 1945. By 5 July, Sir William Strang, political advisor to the occupation forces, wrote in a diary of a tour of the British Zone that the radio was broadcasting classical music every evening. See TNA/PRO/FO 898/401, Sir W. Strang to Mr Eden., received 13 July, p. 16.

³⁵ Listings for Radio Hamburg or NWDR in *Neue Hamburger Press*, 8 September 1945, and *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 17 October 1945.

³⁶ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 18.

employees for the station.³⁷ From the British side Jack Bornoff was appointed Music Controller in May 1945,³⁸ and was tasked less than a month after the end of the war with forming a new radio orchestra,³⁹ which Friedrich Schnapp, who had developed British contacts, came to manage.⁴⁰ Bornoff took as his model the BBC Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1930.⁴¹ In early June he approached Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, who was resident near Hamburg and had conducted at the Staatsoper from 1935 to 1943,⁴² to ask him to become the conductor, Bornoff having been told Schmidt-Isserstedt was ‘politically OK’.⁴³

Schmidt-Isserstedt signed the contract on 13 June, which is thought of as the founding date of the orchestra,⁴⁴ and assembled a team to find the best players from elsewhere in Germany, Austria, and England. In order to avoid employing former NSDAP members, he and Bornoff toured around POW and DP camps in Northern Germany, where he found some who had previously played in courts, barns or cinemas.⁴⁵ The first broadcasts were of works of Chaikovsky and Franck on 20 June, and then Mahler’s First Symphony on 16 July.⁴⁶ Yehudi Menuhin had been playing

³⁷ Wagner, ‘Der NWDR unter britische Kontrolle’.

³⁸ Toby Thacker, “‘Liberating German Musical Life’”: The BBC German Service and Planning for Music Control in Occupied Germany 1944-1949’, in Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove (eds.), *‘Stimme der Wahrheit’: German Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodop, 2003), p. 88.

³⁹ Bornoff quoted in Hubert Rübsaat, *Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter Verlag, 2009), p. 67.

⁴⁰ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 15; Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People*, p. 181. Meehan draws upon interviews with Schnapp and a violinist of the orchestra, Ulrich Benthien.

⁴¹ ‘Geschenk an Hamburg und Norddeutschland’, at http://www.ndr.de/orchester_chor/sinfonieorchester/orchester/geschichteso100.html (accessed 7 September 2017).

⁴² Schmidt-Isserstedt had been directly appointed to the position of Staatskapellmeister in Hamburg by Hitler on 20 April 1938, though his name had previously appeared on the *Liste der Musik-Bolschewisten*. He toured an ensemble from the opera in occupied Belgium in 1942, playing excerpts from Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* for German soldiers. From 1943 to 1944 he had been a director at the Deutsches Opernhaus in Berlin. He championed the music of Heinrich Sutermeister, asking to record his opera *Romeo und Julia* in occupied Prague, instead of Berlin, in 1944, and on 24 March 1945, conducted a HJ-concert with the BPO, with Gerhard Taschner as soloist in Bruch’s Violin Concerto. See Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 43-63 and Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 6232-4. The Americans took a different view, when considering engaging him to replace Celibidache for a few concerts with the BPO, finding him ‘to be, if not black, a dreary gray’, meaning that booking him ‘is considered not entirely desirable at this time’. See LAB OMGUS 4/8-1/7, Theatre and Music Report, 21 March 1946.

⁴³ Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, p. 68.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 68-70.

⁴⁵ See Schmidt-Isserstedt’s account in Bahnsen and von Stürmer, *Die Stadt, die leben wollte*, pp. 189-190; and the accounts of several musicians who were found in this way in Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 71-4; Andreas Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, in *NWDR 2*, pp. 230-31; Humphrey Burton, *Menuhin* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), p. 253.

⁴⁶ Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, p. 231; Dr. H. W.-W., ‘Zur Mahler-Aufführung im Sender’, *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 16 July 1945.

with Benjamin Britten in various DP camps in June and July, and Bornoff met him in one of these in late July. Bornoff asked Menuhin on the spur of the moment to play for a live broadcast, which took place on 29 July. and featured Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto,⁴⁷ and was thus a symbolic concert, featuring a Jewish composer and a Jewish soloist. There was a hiatus in public concerts (though still some broadcasts) from the end of August until the beginning of November, after 16 out of the 100 players had to be dismissed for political and professional reasons by the end of August. But then, based in the undestroyed Musikhalle in the city, Schmidt-Isserstedt and the orchestra, by now called the *NWDR-Sinfonieorchester* (later *NDR-Sinfonieorchester*, and today the *NDR Elbphilharmonie Orchester*) embarked upon a twelve-concert series, despite cold temperatures and insufficient rations, receiving adulatory reviews in the Hamburg press.⁴⁸

Why the British authorities felt Hamburg needed two orchestras (followed soon afterwards by a third for the performance of lighter classics)⁴⁹ is not entirely clear. However, the contrast in repertoire and performing style suggests why the radio orchestra became more amenable towards the emerging new musical ideals, and this may have been the intention. In the first season, Jochum and the Philharmonic focused upon grandiose German classics of Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler and Strauss, with only occasional newer works or those from elsewhere. Schmidt-Isserstedt was instructed by the British authorities to avoid Wagner or Bruckner, but concentrate more on modern and foreign composers.⁵⁰ Bornoff apparently insisted that Schmidt-Isserstedt programme a certain percentage of British music,⁵¹ though in the first season this amounted to just the Elgar *Introduction and Allegro* in November 1945, and the Walton Viola Concerto in February 1946;⁵² while Gordon Jacob's *William Byrd Suite* was included in an invitation-only event

⁴⁷ Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik", p. 231; Thacker, 'Liberating German Musical Life', pp. 88-9; Burton, *Menuhin*, pp. 250-53; Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, p. 79. The orchestra had made a recording of Chaikovsky's Fantasy Overture after *Romeo and Juliet* and Franck's Symphony as early as 23 June. Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People*, p. 181, suggests that it was Hartog who invited Menuhin to come to Hamburg, but this is likely a mistake, as Hartog had not yet taken up that role.

⁴⁸ TNA/PRO/FO 371/47602, 'Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2', 19 December 1945; Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik", pp. 231-2; Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 75-7, 86-9.

⁴⁹ This was the *Hamburger Symphonie-Orchester*, formed by Wilhelm Schmidt-Scherf, which was giving concerts by the end of 1945. See Dr. W.B., 'Ein neuer Dirigent'; 'Letztes Probenspiel', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 1 and 9 October 1945, and various listings in this paper.

⁵⁰ Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 77-78.

⁵¹ As related in an interview with Toby Thacker, in *Music after Hitler*, p. 90.

⁵² Dates and programmes here and elsewhere are taken from various listings and reviews in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, *Neue Hamburger Presse*, *Die Zeit* and *Die Welt*.

conducted by Franz Konwitschny.⁵³ The orchestra also performed the German premiere of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony on 25 February 1946.⁵⁴ Overall, programmes featured a greater amount of early and new music than the Philharmonic, more Mozart and Schubert than their lush compatriots, and non-Germanic works such as a Sibelius symphony or Mussorgsky-Ravel *Pictures at an Exhibition* as the focus of the programme. Various commentators have also noted the emphasis upon clarity and precision in Schmidt-Isserstedt's work with the Hamburg radio orchestra.⁵⁵ This links to the aesthetics of neo-classicism or the *Neue Sachlichkeit* and the wider modern musical aesthetics which were being celebrated by various Hamburg critics, and which were in contrast to Jochum's richer and more expansive style. Such a distinction would be replicated between radio and symphony orchestras in most of the major German cities. An *NWDR Chor* (later *NDR Chor*) was also founded by Max Thurn on 1 May 1946.⁵⁶ Furthermore, as an increasing number of broadcasts came from a secondary station in Hanover, a new *Orchester des Senders Hannover* (later *Radiophilharmonie Hannover*, today *NDR Radiophilharmonie*) was formed there in 1950. This orchestra, of which Willy Steiner was chief conductor for 25 years, was assembled with members of the earlier *Niedersächsisches Sinfonie-Orchestra*, which had worked for the radio in the 1920s. They would also come to play a range of new music under guest conductors such as Leibowitz, Henze and Maderna in the *Tage der Neuen Musik Hannover*, which began in 1958.⁵⁷

Before Bornoff's demobilisation in January 1946, he ensured more broadcasts of British music on NWDR. Works included Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* and *Façade*, orchestral works of Vaughan Williams, piano concertos of Arnold Bax and John Ireland, Bax's *Tintagel*, Britten's *Simple Symphony*, Variations on a Theme of Frank Bridge and String Quartet in D op. 29.⁵⁸ The latter of these had a powerful

⁵³ Dr. W.B., 'Musik und bildene Kunst. Ein Gastdirigent', *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 28 November 1945.

⁵⁴ Listings in *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 2 March 1946; Dr. W.B., 'Klassische und moderne Orchestermusik', *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 5 March 1946.

⁵⁵ See 'Geschenk an Hamburg und Norddeutschland'. Schmidt-Isserstedt claimed later that he had a particular sound in mind for the orchestra, derived from a combination of that of various renowned existing orchestras. See Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 70-71.

⁵⁶ Marcus Stähler, 'Der NDR Chor von 1946 bis heute', at <http://www.ndr.de/kultur/musik/klassik/70-Jahre-NDR-Chor.jubilaeum668.html> (accessed 15 December 2017).

⁵⁷ Norddeutscher Rundfunk (ed.), *50 Jahre Radiophilharmonie Hannover des NDR* (Hanover: Norddeutscher Rundfunk, 2000), pp. 80-90; *Tage der Neuen Musik* (ed.), *40 Jahre Tage der Neuen Musik Hannover. Dokumentation 1958-1998* (Hanover: Tage der Neuen Musik, 1998), pp. 20-143 lists all the programmes of the series up to the time of publication.

⁵⁸ Bornoff, 'Music in Germany', p. 13.

effect upon a writer in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, who noted its ‘astonishing mastery of form’, ‘independence of melody’, ‘new mode of expression’ and ‘typical Anglo-Saxon sense of humour’, all combining to imply that Britten’s work betokens ‘a major shift in the future of international modern music’.⁵⁹ There were also recordings played of works of American composers including Barber, John Alden Carpenter and Roy Harris.⁶⁰ Bornoff’s successor, Howard Hartog, who remained in the position until the station was handed over to Germans in 1948,⁶¹ had different priorities. These were the promotion of Jewish composers and above all modernists such as Bartók, Stravinsky and Hindemith.⁶² In an important series of 30-minute features on ‘Modern Music’, a programme in March 1946 was dedicated to Schoenberg.⁶³ Nonetheless, in all the various documentation of NWDR in Hamburg during this period, including memoirs by some who worked there, it is clear that music did not play a central role in the policies of re-education, compared to the spoken word and its employment to disseminate ideas, plural political perspectives, and so on.

One other crucial appointment at NWDR Hamburg was Herbert Hübner, who worked as a music editor from 1947 through to 1969. Born in 1903, Hübner studied at the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar, taking classes with the likes of Gropius, Klee and Kandinsky. Subsequently he studied music and musicology in Weimar and Jena in the late 1920s, producing a doctoral thesis in ethnomusicology, looking at music in the Bismarck Archipelago, near New Guinea, including an assertion about the ‘fundamental unity of culture and race’.⁶⁴ Hübner had been a member of the SPD prior to 1933, even writing for their paper *Das Volk*, but in 1938, he joined the NSDAP.⁶⁵ On his denazification form, Hübner claimed he had joined out of desperation because of unemployment (after this he worked in radio in Frankfurt and Berlin, before being called up for military service in 1944). This seems to have

⁵⁹ ‘Englisches Streichquartett’, *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 28 January 1946.

⁶⁰ Bornoff, ‘Music in Germany’, p. 13.

⁶¹ Rübsaat, *Schmidt-Isserstedt*, pp. 84-6.

⁶² As related by Hartog in an interview in 1982, in Joachim Goergen, ‘Der britische Einfluss auf den deutschen Rundfunk’ (PhD thesis: Freie Universität Berlin, 1983), p. 129, cited in Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, p. 239.

⁶³ NWDR Listing, *Neue Hamburger Presse*, 29 March 1946.

⁶⁴ Imke Wendt, “‘Zukunftsmusik damals! Heute schon Geschichte!’ – Der Musikredakteur Herbert Hübner und sein Nachlass”, (January 2007), at <https://bib.hans-bredow-institut.de/de/node/2067> (accessed 15 December 2017); Albrecht Schneider, ‘Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft als Morphologie und Stilkritik: Werner Danckerts Stellung in der Volksliedforschung und Musikethnologie’, *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 24 (1979), pp. 11-27.

⁶⁵ Staatsarchiv Hamburg 221-11, Misc 9416, Fragebogen, Dr Hübner, Herbert, 19 September 1945.

satisfied the British authorities, who cleared him for work after the war in the ‘Discretionary Removal Category’.⁶⁶

Hübner started a series entitled ‘Von neuer Musik’, which ran for seven cycles from November 1947 to 1951, on Wednesdays, 22.20-23.00,⁶⁷ focusing on the more radical works of the composers in question, beginning with three shows on Schoenberg⁶⁸ (then on Stravinsky, Bartók and Hindemith). He generally took the position of the connoisseur and educator, like Stuckenschmidt at Berlin or Eimert in Cologne (see below), attempting to teach, even proselytise on behalf of, music about which he especially cared, in order to expand its audiences, making his intentions clear in a manuscript from 1950.⁶⁹ In 1951, he initiated the even more important series *das neue werk* at the station, which would become one of the most radical of all new music series, commissioning and performing works of Messiaen, Boulez, Stockhausen, Henze, Nono, Maderna, B.A. Zimmermann, Ligeti and many others, including the world premiere of Schoenberg’s *Moses und Aron* in 1954.⁷⁰

Following the British take-over of Cologne in July, three officers visited the torso of the station there, which had been hit badly during the British bombing of 1943, with its transmitter at Langenberg, around 35 miles away, destroyed by the retreating Wehrmacht.⁷¹ One of the officers, Findlay, put together a plan for its re-activation in three stages. First they would broadcast primarily material from Hamburg and the BBC. After that they would produce some light entertainment and word-based programmes, and broadcast concerts from external halls, then finally produce their own full programmes, by which stage they would need to house 200 to 300 employees.⁷²

This plan was essentially implemented, with Thomson seconded from Hamburg to become Chief Radio Controller in Cologne, assisted by others including

⁶⁶ Staatsarchiv Hamburg 221-11, Misc 9416, Fragebogen Action Sheet, 16 September 1946.

⁶⁷ ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 426.

⁶⁸ The works broadcast were the Lieder op. 2, 3 and 6, the Second String Quartet, op. 10, the *Klavierstücke* op. 11, *Das Buch der hängenden Garten*, op. 15, the Wind Quintet, op. 26, and *Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte*, op. 41; ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 15/1 (January 1948), p. 26.

⁶⁹ Herbert Hübner, ‘Vorschläge zur Durchführung öffentlicher Studiokonzerte mit moderner Musik’, manuscript from 24 October 1950, cited in Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, pp. 246-7.

⁷⁰ Vollberg, “‘Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik’”, p. 247.

⁷¹ *Der neue WDR. Dokumente zur Nachkriegsgeschichte des Westdeutschen Rundfunks*, collected and annotated by Wolf Bierbach (Cologne and Berlin: G. Grote’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), p. 14; Greene, *The Third Floor Front*, p. 44.

⁷² WDR/HAC, Paul Finlay, ‘Report on a Visit to Radio Cologne by Maj. P. Findlay on 28th, 29th, and 30th of July 1945’, 2 August 1945, reproduced in *Der neue WDR*, pp. 15.

British Captain Ken W. Bartlett as Music Supervisor, and Major Horace Saunders-Jacobs and Edward Rothe for recruiting German employees.⁷³ In August they gave jobs to 38 Germans, including, most notably for this thesis, Herbert Eimert, who was given overall responsibility for music.⁷⁴ The station first broadcast on 26 September (just for 3-4 hours per day at first), and from then onwards the Hamburg and Cologne stations became collectively known as *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk* (NWDR).⁷⁵

As mentioned in Chapter 3, right after the war Eimert worked for a short while as an editor at the Cologne city cultural department. The exact date when he was offered his position at the radio station is unclear; he was certainly actively working there by 2 October at the latest, when he presented a programme on music and dance, focusing on ballet.⁷⁶ Various sources list him as the first employee of the radio station;⁷⁷ this may be questionable but is not impossible.⁷⁸ Apparently the British authorities thought Eimert (and also Hans Hartmann – see below) to be above suspicion (as presumably had the Americans earlier, when allowing him to continue as a music critic). They were thus happy to employ him prior to his having completed a *Fragebogen* (the processing of which had become considerably delayed),⁷⁹ which he finally did in May 1946.⁸⁰ Back in July 1941, Eimert had completed a form for the

⁷³ *Der neue WDR*, pp. 20, 119; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 90; Wagner, 'Der NWDR unter britische Kontrolle'.

⁷⁴ WDR/HAC, 'German Staff', August 1945, cited in *Der neue WDR*, p. 20.

⁷⁵ Alexander Keller, *Das Kölner Funkhaus 1945-1960. Probleme und Kontroversen. Zur politischen Geschichte eines Massenmediums* (Münster, Hamburg and London: Lit Verlag, 2002), p. 5; Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 18.

⁷⁶ See WDR/HAC MF, 'Dr. Herbert Eimert: Getanzte Musik. Sendung mit Schallplatten, 2.10.1945, 19.00 – 20.00, 1. Programm'. von Zahn, 'Reset or Reeducation', p. 231, gives a date of 26 October 1945, but does not provide a source for this information.

⁷⁷ For example 'Chronologie – Neue Musik im WDR', in Hilberg & Vogt, *Musik der Zeit*, p. 189. This claim that Eimert was the first employee at NWDR is found in various other sources, but some express it differently: Wolfgang Seifert, in *Günter Wand*, p. 153, describes Eimert as the first head of music (*Musikchef*) installed by the British at NWDR. Blüggel just says that he was 'one of the first employees of Cologne Radio' (*E. – Ethik + Ästhetik*, p. 10). Kirchmeyer, who lists the date of Eimert's employment as August 1945, disputes other (unnamed) views that Eimert was the second rather than first employee, on the basis of Eimert's own claims, and argues that at the very least he was the first employee in the field of music (*Kleine Monographie*, p. 23 n. 39).

⁷⁸ In a document from August 23 (TNA/PRO FO 898/401 'Observations on Information Services in Germany', 23 August 1945), the available staff for the Cologne station is listed as numbering just one. New staff are said to be desperately needed, but unavailable 'except from the present staff of the B.B.C.'. A slightly earlier report, dated August 15 (TNA/PRO/FO 1056/70, 'Progress Report No. 4 for 7 days ending 12 Aug'), notes that the process of interviewing new staff is proceeding, and that 'Suitable persons in the departments of talks – education, news etc., music, announcing and light entertainment have provisionally been chosen', though it is not clear whether this refers solely to the Cologne station (extensively discussed in the rest of the report) or to Hamburg as well.

⁷⁹ My thanks to Petra Witting-Nöthen, director of the WDR Archive, for clarifying this to me.

⁸⁰ BA/BDC/RKK/RSK, Entnazifizierung, Eimert, Herbert. 'Military Government of Germany: Fragebogen', signed 4 May 1946.

Reichsschrifttumskammer, in which he mentioned membership of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF), a Nazi trade union organisation (of which the KdF was a sub-organisation). In addition, he mentioned membership of the *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*, a Nazi welfare organisation, and was also a member of the *Reichsverband der deutschen Presse* (No. 3288).⁸¹ In his 1946 *Fragebogen*, Eimert falsified his record - a very serious offence as far as the British were concerned⁸² - and denied membership of both organisations⁸³ (there was naturally no mention of his more questionable journalism either).⁸⁴ Nonetheless, his contract, post-denazification, was confirmed on 10 October 1946, listing him as a literary editor.⁸⁵

At first, the Cologne station gave most prominence to broadcasts about news and politics, with a smaller amount of music, some of it swing, which attracted young listeners.⁸⁶ On 26 October 1945, Eimert presented an hour-long programme on the life and work of Albert Lortzing, but this was intertwined with excerpts from the Dance from Strauss's *Salome*, recordings of a Tom Jones and others from the BBC, reports about improvements to the railways, and acclaim for a country trip organised by Willi Busse.⁸⁷ Concerts from the Hamburg Philharmonic and the Gürzenich Orchestra were broadcast,⁸⁸ then Christmas concerts from Lübeck and Aachen, the first performance of Mozart's *Figaro* in Hamburg,⁸⁹ and in 1946 various concerts from nearby cities such as Wuppertal, Düsseldorf and Aachen. Eimert's efforts were frequently frustrated by staffing politics at the station as well as the cost of recordings.⁹⁰

Robert Beyer, who would go on to become Eimert's major electronic music collaborator, began work at the NWDR Cologne station as an editor on 15 March

⁸¹ BA/BDC/RKK/RSK, Eimert, Herbert. 'Antrag zur Bearbeitung der Aufnahme als Mitglied der Reichsschrifttumskammer', 16 July 1941.

⁸² Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany*, pp. 83-117.

⁸³ BA/BDC/RKK/RSK, Eimert, Herbert. 'Military Government of Germany: Fragebogen', signed 4 May 1946.

⁸⁴ WDR/HAC 09919 contains a range of Eimert's writings from the 1930s, but these generally feature innocuous material on radio.

⁸⁵ WDR/HAC 'Kostengruppe 23 – Blatt 3', unfiled document. My thanks to Petra Witting-Nothen for bringing this document to my attention.

⁸⁶ Von Zahn, 'Kulturhunger und Sättigung', p. 53; Ortwin Pelc and Christiane Zwick (eds.),

Kriegsende in Hamburg. Eine Stadt erinnert sich (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter Verlag, 2005), p. 140.

⁸⁷ von Zahn, 'Kulturhunger und Sättigung', p. 53.

⁸⁸ WDR/HAC 09454, Memorandum from Bartlett, 16 December 1945.

⁸⁹ TNA/PRO FO 1056/518, 'Fortnightly Reports of PR/ISC Group for Periods Ending 5 Jan 46, 19 Jan 46'.

⁹⁰ von Zahn, 'Kulturhunger und Sättigung', pp. 53-4.

1946.⁹¹ Beyer had earlier worked for Deutsche Grammophon and at the Rheinisches Landestheater in Neuss, as well as at the radio station in Cologne in the 1930s, before serving as a Wehrmacht soldier, serving in France from August to November 1940, and in Italy in 1942-3, and later as a *Flakhelfer* (auxiliary member of the Luftwaffe, often a young person, who helped with anti-aircraft activity). He belonged to the RMK, and the Reichsluftschutzbund, an organisation dealing with air raid precautions, and was also a member of both the SPD and KPD prior to 1933. The denazification officers found no objections to his employment.⁹²

At the beginning of 1946, Saunders-Jacobs took over the running of the Cologne station, working then with seven other British officers.⁹³ Finally, on 1 May, a German Intendant was appointed, Max Burghardt, an actor and KPD member since 1930, who had at one stage been believed to have been murdered by the Nazis. In an article he wrote six days after his appointment, Burghardt proclaimed that one of the duties of the radio would be less to propagate new philosophical systems than to realise the most important intellectual traditions of the past, in particular ‘the ideas of Goethe, Herder, Kant, Hegel and Marx’, but making no mention of Christianity, in the process alienating the more conservative Catholic burghers of the region. He quickly came under pressure from both Germans and British officers, and was made to resign by Carleton Greene on 28 February 1947, after which he moved to East Berlin. His successor would be another actor, Hans Hartmann, who was appointed on 1 September.⁹⁴

One important thing which Burghardt did was in July 1946 to appoint Edmund Ringling, from Hamburg, to an equivalent position to Eimert (bearing in mind Eimert had not yet received a full contract).⁹⁵ Even when Burghardt had left, and Ringling soon afterwards, this meant that Eimert (listed as a literary figure, as mentioned earlier) would never regain quite the same status at the station as he had had at the outset. Nonetheless he made a major early contribution to broadcasting by founding

⁹¹ von Zahn, ‘Geburt zweier Szenen’, p. 70.

⁹² BA/BDC/RKK/RSK, Beyer, Robert. ‘Fragebogen’. Completed by Beyer on 18 July 1946, certified 23 August 1946.

⁹³ WDR/HAC, ‘Broadcasting control unit (Cologne)’, 5 April 1946, cited in *Der neue WDR*, p. 20.

⁹⁴ Hans-Ulrich Wagner, ‘Von der Nebenstelle zur eigenständigen Rundfunkanstalt. Das Funkhaus Köln’, in *Am Puls der Zeit I*, pp. 177-9. On Hartmann’s appointment, see *Der neue WDR*, pp. 71-3.

⁹⁵ WDR/HAC 9476a, BCU Cologne ‘Progress Report No. 51 for week ending 13 July 46’. This report indicates that a Dr Dahmen would look after church, choral, historic and folk music, and W. Keiper light and dance music. An assistant is specified as required for chamber music, but Eimert is not mentioned.

the *Musikalische Nachtprogramm* from October 1948, a fortnightly series on musical and literary themes. Early programmes focused on Thomas Mann and *Doktor Faustus*, Stravinsky's relationship to Bach, Goethe and new music, Hindemith, Schoenberg, Bartók, and other subjects. Then there was more on the Second Viennese School and dodecaphony, editions on Messiaen, Hindemith's critique of Schoenberg, rhythm, and a debate between Adorno and Erich Doflein. By the 1951-52 season the first programmes on electronic music were broadcast, and in 1952-53 there were features on John Cage and Bruno Maderna.⁹⁶ From 1951 Eimert would of course also be the driving force behind, and first director of, the new electronic music studio at the radio station.

Bartlett realised that in order to produce the quality of programmes it wanted regularly, the Cologne station needed its own orchestra. Together with Hartog, he approached Poston about this, with detailed costings, and convinced the controller to give Bartlett authorisation in April 1946 to organise a group of 60 musicians.⁹⁷ Bartlett explained in June to the NWDR music section that Cologne only contributed 13.7% of all the music programmes over a 25-week period, most of which were recordings, and explained his plans for live symphonic concerts, chamber music, opera, light music, and so on.⁹⁸ The new orchestra, which when founded in June had only 32 players, performed for the first time in front of microphones on 4 August 1946, conducted by Hans Bund (who had conducted a significant number of nationalistic and militaristic works during the Nazi era), and was initially known as the 'Unterhaltungsorchester Hans Bund'.⁹⁹ In the autumn of that year, Ringling announced a 50% increase in musical programming over the winter, including symphony concerts,¹⁰⁰ for which purpose the orchestra grew. Two conductors, the Swiss Jean Meylan and Bulgarian Ljubomir Romansky, were appointed to co-ordinate it. The orchestra as constituted gave its first public performance on 14 October, and would grow in size from 59 players in 1947 to 73 in 1948. In 1949, it was named the

⁹⁶ Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik", pp. 247-9; Westdeutscher Rundfunk (ed.), *Zwanzig Jahre Musik im Westdeutschen Rundfunk. Eine Dokumentation der Hauptabteilung Musik 1948-1968* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1968), pp. 9, 17, 32, 43, 60, 75, for the first few seasons of programming.

⁹⁷ WDR/HAC 094954, Poston to Lt. Col. Heycock, 9 April 1946.

⁹⁸ WDR/HAC 094954, Bartlett to Musikabteilung, 21 June 1946.

⁹⁹ von Zahn, 'Reset or Reeducation', p. 232; Michael Struck-Schloen, 'Ein schöner großer Weg', in Westdeutscher Rundfunk (ed.), "...aber das Neue sollten wir recht eigentlich leben!" *50 Jahre Kölner Rundfunk-Sinfonie-Orchester* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1997), p. 22; on Bund, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 829-31.

¹⁰⁰ Keller, *Das Kölner Funkhaus*, pp. 14-5.

Kölner Rundfunk-Sinfonie-Orchester (today the *WDR-Sinfonieorchester*).¹⁰¹ Though the orchestra lacked the direction of a personality as strong as Schmidt-Isserstedt in Hamburg, they soon came to be playing as much new music (with one or more works in almost every concert) as any other radio orchestra except that in Baden-Baden (see below).¹⁰² Furthermore, a *Kölner Rundfunkchor* (later *WDR Rundfunkchor Köln*) was founded in September 1947 by the conductor Bernhard Zimmermann, who would direct it until 1962.¹⁰³

A further studio opened in Berlin to handle broadcasts to that city began activities on 7 April 1946 and first produced its own broadcasts in July.¹⁰⁴ The director of this station was E.K. Wichmann, who had previously run the press department of Berliner Rundfunk,¹⁰⁵ whilst the critic and Pfitzner student Erwin Kroll was appointed head of the music section, in which position he remained until 1953.¹⁰⁶ By December 1946, the British were also broadcasting from stations in Flensburg, Bremen, Hannover and Langenberg.¹⁰⁷ The formation of the three major stations laid the ground for the inevitable break-up of the centralised British model in 1954, when *Sender Freies Berlin* was separated from Hamburg, then *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* in Cologne in 1955, leaving *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* in Hamburg. Furthermore, the appointments of Eimert, Beyer, Hübner and later re-appointment of Kruttge, not to mention the formation of the two new orchestras and choirs, would all be of central importance to the development of new music in West Germany. The Cologne orchestra in particular became one of the most renowned orchestras for this in the world, and premiered works such as Luigi Nono's *Il canto sospeso* or Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte* and *Gruppen*. It also had a major role in the future series *das neue werk* and *Musik der Zeit*. The two choirs collaborated in the first concert performance

¹⁰¹ von Zahn, 'Reset or Reeducation', p. 233.

¹⁰² For the full programmes for the first fifty years, see "...aber das Neue sollten wir recht eigentlich leben!", pp. 75-164.

¹⁰³ WDR, 'Die Geschichte des WDR Rundfunkchors', archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20110216044005/http://www.wdr.de/radio/orchester/rundfunkchor/portraet/weiterleitung_portraet.html (accessed 15 December 2017).

¹⁰⁴ Anja Schäfers, "In Berlin war eben überhaupt nichts unpolitisch": Der NWDR-Berlin bis zur Gründung des SFB', in *NWDR1*, p. 355. *Berlin 1945-1946*, p. 195, gives a date of 18 August for the Berlin station beginning its activities.

¹⁰⁵ 'Kulturelle Nachrichten', *Tagesspiegel*, 9 June 1946.

¹⁰⁶ Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik", p. 238.

¹⁰⁷ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 22. Various studies of regional stations can be found in *NWDR1*.

of Schoenberg's *Moses und Aron* in *das neue werk* on 12 March 1954,¹⁰⁸ and from this point onwards the Cologne choir in particular demonstrated a major commitment to new music, premiering works of Boulez, Nono, Henze and others, while the Hamburg choir did so more gradually, performing some Penderecki under Thurn. Under their second director, Helmut Franz, from 1966, they became notorious for their premiere of Ligeti's *Lux aeterna*, and premiered a range of other contemporary works.¹⁰⁹

The Stations in the US Zone: Munich/*Bayerischer Rundfunk*, Frankfurt/*Hessischer Rundfunk*, Stuttgart/*Süddeutscher Rundfunk*, Radio Bremen

OMGUS took a very different approach to broadcasting and centralisation, with three relatively independent stations in the three principal cities of Munich, Frankfurt and Stuttgart, and a further smaller one in Bremen. The first of these to be occupied was Frankfurt on 28 March 1945, but it was also the worst destroyed. Radio Munich, previously a wholly Nazified station used for propaganda,¹¹⁰ was the first to begin broadcasting on 12 May, at first from a special studio in the nearby town of Ismaning, then from the damaged main studio by 31 May.¹¹¹ An existing transmitter in Nuremberg was used as a secondary station from 22 November, and used to broadcast much of the Nuremberg Trials.¹¹² Radio Frankfurt was next, on 1 June,¹¹³ first from a mobile transmitter before moving to a makeshift centre in nearby Bad Nauheim, which was also the headquarters of the American-controlled news agency *Deutsche Allgemeine Nachrichtenagentur* (DANA).¹¹⁴ This consolidated the station's role as

¹⁰⁸ Marcus Stäbler, 'Schönberg in Hamburg: Musik, Moses und Aron', at <http://www.ndr.de/kultur/musik/klassik/Moses-und-Aaron.schoenberg218.html> (accessed 15 December 2017).

¹⁰⁹ Stäbler, 'Der NDR Chor'.

¹¹⁰ This is documented in detail in Stephanie Schrader, *Von der "Deutschen Stunde in Bayern" zum "Reichssender München". Der Zugriff der Nationalsozialisten auf den Rundfunk* (Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, etc.: Peter Lang, 2002).

¹¹¹ IfZ/OMGUS 10/18-1/7, 'Summary of "Daily Diaries" for Week Ending 15 June 1945'.

¹¹² Karl-Otto Saur, *"Ein bisserl was geht immer". Die Geschichte des Bayerischen Rundfunks* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), pp. 73-4.

¹¹³ 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk. Der Neubeginn nach dem Krieg (1945 bis 1949)', in Michael Crone and Hans Sarkowicz (eds.), *hr – Hier kommt Hessen. 60 Jahre Radio und Fernsehen* (Frankfurt: Societäts-Verlag, 2008), p. 56.

¹¹⁴ Lawrence Hartenian, 'Propaganda and the Control of Information in Occupied Germany: The US Information Control Division at Radio Frankfurt 1945-1949' (PhD thesis: Rutgers University, 1984), pp. 101, 233, 235-6; LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), 'Information Control, Monthly Report, Military

the centre of broadcasting operations, though authorisation was given to reconstruct the Frankfurt centre, to where broadcasting was moved from Bad Nauheim on 15 February 1946.¹¹⁵ In Stuttgart, which was under French control until 8 July, American and French engineers worked together to rebuild the station, with some tension, before it went on air on 3 June.¹¹⁶

The first Chief of the Radio Control Branch of US ICD was OWI and former CBS employee Gerald Maulsby,¹¹⁷ appointed to the position by December 1945 at the latest.¹¹⁸ He was followed in April 1946 by former newspaper employee Charles S. Lewis, who became acting chief, remaining in the position up to the founding of the Federal Republic.¹¹⁹ In Munich, a 29-year old American civilian, Field Horine, who had studied in Heidelberg and Bonn in the 1930s, then worked for CBS and for wartime broadcasting, was appointed controller in May 1945.¹²⁰ He worked with a few other American officials and recruited numerous Germans to work alongside them at the station,¹²¹ remaining in position until the end of 1946, when he and two other US officers resigned in protest against American occupation policy and denazification.¹²² Horine's successor in March 1947 was the first German controller, Klaus Brill, as Chief of Section.¹²³ A position of Intendant was created in 1947, and filled first by the Austro-Jewish Edmund Schechter, then in November by Rudolf von Scholtz, who remained in the job for nine years.¹²⁴

Governor, U.S. Zone, No. 1, for July 1945', 20 August 1945; 'No. 8, for February 1946', 20 March 1946; 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk', p. 56; Earl Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany 1944-1946* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1975), p. 372.

¹¹⁵ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-3/1, 'Final approval proposal', 20 July 1945; LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), 'Information Control, Monthly Report, Military Governor, U.S. Zone, No. 8, for February 1946', 20 March 1946. 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk', p. 56; Hartenian, 'Propaganda and the Control of Information', pp. 235-6.

¹¹⁶ Edgar Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart, 1934-1949* (Stuttgart: Süddeutscher Rundfunk, 1990), pp. 28-33.

¹¹⁷ Obituary for Gerald Maulsby, *New York Times*, 1 October 1977.

¹¹⁸ *ICD History I*, p. 30.

¹¹⁹ Henke and Oldenhege, 'Office of Military Government for Germany', pp. 79, 115.

¹²⁰ Saur, "Ein bisserl was geht immer", p. 66; Peter J. Humphreys, *Media and Media Policy in Germany: The Press and Broadcasting since 1945* (Oxford: Berg, 1990), p. 354.

¹²¹ Rüdiger Bolz, 'Von Radio München zum Bayerischen Rundfunk', in Friedrich Prinz (ed.), *Trümmerzeit in München. Kultur und Gesellschaft einer deutschen Großstadt im Aufbruch 1945-1949*, (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1984), pp. 242-3.

¹²² Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 21.

¹²³ Bolz, 'Von Radio München zum Bayerischen Rundfunk', p. 249; 'Neuer Chef für Radio München' at <http://web.ard.de/ard-chronik/index/7614?year=1947&month=3> (accessed 18 June 2017).

¹²⁴ Saur, "Ein bisserl was geht immer", pp. 71-2, 88.

At Radio Frankfurt, journalist Robert H. Lochner, who had grown up in Berlin, was appointed in August as Chief Editor for the news.¹²⁵ Lochner had difficulty finding anti-Nazis in Bad Nauheim to work for the station, so he was assigned four more American personnel to help him. These included Golo Mann, son of Thomas, who had worked at Radio Luxemburg, and Herbert C. Gross. These two and Lochner became the principal American control officers for the station.¹²⁶ It was more US-dominated than Munich, starting out with 15 American officers and 12 Germans (the latter only technicians), though the Americans began screening other German personnel in the first month.¹²⁷ At Stuttgart, a Captain William Burke Miller ran the station from June, followed by Captain Philip Barbour, from January to March 1946, then Captain Fred G. Taylor Jr.¹²⁸ Taylor, a scientist who had also undertaken missionary work in Germany between 1930 and 1933 for Mormon churches, had been involved with the planning of the station since February 1945, and was the first voice heard, telling Germans that Radio Stuttgart would provide an ‘eventual return to your home’ to all whose lives had been disrupted by the Nazis. Some remembered him as a decent man, but not really up to the task at hand, and one who would never have interfered with the musical programming.¹²⁹

At first broadcasts on these three stations consisted mostly of programmes piped in from the American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSE) in Luxembourg, together with directions and declarations for the Military Regime.¹³⁰ The American authorities provided stations with boxes of recordings of American music originating from OWI and transported from Paris, while there were also donations from the British and French authorities, and some records left over from the

¹²⁵ Obituary, ‘Robert Lochner; helped Kennedy in Berlin speech’, *Boston Globe*, 24 September 2003.

¹²⁶ ‘Interview with Robert Lochner’, at <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/interviews/episode-4/lochner2.html> (accessed 15 December 2017); Urs Bitterli, *Golo Mann. Instanz und Aussenseiter. Eine Biographie* (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2004), pp. 88-92; Klaus W. Jonas and Holger R. Stunz, *Golo Mann: Leben und Werk: Chronik und Bibliographie (1929-2004)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 43-44; ‘Radio Frankfurt verlässt Bad Nauheim’, at <http://web.ard.de/ard-chronik/index/7304?year=1946> (accessed 15 December 2017).

¹²⁷ Hartenian, ‘Propaganda and the Control of Information’, pp. 101, 233.

¹²⁸ Robert Heinze, ‘Radio Stuttgart, 1945-47’ (Magistalarbeit: Universität Konstanz, 2004), p. 68.

¹²⁹ Ibid. pp. 70-71; Daniela Unger, ‘Musik im deutschen Rundfunkprogramm 1945-1949. Zur Amerikanischen Einflußnahme bei Radio Stuttgart’, (Magistalarbeit: Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1997), p. 16. This latter thesis contains some mistakes and omissions (for example identifying Hugh Carleton Greene as an American (rather than British) chief of NWDR, and omitting entirely the *Zeitgenössische Musiktage* of 1947), but contains the most comprehensive range of data drawn from the SDR archives on this period.

¹³⁰ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 377; ‘Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk’, pp. 56-7.

Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft. By 1947, Radio Stuttgart, for example, had 5000 records and 2000 tapes.¹³¹

On 11 November 1945, Radio Luxemburg went off the air, and Radio Frankfurt, to which some Luxembourg personnel had been transferred, took control of network operations between Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich, with some programmes broadcast simultaneously by all three stations. The network was entitled *Süddeutscher Rundfunk* (not to be confused with the later re-designation of Radio Stuttgart under the same name), as a counterpart to the British NWDR.¹³² A Radio Network Control Office was set up to co-ordinate programming for this network in June 1946,¹³³ though before this point Radio Munich withdrew. Financial responsibility for the three stations had been handed over to the Länder on 31 January.¹³⁴

In August 1945, the American occupying forces also planned a new dedicated radio station for their enclave in the city-state of Bremen, and advertised in the *Weser Kurier* to this end.¹³⁵ A villa was requisitioned from which to broadcast in November 1945.¹³⁶ American officer Edward E. Harrison, who had directed the creation of the new station, became the controller, and broadcasting began on 23 December 1945.¹³⁷ German staff were recruited from the outset, with a view to a quick handover.¹³⁸

Unable to secure Karl Amadeus Hartmann as head of the music section at Radio Munich, the US officers van Loon and Kilenyi gave the position on 22 September to Heinz Pringsheim (1882-1974), a Jewish composer, conductor and music critic who had worked alongside Richard Strauss, but was forbidden from working in 1933 and later listed in the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*. Pringsheim

¹³¹ IfZ/OMGUS 10/18-1/7, 'Summary of "Daily Diaries" for Week Ending 15 June 1945'; Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', pp. 29-31.

¹³² LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), 'Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Reports, Military Governor No. 4, for October 1945', 20 November 1945; 'No. 5, for November 1945', 20 December 1945; 'No. 8, for February 1946', 20 March 1946.

¹³³ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 377; LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), 'Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 2, for June 1946', 20 July 1946; 'No. 7, for January 1946', 20 February 1946, p. 3. U.S. personnel nonetheless retained control of policy with respect to salaries, costs of operation and bookkeeping

¹³⁴ LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, Monthly Report, Military Governor, U.S. Zone, No. 7, for January 1946, 20 February 1946, p. 3. U.S. personnel nonetheless retained control of policy with respect to salaries, costs of operation and bookkeeping.

¹³⁵ Peter von Rügen, 'Existenzkampf im Norden: Radio Bremen und der NWDR', in *NWDR I*, p. 157; 'Bremer Rundfunk-Chronik. 1945: Radio Bremen entsteht', at

<http://www.radiobremen.de/unternehmen/chronik/nachkriegsjahre102.html> (accessed 18 June 2017).

¹³⁶ *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen. Erinnerungen. Berichte. Dokumente* (Bremen: Radio Bremen Pressestelle, 1964), p. 325.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 73.

¹³⁸ '10 Jahre Radio Bremen', in *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Rundfunks*, p. 265.

remained in this position until 1950.¹³⁹ Up until the 1947-8 season, he would not broadcast any music of Wagner, a decision he defended in a barbed speech, insisting that it did not amount to censorship (despite arguing that Wagner, had he lived longer, would have become a standard-bearer for the Nazis), but was for aesthetic reasons. In Pringsheim's view, Wagner's development of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* took him away from 'pure music' towards a utopian ideal in which 'no element can stand in its own right', before continuing to tie this to its appropriation during the Third Reich.¹⁴⁰

Pringsheim's aesthetic sympathies lay more with a pre-1918 modernism (somewhat in line with Bekker's original conception of *Neue Musik*). He was greatly enthusiastic about Shostakovich, whose Fifth Symphony he saw as having 'overcome all the excesses of the atonal period' and having extended a symphonic tradition from Bruckner to Mahler,¹⁴¹ but much less so about Hindemith and the *Neue Sachlichkeit*.¹⁴² Nonetheless, Pringsheim was deeply supportive of Karl Amadeus Hartmann and his *Musica viva* series, which began in October 1945 (see Chapter 5),¹⁴³ and would play a part in formalising a relationship between the station and the series in 1947.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the composer and founder of the Nuremberg Arbeitskreis für neue Musik Willy Spilling (see Chapter 3) took over a further music section in Nuremberg, on 15 March 1948.¹⁴⁵

Holger Hagen, mentioned in Chapter 4, became the first director of the music section for Radio Frankfurt;¹⁴⁶ the exact date of his appointment is unclear, but was probably in late 1945.¹⁴⁷ More significant was the key appointment of the pianist

¹³⁹ Rüdiger Bolz, *Rundfunk und Literatur unter amerikanischer Kontrolle. Das Programmangebot von Radio München 1945-1949* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), p. 88; Stengel and Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, p. 218; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 5340; 'Gestorben. Heinz Pringsheim, 91', *Der Spiegel*, 8 April 1974.

¹⁴⁰ Bolz, *Rundfunk und Literatur*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁴¹ Heinz Pringsheim, 'Symphonie von Schostakowitsch', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 25 June 1946.

¹⁴² See Heinz Pringsheim, 'Hindemith: Marienleben', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 April 1946, in which he claims that only a few of Hindemith's works from the early 1920s are likely to have lasting value; or his "'Faustsymphonie'", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, in which he contrasts Liszt with the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, pointing out the extent to which the former was seen in his time as representing the highest romantic 'Ausdrucksmusik'.

¹⁴³ Heinz Pringsheim, 'Musikstadt München im Aufbau?', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 January 1946; Franzpeter Messner, 'Karl Amadeus Hartmann', in *Trümmerzeit in München*, p. 191.

¹⁴⁴ K.H. Ruppel, 'Musica Viva 1945-1958', in K.H. Ruppel (ed.), *Musica Viva* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1959), pp. 15-16.

¹⁴⁵ '60 Jahre Volksmusik', at <https://web.archive.org/web/20101013223656/http://www.br-online.de/bayern1/volksmusik-aus-franken/volksmusik-aus-franken-60-jahre-ID1212053726531.xml> (accessed 30 September 2017).

¹⁴⁶ Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 4, Hagen was still working in Bavaria at least as late as October 1945. See OMGUS 9/154-2/8, 'Historical Report on Radio Frankfurt Operation During the Period from 25

Heinz Schröter (1907-1974) in charge of chamber and contemporary music. Schröter had worked immediately after the end of the war as a pianist for American Forces Network,¹⁴⁸ and set up a station in Frankfurt at that time.¹⁴⁹ By September at the latest he was playing for Radio Frankfurt,¹⁵⁰ and was appointed as head of the chamber music section some time before the end of the year, whilst being allowed to continue concertising.¹⁵¹

In Nazi Germany, Schröter had remained active as a pianist, forming a statutory piano trio at Frankfurt Radio in late Spring 1939.¹⁵² He also taught piano at the Hessische Landesmusikschule in Darmstadt from 1937 to 1944, during which time he knew Steinecke well, and was acquainted with Heiß. He was not an NSDAP member, and was able to avoid being conscripted on medical grounds,¹⁵³ but did direct the NSKG Kammerorchester in Frankfurt in 1935.¹⁵⁴ He had also appeared at some KdF events as a pianist,¹⁵⁵ but otherwise does not appear to have been involved with any especially propagandistic occasions.¹⁵⁶ In the American list of 1 August 1946, Schröter was classified as White (B);¹⁵⁷ this would have prevented him working in press, publications, or film production, but not in radio. Schröter's position was

January 1946 to 30 June 1946', 21 June 1946, cited in Hartenian, 'Propaganda and the Control of Information', p. 274. In E.K., 'Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946, Hagen is listed as having worked for the station for the past half-year. In Alfred Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio. Das Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt* (Frankfurt: Verlag Waldemar Kramer, 1998), p. 189, Hagen is incorrectly listed as being in this position solely from June to November 1946.

¹⁴⁸ Private communications with Schröter's daughter, Barbara Schmidt-Blankenhagen, forwarded in e-mail to the author, 11 August 2011. I am immensely grateful to Daniel Wolf for forwarding some questions from me to Schmidt-Blankenhagen.

¹⁴⁹ *History of AFRTS: The First 50 Years* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), pp. 52-53. This station first went on air on 10 June 1945.

¹⁵⁰ The station broadcast a concert of Schröter playing modern Spanish piano music on 4 September 1945, and one of Debussy on 20 September. See Radio Frankfurt listings, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1 and 19 September 1945. By March 1946 he was described as the 'house pianist of the radio'; E.K., 'Drei Pianisten', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 March 1946.

¹⁵¹ E-mail from Schmidt-Blankenhagen, 11 August 2011. Alfred Sous, in *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, p. 46, lists Schröter as taking over the position in 1945, whilst on '75 Jahre Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt' he is listed as beginning in 1946.

¹⁵² 'Musik im Rundfunk', *ZfM* 106/5 (May 1939), p. 566.

¹⁵³ E-mail from Schmidt-Blankenhagen, 11 August 2011.

¹⁵⁴ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 6321.

¹⁵⁵ For example in a Liederabende as part of the 'Kammermusik- und Solistenabende des Gaues Hessen-Nassau' in Worms, organised by the KdF in 1942-43, also playing the Weber *Konzertstück* and Chopin Barcarolle in concert in Rhein-Main with the Landesorchester at another KdF event around the same time. See *Die Musik* 35/3 (December 1942), advert, p. III.

¹⁵⁶ Oddly, few scholars considering musicians active during the Third Reich appear to have taken much interest in Schröter, which is surprising in light not only of his important work at Radio Frankfurt/*Hessisches Rundfunk*, but also his directorship of the Cologne Musikhochschule from the mid-1950s.

¹⁵⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 11/47-3/26, 'List 1 August 1946 superseding List 1 April 1946 and supplement No. 1 thereto'.

essentially second to Hagen, and he had control of chamber and contemporary music.¹⁵⁸

ICD ordered stations in January 1946 to reduce their numbers of American officers and appoint German heads by 30 June.¹⁵⁹ Radio Frankfurt was the only one to manage this, with the appointment of Eberhard Beckmann on 1 June as Intendant.¹⁶⁰ Beckmann was happy to broadcast programmes in the manner of CBS's *The March of Time*, and translations of the Voice of America's direct broadcast of Security Council sessions.¹⁶¹ Other Germans were appointed to head departments of politics, news, literature and entertainment,¹⁶² though Hagen remained in place in music, the only department in which ICD retained a more than merely supervisory role after August.¹⁶³ It was during this latter part of his tenure that he was able to give the go-ahead to Schröter's *Zeitgenössische Musikwoche* in Bad Nauheim (see Chapter 5).

In Stuttgart, director, *Kapellmeister* and actor Fritz Wilm Wallenborn, was taken on in August 1945 as the first director of words and music, though he was dismissed at the beginning of 1946 (apparently not on political grounds).¹⁶⁴ After this, overall leadership went to Gustav Koslik,¹⁶⁵ who was already conducting the orchestra (see below). Of the two individuals working for Koslik in Stuttgart, most important was the 36-year old composer and critic Otto-Erich Schilling, who had managed to hide his NSDAP membership and other deeply unsavoury elements of his past¹⁶⁶ but became responsible for the broadcast of contemporary classical music in early 1946. Alongside him, Wilhelm Locks took responsibility for opera and symphonic music.¹⁶⁷ They were also answerable to the 28-year old Lieutenant Leonard E. Coplen, who had studied violin at the New England Conservatory and composition at Harvard University with Walter Piston, and became the control officer

¹⁵⁸ E-mail from Schmidt-Blankenhagen, 11 August 2011.

¹⁵⁹ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁰ 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk', p. 58.

¹⁶¹ LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 10, for April 1946, 20 May 1946.

¹⁶² 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk', p. 58.

¹⁶³ Hartenian, 'Propaganda and the Control of Information', p. 274.

¹⁶⁴ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart*, pp. 113-4; Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 25; Viktor Schwarz (ed.), *Der Musik-Alamanach* (Munich: K. Desch, 1948), p. 484.

¹⁶⁶ See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 6109-12. Schilling had been an NSDAP member since 1930, had written an unperformed opera on 'Jud Süß', and also a *Schwur-Lied* (song of oath), which began 'We hate the Jews and love that which is German' ('Wir hassen den Juden und lieben, was deutsch ist').

¹⁶⁷ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', pp. 20-21. Unger also suggests that Gustav Koslik would have been head of the Musikabteilung from 1946.

for music at Stuttgart in the second half of 1946.¹⁶⁸ In February 1948, conductor Hans Müller-Kray took over the section, with Heinrich Burkhard, the co-founder of the Donaueschingen Festival, joining him in October of that year to be in charge of programming.¹⁶⁹

Overall, music played an extremely important role in programming for radio stations in the US zone – a full 52% of broadcast time by the end of the first year of occupation. At Radio Frankfurt the figure was 60-70%,¹⁷⁰ but this station had broadcast for the greatest number of hours per week from the beginning of the occupation: 63, as compared to 28 from Stuttgart or 12 from Munich.¹⁷¹ By March 1946 the station had instituted a continuous schedule for Sundays, from 06.30 to 24.00;¹⁷² by July it was broadcasting for 116 hours a week (the same number as Stuttgart, whilst Munich broadcast only marginally fewer at 100).¹⁷³ At first the output on all stations included various American popular music, though this was diminished after very mixed responses, and classical music continued to dominate.¹⁷⁴ Contemporary music became a small but palpable part of this from an early stage.

Radio Munich was described by some OMGUS officers in its early days as being ‘as popular as a flea on a dog’s back’, in part because of the concentration on American popular and folk rather than German music, with surveys showing listeners’ preference for the latter.¹⁷⁵ Pringsheim moved towards a solid diet of classics, including various broadcasts of concerts of the Philharmonic, and a fair amount of new music. In 1945, piano music of Debussy, Ravel and Toch featured in the first broadcasts,¹⁷⁶ and there were also broadcasts of Hindemith’s *Mathis*, Shostakovich’s Eighth and Ninth Symphonies, and William Schuman’s Third, and in 1946, a cycle of

¹⁶⁸ Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart*, pp. 62-3; Unger, ‘Radio Stuttgart’, pp. 16-18; Marbruch, ‘Ein Jahr Radio Stuttgart’, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 4 June 1946. Previously music appears to have been the responsibility of several American control officers.

¹⁶⁹ Unger, ‘Radio Stuttgart’, p. 25.

¹⁷⁰ E.K., ‘Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946.

¹⁷¹ LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 13, for July 1946, 20 August 1946.

¹⁷² LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 9, for March 1946, 20 April 1946.

¹⁷³ LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 13, for July 1946, 20 August 1946.

¹⁷⁴ Warkentin, *History of US Information Control*, pp. 195-7.

¹⁷⁵ Ziemke, *Occupation of Germany*, p. 378.

¹⁷⁶ IZ/OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Jean-Pierre Barricelli, ‘First live programs originating from studios of radio station’, 3 August 1945.

Hindemith's chamber music.¹⁷⁷ A series of regular Wednesday broadcasts also featured new music, from both recorded performances and records. For example, in January 1946 the station broadcast Walton's *Spitfire Fugue* and *Viola Concerto*, works of Bloch, Stravinsky and Elgar, and an all-American broadcast with works of Copland, Roy Harris, Walter Piston and Paul Creston.¹⁷⁸ For the 1946-47 series the Philharmonic also performed a series of special Sunday concerts for the radio featuring a range of contemporary composers including Britten, Shostakovich, Copland, Hanson, and more standard German fare such as Pfitzner, Höffer and Sutermeister.¹⁷⁹

In Frankfurt, the desires of listeners and the success of programmes differed: early schedules featured numerous local programmes, which the chief of the OMGUS radio section noted, in a report written towards the end of the first year, generated 'a very personal relationship between listener and station'.¹⁸⁰ Early surveys also suggested only moderate enthusiasm for classical music, less so than for light music of German origin.¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, from at least the beginning of August 1945, Radio Frankfurt went further than any other station in broadcasting American music, with a daily programme entitled 'Musik der neuen Welt',¹⁸² which appears to have had a classical focus. Beyond this, there was plenty of other commitment to new music: for example broadcasts of Copland's *El Salon Mexico*, one of Bartók's Rhapsodies for violin and orchestra, Barber's *Essay for Orchestra* and Stravinsky's *Petrouchka* on 30 August, features of Respighi and Weill at the beginning of September, and of Vaughan Williams and John Ireland later that month.¹⁸³ Recordings from America impressed one critic, who wrote about the 'fascinating discipline and sound culture of the top American orchestras',¹⁸⁴ as did a broadcast of Toscanini and the BBC

¹⁷⁷ Franzpeter Messner, 'Münchener tradition und Klassische Moderne – der musikalische Neuanfang', in *Trümmerzeit in München*, p. 183.

¹⁷⁸ Rudolf Bach, 'Musik im Rundfunk'; R.B., 'Musik im Rundfunk', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4 and 29 January 1946.

¹⁷⁹ Heinz Pringsheim, 'Pläne und Ziele der Philharmoniker', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 6 September 1946.

¹⁸⁰ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/9, Herbert C. Cross, Captain, Radio Section, of Director of IC, OMGUS, 14 May 1946, Subject: Material on Radio Frankfurt operation.

¹⁸¹ LSE GOVT. PUBS. 43 (R519), Information Control, U.S. Zone, Monthly Report, Military Governor No. 2, for August 1945, 20 September 1945. This report also suggested that the BBC, which listeners in Hesse were able to hear, met with considerably more enthusiasm than Radio Frankfurt or Radio Luxemburg.

¹⁸² From listings in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

¹⁸³ 'Radio Frankfurt', listings in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 29 August, 1 September, 19 September 1945.

¹⁸⁴ E.K., 'Musik der Neuen Welt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 8 September 1945.

Symphony Orchestra playing Shostakovich's First Symphony,¹⁸⁵ or another soon afterwards of Elgar, Vaughan Williams and Barber. That critic (who was uniformly positive about most modern music offerings from the station) wrote that the works broadcast 'give us an insight into the particularities of musical creativity abroad'.¹⁸⁶ Following the success of the Bad Nauheim festival in July 1946, Schröter was able to introduce a special series of recordings on Monday evenings at 22:15, entitled *Studio-Konzert für Neue Musik*. Programmes included one exploring the relationship between the work of Reger and the post-war German music of Hindemith and others, another examining the impressionism of Debussy and Ravel, and others music from Hungary, Sweden or Finland. Younger composers broadcast included Henze and B.A. Zimmermann.¹⁸⁷

However, Radio Stuttgart featured the largest number of regular slots for a range of international new music from a very early stage. In the basic programming structure which ran for several months from 30 September 1945, there were broadcasts of works of Charles Ives, Charles Griffes and George Chadwick on their 'Afternoon Music Program' which ran from 12:15 to 12:30 each day. Other contemporary composers were featured on their 'Special Music Program' which took place from 14:00 to 14:30 on Sundays, while the Wednesday edition of their 'Evening Music Program', which ran from 21:30 to 21:45, was dedicated to 'classical and modern composers from America'.¹⁸⁸ A 'Neue Wege in der Tonkunst' series also began in November, and ran from 21:15 to 22:00 on Mondays and Fridays. Then in the Spring a further 'Studiokonzert' with new music at 21:00 was added, including a 15-minute discussion between the conductor, a prominent critic, and (when possible) the composer.¹⁸⁹ Both programmes were now run and written by Schilling, who for the Studiokonzerte gave biographical details and text from reviews of the works in question paying particular attention to issues of epoch, stylistic tendencies and national characteristics, being very keen to assign each composer into some such categories, though generally avoiding detailed analytical commentaries.¹⁹⁰ In 'Neue

¹⁸⁵ E.K., 'Neue Musik im Frankfurter Sender', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23 October 1945.

¹⁸⁶ E.K., 'Neues am Lautsprecher', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 November 1945.

¹⁸⁷ Heinz Schröter, 'Ein Sender aktiviert das städt. Musikleben: Zwei zeitgenössische Musikwochen in Frankfurt/M.', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), pp. 182-3. Other composers broadcast from 1946-47 included Paul von Klenau, Hermann Heiß, Hindemith, Milhaud, Bartók, Prokofiev and Stravinsky; 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/13 (November 1947), p. 394.

¹⁸⁸ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', pp. 8-9, 52.

¹⁸⁹ OMGWB 12/85-1/49, cited in Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 52.

¹⁹⁰ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 53.

Wege' the most-performed composer was Prokofiev, followed by Ravel, Ives and Debussy; various other American composers were featured as well as Ives (drawing upon the OWI record collections). The Studiokonzerte were more Germanic and had mostly Hindemith, then Schilling, then Ravel, Stravinsky, Harald Genzmer and quite a number of south German composers. Egk, Pfitzner, Orff and Richard Strauss were not included, though neither were Hartmann, Eisler, Weill or the Second Viennese School.¹⁹¹ Nonetheless, in the face of complaints about the amount of new music, the Studiokonzerte were shortened and 'Neue Wege' was moved to a 14:30 half-hour slot on Fridays, and then dropped in September 1946.¹⁹² The Studiokonzerte were dropped at the end of October 1947.¹⁹³ However, other programmes including modern music remained, a dedicated week was presented in late 1947,¹⁹⁴ and by 1949 there was a further series entitled 'Musik von heute'.¹⁹⁵

Radio Frankfurt also had some problems, specifically with young audiences. In the *Frankfurter Radio-Almanach* in autumn 1947, listeners were surveyed to vote for 'good' and 'bad' broadcasts. with 16.6% voting for 'Gieseeking spielt' as the worst broadcast, and 10% for a concert of new music. Gieseeking himself had played works of Skryabin and Casella. It is possible that the listeners were hostile to Gieseeking because of knowledge of his high-profile career in Nazi Germany and rumoured sympathies, but the poll led to a rather frustrated article in *Melos* (probably by Strobel) in which the value of new music was distinguished from its appeal to popular opinion, and the need to educate listeners stressed.¹⁹⁶

The percentage of broadcast time consisting of contemporary music was not high - just 1.3% for Stuttgart.¹⁹⁷ Music was an even more modest affair at Radio Bremen, organised by composer Ludwig Roselius.¹⁹⁸ Concerts were given from 1946 by the Staatsorchester and opera orchestra, but there had only been 13 by the end of March 1948.¹⁹⁹ The station appears to have had little to do with the *Tage Neuer Musik*

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 53. For a full break-down of the composers represented in these series during the periods, see *ibid.* p. 54.

¹⁹² Ibid. pp. 40, 43.

¹⁹³ Ibid. pp. 55-6. Unger's comparisons with denunciations in the Weimar and Nazi eras are however hyperbolic.

¹⁹⁴ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), p. 426.

¹⁹⁵ 'Notizen', *Melos* 16/4 (April 1949), p. 124.

¹⁹⁶ 'Schlechteste Sendung: "Gieseeking spielt"', *Melos* 14/14 (December 1947), pp. 417-8.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 44.

¹⁹⁸ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 5847.

¹⁹⁹ Blum, *Musikfreunde und Musici*, p. 554.

in July 1946 (see Chapter 5), nor any of the other work for new music from GMD Helmut Schnackenburg.

Kurt Koschnick directed the music section of the station in the spring of 1947,²⁰⁰ but the first significant individual in this role was Siegfried Goslich, who had worked for the previous three years at the station in Weimar in the Soviet Zone and was appointed in Bremen in August 1948.²⁰¹ Goslich, who joined the NSDAP in 1940 (No. 8,183,939), had worked as an expert on choir and folk music for the RMK from 1934 to 1945, and then for *Volksbildungswerke* for KdF.²⁰² The first radio commissions of new music date from the following year,²⁰³ after the station was transferred to German hands on 5 April 1949.²⁰⁴ Goslich developed the orchestra from its origins in U-Musik towards more symphonic repertoire, and would later, in 1952, introduce an annual series *Wege zur Neuen Musik*.²⁰⁵ New music would be developed further by Goslich's successor, the composer Hans Otte, who took over in 1959 and would develop the station to become a leading centre for new music.²⁰⁶

All three stations needed major orchestras for broadcasts, as in Hamburg and Cologne. In Munich, the Philharmonic was prohibitively expensive, and had its own musical and other agendas. On the model of several earlier orchestras associated with radio in the city from the 1920s onwards, a new small *Münchener Rundfunkorchester* of 35-40 players was created in 1945 for certain events. They began their activities in November, playing a significant amount of U-Musik.²⁰⁷ Due to their limitations, they were not really involved in the development of a new repertoire, but the function of such an orchestra shifted after the creation of a separate *Rundfunk-Tanzorchester* in 1947 by Herbert Beckh,²⁰⁸ Furthermore, after Rosbaud left the Philharmonic for Baden-Baden (see below), his successor Fritz Rieger, a former NSDAP member, had conservative tastes, and ultimately (by 1952) announced that he was practically

²⁰⁰ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), p. 189.

²⁰¹ *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen*, p. 145.

²⁰² Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, p. 192; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2439-40.

²⁰³ Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (ed.), *Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk 1946-1975* (Frankfurt: Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, 1977), p. 23.

²⁰⁴ *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen*, p. 74.

²⁰⁵ Blum, *Musikfreunde und Musici*, p. 554.

²⁰⁶ *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen*, pp. 155-6.

²⁰⁷ See Messner, 'Münchener tradition und Klassische Moderne', p. 183 for more details.

²⁰⁸ Renate Ulm, 'Musik nicht nur für's Radio. Die Klangkörper des Bayerischen Rundfunks von 1924 bis 1999', in Ulm (ed.), *1949 – 1999. 50 Jahre Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks* (Kassel, Basel et al: Bärenreiter, 1999), p. 30.

eliminating new music from the Philharmonic's concerts.²⁰⁹ There was a new need for a more forward-looking orchestra in the city. After various negotiations between Schnargl and the city culture department, and von Scholtz and others at the radio, including the possibility of the Philharmonic being taken over by the radio station, it was decided to found a new *Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks* in July 1949, with an agreement to broadcast certain concerts with a mixture of the best players from both.²¹⁰

From February 1948, the Münchner Rundfunkorchester (later briefly the *Orchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks*) had played in several concerts in *Musica viva* (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 5c), and made a studio recording for a special programme on Schoenberg, conducted by Winfried Zillig. In addition, Eugen Jochum conducted this orchestra in three different Bruckner symphonies, confirming the creation of a different type of entity.²¹¹ Jochum had been cleared by a Spruchkammer in early 1947 and worked from August 1948 in the city as principal guest conductor at the Philharmonic, as well as at the Staatsoper. He agreed to be the first chief conductor for the new large orchestra, which would be devoted to more 'serious' programming, while a second orchestra would concentrate on light music.²¹² Thus, the main orchestra's origins lay partially in the performance of new music, and its formal creation gave the opportunity for a permanent position for the musician who had disappeared so unceremoniously from Munich in 1945. Jochum would remain in the position until 1961, building what is now believed by many critics to be, more so than any other German radio orchestra, one of the finest orchestras in the world. Playing often in *Musica viva*, the orchestra tended in its repertoire towards the mainstream interwar modernism which was such a presence in post-war Germany, rather than towards the more daring choices made by some other radio orchestras such as those in Cologne or Baden-Baden. Nonetheless, in the later years of Jochum's tenure there were an increasing number of exceptions by guest conductors, such as Scherchen conducting the world premiere of Xenakis's *Pithoprakta* in 1957 and Nono's *Varianti*

²⁰⁹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 187.

²¹⁰ Krauss, *Nachkriegskultur in München*, pp. 78-81.

²¹¹ Renate Ulm, 'Die Chieffdirigenten', in Ulm, *50 Jahre Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks*, pp. 71-3.

²¹² Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 164.

in 1958, and other avant-garde repertoire from Pierre Boulez and Bruno Maderna in 1959.²¹³

The precedent was stronger in Frankfurt, as the *Rundfunk-Sinfonie-Orchesters Frankfurt*, founded in the 1920s, had performed a significant amount of contemporary music when Rosbaud was director from 1929 to 1937, including at the 1929 ISCM.²¹⁴ This orchestra had been evacuated to Bad Nauheim during the last months of the war, and players came together again in the town, giving their first concert on 16 September 1945, conducted by Hans Blümer (who had earlier worked at the Staatstheater in Kassel),²¹⁵ with Schröter playing a Mozart concerto, and broadcast by Radio Frankfurt.²¹⁶ Blümer was joined by Rudolf Albert as ‘second Kapellmeister’ at the beginning of January 1946, and this new *Oberhessisches Symphonie-Orchester* was granted a licence by the Americans, supported by the radio.²¹⁷ Early concerts featured music of Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Shostakovich, and a special event for Hindemith’s 50th birthday including the German premiere of the Violin Concerto.²¹⁸ Their relationship with the radio was formalised in March 1946, soon after the station moved back to Frankfurt, and it became known as the *Symphonie-Orchester von Radio Frankfurt*, using the Sendesaal.²¹⁹ They presented a regular series of Sunday concerts (then added further ones on Tuesdays), with a significant amount of contemporary music, including Walter Piston’s *The Incredible Flutist* and Hindemith’s *Amor und Psyche* overture in April, works of Debussy, Ravel and Françaix in May, and Stravinsky’s *Dumbarton Oaks* and Werner Egk’s *Natur-Liebe-*

²¹³ See Ulm, ‘Die Chieffdirigenten’, pp. 75-105 for a detailed chronology of this period.

²¹⁴ See Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, pp. 10-43, on the earlier history of this orchestra, and also ‘75 Jahre Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt. Ein Chronik’, at <http://www.hr-online.de/servlet/de.hr.cms.servlet.File/RSO-Chronik?ws=hrmysql&blobId=58209&id=6049162> (accessed 10 January 2018).

²¹⁵ ‘Diskussion im Konzertsaal’, *Hessische Nachrichten*, 17 October 1945.

²¹⁶ ‘Musikbrief der letzten Woche’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 September 1945; ‘Oberhessisches Symphonie-Orchester’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 September 1945. ‘75 Jahre Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt. Eine Chronik’, p. 4. The first programme, which took place in the Kurhaus in Bad Nauheim, featuring works of Beethoven and Chaikovsky, and the Mozart Piano Concerto KV 488 with Schröter as soloist.

²¹⁷ Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, p. 44. The license holder was a clarinetist in the orchestra, Albert Grasemann, who received the licence on 22 September 1945.

²¹⁸ ‘Kultur Nachrichten’, *Hessische Nachrichten*, 17 November 1945. The Violin Concerto received a rave review from Ernst Krause, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, writing that this and the Stravinsky Violin Concerto were the strongest such works of the time. See E.K., ‘Hindemith-Ehrung im Rundfunk’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20 November 1945.

²¹⁹ Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, pp. 46-7.

Tod and *Kantate* for violin and orchestra in June.²²⁰ Bertil Wetzelsberger gave a guest concert on 12 May featuring Hindemith's *Nobilissima Visione*, which had been played in February in Darmstadt.²²¹ In general, the default type of programme would include one piece of contemporary music alongside other more standard works.²²²

In September 1946, Blümer was found to have falsified his Fragebogen, and was arrested, though he was apparently released 11 months later, having been declared not to be affected by that particular law.²²³ Kurt Schröder (1888-1962), who had been a Kapellmeister in Cologne in the Weimar era, then worked as a film composer in London and Germany during the Third Reich (though he encountered difficulties as his wife was Jewish),²²⁴ was appointed in his place and remained in the position until 1953.

In December 1945, Gustav Koslik and conductor and composer Rolf Unkel similarly created a new *Sinfonieorchester von Radio Stuttgart*; in early 1946 Koslik would also take over Wallenborn's position.²²⁵ Koslik remained in both positions until August 1948, when they were taken over by Hans Müller-Kray.²²⁶ The orchestra was small to begin with, just 25 players in January 1946 and 35 in May, and in this form, resembling their counterpart in Munich, only played salon music, until expanded to 60 players later in May.²²⁷ Many of their orchestral parts had been taken to Bayreuth during the Third Reich, and not returned, so they made extensive use of the Interallied Music Library in Berlin, allowing access to materials for various contemporary American and European composers, including Barber, Copland, Ives,

²²⁰ E.K., 'Chronik der Rundfunk-Konzerte'; 'Hindemith im Rundfunk-Konzert'; 'Oper und Rundfunk'; 'Symphoniekonzert im Sendesaal', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12 and 16 April, 21 May, 18 June 1946; HR, 'Horfunkprogramm 10.03.1946 – 26.10.1946'.

²²¹ 'Musik in Frankfurt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 May 1946.

²²² E.K., 'Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946.

²²³ Hartenian, 'Propaganda and the Control of Information', pp. 275, 322 n. 133, citing *Frankfurt Neue Presse*, 14 September 1946, and HRA Chronik 1946.

²²⁴ Wolfgang Klötzer (ed.), *Frankfurter Biographie. Personengeschichtliches Lexikon. Zweiter Band M-Z* (Frankfurt: Waldemar Kramer, 1996), p. 340; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 2355.

²²⁵ Diethelm Paulussen, *Strawinsky-Interpretationen 1946-1985. Ein Verzeichnis (west-)deutscher Rundfunkaufnahmen* (Frankfurt, 1985, rev. 2002-2017), at <http://www.dpmusik.de/straw/index.html> (accessed 26 January 2018), p. 62.

²²⁶ Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart*, pp. 113-4; Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 25. Lersch gives Koslik's first name as Karl, and a date of 15 August 1948, for Müller-Kray's taking over the post; Unger dates his arrival as 1 September.

²²⁷ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', pp. 26-7. Apparently at the first rehearsal, at the end of 1945, there were a mere 19 players. See Dieter Kölmel, 'Radio-Sinfonieorchester Stuttgart des SWR', in Norbert Bolin and Andreas Bomba (eds.), *Musikland Baden-Württemberg. Basis und Spitze* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2006), p. 122.

Piston, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Holst, Britten and Honegger.²²⁸ Studio concerts were also given by Unkel, and these included works of Poulenc, Marcel Poot, Walter Piston and Rudolf Stephan, whilst there were also radio concerts of chamber works, such as a performance of the Hindemith 1936 Flute Sonata by Gustav Scheck and Carl Seemann which drew the attention of a Berlin critic.²²⁹ In Bremen Hans-Günther Oesterreich was appointed as programme director, and he started to work on the development of an orchestra, again to play light music.²³⁰ The new Radio Bremen Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1948, with Theo Hollinger as conductor.²³¹

In Munich, a new *Rundfunkchor München* (later *Chor des Bayerischen Rundfunks*) was formed by conductor Robert Siegler on 1 May 1946, and would champion from an early stage such works as Orff's *Catulli carmina* and *Trionfi*, Hindemith's *Das Unaufhörliche* and *Apparebit repentina dies* and Honegger's *Antigone*, alongside earlier repertoire of Monteverdi, Bach and Bruckner.²³² Similarly in Stuttgart, young conductor Otto-Werner Müller founded a new *Kammerchor von Radio Stuttgart* (from 1948 *Chor des Süddeutschen Rundfunks*, later *Südfunk Chor* and *SWR Vokalensemble*) at the beginning of September 1946.²³³ This choir performed in the premiere of Hugo Herrmann's *Des Friedens Geburt* at Donaueschingen in 1947 (see Appendix 5i), and would go on to premiere works of Orff, Nono, Stockhausen, Schnebel, Lachenmann, Rihm and others.²³⁴ One of their founding members, Clytus Gottwald, established *Schola Cantorum Stuttgart* in 1960, a group which pursued an intensified form of such new music activity, making Stuttgart the central location for the most advanced new music for multiple voices. Oddly, nothing comparable was created in Frankfurt.

Due to its geographical position, Radio Stuttgart was in a more precarious financial situation than the others, receiving only part of a fee split between the American and French zones. Therefore, the station sought permission from OMGWB

²²⁸ Unger, 'Radio Stuttgart', p. 28; Erwin Kroll, 'Frühling in Stuttgart', *Tagesspiegel*, 9 April 1946.

²²⁹ Kroll, 'Frühling in Stuttgart'.

²³⁰ *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen*, pp. 95-100; 'Bremer Rundfunk-Chronik. Hans Günther Oesterreich. Pionier des Bremener Nachkriegsfunks und der erste Programmdirektor von Radio Bremen', at <http://www.radiobremen.de/unternehmen/chronik/oesterreich100.html> (accessed 18 June 2017).

²³¹ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 3186.

²³² Ulm, 'Musik nicht nur für's Radio', p. 29.

²³³ Clytus Gottwald, *Rückblick auf den Fortschritt: eine Autographie* (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2009), p. 16.

²³⁴ '70 Jahre SWR Vokalensemble – 70 Jahre lebendige Musikgeschichte', at <https://www.swr.de/unternehmen/kommunikation/13-70-jahre-swr-vokalensemble-70-jahre-lebendige-musikgeschichte/-/id=10563098/did=18132676/nid=10563098/3is89g/index.html> (accessed 15 December 2017).

to institute some limited commercial announcements.²³⁵ They were soon able to expand, opening a new station in Heidelberg on 14 September 1946,²³⁶ and then a new branch in Karlsruhe, inaugurated in October 1947 with the broadcast of a symphonic concert.²³⁷

In the autumn of 1948 new constitutions were set up for three of the radio stations in preparation for their being handed over entirely to German control. Radio Munich was the first, renamed *Bayerischer Rundfunk* on 25 January 1949, followed by Radio Frankfurt, which became *Hessischer Rundfunk* on 28 January, Radio Bremen moved over under the same name on 5 April, then somewhat belatedly (having sorted out its constitution later than the others), Radio Stuttgart, which became *Süddeutscher Rundfunk* on 22 July.²³⁸

Radio Koblenz/*Südwestfunk* and Radio Saarbrücken

On 16 June 1945, de Gaulle issued a directive ordering a radio centre in the French zone of Germany.²³⁹ After yielding Stuttgart to the Americans, the French authorities lacked a major station capable of broadcasting throughout their zone, and so established one using the extant transmitter in Koblenz, and broadcast independently from there from 14 October 1945 until February 1946.²⁴⁰ By March 1946 this was expanded through other branches of the station opened in Baden-Baden (using the confiscated Hotel Elisabeth), Freiburg and Kaiserslautern.²⁴¹ These and Koblenz became known collectively as *Südwestfunk* (SWF), established on 31 March, with the station at Baden-Baden at the centre of the operations, and opening with a broadcast

²³⁵ GLAK/OMGUS 3/407-3/8, Information Control General Resume of Development. This report implies that the fee was only collected for the whole area which would later become Baden-Württemberg.

²³⁶ Horst Jaedicke, *Der gute alte Südfunk, Seine Radio- und Fernsehprogramme von 1924 bis zum Sendeschluss 1998* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Hohenheim Verlag, 2005), p. 213.

²³⁷ GLAK/OMGUS 3/408-1/25, ICD, Radio Branch, Quarterly Report, October to December 1947.

²³⁸ Saur, "Ein bisserl was geht immer", p. 80; 'Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk', pp. 69-71; *40 Jahre Rundfunk in Bremen*, pp. 295-301; Lersch, *Rundfunk in Stuttgart*, pp. 180-81.

²³⁹ Reproduced in Sabine Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht. Organisation, Programm und Hörer des Südwestfunks 1945 bis 1949* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), p. 255.

²⁴⁰ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 20; SWR, *Jahreschronik 1924-2010*, at https://www.swr.de/-/id=9905108/property=download/mid=7687068/1vpz7ck/jahreschronik_1924-2010.pdf (accessed 19 June 2017), pp. 12-13.

²⁴¹ On the Koblenz and Kaiserslautern stations, and later that in Mainz, see Christoph Kahlenberg, "'Stimme der Heimat". Hörfunk in Rheinland-Pfalz', in Heyen and Keim, *Auf der Suche nach neuer Identität*, pp. 587-608.

of Weber's *Aufforderung zum Tanz*.²⁴² By the end of the year they would also be broadcasting from Sigmaringen.²⁴³ By the end of April 1946 the station had 380,000 listeners, rising to 470,000 by a year later.²⁴⁴

This was a highly centralised operation with a crucial importance for re-education and democratisation. All aspects of programming were determined by the *Section Radio Diffusion* of the French military government (which was subordinate to Arnaud's *Direction de l'Information*), at weekly meetings.²⁴⁵ As in other realms of French activity, the role of the radio in disseminating French culture was a more central concern than political indoctrination.²⁴⁶ The French authorities ordered BASF, in Ludwigshafen, and AEG, in the French sector of Berlin, to produce magnetic tape and recorders for their purposes, which gave them an advantage in terms of musical production over many other stations. Finance was difficult at first because of delays in collecting licence money from the post offices of a primarily rural area, so the city authorities helped with some credit for the station.²⁴⁷

The French authorities appointed German heads of station from the outset, unlike other Western Zones, though on the other hand, they were in less of a hurry to relinquish control entirely than were the British and Americans.²⁴⁸ Oscar Schneider-Hassel, who had spent the interwar period in Paris and Bordeaux and was a member of a pan-European movement, was appointed as the head of operations and general director of the station, in which position he remained until July 1949.²⁴⁹ On 12 March 1946, Friedrich Bischoff, formally Intendant at *Schlesische Funkstunde*, was appointed to the position of artistic director for the station. Paul Peronnet, who had previously worked for *Radio France Libre* in Algeria, Pierre Ponnele, a private radio producer, and journalist Louis Hirn were appointed as control officers for the station,

²⁴² Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt*, pp. 218-9. Badenoch points out that the very proximity of Baden-Baden to France enabled the French to bring materials and information over quickly (*Voices in Ruins*, p. 19). Later on in the year, various centres were able to broadcast some of their own regional programmes, for example in Freiburg from 13 August. See Angela Wagemann, 'Negründung von Rundfunk und Presse', in Ecker, *Freiburg 1944-1994*, p. 204.

²⁴³ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, p. 22.

²⁴⁴ *Dokumente Baden-Baden*, pp. 14-15.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.; Klaus Wenger, 'Rundfunkpolitik in der französischen Besatzungszone. Die Anfänge des Südwestfunks', in Knipping and Ride, *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik*, pp. 210, 213-4.

²⁴⁶ See Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht*, p. 29; Reimer, *Stadt zwischen zwei Demokratien*, p. 279.

²⁴⁷ Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt*, p. 220.

²⁴⁸ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, pp. 19-21.

²⁴⁹ Herwig John, 'Der Rundfunk in Südwestdeutschland in der Zeit vor und nach dem Zusammenbruch des Jahres 1945', in Hansmartin Schwarzmaier (ed.), *Landesgeschichte und Zeitgeschichte: Kriegsende 1945 und demokratischer Neubeginn am Oberrhein, Band V*, (Karlsruhe: Springer, 1980), p. 171.

the former responsible for the building, the latter for programming.²⁵⁰ The station remained in French hands for longer than many in other zones, with a gradual transfer of various powers between 1948 and 1949 to the individual states, leading to a formal constitution as a public broadcaster by 1952.²⁵¹ From November 1945 until the end of 1949, the number of German employees grew from 22 to 700.²⁵²

Whilst only broadcasting to 5.5% of the German listening public, and with early programmes focusing upon literature,²⁵³ SWF would nonetheless be of huge importance in terms of the development of new music, above all because of the work of Heinrich Strobel, who was made leader of the music section. Strobel's earlier life and activities, in particular his compromised work for the *Pariser Zeitung* during the Nazi occupation of France, were discussed in Chapter 1. The reasons for his appointment have however never previously been made clear, but some documents in the French occupation archives add new clarification.²⁵⁴

According to a short memorandum prepared by the French in July 1949 (at which time he was applying for a visa to travel to Paris), Strobel had, on 12 January 1945, following his release from internment in Drancy after the Liberation, been subject to an administrative internment undertaken by the *Préfecture de Police*. A report from 24 April 1945 concluded that it had been necessary for him to work for the German authorities to protect his wife from racial persecution, and he was able to take a job as musical promoter for German and Austria (*au titre de la propaganda musicale pour l'Allemagne et l'Autriche*) at *Radiodiffusion française* in Paris, run by his old friend Henri Jourdan (see Chapter 1).²⁵⁵

According to Strobel, he and his wife were advised by friends to return to Germany following the closing of his case. They returned to Baden-Baden in

²⁵⁰ Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht*, pp. 34-5; *Dokumente Baden-Baden*, pp. 14-15.

²⁵¹ Wenger, 'Rundfunkpolitik', pp. 216-20.

²⁵² Reimer, *Stadt zwischen zwei Demokratien*, p. 299.

²⁵³ *Dokumente Baden-Baden*, pp. 14-15. The station also broadcast in French several times per day.

²⁵⁴ A recent study with extensive material on Strobel, Custodis and Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung*, draws only on German archives, not the French archives of occupation, so does not include the information given above. Manuela Schwartz, in her 'Exil und Remigration im Wirken Heinrich Strobels', in Stefan Drees, Andreas Jacob and Stefan Orgass (eds.), *Musik – Transfer – Kultur. Festschrift für Horst Weber* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2009), pp. 385-406, also lists some of Strobel's French referees, drawing upon a letter in the SWF-Archive.

²⁵⁵ AOF/AA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Réservées. 'Object: a/s du nommé STROBEL Heinrich', 11 July 1949; also a further biographical document by Strobel from the second half of 1946, cited in Custodis and Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung*, p. 66.

November,²⁵⁶ invited by Peronnet himself; Strobel brought letters of recommendation from the Press department of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Director of the *Institut française* in Berlin, the Financial Attaché at the French Embassy in Berlin, and the association of the foreign press in Paris.²⁵⁷ The 1949 report went on to say that ‘It is appropriate to say that since the Liberation, prominent people from the musical world, such as M.M. Arthur Honegger, composer, and Claude Delvincourt, director of the Paris Conservatoire and member of the Front National de la Résistance, created in support of Strobel laudatory testimonies of how his outlook during the Occupation had always manifested Francophile sentiments’.²⁵⁸ A letter from Thimonnier to the French Consul in Baden-Baden, from February of that year, described him as an ‘excellent propagandist for French music, who has collaborated very efficiently with our cultural activities since the beginning of the occupation’, and also cited recommendations from Delvincourt, Honegger, Soulima Stravinsky, Françaix, Serge Moreux, Roger Désormières, Paul Sacher, Jourdan and Jean Arnaud.²⁵⁹ The last of these was by now head of the Direction de l’Information for the French occupation.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no reason to doubt Strobel’s Francophile credentials, clearly in evidence in his journalism and public interventions from the 1920s onwards, as shown in earlier chapters. Whether this was wholly incompatible with some collaborative tendencies towards the Nazi regimes is less clear-cut, nor is it clear whether or not Francophile tendencies would have been sufficient to ensure that he passed through denazification. Nonetheless, since as mentioned in Chapter 2, various senior French officials in Baden-Baden were themselves embroiled with the Vichy regime, one can imagine how they might have viewed Strobel’s actions.

²⁵⁶ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Réservées. Untitled and undated biographical document by Strobel. This says the case was closed in April 1944, but this is surely a mistake. In a memorandum in the same collection from the Préfet de Police, Charles Luizet, of 24 April 1945, it is made clear that because of order from October 1944 on the administrative internment of individuals deemed dangerous to national security, he had to live in a known residence and report to them.

²⁵⁷ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Réservées. Renseignements. ‘Sur les époux Strobel, résidant actuellement à Baden-Baden’, 21 March 1946.

²⁵⁸ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Réservées. ‘Object: a/s du nommé STROBEL Henrich’, 11 July 1949. On his own biography in the same file, Strobel had offered Delvincourt, Honegger, Jean Françaix, Marcel Delannoy, Roeger Désormières and Serge Moreux as references, alongside Paul Bourdin, the director of the *Kurier* in Berlin, and Gerhard Heller in Baden-Baden.

²⁵⁹ SWF-Archiv. Thimonnier to Monsieur le Consul de France, Baden-Baden, 15 February 1949, cited in Schwartz, ‘Exil und Remigration’, p. 394.

Strobel took up his position at SWF on 15 November 1945.²⁶⁰ However, the French remained somewhat suspicious, and kept looking for further information on him, launching further investigations from early 1946. Peronnet wrote to Jourdan on 5 January 1946. Having spent time in Baden-Baden with the Strobels, Jourdan found them ‘personally sympathetic and very competent [. . .] undoubtedly interesting and precious/useful recruits’. However, Jourdan admitted he passed over their political past, noting Peronnet’s ‘opinion that you have your confidence in them’. Peronnet indicated that a M. Brunschwig [*sic*] had spoken of an ‘affaire Strobel’ relating to his work at the *Pariser Zeitung*, concerned that he might be ‘mush’ (*moche*, a term which appears to signify a compromised person), with all that would entail for French prestige, and Peronnet asked ‘How do you explain that an emigré of 38, married to a Jew, found himself in good standing with Nazi victors? Has he played the lost sheep?’, and how any collaborative work for that newspaper might be balanced out with favourable action towards French people.²⁶¹

A further report, from March and ostensibly about Hilde Strobel, confirmed that Strobel was ‘known for positive sentiments towards France’ and that there was ‘no reason for objections on national or political grounds’.²⁶² In April, Ponnelle confirmed that he accepted that the Strobels left Germany to escape racial laws, but still wanted to establish whether or not he did collaborate with the *Pariser Zeitung*, and attend conferences by the institute ‘Franco-Allemand’, a propagandistic body.²⁶³ A document from July 1946 indicated a clear awareness of his activities as ‘a musicologist for the German authorities’, and involvement with Franco-German institutions, though they had not yet established whether Strobel had worked for the *Pariser Zeitung*.²⁶⁴ This was however mentioned in an article in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in November the following year.²⁶⁵ The French kept on file a transcript of an interview Strobel had given at Radio Paris on 15 January 1943, about Bach, which

²⁶⁰ Jürg Stenzl, *Orchester Kultur. Variationen über ein halbes Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 1996), p. 107.

²⁶¹ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Peronnet to Jourdan, 5 January 1946.

²⁶² AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Renseignements. ‘Sur les époux Strobel, résidant actuellement a Baden-Baden’, 21 March 1946.

²⁶³ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Ponnelle, to Directeur de la sureté, 30 April 1946.

²⁶⁴ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Renseignements. ‘Sur le nommé STROBEL Heinrich, résidant actuellement à BADEN-BADEN’, 22 July 1946.

²⁶⁵ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel. K.C., ‘Neue deutsche Harmonie’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1 November 1947.

contained some mild nationalistic overtones.²⁶⁶ Even in a letter from September 1947, it was indicated that the security service found no problem with Strobel's continuing to work under the ultimate authority of the Director of Information, but they urged the Director to keep a particular watch on his activities, especially as regards Franco-German relations, and urged that a subordinate be detailed to deal with the latter issue.²⁶⁷ However, that year Strobel was given authorisation to travel to Italy, then to the Edinburgh Festival in 1949, then to France in 1950.

By this stage Strobel was secure and could stay in one of the most powerful administrative positions for more than two further decades. The authorities had discovered some of his questionable activities in Paris, but were sufficiently convinced of his character and national/aesthetic sympathies, especially due to the testimonies of Honegger and Delvincourt, to wish him to continue in the job. Various people attested to his difficult and volatile character,²⁶⁸ but also that he was good at dealing with senior figures and thus at getting his own way, by building good relations with highly cultured French officers, and especially with Ponelle,²⁶⁹ while also knowing how to exploit Bischoff's taste for that which had a 'snob appeal'.²⁷⁰

In August 1947, a survey in a journal of the French occupation showed the weekly division of programming on SWF. 43h 45' of this (out of a total of 76h 55') was given over to music, a high percentage (56.9%), though, over 36 hours of this, was given to 'concerts matinaux' and other light music. The rest was a mixture of symphonic concerts, an opera, some chamber music and music for dance, and the important forty-five minute programme *Musik der Welt* which was devoted to new international music.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. 'Interview de Heinrich STROBEL par Jacques ETIEVANT "RADIO-PARIS"', le 15 Janvier 1943.

²⁶⁷ AOFAA/AC 595-8 Strobel – Reservées. Directeur de la sureté to Directeur de l'Information – Cabinet – Baden-Baden, 30 September 1947.

²⁶⁸ See H.H. Stuckenschmidt, 'Zur Einführung', in Heinrich Strobel, *Texte zur Musik unserer Zeit 1947-1970*, edited Hilde Strobel (Zirndorf and Nuremberg: Verlag für moderne Kunst, 1983), p. 9; and Ernst Bour interviewed in 1978, in Balint András Varga, *From Boulanger to Stockhausen: Interviews and a Memoir* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), p. 73.

²⁶⁹ Stuckenschmidt, 'Zur Einführung', pp. 9-10.

²⁷⁰ Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt*, p. 225.

²⁷¹ 'Programmes du Südwestfunk', 'La propaganda française' in *La France en Allemagne*, numéro special – Information et Action culturelle (August 1947), pp. 74-5. There was also some music broadcast independently by the regional studios in Kaiserslautern, Koblenz and Freiburg.

In 1947, Strobel issued a statement committing himself and the station to serious, international and modern music.²⁷² Commissions also began that year with Henze's *Concertino* for piano and wind orchestra (played by Carl Seemann and conducted by Egk, both of whom appeared in Paris during the Occupation, when Strobel was based there).²⁷³ The following year the programmes included Fortner's *An die Nachgeborenen*, then Henze's Third Symphony in 1949, and eventually further works such as B.A. Zimmermann's Violin Concerto and Boulez's *Polyphonie X*, which were programmed in 1950-51 (see Appendix 5i).²⁷⁴ Strobel's actions at SWF, especially after the station took over control of the Donaueschinger Musiktage in 1950, leave no doubt that the French made the right decision in terms of their aims; during his tenure he did much to promote the new work of Messiaen and Boulez.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the town orchestra was restarted soon after the French took over Baden-Baden and gave its first concert, under its existing conductor Gottfried Ephraim Lessing, in late August 1945.²⁷⁵ In early 1946 the orchestra was taken over by the radio station (which had used the Philharmonisches Orchester Koblenz when broadcasting from that city),²⁷⁶ and became the *Südwestfunk Symphonieorchester*, answerable only to Strobel, but with Lessing remaining as principal conductor. Appendix 5k gives a complete list of their Baden-Baden concerts between the first, on 31 March 1946, and the end of the 1950-51 season. By the end of April 1946 there was a new direction in the programming, with a particular focus upon French composers – Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, Roussel and others. By June, Otto Klemperer had come to give his first post-war German concert with the orchestra, which included a highly successful performance of the Symphony for String Orchestra by Strobel's friend and ally Honegger.²⁷⁷

At the end of the 1947-48 season Hans Rosbaud was invited by Strobel to take up the principal conductor position at the orchestra, which he did from the 1948-49 season, remaining in this position for the next 20 years.²⁷⁸ Strobel also managed to convince Hindemith to conduct the orchestra in October 1948, during his visit to

²⁷² SWF Bios – St. Heinrich Strobel, 'Arbeit und Aufgabe der Musikabteilung, des "Südwestfunks"', March 1947.

²⁷³ Schwartz, 'Exil und Remigration', pp. 398-9.

²⁷⁴ *Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk 1946-1975*, pp. 67-8.

²⁷⁵ Listing in *Badener Tagblatt*, 25 August 1945.

²⁷⁶ Baur, 'Alte und neue Töne', p. 297.

²⁷⁷ Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt*, p. 225.

²⁷⁸ Evans, *Rosbaud: A Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 44-53.

Germany, in a concert of Bach, Mozart and his own music, to great acclaim from Pringsheim.²⁷⁹

With such an established champion of new music as Rosbaud in charge, and without competition with another major orchestra in the city²⁸⁰ (in contrast to the situation in Munich, Hamburg, Cologne and elsewhere) the SWF-Orchester became arguably the leading orchestra in the whole of Western Germany for new music, giving a total of 347 world premieres between 1947 and 1996,²⁸¹ including major modernist works of Fortner, Messiaen, Boulez, Stockhausen, Henze, B.A. Zimmermann, Nono, Berio, Ligeti, Penderecki, Cerha, Schnebel, Lachenmann, Rihm, Górecki and many others.

An earlier radio station in Saarbrücken, which broadcast from 1923 onwards, had already been French-controlled, during the period of the League of Nations protectorate between 1920 and 1935, and then integrated into the RRG for the remainder of the Nazi era.²⁸² Keen to have a separate station in the region they believed strongly connected to France,²⁸³ French authorities worked to repair the damaged station. *Rundfunksender Saarbrücken* was set up by the military government, under the control of Gilbert Grandval (see Chapter 3), based around the Intendant of the local Stadttheater, Dr Willi Schüller. Grandval appointed Emanuel Charrin as chief officer, and, from June 1946, general controller.²⁸⁴ The board of directors was made up exclusively from French citizens.²⁸⁵ François-Régis Bastide, mentioned in Chapter 3, ran the music section for two years, and was fastidious in his work, even lobbying Grandval to ensure he could obtain a contrabassoon in order to be able to put on works of Debussy, Ravel and Messiaen.²⁸⁶

²⁷⁹ Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt*, p. 225-6.

²⁸⁰ The old Kurorchester was refounded in 1950, but never really developed a major reputation such as might rival the SWF-orchestra. See 'Philharmonie Baden-Baden. Geschichte: 1900-1999', at <http://www.philharmonie.baden-baden.de/de/DE/Geschichte/1900-1999> (accessed 19 December 2017); and 'Das Kurorchester tritt an die Öffentlichkeit', *Badisches Tagblatt*, 1 April 1950.

²⁸¹ See Stenzl, *Orchester Kultur*, pp. 186-204 for a full list, and *ibid.* pp. 205-21 for a list of the 226 works commissioned for them by the radio station.

²⁸² Hans Bünthe, 'Geschichte und Geschichten des Senders an der Saar – die Chronik', in Fritz Raff and Axel Buchholz (eds.), *Geschichte und Geschichten des Senders an der Saar – 50 Jahre Saarländischer Rundfunk* (Friburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2007), pp. 19-42; 'Geschichte des Rundfunks im Saarland', at <http://www.saar-nostalgie.de/Rundfunkgeschichte.htm> (accessed 18 December 2017).

²⁸³ This view, rather than yet intention of annexation, was made clear in a directive from de Gaulle soon after the establishment of the headquarters of the French military regime in Baden-Baden on July 26th, 1945. See Bünthe 'Senders an der Saar', p. 43.

²⁸⁴ Bünthe, 'Senders an der Saar', pp. 43-4; 'Geschichte des Rundfunks im Saarland'.

²⁸⁵ Long, *No Easy Occupation*, p. 42.

²⁸⁶ Bünthe, 'Senders an der Saar', p. 45. For a more detailed account of Bastide and his activities, see Charles Scheel, 'Musik als Anker politischer und medialer Attraktivität', in *Medienlandschaft Saar*:

It was relatively infrequent for the station to broadcast recordings, with controllers preferring orchestral performances.²⁸⁷ Bastide created a new *Radio-Orchester Saarbrücken* at the outset (which he later claimed was in order to ‘encompass the new’) based upon an earlier institution founded in 1937.²⁸⁸ This began playing on 17 March 1946, with a French-centred programme. Their first conductor, Rudolf Michl, who remained in the position for 25 years,²⁸⁹ broadcast works of Hindemith, Bartók, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Shostakovich and various neo-classical French composers.²⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the orchestra was more notable for playing French than modernist music (and they were not that aggressive about promoting the former).²⁹¹ The relevance of this orchestra and the station, which commissioned just one work (from Saar composer Heinrich Konietzny) between 1946 and 1965,²⁹² belongs to a later era.

Radio in Berlin

Radio in Berlin was dominated by conflict between occupying powers from the outset. Whilst the studios of Berliner Rundfunk were in the British zone, and the transmitters in the French Zone, the Soviets refused to allow the other powers any role in the running of the station. The Americans, backed by the British and French, put forward modest proposals by which each power would be allotted one hour of broadcast time per day and for local entertainment would be placed under quadripartite control, with the Soviets still maintaining overall control of the station, but these were not accepted, and negotiations broke down.²⁹³

The quick re-establishment of the Berlin *Große Rundfunkorchester* (later the *Rundfunksinfonieorchester Berlin*) was described in Chapter 3. This had around 80

von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart. Band 1, *Demokratisierung und Kontrolle (1945-1955)*, edited Rainer Hudemann (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010), p. 197-201.

²⁸⁷ Klaus Altmeyer, ‘Rundfunk im Saarland’, in Knipping and Ride, *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik*, p. 223.

²⁸⁸ Hans Bünte, *Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Saarbrücken 1937-1987* (Saarbrücken: Saarländischer Rundfunk, 1987), pp. 9-21; Bastide, interview with Saarländischer Rundfunk, June 1995, cited in Scheel, ‘Musik als Anker politischer und medialer Attraktivität’, p. 212.

²⁸⁹ Bünte, *Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Saarbrücken*, pp. 25-7.

²⁹⁰ Bünte, ‘Senders an der Saar’, p. 48; Schmolzl, ‘Saarbrückens kultureller Wiederaufstieg’ p. 91.

²⁹¹ See Scheel, ‘Musik als Anker politischer und medialer Attraktivität’, pp. 203, 212-14, which draws upon Frank R. Huck, *Radio an der Saar. Ein Querschnitt durch 60 Jahre Programmgeschichte von 1935 bis 1995*, CD-Rom (Ostfildem, 1995).

²⁹² See *Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk 1946-1975*, pp. 38-40, for a full list.

²⁹³ Alfred Norman, *Our German Policy: Propaganda and Culture* (New York: Vantage Press, 1951), pp. 55-6.

players at the outset, and from May 1945 gave performances with a variety of conductors including Leopold Ludwig, Celibidache and Felix Lederer; the BPO also gave concerts for the radio from June.²⁹⁴ Celibidache became the radio orchestra's first post-war chief conductor sometime soon after early August 1945,²⁹⁵ and thus came to hold the principal conductor's positions for both this and the BPO simultaneously. However, he was dismissed from the Rundfunkorchester a year later, following an appearance together with Konrad Adenauer.²⁹⁶

In May, when the city was under Soviet control, the station broadcast a fair range of relatively classic Russian music from Chaikovsky to Rachmaninoff and others,²⁹⁷ in line with the general programming policy of that time. However, a more varied and colourful range of music followed during the rest of the year, including works of Busoni, Stravinsky, Ravel, Roussel, Szymanowski, Korngold, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Hindemith, Toch, Honegger, Bartók, Joseph Haas, Boris Blacher and Nicolas Nabokov, as well as broadcasts of performers gaining reputations for new music, such as pianists Gerhard Puchelt or Gerty Herzog.

At first NWDR served the Western Zones of the city, and representation of new music was more modest, with works of Kodály, de Falla, Respighi, Ravel, Karl Höller.²⁹⁸ However, the Americans sought to establish their own level of control and influence. They resolved to start using a system called the *Drahtfunk*, transmitting programmes over wires through the telephone network,²⁹⁹ and employing a system for enabling radios to pick them up. This had been used by the Germans during the war for local broadcasts intended not to be heard by the Allies. A line was installed connecting Berlin to Radio Frankfurt, to relay programmes from elsewhere in the American Zone.³⁰⁰ This new station, *Drahtfunk im amerikanischen Sektor* (DIAS) began to be set up in November 1945, and first broadcast on 7 February 1946 at

²⁹⁴ “*Hier spricht Berlin ...*”, pp. 17-20.

²⁹⁵ ‘Chronologische Biographie’, at <http://www.celibidache.de/biographie.html> (accessed 10 January 2018).

²⁹⁶ Bard and Meyer, *Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Berlin*, pp. 84-90.

²⁹⁷ Information about broadcasting in 1945 is taken from “*Hier spricht Berlin*”, pp. 72-93, and also from some listings in *Tagesspiegel*.

²⁹⁸ From listings in *Tagesspiegel*.

²⁹⁹ HICOG, *RIAS Berlin*, (Berlin, 195?), p. 2, available at <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=header&id=History.RIAS> (accessed 19 December 2017). For a detailed account of events leading up to the launching of DIAS, see Herbert Kundler, *RIAS Berlin. Eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), pp. 14-40.

³⁰⁰ Norman, *Our German Policy*, p. 56.

17:00.³⁰¹ In December 1945, Franz Wallner-Basté, from the Zehlendorf arts office (see Chapter 3), had been appointed Intendant in charge of programming; the other most important figure was Ruth Norden, the American Chief of Station.³⁰² The first head of the music section was the conductor Walter Sieber (1904-69),³⁰³ a student of Schreker, who had written music for a few films during the Third Reich.³⁰⁴ In January 1946 it was announced that Heinz Tiessen would introduce new music for the station,³⁰⁵ and thus run the *Studio für Neue Musik*, which was advertised on a poster for the launch.³⁰⁶

In the run-up to the first free post-war elections in Berlin, on 10 October 1946,³⁰⁷ American officers felt that Soviet broadcasting discriminated against non-communist parties, which gave a further impetus to the proper establishment of a Western-controlled station,³⁰⁸ which could generate a wider audience.³⁰⁹ DIAS was re-named *Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor* (RIAS) on 5 September 1946,³¹⁰ and provided by OMGUS with a 1000 watt transmitter. Its transmitting power would increase to 20,000 watts by July 1947 (using a captured Wehrmacht transmitter).³¹¹ At this point the new premises began to be organised on Kufsteinerstraße, in Schöneberg, into which the station moved on 6 July 1948.³¹²

The first evening of DIAS included a programme of ‘Moderne Symphonik’, featuring works of Hindemith and Strauss.³¹³ In February they broadcast orchestral works of Roy Harris, Barber, and William Schumann,³¹⁴ thus headlining their commitment to American music. More adventurous international programming of new music at the station was provided by Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt.

According to Stuckenschmidt’s biography, a car drew up outside his house in Tempelhof on 31 May 1946 (nine days after his return to Berlin). The driver gave him a letter from Wallner-Basté, inviting him to a meeting, at which he offered to

³⁰¹ Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 42.

³⁰² Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater*, pp. 114-15.

³⁰³ Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 144.

³⁰⁴ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 6574-5.

³⁰⁵ MAI, ‘Drahtfunk im amerikanischen Sektor Berlins’, *Tagesspiegel*, 29 January 1946.

³⁰⁶ This poster is reproduced in Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 27.

³⁰⁷ Ranke et al, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete*, p. 146.

³⁰⁸ *Berlin Sector: A Report by OMGUS*, p. 78.

³⁰⁹ HICOG, *RIAS Berlin*, p. 2.

³¹⁰ Norman, *Our German Policy*, pp. 56-7; Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, pp. 20-21.

³¹¹ *Berlin Sector: A Report by OMGUS*, p. 78; HICOG, *RIAS Berlin*, pp. 2-3.

³¹² HICOG, *RIAS Berlin*, p. 3.

³¹³ Schedule as reproduced in Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 44.

³¹⁴ Listings in *Tagesspiegel*, 14 and 27 February 1946.

Stuckenschmidt the leadership of the *Studio für neue Musik* at the station (then still DIAS). He began work on 3 June.³¹⁵ There had been programmes on the station organised by the studio before Stuckenschmidt arrived,³¹⁶ but on 12 July he began a regular bi-weekly series of essentially educational programmes on new music, each focused on a particular composer or theme, with a mixture of commentary and performances. The first of these were themed around Debussy, Bartók, Stravinsky, ‘Dissonanzen’, Schoenberg, Jánáček, ‘Dissonanzen und Melodielinen’, Berg and ‘Klassizismus’. Commentators such as Tiessen and his wife, Höffer, and others would join Stuckenschmidt in the studio for the discussion, whilst there were also regular quasi-Socratic dialogues between Stuckenschmidt and Hermann Schindler,³¹⁷ another RIAS presenter³¹⁸ who usually took the role of a sceptic with respect to new music. Sometimes excerpts from earlier repertoire were used to help contextualise the music, as in the programme on Debussy, in which ‘La serenade interrompue’ and ‘Des pas sur la neige’ were compared with passages from Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Wagner and Strauss. Performers were drawn from what was now becoming a regular reservoir of new music players in Berlin: Puchelt, Roloff, Schier-Tiessen, Herzog, Hinneberg-Lefèbre, Paul Schütz and others.³¹⁹ Most of the early programmes dealt with relatively established figures, though Stuckenschmidt was soon able to devote a whole programme, on 3 January 1947, to Schoenberg’s Wind Quintet (previously a programme in September 1946 had been mostly dedicated to discussing the Suite for piano, op. 25).

RIAS soon became much the most popular station in Berlin, chosen by significantly more listeners than NWDR, and far more than Berliner Rundfunk.³²⁰ The station remained under American control after others had been handed over to Germans and became an iconic institution of the Cold War.³²¹ OMGUS kept a close eye on it: the acting chief of the Radio Branch had an analysis carried out in August 1946 on the content of the station’s programming; the report thus commissioned felt

³¹⁵ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, pp. 177-8.

³¹⁶ For example a broadcast of the March from Hindemith’s 1922 Suite, played by a Fraulein Seltmann. AdK Stuckenschmidt, Hans Heinz. File 2571, RIAS. Studio Neue Musik 1946-47. Programme.

³¹⁷ Ibid. This file includes scripts for most of the programmes from the first year of the Studio.

³¹⁸ Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 116.

³¹⁹ Ibid. p. 144.

³²⁰ IZ/OMGUS 5/254-1/25, ‘The RIAS Audience in Western Berlin, Report No. 181’, 7 July 1949.

³²¹ Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, pp. 20-21.

that classical music programming was too haphazard, and needed to be planned more systematically.³²²

Sieber determined in 1946 that RIAS should have its own orchestra, for similar reasons to those for having orchestras at other stations.³²³ He gained authorisation for this, and the orchestra was formally constituted on 15 November 1946. They did not however give their first concert until 7 September 1947, with a programme designed to reconcile competing national cultures in the Western zones of the city: Beethoven's Second Symphony, Ravel's Left Hand Concerto (with Parisian soloist Alberte Brun), and Richard Mohaupt's First Symphony, in its European premiere (Mohaupt was a German emigré to the USA).³²⁴ The orchestra made its home in Titania-Palast (as had the BPO), remaining there when the radio station moved to other locations.³²⁵

Sieber conducted most of the first season of concerts, together with a few guest conductors (including Lessing), in a series of programmes featuring early 20th century music. The programmes featured Ravel (including two performances of *L'heure espagnole*), Schoenberg (though only the tonal First Chamber Symphony), Bartók, Sibelius, Honegger, Roussel, Malipiero, and Johannes Nepomuk David (many of these as a result of the availability of material via the Interallied Music Library).³²⁶ These were programmed alongside various German and a few Russian classics and a few pieces of Russian music.³²⁷ The fact that Germany and Russia would be represented by classics while the most important other recent fare came predominantly from elsewhere in Europe, is most revealing in terms of perceptions of the important cultural powers. Subsequent seasons would see a similar international if relatively mainstream pattern of programming. The Hungarian Ferenc Fricsay, was

³²² IfZ/OMGUS 5/265-1/2, Charles S. Lewis, Acting Chief, Radio Branch, to Radio Network Control, OMGUS, 23 August 1946; Jean Brandes, O.J. Brandes, Content Analysis, to Charles S. Lewis, Chief Radio Control Branch, OMGUS, 20 August 1946, Subject: Suggested Modification in Drahtfunk Music Programming.

³²³ According to the account by Wolfgang Gieseler, a later director of the RIAS music section, in *Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin* (Berlin: RSO Berlin, 1966), p. 13; Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt, 'Das Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin', *ibid.* pp. 17-8.

³²⁴ Habakuk Traber, 'Die Anfänge', in Traber (ed.), *Das andere Orchester. Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Symphonie-Orchesters Berlin* (Berlin: Fab Verlag, 1998), pp. 9-12.

³²⁵ *Berlin Sector: A Report by OMGUS*, p. 106.

³²⁶ Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 144.

³²⁷ 'Abonnements- und Sonderkonzerte des Radio-Symphonie-Orchesters Berlin', in *Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin*, pp. 67-8.

appointed chief conductor on 17 December 1948.³²⁸ It was a politically-charged appointment, as Fricsay was previously Kapellmeister to the Budapest Staatsoper, and had then been brought to Berlin to conduct at Berliner Rundfunk in November by Günter Arndt, who would later defect and work for RIAS. Fricsay gave his first concert with the orchestra on 12 December, right in the midst of the Berlin Blockade.³²⁹ With Fricsay and Celibidache, West Berlin now had two principal conductors from countries now part of the Soviet Bloc. Fricsay would continue in position until 1954, then return as principal conductor from 1959 to 1963.

The conductor Karl Ristenpart also formed a chamber orchestra and choir to perform for the station in 1946;³³⁰ on 29 June they would premiere the first ever commission by the station – indeed the first by any post-war radio station in the Western zones - of Blacher's *Es taget vor dem Walde* (1946), an eight-minute cantata after an old German text for soprano and bass solo, mixed choir and strings.³³¹ In the course of the next year, Ristenpart and the orchestra would perform for radio broadcasts works of Debussy, Ravel, Turina, Busoni, Höffer, Pepping, Bartók, Janáček, Barber, Vaughan Williams and Grainger.³³² RIAS would from 1948 regularly commission new works, by the likes of Henze, Blacher, Egk, Gottfried von Einem, Klebe, but also more conservative figures including Heinz Friedrich Hartig, Joseph Ahrens, Raphael and Pepping. From the late 1950s the commissioning would become more international, including new works from Milhaud, Malipiero, or Frank Martin, though it was not until the late 1960s that a few commissions could be associated with the musical avant-garde.³³³

The Soviet Zone

The other radio station established in the Soviet Zone during this period was *Radio Leipzig*, which in 1946 was renamed *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk* (MDR), *Sender Leipzig*, in a new broadcasting house. In many ways its early history resembled that of

³²⁸ Friedrich Herzfeld, 'Die Orchester Berlins', in *Musikstadt Berlin zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Musikalische Bilanz einer Viermächtestadt* (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1956), p. 46.

³²⁹ Lutz von Pufendorf, 'Jeder Tag kann ein Fest sein, oder: Aufstieg aus einer Katastrophe', in *Das andere Orchester*, pp. 17-9.

³³⁰ Kundler, *RIAS*, p. 144.

³³¹ *Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk*, p. 140; Stuckenschmidt, *Blacher*, p. 64. This work remains unpublished at the time of writing.

³³² 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 308.

³³³ See *Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk*, pp. 140-52 for a complete list of RIAS commissions.

its Western counterparts, the station developing its own orchestra, drawing upon an earlier one associated with the broadcaster, formed in 1924, with a significant history. It was named *Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchesters Leipzig* in 1946, and was directed by Gerhart Wiesenhütter from 1946 to 1948.³³⁴ Orchestral programming was quite adventurous, with the 1947-48 season including a modern work in almost every one of their twelve concerts. These included not only Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Kodaly, but also Elliott Carter's *Holiday Overture*, Delius's *Summer Garden*, Ravel's *La valse* and Stravinsky's *Jeu de cartes*, all works one might associate more readily with the Western Zones.³³⁵ A choir was also re-established on the basis of an earlier one active from 1924 until 1942.³³⁶

Conclusion

The occupying forces were often more concerned about broadcast music than public concerts, perhaps because of the potentially larger audiences for the former. At Radio Munich, the whole record collection was confiscated until it could be vetted for 'inappropriate' material. At most stations, there were to be no marches or military music, nor that of composers such as Wagner. 'Light' music was used by heads of stations to fill up schedules, a situation not unlike that which existed in the Nazi era, but this was generally not seen as a problem, unless the music concert was specifically connected with Nazi films or other cultural offerings. Strobel would come to protest about the predominance of this music, but this did not seem to have an effect upon programming practice in general at SWF.³³⁷

Many radio staff were hired provisionally, pending submission of their *Fragebogen*, many of which were then found to be unsatisfactory, leading to a large turnover of personnel.³³⁸ Eimert, Schröter, Strobel and Stuckenschmidt were fortunate, though their pre-1945 backgrounds resemble those of most German radio

³³⁴ Jörg Clemen, *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk. Die Geschichte des Sinfonieorchesters* (Altenburg: Verlag Kamrad, 1999), pp. 99-100.

³³⁵ 'Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk Sender Leipzig. 12 Sinfoniekonzerte 1947/48', advert in *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 311.

³³⁶ See the various detailed articles by Rüdiger Koch at 'Der MDR Rundfunkchor', at <http://www.rundfunkschaetze.de/mdr-klassik/mdr-rundfunkchor/> (accessed 16 December 2017), on this choir's history.

³³⁷ See Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, pp. 64-75, for more details of this, and *ibid.* pp. 69-70, for examples of the music played on the SWF morning show in early 1948.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 82-3.

staff, who had remained in the country during the Nazi era and often had experience of radio programming gained during that time.³³⁹ Others who achieved much higher public profiles— such as Axel Eggebrecht and Peter von Zahn at NWDR – also had chequered pasts.³⁴⁰ But these musical appointments were decisive, as all four individuals had a decisive impact upon new music in West Germany, through their approaches to broadcasting, sponsoring festivals, nurturing new musical institutions, and generally through their sympathies for advanced new music.

In October 1948, a few months after currency reform, a report by a Dr. H.J. Skornia for Information Control, following a study of Radio Munich, pondered the wisdom of having multiple orchestras for both general concerts and for radio. In some areas, especially where financial resources were precarious, Skornia argued that it was better to pool resources for a single large orchestra, However, where it was possible to support more than one, then one of them could develop new forms of musical expression and technique, though without becoming wholly detached from the wider community.³⁴¹ This was what happened, to a greater degree than Skornia might have liked. Today the staple of new music concerts is probably the ensemble, but this was a rare thing until the end of the 1960s. Rather, orchestras and choirs (as well as soloists and chamber groups) were vital (and continued to be, alongside ensembles, in Germany) and those run by radio stations, free from either commercial imperatives or the need to satisfy conservative subscribers, were ideally placed.

It would be a mistake to view new music as having a dominant role in any of the stations; it did not, and mostly consisted of a few programmes each week, some in non-peak late slots. How much such programmes registered with general listeners is beyond the scope of this thesis to ascertain, but they certainly provided a steady stream of music, information and discussion for those who were interested, and thus helped to bolster an ever-expanding field through a medium which was still relatively new.

³³⁹ Ibid. p. 23.

³⁴⁰ See *ibid.* pp. 81-92 for more details on these and other figures.

³⁴¹ *IFZ/OMGUS 5-270-2/27*, Dr. H.J. Skornia, 'Handbuch über die Grundlagen des freien deutschen Rundfunks', 1 October 1948, p. 21.

Chapter 5

The First Dedicated Post-War Institutions for New Music

During the first two years after the war, a remarkable number of new festivals, concert series, and teaching institutions dedicated to new music were either created from scratch or revived from earlier eras. This chapter asks what these institutions were, how they came to be set up, who were the individuals responsible and what was their relationship to wider political authorities, what types of music were presented or favoured, how the events were received, and about the nature of their long-term impact, a question which is also raised in Chapter 8.

The First *Trossinger Musiktage*

The central role of Hugo Herrmann in the earliest post-war new music events is only rarely acknowledged or understood, but he was responsible for major festivals in Trossingen, Donaueschingen and Tübingen-Reutlingen through the first year. Herrmann's directorship of the *Volksmusikfest* in Donaueschingen from 1934 to 1939, interest in harmonicas and accordions and connection to the Hohner instrument firm, NSDAP membership and propagandistic music were noted in Chapter 1. In the last years of the war, the Hohner instrument company helped various sections of Musikhochschulen in Stuttgart, Heidelberg-Mannheim, Frankfurt and Cologne relocate in Trossingen following intense bombing.¹ Amongst those who came were composers Hans Brehme, Hermann Erpf, Gerhard Frommel and Ernst-Lothar von Knorr, many of who took a deeper interest in the instruments as a result.² The relocated institute was closed in the autumn of 1944, but soon afterwards, von Knorr gained special permission from Berlin, with the blessing of Goebbels, to establish in Trossingen a new *Staatliches Hochschulinstitut für Musikerziehung*, as a branch of

¹ See the account of Georg von Albrecht, in his *From Musical Folklore to Twelve-Tone Technique: Memoirs of a Musician between East and West*, edited Elliott Antokoletz, translated Michael von Albrecht and Francis R. Schwartz (Lanham, MY, Toronto and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2004), pp. 111-13, on the relocation of the Stuttgart institution, at the behest of Hermann Erpf.

² Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 48. See Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 3784-3808 for plentiful details of von Knorr's composition of military music and directorship of the military music institute in Frankfurt.

Heidelberg University,³ at which students and teachers were allowed to work if they were deemed unfit for military service.⁴ Von Knorr became director of the new institution in 1945, with significant help from Ernst Hohner,⁵ and directed the choir and college orchestra.⁶

In the last months of the war, Herrmann had left Trossingen, which was now itself under air attack, for Reutlingen (near to Tübingen).⁷ According to his own account, he had lost all of his manuscripts (perhaps conveniently?), which had been left in his cellar in Trossingen, as well as printing plates kept in Würzburg. In Reutlingen he spent a short period as a church organist before returning to Trossingen to work at the music institute, whose building remained intact.⁸ The French commander of the city, a Moroccan called Colonel Dessert, appears to have given permission very early on to von Knorr to re-open the Hochschulinstitut in late May, in the process assembling an orchestra to give concerts for French troops.⁹ Very soon afterwards, on 9 June 1945, Herrmann was re-appointed as director of the Trossingen Städtische Musikschule,¹⁰ and given permission by Dessert to organise concerts,¹¹ despite his earlier record.¹² After a few events in July and August, including a programme in Villingen on 1 August of French music and poetry,¹³ Herrmann and

³ ‘Staatliche Hochschule für Musik Trossingen’, in Bode, Becker and Habbich, *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Deutschland/Colleges of Art and Music in Germany*, p. 196.

⁴ Albrecht, *Memoirs*, pp. 115-16.

⁵ ‘Daten zur Geschichte’ at <http://www.mh-trossingen.de/hochschule/zahlen-und-fakten/geschichte.html> (accessed 9 February 2018); Ernst-Lothar von Knorr, *Lebenserinnerungen. Erlebtes musikalisches Geschehen in Deutschland*, with an introduction by Thomas Schipperges (Cologne: Tonger, 1996), pp. 95-6.

⁶ Albrecht, *Memoirs*, pp. 116-17.

⁷ This would probably have been in April. French troops entered the city on 21 April. See Knorr, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 96.

⁸ Letter from Herrmann, 21 June 1945, in Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann’s Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 50.

⁹ See Knorr, *Lebenserinnerungen*, pp. 97-9. Boris von Haken, in “‘The Case of Mr. Rosbaud’”, p. 110 n. 41, draws attention to falsities in von Knorr’s own autobiographical account, on the basis of inspection of various documents in the Bundesarchiv, but these are about Knorr’s account of his own earlier activities. Georg von Albrecht’s account of the meetings with Colonel Dessert (*Memoirs*, p. 119) dates meetings involving von Knorr and himself from the very day after the French moved into the city (after members of the institute, including Hans Brehme, had performed to the Colonel and some officers on the evening of the day they arrived), which would be 22 April rather than 18 May, the date given by von Knorr. Furthermore, Albrecht writes of ‘the old colonel’, whereas von Knorr describes him as 38 years old.

¹⁰ Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 106.

¹¹ Letter from Herrmann, 21 June 1945, in Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann’s Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 50.

¹² Albrecht suggests that various of the musicians in Trossingen were able to persuade the Colonel that their party membership was forced, and they did not take it seriously. See Albrecht, *Memoirs*, p. 119.

¹³ The full programme of Franck, Debussy and Ravel, with readings of Rilke in French, is reproduced in Knorr, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 151.

von Knorr¹⁴ together mounted nothing less than the first post-war new music festival, the *Trossinger Musiktage*, which took place from 22 to 24 September, under the auspices of both the Städtische Musikschule and the Hochschulinstitut.

The full programme for this and subsequent festivals up to 1951 are given in Appendix 5b. Of the nine composers programmed in 1945, Herrmann, Brehme, Frommel, von Knorr, Philippe Mohler and Hermann Zilcher were all former NSDAP members.¹⁵ In his opening lecture, Herrmann spoke of a ‘turning-point of Trossingen’s music history’ and set out his view of culture, whose ideal is ‘since Goethe, the demand for truth and beauty’, naturally also praising the accordion. In his other lecture, an introduction to ‘New Music’, Herrmann presented a Germanic trajectory running from Wagner, through Brahms and Bruckner, towards Reger and Hindemith, with the entry of Stravinsky acting as a catalyst for change. Herrmann made clear the importance to him of the educational function of music, whilst also sounding a sceptical note about a tendency towards historicism in music, and the consequent wish for older music, not to mention the relegation of music to the status of a secondary art form, usually used to accompany dance or celebratory events.¹⁶ Soon after the event, Herrmann was at work expanding his network of influence, arranging important meetings in October with musicians, promoters and cultural officials in Tübingen and Stuttgart, to which I will return.

Musica Viva in Munich

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the American music officers for Bavaria viewed Karl Amadeus Hartmann very positively after meeting him in June 1945, and through knowing of his work with the Juryfreien concerts and his closeness to Scherchen and Webern. They gave him permission to start a series of concerts of modern music in October 1945, working under the auspices of the Bayerisches Staatsoper, which would later come to be entitled *Musica viva*. Like the Juryfreien, this was not a festival, an intensive range of concerts over a week or several days, but a regular

¹⁴ It is worth noting, though, that von Knorr makes no mention of the Trossinger Musiktage in the section of his memoirs devoted to his time in the town from 1944 to 1952, nor any mention of Herrmann throughout the work.

¹⁵ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 698, 1713, 3784, 4658, 7983. Roeseling and Würthner are primarily known as accordion composers.

¹⁶ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, pp. 53-4.

concert series over the course of a season, a model would prove to be equally as influential.

Hartmann had, as mentioned in Chapter 1, built up a network of international musical contacts during his travels abroad, and was keen to give the series an international flavour. A report from the British Zone at the end of 1945 noted that in October it had been written that ‘Schönberg, Bartok, Hindemith and Stravinsky will figure prominently’.¹⁷ John Evarts helped Hartmann obtain scores and parts, which were sent to Evarts’ office, with much help from Universal Edition and various other publishers and composers.¹⁸ The first concert took place on Sunday 7 October at the Prinzregententheater, beginning at 10:30,¹⁹ and featured Busoni’s *Eine Lustspielouvertüre*, op. 38, Mahler’s Fourth Symphony, and Debussy’s *Iberia*. It was given by the orchestra of the Staatsoper, conducted by Bertil Wetzelsberger, who was of course also the conductor of the world premieres of Orff’s *Carmina Burana* and Egk’s *Die Zauberflöte*. The programme presented Busoni, Mahler and Debussy as ‘Forerunners of New Music’. It included a quote from Beethoven on freedom and art, and the full text of ‘Wir genießen die himmlischen Freuden’, with care to point out that this was originally a Bavarian folk song.²⁰

However, an OMGUS report declared the concert to have been a ‘miserable failure’ with only 300 people attending the large theatre. Other reports from the Americans and the French noted the rather frosty reception of this music from a conservative Munich audience.²¹ Nonetheless, Evarts believed the events to be important, and continued to support them, despite continuing mixed reception.²² The scheduling of this and quite a number of subsequent events on a Sunday morning also would not have helped, but the positioning diversified as the series progressed, with more evening concerts, and on different days of the week.

The next concert took place on 21 October, again conducted by Wetzelsberger, and had more Mahler – the Adagietto from the Fifth Symphony - as well as

¹⁷ TNA/PRO FO 371/47602, ‘Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in All Zones of Germany No. 2’, 19/ December 1945, citing a report, ‘News of Germany’, 20 October 1945.

¹⁸ Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, p. 47; Haas, *Hartmann*, pp. 121-3.

¹⁹ Full programmes are listed in Haas, *Hartmann*, pp. 281-325. All information on programming is taken from this source unless otherwise stated.

²⁰ The programme is printed in Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 50-1. For Heinz Pringsheim’s memoir in 1970 of the importance of this first concert, see his ‘Die ersten Töne im eiskalten Prinzregententheater’, in Wagner, *Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, pp. 96-100.

²¹ IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Will Roland, ‘Weekly Report’, 15 October 1945.

²² IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, ‘Weekly Report’, 26 October 1945; Evarts, ‘Weekly Report’, 4 February, 11 and 31 May 1946.

Hartmann's own *Musik der Trauer*, Stravinsky's Piano Sonata, and Janáček's Suite for String Orchestra.²³ In the *Neue Zeitung*, Edmund Nick wrote one of the first prominent expressions of *Nachholbedarf* in essentially a promotional article for the series. Arguing that the Germans had 'been kicked and kicked on the spot for twelve years'²⁴ with concerts which he said (misleadingly) were little more than 'an acoustic museum of older music', so 'Now there is much with which to catch up' (*Nun gilt es viel nachzuholen*). Wetzelsberger was presented as a new mentor, so that the German people could train their ears again and become once more one of the leading musical nations. He went on to write rapturously that 'a harp drips its gold-bell-tones' in the Mahler, of the 'shattered wild screams' of the Hartmann, or that the Stravinsky was infused by the spirits of Couperin and Scarlatti.²⁵

Already at the beginning of 1946 (after just five concerts had taken place), Heinz Pringsheim paid fulsome tribute to 'the idealism and the energy' of Hartmann, through which 'we have regained contact with the new and newest music of the world, which was previously foreign to us' (which was only partially true, as shown in Chapter 1), though he was worried by the isolation of the *Musica Viva* events.²⁶ Hartmann himself took great care over every concert, and had to deal with numerous practical difficulties, as for example when a planned concert, the third in the series, by the pianist Udo Dammert, had to be cancelled because of ongoing denazification proceedings.²⁷ Discussions took place between concertgoers in the intervals of concerts, often subtly steered by Hartmann himself.²⁸

The first season contained twelve chamber or orchestral concerts (some of them repeated), featuring music of Debussy, Ravel, Mahler, Busoni, Stravinsky, Janacek, Szymanowski, Miaskowsky, Hindemith, Krenek, Ernst Toch, Prokofiev, Honegger, Milhaud, Poulenc, de Falla, Martinu, Shostakovich, Hartmann himself and a few others. Schoenberg was represented solely by two performances of *Verklärte*

²³ This was a change from an earlier planned and publicised programme without the Janáček, but with works of Matthias Claudius, Andreas Gryphius and Ernst Toch; see Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 50-1.

²⁴ Nick's 'getreten und getreten worden' may be an oblique reference to Brecht/Weill's 'Und wenn einer tritt, dann bin ich es/Und wird einer getreten, dann bist's du', from *Mahagonny*.

²⁵ Dr. Edmund Nick, 'Über neue Musik', *Neue Zeitung*, 28 October 1945. Nick's picture would be echoed by Paul Moor in the *New York Times* on 18 March 1956, with Hartmann being the first to 'end Germany's isolation', cited in Haas, *Hartmann*, p. 119.

²⁶ Heinz Pringsheim, 'Musikstadt München im Aufbau?', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 January 1946. Pringsheim continued to be a staunch supporter of the series, and many of his reviews are reproduced in Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 154-226.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 54-8.

²⁸ Reinhold Kreile, 'Hartmann und wir Jungen', in Wagner, *Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, p. 106.

Nacht in March 1946. The series also included a whole concert of Beethoven, another of Purcell and Handel, and a work of Mozart in an early concert. Stravinsky and Mahler were the most often featured composers, with Stravinsky's Piano Sonata, *Dumbarton Oaks*, First and Second Suites for Orchestra, and *L'histoire du soldat*,²⁹ and Mahler's Fourth Symphony, Adagietto from the Fifth, *Das Lied von der Erde* and *Drei Lieder* (1883-1885). Only one American work appeared in the whole series – the world premiere of William Schuman's Second String Quartet - and no modern British music at all, whilst both French and Russian composition were well-represented (with a whole concert devoted to the former). Rosbaud came in to conduct the fourth and fifth concerts, and Hans-Georg Ratjen, Kapellmeister at the Staatsoper, did most of the remainder. The Staatsorchester would become available only more occasionally due to other commitments.³⁰

By the time of the ninth concert on 29 May 1946, the venue had been shifted from the Prinzregententheater to the smaller Theater am Brunnenhof, which had also just begun to be used for plays following the destruction of the Maximilianische Residenz³¹ (see Chapter 3). The programme mixed string quartets of Shostakovich (the German premiere of the first quartet op. 49) and William Schuman with chamber orchestral works of de Falla and Casella, but John Evarts found the listeners still unenthusiastic (whilst favouring the Shostakovich over the other pieces). However, he described this as understandable 'since they have heard little music in this idiom for a long time – if ever'.³² He appears to have been undeterred in his efforts to support a culture sympathetic to new music, as would be demonstrated his subsequent actions. Rosbaud returned in July 1946 to close the season with two performances of Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat*, directed by Marcel Lüpertz. The first of these was reported by both Pringsheim and Evarts as being a huge success with the audience,³³ and the work would be repeated five times in the next season.

The name *Musica viva* did not come into use until the third season, taken by Hartmann from a journal which had been published by Scherchen in Brussels in 1937,

²⁹ See Heinz Pringsheim, 'Die Geschichte von Soldaten', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 July 1946, for an enthusiastic report of this performance.

³⁰ Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, p. 53.

³¹ *50 Jahre Freunde der Residenz*, p. 32; Haas, *Hartmann*, pp. 126-7.

³² IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 31 May 1946.

³³ IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5. Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 13 July 1946; Heinz Pringsheim, 'Die Geschichte vom Soldaten,' *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 July 1946.

and also an *Orchester Musica viva* he had founded in Vienna later that year (and also a *Musica-viva-Orchester* in Bern in 1943).³⁴

The Überlingen Kulturwoche

The first concentrated post-war event featuring a wider range of new music (i.e. not centered around harmonica and accordion, and distinct from a concert series such as *Musica Viva*), however, took place in the Bodensee city of Überlingen. This had mostly escaped the bombing of the war and was occupied by French troops from 25 April 1945.³⁵ The French authorities were known to be planning an exhibition of their own art in Konstanz in October 1945 (which would not actually take place until June 1946 – see below). Accordingly, the writer Carl Rothe wrote in August to the mayor of Überlingen, Karl Löhle, suggesting parallel exhibitions of German and Swiss art, to improve cultural and political relations. He nominated the art historian Walter Kaesbach (1897-1961), director of the Düsseldorf Kunstakademie until 1933 and involved in modernist circles, for the artistic direction.³⁶ Kaesbach was helped by a cultural committee representing both Überlingen and Konstanz, as well as the French authorities,³⁷ and quickly got to know Konstanz cultural administrator Bruno Leiner,³⁸ who would be the leading force behind the *Kulturwochen* in 1946. He also worked together with the painter Werner Gothein, a Jewish anti-fascist who had been living in hiding until the end of the war.³⁹ Almost immediately the flautist and conductor

³⁴ Arlt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 65-8. Hartmann had originally thought of calling the series *Ars viva*, but the state secretary and minister, Dieter Sattler and Alois Hundhammer, preferred *Musica viva*; see Sattler to Hartmann, April 22, 1947, in BHA MK 50129, Akten de Statsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus. Staatstheater. *Musica viva*. Bd. I. 1947-1960. The new name was announced in 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/10-11 (August/September 1947), p. 308.

³⁵ Eva Moser, 'Überlingen 1945 – Deutsche Kunst unserer Zeit', in Landesstelle für Museumsbetreuung Baden-Württemberg (ed.), *Neuordnungen. Südwestdeutsche Museen in der Nachkriegszeit* (Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag, 2002), p. 59.

³⁶ Stadtarchiv Überlingen D3/1029, Rothe to Löhle, 16 August 1945; 'Erste moderne deutsche Kunstausstellung. Überlingen 1945'. On Kaesbach's background and involvement with Expressionist artists, Christopher Bauer, 'Akademiereform und innere Emigration. Walter Kaesbach in Düsseldorf und in Hemmenhofen 1924-1945', in Christopher Bauer and Barbara Stark (eds.), *Walter Kaesbach – Mentor der Moderne* (Lengwil: Libelle, 2008), pp. 27-48, and also Andreas Gabelmann, 'Im Brennpunkt der Moderne – Walter Kaesbach und die Expressionisten', *ibid.* pp. 9-26.

³⁷ NdM, 'Kunstausstellung am Bodensee' *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 27 October 1945

³⁸ 'Walter Kaesbach – Biografische Daten', in Bauer and Stark, *Kaesbach*, p. 106.

³⁹ Moser, 'Überlingen 1945', p. 62. Gothein linked not only the Überlingen and Konstanz plans, but also to a planned German-French-Swiss art exhibition in Baden-Baden. See Stadtarchiv Überlingen D3/1029, Gothein to Löhle, 'Unteruhldingen den 20.8.1945', writing on behalf of Kaesbach.

Gustav Scheck, known to be well-respected by French musicians, was appointed in charge of the musical section of the event.⁴⁰

Gothein's views expressed in a letter to Löhle exhibit common motivations for new music programming at that time. He made it clear that to him and Scheck, Hindemith was the composer with the closest connections to new German art and its artists. Thus the first priority was the planned world premiere of the 1936 Flute Sonata, by Scheck accompanied by Hans Rosbaud. Then there needed to be a French element, through a work of Ravel, and other pieces by Debussy and Roussel featuring the flute. Stravinsky's Piano Sonata was included because of his major influence throughout Europe. There was a work by a Swiss composer, Othmar Schoeck, and the world premiere of a work of Wolfgang Fortner, who had dedicated a solo flute work to Scheck. Hindemith as a living German master was to be matched by the dead master Gustav Mahler, whilst (for no given reason, but likely connected with his earlier residence in the town) there would also be two Lieder by Walter Braunfels.⁴¹ Braunfels became involved with the event from early September at the latest, and then moved back to the city (see Chapter 3) on 15 October, just five days before the festival began.⁴²

The Überlingen event was called *Deutsche Kunst unserer Zeit*, and took place between 20 October and 11 November; the first major exhibition of its type in the region. It was publicised as a feature of artists who had been labelled as *Entartete Kunst* during the Third Reich, featuring those associated with *Die Brücke* and the Bauhaus.⁴³ It contained within it a *Kulturwoche*, from 23 October until 1 November,⁴⁴ and spawned a *Kulturbund*, formed on 8 September, during the run-up to the event, with the permission of the French authorities. At the head of the Kulturbund stood five individuals (Braunfels, Gothein, Friedrich Georg Jünger, Christian Lahusen and

⁴⁰ Stadtarchiv Überlingen D3/1029, 'Erste moderne deutsche Kunstaussstellung. Überlingen 1945'.

⁴¹ Stadtarchiv Überlingen D3/1029, Gothein to Löhle, 20 August 1945 (a different letter to that mentioned above).

⁴² Braunfels' name appeared as a leading figure in the *Kulturbund* in 'Zur Ausstellung in Ueberlingen', *Südkurier*, 12 October 1945. He appears to have been involved with this from the outset, together with other musicians Christian Lahusen, Margarete von Winterfeld and Julius Weismann. See Eva Moser, 'Rückkehr der Moderne. Die Überlinger Ausstellung "Deutsche Kunst unserer Zeit" 1945', in Hans-Dieter Mück, Jürgen Klöckler and Eva Moser, *Rückkehr der Moderne. 1945 Überlingen 1995. Die erste Nachkriegs-Ausstellung verfemter deutscher Kunst* (Überlingen et al: Stadt Überlingen am Bodensee, 1995), p. 36. I have not found any relevant correspondence in the Braunfels Nachlaß kept in the Staatsbibliothek München.

⁴³ 'Moderne deutsche Kunst. Eine Ausstellung und Kulturwoche in Ueberlingen', *Südkurier*, 4 October 1945.

⁴⁴ See the poster in Barbara Stark, 'Gartenbau und Kunstpflege. Walter Kaesbachs Jahre 1945 bis 1961', in Bauer and Stark, *Kaesbach*, p. 49.

Fridolin Metzger), representing various different arts, who took charge of the event.⁴⁵ An article on the eve of the festival argued for the importance of smaller towns like Überlingen since the destruction of most major German cities and thus cultural centres,⁴⁶ as would be argued in 1946 about Konstanz. Quite exceptionally, the same article took care to argue that whilst many of the painters concerned had been suppressed during the Third Reich, this was not the primary reason for their choice,⁴⁷ though the original application had stated precisely that.⁴⁸

The musical part of the event consisted of three concerts (full details of which are given in Appendix 5d), like most Donaueschingen festivals, with the type of international repertoire discussed by Löthle, but also a wide range of German composers such as Genzmer, Pepping and Fortner. Each concert apparently had about 250 listeners.⁴⁹

Of the handful of local reviews, the most important was that by Michael Braunfels, brother of Walter, who identified Hindemith as the ‘most distinctive representative’ of modern music, whilst also quoting approvingly Scheck’s sentiments, expressed in his lecture, warning against premature conclusions on new music, as other now-acclaimed artistic work had been derided upon its first appearance. In classic German idealist manner, Braunfels wrote that this was because ‘The form and manner in which Genius communicates itself is so varied and mysterious as to make any rule or theory ashamed of it’.⁵⁰ A writer in the *Freiburger Nachrichten* drew links between the music and art works.⁵¹

The interest of the French authorities should not be over-estimated, as the event was not even mentioned in the first issue of the journal of the French zone, which had a section on intellectual and artistic life.⁵² Nonetheless, the governor of Überlingen, Colonel Lindenmann, attended, as did his then counterpart in Konstanz, François d’Alauzier, and some other senior officers.⁵³ However, immediately following the event, the Baden-Baden based cultural officer Dosseur complained of

⁴⁵ ‘Zur Ausstellung in Ueberlingen’, *Südkurier*, 12 October 1945; Moser, ‘Überlingen 1945’, p. 60-61.

⁴⁶ Dr. G. B., ‘Überlinger Kulturwoche’, *Südkurier*, 19 October 1945.

⁴⁷ Ibid. This article also suggested that the musical programme of the Kulturwoche resembled that for the artistic work.

⁴⁸ See the section of the letter cited in Moser, ‘Überlingen 1945’, p. 61; of the 50 painters chosen, 23 had been featured in the Munich exhibition of ‘Entartete Kunst’ (ibid. p. 62).

⁴⁹ Moser, ‘Überlingen 1945’, p. 72.

⁵⁰ Braunfels, ‘Neue Musik in Überlingen’.

⁵¹ *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 9 November 1945, cited in Moser, ‘Rückkehr der Moderne’, p. 44.

⁵² ‘Chronique de la Zone Française’, in *La Revue de la Zone Française*, pp. 20-24.

⁵³ Moser, ‘Rückkehr der Moderne’, p. 43.

the quality of the exhibition (essentially for being too Germanic), and called for greater ‘control’ through the inclusion of French contemporary art ‘de grande classe’. The laudatory reviews, though Dosseur, revealed historical ignorance of French achievements during the previous 75 years.⁵⁴ It is hard to imagine that the French officers would have been much more enamoured of the musical programming; the performances of Debussy, Ravel and Roussel seem a paltry offering when overshadowed by three major works of Hindemith and important music of Berg, Mahler, Jarnach, Pepping, Fortner and others. Subsequent exhibitions and events in 1946 would demonstrate a much more ‘hands-on’ approach and consequently a strong component of French art and music.

The *Studio für Neue Musik* and *Internationale Musikinstitut* in Berlin, and concerts in the *Stadt Musikbücherei*

As early as mid-June 1945, whilst Berlin was still under sole Soviet control, the Zehlendorf art office run by Wallner-Basté created a new position within the music department for Josef Rufer, so that he could run a *Studio für Neue Musik*. Rufer began to assemble an archive of scores here for future study and performances, to be loaned to participants in concerts in the area to encourage them to undertake new music. By early September a large quantity of scores (especially of modern piano music) had been assembled and a working group had plans for a series of concerts, pending the location of an appropriate hall. For this purpose, they found that the relatively unhurt Haus am Waldsee, at Argentinische Allee 30 in Zehlendorf, would be appropriate with a few structural modifications.⁵⁵ Wallner-Basté wrote that the work of this studio would ‘make artistic endeavour which has been described as “degenerate” (*entartet*) accessible to objective judgement’.⁵⁶ The group also obtained undertakings from the

⁵⁴ AOFAA/W 4204 (Relations artistiques), Fond “Commissariat pour le Lande Bade/Cercle Überlingen”, General Schwarz, report of 23 November 1945 (citing Dosseur’s views), cited in Moser, ‘Rückkehr der Moderne’, p. 56.

⁵⁵ Weekly reports of Musikabteilung for 11-16 and 18-23 June, 9-14 July, 3-8 September 1945, in Wallner-Basté, ‘Betrifft Musikabteilung’, pp. 15-20; LaB C Rep. 120 Nr. 1258. Wallner-Basté, ‘Wochenbericht’, 7-13 September 1945; Wallner-Basté to Herrn. Prof. Oestreich, 20 September 1945; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 121; Irene Tobben, ‘Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen Musik 1945-2006’, in *60 Jahre Haus am Waldsee. Vom privaten Landhaus zum Ort internationaler Gegenwartskunst in Berlin* (Berlin: Haus am Waldsee, 2006), pp. 116-117.

⁵⁶ LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 1258. Wallner-Basté to Herrn. Prof. Oestreich, 20 September 1945.

Staatskapelle and the BPO to study new works by Zehlendorf composers and perform them in the open-air concerts there.⁵⁷

Rufer's collaboration with Paul Höffer, however, was to lead to the founding of an institute which provided the first series of concentrated concerts of new music. Rufer was inspired, after a lecture given by Paul Höffer on 2 November on 'Musik der Gegenwart', to collaborate on the founding with Höffer of an *Internationale Musikinstitut* at the Haus, specifically for the performance of new music which had been condemned by the Nazis.⁵⁸ Immediately both sought other musicians in the city interested in the plan, including Celibidache, Gerhard Puchelt, and Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèvre, whilst the American authorities made clear their interest and support, granting a licence in advance of the first constitutional meeting on 7 November.⁵⁹ John Bitter was highly enthusiastic, saying the institution promised to be 'the best conservatory in Berlin', on account of the planned faculty.⁶⁰ Early publicity stressed the role of both the Americans and the office in Zehlendorf in enabling the institution to be created.⁶¹

Press releases prior to the opening argued the international modernist view by which after 1918, all cultured nations had been able to find 'a common foundation of mutual rapprochement' upon which they could build. This new institute would provide students with the knowledge and technical expertise to continue this progress, which had been thwarted in 1933. Quarterly courses, centered on new music, were envisioned as a form of completion for advanced students. Dedicated study of performing techniques for new music, unfamiliar to many traditionally-trained musicians, would plug an existing gap in the German music world. Furthermore, the

⁵⁷ Weekly report of Musikabteilung for 20-25 August 1945, in Wallner-Basté, 'Betrifft: Musikabteilung', p. 19. LAB C Rep. 120 Nr. 1258. Wallner-Basté, Wochenbericht, 19-29 August 1945. In the case of the BPO, this may have resulted in the performance of Höffer's *Kammerkonzert* op. 49 on 21 February in Zehlendorf. It is not clear whether the Staatsoper orchestra did the same.

⁵⁸ Fischer-Defoy, "*Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein*", p. 309.

⁵⁹ Höffer, 'Tagebüchern', 7 and 8 November 1945, p. 276; Tobben, 'Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen Musik', p. 117; Fischer-Defoy, "*Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein*", p. 309, dates the license as being granted on 8 November. Rufer, writing to Schoenberg on 11 November, had already planned for Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèvre to sing the Second Quartet and programme *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten* and the Suite op. 25. See Rufer to Schoenberg, 11 November 1945, at http://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=15488 (accessed 30 December 2017).

⁶⁰ OMGUS 5/242-3/13, Weekly Report, 16 November 1945, in Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern*, p. 218. In January, Bitter even enquired whether members of the 78th Division bands could study at the school, since some of the best woodwind and brass players taught there. See LAB OMGUS 4/8-1/7, Music Report, 24 January 1946.

⁶¹ Er., 'Ein neues Musikinstitut für Berlin. Die internationalen Beziehungen sollen wiederaufgenommen werden', *Tagesspiegel*, 16 December 1945.

work of the institute should not be limited merely to Berlin; if conditions permitted, it could be effective throughout Germany.⁶²

Following a small event on 4 January 1946, at which Bitter and another American officer named Schefer were present,⁶³ the official opening took place on 6 January, at which a string quartet from the BPO played works of Mozart, Schubert and Chaikovsky.⁶⁴ The Haus itself, as a centre for art exhibitions, was also officially opened to the public on the same day, with an exhibition of work by Käthe Kollwitz and Walther Vetter.⁶⁵

The initial faculty was impressive, made up of Höffer and Rufer for composition and theory, Celibidache for conducting, Puchelt for piano, Siegfried Borries for strings, Hinnenberg-Lefèbre for voice, and BPO players Oskar Rothensteiner and Martin Ziller for woodwind and brass respectively. The American musical sociologist Dr. van der Wall, Blacher and Tiessen were also listed in early publicity for teaching special courses.⁶⁶ Blacher joined the composition faculty on 18 January.⁶⁷ By the second quarter, the faculty was further expanded with the addition of Kurt Westphal, teaching music history, and BPO players Tibor de Machula, cello, Hans-Peter Schmitz, flute, Helmut Schlövogt, oboe, Ernst Fischer, clarinet and Karl Rucht, trumpet.⁶⁸

An early student was Giselher Klebe, who worked at the institute with Rufer in the first year, and from whom he may have developed an interest in dodecaphonic technique, though soon afterwards he transferred to private study with Blacher.⁶⁹ Another was the conductor Carl A. Bünthe, who abandoned the Hochschule for the faculty at the Musikinstitut, where he studied conducting with Celibidache and

⁶² Ibid.; -mar, 'Eröffnung eines internationalen Musikinstitute', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 22 December 1945; 'Internationales Musikinstitut Berlin', *Neue Zeitung*, 25 January 1946.

⁶³ Höffer, 'Tagebüchern', 4 January 1946, p. 277. This may have been the Major Shafer mentioned in *Berlin 1945-1946*, p. 192, or the Captain Paul F. Shafer mentioned in Rufer to Schoenberg, 11 November 1945.

⁶⁴ Tobben, 'Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen Musik', p. 117.

⁶⁵ 'Ausstellungen im Haus am Waldsee seit Januar 1946', in *60 Jahre Haus am Waldsee*, p. 137.

⁶⁶ Tobben, 'Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen Musik', p. 117; - mar, 'Eröffnung eines internationalen Musikinstitute'; Er., 'Ein neues Musikinstitut für Berlin'.

⁶⁷ 'Kulturelles Leben: Europäische Musik', *Tagesspiegel*, 19 January 1946; 'Berliner Nachrichten', *Der Berliner*, 15 January 1946. The article in *Tagesspiegel* argued, a little misleadingly, that Blacher's reputation climbed until he was banned by the Nazi regime.

⁶⁸ 'Internationales Musikinstitut', *Der Berliner*, 28 March 1946.

⁶⁹ Brigitte Schäfer, 'Giselher Klebe zum 80. Geburtstag', *neue musikzeitung* 54/9 (September 2005), reproduced at <http://schaefer-schwartz.de/wordpress/index.php/2015/07/08/zeit-als-intensitaet-und-qualitaet/> (accessed 30 December 2017); Michael Herbert Rentzsch (with Erik Levi), 'Klebe, Giselher', at *Grove Online*.

composition with Höffer.⁷⁰ Bünthe found a very friendly atmosphere there, especially on the part of Höffer, with little in the way of arrogant attitudes on the part of the faculty. Students came and went, so it was difficult to get a clear idea of the number studying at any one time, though Höffer's classes would usually consist of between eight and ten.⁷¹ In contrast to the Hochschule, students at the Musikinstitut apparently saw themselves as a special elite⁷² (as the institution was private, and did not receive municipal funding, students were required to pay 200 RM per semester to each teacher,⁷³ limiting the intake to those with independent funds). Another student was Linde Höffer, who went to the Musikinstitut in 1947 after unhappy experiences working with Pepping at the Hochschule; she married Paul Höffer six months later.⁷⁴ Others included the composer Herbert Baumann, viola player Lotti Hampe and harpsichord player Gerhard Kastner.⁷⁵ Only Rufer taught about Schoenberg, while Bünthe and others did not feel particularly enlightened about the workings of twelve-tone technique.⁷⁶ More intrinsic to the aesthetic of the institution was the work of Hindemith, Stravinsky and Bartók;⁷⁷ other music forbidden during the Third Reich played a much less significant role than had originally been intended.⁷⁸

At the same time, a new series of concerts was founded at the Haus (see Appendix 5e), divided into three sections: (a) chamber music; (b) music for chamber orchestra played by members of the BPO; (c) modern music,⁷⁹ with many of the first and last given by members of the faculty, as well as a range of lectures. Overall, the series had a greater focus upon new music than in concerts anywhere else in the city (or elsewhere in Germany other than the Munich series), as well as being offered at a

⁷⁰ “Wir haben voller Verachtung von der Hochschule gesprochen”. Gespräch mit dem Dirigenten Carl A. Bünthe am 7.6.90’ (hereafter simply ‘Bünthe, “Gespräche”’), in Fischer-Defoy, *“Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”*, pp. 319-20.

⁷¹ Bünthe, ‘Gespräche’, pp. 320-321. Linde Höffer remembers slightly smaller classes. See “Ein Ersatz für das, was die Hochschule in diesen Jahren nicht zu bieten hatte”. Gespräche mit Linde Höffer am 20.2.89’ (hereafter simply ‘Linde Höffer, “Gespräche”’), in Fischer-Defoy, *“Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”*, p. 326

⁷² Bünthe, ‘Gespräche’, p. 321.

⁷³ Linde Höffer, ‘Gespräche’, p. 326. Christine Fischer-Defoy believes that the Kunstamt Zehlendorf and OMGUS did give some support as well. See Fischer-Defoy, *“Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”*, p. 311.

⁷⁴ Linde Höffer, ‘Gespräche’, p. 326.

⁷⁵ ‘Herbert Baumann’ at <http://www.komponisten.net/baumann/bio.htm> (accessed 30 December 2017); Linde Höffer, ‘Gespräche’, p. 326.

⁷⁶ Bünthe, ‘Gespräche’, p. 323.

⁷⁷ Fischer-Defoy, *“Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”*, p. 312.

⁷⁸ Bünthe, ‘Gespräche’, p. 323.

⁷⁹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/13. FTM Weekly Report, 18 January 1946.

lower price than many other events.⁸⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the first of these featured the music of Hindemith (leading to an interesting comparison in one review, as it came around the same time as the Städtische Oper gave an all-Wagner concert),⁸¹ with later concerts including Berlin composers such as Höffer, Blacher and Tiessen, and the usual selection of foreign figures. Most notable in terms of later German musical history were some of the earliest major post-war performances of atonal Schoenberg: *Das Buch der hängenden Garten*, sung by Hinnenberg-Lefèbre, and the Suite for piano, op. 25, Schoenberg's first completely dodecaphonic work, both in February, and the Second String Quartet (with the BPO string quartet and Hinnenberg-Lefèbre) in June. Critical reaction to these was sometimes more mixed than the near-universal praise accorded Hindemith: Erwin Kroll characterised the Suite as a 'dead end' (comparing it unfavourably with Heinz Tiessen's *Klavierstücke*, op. 31, which had been played around the same time by Anneliese Schier-Tiessen), though he had more time for the song cycle,⁸² whilst Lina Jung argued that the Second Quartet performance was so convincing that it commanded the highest respect amongst the audience.⁸³ A further review in the Soviet-controlled *Tägliche Rundschau* said that the work 'speaks a musical language comprehensible to all, whose roots go back over Reger and Brahms to Beethoven', as well as praising Schoenberg's handling of a quasi-Wagnerian idiom,⁸⁴ a view which would change significantly in later Soviet-controlled publications.

In an early report from January 1946, Bitter described the Haus am Waldsee concerts in general as 'perhaps the only ones in Berlin that are really fresh and new', and noted that the hall was packed for the opening Hindemith concert, though he thought the modern music series to be 'at best a hard pill to swallow'.⁸⁵ After 18

⁸⁰ 'Auf dem Wege über das Abonnement. Die Konzerte des Kulturamts Zehlendorf', *Tagesspiegel*, 10 January 1946.

⁸¹ Erwin Kroll, 'Hindemith und Wagner', *Tagesspiegel*, 16 January 1946. Kroll traced the development of Hindemith's musical language through the four works in the concert, perceiving a gentle return to aspects of romanticism in the Trumpet Sonata, the latest work. See also Fritz Brust, 'Hindemiths Entwicklung', *Der Berliner*, 17 January 1946.

⁸² Erwin Kroll, 'Tanz, Kammermusik und Songs. Ballett in der Staatsoper – Konzerte mit moderner Musik', *Tagesspiegel*, 1 March 1946. Similarly, a reviewer in 'Berliner Konzerte – kurz besprochen', *Der Morgen*, 5 March 1946 thought the song cycle quite surpassed the Suite.

⁸³ Lina Jung, 'Musica da chiesa e da camera', *Tagesspiegel*, 18 June 1946.

⁸⁴ H.R.H., 'Musik-Rundschau', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 27 June 1946.

⁸⁵ IfZ/OMGUS 5/242-3/13. FTM Weekly Report, 18 January 1946.

concerts running through until April, a further American ICD report said that ‘The series is regarded as successful’.⁸⁶

A parallel series began in the British Zone of Berlin, after the *Stadt Musikbücherei* (city music library, today the *Musikbibliothek Charlottenburg*), in Platanenallee, in the British-controlled region of Charlottenburg, re-opened in December 1945.⁸⁷ Concerts featuring some new music had been presented here from its first opening in 1937.⁸⁸ Some events organised in conjunction with the Hochschule were mounted here, including a series of lectures and lecture-recitals on new music given by Siegfried Borris, on new music and Hindemith. There was a series of recitals, including a three concert series of ‘Internationale zeitgenössische Kammermusik’ in March-April organised by Herbert Schermaß.⁸⁹ This series featured a mixture of music from Britain, France, Russia and Germany, and a few other things (though nothing from the US), including a concert of young German composers (see Appendix 5e for the full programmes). These concerts were identified by Kroll, and later by Stuckenschmidt, as a companion to those in Zehlendorf.⁹⁰ By 1951 there had been 100 chamber music events at the Musikbücherei, 61 of which featured new music, mostly by German composers. The 100th event featured commissions from young Berlin figures Max Baumann, Dietrich Erdmann and Heinz Freidrich Hartig.⁹¹ There was also a further series of Wednesday lunchtime concerts organised initially at the *Städtisches Konservatorium Berlin* (a private institution which is today part of the *Universität der Künste*)⁹² by Heinz Tiessen through a new *Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik* (distinct from the earlier organisations of the same name which existed briefly in 1945-46), beginning at the end of November 1946, with similar programming.⁹³

⁸⁶ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/15, Semi-Monthly Activity Report of T&M Section, Film, Theater and Music, 15 April 1946.

⁸⁷ ‘Musik- und Stadtteilbibliothek’, at http://www.luise-berlin.de/lexikon/chawi/m/musik_und_stadtteilbibliothek.htm (accessed 30 December 2017); -er., ‘Musikbüchereien im Dienste der Volksbildung’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 14 December 1945.

⁸⁸ See, for example, A. Ch. W., ‘Sonderschau und Veranstaltungen der Städtischen Musikbücherei Charlottenburg zum Tag der Hausmusik’, *ZfM* 104/12 (December 1937), p. 1377, detailing an event at which Höffer’s Serenade *Innsbruck ich muß dich lassen* was performed.

⁸⁹ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, ‘Neue Musik in Deutschland seit 1945’, in *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1957/58*. (Frankfurt, London and New York: C.F. Peters, 1958), p. 12.

⁹⁰ Kroll, ‘Das erste Nachkriegsjahr der Musikstadt Berlin’, p. 178; Stuckenschmidt, ‘Neue Musik in Deutschland seit 1945’, p. 12.

⁹¹ K.W., ‘Von 100 Kammermusikabenden 61 mit neuer Musik!’, *Melos* 18/5 (May 1951), p. 146; Werner Bollert, ‘Berliner Miszellen’, *Musica* 5/4 (April 1951), pp. 156-7.

⁹² Fischer-Defoy, ‘*Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein*’, p. 8.

⁹³ AdK Nachlass Tiessen, File 1381, Handwritten programme for Arbeitskreis für neue Musik, undated, programmes running from November 1946 to March 1947.

Tiessen viewed this series and that of the Kulturbund, which began around the same time (see below), as part of a process of preparing Germany for re-entry into the ISCM.⁹⁴

Despite both series, however, in March 1946 Kroll published a long and polemical article with an ambivalent if not pessimistic view of the situation of new music. He pointed out that despite the fact that foreign works were now no longer *terra incognita* for audiences, nonetheless new works and ideas, especially those of the previous five years, only appeared sporadically (quoting Blacher to this effect), whilst the opera houses and orchestras concentrated on more standard fare. Kroll was impressed by the new objectivity and clarity of modern conductors (which he linked to the music of Stravinsky and Shostakovich and contrasted with the orchestration of Richard Strauss), but was frustrated by the ‘deep desire of bourgeois ideology for a hopeless past era, at least in the enjoyment of music for oneself’. He concluded that the new task for the critic was ‘to make the listener ready to fulfill their obligations they have towards the new’.⁹⁵

In a further article written at the end of 1946, Kroll continued to locate the ‘spirit of progress’ in the South-West regions of Zehlendorf and neighbouring Dahlem (where other concerts were presented, including some by the BPO, who used the local *Gemeindehaus* as their base),⁹⁶ with particular reference to circles influenced by Hindemith and Stravinsky (but with no mention of Schoenberg), whilst beginning to develop an unfavourable view of the Soviet sector, in which ‘one asks more for the old masters and prefers the operettas of yesterday’.⁹⁷ Kroll listed Höffer and Blacher,

⁹⁴ AdK Nachlass Tiessen, File 1381. Tiessen, ‘Arbeitskreis für neue Musik’, undated, probably from some time in November 1946; Tiessen to Charlotte Bartsch, Erny Lamadin, Alfred Schlute and Fritz Thöne, 12 November 1946.

⁹⁵ Erwin Kroll, ‘Neues Werden in der Musik. Ergebnisse einer Umfrage’, *Tagesspiegel*, 9 May 1946.

⁹⁶ Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, pp. 46-7. It should be noted that both Zehlendorf and Dahlem are regions within the city district of Zehlendorf. The importance of Dahlem as well as Zehlendorf was already noted by Kroll in his ‘Tanz, Kammermusik und Songs. Ballet in der Staatsoper – Konzerte mit moderner Musik’, *Tagesspiegel*, 1 March 1946. The BPO had used the area as their base, and given their first open-air concert in the region on 19 June 1945 (Wallner-Basté, ‘Betrifft Musikabteilung’, pp. 15-6; Heukenkamp, *Unterm Notdach*, p. 457) and performed the Roussel Sinfonietta under Celibidache at an event apparently organised by a *Kulturgemeinde* in the district (Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester*, Band 3, p. 317).

⁹⁷ Erwin Kroll, ‘Das erste Nachkriegsjahr der Musikstadt Berlin’, in *Berliner Almanach 1947*, edited Walther G. Oschilewski and Lothar Blanvalte (Berlin: Lothar Blanvalte Verlag, 1946), pp. 172-3. Kroll went on to point out that ‘Contemporary music has appeared more often in intimate settings than in large concerts, and is completely absent from the repertoire of opera houses (with the exception of a dance evening with works of Ravel at the Staatsoper)’ (ibid p. 174), though this claim is somewhat undermined by his later praise for the work of Celibidache in reviving works of French, Russian, American and British composers as well as giving premieres of Nabokov and Höffer (ibid. p. 175). As

together with the expressionism of Tiessen, and the Hindemith-influenced school of Noetel and Pepping as representing ‘the avant-garde of Berlin composition’.⁹⁸ If this ‘avant-garde’ actually seems with hindsight quite mild, then it is worth bearing in mind that through the course of the succeeding period, West Berlin never really became a centre for the most radical musical developments, in comparison to other cities, an issue to which I will return in Chapter 8.

The Recital Series of Eduard Erdmann

The first truly concentrated series of new music in the British Zone, and one which seemed to proclaim its anti-fascist credentials, was given by a figure who was far from excluded or silent during the Nazi era – the pianist and composer Eduard Erdmann. After returning to his home near Flensburg after the end of the war, by 12 November at the latest Erdmann had received some type of authorisation to perform again in the New Year.⁹⁹ Erdmann gained permission by the British authorities¹⁰⁰ to give a series of four-concert cycles around the British Zone from April 1946. The series was entitled *Moderne Klaviermusik*, which had also been the title of an article Erdmann had published in the second issue of *Melos* in 1920.¹⁰¹ The series included a few works clearly chosen because of their having been excluded in the Reich (the pieces were by Mendelssohn, Alkan and Dukas, all Jewish) together with an array of Weimar modernism – works of Schoenberg (the Suite op. 25, as performed two months previously by Roloff in Berlin), Berg, Krenek (including the *Toccata und Chaconne* op. 13, of which Erdmann had given the world premiere), Erwin Schulhoff, Ernst Toch, Arthur Willner and Hindemith (all three sonatas in one concert, as Emma

early as March 1946, Kroll argued that Zehlendorf and Dahlem were the centre of modern music in Berlin; see Kroll, ‘Tanz, Kammermusik und Songs. Ballett in der Staatsoper – Konzerte mit moderner Musik’, *Tagesspiegel*, 1 March 1946.

⁹⁸ Kroll, ‘Das erste Nachkriegsjahr der Musikstadt Berlin’, p. 178.

⁹⁹ As indicated in a letter from his wife Irene to her friend Ada Seebüll, 12 November 1945, reproduced in Scherliess, ‘Erdmann vor und nach 1945’, p. 225.

¹⁰⁰ At least the programme for his concerts in Lübeck and Kiel were marked ‘With Permission of [British] Military Government’. See AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 463; and Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, p. 63 for the Kiel programme. File 422 contains three Fragebogen for Erdmann, the first undated, the second dated 27 July 1946, the third 21 July 1947. The first two are however practically identical, so it is not clear whether Erdmann had already completed a Fragebogen before the beginning of his tour.

¹⁰¹ Eduard Erdmann, ‘Moderne Klaviermusik’, *Melos* 1/2 (February 1920), pp. 34-7, reproduced in Bitter and Schlösser, *Begegnungen mit Eduard Erdmann*, pp. 229-35. This was somewhat more broadly focused, considering the music of Debussy, Schoenberg, Scriabin, Bartók, and a range of lesser figures.

Lübbecke-Job had done in 1945 in Bad Homburg), as well as some works of Stravinsky (the *Serenade in A*), and modern Jewish composers Artur Schnabel, Milhaud, and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco.¹⁰² The full programmes can be found in Appendix 5f. The cycle could not have been more clearly calculated to explicitly feature ‘Entartete Musik’. Erdmann’s commitment to the meaning of this cycle was demonstrated by the fact that at first he instructed concert promoters that he would not extract single concerts from the four, but must play the cycle complete.¹⁰³

Erdmann first gave some form of the cycle in Hamburg, beginning on 5 April 1946 (in what was apparently his first post-war appearance),¹⁰⁴ then in Hanover beginning three days later.¹⁰⁵ Between April and June, he also performed it in Wuppertal, Düsseldorf, Braunschweig and Lübeck, as well as separate, distinct, recitals - sometimes mixing early and later music - in cities including Cologne, Essen, Kiel and Göttingen.¹⁰⁶ He also recorded some of this music, including works of Schoenberg (the *Klavierstücke* op. 19) and Berg, during this time for NWDR in Hamburg.¹⁰⁷

The response to these concerts from critics and audiences appears to have varied between the different cities. Hanover critic Albert Rodemann made a distinction between the three sonatas of Hindemith, and the other works, as all of the latter dated from the period between 1825 and 1926, which was ‘a century of common European musical practice’. Working from the assumption that Germany had indeed

¹⁰² The full programme of the cycle, as given in Hanover, together with Erdmann’s draft for this, is reproduced in Sievers, *Kammermusik in Hannover*, pp. 100-101, whilst the individual fliers are in AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 465.

¹⁰³ Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, pp. 62-3.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Biographische Daten’, in Bitter and Schlösser, *Begegnungen mit Eduard Erdmann*, p. 365. However, the one review I have been able to locate from the Hamburg series, J. Marein, ‘Ein deutscher Pianist’, *Die Welt*, 12 April 1946, indicates a programme of music of William Byrd, Beethoven’s *Les Adieux* sonata, and music of Adolf Jensen and Karol Szymanowski, none of which were in the programmes given in Hanover a few days later.

¹⁰⁵ As the Hamburg cycle began on 5 April, and the Hannover cycle on 8 April, Erdmann must have either given more than one concert in a day in Hamburg, or travelled back to the city to complete it, though as mentioned above, the Hamburg programmes (and maybe number of concerts) differed.

¹⁰⁶ AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 463, Concert Programmes (for the Lübeck programmes from early June); -nn, ‘Eduard Erdmann spielt im Westen’; Dr. Paul Müller, ‘Neue Musik und Publikum. Zu Eduard Erdmanns Klavierzyklus in Düsseldorf und Wuppertal’, *Rheinische Post*, 20 April and 4 May 1946; Friedrich Berger, ‘Meisterkonzert’, *Kölnische Rundschau*, 7 May 1946; ‘Die Chronik’; Werner Ohelmann, ‘Tage der neuen Musik. Vier Klavierabende von E. Erdmann’, *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 10 and 17 May 1946; Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, p. 63 for the Kiel programme from 17 May, which combined Sweelinck, W.F. Bach and Reger, with Krenek and Hindemith’s *Ludus Tonalis*; Jürgen von der Wense, *Wanderjahre*, edited Dieter Heim (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2006), p. 172.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Schallplatten- und Rundfunkaufnahmen’, in Bitter and Schlösser, *Begegnungen mit Eduard Erdmann*, pp. 358-63; Scherliess, *Erdmann und Nolde*, p. 89.

been cut off from such practice, these sonatas provided the opportunity to catch up.¹⁰⁸ Betraying rather typical lofty prejudices, the works of Milhaud and Castelnuovo-Tedesco (though not Dukas) were characterised as harmless, featuring fashionable dissonant harmony, etc, in comparison with the more spiritual creations of Toch, which drew upon French and Latin influences. Schoenberg's Suite, however, was said to disintegrate into 'disconnected parts from a maniacal will' (whilst Schnabel's sonata was 'an experiment of a well-read, but not creatively gifted, mind'). Krenek was viewed as a younger composer who had taken up merely Schoenberg's craftsmanship, unable to bring about a meaningful connection between a 'determined approach to the art of line' and 'pure play of sounds', whilst Stravinsky's Serenade was 'completely lacking in pathos and lyricism', and in the 'Rondoletto' he was moving into 'a musical world which is beyond good and evil'.

For Rodemann, like so many others, the culmination of all of this lay in a 'new classicism' whose highlight was to be found in the Hindemith Sonatas, superseding earlier experiments. More than Schoenberg, Schnabel, Krenek or Stravinsky before him, Hindemith was, according to Rodemann, able to marry the 'strongest emotional content, a new lyricism, an unexpected region of released pathos binding together large and monumental forms, allusions from the baroque era to the present, from homophonic work and polyphonic art' in order to present a new image of a musical present.¹⁰⁹ Braunschweig critic Werner Oehlmann had a much more positive view of the works of Krenek in particular, and also of those of Milhaud, Toch, Schulhoff and Schnabel, though not of Schoenberg, which he felt could not endure. He also however noted and bemoaned the paltry audiences, arguing that it would be better for them to gain 'unrest, questions and shock' from a concert than 'romantic intoxication, for which life no longer offers an echo'.¹¹⁰ In an extended laudatory review of the concerts in Düsseldorf and Wuppertal, Paul Müller's reaction was wholly positive, and implied a deep interest and engagement from those present. From an aesthetic perspective at odds with the 1920s-style view of Oehlmann and to some extent Rodemann, Müller viewed the modern works in terms of an achievement of the autonomy principle in music, later than in the visual arts, with a work like Berg's Sonata as the epitome, as a result of a type of historical necessity. Erdmann, thought

¹⁰⁸ Albert Rodemann, 'Was ist davon geblieben? Nach den Jahren des Verbots: Moderne Klaviermusik in Hannover', *Neue Hannoversche Kurier*, 16 April 1946.

¹⁰⁹ Rodemann, 'Moderne Klaviermusik in Hannover'.

¹¹⁰ Oehlmann, 'Tage der neuen Musik'.

Müller, took the motoric rhythms and other stylistic aspects of much of the music and made the total result into a real event, through an understanding of their immanent musical logic, so that the result was revelatory, with the works of Stravinsky and Hindemith as the pinnacle of the cycle.¹¹¹

Festivals in Konstanz, Aachen, Schwetzingen

In June and July 1946, three major events featuring significant amounts of new music took place in each of the three Western Zones, epitomising both the different approaches of the three occupying powers and also the practical difficulties involved. The various *Kulturwochen* and other events in Celle, Braunschweig and Hamburg, have already been mentioned, but none was on the scale, nor featured such a range of new music, as the *Konstanzer Kunstwochen*, which took place between 1 and 14 June 1946. As mentioned earlier, some type of event had been planned for the city since at least Autumn 1945, but it began to take a more concrete form when Mayor Arnold wrote with detailed plans to the French governor Degliame at the beginning of February 1946.¹¹² Arnold alluded to the earlier Überlingen event, suggesting that this should be followed up with a parallel exhibition featuring art from all over Europe, adding that there should be provided the best concerts with ‘contemporary chamber music from France, England, America, Russia, Switzerland and Germany’.¹¹³ Degliame, who had already organised various joint French-German community events, and had a keen interest in culture as an instrument of French occupation politics,¹¹⁴ supported the project (in the process significantly boosting his personal prestige, according to Georges Ferber),¹¹⁵ whilst the French authorities in Paris and Baden-Baden were also prepared to sponsor the event, for which, as mentioned earlier, that in Überlingen was seen as a ‘dress rehearsal’.¹¹⁶ It was taken up primarily by two individuals: Dr. Bruno Leiner, from the Konstanz city cultural department

¹¹¹ Müller, ‘Neue Musik und Publikum’.

¹¹² Burchardt suggests that it was Ferber who took the initiative, following the success of the Überlingen event. It is possible that Arnold’s plans were inspired by Ferber. See Burchardt, *Konstanz*, p. 148.

¹¹³ Arnold to Degliame, 1 February 1946, cited in Barbara Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen 1946 – eine Brücke zur Welt’, in *Konturen neuer Kunst*, pp. 23-4.

¹¹⁴ Burchardt, *Konstanz*, pp. 147-8.

¹¹⁵ Ferber, ‘Ernstes und Heiteres aus ungemütlicher Zeit 1945’, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’ in *Konturen neuer Kunst*, p. 24.

(who became the official director),¹¹⁷ and Ferber. Werner Gothein, who had played an important part in the Überlingen event, also advised Leiner and made some contacts with Newell Jenkins in Stuttgart.¹¹⁸ Leiner and Ferber favoured Konstanz because of its location on the Swiss border, enabling them to portray the event – in the common manner – as part of a process of re-internationalisation of German culture, and also drawing attention to the role of Switzerland as a refuge for exiled German artists.¹¹⁹

A press release was issued in mid-March, proclaiming that this cultural landscape presented a unique opportunity for the city to resume its historical role as a ‘peaceful mediator between East and West and North and South!’ At this point there were plans to include a range of orchestras from Munich, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Basel,¹²⁰ but none of these ultimately participated. Leiner asked Newell Jenkins in March if the Americans might be prepared to provide some financial support (whilst expressing an interest in American music, the programming of which he at this stage envisaged at that time being organised by Jenkins), in line with that then being offered by other occupying powers.¹²¹ At this stage it was hoped that France, Britain, the Soviet Union, Switzerland and the USA would each contribute around 20,000 RM,¹²² making it a truly international affair. However, as the festival drew nearer and no positive response had yet been received from the Americans, some events involving orchestras from the American Zone had to be scaled down.¹²³ A week before the festival was about to begin, the central office of American ICD made clear the impossibility of gaining State Department support for an event which was beyond the remit of OMGUS,¹²⁴ while interzonal travel clearance for various US zone-based

¹¹⁷ At the last minute Leiner’s daughter, Sigrid von Blankenhagen, would take over the organisation of the German section of the exhibitions. See Burchardt, *Konstanz*, p. 149.

¹¹⁸ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/9, Leiner to Jenkins, 9 March 1946; GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Leiner to Jenkins, 9 March 1946 (a different letter); Gothein to Jenkins, 29 April 1946.

¹¹⁹ At least this is how it was presented in a celebration of the event published by the French soon after the event. See ‘La Quinzaine Culturelle de Constance’, *La France en Allemagne* 1 (July 1946), pp. 20-21. Previously, a glowing picture of Konstanz as an international city, a window onto the world, was published in Ursula von Kardorff, ‘Konstanz, das Guckloch [*sic*] am Bodensee’, *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 11 May 1946.

¹²⁰ ‘Die Konstanzer Kulturwoche’, *Südkurier*, 22 March 1946; GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10.

‘Kulturwochen der Stadt Konstanz vom 1. bis 11. Juni 1946’. In this earlier draft, the opening concert would have featured Schoenberg’s *Verklärte Nacht*, Milhaud’s *Petite Symphony*, and Hindemith’s Viola Concerto and *Der Schwanendreher*, all played by the Munich Philharmonic under Rosbaud.

¹²¹ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/9, Leiner to Jenkins, 9 March 1946.

¹²² GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Leiner to Jenkins, 9 March 1946.

¹²³ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Leiner to Jenkins, 8 April 1946; Gothein to Jenkins, 29 April 1946.

¹²⁴ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/1, David J. Coleman, Acting Executive Officer, OMGUS, Office of the Director of Information Control, to OMGWB ICD, 22 May 1946. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, pp. 93-94.

artists¹²⁵ did not materialise in time, preventing the participation of various musicians from Munich (including the Philharmonic and Rosbaud) and Stuttgart. In the end, the French invested 80,000 RM in the event, around two-thirds of the total cost, to which was added just \$1000 from the Americans, on condition that an ‘American day’ was still included, together with a little over 42,000 RM raised from private sponsors. Unsurprisingly, French culture dominated the event, with five days of dedicated activity, ultimately increasing the costs and length as well as the nature of the event,¹²⁶ whilst an earlier planned English day, featuring entirely works of Britten, was shelved.¹²⁷ Swiss music was restricted to a concert by the Winterthurer Quartet, and Russian classical music subsumed within a wider category of *Osteuropäische Musik* (though there was also an evening of Russian choruses and dances). What had once been intended as an event to celebrate the music and culture of all the occupying powers¹²⁸ (as well as that of Germany and Switzerland) was ultimately more notable as an example of French-German collaboration. The planned American contribution was manifested more clearly in the festival in Schwetzingen that year (see below), and the following year in Stuttgart (see Appendix 5q).

However, the SWF (undoubtedly at the behest of Strobel) quickly showed an interest in being involved; their orchestra replaced the planned appearance of the Munich Philharmonic.¹²⁹ The exact responsibility for the programming of musical section of the event is unclear,¹³⁰ but one review implied that organist Bernhard Gavoty had been responsible for the programming of French music, and Wolfgang Fortner that of the German works.¹³¹

To provide accommodation for a large number of anticipated guests, the French authorities seized hotel rooms and demanded that the local authorities provide them with bedding, whilst special boats were organised between Überlingen, Konstanz and nearby Meersburg to enable people to stay in these other towns,¹³² and

¹²⁵ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Kunstwoche to Jenkins, 21 May 1946.

¹²⁶ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 24-5.

¹²⁷ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10. Kulturwochen der Stadt Konstanz vom 1. bis 11. Juni 1946.

¹²⁸ That this was the intention from the French side is made clear in GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Degliame to Monsieur le General Commandant en Chef Secrétariat Général, Service des Liasons, 16 April 1946.

¹²⁹ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 25, 27.

¹³⁰ There is likely more information about this in the large collection of documents held at the Stadtarchiv Konstanz, of which time did not permit investigation in great detail during the course of preparing this work.

¹³¹ ‘Deutsche und französische Kunst’, *Die Zeit*, 4 July 1946.

¹³² Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 24-5.

a special floating restaurant was moored in the harbour for the duration of the event.¹³³ Some of this received hostile reception in the local press, but this did not deter the French.¹³⁴ Leiner, for his part, took it upon himself to write an article in the *Südkurier* attempting to explain the reasons for the event. First he attempted to dispel criticisms that the influx of outsiders could adversely affect food rations and housing plans. He also defended the event on the grounds that Konstanz had an opportunity to shed its provincial status and regain a historic cultural role now that ‘The time of large cities in Germany is over’, whilst for the authorities meeting cultural needs was ‘just as important as the daily bread’. Leiner went on to assert:

It is through the efforts and the works of our creative forces, in the realms of visual art, music, literature or scholarship, only with these peaceful expressions of our true nature, which were trampled on by criminal elements of our own people during the ‘Third Reich’, that we are able to converse again with our enemies.¹³⁵

To Leiner this meant that there was an opportunity for the first time in 12 years to compare German literature and music with that of other European countries and America, and to allow such German creative work not to be singled out or emphasized, but to feel only ‘a part of the infinite creative activity of mankind, that is equally meaningful and dignified in all countries and from all peoples’.¹³⁶

Special passes were also provided by the authorities of the neighbouring Swiss town of Kreuzling, to enable regular travel between the two countries during the course of the event,¹³⁷ a process which had begun in November 1945 to help with delivery of agricultural supplies.¹³⁸ There were nonetheless various hitches during the planning, not least of which was the cancellation of a planned chamber opera

¹³³ Burchardt, *Konstanz*, pp. 148-9.

¹³⁴ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 24-5.

¹³⁵ Bruno Leiner, ‘Warum Kunstwoche?’, *Südkurier*, 9 April 1946.

¹³⁶ Ibid. The Konstanz city authorities similarly praised the ‘re-establishment of a connection with the world’ in a statement a few days after the end of the event (see Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 33), whilst a report in *Die Welt* (‘Europäisches Kulturkonzil in Konstanz. Eigene Bericht’, 25 June 1946, cited *ibid.* p. 23) expressed a similar sentiment.

¹³⁷ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 25; ‘Kleine Chronik. Eröffnung der Konstanzer Kunstwoche’, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 June 1946.

¹³⁸ Arnulf Moser, *Der Zaun im Kopf. Zur Geschichte der deutsch-schweizerischen Grenze um Konstanz* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1992), p. 127.

performance by composer Leo Justinus Kaufmann after the French became more aware of his Nazi connections.¹³⁹

From the opening onwards, the Kunstwoche was clearly a major high-profile cultural event, heralded with a speech by Schmittlein,¹⁴⁰ and attended by a wide variety of German, French, American and Swiss political representatives.¹⁴¹ Laffon himself spoke at the opening of the French section of the event, laying out the public face of the French cultural agenda. He declared that ‘the Germans will demonstrate, by significant acts, their absolute will to rise up again from the deep abyss into which they were plunged by the Hitler regime’,¹⁴² that ‘the German nation may once again occupy its rightful place among the great nations of the world’¹⁴³ and that ‘there are not too many men of good will in this world for us not to want them all to come together at the same pace on the road to progress’.¹⁴⁴

For the two weeks of the event’s duration, Konstanz can fairly be considered as the temporary cultural centre-point of all of the Western Zones. The Kunstwoche featured a range of exhibitions of German and French art, showings of previously banned German and foreign films, poetry readings by the likes of Bruno Goetz and Johannes Becher, numerous theatrical performances (including plays of Anouilh, Giraudoux, Brecht and Thornton Wilder), and concerts on almost every day. French culture undoubtedly dominated accounting for most of the events from the 7-11 June; British culture, by contrast, was limited to one lecture on English poetry, though more had originally been planned, whilst the Russian, American and Swiss contributions, though notable, were small compared to those from France and Germany.¹⁴⁵ The full programme, opening with two concerts from the SWF orchestra, and with various concerts defined by nation, is reproduced in Appendix 5d. Notable is one of the first performances of Messiaen in post-war Germany, Gavoty playing *Le banquet celeste*.

¹³⁹ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 26. On Kauffmann, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 3592-4. The opera in question, *Das Perlenhemd*, had been performed in Strasbourg in 1944, whilst the city was still under occupation.

¹⁴⁰ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 26-27.

¹⁴¹ ‘Kleine Chronik. Eröffnung der Konstanzer Kunstwoche’, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 June 1946; ‘Kulturwoche in Konstanz am Bodensee’, *Die Umschau*, Jahrgang 1, Heft 1 (September 1946), p. 125.

¹⁴² Laffon quoted in Ludwig Emanuel Reindl, ‘“Wesentliche Handlungen”. Das Ergebnis der Bodensee-Kulturwochen in Konstanz’, *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, 25 June 1946.

¹⁴³ Laffon quoted in C.W., ‘Französische Eröffnungsfeier im Konzil’, *Südkurier*, 8 June 1946, cited in Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 30.

¹⁴⁴ Laffon quoted in ‘La Quinzaine Culturelle de Constance’, p. 24.

¹⁴⁵ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 26. The review in *Die Zeit* (‘Deutsche und französische Kunst’, 4 July 1946) suggested that the contribution of the Russians was most notable in terms of dance rather than music.

However, as noted by Gustav Lenzinger for *Melos*, there were no world premieres during the two weeks.¹⁴⁶

There were many visitors from all zones to the Kunstwochen,¹⁴⁷ and thousands to one or other of the events. It was widely reviewed throughout Germany,¹⁴⁸ gaining as large a profile throughout the Western Zones as any other event up to that date featuring new music. One critic saw the musical component of the Kunstwochen as resembling the pre-war events in Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden, and noted the explicit approval of the public who came to the concerts.¹⁴⁹ Another noted how French and German visitors tended to attend primarily those events from their own country, though this was mostly for linguistic reasons.¹⁵⁰ The music was on the whole noted more for its international nature than for any particular tendencies towards atonality or abstraction, as was observed in much of the visual art.¹⁵¹ At least one critic, however, clearly advocating a Sachlichkeit agenda, argued that ‘such a decisively anti-romantic tendency’ in the art had found ‘perhaps its most perfect expression in the contemporary music’ featured. He also argued that ‘late romantic expressive music as a concept – music as a means of illustrating an individual “mood” – stands to be displaced by works which, by reconnecting to older traditions and a strong grasp of music’s inner laws [*Eigengesetzlichkeit*], speak an abstract formal language’.¹⁵² Another critic thought that the apparent warm response of the audiences suggested that a ‘re-awakened generation seem in their listening to have matched the development of modern music and its formal language’, and that this was amongst the most remarkable achievements of the event.¹⁵³ Other reviews suggested that the

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Gustav Lenzinger, ‘Musik in der Konstanzer Kunstwoche’, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), pp. 22-3.

¹⁴⁷ Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, pp. 34-5.

¹⁴⁸ 110 journalists attended from Germany and abroad (though the focus of press reports was more upon the art than the music), including 28 from the French Zone and 48 from the American. See Anne Langenkamp, ‘*Konturen neuer Kunst – Die Kunstausstellungen der Konstanzer Kunstwoche*’, in *Konturen neuer Kunst*, pp. 58-63, for more on the reception of the event. Hans Eckstein, ‘Kunst und Kultur in Konstanz’, *Neue Zeitung*, 21 June 1946, gives a good overview of the event, but mentions the musical component only briefly. See also ‘Kunstwoche am Bodensee’, *Tagesspiegel*, 5 June 1946. A brief review in the Düsseldorf-based *Rheinische Post* (Gw., ‘Konstanzer Kulturwochen’, 10 July 1946), drew attention just to the high quality of the performances.

¹⁴⁹ Ludwig Emanuel Reindl, ‘Konstanz – ein Vorbild’, *Weser Kurier*, 13 July 1946, and also Reindl, “‘Wesentliche Handlungen’”.

¹⁵⁰ Berthold Spangenberg, ‘Notizen aus Konstanz’, *Ruf* 7/1 (1946), cited in Stark, ‘Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen’, p. 34.

¹⁵¹ Langenkamp, ‘Die Kunstausstellungen’, pp. 59-60.

¹⁵² Friedheim Kemp, ‘Moderne Musik in Konstanz’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5 July 1946.

¹⁵³ Reindl, “‘Wesentliche Handlungen’”.

Kunstwoche constituted a symbol of peace between nations¹⁵⁴ (and Lenzinger viewed Honegger's Third Quartet as embodying a type of musical border)¹⁵⁵ or simply as a readmission of valuable foreign culture to Germany,¹⁵⁶ and took special note of the French domination, demonstrated by military bugles and drums playing outside on one morning in such a manner as to interrupt a performance of Debussy.¹⁵⁷ In many ways it could be seen as a harbinger above all of French-German cultural co-operation and exchange such as would characterise much of post-war musical life; one reviewer praised the 'unprejudiced exchange of French and German ideas', and felt that neither power sought to pursue their own art for propagandistic purposes against the former enemy,¹⁵⁸ whilst another commentator presciently viewed the event as 'the beginnings of a European agreement, on the peaceful basis of an emerging cultural exchange'.¹⁵⁹ And a French report on the event, speaking of the literature presented but equally applicable to the whole, suggested that whilst there were numerous readings of clandestine literature written in secret during the Nazi occupation, they were 'not merely a revolt against the temporary oppression of our country by German fascism, but against all forms of political oppression, and so possess a universal value', going on to argue that such a 'flame of freedom' still 'dazzles the eyes of the German people'.¹⁶⁰

If the Kunstwochen generated a positive reaction from the visitors to the concerts, the response of the population of the city continued to be mixed.¹⁶¹ The use of night-time city lighting, fireworks and a forty-metre flagpole (in keeping with the relatively spectacular nature of French events in Germany), as well as flags decorating many streets¹⁶², were seen by some as wasteful when other basic supplies remained meagre, but on the other hand, at least according to one writer, the event restored the city to what appeared to be a state of pre-war normality.¹⁶³ However, the resentment was noted by the city authorities, and when in late 1946 and early 1947 other basic

¹⁵⁴ See 'Feierlicher Ausklang der Konstanzer Kunsttage', and Hermann Fiebing, 'Kunstwoche und Frieden', *Südkurier*, 14 June 1946, reproduced in Burchardt, *Konstanz*, p. 146.

¹⁵⁵ Lenzinger, 'Musik in der Konstanzer Kunstwoche', p. 23.

¹⁵⁶ 'Europäisches Kulturkonzil in Konstanz. Eigene Bericht', *Die Welt*, 25 June 1946; 'Kleine Chronik. Eröffnung der Konstanzer Kunstwoche', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 June 1946.

¹⁵⁷ 'Konstanzer Kunstwochen', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 14 June 1946.

¹⁵⁸ Erwin Bareis, 'Die internationalen Kulturwochen in Konstanz', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 22 June 1946.

¹⁵⁹ Erika Neuhäuser, 'Konstanzer Impressionen', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 22 June 1946.

¹⁶⁰ 'La Quinzaine Culturelle de Constance', p. 24.

¹⁶¹ Lenzinger, 'Musik in der Konstanzer Kunstwoche', p. 23, noted the relative indifference of the local population.

¹⁶² 'Kleine Chronik. Eröffnung der Konstanzer Kunstwoche', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 June 1946.

¹⁶³ Stark, 'Die Konstanzer Kunstwochen', p. 33.

supplies were reaching new lows, a clear majority of the council voted against repeating the event for a second year.¹⁶⁴ There would be various other subsequent French-organised large-scale art exhibitions in Baden-Baden (September 1946), Berlin (Autumn 1946), Freiburg (Autumn 1947) and Lörrach, following on from that in Konstanz,¹⁶⁵ but only the latter featured this degree of new music (or music of any type). The planned *Konstanzer Musiktage* the following year was a much more modest event, and the city would not host another event of comparable magnitude until the *Festliche Musiktage in Konstanz* in 1950.¹⁶⁶

The first post-war *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* (the 101st occurrence of this historic festival), took place in Aachen on 8-11 June 1946, thus entirely falling within the timeline of the Konstanz event. Theodor Rehmann, who had organised the ‘Karlsfest’ in January 1945, had proposed to the British authorities to revive the festival as part of a ‘re-education’ process. It had not taken place since 1931, and thus Rehmann and some friends (with arguments not dissimilar to those presented by Rufer and Höffer) were able to persuade the authorities to build upon traditions believed to have been sacrificed during the previous era.¹⁶⁷ It was less ambitious than the events in Munich, Berlin and Konstanz, in terms of the range of twentieth century music offered within its seven concerts, which are detailed in full in Appendix 6a. The most significant works were those of Hindemith, Vaughan Williams, Jarnach, Ravel, Elgar, Delius (who had been featured at the 1905 and 1906 festivals)¹⁶⁸ and Cologne composer Walter Berten (1902-1956), in amongst a festival which otherwise featured Beethoven’s *Fidelio*,¹⁶⁹ and staples of the Germanic repertoire: Bach, Handel, Mozart, Schubert, Brahms, Bruckner, Hugo Wolf and Franck.¹⁷⁰ Conductors were Heinrich

¹⁶⁴ Burchardt, *Konstanz*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁶⁵ Klöckler, ‘Grundzüge’, p. 13; Martin Schieder, *Expansion/Integration. Die Kunstaustellungen der französischen Besatzung im Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004), pp. 15-24, 47-8. Oddly, Schieder makes no mention of the relationship between these and other events and that in Konstanz. On the continuing history of French-German cooperation in the art world, see also Martin Schieder, *Im Blick des Anderen. Die Deutsch-Französischen Kunstbeziehungen 1945-1959*, with a foreword by Werner Spies and a poem by K.O. Götz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005).

¹⁶⁶ Heinze, *Südwestdeutschen Philharmonie*, pp. 44-5.

¹⁶⁷ Julius Alf, ‘Das Niederrheinische Musikfest nach 1945. Ausklang einer Jahrhundert-Tradition’, *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins*, Band 57/58 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1980), pp. 472-3.

¹⁶⁸ See Peter Warlock, *Frederick Delius* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1952), p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ This was included in a homage to a performance of the opera which had taken place in Aachen in 1825. See Alf, ‘Das Niederrheinische Musikfest nach 1945’, p. 473.

¹⁷⁰ Franck was of course Belgian, though (as mentioned in Chapter 1) there had been attempts during the Third Reich to appropriate him as an honorary Aryan. On Berten, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 419.

Hollreiser from Düsseldorf, and Felix Raabe from Aachen (standing in for an indisposed Günter Wand).¹⁷¹ Jochum had been announced,¹⁷² but did not participate in the end. Overall, the programming showcased local composers and a few British works (but omitting the younger figures Benjamin Britten and Michael Tippett) in line with the particular occupation zone in which it took place; only the inclusion of the Hindemith and perhaps the Jarnach and Ravel suggested any serious attempt to engage with the type of interwar modernism becoming featured elsewhere.

In early 1946, at the instigation of Jerome Pastene, a committee was set up to organise a festival for that summer in Schwetzingen,¹⁷³ around 10 km from Heidelberg; this came to be a venture jointly mounted by the Nationaltheater Mannheim and the Städtischen Bühnen Heidelberg, with financial support from the Stuttgart city authorities.¹⁷⁴ This event required the repair of the 18th century theatre, helped by the Stuttgart support, as well as the regional government for the American area of Baden.¹⁷⁵ The festival was originally planned to run from 15-30 June,¹⁷⁶ but owing to high demand, it had to be extended through to 14 July.¹⁷⁷

Pastene worked hard to obtain materials for contemporary American and other works to be performed at Schwetzingen, and otherwise to ensure everything was in place concerning venues (trying to strike deals with other military sections), electrics, lighting and transport.¹⁷⁸ He reported with great pleasure to Jenkins that Richard Laugs, from Mannheim, ‘is talking all-American like mad!’, highly eager to see and

¹⁷¹ Berger, ‘Musikalische Pfingsttage’.

¹⁷² ‘Kultur-Mosaik’, *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 27 April 1946.

¹⁷³ The make-up of the committee, comprised entirely of local and state politicians, and Heinrich Köhler-Helffrich as Intendant of the Heidelberg Theatre, can be found in Bärbel Pelker, ‘Chronologie zu Musik und Theater in Schwetzingen (1743-2003)’, in Silke Leopold and Bärbel Pelker (eds.), *Hofoper in Schwetzingen. Musik, Bühnenkunst, Architektur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), p. 419 and Karl Wörn, *Schwetzingen - lebendige Stadt. Eine historisch-sozialkundliche Studie. Geschichte – Gemeinde – Kultur – Wirtschaft* (Schwetzingen: Schwetzingener Verlagsdruckerei, 1970), pp. 74-5. No specific musical director is listed.

¹⁷⁴ Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*, pp. 296-7.

¹⁷⁵ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, ‘History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946’.

¹⁷⁶ For one brief overview of the 1946 Schwetzingener Festspiele, see Claus Helmut Drese, ‘Ein Arkadien der Musik – Oper in Schwetzingen einst und jetzt’, in Bernhard Hermann and Peter Stieber (eds.), *Ein Arkadien der Musik. 50 Jahre Schwetzingener Festspiele 1952-2002* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J.P. Metzler, 2002), pp. 52, 56. More details of the programme (though with some omissions) can be found in Pelker, ‘Chronologie zu Musik und Theater in Schwetzingen’, pp. 420-21.

¹⁷⁷ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, ‘History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946’.

¹⁷⁸ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Pastene to Jenkins, 19 April 1946; Pastene to Chief, T&M, ICD, 30 April, 25, 29 and 31 May, and 4 June 1946.

hear scores and recordings of American music.¹⁷⁹ In the end, new music was not the primary focus, but nonetheless a fair amount was featured prominently, full details of which can be found in Appendix 6b. William Schuman's *American Festival Overture* trumped the alternative of having Ravel's *La Valse*, perhaps a response to the relatively minor role played by American music at Konstanz, and music of Samuel Barber replaced a planned performance of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony.¹⁸⁰ From the second concert, Hindemith's *Amor und Psyche* was apparently thought to be the major revelation, whilst Debussy's *L'après-midi* was received much more positively than it once might have been.¹⁸¹ A report by Newell Jenkins listed the Stravinsky, Strauss and Orff works presented at Schwetzingen as the 'more extraordinary works' which had been presented in Württemberg-Baden,¹⁸² while another American report viewed the closing concert of Stravinsky, Schuman, Barber and Britten as the high point of the festival.¹⁸³

A concert by Fortner and what would have been a resurrected Heidelberger Kammerorchester, with works of Bach, Schumann and Hindemith, was scheduled for 20 June,¹⁸⁴ but was rescheduled with a different conductor.¹⁸⁵ The exact reasons for this are not clear; one review attributed it to illness on Fortner's part,¹⁸⁶ but it might equally have been related to Fortner's appearance on a blacklist at the beginning of this month. One critic suggested it would have been better to cancel the concert altogether.¹⁸⁷

However, the festival was hugely popular, with the committee receiving 1500 requests for seats before the first tickets were put on sale, and was sold out, leading to the extension of its duration.¹⁸⁸ The Music and Theater Control Branch were

¹⁷⁹ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Pastene to Jenkins, 23 March 1946.

¹⁸⁰ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Pastene to Festival Committee, 18 June 1946.

¹⁸¹ i.u., 'Schwetzinger Festspiele (Vorbericht)', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 19 June 1946.

¹⁸² GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, OMGWB, ICD, 'Annual Report', 9 July 1946.

¹⁸³ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-1/8, 'Weekly Situation of 16 July 1946', cited in Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*, p. 297.

¹⁸⁴ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Programme for 1946 festival.

¹⁸⁵ See i.u., 'Schwetzinger Festspiele. Zweiter Vorbericht', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 22 June 1946. The concert was shifted back to 28 June, and was replaced by a concert of violin sonatas played by Günther Kehr and Carl Seemann. Newell Jenkins had in March indicated in a letter to Hindemith that Fortner and his orchestra would perform once again: Jenkins to Hindemith, 8 March 1946, cited in Giselher Schubert, 'Hindemith und Deutschland nach 1945', p. 14.

¹⁸⁶ b-r., 'Schwetzinger Festspiele', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 2 July 1946.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. This review does not list who was the replacement conductor, nor have I found this information elsewhere.

¹⁸⁸ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, 'History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946'

delighted, deeming the event ‘Perhaps the biggest success during the first six months of 1946’.¹⁸⁹ However, one critic was little more sceptical, comparing the festival unfavourably with that in Konstanz in terms of scope (in particular the restriction of the festival to music, rather than expanding to incorporate other arts) and the restrictions on spectators in the Schwetzingen theatre, seeing here the epitome of ‘gentlemanly taste’ rather than something more ambitious.¹⁹⁰ Another wrote rather cynically of how one must not wish for ‘good success’ when faced by a ‘superstitious artist’s heart’, and drew attention to how ‘Evening dresses float through the pale green rows of chairs, busy men in fully-fledged tuxedos rush over the soft carpet, the American Theatre and Music Officer, Mr Jerome J. Pastene, can show the honoured guests of the American occupation army to their places’.¹⁹¹ Another, whilst enthusiastic about Barber’s *Adagio*, was dismissive of the Copland, in comparison to the works of Chaikovsky and Brahms with which it shared a programme.¹⁹² Orff’s *Die Kluge* generated much interest,¹⁹³ though one critic was distinctly lukewarm about his ‘stereotypical obstinate techniques of motif and rhythm’, especially in comparison to the Stravinsky.¹⁹⁴ The latter work also provoked enthusiastic responses, with one critic arguing that despite the fact it was almost 30 years old, it ‘places itself in such uncannily natural and timely manner before the eye and ear of the present!’¹⁹⁵

In terms of German-American musical dialogue, the achievements were also more modest than those at Konstanz between Germany and France. Schwetzingen only featured the prominent German names of Hindemith and Orff, whereas Konstanz presented a wide range of lesser-known German figures. A divide was opening up between French-German co-operation, British relative indifference, and American enthusiastic self-promotion. The subsequent festivals in 1947 and 1949 featured much less new music – string quartets of Prokofiev and Ravel, and Orff’s *Carmina burana* in 1947, then mainstream programming for 1948 (dominated by Mozart) and 1949,

¹⁸⁹ IfZ OMGUS 3/408-2/26, ‘History of OMGWB, Part IV Film, Theater and Music as to 30 June 1946’; see also Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*, p. 296.

¹⁹⁰ Balsler, ‘Schwetzingen: Abschluß der Festspiele’. A similar view on the cautious approach of this festival can be found in b-r., ‘Schwetzingen Festspiele’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 2 July 1946.

¹⁹¹ Gerhard Emskötter, ‘Eröffnung der Festspiele in Schwetzingen. Die erste große Veranstaltung dieser Art in der amerikanischen Zone’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 18 June 1946.

¹⁹² R., ‘Schwetzingen Musikfestspiele 1946’, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 31 July 1946.

¹⁹³ See i.u., ‘Schwetzingen Festspiele (Dritter Vorbericht)’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 29 June 1946 and A.G., ‘Die Festspielwochen in Schwetzingen. Großer Erfolg der Mannheimer und Heidelberger Operaufführungen’, *Der Morgen. Mannheimer Zeitung*, 6 July 1946.

¹⁹⁴ b-r., ‘Schwetzingen Festspiele’.

¹⁹⁵ Wieland-Walter Wehage, ‘Die Legende des Heimatsuchers. Strawinskys “Geschichte vom Soldaten” in Schwetzingen’, *Der Morgen. Mannheimer Zeitung*, 9 July 1946.

following financial difficulties brought about by currency reform, and then a three-year hiatus until the festival was re-launched in 1952 in association with SDR.¹⁹⁶

One further event which followed in August was a *Kulturwoche der Jugend* which ran from 5 to 11 August (thus finishing fourteen days before the beginning of the first *Ferienkurse* in Darmstadt) in Heidelberg and Schwetzingen. The idea for this event had germinated during the Konstanzer Kulturwoche (apparently from the wishes of some young people who had been there) and was originally scheduled there; it was presented as something to bring together young people from the three Western zones to form a ‘new sense of community’ (*neue Gemeinsamkeit*) in cultural terms.¹⁹⁷ 100 students from 14 different Hochschulen attended the event.¹⁹⁸ One account suggests that the German authorities at Konstanz (perhaps somewhat jaded from their experiences with the occupying powers in other regions?) were distrustful of the occasion, despite enthusiasm from the French and Swiss. However, the authorities in Heidelberg were happy to host it there.¹⁹⁹ The students, together apparently with some factory workers, were to come to the Kulturwoche, according to the conference leader, ‘to sit down together at a table and find there what is remaining for us young Germans with which to start, and what is left for us to gain to lead upwards with a new rebuilding’.²⁰⁰ Gustav Scheck took a leading role in a day devoted to music in Schwetzingen, discussing the issue of ‘Old and New Music’, and gave a concert with pianist Alwine Moeslinger with works of Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky and Hindemith. More significant in terms of the future direction of new music was a concert given by Hermann Heiß from Darmstadt, who would be one of the two composition teachers at the Ferienkurse two weeks later.²⁰¹ Heiß’s earlier connections to Heidelberg were mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3.

¹⁹⁶ Pelker, ‘Chronologie zu Musik und Theater in Schwetzingen’, pp. 421-2.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Südwest-Schau’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 6 August 1946.

¹⁹⁸ Werner Klose, *Freiheit schreibt auf eure Fahnen. 800 Jahre deutsche Studenten* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1967), p. 288.

¹⁹⁹ Ruth Kühn, ‘Kulturwoche der Jugend in Heidelberg-Schwetzingen. “Das sante Gesetz, wodurch das menschliche Geschlecht geleitet wird”’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 10 August 1946.

²⁰⁰ Kühn, ‘Kulturwoche’. A short publication came out of this event, Hans Hagen (ed.), *Möglichkeit 1947/48...: Worte an unsere Freunde* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1948).

²⁰¹ Kühn, ‘Kulturwoche’.

The *Zeitgenössischer Musikwoche* at Bad Nauheim

The Konstanz event was ultimately focused upon the visual arts, with music in a somewhat secondary role, whilst the festivals in Aachen and Schwetzingen presented a mixture of old and new music. The first concentrated event entirely devoted to new music took place the following month, in Bad Nauheim, organised by Radio Frankfurt under the artistic directorship of Schröter.²⁰² Schröter had been given essentially a free hand in organising this by Hagen, with the proviso that he included in the festival music by Americans and composers from other Allied nations.²⁰³ The American officers allowed the free use of a concert hall for the event.²⁰⁴ It was entitled the *Zeitgenössische Musikwoche*, announced by April 1946,²⁰⁵ and became the first in a yearly festival series organised by the radio station (later *Hessischer Rundfunk*) – from 1947 it would be called the *Woche für Neue Musik* and would take place in Frankfurt (see Chapter 8). It ran almost continuously until 1956, after which it would become merged together with the *Ferienkurse* at Darmstadt, with which it had already run jointly on several occasions.

The event ran continuously over a week, 7-14 July, with nine concerts and various lectures. The programming (see Appendix 5g) constituted a type of hybrid of that found in Konstanz, Berlin and Baden-Baden,²⁰⁶ and was noted for featuring ‘new Americans, French and Russians’.²⁰⁷ Hindemith was once again prominent, featuring in 4 of the 9 concerts; less prominent, but equally notable, was the inclusion of three works of Schoenberg in a single concert – the Second Quartet, and *Klavierstücke* op. 11 and 19, paired with Hindemith’s First Piano Sonata. However, Schoenberg was clearly viewed as less important than Hindemith and Stravinsky, billed as the ‘Zwei Pole der neuen Musik’. Strobel and the critic Karl H. Wörner gave lectures, whilst the booklet was headed by various tributes to the event, notably by Hagen, making clear US support for such a venture. As per Hagen’s requirements to Schröter, it included

²⁰² Schröter explained later that he chose to keep the festival in Bad Nauheim because of an attachment to the town whilst the move of the radio station to Frankfurt was still only very recent. See Schröter to Beckmann, undated [probably early 1947], in HR Archiv Intendanz Abt. Musik von 2.11.44 bis 30.9.53.

²⁰³ E-mail from Schmidt-Blankenhagen, 11 August 2011.

²⁰⁴ HR Archiv, ‘Rundfunk in der Stunde Null – Zum Beispiel: Radio Frankfurt’, script for broadcast from 1 April 1983, interview with Holger Hagen.

²⁰⁵ E.K., ‘Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946.

²⁰⁶ HHStAD O21 (Bergsträsser) No. 26/6. The copy of the full programme as originally planned is kept in this file. I am very grateful to Eva Haberkorn for locating this for me.

²⁰⁷ E.K., ‘Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk’.

two American works: William Schuman's *American Festival Overture*, and Quincy Porter's Second Violin Sonata. France was represented by the works of Roussel and Ravel, and the Soviet Union by string quartets by Prokofiev and Roslavets, as well as the various Stravinsky works (though these are better considered Russian than Soviet).²⁰⁸ Schröter gave a further nod to Hagen by including the world premiere of his father Oskar's 1945 violin sonata. Schröter himself performed in various works, either in his trio or as a duo partner. Wolfgang Steinecke was also probably present at the festival.²⁰⁹

The texts and speeches accompanying the event²¹⁰ again emphasised the by-now familiar *Nachholbedarf* message, bringing back to the German people what was previously decried as Entartete Musik. Eberhard Beckmann, Hagen, Schröter, Hans Blümer, and Bad Nauheim Kurdirektor Otto Meller stressed, in one critic's words, how the event would form a 'sonic bridge over the abysses of the last years'.²¹¹ Whilst this was true of some of the foreign composers played in various events, it could not be said of the work of Wolfgang Fortner, Ernst Pepping, Hermann Heiß or Heinrich Sutermeister. But it provided a convenient ideology which legitimised the festival's anti-fascist credentials. The following year, a preview article in *Melos* for the 1947 *Woche für neue Musik*, the successor festival, viewed the previous year's event as the first attempt to reconnect with a 'musical world-spirit', with music which had been banished from Germany in the recent past.²¹²

The radio broadcast practically the entirety of the festival, much of it in a new weekly late-night programme, 'Studio-Konzert für Moderne Musik', which would continue after the festival ended, also featured various works and lectures from the first Ferienkurse at Darmstadt.²¹³ It was also mentioned in papers in various parts of Germany and reviewed in detail in some. The critic in the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* saw the event as a continuation of the festivals on Konstanz and Schwetzingen, and endorsed the notion of Hindemith and Stravinsky as the 'poles of new music' (with no mention of Schoenberg), locating Fortner, 'through his strict church-music sound', as

²⁰⁸ Originally Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony was to be performed, but this was not included in the final programme; E.K., 'Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk'.

²⁰⁹ Private communications with Schmidt-Blankenhagen.

²¹⁰ As related in various reviews.

²¹¹ M., 'Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 July 1946.

²¹² Josef Linssen, 'Die Frankfurter Woche für neue Musik. Ein Vorbericht', *Melos* 14/7-8 (May-June 1947), p. 207.

²¹³ HR-Archiv, 'Horfunkprogramm 10.03.1946-26.10.1946', gives the full schedule of this programme in the early days.

a balance between these two figures.²¹⁴ A critic in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* took an unusual line for the time, opting for expressionism over objectivity, extension of tradition over its upheaval. He felt that William Schuman's overture was as if constructed from ashes washed over from Europe, and wished instead for a composer comparable to Walt Whitman. This was not provided by Quincy Porter, the slow movement of whose Violin Sonata resembled to this critic 'lemonade (with sweetener!)' (though Malipiero's work was said to be even worse in this respect). Furthermore, the critic was sceptical about Karl Wörner's location of new music as a consequence of the First World War, preferring the works (all pre-war) of Schoenberg, which he felt 'dare to express the unheard-new'. This critic responded in a lukewarm fashion to works of Hindemith, Fortner, Krenek, and even Bartók, was harsh about Prokofiev, Roslavets and Sutermeister, though they loved the Stravinsky (feeling Hindemith not yet to be on the same level) and greatly praised the music of Roussel and Heiß, and some of the new works, especially the sonata by Puetter.²¹⁵ Hans Ulrich Engelmann, covering the festival for the *Darmstädter Echo*, also adored the Stravinsky Violin Concerto and the Schoenberg works, though he was more generous towards Hindemith and Fortner, and found in Heiß's sonata a 'splendidly refined music'. He shared his Frankfurt counterpart's scepticism about Wörner's view of 1918 constituting a shift from subjectivity to objectivity, but was happy to endorse the view of the festival that Stravinsky and Hindemith were the 'two poles', which position was argued strongly by Strobel in his lecture.²¹⁶

The Tage Neuer Musik in Bremen

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the US enclave of Bremen, the Philharmonic Gesellschaft – the only purely musical organisation granted a licence in the first year – mounted a few notable performances of new music in the city. There was little of this at the outset, save for a performance of Pfitzner's *Kleine Sinfonie* (1939) in March

²¹⁴ E.W., 'Zeitgenössische Musik in Bad Nauheim' and i.u., 'Petersen-Uraufführung in Nauheim', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 16 and 25 July 1946. The first of these reviews also pointed out that Hindemith's mother, who lived near Bad Nauheim, attended the performances.

²¹⁵ b-r., 'Die zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim'; 'Zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim'; 'Ausklang der Nauheimer Musikwoche', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9, 12 and 19 July 1946

²¹⁶ H.U. Engelmann, 'Zeitgenössische Musik. Festwoche in Bad-Nauheim'; Hans Ulrich Engelmann, 'Musikwoche in Bad Nauheim', *Darmstädter Echo*, 20 and 24 July 1946.

1946.²¹⁷ However, in July Schnackenburg mounted a special event, which coincided with the last days of that at Bad Nauheim and constituted the second concentrated event dedicated to new music in the US Zone, entitled the *Tage Neuer Musik*.

This featured three concerts (see Appendix 5h), once more oriented around the two poles of Hindemith and Stravinsky,²¹⁸ with a fair amount of German sacred music, one work from France (Françaix) and perhaps most notably, the German premiere of Samuel Barber's Violin Concerto. The event as a whole barely seems to have registered outside the city,²¹⁹ though after it, Schnackenburg would go on to conduct a fair number of world and city premieres in the city, including works of Braunfels, Copland, Delius, Hindemith, Ibert, Khatchaturian, Messiaen (*Les offrandes oubliées* in 1948), Milhaud, Shostakovich (the fifth, sixth and ninth Symphonies) and Stravinsky (the Concerto in E-flat).²²⁰

Trossingen, Donaueschingen, Tübingen, July-August 1946

Following the first Trossinger Musiktage, Herrmann had continued to proselytise both for new music in Trossingen, often together with von Knorr, and for himself,²²¹ having numerous important meetings with prominent figures in the region in late 1945.²²² There had been a 50th birthday concert in April 1946 for Herrmann himself, a further performance of Philipp Mohler, and an event in June to celebrate Ernst Hohner's 60th birthday on 27 July, with various new works written for the occasion. These included Herrmann's *Lob der Harmonika*,²²³ and von Knorr's *Stimmen des Lebens*, a cantata after Hanna Lenz for three solo voices and string quartet.²²⁴ He was also given a commission to produce a musical-pedagogic programme for the *Pädagogische Institut* in Reutlingen during the 1945-46 period.²²⁵ But even more important was his involvement in the re-starting of the Donaueschinger Musiktage.

²¹⁷ Edwin Gild, 'Philharmonisches Konzert', *Weser Kurier*, 20 March 1946.

²¹⁸ Edwin Gild, 'Strawinski und Hindemith', *Weser Kurier*, 20 July 1946.

²¹⁹ There was a small mention in 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), p. 26, but I have not seen any others outside of the *Weser Kurier*.

²²⁰ Blum, *Musikfreunde*, pp. 548-9; Theodor Spitta, diary entry for 13 December 1945, in Büttner and Voß-Louis, *Neuanfang auf Trümmern*, p. 431 (in which Spitta notes the 'Maschinenrhythmus' of the Stravinsky).

²²¹ Josef Häusler aptly describes Herrmann's personality as 'a mixture of an enthusiast and an opportunist'. See Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*, p. 122.

²²² Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 106.

²²³ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 54.

²²⁴ Von Knorr, *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 184.

²²⁵ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 51.

Much of the relevant correspondence for this has been collected and published by Werner Zintgraf, and the sequence of events leading up to the first post-war festival can, through a combination of Zintgraf's books and other sources, be reconstructed in some detail.²²⁶

The French military governor of Donaueschingen was André Noel,²²⁷ during his time there and later in Konstanz, he gained a reputation amongst some for tolerance, reconciliation and co-operation.²²⁸ He appears to have presented no obstacle to the re-forming of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Donaueschingen, spearheaded by architect Georg Mall. A licence was granted on 19 November 1945, and a new constitution was drawn up by the office of the mayor of Donaueschingen, Leopold Meßmer on 9 February 1946. The committee included Prince Joachim Egon, Mall, Herrmann, writer Max Rieple, and others.²²⁹ The Gesellschaft began presenting chamber concerts at the beginning of February 1946, and in March the links with Trossingen were strengthened by a visit of the orchestra of the Hochschule under von Knorr.²³⁰ On 12 July 1946 full permission was granted to continue their activities.²³¹

Mall later reported that the radical and gifted Herrmann managed to convince the Gesellschaft completely about the value of re-starting the festival.²³² At the beginning of December 1945 Herrmann received a commission from Meßmer to take charge of the re-organisation.²³³ Kanitz tried to interest Herrmann in producing a new *Donaueschinger Klavierbüchlein* of works which would be premiered at the festival,²³⁴ but Herrmann was more ambitious, hoping to involve stalwarts of the 1920s festivals Hindemith, Heinrich Burkard and Josef Haas.²³⁵ Burkard was non-committal and later asked whether it was too early to resurrect the older

²²⁶ Nonetheless, Zintgraf does point out that as the postal service between Trossingen and Donaueschingen – only a little over 20 km apart – would take on average 7-10 days for a letter to be delivered, as time pressed on towards the festival, many of the communications were done by telephone. See Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 108.

²²⁷ Klöckler, *Abendland – Alpenland – Alemannien*, p. 34 n. 40.

²²⁸ Ferber, 'Ernstes und Heiteres aus ungemütlicher Zeit 1945', p. 27.

²²⁹ Horst Fischer, 'Geschichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Donaueschingen', in *Musikfreunde. Bilder aus der bewegten Geschichte eines Donaueschinger Vereins 1913-2013* (Donaueschingen: Druckerei Herrmann, 2013), pp. 51-2; Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*, p. 122.

²³⁰ Fischer, 'Geschichte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Donaueschingen', p. 51.

²³¹ 'Zeittafel', in *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Donaueschingen* (ed.), *Festschrift. 75 Jahre Donaueschinger Musiktage 1921-1996* (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 1999), p. 105.

²³² Georg Malls, report from 23 September 1946, cited in Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*, p. 122.

²³³ Messmer to Herrmann, 4 December 1945, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 106; Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*, p. 122.

²³⁴ Kanitz to Herrmann, 5 December 1945, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 106.

²³⁵ Herrmann to Joseph Haas, 5 December 1945, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 106; Tamara Levitz, 'Haas, Joseph', at *Grove Online*.

Donaueschingen tradition, whether performers could be found at this stage, and whether it was feasible in light of the serious damage to the town. Meanwhile Haas politely made clear that whilst glad to be asked, he wished to keep his time for artistic work, suggesting younger people might take up the responsibility instead.²³⁶ Nor does Herrmann appear to have had any luck in securing Hindemith's support.²³⁷ Nonetheless, he proceeded apace, also working on his own new work (which would be *Apokalypse*) which he described to Erich Fischer and Burkard as having a 'religious-revolutionary' character.²³⁸ The restarting of the festival received extra prestige and legitimacy through the public support of Prince Joachim's father, Prince Max Egon, whose father Max Egon II (1863-1941) had supported the festival in the 1920s²³⁹ (though had also been an NSDAP and SA member from 1933, and had Nazi songs sung for his 70th birthday, while the younger Max Egon had also been a party member).²⁴⁰

Also early in the New Year, Mall, who had become President of the Gesellschaft, wrote to Herrmann about his difficulties in finding musicians who had not been NSDAP members.²⁴¹ The situation was exacerbated by a mini-scandal following a concert in Konstanz on 9 February 1946, which threatened to upset some of the plans for Donaueschingen. This featured music of Fauré and Gerhard Frommel played by members of the Trossingen Hochschulinstitut directed by von Knorr, featuring Willy Müller-Crailsheim on violin, Alfred Saal on cello and Hans Brehme on piano. Brehme had been an NSDAP member since 1933, and written music for a staged 'Stadionspiel der nationalen Revolution' in 1934.²⁴² Frommel's party membership also dated from 1933, and he had written an *Olympischer Kampfgesang* in 1936,²⁴³ whilst von Knorr had been a Captain in the elite *Oberkommand des Heeres*, then Major in the Wehrmacht. He was released from the military in 1941

²³⁶ Herrmann to Radio Berlin, 5 December 1945; Burkard to Herrmann, 1 January 1946; Herrmann to Burkard, 18 January 1946; Burkard to Herrmann, 26 February 1946; Haas to Herrmann, 23 December 1946, all cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 105-8.

²³⁷ See Herrmann to Hindemith, 17 January 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 107, in which he asks Hindemith about his new chamber works, or to recommend works of young, outstanding American composers. To the best of my knowledge, no reply from Hindemith has been preserved.

²³⁸ Herrmann to Fischer, 17 January 1946, Herrmann to Burkard, 18 January 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 107.

²³⁹ See Häusler, *Spiegel der neuen Musik*, p. 11; Max Rieple, *musik in donaueschingen* (Konstanz: Rosgarten Verlag, 1959), p. 64; and the press release cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 109-10, on how the festival was presented as under the auspices of the House of Fürstenberg and the town.

²⁴⁰ Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon*, p. 170.

²⁴¹ Mall to Herrmann, 2 January 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 109.

²⁴² Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, pp. 698-9.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 1713-4.

thanks to a list of names given directly to Hitler by General Eduard Wagner (later executed for involvement in the assassination attempt), which led him to be appointed regional leader of the RMK. Von Knorr became director of the Frankfurt Musikhochschule and the Military Music School in the city from this time, and joined the NSDAP (membership number 8,995,057) on 1 June 1942. He also wrote a voluminous amount of militaristic and nationalistic music himself from around 1930 onwards.²⁴⁴ Franz Kirchheimer, a geology professor and SPD politician who had become involved with denazification for the *Landeskommissariat* in Konstanz,²⁴⁵ wrote to the French Commander Degliame after the concert, in a letter which brought to the fore concerns about various musicians who had been cleared to resume their activities:

This group of blacklisted Nazis tour the Landeskommissariat and give concerts in many places. Apparently it is understood that these men have been able to obtain by dubious methods from a French department certificates of their harmlessness. The Hochschulinstitut für Musikerziehung in Trossingen needs to undertake a political examination. In my opinion, this institution serves as a lucrative winter quarters for Nazi musicians dismissed by the offices in Stuttgart. I humbly ask the Governor to arrange a political examination of all people who wish to give lectures or other presentations to the public in future. It is not acceptable to discipline small and uninfluential Nazis, intellectual partners and beneficiaries of Nazism, but nor for them to be placed in the glare of publicity, doing well-paid jobs, only a few months after the handover of power.²⁴⁶

A copy of this letter was also sent to Prince Max Egon, with a note indicating a wish that the people concerned should not be involved in the Donaueschingen Festival.²⁴⁷ In the end, certainly Knorr and the Hochschulinstitut would be involved, though not the others; this may have been a factor in delaying full permission from the French for

²⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 3784-809.

²⁴⁵ On Kirchheimer, see Klöckler, *Abendland – Alpenland – Alemannien*, p. 195, and Reinhard Grohnert, *Die Entnazifizierung in Baden 1945-1949. Konzeption und Praxis der "Epuration" am Beispiel eines Landes der französischen Besatzungszone* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991), pp. 49 n. 162, 83 n. 15.

²⁴⁶ Kirchheimer to Degliame, some time after 9 February 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 109.

²⁴⁷ See Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 109. Zintgraf appears to posit a distinction between a *Donaueschinger Musikfeste*, in which those artists mentioned could not participate, and *Neuen Musik Donaueschingen 1946*, in which they could. However, as clarified above, the latter of these appears to have been simply a postponement of the former.

the Musiktage to go ahead. That permission was only finally granted on 12 July, just two weeks before the festival would begin.²⁴⁸

However, the determined efforts of various individuals at Donaueschingen maintained the momentum towards the event. The musical committee was announced, probably some time in March. It comprised Herrmann, von Knorr, and the composer and ethnomusicologist Heinz Trefzger.²⁴⁹ Mall worked hard at overcoming financial difficulties to renovate the Fürstliche Reithalle (as the old hall used for earlier festivals was now in ruins), for which he received some help from the French authorities²⁵⁰ (presumably at the behest of Noel). He turned down an offer to play from the Tübinger Kammerorchester, citing the immense sum of 120,000 RM which had been required to engage the Munich Philharmonic for Konstanz (an invitation which was eventually turned down, as mentioned above).²⁵¹ The director of the local information office, Erich Höll, tried his best to deal with other material conditions, offering an additional ox to be slaughtered for provisions for visitors, reportedly a significant gesture at that time.²⁵²

Before Donaueschingen, the second Trossinger Musiktag took place between 24 and 27 July (the last day thus overlapping with the first day of Donaueschingen, though in Trossingen the last day featured only an exhibition). This event (see Appendix 5b) was dedicated to *Die Stellung des Akkordeons zur neuen Musik*, and featured a similar grouping of composers to the previous year - Brehme, Frommel, Herrmann, von Knorr, Franz König, and Zilcher, as well as Hindemith through works for choir and harmonicas and orchestra with accordion.²⁵³ The programme explicitly invited those coming to Trossingen to visit the Donaueschinger Musiktage afterwards,²⁵⁴ thus making clear the links between the two events.

For Donaueschingen (see Appendix 5i), Herrmann appears to have taken more pains than at Trossingen to ensure an international flavour for the three concerts.

²⁴⁸ Häusler, *Donaueschingen*, p. 122.

²⁴⁹ Press release cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 109-10. That the festival would go ahead was announced by 12 February at the latest. See *Badische Zeitung*, 12 February 1946.

²⁵⁰ Max Rieple, *musik in donaueschingen* (Konstanz: Rosgarten Verlag, 1959), p. 64. This rebuilt hall was used for the third, orchestral, concert of the festival, the others were held in a hall in the local museum.

²⁵¹ See Mall's report cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 110-111.

²⁵² Rieple, *musik in donaueschingen*, p. 64.

²⁵³ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann's Weg nach Trossingen*, pp. 54-5. For one general account, see Dr. Kurt Haering, 'Trossinger Musiktag 1946', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 7 August 1946.

²⁵⁴ As reproduced in Wolfgang Eschenbacher, *Musik und Musikerziehung mit Akkordeon. Die Entwicklung eines Instruments und seiner Musik in Deutschland seit 1930 und in der Bundesrepublik bis 1990* (Trossingen: Hohner, c. 1993-4), p. 28.

Whilst the middle event was entirely made up of German music (including two works by the 18th century local composer Johann Abraham Sixt), with Hindemith's *Die vier Temperamente* as the highlight, the other concerts contrasted French, Swiss, Italian and British music (Ibert, Burkhard, Malipiero, Bliss) in one, and American and Russian (Piston, Shostakovich and Stravinsky)²⁵⁵ in the other, together with a few German works, including Herrmann's own *Apokalypse*.²⁵⁶ As at Trossingen, he employed the orchestra of the Hochschulinstitut,²⁵⁷ von Knorr, notwithstanding the appeal made earlier in the year by Kirchheimer, appeared both as conductor of this orchestra in Hindemith's *Die vier Temperamente*, and with a performance of his song cycle after poem adaptations by the Donaueschingen writer Max Rieple. Other Germans were far from untainted: Herrmann's friend Rolf Unkel, a student of Hindemith and Hermann Grabner,²⁵⁸ had produced opera for a propaganda company in Kharkov in occupied Ukraine from 1941,²⁵⁹ while the case of Joseph Haas is complicated. He had remained in a senior position at the Munich Akademie der Tonkunst up to 1945, and had a successful compositional career during the Third Reich, though he had also been attacked for violating some assumptions about tonality and folk music.²⁶⁰

In the programme, Herrmann alluded to the former Donaueschingen festival, evoking the notion of a “Donaueschingen school” – a revolutionary new style of music-making’. The most important aspect of this new style was a ‘revolution of form’, and the composers who had pioneered this now formed ‘a master-guild of the international musical world’ who had worked towards ‘the internationalisation of music as a high-level language, which has nourished and fertilised the expressive gestures of its many-faceted dialects’. For Herrmann, this new music was not simply for everyday consumption or to feed intellectual speculation, but would ‘fill our daily existence with meaningful, real dignity and dedication’. Furthermore, he stressed the

²⁵⁵ Herrmann had asked Hindemith to recommend an American piece, and Burkard to recommend a Russian one (Herrmann to Hindemith, 17 January 1946, Herrmann to Burkard, 18 January 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 107). It is not clear whether either figure provided Herrmann with the recommendations he desired.

²⁵⁶ See Häusler, *Donaueschingen*, p. 435 for the full programme. All other programming information concerning Donaueschingen comes from this source.

²⁵⁷ Von Knorr makes brief mention of this in *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 102.

²⁵⁸ See Herrmann to Kanitz, 4 April 1946, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 108.

²⁵⁹ See Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 7319-20. Unkel had been in the Wehrmacht since 1939, and a member of the NSDAP from the beginning of 1940, after applying in October 1939. He would claim later that his work there was greatly appreciated by Ukrainian artists.

²⁶⁰ Tamara Levitz, ‘Haas, Joseph’, at *Grove Online*; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, pp. 109, 312; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, pp. 2582-4.

importance of chamber music, which was ‘the very heart of every type of Absolute Music [*jeder absoluten Musikform*], and therefore also the starting point of the craft and art of a serious musical work’, sentiments which would resonate with many a neo-classicist opposed to Wagnerian or Straussian romanticism.²⁶¹

Herrmann’s words were echoed in a review by Kurt Haering in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, where he argued like so many others that finding a new revolutionary style was no longer the primary task, but that inscribing the style with a new type of content was.²⁶² Hanns Reich, writing in *Melos* a few months after the event, similarly argued that ‘The stylistic revolution is over. What was sown at the time has today a harvest which is rising up everywhere’.²⁶³ This was no spirit of an avant-garde, but rather one of consolidation and, of course, ‘catching up’.²⁶⁴

A review by Bruno Stürmer in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* considered the theme of internationalism, picking up on a lecture by Erich Fischer during the festival, which was apparently optimistic in this respect; Stürmer suggested that the proximity of Donaueschingen to Switzerland and France made it a good location for international prospects, as had been argued by others about Konstanz.²⁶⁵ Herbert Urban, in *Die Welt*, both looked back to the older Donaueschingen festival, and also cited a piece of dismissive conservative writing from 1814 about Mozart, arguing that such views had also been found amongst other Beckmesser-like writers over the last quarter-century about Hindemith and some others. But Urban, who was positive about the whole festival, singled out the three works – Ibert’s String Quartet, Herrmann’s set of songs with orchestra, *Apokalypse*²⁶⁶ and Unkel’s *Orchester-Konzert* – which dated from 1945 and 1946, suggesting their inclusion implied the beginning of a new artistic era, praising the direct and intelligible tonal language of the Ibert, the mystical and religious fervour of the Herrmann, and the colourful instrumental writing of the

²⁶¹ Herrmann’s programme note is reproduced in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, pp. 111-12.

²⁶² Dr. Kurt Haering, ‘Neue Musik Donaueschingen 1946’, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 7 August 1946.

²⁶³ Hanns Reich, ‘Donaueschingen 1946’, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), p. 24.

²⁶⁴ Max Rieple would write in 1959 that whereas ‘discovery and development of young talent’ was the principal purpose of the festivals of the 1920s, in 1946 the primary need was ‘to recapitulate’ – works of Stravinsky, Hindemith, Schoenberg, Berg for young people who knew none of their work. Neither Schoenberg nor Berg would appear again in Donaueschingen until 1958, however. See Rieple, *musik in donaueschingen* (Konstanz: Rosgarten Verlag, 1959), pp. 63-4.

²⁶⁵ Bruno Stürmer (b-r), review in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, undated, cited in Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 113.

²⁶⁶ For Stürmer, Herrmann’s *Apokalypse* was the highlight of the whole festival. See Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 113.

Unkel. The Stravinsky ‘substantiated the authority of the term “New Classicism”’, while Urban was also deeply impressed by the Hindemith.²⁶⁷

Herrmann’s tentacles spread to one further event during this season, which took place just a week after the end of Donaueschingen. Guido Lehmbruck, who had been involved with the events at Überlingen, was invited to Tübingen to advise on artistic matters by Social Democrat politician Carlo Schmid, who became director of the Staatssekretariat for Württemberg-Hohenzollern on 16 October 1945.²⁶⁸ Asked by Schmid what might best be done in the city, Lehmbruck instantly alluded to the model set by the Überlingen event.²⁶⁹ From this came first an exhibition in February 1946 of Bodensee artists and those from Tübingen and Reutlingen,²⁷⁰ and from early in the year Schmid planned a major event combining art, theatre, lectures and concerts, which he pushed to the French on the grounds of its educational value.²⁷¹ This became the *Kunstwochen Tübingen-Reutlingen*, which opened on 21 July with a speech by Schmid, and ran through until 1 September.²⁷² Various senior representatives of the French military authorities were present,²⁷³ though French support was otherwise relatively modest, in the form of help with licences, transportation, and provision of paper and some other supplies.²⁷⁴ Herrmann had been asked to determine the musical programming,²⁷⁵ almost certainly at the behest of Heinz Trefzger, who had been elected president of the Württemberg Kulturbund and as such was already involved in the planning for the event, before joining Herrmann on the Donaueschingen committee.²⁷⁶

Like that in Konstanz, this was an extremely large event, which attracted around 42,000 visitors (more people than the population of the town) to see art works

²⁶⁷ Herbert Urban, ‘Moderne Musik in Donaueschingen. Wieder internationales Musikfest – neue europäische Komponisten’, *Die Welt*, 9 August 1946.

²⁶⁸ Hellmuth Auerbach, ‘Carlo Schmidt und die französische Kulturpolitik in Württemberg-Hohenzollern 1945-1949’, in Knipping and Rider, *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik in Deutschland*, p. 311.

²⁶⁹ Moser, ‘Überlingen 1945’, p. 72. Moser does not give a date for Lehmbruck’s arrival in Tübingen, but it was probably in late 1945 or early 1946.

²⁷⁰ Hedwig Reith, ‘Schwimmversuche im Strudel deutscher Zeitgeschichte’, in Alfons Auer et al (eds.), *Erlebte Geschichte: Zeitzeugen berichten eine Tübinger Ringvorlesung* (Tübingen: Schwäbisches Tageblatt, 1994), p. 83.

²⁷¹ Petra Weber, *Carlo Schmid 1896-1979. Ein Biographie* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), pp. 249-50.

²⁷² Reith, ‘Schwimmversuche’, pp. 83-4.

²⁷³ Willy Helmut Stengel, ‘Feierliche Eröffnung der Tübinger Kunstwoche’, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 31 July 1946.

²⁷⁴ Frank Becker, *Kultur im Schatten der Trikolore. Theater, Kunstaussstellungen, Kino und Film im französisch besetzten Württemberg-Hohenzollern 1945-1949* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 138. This support came from the *Section Beaux-Arts*.

²⁷⁵ Zintgraf, *Hugo Herrmann’s Weg nach Trossingen*, p. 51.

²⁷⁶ Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 108.

on loan from the Wallraff-Richartz Museum in Cologne and the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart. It was financed through a lottery created jointly by Tübingen and Reutlingen.²⁷⁷ Concerts of standard repertoire ran throughout the whole event, but there was also a four-day slot featuring modern music, which ran from 4-7 August.

One of the most important aspects of this event was the first post-war appearance in Germany of Hermann Scherchen.²⁷⁸ His concert was originally to feature both the Kammerorchester Tübingen and the Stuttgart Philharmonic, in a programme of Hermann, Schoenberg, Genzmer and Hindemith,²⁷⁹ but there were problems obtaining the parts, while many brass players in the latter orchestra were forbidden from playing because of former NSDAP membership.²⁸⁰ The more modest programme presented (apparently given with just a few intensive rehearsals), with works of Poulenc, Prokofiev, Herrmann and Scherchen's wife Hsiao Shusien, was hailed by various critics as the highlight or defining feature of the event.²⁸¹ The new programme was more in line with the future direction of new music in West Germany through its internationalism, exoticism²⁸² and neo-classical focus, compared to the other concerts, which consisted primarily of established German fare²⁸³ (thus making the opening lecture by Willibald Gurlitt, on foreign music, seem a little absurd), with the now predictable offerings of Hindemith and Fortner, as well as local interests represented through the work of Herrmann, Genzmer and Frommel.

²⁷⁷ 'Metropole im glücklichen Winkel', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, 14 June 2002.

²⁷⁸ Various critics saw this concert as the highlight or defining feature of the event, which was reflected in the appreciation of the audience; see Franz Roh, 'Tübinger Kunstmonat', *Neue Zeitung*, 16 August 1946; Erwin Bareis, 'Neue Musik in Tübingen', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 10 August 1946; b-r, "'Tage neuer Musik" in Tübingen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 August 1946. Otto Weinreich was more sceptical, tiring somewhat of the excess of playfulness in the programme, though he had mixed views about the other concerts as well. See Otto Weinreich, 'Tage Moderner Musik', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, 9 August 1946, reproduced in full, together with the programme for the four days, in Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 463-7.

²⁷⁹ Stadtarchiv Tübingen M 706/1, 'Programm der Kunstwochen Tübingen-Reutlingen 1946'.

Collaborations between these two orchestras were also planned for other non-contemporary musical parts of the event.

²⁸⁰ Reith, 'Schwimmversuche', p. 83.

²⁸¹ Franz Roh, 'Tübinger Kunstmonat', *Neue Zeitung*, 16 August 1946; Erwin Bareis, 'Neue Musik in Tübingen', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 10 August 1946; b-r, "'Tage neuer Musik" in Tübingen', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 August 1946. Otto Weinreich was more sceptical, tiring somewhat of the excess of playfulness in the programme, though he had mixed views about the other concerts as well. See Otto Weinreich, 'Tage Moderner Musik', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, 9 August 1946, reproduced in full, together with the programme for the four days, in Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 463-7.

²⁸² Bareis, 'Neue Musik in Tübingen', linked the Poulenc and the Shusien in this respect.

²⁸³ The original programme was also to have featured Stravinsky's *Dumbarton Oaks* in the earlier orchestral concert; the reason for this having been dropped may simply have been to do with difficulty in obtaining the parts.

A critic in the American-run *Neue Zeitung* viewed a clear lineage between the events in Überlingen, Konstanz and now Tübingen-Reutlingen,²⁸⁴ whereas Stürmer, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, instead linked this event to those in Bad Nauheim and Donaueschingen.²⁸⁵ Whichever is more valid, it is clear that various critics were coming to interpret these individual events as part of a wider overall development of new music in Germany. However, according to Edgar Lersch, the reaction of the wider Tübingen public to the new music event was unenthusiastic;²⁸⁶ Otto Weinreich noted his disappointment that the interest shown was only modest.²⁸⁷

Following the *Kunstwoche*, a book was published with essays on various artistic matters by some of those involved with the event. The material included essays which reflected some of the then recurrent musical concerns of the time: for example ‘Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts’ by Herrmann,²⁸⁸ who linked the present to the classic opposition between *ars nova* and *ars antiqua*, and on ‘Deutschland und Frankreich in der Musik’ by Willibald Gurlitt.²⁸⁹

Music at Information Centres

All of the occupying powers set up special cultural centres in their occupation zones offering opportunities for Germans to learn more, have access to books, periodicals, etc., and sometimes to be able to view exhibitions and concerts. The French were quickest off the mark, opening their first information centre in Konstanz in July 1945 (which was named *Weltschau* in March 1946) and another 12 during the course of that year. By August 1947 they had 52 other such institutions in Germany,²⁹⁰ especially prominent amongst which were the *Institut français* in Freiburg and *Centre d'études*

²⁸⁴ Franz Roh, ‘Tübinger Kunstmonat’, *Neue Zeitung*, 16 August 1946.

²⁸⁵ b-r, ‘“Tage neuer Musik” in Tübingen’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 August 1946.

²⁸⁶ Lersch, ‘Das Kulturleben’, p. 340. See also Lersch, ‘Die Kunstwochen Tübingen-Reutlingen 1946’, *Tübinger Blätter* 70 (1983), pp. 39-47.

²⁸⁷ Weinreich, ‘Tage Moderner Musik’, pp. 463-4. Whilst bemoaning this situation, Weinreich points out the amount of modern music being played in the town, compared to other places of a similar size.

²⁸⁸ Hugo Herrmann, ‘Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts’, in *Almanach zu den Kunstwochen Tübingen-Reutlingen 1946* (Tübingen and Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1946), pp. 125-9.

²⁸⁹ Willibald Gurlitt, ‘Deutschland und Frankreich in der Musik’, *ibid.* pp. 114-24.

²⁹⁰ ‘La propagande française’ in *La France en Allemagne*, numéro special – Information et Action culturelle (August 1947), pp. 53-4; ‘Les centres d’information’, *ibid.* p. 86 (including a full list of centres at that time, the majority in Rhineland-Palatinate); Burchardt, *Konstanz*, p. 143. ‘Eine Brücke des Geistes. Das Französische Institut in Deutschland’, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 28 May 1946, gives a reasonably thorough overview of the mission of the Freiburg Institute in terms of French-German co-operation.

françaises in Mainz, Tübingen and Trier, all founded in 1946.²⁹¹ These appear to have been used primarily for libraries, lectures, art exhibitions and so on, rather than concerts, though there were a few of the latter, mostly by amateurs, and some more significant events such as the concert from the Calvet Quartet in March 1947, and a chamber concert of Honegger, Rivier and Francaix in June 1951, both in Freiburg.²⁹²

The British began launching reading rooms for the public in the winter of 1945-6, which gradually expanded into a range of 62 information centres across Germany, including 5 in the US Zone and one in the French, each called *Die Brücke*, by May 1947. These were major centres for Anglo-German cultural exchanges, much more centered upon literature and political culture than music, though what was thought to be one of the best, in Düsseldorf, contained a concert and lecture hall which could seat 300.²⁹³ These gradually closed from 1949, with only 10 remaining by the beginning of 1955.²⁹⁴

Music played a much more prominent role in the *Amerika-Häuser*. OMGUS had opened a few information centres from the middle of 1945 (the first in Marburg, Munich and Bad Homburg),²⁹⁵ at first as libraries with reading rooms, to aid accessibility of information about American news, society, and culture. These continued to grow gradually through 1946, with 16 in place by the end of the year.²⁹⁶ One which opened on 28 February 1946 in Schöneberg, Berlin began with a library of 1200 books, which quickly expanded.²⁹⁷ In March of that year, the small Bad Homburg centre was moved to a larger space in Taunusanlage 11 in Frankfurt, to become a wider cultural and information centre, and renamed the first *Amerika*

²⁹¹ Stefan Zauner, 'Gründung und Anfänge des französischen Kulturinstituts in Tübingen (1946-1951)', in Knipping and Le Rider, *Frankreichs Kulturpolitik*, pp. 265-6; Corine Defrance, *Le politique culturelle de la France sur la rive gauche du Rhin 1945-1955* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires, 1994), pp. 93-104, 196-8, 236-41.

²⁹² 'La propaganda française', pp. 60, 86; Dr. M. Ganter, 'Zeitgenössische Musik aus Frankreich. Konzert im Institut Français', *Badische Zeitung*, 30 June/1 July 1951.

²⁹³ Balfour, *Four-Power Control*, p. 226; Eva A. Mayring, 'The Impact of British Occupation on Political Culture in Germany after 1945', in Bance, *The Cultural Legacy of the British Occupation*, p. 198; George Murray, 'The British Contribution', in Arthur Hearnden (ed.), *The British in Germany: Educational Reconstruction after 1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), pp. 89-94.

²⁹⁴ Murray, 'The British Contribution', pp. 92-3.

²⁹⁵ 'History of the Amerikahaus', at <http://www.amerikahaus.de/en/about-us/history/> (accessed 27 September 2017); Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany, *Report on Germany*, Volume 11 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 76.

²⁹⁶ 'Development of Information Services and Frequency of Newspaper Publications: Excerpts from Report of Military Governor', 30 June 1949, in *Germany, 1947-1949*, p. 603.

²⁹⁷ *Berlin Sector: A Report by OMGUS*, pp. 79-80.

Haus.²⁹⁸ As well as books and other written literature and documents, these also came to hold musical scores and recordings – individuals such as Friedrich Hommel (later director of the Darmstädter Ferienkurse) and composer Josef Anton Riedl recalled first encountering American music through these. They also provided spaces for concerts, lectures, and evenings in which recordings were played,²⁹⁹ as for example with a lecture on American music by the Music Officer in Munich, with recordings of classical and folk music, and a special exhibition including scores in May 1948.³⁰⁰ By July 1949, such concerts of pre-recorded music had taken place in all the Amerika-Häuser.³⁰¹ The concerts were also not limited to American music; for example, two concerts in the Nuremberg house in January 1949 featured music of Hindemith,³⁰² while other events featured visiting American artists, as when the American violinist Patricia Travers played concerts in Augsburg, Munich and Coburg, with programmes including Fortner's Second Violin Sonata.³⁰³ The French music critic and scholar Antoine Goléa was invited to lecture on a range of modern music, including American, in both Amerika-Häuser and German music schools.³⁰⁴

These centres expanded further to most major cities in the American zone, and by April 1949 there were twenty-eight such centres, including three in Berlin.³⁰⁵ By May of that year, there was a combined attendance at the Amerika-Häuser in Württemberg-Baden (in Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Heilbronn, Ulm, Mannheim and Karlsruhe, as well as sixteen reading rooms in smaller cities) of 110 000, a doubling since January of that year, and a tripling since a year previously.³⁰⁶ Alonzo Grace, the Director of Education and Cultural Relations, gave a speech in October 1948 to personnel working at Amerika-Häuser reinforcing and intensifying the views expressed three years previously by Edward Barrett at OWI (see Chapter 2). Grace told the personnel they were part of 'the intellectual, moral, spiritual and cultural reorientation of a defeated, conquered and occupied Germany', and in particular how

²⁹⁸ Consulate General Frankfurt, 'History of the Amerika Haus', at <https://de.usembassy.gov/embassy-consulates/frankfurt/public-affairs-section/amerika-haus/> (accessed 27 September 2017).

²⁹⁹ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 35-6.

³⁰⁰ BHA/OMGBY 10/48-1/3, 'Monthly Summaries for Period from 1 May 1948 through 31 May 1948', 24 May 1948.

³⁰¹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/291-3/8, 'Theater and Music Program', 22 July 1949.

³⁰² BHA/OMGBY 10/48-1/2, 'Music Programmes in Bavarian Amerika Haeuser'.

³⁰³ BHA/OMGBY 10/48-1/3, 'Monthly Summaries for Period from 1 September 1948 through 30 September 1948', 27 September 1948.

³⁰⁴ IfZ/OMGUS 5/291-3/8, 'Theater and Music Program', 22 July 1949.

³⁰⁵ 'Information Centers: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 6', 5 April 1949, in *Germany, 1947-1949*, p. 608.

³⁰⁶ GLAK/OMGUS 12/1-1/5, Synopsis on Wuerttemberg-Baden, 14/7/49.

they should try and counter views of American culture as purely materialistic.³⁰⁷

Some would later refer to this initiative as a ‘Marshall Plan of ideas’.³⁰⁸

The Soviets were the last to open their *Haus der Kultur der Sowjetunion* in Berlin on 28 February 1947. It was a lavish building on Friedrichstraße which impressed R.E. Colby of the British Control Commission, in comparison to his organisation’s own ventures.³⁰⁹ The concert on the opening night combined classic Russian songs by Rimsky-Korsakov, Chaikovsky, Borodin and others with piano works of Rachmaninoff and Khatchaturian, played by Lev Oborin.³¹⁰ This appears to have spurred the Americans into expanding their own programme.

The concerts of the *Kulturbund* and new music in the Soviet Zone

Early events organised by the Kulturbund had included numerous lectures on artistic, literary, philosophical and sociological subjects, but not on music³¹¹. Tiessen was called upon to found a special Kulturbund group for music,³¹² for which he brought together Höffer, Max Butting, Stuckenschmidt, Alfred Berner, head of the musical division of the city’s Volksbildung department, and as part of an extended advisory group, the critics Herbert Graf, Walter Harth, Erwin Kroll and Kurt Westphal.³¹³

Beginning in December 1946, the Kulturbund set up a series of concerts and lectures on new music in the *Klubhaus in der Jägerstraße*, in Mitte.³¹⁴ These were organised by Stuckenschmidt,³¹⁵ who had re-established contact with his old friend, the writer Erich Weinert, who then introduced him to Becher and others involved with the organisation.³¹⁶ The opening programme on 9 December (see Appendix 51 for the

³⁰⁷ Alonzo Grace, ‘Out of the Rubble: An Address on the Reorientation of the German People’, Berchtesgaden, 8 October 1948, OMGUS/RG260/NARA, cited in Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, p. 19; date taken from Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 188.

³⁰⁸ Consulate General Frankfurt, ‘History of the Amerika Haus’.

³⁰⁹ Horst Möller and Alexandr O. Tschubarjan (eds.), *SMAD-Handbuch: Die Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland 1945-1949* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), p. 269; R.E. Colby, British Control Commission, Berlin, to Montague Pollock, 19 March 1947, TNA/FO924/PRO, cited in Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, pp. 18-19.

³¹⁰ Ranke et al, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete*, pp. 164-5.

³¹¹ *Der Kulturbund in Berlin*, pp. 17-19.

³¹² This occurred at least as early as March 1946, though the fruits of his efforts would not become apparent until the end of the year. AdK Nachlass Eduard Erdmann, File 159, Tiessen to Erdmann, 9/3/46.

³¹³ Tiessen, *Weg eines Komponisten*, p. 60; Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, pp. 151-152.

³¹⁴ Werner Danneberg, ‘Nachholebedarf. Kulturbund und neue Musik 1945-1952’, *Musik und Gesellschaft* 6/90 (1990), p. 307.

³¹⁵ Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater*, p. 91.

³¹⁶ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*, p. 185.

full list) – with works of Prokofiev, Britten, Hindemith, Copland and Milhaud – was almost like an exercise in box-ticking by the occupying powers, whereas the second, on 30 December, featured the three members of the Second Viennese School (works included Schoenberg’s Wind Quintet) and Eisler. Others early in 1947 had a British/French (Edmund Rubbra, Tippett, Alan Bush, Messiaen *Quatour*), ‘Berlin’ (Tiessen, Höffer, Blacher, Pepping, Noetel), or ‘Soviet’ (Shostakovich, Vissarino Shebalin) theme.³¹⁷ Subsequent series up to 1949 saw more American works, including those of Piston, Porter, Sessions, and Virgil Thomson, as well as many others from all around Europe.³¹⁸

There were fewer dedicated series or institutions for new music in the Soviet Zone during this period, though some were created at a moderately early stage. In Sondershausen, in Thüringen, a four-day contemporary music event on 25-28 July 1946 was organised by Georg C. Winkler, director of the *Loh-Orchester* and of the conservatoire in the city. This featured music of Stravinsky, Hindemith (the *Mathis* Symphony), Höller, David and Françaix, alongside younger and lesser-known German figures (with submissions invited), with the Loh-Orchester involved.³¹⁹

In Weimar, composer Kurt Rasch organised his own new music series (which at some point came to be called *Musica viva*)³²⁰ at the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt, in collaboration with the local Kulturbund and also the local branch of Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk.³²¹ This opened with a concert on 23 July 1946 of piano works of Shostakovich and Prokofiev, chamber works of Stravinsky, Honegger and Françaix, and the world premiere of Pepping’s String Quartet (1943). It continued over several years, with Gerhard Troeger, previously a dramaturge at Breslauer Operntheater, taking over the direction from 1947, with 12 world premieres and 18 regional premieres during the first two years (and a special course in new music created in late 1948, in collaboration with the Bauhaus, from plans first announced in

³¹⁷ Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen*, pp. 131-4; AdK Nachlass Tiessen, File 2110. ‘Fünf Abende zeitgenössischer Musik’, 5 November 1946.

³¹⁸ A full list of composers played in the ‘Abenden zeitgenössischer Musik’ from 1946 to 1949 is provided in Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen*, pp. 130-31.

³¹⁹ ‘Zeitgenössische Musiktage in Sondershausen’, *Darmstädter Echo*, 15 May 1946; H.K., ‘Zeitgenössische Musiktage in Sondershausen’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 14 August 1946.

³²⁰ I have seen no reference to the title in a few early mentions of the events in the *Abendpost Weimar* and *Thüringer Volk*. Certainly the name was in place by mid-1948; see H.B.D., ‘Weimarer Arbeitsgemeinschaft “Musica viva”’, *Melos* 15/6-7 (June-July 1948), p. 19; though it is not mentioned in an earlier piece from that year on new music in the city, H.B. Dietz, ‘Weimar: Wie vor 100 Jahren...?’, *Melos* 15/1 (January 1948), pp. 22-3.

³²¹ ‘Impressionistische Klangwunder’, *Abendpost Weimar*, 24 September 1946. Here the concert was presented as a presentation of the local *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für neue Musik*.

1947).³²² Gradually it declined in the wake of the Zhdanov decree, with new music, especially that from the West, appearing less and less in concerts at the Hochschule.³²³

In Dresden, a series of ‘Neue Musik’ was presented on 26-30 October 1946, for which the relatively young Dresden composer Johannes Paul Thilman (1906-73) was appointed artistic director. The programming included more Hindemith, but otherwise mainstream fare regularly heard during the Nazi era such as Pepping, Wilhelm Maler, Hessenberg, Höffer, and Blacher (who had taught at the Dresden Conservatory in 1938-9), and also Shostakovich’s Fifth Symphony and Prokofiev’s Second String Quartet.³²⁴ Thilman had been appointed by Karl Laux, who soon after the war took a position in the state ministry for Saxony, and also directed the central commission for music of the Kulturbund.³²⁵ He gave an opening speech in which he considered the notion that Hindemith represented the ‘expression of the community’, and that polyphony was an embodiment of socialisation. Laux now found this a one-sided view, though an understandable corrective against Romanticism. He argued that appealing to ‘German traditions’ had not helped to prevent the now-collapsed *Volksgemeinschaft*. Instead, a new community music was needed which would entail ‘social connections and requirements’, from which a politics grew ‘which opened up a new, humanistic world to us’. He linked this with the sentiments of Lenin and their manifestation in the Soviet zone.³²⁶ Laux also opened a *Studio für neue Musik* in Görlitz.³²⁷

But these were relatively exceptional and short-lived developments. The prospect of treating *Neue Musik* separately from other types of programming, let alone encouraging the performance of Western modernist music, became increasingly

³²² ‘Musica-Umschau’, *Musica* 1/3 (May-June 1947), p. 231; ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 15/12 (December 1948), p. 349. Rasch’s plans announced in *Musica* were even more ambitious, including a yearly new music festival and a full institute for research into new music, which might have rivalled that in Berlin.

³²³ Wolfram Huschke, *Zukunft Musik: eine Geschichte der Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt in Weimar* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), p. 351; H.B.D., ‘Weimarer Arbeitsgemeinschaft “Musica viva”’.

³²⁴ Herrmann, “‘Selbstkritisch das Musikleben betrachten’”, pp. 157-8; Laux, *Nachklang*, pp. 378-80.

³²⁵ *Musikgeschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1945-1976* (hereafter *Musikgeschichte der DDR*), from an authorial collective under direction of Heinz Alfred Brockhaus and Konrad Niemann (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik Berlin, 1980), p. 15; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 4156; Stefan Weiss, ‘Der Dresdner Kulturbund und die Neue Musik (1946-1950)’, in Herrmann and Heister, *Dresden und die avancierte Musik II*, p. 214. For more detail, see Marion Demuth, ‘Karl Laux: Autor, Kulturpolitiker, Rektor’, *ibid.* pp. 325-35.

³²⁶ Laux, *Nachklang*, pp. 380-81.

³²⁷ *Musikgeschichte der DDR*, p. 15; ‘Musica-Nachricht’, *Musica* 9/6 (June 1955), p. 300.

problematic for those involved in organising musical life in the political climate created by that zone.

The Refounding of *Melos*

Melos was relaunched with Strobel as editor, and self-published as *Der Melos-Verlag*, in Mainz in November 1946. Strobel wasted no time in setting out his anti-romantic and anti-German credo in the first cover article, positioning himself in opposition to those who say that one cannot simply return to how music was in 1933 (who, according to Strobel, were prepared to welcome an end to the ‘extravagant intellectualism’ of the pre-Nazi world, and work decried as ‘entartet’). On the contrary, Strobel argued, this type of art did continue everywhere except Germany, and he felt the journal, which dated from that earlier era, was the appropriate place to deal with this. Whilst recognising the problems of a simple sentimental ‘retrospective’, and believing some questions from the earlier time had now been resolved (specifically referring to a ‘new harmonic order’, perhaps a reference to expressionist atonality), Strobel attacked quite relentlessly the conservatism of German audiences, their lack of knowledge of other modern artists from different countries, and especially for their ignorance of his beloved Hindemith. He proclaimed a mission to spread ‘world music’ (*Weltmusik*) since 1900 throughout Germany, naming Debussy, Ravel, Bartók, Stravinsky, Milhaud and Honegger (though not Schoenberg, perhaps simply because he was Germanic). The antithesis of all this was to be found in the celebrations of the ‘metaphysical’ Bruckner, who Strobel resented not so much for the music, whose value he acknowledged, as for all it represented in terms of an older Germany whose time had passed, with the most significant developments since 1900 having mostly taken place in other countries. Interestingly, though, he also argued that his favoured composers had worked essentially autonomously of Nazi doctrines, citing Orff, Egk, Fortner, Pepping, David, Blacher, Edmund von Berek, and Distler, a hard claim to sustain in most of these cases.³²⁸ Only Gottfried Müller stood indicted on account of his *Führerworte*.³²⁹ Elsewhere in the same issue, Stuckenschmidt wrote sardonically about musical life under the Nazis,

³²⁸ Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 331-2 points out reasonably that Strobel would have been aware of Egk’s Nazi connections because of the 42 performances of *Joan von Zarissa* at the Opéra in occupied Paris in 1942. However, Colpa’s point about Egk’s activities does not necessarily reflect upon Egk’s work.

³²⁹ Heinrich Strobel, ‘MELOS 1946’, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), pp. 1-5.

and the various forms of progressive discrimination and exclusion it entailed. He characterized the era as tolerating only three types of principal musical characteristics – the conventional, the pathetic, and the national – which apparently left Hindemith, Blacher, Mohaupt and Orff amongst those ‘rejected or barely tolerated’ (hardly true of Orff), while Graener was the ideal type of composer, and Karl Höller was culpable of misguided actions.³³⁰ Otherwise, Strobel included in the first issue a translated excerpt from Stravinsky’s *Poetics of Music*, and an article on French music between the wars, which would have pleased the authorities. There was also a range of international reviews and reports, including some on the recent events in Konstanz and Donaueschingen, and the first of what would become a regular feature: a roundtable on an issue relating to modern music, with views from leading figures, in this case on ‘How should we rebuild?’, with views from Wetzelsberger, Tiessen, Günther Wand, Fortner and Günther Kehr.³³¹

Each issue contained a range of reports, reviews and listings of new music performances not only from around cities in Germany (with the musical life of several questioned on grounds of conservatism), but also in major international festivals and venues, and sometimes reports surveying musical life in other countries (not least that of some of the occupying powers, while some articles were published by military government officials such as Bartlett or Thimonnier). Regular contributors included Strobel, Stuckenschmidt and Eimert, while correspondents covered new music events in their respective regions e.g. Kurt Westphal for Berlin, or H.W. Kulenkampff for Hamburg. Events in Baden-Baden naturally received pride of place, but those in Darmstadt, Donaueschingen and Frankfurt were well-served too.

In line with Strobel’s tastes, Hindemith and Stravinsky were the subject of numerous articles from the outset, with ample coverage of their new works, as well as those of Fortner, Egk, Orff, Bartók and Honegger, whilst there were special features on the music of Ravel and Shostakovich. In the sixth issue, Stuckenschmidt addressed ‘the Schoenberg problem’ to coincide with the performance of the Wind Quintet in the Kulturbund concerts, arguing passionately that the essence, but also difficulty, of

³³⁰ H.H. Stuckenschmidt, ‘Braune Klänge’, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), pp. 9-11.

³³¹ “‘Wie sollen wir aufbauen?’”, *Melos* 14/1 (November 1946), pp. 15-18. In the following issue Karl H. Wörner, Eimert, Joachim-Ernst Berendt of SWF, Gustav Lenzewski, and a ‘lay person’ known just as E.P. gave their views; “‘Wie sollen wir aufbauen?’”, *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), pp. 41-5, and in the fifth issue the discussion centered around why many people do not wish to hear new music; ‘Eine neue Rundfrage: Warum wollen die Leute keine neue Musik hören?’, *Melos* 14/5 (March 1947), pp. 142-5.

Schoenberg's music lay in the relationship between its abstract means and its startling aesthetic and sonic surface, which he compared to the work of Rilke, Proust and Joyce.³³² Joachim-Ernst Berendt, Strobel's junior colleague at SWF, wrote on jazz in the fifth issue,³³³ and there were a few other subsequent articles, though this never became a prominent feature of the journal.

Two articles on Stravinsky, based upon a lecture given by Strobel on the composer at Darmstadt on 27 July 1947, are especially important. Here he compared Stravinsky with (German) romantic ideas of transcendence, communion with unearthly powers, the creation of an 'emotional' and psychological music, endless melody, and an obsession with originality. These were all things which he labelled *menschlich*, in distinction to a music he called *human*, independent, engaged with external phenomena, happy to borrow, qualities he perceived in much pre-romantic music (such as Machaut, Ockeghem, Vivaldi, Rameau, Bach, Haydn) and of course Stravinsky.³³⁴ J. Alexander Colpa argues that Strobel, in this and other writings on Stravinsky, 'lays the groundwork for the aesthetic of anti-romanticism and intellectualism which would mark the entire renewal phase of German music during the immediate post-war period'.³³⁵ As regards the French Zone of occupied Germany, Colpa is essentially accurate, though other perspectives would develop elsewhere, for example from those more sympathetic to the Second Viennese School and also through the influence of René Leibowitz (see Chapter 8).

The 'dialogues' were a regular feature of the journal, just as they were on various radio stations, with rather contrived and loaded exchanges set up to argue the case for various new music whilst appearing open to dissenting views. By 1949, Strobel even set up a dialogue between Furtwängler and himself as two individuals who were 'against' and 'for' new music respectively. This was not an original or

³³² H.H. Stuckenschmidt, 'Das Problem Schönberg', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), pp. 161-5. Bernard Gavoty replied with a much more critical view of dodecaphonic music in 'Bemerkungen über einige Pariser Konzerte: Zum Problem der Zwölftonmusik', *Melos* 14/9 (July 1947), pp. 245-7.

³³³ Joachim-Ernst Berendt, 'Vom Choral zum Swing. Zur Genesis des Jazz', *Melos* 14/5 (March 1947), pp. 134-8.

³³⁴ Heinrich Strobel, 'Igor Stravinsky', *Melos* 14/2 (October 1947), pp. 328-32, and 14/13 (November 1947), pp. 377-81.

³³⁵ Colpa, 'Fortner', p. 340.

reciprocal exchange, however; rather Strobel used passages from Furtwängler's recently published *Gespräche über Musik*, and added his own responses.³³⁶

Conclusion

This growth of new music events over a period of less than 18 months is not only notable for its rapidity, but also its more long-term consequences. Two related ideological positions served to legitimise such events, at least to those who were required to fund them. One was that of the *Nachholbedarf*, as has been seen repeatedly, the other was the conviction of the value in promoting the music of the various occupying powers, which was disproportionately likely to be of the twentieth century.

The Munich and Bad Nauheim events created templates for many other concert series and festivals which would follow in their wake (see Chapter 8), while the various series in Berlin maintained a sizeable representation for new music in the city. The later fate of the Musikinstitut will be considered in Chapter 8. *Melos* went on to become much the most prominent new music journal, despite some competition from others, and for decades stood as an important chronicle of developments, and as an active force in promoting certain composers and types of music (e.g. that of Hans Werner Henze, championed from an early stage) over others, though the aesthetic outlook would change over time.

The momentum built up by the musical events in the French zone from Überlingen to Tübingen-Reutlingen was remarkable, and much of it was due to Herrmann. Whilst Donaueschingen managed another year, and Trossingen continued well into the 1950s, nonetheless this momentum dissipated in 1947. But a framework had been built, with an associated ideology, which was crucial for later events in Donaueschingen, Konstanz and Tübingen in the 1950s, and for the principle of French-German collaboration, the most lasting such collaboration bequeathed by the occupation.

³³⁶ Wilhelm Furtwängler, 'Gegen die neue Musik'; Heinrich Strobel, 'Für die neue Musik', *Melos* 16/2 (February 1949), pp. 41-4; Wilhelm Furtwängler, *Gespräche über Musik* (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1949).

Chapter 6

The First Post-War Compositions

Chapters 3-5 explained the programming and advocacy of modern music in mainstream institutions, radio stations and dedicated institutions for new work, and the aesthetic positions which underlay these. In this chapter, I ask what various composers still based in Germany were actually writing in the period 1945-6, what type of stylistic and aesthetic attributes their work exhibited (comparing these with the artists' earlier works), where their music was played in Germany during this period, and what type of reception they received. There is not space here for detailed musical analyses, nor would these necessarily be most appropriate in this context; instead, my aim is to convey the broader aspects of the music being composed in such detail as might be and have been understandable to educated general listeners.

My choice of composers is determined by those who would sustain a lasting reputation either as composers or through other music-related activity, and also who were living and working in Germany at the time. It is notable that almost all of the composers associated with the Novembergruppe and the Neue Sachlichkeit were living in exile at this stage: at the end of the war, Hindemith, Krenek, Weill, Wolpe, Toch and Eisler were all in the United States, and of these only Eisler would return to Germany, and then to the Soviet Zone. Tiessen had remained, as mentioned in Chapter 1, but was relatively inactive as a composer at this time. Butting also stayed, but after writing such works as the didactic and unperformed Lehrstück *Die Schuld*, op. 45 (1946),¹ and a series of choral works written in 1946, he would also make his name primarily in the Soviet Zone and then East Germany.

Both of the two senior German composers associated with a conservative reaction against modernism turned inward in their very late works. Between finishing *Metamorphosen* in March 1945,² and taking up the *Vier letzte Lieder* in 1948, Richard Strauss's only significant compositions were his Oboe Concerto (1945, rev. 1948), the *Duett-Concertino* for clarinet, bassoon, strings and harp (1947), and his incomplete opera *Des Esels Schatten* (1947-48). Strauss himself did not place great value upon

¹ Grosch, Nils, 'Butting, Max', at *Grove Online*; Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen*, p. 103.

² Timothy L. Jackson, 'The Metamorphosis of the *Metamorphosen*: New Analytical and Source-Critical Discoveries', in Bryan Gilliam (ed.), *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 195.

his late works,³ to which he did not assign opus numbers, though they certainly have their champions.

The inside cover of one of Strauss's sketchbooks reads 'Oboe Concerto 1945/suggested by an American Soldier (oboe player from Chicago)', almost certainly the then 24-year old John de Lancie.⁴ By 6 July 1945, at the latest, Strauss was working on this piece,⁵ which he completed in short score on 14 September.⁶ A month later, after using his reputation to win references and guarantees, and win over sympathetic American officers, he was able to gain a permit to cross over to live in neutral Switzerland,⁷ which would remain his base for most of the next four years and the site of various premieres and other performances.⁸ The work was premiered on 26 February 1946 in Zürich by the Tonhalle Orchestra conducted by Volkmar Andreae with soloist Marcel Saillet,⁹ with Strauss present at the concert.¹⁰

On the most superficial level, the music incorporates ornate lines and a high degree of formal discipline, but the many chromatic progressions in inner parts, drastic modulations from early on (for example the tritonal shift from B minor to F in one bar leading to rehearsal figure 2, then even more abrupt shift to a 6/4 in A-flat from a D minor arpeggio three bars later), not to mention the elaborate interplay between the oboe and different orchestral instruments, make clear that this is not simply a 'smudged' neo-classical work in the manner of Stravinsky, say. Nor for that matter does it resemble Strauss's orchestrations of Couperin in his *Tanzsuite* (1932) and *Divertimento* (1940-41), nor the Passepied, Gigue and Gavotte from *Capriccio* (1940-41), a work in which pastiche is a more central concern because of the subject matter.

³ See Strauss's comment on his works since *Capriccio* made to Willi Schuh, cited in Günter Brosche, 'The Concerto for Oboe and Small Orchestra (1945): Remarks about the Origin of the Work Based on a Newly Discovered Source', in Gilliam, *Strauss*, p. 177.

⁴ See Brosche, 'The Concerto for Oboe and Small Orchestra', pp. 179-80, including de Lancie's account of the meeting, taken from 'John de Lancie: Im Gespräch mit Richard Strauss', edited Stephan Kohler, in *Richard Strauss-Blätter* 11 (1984), pp. 36-42.

⁵ It was on this date that he wrote about the work to Willi Schuh. See Scott Warfield, 'From "Too Many Works" to "Wrist Exercises": The Abstract Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss', in Mark-Daniel Schmid (ed.), *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), p. 223.

⁶ Brosche, 'The Concerto for Oboe and Small Orchestra', p. 180.

⁷ Boyden, *Strauss*, pp. 358-9. Strauss and his wife arrived in Zürich on 11 October.

⁸ See *ibid.* pp. 359-65 for Strauss's period in Switzerland, which also included an important trip to London to attend and conduct concerts of his work in October 1947.

⁹ Brosche, 'The Concerto for Oboe and Small Orchestra', p. 180. When Strauss began to sketch this concerto, he was also finishing the score of the Second Sonatina for 16 Wind Instruments in E-flat, which was completed on 22 June. See Boyden, *Strauss*, p. 358.

¹⁰ Boyden, *Strauss*, pp. 360-61.

Michael Kennedy describes the Oboe Concerto as ‘rococo chromaticism’,¹¹ but such a description does not account for how what would be ornamental figures in an earlier music attain a stronger sense of harmonic functionality. This is achieved not only through continuously dynamic harmony and development and integration of even the smallest motives, bringing to the fore Strauss’s early Brahmsian leanings, but also through the stark false relations between dissonant chromatic pitches with delayed resolution in the principal line and the accompaniment (Ex. 6.1).

Ex. 6.1. Richard Strauss, Oboe Concerto (1945, rev. 1948), first movement. Published by Boosey & Hawkes.

How far Strauss had moved beyond Brahms (much more so than is obvious from the first half of the opening string sextet of *Capriccio*, a work whose idiom has been compared strongly with the oboe concerto)¹² is clear through a comparison of Ex. 6.2 with the slow movement of Brahms’s Clarinet Quintet op. 115, which has a superficial motivic similarity (though also with the fourth motive from *Metamorphosen*, with which work it shares the motive of an upbeat of three repeated pitches). This shows a considerably more extravagant language than that of the older German, evidenced in the bar before rehearsal figure 28. Here an innocuous tonic pitch, serving as a pedal point because carried over two beats, is transformed into a

¹¹ Michael Kennedy, *Strauss* (London: Dent, 1976), p. 204.

¹² Murray, David, ‘Capriccio (ii)’ at *Grove Online*.

quite startling 6-5 suspension of D major (which can be viewed as a secondary dominant of G minor).

The image shows a musical score for the slow movement of Richard Strauss's Oboe Concerto. It consists of two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 20 and ends at measure 28. The second system continues from measure 29. The score is written for piano and oboe. The piano part is in the left hand, and the oboe part is in the right hand. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings like 'espr.' and 'p'. A circled number '28' is placed above the first system, indicating the end of the first system.

Ex. 6.2 Richard Strauss, Oboe Concerto (1945, rev. 1948), from slow movement.
Published by Boosey & Hawkes.

As in the Second Horn Concerto (1942), Strauss uses a classical three-movement structure.¹³ The three continuous movements are in sonata-allegro, ternary and quasi-rondo form, and in the keys of D, B-flat (with a middle section in the obvious key of E-flat) and D, respectively. Structurally the first movement is only unusual in the relative brevity of the development section, mostly in the flattened mediant key of F.¹⁴ Notwithstanding the extravagance of the material, the second movement is only really unusual through the extended cadenza cum recitative which acts as the bridge to the next movement. The last movement is very free with the reiterations of the principal thematic material, while the 6/8 coda, with elements of *siciliano* style, is sufficiently extended and distinct as to seem like a movement in its own right. The use of shared motives between movements and distinct sections lends

¹³ See also Jürgen May, 'Last works', in Charles Youmans (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 181-3, for comparisons between these works.

¹⁴ Warfield, 'Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss', mistakenly claims that the second theme 'is recapitulated in the submediant rather than the tonic'. Actually it was within the exposition section that this theme group appears in the submediant of B, then is recapitulated in the home key of D.

an added degree of unity. As at least one commentator has pointed out, the formal working and compositional process of this piece are not so different from that Strauss learned and employed as a young man, including the compositional assemblage of various materials in an order very different from that in which they would ultimately appear in the finished work.¹⁵ But Jürgen May's description of this and other late Strauss works as 'postmodern',¹⁶ because of their looking back to a past aesthetic from a contemporary perspective, is unconvincing, at least as a means of separating these from the rest of his output. A retreat from full-blown chromaticism and the introduction of classicising and parodistic elements can be located back in *Der Rosenkavalier* (1909-10), and of course prominently in *Capriccio*. Rather, the Oboe Concerto entails a certain introspection and refinement of means (certainly compared to *Metamorphosen*), a retreat from grand rhetoric and gesture from the 81-year old composer conscious not only of impending mortality, but also of a new Germany in which to spend his last years, in which much of the traditional culture in which he had invested so much was under intense scrutiny like never before.

Pfitzner, for his part, did return to an essentially Brahmsian idiom in his Sextet for piano, violin, viola, cello, double bass and clarinet op. 55 (1945), mixed with some Schumann-like impetuosity in the first movement, occasional glimpses of romantic mystery in solo double-bass material in the fourth, and pomposity in the manner of Schumann's Piano Quintet in the finale. By the standards of the 1890s, let alone those of the 1940s, the work, which Pfitzner completed in October 1945¹⁷ and which received its first performance on 19 April 1946, in Berlin,¹⁸ would have seemed conservative. But it constitutes a continuation of the move towards retrospection which John Williamson traces as far back as his opera *Das Herz* (1930-31),¹⁹ and stands at some distance from some of the earlier opulence and extravagance of Pfitzner's works of the 1920s. Pfitzner's rejection of post-1918 modernism (in its

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 224.

¹⁶ May, 'Last works', p. 181.

¹⁷ 'Ein neues Werk Pfitzners', *Der Berliner*, 5 February 1946.

¹⁸ John Williamson, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 361. This was part of a 'Pfitzner Morgenfeier' hosted by the Städtische Oper, which also included the String Quartet op. 50, and two groups of songs. See 'Theater – Film – Varieté', *Der Berliner*, 16 April 1946; Fritz Brust, 'Pfitzner-Uraufführung', *Der Berliner*, 25 April 1946; Erwin Kroll, 'Klangasket und Klangzauberer. Hans Pfitzner und Richard Strauß mit neuen Werken', *Tagesspiegel*, 26 April 1946.

¹⁹ See Williamson, *Pfitzner*, pp. 301-45, on these tendencies in Pfitzner's works from the 1930s. Whilst Williamson does consider (mostly generously) Pfitzner's degree of accommodation with the Third Reich (pp. 319-33), he does not generally consider that this musical attitude might have deeper political implications. On Pfitzner's post-war work in general, see also Johann Peter Vogel, *Hans Pfitzner. Leben – Werke – Dokumente* (Zürich and Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1999), pp. 174-83.

objectivist and neo-classical manifestations) is undiminished; whilst he employs archaic idioms, there are none of the ironising and objectivising tendencies to be found in other composers employing otherwise comparable strategies, nor for that matter is there much of a sense of a delicate balance of conflicting emotions as in the Strauss concerto. Only a certain angularity in the melodic writing, matched by moderately striking harmonic shifts and modulations in the third movement (e.g. Ex. 6.3), and a tendency towards extended contrapuntal suspensions or other dissonant prolongations in this and the minuet of the second movement, mark this work out as possibly belonging to a marginally later era than its stylistic trappings would otherwise suggest. One critic asked: 'Was it inner relief, was it a sigh of elation, that led to this 1945 work being so balanced and serene?',²⁰ clearly suggesting that Pfitzner might have felt a new type of calm now that his machinations with the Nazi regime were over.

²⁰ Brust, 'Pfitzner-Uraufführung'. Brust nonetheless identified this work as typical of Pfitzner's late style. Another review, Fritz Steffin, 'Ein neuer Pfitzner', *Tägliche Rundschau*, 24 April 1946, said that the opening movement 'could be called almost conservative-tonal, though throughout in Pfitzner's particular manner'.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for Hans Pfitzner's Sextet (1945), third movement. Each system consists of five staves for the chamber ensemble (Cl. B, VI, Vla, Vcl., Ob.) and a grand piano accompaniment. The first system shows the beginning of a phrase with a circled '7' above the first measure. The second system continues the phrase with a circled '7' above the first measure. The third system shows the end of the phrase with a circled '7' above the first measure. Dynamics include *f molto espr*, *mf*, and *p*. Performance instructions include *(etwas frei)* and *f espr*.

Ex. 6.3. Hans Pfitzner, Sextet (1945), from third movement. Published by Johannes Oertel.

Egk turned to an operatic setting of Calderón de la Barca's *El mayor encanto, amor*, entitled *Circe* (1945), drawing upon some sketches he had made during the war years;²¹ he completed the work in the autumn of 1945.²² In a rendition of the Homeric story, Circe is a sorceress who entertains Ulysses, but is ruined after he tricks her into letting him escape. Egk's music can be powerful, evocative and impressive, for example with the combination of ascending and descending chromatic figures with sustained hexachords at the opening of Act 1, to portray the 'Aufziehendes Gewitter'

²¹ Stuckenschmidt, *Twentieth-Century Composers*, p. 199.

²² Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 29.

(Gathering Storm) (Ex. 6.4), in which context bright fanfares and then a form of diatonic musical heroism to signify the arrival of Ulysses make a great impact. Yet such tableaux, essentially reworking a variety of romantic programmatic evocation into a more contemporary dissonant idiom, are not matched by a comparable temporal and structural imagination; like Orff, Egk relies heavily upon static harmonies, ostinati and repeated rhythmic cells, not least in the Act 2 Ballet, much of it constructed from the reiteration of a few elements. But Egk does not achieve (or seem to aim for) Orff's level of atavistic drama, nor the particular form of de facto dissonance of Stravinsky (or Fortner); rather there is the sense of chromatic pitches being liberally added to an essentially diatonic harmonic language (notwithstanding chromatic writing as at the opening). It is as if those pitches are a modest corrective element to the language of *Die Zauberflöte* of 10 years earlier (in which Egk's dissonances and moments of pan-diatonicism were simply a means towards emphatic resolution and tonal/diatonic assertion). At the same time, there is almost nothing of the late romantic functional chromaticism, flexibility of pulse and expansiveness of line to be found in Schoenberg or Strauss, even when Egk half-heartedly attempts something approaching an expressionist idiom in some of the duets between Ulysses and Circe (Ex. 6.5). Egk inhabits a musical space somewhere between Stravinsky and Orff, but is unable to find a strength of musical personality or commitment to match either of these figures.

The predominant impression (at least to this listener) is one of self-consciousness and a type of cautious self-positioning. The ability to achieve this competently had served Egk well during the Third Reich, and would equally do so in the post-war period. A planned first staging in Frankfurt ended up being cancelled pending the completion of Egk's denazification, leading him to sue for breach of contract,²³ but it was produced in the Städtische Oper Berlin on 12 December 1948, directed by Heinz Tietjen.²⁴ Kurt Westphal, writing about this performance, viewed the opera in terms of classical models, above all from Mozart, as filtered through Richard Strauss in *Ariadne auf Naxos* (and also suggested that Mozart's Papageno was a precursor of the troll in *Peer Gynt*), and thought favourably of the way the

²³ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 29. The precariousness of the Frankfurt performance, as Egk faced a Spruchkammer, was reported in 'Circe in Gefahr', *Der Spiegel*, 13 September 1947.

²⁴ Stuckenschmidt, *Twentieth-Century Composers*, p. 199; Werner Egk, 'Eine "Spiegel" - Seite für Werner Egk', *Der Spiegel*, 25 September 1948; 'Uraufführung von Egks "Circe"', *Melos* 15/12 (December 1948), p. 348. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 29, mistakenly asserts that the work was not produced until 1966 in Stuttgart, under the revised title of *17 Tage und 4 Minuten*.

music responded to the almost mechanical actions of the mythical characters.²⁵ It was also produced in Wuppertal two months later, about which performance the critic Günter Schab identified the music as essentially tonal but with ‘a number of strong-coloured modern harmonic splashes’.²⁶

The image displays two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The notation is characterized by dense, overlapping chords and complex rhythmic patterns, particularly in the bass line, which includes many chromatic and dissonant intervals. The overall texture is highly chromatic and modern, reflecting the 'strong-coloured modern harmonic splashes' mentioned in the text.

Ex. 6.4 Werner Egk, *Circe* (1945), from opening of Act 1. Published by Schott Music.

²⁵ Kurt Westphal, ‘Egks “Circe” in Berlin uraufgeführt’, *Melos* 16/1 (January 1949), pp. 14-16; a briefer version of the same is Westphal, ‘Werner Egks “Circe”. Zur Uraufführung in der Städtischen Oper Berlin’, *Die Zeit*, 6 January 1949.

²⁶ Günther Schab, ‘“Circe”-Premiere in Wuppertal’, *Melos* 16/4 (April 1949), p. 113.

Ex. 6.5. Werner Egk, *Circe* (1945), duet of Circe and Ulysses near end of Act 2.

Published by Schott Music.

If Pfitzner's *Sextet* was a work of retreat, and Egk's *Circe* one of self-consciousness, there were no such inhibitions for Orff, who composed his second work in Bavarian dialect (after *Die Bernauerin* (1944-45)) and possibly the most radical of all his music: the 'Bavarian comedy' *Astutuli* (1946-48, rev. 1953),²⁷ in which he pursues to its logical conclusion the increasing stasis, pitch limitation, and chant-like vocalising of earlier works from *Carmina Burana* onwards. It features an almost complete

²⁷ Sources on Orff's work date this differently: Liess, *Orff* gives a date of 1945-46, Lilo Gersdorf, *Orff* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981), as 1945-53; while in *Carl Orff und Seine Werk. Dokumentation. VI. Bairisches Welttheater* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), p. 271-2, the beginning of work on the piece is dated as 1946. The page from Schott dates it as 1946, rev. 1953 – see 'Astutuli', at <https://en.schott-music.com/shop/astutuli-no154474.html> (accessed 4 January 1946), while at the Orff-Zentrum's page on the work 'Astutli' at <http://www.orff-zentrum.de/carl-orff/kuenstlerisches-werk/astutuli/> (accessed 4 January 2018), a date is given of 1948, but this is presumably that of completion.

renunciation of cultivated singing and, for the most part, any pitched sounds at all (as Orff had previously done in the sixth scene of *Die Bernauerin*, a witches' chorus). Other than a short 'choir of the elders', in which the elders sing using just a few pitches, everything from the percussion instruments and voices is unpitched until the final *Allgemeiner Tanz*. At this point the wider crowd are reconciled to having lost their clothes and dignity and sing some very basic pitches, as if learning to sing for the first time: a four-note ostinato in bass voices, repeated g's for the female singers, and a few pitches on the timpani, though all but the timpani return to unpitched chant for the conclusion.

Otherwise, the work, a tale of a travelling entertainer who is able cynically to manipulate his audience into all types of acts, before robbing them of all they have (a type of story which, as Franz Willnauer points out, has roots in Roman comedy, medieval farces, and the work of Cervantes and Hans Christian Andersen),²⁸ consists primarily of highly accentuated, primal, rhythmic chant and stylised group recitation (e.g. Ex. 6.6), as a type of intensification of otherwise unmetered spoken dialogue, sometimes together with percussion. Orff portrays those who think themselves clever and cunning (the 'Astutuli' of the title), but are easily manipulated by the unscrupulous, at times whipped up into hatred (in the form of a game, but with undertones of violence) towards an outsider (the goblin Gogglori), then the entertainer himself, before becoming sycophantically welcoming towards a 'gold maker'. It may not be too fanciful to interpret the work as a type of self-apology on the composer's part, or at the very least a parable of his own country's recent history (though tinged with lingering anti-semitism), written whilst he was navigating his own position, viewed as politically dubious. The lack of pitches serves primarily to emphasise the animal-like nature of those believing themselves to be wise, offset somewhat by the humour; a more acerbic way of treating characters who may be the distant cousins of the choir in *Carmina Burana*. The work was not premiered until 1953, in Munich, so there was little chance of its having influenced others before then. Nonetheless, it stands together with Egk and Blacher's *Abstrakte Oper Nr. 1* (1953) as an early predecessor of the *Musik als Sprache* movement which grew in the late 1950s.

²⁸ Franz Willnauer, 'Astutuli – Eine Bairische Komödie', in *Carl Orff und Seine Werk VI*, p. 255.

14

Die Bürger: (sehr lustig)
rasch

Weibchen M. ff So - was, so - was siehgt ma net al - le Tag, siehgt ma net al - le Tag,

Männer T. ff So - was, so - was siehgt ma net al - le Tag, siehgt ma net al - le Tag,

B. ff So - was, so - was siehgt ma net al - le Tag, siehgt ma net al - le Tag,

2 kleine Trommel (mit und ohne Schnarrsaiten) ff tr tr tr tr tr tr

3 Rihrtrommel (mit Paakenschlag) ff

Becken mit Grosstrommel ff

Grosstrommel ff

Ex. 6.6. Carl Orff, *Astutuli* (1946-48, rev. 1953). Published by Schott Music.

Equally drawn to non-pitched sounds and ostinati was Boris Blacher, who in his *Partita* for strings and percussion (1945, premiered on 8 March 1946, by members of the Staatsoper in Berlin, conducted by Johannes Schöler)²⁹ opened and closed the first movement with festive, dense, multiple percussion, which Stuckenschmidt attributed to his experiences as a jazz instrumentator.³⁰ In the score he achieves a synthesis of the use of variable length rhythmic cells in the manner of Stravinsky and especially Bartók (whose *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste* clearly stands behind this work), building melodies from strings of two- and three-quaver groups, with accentuation of weak beats in a way clearly inspired by jazz. Otherwise Blacher mixes folk-like melodies and diverse modal writing, a melodic style with ample use of Hindemithian fourths, and many Stravinskian false relations with other parts, and a general brashness of utterance generated through emphatic rhythmic punctuation, frequent use of repetition, and the piling up of material (rather than any serious

²⁹ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Boris Blacher* (Berlin and Wiesbaden: Bote & Bock, 1985), p. 64; 'Berliner Nachrichten', *Der Berliner*, 5 March 1946. The exact dates within 1945 of this work's composition are unclear, but it was likely begun before the war was over.

³⁰ Stuckenschmidt, *Blacher*, p. 30. Nonetheless, this is not a work which Jürgen Hunkemöller includes in his list of those with jazz elements, in Hunkemöller, 'Jazz in der Musik Boris Blachers', in Heribert Henrich (ed.), *Boris Blacher 1903-1975. Dokumente zu Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1993) (hereafter simply *Blacher. Dokumente*), pp. 51-64.

motivic or harmonic development) to generate climaxes, as Stravinsky and Orff often found necessary. The work has an edginess which distinguishes it from the lighter and more carefree *Concertante Musik* (1937). The net effect is more of an abundance of colour and brilliance rather than anything more emotionally taxing; the ‘severities’ of the work as identified by one of its champions, David Drew³¹ are mild compared to those in any of the above-mentioned composers,³² until the strange coda to the third movement. Here the material is reduced to a moderately slow ascending and descending pizzicato figuration in the double bass, moving up and down between D and G, above which Blacher adds ascending, almost grinding chromatic ascents in the viola and cello, before a series of rather icy sustained tetrachords lead through stepwise chromatic shifts in each line to a far from definitive concluding C-major triad – perhaps a reflection on the sober new reality following his country’s defeat. This has, however, also been interpreted in terms of the death of conductor Leo Borchard, to whose memory the piece is dedicated.³³

Blacher followed this with the *Konzert für Jazzorchester* (1946), the *Divertimento* for trumpet, trombone and piano (1946), and most importantly, the chamber opera *Die Flut* (1946), a type of *Zeitoper* given a mythical setting, which was the first opera to be completed and performed after the war.³⁴ The premiere was a concert version for Berliner Rundfunk on 26 December 1946, conducted by the composer, then staged on 4 March 1947 in Dresden, conducted by Joseph Keilberth,³⁵ then again at Darmstadt during the 1947 Ferienkurse. The thoroughly modern libretto (though derived from Maupassant’s story *L’épave* (1885)), by Blacher’s student Heinz von Cramer, is a tale of greed, love and fear of mortality. Four characters turn

³¹ See David Drew, ‘I Sing of War’, *The Musical Times*, 136/1828 (June 1995), p. 280.

³² Erwin Kroll would comment that the ‘young musician’s will towards atonality, which is expressed through the motoric qualities and syncopation’ (using ‘atonality’ in the loose sense common amongst writers at this time) was offset by broad melodic contours which help to produce what is ultimately ‘a refreshing lightness and even elegance of composition’. See Kroll, ‘Das erste Nachkriegsjahr der Musikstadt Berlin’, p. 178.

³³ This interpretation was put forward by Erwin Kroll, after the first performance. See Kroll, ‘Berlin hört seine Komponisten. Symphonien, Kammermusik und Chöre’, *Tagesspiegel*, 12 March 1946. The grief-stricken quality of this closing section was also noted in –st, ‘Sinfoniekonzert der Staatskapelle’, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 14 March 1946, whilst Fritz Brust, ‘Reiche Fluten neuer Musik’, *Der Berliner*, 12 March 1946, felt that the whole work climbed towards this final moment. Elsewhere, though, -o, ‘Abend großer Talente. Sinfoniekonzert der Staatskapelle’, *Der Morgen*, 13 March 1946, only commented on the dazzling use of instrumental sonority, not mentioning the ending.

³⁴ Martin Willenbrink, ‘Oper mit einkomponiertem Verfallsdatum. Der Zeitopernkompunist Boris Blacher’, in Henrich. *Blacher. Dokumente*, p. 34.

³⁵ Stuckenschmidt, *Blacher*, p. 64.

up on a deserted coast, each with different aspirations, while a chorus describe and comment upon the action.

The work is divided into eleven clearly differentiated short scenes of distinct musical character (a strategy he had also employed in his previous chamber opera *Romeo und Julia* (1943)), some developing the ersatz jazz that Blacher had made his own in the previous decade out of the idioms employed by Weill and Krenek, with an ensemble of five wind and five strings, dominated by clear sonorities, eschewing any rich string textures. It is a clear continuation of the achievements of the Sachlichkeiter of the 1920s, not least the Weill of *Mahagonny* (though also makes for interesting comparison with Shostakovich's 1930s stage works). Blacher's well-worn stylistic devices include the recurrent use of a Lydian fourth to add unease to the fisherman's tale of a shipwreck, strings of parallel 11th-based chords as the girl enchants the fisherman with her talk of timelessness and the glitter of waves, unisons and octaves to convey the tide rising and threatening to engulf the individuals, while emphatic accented downbeats evoke the entreaties to masculine bravery from the banker to the young man. The earlier unisons alternate with tango rhythms as the fisherman attempts to come closer to the girl when the tide recedes (Ex. 6.7), and then morph into obsessive repetitions as the young man becomes more crazed and avaricious, leading him to stab the banker. Reviewers of the Berlin performance were impressed by the clarity and concision of the music, sparing use of either illustration or more conventional expression, and engagement with modern social issues.³⁶ Karl Laux, reviewing the Dresden performance, was also impressed by the concision and tightness of the work, and reported a warm reception from the audience, though he had doubts about the redundancy arising from the description of events by the chorus when these are also made explicit on stage, or at least were in this production.³⁷ In anticipation of the Darmstadt performance, Wolfram Gerbracht sought to view the work within a lineage deriving from Brecht and Stravinsky's *L'histoire*.³⁸ More recently, Martin Willenbrink has characterised the work as typical of the immediate post-war years, by virtue of its brevity, economy of means and indirect mirroring of

³⁶ Erwin Kroll, 'Oper und Symphonie', *Tagesspiegel*, 26 December 1946; -o, 'Boris Blachers "Die Flut". Zur bevorstehenden Ursendung', *Der Morgen*, 19 December 1946. Willenbrink ('Der Zeitoperkomponist Blacher', pp. 34-5) views the work as characteristic of post-w [complete]

³⁷ Karl Laux, 'Neue Wege des Musiktheaters. Blachers "Flut" und Orffs "Kluge" in Dresden', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), pp. 178-9.

³⁸ Wolfram Gerbracht, 'Ferien mit Neuer Musik', *Musica* 1/3-4 (March-April 1947), p. 204.

reality,³⁹ a conception which anticipates Jerzy Grotowski's later notion of a 'poor theatre'.

Andante ♩ = 58

Fischer:

Fisherman: Ge - lieb - te, spürst Du, wie die Wass er sin - ken?
D'you feel bé - lo - ved, how the tide's go - ing out?

6 10

Das Rau-schen ver - weht. Die Wel - len hal - ten-den A - tem an.
The ru - shing has stopped. Look there, the waves are hol - ding their breath.

Ex. 6.7. Boris Blacher, *Die Flut* (1946), Scene 8. Published by Bote & Bock.

The works of Strauss and Pfitzner signify withdrawal and retreat, Egk careful adjustment, and Orff a dogged determination to push yet further other latent radical musical tendencies; of the five discussed above, Blacher could be seen as giving most obvious musical representation of the situation in which his country found itself, using established musical means to convey loss or disorientation and rootlessness. The former quality is significantly more vivid in Hartmann's *Sonata 'den 27 April 1945'* (1945, rev. 1947), which he himself described as 'not a sonata alone – it is a

³⁹ Willenbrink, 'Der Zeitoperkomponist Blacher', pp. 34-5.

testimony . . . a composite reaction to a terrible confrontation on April 27, 1945, expressed by a deeply emotional eyewitness',⁴⁰ and which bears the inscription.⁴¹

On 27 and 28 April 1945, a stream of people trudged past us

“preventative detainees” from Dachau –

endless was the stream –

endless was the misery –

endless was the suffering -

Yet this is a work which has been noted more for its title, inscription and the range of works which it quotes (which include the *Internationale*, the revolutionary song ‘Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit’, and the Soviet Civil War song ‘Partisanen vom Amur’)⁴² than for other aspects of its musical content or lineage. Whilst the keening and often monodic lines of the first movement convey quite unambiguously a sense of desolation, this follows what is essentially an ABA’ form, with the use of wide-spaced arpeggiated lines and somewhat routine voice-leading, for the purposes of building towards climaxes, such as can be found in numerous of Prokofiev’s piano sonatas. The third and slow movement, with its endless funereal double-dotted rhythms and slow march-like bass ostinato patterns (and allusion to ‘Brüder ,zur Sonne, zur Freiheit’),⁴³ is also easy to read in a programmatic sense, but ultimately can also be considered a more relentlessly dissonant and extended offspring of Liszt’s late funereal works. And the provenance of the second and fourth movements is even clearer, both scherzo and *moto perpetuo* bearing strong resemblances to movements in Bartók’s Suite for piano, op. 14 (See Ex. 6.8).⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Hartmann cited in Ben Arnold, ‘Art Music and the Holocaust’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 6/4 (1991), p. 336.

⁴¹ Cited in the 1983 Schott edition of the work.

⁴² Hartmut Lück, ‘Politik als Hintergrund und Motiv. Wie dem Komponieren ein zusätzliches Programm zuwuchs’, in Ulrich Dibelius (ed.), *Karl Amadeus Hartmann. Komponist im Widerstreit* (Kassel et al: Bärenreiter, 2004), p. 47.

⁴³ Andrew McCredie, ‘Hartmann, Karl Amadeus’, at *Grove Online*.

⁴⁴ On numerous other allusions to Bartók in Hartmann’s music, and his wider relationship to Hungarian art music traditions, see Andrew D. McCredie, ‘Karl Amadeus Hartmann and the Hungarian Music of the Early Twentieth Century’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 33/1-4 (1991), pp. 151-93.

Scherzo (♩ = 122)

The image shows three systems of musical notation for a Scherzo. The first system is marked *f marcatisimo* and features a complex, rhythmic melody in the right hand and a bass line with accented notes. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development. The third system begins with a *p* dynamic and includes a *cresc.* marking, showing a gradual increase in volume and intensity.

Ex. 6.8 (a). Béla Bartók, *Suite* for piano, op. 14 (1916), second movement. Published by Universal Edition.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a sonata. The first system is marked *più mosso (Prestissimo)* and *sub. p*, featuring a steady, rhythmic bass line. The second system continues the bass line with some melodic movement in the right hand. The third system shows a more complex texture with a *mf* dynamic, including a large melodic phrase in the right hand and a corresponding bass line.

Ex. 6.8 (b). Karl Amadeus Hartmann, *Sonata 'den 27 April 1945'* (1945), second movement. Published by Schott Music.

Allegro molto (♩ = 124)

p non legato

pp *mp*

mf

Ex. 6.8 (c). Béla Bartók, *Suite* for piano, op. 14 (1916), third movement.

Allegro furioso (stürmisch, leidenschaftlich)

pp

pp

p

Ex. 6.8 (d). Karl Amadeus Hartmann, *Sonata 'den 27 April 1945'* (1945), fourth movement. Published by Schott Music.

The work stands at the tail-end of those many Hartmann works (such as the *Miserae* (1934), First String Quartet (1933-35) the *Concerto funebre* (1939, rev. 1959)) which rely extensively upon allusions to music which had been denounced during the Third Reich, whether Hebrew chant, revolutionary songs, or that by composers listed as degenerate, Bolshevik, etc.⁴⁵ Much of the music to which Hartmann had alluded within his works would also appear within his *Musica Viva* series, and as a result the series can be read as extremely personal. But in other ways Hartmann's work is even more conventional than Blacher's, despite its ostensible subject matter. There is little in the way of any formal innovation; what exists in terms of depiction or allusion (mimetic or emotive) is placed into highly standard forms (and every movement ends on a clear tonic); one should not think that programmatic allusions led to any new approaches in this respect.

At the opening of the Symphony No. 2, *Adagio* (1945-46), an episodic work whose orchestral brilliance does not really compensate for the unmemorability of the thematic material, another Bartókian allusion can be discerned. This time it is to the opening of the Concerto for Orchestra (it is not clear whether Hartmann could yet have heard it, but he might have seen the score),⁴⁶ in the contrast between a low monodic string melody played in octaves by the cellos and basses, and a shimmering sonority (much more brilliant in Hartmann than Bartók, through the use of glockenspiel, vibraphone and celeste, though equally reminiscent of the 'torture chamber' music in *Bluebeard's Castle*) as an answer to this. The piece also draws repeatedly upon the repeated celeste wide-spaced arpeggios developed in Bartók's Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste (Ex. 6.9), which in turn allude back to Debussy's *La vent dans la plaine* and beyond to work of Schumann, Chopin and Liszt. The importance of Bartók to Hartmann is sometimes overlooked by writers more interested in the relationship between his work and that of Hindemith or Webern, yet I believe the Hungarian composer's approach to the enrichment of a

⁴⁵ McCredie, 'Hartmann'.

⁴⁶ Following the premiere of the work on 1 December 1944 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, there were a group of performances in Boston and New York of the work between December 1944 and January 1945, then the European premiere in Brussels on 18 January 1946 and the London premiere on 6 and 10 March 1946; David Cooper, *Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 23-4. I have seen no evidence of Hartmann's having attended any of these, though it is not impossible, especially as he had strong contacts with Paul Collaer in Brussels. However, the score was published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1946, so Hartmann (who programmed the work in *Musica Viva* in 1949) may have obtained a copy of this then, while working on revising and completing his *Adagio*.

basic tonal model, with an eclectic range of source, mode, harmony and timbre, without fundamentally digressing the boundaries of that model, provides the best comparison for Hartmann, never so dogged in rejecting aspects of late romantic expression as Hindemith, nor remotely so systematic as Webern.

9

The image shows a page of a musical score for strings and celeste. The page number '9' is in the top right corner. The score consists of eight staves, each with a different instrument label on the left: 'Cel.', '1. Vl.', '2. Vl.', '3. Vl.', '4. Vl.', '1. Vle.', '2. Vle.', and '.2. Vle.'. The 'Cel.' staff is in treble clef with a 10/8 time signature and contains a complex, rhythmic pattern of notes. The string staves (Vl. and Vle.) are in various clefs (treble and bass) and contain sustained notes with some melodic movement. The notation includes various accidentals and dynamic markings.

Ex. 6.9 (a). Béla Bartók, *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celeste* (1936), first movement. Published by Boosey & Hawkes.

The image displays a page of a musical score for Karl Amadeus Hartmann's Symphony No. 2, Adagio. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with multiple staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Cor. ingl., Cor. 1, Tromba 1, 2, 3, Trbne. 1, 2, 3, Timp., Vibr., Cel., Klav., and Viol. I. The music is written in a grand staff system. The Cor. ingl. part features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *p*. The Tromba and Trbne. parts are marked *ppp* and include the instruction "senza sord.". The Timp. part has a dynamic marking of *p*. The Cel. and Klav. parts feature a rhythmic pattern of repeated chords. The Viol. I part has a dynamic marking of *ppp*. The score is published by Schott Music.

Ex. 6.9 (b). Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Symphony No. 2, *Adagio* (1945-46). Published by Schott Music.

As for Wolfgang Fortner, his first major post-war work was the Violin Concerto (1946), which was premiered in Baden-Baden on 16 February 1947, with the SWF-Orchester and Taschner, conducted by the composer, the first such premiere at SWF (see Appendix 5k). The work is in three movements, fast-slow-fast, in keys D-B-flat-D, with a good deal of detached, clear, and brilliant writing, with many solo passages featuring strings of thirds in the solo part. There are march-like rhythms (in whole-tone progressions) in the first movement, mostly in 4/4 but interspersed with 5/8 and other bars, with some longer passages in 3/4, as well as irregularly repeated chords (Ex. 6.10). The central *Canzone*, in A-B-A form, builds the outer sections around a leisurely bass ostinato, with a more urgent and dramatic central section. The 3/8 finale is more harmonically static than the first movement, with ample use of repeated chords. The writing for the soloist, however, is even more brilliant and spectacular here.



Ex. 6.10. Wolfgang Fortner, Violin Concerto (1946), first movement. Published by Schott Music.

Most of these factors suggest obvious comparisons with related works of Hindemith – the *Kammermusik No. 4*, op. 36, no. 3, for violin and ensemble (1925) - and Stravinsky - the Violin Concerto in D (1931) - the two most prominent modern composers of the immediate post-war period in Germany. In a more detailed analysis than space allows for consideration of any piece here, J. Alexander Colpa traces Fortner’s use of superimposed triads and dominant chords to form ‘motto’ chords in the manner of *Le sacre*, and the use of neighbour-note patterns in the opening theme, as with the Stravinsky Concerto. These and other relations between the violin writing and that in *L’histoire*, and the employment of whole-tone and octatonic collections and subsets therein, sometimes combined with other modes and harmonies in different parts, work in ways previously developed by Stravinsky. Colpa points out two convincing direct allusions to the Hindemith work, and also notes that Fortner’s harmony is more dynamic than Stravinsky’s, but less so than Hindemith’s.⁴⁷ It would be unfair to call the work simply derivative, as Fortner creates a meaningful critical synthesis of traditions. However, when compared with Hindemith’s use of grotesque sonorities and intense counterpoint blurring verticality, or Stravinsky’s exploitation of the dramatic tension of extreme stasis, not to mention the momentary charm derived from the wealth of his allusions, it is not difficult to see why Fortner’s work is mostly known today as a historical curiosity in contrast to its reputation at the time. Fortner wrote with a high degree of professionalism and accomplishment, not to mention a clear sense of dramatic pacing, but in a music eschewing the language of romantic

⁴⁷ Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 366-425. Not all aspects of this analysis are equally convincing, and the use of pitch class terminology tends to over-complicate the description of some late tonal processes, but the case for a conscious self-fashioning on Fortner’s part in terms of a tradition of Hindemith and Stravinsky is clear.

expression and *Innigkeit*, there is insufficient evocation of external phenomena for the work to achieve a more sustained aural impact. It exemplifies a self-conscious aesthetic, acutely aware of the need to ignore the negative models of the past, but unable to experiment, like Hindemith and Stravinsky, or composers coming to prominence in the 1950s, with more uninhibited innovation.

Gerth-Wolfgang Baruch, reviewing the premiere, stressed the importance of sound over counterpoint, and compared the work to the late music of Roussel, in terms of expressive concision.⁴⁸ Strobel wrote an extended article for *Melos* which left no doubt of the huge significance he attached to the work. He located it in an interwar tradition of instrumental concertos, above all those of Hindemith and Stravinsky, which rejected the psychological and poetic dimensions of earlier works in the genre, as well as the antagonistic relationship between soloist and orchestra, whilst maintaining virtuosic qualities. He was equally effusive about the collaboration between Fortner and Taschner, arguing that the latter conveyed ‘the spirit of new music’ which Strobel described in terms of the aesthetics of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* he had advocated 20 years earlier (he did not make direct reference to the movement, but did refer to ‘back to Bach’): everything of the musical design emanating wholly from the sounds, with nothing superfluous, no maudlin qualities, ambiguity, etc. He felt that the solo part captivates the listener from the outset with the tonal cantilena, taming the ‘contrapuntal worm’ (which Strobel said ‘sits in the blood of Germans’), and compared it to works of Roussel and Ravel.⁴⁹ Taschner would give numerous other performances of this work that year, including in Berlin, Frankfurt, Darmstadt (with Scherchen), Braunschweig and Düsseldorf, all with different conductors and orchestras.⁵⁰ In December 1949, he performed it under Furtwängler and the BPO, and after this took the work abroad.⁵¹

Bernd Alois Zimmermann was conscripted into the Wehrmacht in Summer 1939, and served in occupied Poland, France and in the early stages of Operation Barbarossa in the Soviet Union. He spent four weeks in the vicinity of Velikiye Luki

⁴⁸ Gerth-Wolfgang Baruch, ‘Uraufführung von Fortner’s Violinkonzert’, *Badener Tagblatt*, 22 February 1947, cited in Colpa, ‘Fortner’, pp. 347-8.

⁴⁹ H. St., ‘Modern und brilliant. Ein neues Violinkonzert von Fortner’, *Melos* 14/4 (February 1947), pp. 151-2.

⁵⁰ Weiler, *Taschner*, p. 115.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp. 116-17.

during Hitler's 'pause' before advancing on the city,⁵² in which Soviet losses numbered 40 000 within a few days.⁵³ Zimmermann contracted a chronic skin disease from poison gas and an allergic reaction to the antidote, and was ultimately invalided out at the beginning of July 1942.⁵⁴ He resumed study at the University and Musikhochschule in Cologne from 1942, working with Lemacher, Jarnach and Paul Mies,⁵⁵ and his first acknowledged works date from this period. The set of short piano pieces *Extemporale* (1939-46), in a variety of genres, demonstrate clearly the impact made upon the young composer of Stravinsky in the neo-baroque (but with pointed modern dissonances) 'Sarabande' and 'Invention', of Hindemith in the slightly academic contrapuntal 'Siciliano', and of Milhaud in the bitonal 'Bolero' (Ex. 6.11). This type of idiom would be continued in his ballet suite *Alagoana: Caprichios Brasileiros* (1940-50), a piece which not only shows the palpable influence of Stravinsky and Milhaud, scores of whose works Zimmermann had first encountered during military service,⁵⁶ but which has also been considered in terms of Ravel's 'Spanish' works *Rhapsodie espagnol* and *Alborada del gracioso*, and of quasi-cluster harmonies in Bartók.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Zimmermann's readiness to jump between styles, genres, and implied location prefigures his later views on musical time.

⁵² See Zimmermann to Jan Natermann, 17 September (from France) and 25 September (from Poland) 1940; 2 January 1941 (from Posen); Zimmermann to Katharina and Jakob Zimmermann, 23 August 1941 (from Russia), in Heribert Henrich (ed.), *Bernd Alois Zimmermann "Du und Ich und Ich und die Welt". Dokumente aus den Jahren 1940 bis 1950* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, 1998), pp. 17-23. In the last of these, Zimmermann mentions finally being on the move to Velikiye Luki, after waiting for four weeks. A Red Army attack developed in this city in August, before the city was taken by German troops between 26 and 28 August. See Alan F. Wilt, 'Hitler's Late Summer Pause in 1941', *Military Affairs* 45/4 (December 1981), pp. 187-91.

⁵³ See the diary entry for 27 August 1941, in "Das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht gibt bekannt . . ." *Der deutsche Wehrmachtbericht. Vollständige Ausgabe der 1939-1945 durch Presse und Rundfunk veröffentlichten Texte mit einem Orts-, Personen- und Formationsregister von Günter Wegmann*, Band 1, 1939-1941 (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1982), pp. 656-7.

⁵⁴ Wulf Konold, *Bernd Alois Zimmermann. Der Komponist und sein Werk* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1986), p. 14. There is clearly much more to research about Zimmermann's experiences during Barbarossa in particular. From correspondence to Liselotte Neufeld of 5 July 1942, in AdK Slg. Neufeld 19-33, we know that Zimmermann was in Düsseldorf by this date.

⁵⁵ Konold, *Zimmermann*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ Wulf Konold, 'Bernd Alois Zimmermann – Lebenschronik', in Konold (ed.), *Bernd Alois Zimmermann. Dokumente und Interpretationen* (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, n.d., c. 1986), p. 14.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.* pp. 65-71 for a moderately detailed overview of this work.



Ex. 6.11. Bernd Alois Zimmermann, 'Bolero' (1943), from *Extemporale*. Published by Schott Music.

The eclecticism of this set is less of a factor in the *Kleine Suite* (1942), which is mildly Stravinskian in the first movement, where it employs moving parts against fixed harmonies, and then in the other two movements uses a more fluid form of linear counterpoint which resembles early Hindemith. The String Trio (1944) is more daring in its combination of impetuosity and imitative counterpoint, in a late Beethovenian manner, gradually shifting from Hindemithian tonal amorphousness in the first movement through increasing vertical definition in the second, back towards Stravinskian stasis and repetition in the third. The use of common motives through the different movements adds a further unifying element. Zimmermann's immediate post-war works include the unpublished *Sinfonia prosodica* (1945), in part written as a reflection on the needless sacrifice of the war,⁵⁸ and the Scherzo from which Günther Wand conducted in Gürzenich concerts on 6 and 7 May 1946. They also include the Concerto for Orchestra (1946, rev. 1948), which would also be performed by the

⁵⁸ As is clear from Zimmermann's inscriptions and diary entries. See Heribert Henrich, 'Eigenbearbeitung und Selbstentlehnung in Bernd Alois Zimmermanns Frühwerk', in Ulrich Tadday (ed.), *Musik-Konzepte Sonderband. Bernd Alois Zimmermann* (Munich: edition text+kritik, 2005), pp. 84-5.

Gürzenich on 22 and 23 September 1947.⁵⁹ The *Sinfonia* employs a variety of late-romantic stylistic devices – in the form of particular types of melancholy melodic gestures, quartal upbeats and chromatic progressions, as well as formal structures reminiscent of Bruckner. Its Scherzo is a setting of extra pieces from *Extemporale* not included in the published set.⁶⁰ Heribert Henrich is critical of the episodic nature of the first movement of the *Sinfonia* and what he believes to be a misjudgement of the relationship between thematic unfolding and expansion of sonic resources.⁶¹ The four-movement Concerto for Orchestra enacts a similar combination in the first movement, in which a gradually morphing theme appears in a succession of colourful (and somewhat Bartókian, in the manner of Hartmann) orchestral settings, but which seem directionless. Zimmermann is on safer ground with the second movement, returning to the imitative counterpoint of the Trio, with linear textural progressions, and the extremely orchestrally vivid *Caccia* which is the third movement. In the last movement, a quite jaunty march, he achieves something of a balance between the elements present elsewhere.

But perhaps the most surprising work, indicative of the dangers in viewing stylistic pluralism as relatively ‘value-free’, is the *Capriccio über Volksliedertemen* for piano (1946), which was apparently inspired by the folksong cycle *Das Goldringelein* by Alfons Scharrenbroich, a full NSDAP member from 1933, who wrote a *Messe der Soldaten* before he was killed in the war in 1943. This work was performed in the concert on 12 April 1946 for the Gesellschaft in Cologne, in which Tiny Wirtz also played the world premiere of *Extemporale*.⁶² Zimmermann could not have been unaware of the political connotations of German *Volksmusik* at this stage, yet serves up an exuberant and hearty and often pianistically brilliant medley which seems less sinister than simply naïve (Ex. 6.12).

⁵⁹ Scharberth, *Gürzenich*, pp. 254-5.

⁶⁰ At least according to Henrich’s study of the piece, in ‘Zimmermanns Frühwerk’, pp. 85-8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 87.

⁶² Heribert Henrich, programme note for Bernd Alois Zimmermann, *The Piano Music*, Tiny Wirtz, piano; AUL 66143 (2005); Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 6050.

Ex. 6.12. Bernd Alois Zimmermann, from *Capriccio über Volksliederthemen* (1946).
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The work which first brought Hans Werner Henze to public attention, the three-movement *Kammerkonzert* for piano, flute and strings (1946), premiered (as the *Kranichsteiner Kammerkonzert*) on 27 September 1946 at the Ferienkurse in Darmstadt. It too inhabits a world between neo-classical Stravinsky and Hindemith (the latter model somewhat overwhelming in the fourth-stuffed harmonies at the outset), but is closer to the works of Blacher and Fortner than to Zimmermann's brand of eclecticism. The youthful Henze is more brightly diatonic, however, with continually shifting modalities and polymodalities, an innocence created through the use of primarily stepwise melodies, and an unforced lyricism in the slow movement, generated through relaxed motivic imitation and development in the melody, though offset by the obstinate near-parallelisms of the accompaniment (Ex. 6.13). The

Stravinskian (or Prokofievian) element is clear from episodes in this movement of relative pan-diatonic saturation, and many chords with added major 2nds and 4ths.

Ex. 6.13. Hans Werner Henze, *Kammerkonzert* (1946), second movement, piano part. Published by Schott Music.

Henze's first work for Taschner, the *Violin Sonata* (1946), shows a similar provenance to that of Fortner's *Concerto*, though Henze is bolder in his relentless use of Stravinskian ostinato, given a grotesque quality through alternation of very narrow and very wide intervals, mirroring on a micro-scale aspects of the melody (Ex. 6.14). The ABA second movement develops the idiom of the slow movement of the *Kammerkonzert*, but with an intimacy made possible through more assured employment of pan-diatonic material in the B section, specifically through ascending close-packed chords with a fixed root to form a tonally-shifting piano accompaniment gesture which offsets the rhetorical and even somewhat strident violin melody. Following an *Intermezzo* which returns to the second thematic group of the first movement, in the finale Henze uses a string of Debussian or Bartókian alternating thirds in the piano against a more ferocious violin melody, moving through several episodes towards a strikingly bitonal ending (repeated E-G# in the piano against a D minor violin part, the primary tonal centre of the whole movement).

The image shows a musical score for Hans Werner Henze's Violin Sonata (1946), first movement. The score is in 4/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It features a violin part and a piano accompaniment. The piano part consists of a left hand playing a steady eighth-note accompaniment and a right hand playing a more complex melodic line. The score includes dynamic markings such as 'p dolcissimo' and 'p', and a 'simile' marking. The tempo is indicated as 'p' (piano).

Ex. 6.14. Hans Werner Henze, *Violin Sonata* (1946), first movement. Published by Schott Music.

Hermann Hei did not immediately return obviously to dodecaphonic or other abstract composition following the end of the war, but wrote in a variety of styles such as archaic Renaissance-style polyphony in his *Dreistimmige Gesnge nach Angelus Silesius* (1945) and a more playful folk-like idiom in his *Sieben Galgenlieder nach Christian Morgenstern* for soprano and flute (1946). These are often deeply Bartokian, though with some Hindemithian quartal leanings, especially in the first piece. Yet in the last of the *Galgenlieder*, ‘Der Mitternachtsmaus’, Hei does use Hauer-like twelve-note complexes, with a degree of flexibility, as with the repetition of the ‘a’ in the flute gesture which accompanies (aptly and surely uncoincidentally) the soprano’s ‘luft zwolfmal’ (Ex. 6.15).

Stern das Him-mels-haus be wohnt, laft zwlf mal

durch das Himm hels haus die Mit ter nachts maus.

Ex. 6.15. Hermann Hei, 'Der Mitternachtsmaus', from *Sieben Galgenlieder nach Christian Morgenstern* (1946). Published by Sddeutsche Musikverlag.

Hei would use this work as an example in lectures on twelve-tone music he gave in 1949.⁶³

The overwhelming presence of Hindemith and Stravinsky in early post-war German musical life was clearly as significant for composers as for programmers and listeners, as these examples demonstrate. These artists even made an impact upon a composer as rooted in late romantic traditions as Hermann Reutter. But this climate, and the types of anti-romanticism promoted most fervently by Strobel, and echoed by various critiques, was limiting and bred more than a little self-consciousness. Indeed it is hard to think of another time in the last few centuries when German music was so heavily derivative. Whilst a culture remained of scepticism towards the level of experimentation found in the Weimar Republic, even amongst progressive voices who wanted mature achievements rather than experiments, many found it difficult not to be overwhelmed in their own work by the shadow of these idolised figures before them. Oddly enough, perhaps Orff, in *Astutuli*, seems the most pioneering and least inhibited; Blacher appears freer than some of the others, but his work is very tame compared to that of many composers of the 1920s. Orff's reputation was already secure, but many other figures of the generation born in the two decades leading up to World War One - Hei, Blacher, Pepping, Fortner, Reutter, Bialas, Genzmer - never really established their name outside Germany and ultimately came to be superseded

⁶³ Reichenbach, *Hei*, p. 21.

by younger figures. Hartmann's work proved somewhat more lasting, through the advocacy of a few later champions, but he never achieved the wide international profile of Hindemith and Weill, the most successful of those who went into exile. But the situation was different for the younger Zimmermann and even younger Henze. Zimmermann demonstrated from the outset a hunger for new international sources, ideas, styles, to a greater degree even than Hartmann, while Henze arrived initially at a similar idiom to that of Fortner, but already with an innately theatrical tendency (witnessed in the flamboyance of both works discussed above), and much less encumbered by all the baggage of the back-to-Bach movement that Fortner had had to negotiate in different contexts. He participated in the anti-romanticism of the time but would relax this attitude in his works from the mid-1950s onwards, though only after a quite different period of work.

Heiß was one of the few already making tentative moves back towards dodecaphony; Winfried Zillig would be another, though he was not productive during the first few years after the war. It would be difficult to trace any significant compositional interest in building upon the achievements of Schoenberg and the Second Viennese School, though this would begin to change just a few years later through shifts in the work of Fortner and Henze, as will be described in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7

The Beginning of the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*

No institution is more notorious within the history of post-war German music than the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*. In this chapter I critique some all-too-common misconceptions and suppositions about the first courses in 1946, and enquire into how it came to be founded, whose idea it might have been, what knowledge or involvement there was on the part of the US authorities, and then what was the nature of the teaching and the programming. The latter is placed in the context of earlier musical and artistic events in the city, and of the range of other new music events and institutions discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, I consider the nature of the critical reception in the first year, and assess the significance of the event. Further developments after 1946 will be explored briefly in the final chapter.

The relative scarcity of surviving documentation of the events leading up to the first Ferienkurse have lent such a period a certain mystique,¹ and some conspiratorial hypotheses, especially relating to the US occupation as well, have unfortunately gained some traction, so I will deal with these first. In particular, Francis Stonor Saunders describes the Ferienkurse as ‘A bold initiative of the American military government’,² a claim which has unfortunately informed those of many others, not least Richard Taruskin.³

These claims are not supported by the surviving evidence. Ludwig Metzger prepared weekly reports for Captain Laird, in charge of cultural events for the city,

¹ This mystique permeates Bernd Leukert’s article ‘Musik aus Trümmern. Darmstadt um 1949’, *Musiktexte* 45 (July 1992), pp. 20-28.

² Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, p. 23.

³ Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* 5, pp. 20-21. Taruskin does not quite repeat Stonor Saunders’s claim exactly, but from the outset draws attention to the fact that Darmstadt was in the US zone (without saying what differentiates it from numerous other German cities in this respect) and immediately foregrounds the permission of the US occupation and later financial support. Then he says that one of the two principal goals of the courses was ‘to propagate American political and cultural values’ which was ‘mainly that [the aim] of the American backers’, compares the courses with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, emphasises performances of and lectures about American music, while ignoring most else about the courses. All of this is presented with no references to any of the scholarly literature on Darmstadt or anything else, other than one passage from Henze’s self-serving recollections. The idea that the courses came about primarily because of American support and funding is also reiterated in Williams, *Music in Germany since 1968*, p. 8, misleadingly citing Beal.

and first mentioned the Ferienkurse in the report completed on 2 July 1946.⁴ The first mention I have found in OMGUS's own reports is in the Wiesbaden office's Weekly Report from 15-21 July, just saying 'Darmstadt plans a contemporary music festival for August'.⁵ Amy Beal also notes the following from a report from William Dubensky, completed on 25 July:

A public instructional course on contemporary music is taking place in Darmstadt's Schloss Kranichstein under the sponsorship of the Darmstadt cultural authorities. It is intended to give a concise panorama of the contemporary music scene for those individuals who find it of importance for their profession and will spread this knowledge in their own circles.⁶

In subsequent weekly reports leading up to and through the beginning of the courses, OMGH reported on various difficulties relating to the new season at the theatre and opera in Darmstadt, but nothing at all on the Ferienkurse.⁷ Not every document from the time has necessarily survived, for sure, but it is hard to imagine that the Ferienkurse would not have appeared in these reports had it been an American initiative. A Major Edward T. Peeples indicated in a letter from 16 July that no license had been issued to another firm of theatre and concert agents, George Kraus & Co, in the city,⁸ but nothing in this and other reports about the Ferienkurse. The first extant OMGH correspondence with Steinecke comes in a letter of 12 August from T&M officer Gerhard Singer, giving permission for participation of most of the key individuals (see below).⁹ The programme booklet indicates 'Genehmigt durch die Militärregierung' but does not include a licence number (which would be normal), suggesting that the permission was hurried through, probably at the last moment.

⁴ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 21, 'Wocheberichte der Stadtverwaltung 1945-47', Report for 23-29 June 1946, dated 2 July 1946.

⁵ IfZ/OMGUS 5/8-1/2, 'Weekly Military Government Summary No. 41. 15 July -21 July 46'.

⁶ NARA RG 260, folder 'Weekly Activity Reports', box 729, Captain William Dubensky, 'Weekly Activity Report, Film, Theater and Music Branch, ICD, OMG for Greater Hesse, 19-24 July 1946', 25 July 1946., cited in Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 36-7.

⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5-8/1-2, 'Weekly Military Government Summary No. 44, 4 August- 11 August 1946'; 'No. 46, 18-24 August 1946', 'No. 48, 1-6 September 1946', 'No. 49, 7-13 September 1946' all mention the opera house; No. 46 also notes that the musical series in Wiesbaden will include works of Barber, Charles Griffes, Prokofiev and Hindemith.

⁸ IfZ/OMGUS 5/265-1/2. Peeples to PR/ISC Group, ISC Branch, CCG, 16 July 1946.

⁹ IMD Archiv, Singer to Steinecke, 12 August 1946.

Toby Thacker criticises the account by Inge Kovács¹⁰ for the lack of mention of the involvement of both OMGUS and Radio Frankfurt.¹¹ OMGUS's involvement in 1946 was minimal, amounting to the provision of a piano and transportation of it to Schloß Kranichstein, though a range of other pianos were provided by the city.¹² The American authorities also helped with procuring some scores from abroad,¹³ but this was part of a general policy (see Chapters 2 and 3) rather than reflecting any specific favour for this course. A few years later they granted some other requests for money, performance space, bedding and food, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. Holger Hagen, who represented both OMGUS and Radio Frankfurt, did give one lecture on American contemporary music in 1946 (see Appendix 5j for the full programme), whilst Hans Mayer, chief editor at the station, was also present.¹⁴ But otherwise, as recalled by Heinz Schröter's daughter, the involvement of Radio Frankfurt was essentially supportive rather than active, and certainly the radio station should not be considered an initiator on a par with the city of Darmstadt.¹⁵ Schröter himself played in one early concert featuring a work of his own, whilst there was a study trip to Radio Frankfurt at the end of the first week, the station broadcast a range of work from the week beginning 8 September,¹⁶ the radio orchestra gave one concert in the final week (the *Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage* – see below), and the station broadcast at least one other concert live, as did Radio Stuttgart. Steinecke wrote to Beckmann on 5 November (so over a month after the end of the Ferienkurse) to thank him for his support, and with the hope that they can collaborate more if there is a further course.¹⁷ This would go ahead, and the relationship between the Ferienkurse and the radio station deepened in subsequent years.

When the course was first planned is unclear. In a letter of 14 May 1946, Fortner (who had been featured in a Sezession concert in April) told Steinecke about a meeting with Karl Geiler, the Hesse State President, who apparently had a lively

¹⁰ Inge Kovács, 'Die Institution – Entstehung und Struktur', in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1, pp. 59-139.

¹¹ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 78; referencing Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1, p. 67.

¹² Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 38; Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, p. 52.

¹³ Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, p. 52. Dierks, *Darmstadt*, p. 26, suggests that publishers themselves provided materials for free.

¹⁴ Rudolf Stephan, 'Kranichstein. Vom Anfang und über einige Voraussetzungen', in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, p. 22.

¹⁵ Private communications with Schmidt-Blankenhagen.

¹⁶ Hans Ulrich Engelmann, 'Streiflichter aus Kranichstein', *Darmstädter Echo*, 11 September 1946.

¹⁷ IMD Archiv, Steinecke to Beckmann, 5 November 1946.

interest in things at Darmstadt.¹⁸ Whether these things yet included the Ferienkurse is not clear. Fortner claimed in an interview in 1981 that he suggested to Steinecke the idea of a course for both composers and performers, with composers ‘from Webern to Hindemith’. Kovács brusquely dismisses this, on the basis that ‘hardly any mention would have been made at that time’ of Webern, believing Fortner to have been rewriting history in terms of later developments.¹⁹ But Fortner would programme the German premiere of Webern’s Symphony, op. 21, at the beginning of 1949 in Heidelberg (see Appendix 5y), four years before the composer was featured significantly at Darmstadt (though the Variations op. 27 were played by Peter Stadlen in Darmstadt in 1948). Various other people would have known about Webern’s work, including some close to Schoenberg or Berg, or those who had heard his work performed at Donaueschingen in 1924, say (or Hindemith himself, who played viola in the premiere of the *Sechs Bagatellen* then), or for that matter Hartmann, as Webern’s student.²⁰ There is every possibility Fortner, either through his own volition or through knowing some of these people, could have had an interest in Webern’s music by 1945-6, so his claim should not be dismissed on these grounds alone.

Hans Ulrich Engelmann claims to have been close to Steinecke in 1946 (he would have encountered him during the *Befreite Kunst* exhibition at the end of the previous year), and attributes the idea for the course to him.²¹ Martin Iddon, however, believes this unlikely, on account of Steinecke’s earlier musicological work having been centered around baroque music, and his own rather old-fashioned compositional style.²² But in light of all of Steinecke’s other activities earlier in the year for contemporary arts of various types as detailed in Chapter 4 (not least the creation of a new international art exhibition inspired by one in Baden-Baden), and knowledge of the other events elsewhere in Germany, including the Bad Nauheim festival, I find Engelmann’s claim entirely plausible. Certainly Steinecke was relentlessly keen to do all he could to raise the profile of the city as an artists’ colony and major international artistic centre, and the Ferienkurse helped to achieve that end. Ultimately, whether the

¹⁸ IMD Archiv, Fortner to Steinecke, 14 May 1946.

¹⁹ Kovács, ‘Die Institution’, p. 67.

²⁰ On 20 July 1924 at Donaueschingen, the Amar Quartet premiered the *Sechs Bagatellen* for string quartet, op. 9, and a group of other players, conducted by Webern, premiered the *Trakl-Lieder*, op. 14. See Häusler, *Donaueschingen*, p. 425.

²¹ Engelmann, *Vergangenheitsgegenwart*, pp. 31, 37.

²² Iddon, *Darmstadt*, p. 23. For some examples of Steinecke’s own music, see Custodis, *Traditionen – Koalitionen – Visionen*, pp. 100-103.

first idea came from Fortner – or possibly Heiß, or Fred Hamel – instead of Steinecke, is relatively immaterial; Steinecke definitely gave it his and the city’s full backing and commitment. Iddon’s point about Steinecke’s compositional style does not necessarily set him apart from many other composers who were performed in the first year.

Kovács and various subsequent writers have suggested that Steinecke looked to the Salzburg Festival, consisting of both a festival and an educational programme, as a model for the Ferienkurse, though there is no significant documented evidence to support this link.²³ Uwe Henkhaus argues reasonably that Steinecke capitalised on the fact that new music had not yet found a sustained platform in Germany – a more mainstream festival like that in Salzburg would have encountered greater competition.²⁴ Michael Custodis also mentions Salzburg, but also the example of the US Tanglewood Festival founded in 1934, followed by a summer academy six years later, while both he and Kovács also cite the *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer* (see Chapter 1), which had run from 1929 right up to 1944, and had been described in a glowing review in the last year of its operation by Steinecke’s friend and journalistic colleague Fred Hamel.²⁵ This last seems most likely as an immediate model, as of course does Höffer and Rufer’s Internationales Musikinstitut in Berlin (mentioned by Custodis), about which Steinecke could hardly have failed to be aware, as it was widely publicised, and especially considering he was hosting the world premiere of Höffer’s String Trio at the first Ferienkurse.

The first possibly relevant mention of anything in the *Darmstädter Echo* was on 8 June 1946, but this entails a possible plan to relocate the Landesmusikschule in Schloß Kranichstein.²⁶ As this never went ahead, it seems likely that the plan to run the summer courses there came afterwards. A letter of 19 June from composer and co-founder of the original Donaueschingen festival, Joseph Haas, makes clear that he had heard from Steinecke’s old friend and colleague Fred Hamel (who would give a whole nine lectures in the first courses) that Steinecke was ‘considering organising a type of modern [*neuzeitliches*] music festival in the near future’, in response to which

²³ Kovács, ‘Die Institution’, pp. 67-70.

²⁴ Uwe Henkhaus, ‘Musik in Hessen. Die Philosophie der Ferienkurse’, at <http://www.uni-marburg.de/musik-in-hessen/themen/darmstadt/philosophieferienkurse> (accessed 27 September 2017); this draws upon Kovács’s mention of Salzburg in ‘Die Institution’, pp. 67-8.

²⁵ Custodis, *Traditionen – Koalitionen – Visionen*, pp. 36-8, including a full reproduction of Fred Hamel, ‘Musikalisches Welttreffen’, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 August 1944. For more on the *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer*, see Heike Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann (1884-1945)* (Sinzig: Studio, 2001), pp. 247-66.

²⁶ -h,b, ‘Kranichstein – Stätte der Musik?’, *Darmstädter Echo*, 8 June 1946.

Haas indicated his desire to restart the ADMV, working together with Hermann Abendroth in Weimar.²⁷ It is not clear whether Steinecke had gone beyond mere considerations to definite plans at this stage (but not yet told Hamel). However, the plans are made clear in the city authorities' weekly report for 23-29 June, with the city and Radio Frankfurt as co-organisers. They were said here to be sure to make an important contribution to the renewal of German life, through the presentation of music which would be unknown by the younger generation.²⁸ On 29 June the *Darmstädter Echo* announced that a new course was to be organised by the city, under the protectorate of Hesse State President Karl Geiler. The article was explicit that the courses would 'give the opportunity for qualified newcomers to become acquainted with modern foreign music', and that they would be followed by some *Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage*, so that 'Our city thus will make an important contribution to the reintroduction of international contemporary music.'²⁹ With little mention of composition or performance teaching, this announcement was framed in the sort of terms most amenable to OMGUS, so likely to be a bid for support.

By 13 July, another article reframed the announcement with the new title of *Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik*, to take place in Schloß Kranichstein, inviting conductors, composers, opera directors, critics, singers, instrumentalists on piano, violin or cello, and musicologists to come together 'to discuss the problems of shaping and presenting contemporary music, especially that of foreign countries'. Teachers were listed, including Fortner and Heiß, Schröter, GMD Carl Mathieu Lange, pianists Georg Kuhlmann and Udo Dammert, critic Fred Hamel, Hans Blümer from Radio Frankfurt, and others. OMGUS was said to have promised to provide scores of foreign musical works (so they must have known about this by this stage), Radio Frankfurt would broadcast events, on condition that their orchestra would play at least one concert,³⁰ and once again a series of international contemporary music

²⁷ IMD Archiv, Haas to Steinecke, 19 June 1946, cited and reproduced in full in Custodis, *Tradition – Koalitionen – Visionen*, pp. 41-3.

²⁸ Stadtarchiv Darmstadt ST 21, 'Wochenbericht für die Zeit vom. 23.6 – 29.6.46', 2 July 1946.

²⁹ 'Internationale Musik. Kurse und Tagung in Darmstadt', *Darmstädter Echo*, 29 June 1946.

³⁰ HR Archiv, 'Rundfunk in der Stunde Null – Zum Beispiel: Radio Frankfurt', script for broadcast from 1 April 1983, interview with Holger Hagen. However, Hagen mentions having sat in a seminar by Adorno, which would have been impossible before 1950, so his memory for details in general may have been hazy by this point.

days was promised, in conjunction with the Landestheater in the city.³¹ Steinecke released some text mentioning the Ferienkurse and also a planned *Institut für Internationale Gegenwartsmusik* on 17 July (the first documented mention of a permanent institute, also mentioning an associated journal), also making clear that he hoped for Fred Hamel to be the director of the latter.³² Otherwise, I have found no reference to the planning of the courses in a range of archives and correspondence.³³ Just a few days before the beginning of the Ferienkurse, the profile of the city as a cultural centre was given a further boost by the election of the cultural minister for Hesse, Dr. Franz Schramm, to the presidency of the *Freie Darmstädter Künstlervereinigung*, who would begin work in mid-September, including lectures, readings, theatrical performances and music.³⁴

The full five-week programme is included in Appendix 5j. It featured the leading cultural figures in the city in the form of Lange, Intendant of the Landestheater Walter Jockisch, and Darmstadt composer Hermann Hei. The final week was billed as an *Internationale zeitgenssische Musiktage*, and coincided with the opening of a new exhibition entitled *Zeitgenssische deutsche Kunst*, a collaboration between the Darmstdter Sezession, the Freie Gruppe Heidelberg, the city of Konstanz, and another Sezession in the Palatinate.³⁵

Steinecke’s opening text in the programme booklet was a classic piece of Nachholbedarf rhetoric, declaring at the beginning that:

Behind us is a period during which almost all the vital forces of new music were cut off from German musical life. For twelve years, names such as those of Hindemith and Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Krenek, Milhaud and Honegger, Shostakovich and Prokofiev, Bartk, Weill and many others were disdained. For twelve years, a criminal

³¹ ‘Ferienkurse fr internationale neue Musik’, *Darmstdter Echo*, 13 July 1946. An identical article appeared the same day in the *Hessische Nachrichten*.

³² IMD Archiv, Expos from Steinecke, 17 July 1946, cited in Custodis, *Tradition – Koalitionen – Visionen*, p. 37.

³³ As well as the different collections of OMGUS files, I have also consulted the IMD Archiv, Stadtarchiv Darmstadt, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, submitted a query to the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Darmstadt, and checked the Fortner files in the Stadtarchiv Heidelberg and the Fortner Nachlass in the Staatsbibliothek Mnchen. Time has not allowed for a comprehensive search of the Hermann Hei Nachlass in the Musikbibliothek of the Technisches Universitt Darmstadt, but I am confident that if there were relevant material here, it would have been noted in the books on Hei by Reichenbach and Henck. There may be relevant material held amongst Fred Hamel’s papers, but I am not aware of these being available to researchers.

³⁴ ‘‘Freie Darmstdter Knstlervereinigung’’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 22 August 1946.

³⁵ i.u., ‘Zeitgenssische Musik. Beginn der Darmstdter Musiktage (Vorbericht)’, *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 24 September 1946.

cultural politics robbed German musical life of its leading personalities and its interconnections with the world.³⁶

Musical life had been limited to the ‘opium of the KdF’, with marching songs and celebratory music as the most exalted ideals, but now the borders separating Germany from elsewhere had come down, offering new possibilities (this can be read as a reference to other events over the previous year). Steinecke thus claimed that ‘Only if our new offspring gain contact with the truly creative forces of our time, can these possibilities, in the sense of a fruitful renewal of German musical life, be realised’, and the Ferienkurse was conceived with this in mind.

Most of the events and teaching took place at Schloß Kranichstein, and students were accommodated there. This was rented from Prince Ludwig von Hessen-Darmstadt, and was in an area to the North-East of the centre of Darmstadt. The size meant that a maximum of 120 students could be accommodated, so selections had to be made from 150 applicants.³⁷ The castle had been used as an old people’s home since October 1944. When the plan to establish the Landesmusikschule there was announced in early June 1946, it was also announced that the 50 residents of the home would be moved to an alternative residence in Heppenheim, another district of the city.³⁸ The castle was only used by the Ferienkurse for two years, then the Prince ended the lease, and they relocated to the Seminar Marienhöhe, the property of the Seventh-Day Adventists.³⁹

In the end, there were 94 participants from all four occupation zones. Of the 13 composers amongst these, only Henze, and to some extent Engelmann (who came to study with their earlier teachers, respectively Fortner and Heiß) and Hans Zehden (also a private Fortner student) would go on to successful careers. A further 33

³⁶ The full text is reproduced in *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1, pp. 24-5, and was printed verbatim in April 1947 as part of a report on cultural reconstruction; see Wolfgang Steinecke, ‘Die Ferienkurse für Internationale Neue Musik’, in *Kunststadt Darmstadt Kultureller Wiederaufbau 1946* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1947), pp. 28-9. Iddon, *Darmstadt*, p. 24, translates Steinecke’s ‘verpönt’ as ‘proscribed’, rather than ‘disdained’, but this indicates a formal ban. In some, but not all cases, this is justified, but then (as in the case of Stravinsky) only for part of the duration of the Reich.

³⁷ Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, pp. 51-2.

³⁸ -h.b – ‘Kranichstein – Stätte der Musik?’.

³⁹ Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, pp. 57-9.

individuals were present, though no-one from outside Germany.⁴⁰ Many students had to compete to win support from their own local ministries to attend.⁴¹

The music *performed* during the first four weeks of the Ferienkurse can be viewed as in many ways a continuation of developments in the preceding year: the Sezession concert of Ottenheimer, the chamber and Lieder concerts, including the earlier one featuring Kehr and Schröter, the celebrations of Hindemith, including the second performance in the course of a year of *Ludus tonalis*, the performances of Raphael, Heiß, Fortner and Engelmann, and the lecture series, following on from those at the Volkshochschule. Some French music had been performed earlier in 1946 by the Lenzewski Quartet and the Landestheater orchestra. The Ottenheimers had performed Schoenberg and Berg, yet neither composer appeared during a Ferienkurse featuring several lectures on twelve-tone composition.

The first day was nothing at all remarkable, with two obviously objectivist/neo-classical works, of Beck and Fortner,⁴² carrying on in a similar vein later that day with works of Hindemith, Fortner and Stravinsky. To compare the programming of the Ferienkurse with that elsewhere in the country: Hindemith and Stravinsky were programmed all over, and Bartók (only represented by one piano piece, while his Second Quartet had been played during the Befreiete Kunst exhibition) also quite frequently, whilst Ravel, Ibert, Françaix and Milhaud had appeared on plenty of earlier concert programmes, and Martinu and Rivier would increasingly do so soon afterwards. Fortner's music had already been programmed in the major events in Überlingen, Bad Nauheim and Tübingen, programmed though cancelled in Schwetzingen, and of course programmed in the Sezession concerts in Darmstadt in April, as well as having gained influence and performances in his base of Heidelberg, as well as in Braunschweig. Heiß, Engelmann and Ottermann clearly had a local connection, but various other events elsewhere in the country had featured their own local composers little-known elsewhere.

By the time of the Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage, the Ferienkurse programme began to resemble the events in Konstanz and Bad Nauheim (and the smaller scale ones in Überlingen, Bremen, Donaueschingen and Tübingen, or for that

⁴⁰ IMD Archiv, Programme Booklet for 1946 Ferienkurse; Kovács, 'Die Institution', p. 62.

⁴¹ Günther Michel, 'Darmstadt: Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik', *Hessische Nachrichten*, 21 September 1946.

⁴² On this work, which Beck had written when studying in Paris, see Gianmario Borio, 'Kontinuität der Moderne? Zur Präsenz der früheren Neuen Musik in Darmstadt', in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1, pp. 148-50.

matter the historically wider ones in Aachen and Schwetzingen), though those who had attended the previous four weeks would have taken away a very different impression. Yet most of these other festivals were rather more adventurous and international, as were the concerts in Musica Viva or those at Haus am Waldsee. It was more of an intensification than anything radically new either for the city or in Germany as a whole.

Furthermore, a good deal of the music did not constitute any type of break with that regularly performed during the previous 12 years, nor eschew composers tainted by association with that time. Fortner, Reutter, Degen, Distler, Frommel and Hessenberg had all been NSDAP members. Karl Marx had had a major career in the Third Reich and written much propagandistic music, as had Genzmer, Gerster, Höffer, Armin Knab and Hans-Friedrich Micheelsen. Orff of course had also sustained a major profile during this period, as had to some extent Kaminski and certainly Christian Lahusen. Raphael was deeply compromised. The first piece in the first concert, Fortner's Concerto for string orchestra (1933), was probably his most frequently performed work in the Third Reich, and had had its German premiere under the auspices of the KfdK in Mannheim, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The United States was represented by just one piano suite by Roy Harris, compared to eight works by French composers, though those latter did differentiate the programmes from those which had been heard between 1939 and 1945. This can be contrasted with a range of works by US composers including Gershwin, Copland and others, which were being broadcast on Radio Frankfurt during the course of the Ferienkurse.⁴³ In the first four weeks, there were approximately 44 performances of German works (so 78.6%), 3 French (Françaix and Milhaud), 2 Swiss (the two performances of Beck), 3 Russian, and 1 each from Hungary, Finland, Czechoslovakia and the US – no more of an international contingent than in some Third Reich festivals. During the Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage the situation was not much different, with 32 German and 2 Austrian works played (so 77%, a very marginal difference from before), 5 French, 2 Russian, 1 Swiss, 1 Italian, 1 Czech. The two operas were by high-profile Germans, Hindemith and Orff,⁴⁴ and

⁴³ E.K., 'Musik der Neuen Welt', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 8 September 1945. Other listings in the paper indicate the types of programmes.

⁴⁴ There had apparently been a plan to stage Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc*, but for practical and technical reasons this could not happen; Orff's opera took its place. Dr. W. W. Wehagen, 'Hindemith-Uraufführungen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 18 October 1946.

only the 8 French works and 4 of Stravinsky (all chamber) made the event at all international. American was represented by just the Roy Harris suite (unless one counts Russian emigré Nikolai Lopatnikoff), Britain not at all, and hardly the Soviet Union, despite a lecture on Soviet music early on in the courses by Karl H. Wörner.⁴⁵ Similarly, despite Heiß's substantial two-part lecture on twelve-tone music, and Wörner's on that in the US (which may have been about performances of the Second Viennese School there),⁴⁶ the only dodecaphonic compositions I can identify amongst the programmes (and then far from obviously), are Heiß's String Trio and the last of Heiß's *Galgenlieder*, discussed in Chapter 6.⁴⁷ Edwin Kuntz, quite incredibly in light of later developments at the course, wrote that various investigations and discussions at Darmstadt had concluded that 'Schoenberg's output [...] is now considered fruitless and wholly superseded.'⁴⁸

A few things were more novel. The Hindemith/Brecht *Lehrstück* was the first repeat performance since the work's premiere. In the discussion led by Fortner, many were apparently drawn to the seriousness of content within the fractured form of the work.⁴⁹ And of course the event provided the first exposure for Henze, important for his future career, even if his work itself at this point did not significantly depart from the dominant Hindemith-Stravinsky aesthetic of early post-war Germany. He was

⁴⁵ In Wörner's book *Musik der Gegenwart. Geschichte der neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schott, 1949), the first of its type to be published in Germany after 1945, he writes about Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Miaskovsky, Mosolov, Khatchaturian, Lev Knipper, Vissarion Shebalin, Dimitri Kabalevsky, Ivan Dscherschinsky, and Yuri Shaporin, mentioning a few others born between 1889 and 1913, including Arthur Lourié, for his central institutional role, traces the issues, organisations and aesthetic/political disputes in the country in the 1920s and 1930s (including the charges of 'formalism' and condemnation of Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of Mtensk*, though not yet the Zhdanov decree) (pp. 204-22) in a remarkably comprehensive manner for the time it was published, though Wörner acknowledges some debt to the work of Gerald Abraham. It can fairly be assumed that Wörner's talk in 1946 would have anticipated some of this.

⁴⁶ In Wörner's 'Musikalische Eindrücke aus USA', *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), pp. 38-41, he writes about performances of Schoenberg and Berg (as well as others such as Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Hindemith) but not about any US-born twelve-tone composers. Nor do any feature explicitly as such in *Musik der Gegenwart*, even in the section (pp. 91-2) where Wörner lists twelve-tone composers in France, Switzerland, Italy and Britain, nor in the chapter on American music (pp. 196-204).

⁴⁷ However, the lectures mean that M.J. Grant's claim that 'it was only later [than the Darmstadt courses in the first years after the war] that twelve-tone music began to be discussed', locating it in 1949 (Grant, *Serial Music, Serial Aesthetics: Compositional Theory in Post-War Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 41) is misleading. It was *discussed*, but hardly *played* in this year at Darmstadt, though the situation changed a little in 1947, and much more in 1948. Engelmann recalls clearly an interest in dodecaphony through his studies with Heiß, but not putting these into practice until his Piano Suite No. 1 (1948), dedicated to René Leibowitz. See Engelmann, *Vergangenheitsgegenwart*, pp. 37-40.

⁴⁸ E.K., 'Zeitgenössische Musik. Bilanz der Darmstädter Musiktage – Probleme des schöpferischen Nachwuchses', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 3 October 1946. Kuntz did however see merit in Heiß's compositions, though he was unconvinced by the content of his lectures.

⁴⁹ 'Ferienkurse für neue Musik in Darmstadt', *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), pp. 53-4.

offered a contract by Willy Strecker from Schott's, and made other important contacts with Ken Bartlett, Stuckenschmidt and Rufer.⁵⁰

What distinguished Darmstadt was the teaching, the range of expertise available, and the lectures. Various accounts also attest to the seriousness and intensity of commitment of the participants, and the uncompromising nature of the teaching.⁵¹ Yet the two composition teachers were fortunate to be able to teach there at all. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Fortner had been classified Black in the American denazification lists of June 1946, in which category he remained right up to the final lists of March 1947, and his planned concert at Schwetzingen in June 1946 had been cancelled, at the event organised in large measure by Jerome Pastene, who had first cleared him to work in March.

How exactly he was still able to teach at Darmstadt is unclear. Martin Iddon suggests that this might be down to a casual approach to denazification in the city, and a wish to avoid a showdown with Metzger's administration, noting that other teachers and lecturers were also ranked unacceptable, and adduces from this further evidence that the American authorities were relatively unaware of the nature of the courses.⁵² But this was not unique to Darmstadt: Fortner's work was being played, and he was giving lectures, in various places in Germany, not least in relatively nearby Heidelberg, as mentioned in Chapter 3, where the Theatre and Music Officer was Newell Jenkins (since this was part of Württemberg-Baden) rather than Dubensky. On the basis of the dating of the relevant correspondence, it appears as if it was not before November 1946, two months after the Ferienkurse, that the authorities got round to enquiring further about Fortner's activities in light of his categorisation.

Heiß's activities during the Reich were discussed in Chapter 1. He completed his Meldebogen on 24 April 1946, and was mostly quite honest, admitting his composition of militaristic music whilst also claiming to have been an anti-fascist and having been labelled as a cultural Bolshevik.⁵³ This appears to have enabled him to continue working as a musician. Thacker writes that Fortner and Heiß 'were both

⁵⁰ Henze, *Bohemian Fifties*, pp. 62-3.

⁵¹ Michel, 'Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik'. Apparently the demands led one participant to leave after a few days, out of a sense of musical-professional inadequacy.

⁵² Iddon, *Darmstadt*, pp. 13-14, 18-20.

⁵³ Henck, *Heiß*, pp. 410-11. See also Iddon, *Darmstadt*, pp. 15-17, for a slightly different take on Heiß to mine.

blacklisted by the Americans',⁵⁴ but I have found no reference to any classification for the latter in all of the American lists. The IMD archives contain no correspondence between Steinecke and Heiß prior to 1947.

As mentioned above, T&M Officer Gerhard Singer wrote to Steinecke on 12 August 1946 to grant permission for the participation of every tutor *except* Fortner, and also for Wörner, Strobel, Karl Holl, Hans Joachim von Braunmühl, all of whom were lecturing, Schröter, who was playing, and Blümer, who was conducting.⁵⁵ This was not an exhaustive list – it did not include clarinettist Michael Mayer, the Kuntzel Quartet, Heiner Lautenschläger, director of the *Darmstadter Singkreis*, Paul or Susi Ottenheimer, and some other performers, nor a few others giving lectures and talks such as Erich Sehlbach, Hermann Reutter (who had been an NSDAP member since 1933),⁵⁶ Friedrich Noack or Wilibald Gurlitt. But Fortner is the most glaring omission of the main names. Yet there is no mention of his being excluded, or indeed his name at all. This suggests to me that Steinecke had either cleared Fortner at an earlier date, prior to the appearance of the June 1946 list (as he had previously been cleared by Pastene in March), or simply taken a chance on his inclusion not being noticed. As was seen in Chapter 3, the earliest date for which there is documented evidence of local US authorities (in the form of OMGWB) starting to ask questions of Fortner is in November 1946, so it is possible that his participation while on a blacklist might have gone unnoticed. He received notification of his classification as a *Mitläufer* from the Heidelberg Spruchkammer on 15 January 1947, and was told to pay costs, and that the decision was final unless an appeal was made within one week.⁵⁷ However, despite still appearing as Black on the March 1947 list, by June Singer was happy to clear him to teach at the second Ferienkurse.⁵⁸ I have found no documentation of the rescinding of his categorisation, but suggest that he had either successfully challenged it in court sometime this year, as had many others, in light of some of the amnesties recently applied in the US Zone (see Chapter 2), or simply found that the authorities were no longer that concerned about the lists.

⁵⁴ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 78. Thacker may be referring here to his reference simply to Heiß's *Flieger-Fanfare* being on an American blacklist of songs.

⁵⁵ IMD Archiv, Singer to Steinecke, 12 August 1946.

⁵⁶ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, p. 5721.

⁵⁷ GLAK 465a 59/5/5591, 'Betr. Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus vom 5. März 1946 (Gesetz Nr. 104)', signed Dr. Buselmeier, 15 January 1947.

⁵⁸ IMD Archiv, Singer to Steinecke, 4 June 1947.

In considering the choice of the first two composition teachers, it is worth bearing in mind the relative proximity of Darmstadt and Heidelberg and the cultural links which had already been forged over the year. The two cities were just around 60 km apart, despite belonging to different *Länder*, and thus to different occupation administrations. Fortner, whilst based in Heidelberg, had already been performed in Darmstadt in March, whilst Heiß, whilst based in Darmstadt, had had two important concerts of his own works at Heidelberg just a few weeks before the beginning of the Ferienkurse (see Chapter 3). At this stage, this connection could be said to be stronger than that between Darmstadt and Frankfurt/Bad Nauheim.

The range of lectures was extensive, with major threads provided by those series by Hamel and Kuhlmann, demonstrating the simple aim of the courses to familiarise young people with a wide range of unfamiliar compositions, in this case for orchestra and piano. Heiß's two-part lecture on twelve-tone music, which apparently generated only a small amount of interest,⁵⁹ was as much a credo as any sort of technical guide. He made clear at the outset that he saw Hauer as the founder, whilst also mentioning his own relationship to the Austrian composer. Schoenberg, Berg, Krenek, Webern and Klenau were presented as followers.⁶⁰ To Heiß, however, unlike Hauer, twelve-tone music did not constitute a style, world-view, or belief system, but was simply a technique or ordering principle, though which required some wider attitude in order to be employed effectively. It could embody purely musical values just as much as tonality. Heiß argued that in twelve-tone music, melody was primary, with harmony and rhythm as a by-product, in the process again explicitly alluding to a model from Hauer's writings and compositions, while implying some distance from Schoenberg (at least with respect to rhythm, one of the aspects that Boulez would later criticise) and anticipating a more integrated system (and one should recall his likely contribution to Hauer's *Zwölftontechnik* mentioned in Chapter 1).⁶¹ Heiß spoke at length about general concerns relating to dodecaphony, the possibility that the resulting music might be shapeless, and so on, alluding both to Schoenberg's wishes to sublimate a major/minor system and also the ideas of Heiß's fellow Hauer student Othmar Steinbauer, with whom Heiß had worked for a period. Otherwise, he spent the bulk of the lectures theorising tonality in terms of particular

⁵⁹ 'Ferienkurse für neue Musik in Darmstadt', *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), p. 54.

⁶⁰ Hermann Heiß, 'Einführung in die Zwölftonmusik [1946]', in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 3, pp. 26-7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 27.

pitch collections based around tonally fundamental pitches in the scale (tonic, dominant, subdominant) between which various relationships can be ascertained. Then twelve-tone music could be viewed as an extension of this, but one which achieved equality between pitches, in particular by the (Hauerian) principle of tropes, in the form of complementary hexachords in place of dominant-tonic relationships. It was those what Heiß called a ‘super-tonal’ (*übertonal*) rather than atonal music, which spans all tonal possibilities.⁶² There was hardly anything from which any specific compositional techniques might be discerned; the lecture amounted more to a type of aesthetic, historical and technical justification for the technique.

Engelmann, who was registered as student No. 1 at the Ferienkurse, had already studied with Heiß, whom he viewed as his first composition teacher, from 1938, when Engelmann was aged 17. He recalled Heiß teaching Hauer’s ideas on tropes in a pragmatic, non-dogmatic manner, exploring linearity as a means of expanding tonality, stressing rhythm on a Stravinskian model, and being concerned with how a composer could integrate both ‘Apollonian’ and ‘Dionysian’ attitudes within this framework.⁶³

Fortner, in contrast to Heiß, was more pragmatic in his concentration upon the development of contrapuntal and harmonic techniques.⁶⁴ According to the most detailed account of his teaching at the courses, which draws upon testimonies from various students including Henze and Heinz Werner Zimmermann, Fortner essentially transferred the contrapuntal art of Palestrina into a twentieth-century context, using series of 6-9 pitches in place of a *cantus firmus*, and allowing tonal freedom.⁶⁵ With students, he analysed works such as those of Hindemith’s which were performed during the Ferienkurse, and Stravinsky’s *Duo concertant*, and in general gave them an introduction to a range of important works of new music which were then unfamiliar.

Heiß would go on to teach at the courses in 1947, 1948, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1956 and 1960, Fortner from 1947 to 1949, then in 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957 and 1959.

⁶² Heiß, ‘Einführung in die Zwölftonmusik’, pp. 30-39. Hauer first used the term ‘trope’ in his ‘Sphärenmusik’ (1922), *Schriften*, p. 263 to refer to an individual hexachord, but then to a complementary pair in his essay ‘Die Tropen’ (1924), *ibid.* pp. 273-4. It is clear that Heiß was here referring to the latter definition. See also Covach, ‘The Music and Theories of Hauer’, pp. 155-9.

⁶³ Engelmann, *Vergangenheitsgegenwart*, pp. 37-8; ‘Zur Genesis der “Darmstädter Schule” (1946...)’, in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, p. 50.

⁶⁴ ‘Ferienkurse für neue Musik in Darmstadt’, *Melos* 14/2 (December 1946), p. 54.

⁶⁵ Peter Cahn, ‘Wolfgang Fortners Kompositionskurse in Darmstadt (1946-51)’, in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, pp. 37-43.

Both clearly played a fundamental part in the teaching culture during the Steinecke years, even as they were joined by younger and arguably more radical colleagues as the courses progressed. As such, their particular approaches to line and counterpoint, rhythm (a priority for both) and individual attitudes towards dodecaphony (slightly later for Fortner than for Heiß) should be incorporated into any wider picture of the pedagogical culture, rather than being marginalised as a feature of the unrepresentative early years, as is more often the case.

Other key lectures were those of Hans-Joachim von Braunmühl, formerly an engineer for Siemens and the RRG, who gave an overview of various new mechanical instruments, some of which had featured at Donaueschingen in the 1920s, as well as the use of amplification and resonance devices for various acoustic instruments. He also reflected on the implications of new technology, especially recordings, for music in general, and especially the new possibilities offered by the Magnetophon.⁶⁶ Strobel spoke at length about his beloved Debussy, acknowledging his debt to but distance from Wagner. Then he ran through the contrasting work of Ravel (much more concerned with tone colour and virtuosity), Satie (linked to cubism, musical hall and mechanisation), the composers of *Les six* (portrayed as the direct counterparts of the likes of Hindemith, Krenek, Berg, Toch, Weil and Eisler), and gave a short mention to Messiaen, still a new name to many.⁶⁷

The Ferienkurse received a generous amount of coverage, mostly positive while essentially descriptive, in newspapers from various regions. Many critics concentrated on the works of Hindemith, especially the 1943 String Quartet (which Edwin Kuntz thought one of Hindemith's strongest works),⁶⁸ *Ludus tonalis* and the *Lehrstück*.

Writing in the Berlin paper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Johannes Reschke compared the event to those in Baden-Baden (it is not clear whether he meant those in the 20s or 30s), identified Fortner and Kuhlmann as the key individuals driving the teaching, and emphasised the importance of Hamel's lectures. Feeling Schoenberg's work after 1918 to lead to cacophony and having generated prejudice against new music in general, though supported by uncritical admirers, Reschke contrasted this with the

⁶⁶ Hans-Joachim von Braunmühl, 'Technik und Musikpflege [1946]', in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 3, pp. 71-91.

⁶⁷ Heinrich Strobel, 'Die zeitgenössische Musik Frankreichs [1946]', *ibid.* pp. 149-66.

⁶⁸ E.K., 'Darmstädter Musiktage. Deutsche Hindemith – Uraufführung: "Streichquartett 1943". Werke nach Dichtungen von Trakl und Rilke – Bert Brechts "Lehrstück"', *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, 28 September 1946.

works of Hindemith, Bartók and Stravinsky performed here, which he viewed favourably and thought accessible, especially the Hindemith works, in some of which ‘dissonance and consonance come together’. He also praised Heiß’s *Galgenlieder* (presumably not noticing the dodecaphony in the last of these) and Engelmann’s *Divertimento*. In general, Reschke’s attitude, like that of so many other early post-war critics, valued a shift away from older-style experimentation towards consolidation.⁶⁹ Robert Unger praised much of the music on offer (except the Orff, whose didacticism he rejected) and especially singled out Henze for the *Kammerkonzert*, noting that he had already been signed up for publication by Schott.⁷⁰ This work was highlighted by several other critics for much praise,⁷¹ though one praised Engelmann’s *Divertimento* for its upbeat, spontaneous and life-affirming qualities, as well as the use of jazz which prevented the music from being ‘Beckmesser-like’!⁷²

Wolfram Gebracht, who was enamoured of the location and the atmosphere, went so far as to say ‘Here in Kranichstein, once more, the thesis of invulnerable youth, contaminated by Nazism, should be disproved’, believing the young people present to have been relatively unmoved by the previous 12 years, and now wanting to experience things before praising or denigrating them.⁷³ However, another reviewer from Düsseldorf contrasted a certain safeness of attitude amongst the young people at the course with that of their parents’ generation who came of age around 1918, and sought revolutionary changes to art and culture.⁷⁴

Running over a period of five weeks, the 1946 courses were considerably too long (though apparently Steinecke had originally hoped to fit all the events into a

⁶⁹ Johannes Reschke, ‘Grübeln und Faire plaisir. Zeitgenössische Musik in Darmstadt’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 26 October 1946.

⁷⁰ IMD Archiv, Dr. Robert Unger, ‘Schöpferisch Jugend und zeitgenössische Musik’, paper and date unknown.

⁷¹ Hugo Puetter, ‘Zeitgenössische Musiktage’, *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 30 September 1946; Dr. W. W. Wehage, ‘Hindemith in Darmstadt. Abschluß der Musikwoche’, *Der Morgen* (Mannheim), 5 October 1946; Bruno Stürmer, ‘Internationale Musik in Darmstadt. Neue Werke von Paul Hindemith’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 10 October 1946; August Kruhm, ‘Internat. zeitgenössische Musiktage Darmstadt vom 22. – 29. September 1946’, *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, 4 October 1946; Kruhm, ‘Vom Kulturschaffen. Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage in Darmstadt’, *Badener Tagblatt*, 19 October 1946; E.K., ‘Zeitgenössische Musik’.

⁷² ‘Internationale zeitgenössische Musiktage’, *Darmstädter Echo*, 28 September 1946, citing the words of a critic Dr. Reschke, from Berlin. This review also quoted Engelmann, wearing his other hat as critic, but referred to him just as ‘H.U.E.’!

⁷³ IMD Archiv, Wolfram Gebracht, ‘Kranichstein 1946’, 27 September 1946, typewritten manuscript, ultimate destination unknown.

⁷⁴ ‘Neue Musik und Publikum. Internationale Zeitgenössische Musiktage’, *Rhein-Echo*, 19 October 1946.

shorter space),⁷⁵ with too few major performances over the first four. In 1947, they were drastically cut down to just two weeks, a model which remained save for the two mega-courses in 1949 and 1951, when it was combined with the Frankfurt Woche für neue Musik (and the ISCM in the latter case).

Iddon does not believe the 1946 and 1947 Darmstadt Ferienkurse to be particularly important, and argues that the ‘real’ courses began in 1948.⁷⁶ Yet I believe he underestimates the significance of this first course in pedagogical terms. Though too long, a five-week event dedicated to the teaching of new music was obviously noteworthy, in a way it might not have been had it consisted just of a few weekly concerts of quite tame and sometimes provincial new music, followed by a week-long celebration.

Unlike Tanglewood or Salzburg, it was entirely focused upon new music, and in that sense was as much of an innovation as the Musikinstitut in Berlin, which was running a year-long rather than more intensive form of education. Many other summer music schools would be created throughout the Western world on the earlier model, but Darmstadt utterly dominated for decades, and in many ways still does.

⁷⁵ Gerberding, *Darmstädter Kulturpolitik*, p. 52

⁷⁶ Iddon, *Darmstadt*, p. 21.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Towards Post-War New Music

By the end of 1946, under the guiding ideology of *Nachholbedarf*, the achievements for new music in the Western Zones of Germany were considerable. Orchestras and other institutions in Berlin, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Munich were all regularly programming international modern music, and numerous opera houses were increasingly incorporating twentieth-century works into their repertoire, all encouraged strongly to do so by US ICD. Similar situations applied in Hamburg and Baden-Baden and some other cities with the backing of British and French cultural divisions. Studios and other organisations for modern music had sprung up in various cities, not least in Munich and Cologne, whilst the pre-1945 commitment to new music in Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Düsseldorf, Essen, Münster and Braunschweig continued.

Strobel, Steinecke, Schröter, Eimert, Stuckenschmidt and Hartmann all had secure positions, while Rufer, Zillig, Wetzelsberger, Rosbaud, Jochum, Schmidt-Isserstedt and others all wielded important influence. Performers like Erdmann, Taschner and Hinnenberg-Lefèbre were highly in demand, despite their past histories, while many others could find regular work performing new music. The radio orchestras in Baden-Baden, Hamburg, Stuttgart and Frankfurt were performing regularly. The orchestra in Cologne had started working at the station, while that at RIAS had received authorisation. The festivals, concert series and summer courses in Munich (Hartmann's), Donaueschingen, Darmstadt, Bad Nauheim/Frankfurt, Berlin (three different series) were all well under way.

Hindemith and to some extent Stravinsky were already a prominent part of the German musical landscape, as Dieter Schnebel recalled from the beginning of his study in Freiburg in 1949.¹ The dominant aesthetic, at least as espoused in critical discourse and reflected in music composed and programmed, was a type of 'late objectivity' (*Späte Sachlichkeit*, my term). This drew upon the idioms developed by

¹ Dieter Schnebel, 'Geleitwort', in Andreas Jacob (ed.), *Theodor W. Adorno – Erich Doflein Briefwechsel. Mit einem Radiogespräch von 1951 und drei Aufsätzen Erich Dofleins* (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2006), pp. 7-10. Schnebel recalled the 'Stravinsky-Hindemith religion' of the time, in which 'romanticism was forbidden', and was fascinated when he met Adorno at Darmstadt in 1950, finding the views of this 'Beethovenian and Schoenbergian' to be a huge contrast.

Hindemith and others in the 1920s, but with less of either the iconoclasm of the Weimar era, or the rather obsessive return to pre-romantic German traditions of the late 1920s and 1930s. This was a consolidated idiom, which had established a domination which far exceeded that of dodecaphonic composition. French music in particular was also a prominent part of the new cultural landscape, especially in the French Zone, and Soviet composers like Prokofiev and Shostakovich were also regularly heard. Many composers in Germany had secured teaching positions at leading institutions, and a major journal, *Melos*, was already reporting regularly on developments in new music around the country and elsewhere.

To a large extent, developments in the period up to the founding of the Bundesrepublik on 23 May 1949 constituted an extension and expansion of this situation, with a few new developments, and a gradual reduction of the role of the occupying powers following Byrnes' Stuttgart Speech of September 1946, though somewhat more slowly in the French Zone than elsewhere. The key decisions had already been made and the foundations set out. In this final chapter I will briefly survey how these developments played out up to 1951, at which point I consider the infrastructure for new music to have been firmly established, though it was also a key year which ushered in a shift in aesthetic direction.

Programming, Festivals and Concert Series

Some cities which had previously only a modest reputation, or none at all, for modern music, moved in this direction, as mentioned in Chapter 3; examples include Regensburg, Kassel, Karlsruhe, Ulm, Wuppertal, Detmold, Krefeld, Bielefeld, Göttingen, Osnabrück, Kiel and eventually Lübeck. The other cities mentioned above consolidated their positions as leading centres for new music. Journals such as *Melos*, *Musica* and *Stimmen* (see below) provide reasonably comprehensive information from the time with respect to developments, and generally indicate a continuing and growing presence of new music in mainstream concerts from in the 1946-47 and 1947-48 seasons, except in a few regions. However, following the currency reform of June 1948, for a period resources were scarce, savings were practically non-existent, and programmers needed to play safe, so there was some scaling back. Nonetheless, a lot of the interwar works which had entered the German repertoire immediately after the war continued to be programmed, albeit with a lesser degree of intensity. As well

as Hindemith and Stravinsky, Debussy, Ravel, Milhaud, Honegger, Bartók, Prokofiev, Shostakovich and others were also now well-established. There were no major repertoire shifts for most of the main orchestras or other mainstream musical institutions (except for radio orchestras).

Appendix 5a shows a chronology of dedicated new music festivals during the 1945-46 season and then subsequent festivals up to 1951, whilst subsequent appendices give full details of the programming of most such events. The autumn of 1946 was relatively quiet in this respect, but through the course of 1947 an increasing range of festivals emerged – in Witten, Bayreuth, Berlin (two festivals), Frankfurt (a continuation of the Bad Nauheim festival), Stuttgart, Koblenz, Darmstadt, Trossingen and Donaueschingen again, Bad Godesberg, Speyer, Mönchen-Gladbach, Nuremberg and Mainz. Then in 1948, Bad Homburg, Celle, Krefeld, Heidelberg, Münster, and Regensburg had their own events, and others continued in Berlin, Frankfurt, Bad Godesberg, Bayreuth (in a quite different form), Witten, Darmstadt and Trossingen. Kurt Westphal marvelled in early June 1948 at the range of new music over that summer alone.² After currency reform, there were fewer such events for a while, and the major festivals in autumn 1948 were in Leipzig, Sondershausen and Wittenberg, all in the Soviet Zone (where the Reichsmark was still used). But the festival circuit picked up again in the mid-spring of 1949, with new events in Coburg and Bochum (the latter running across the declaration of the Bundesrepublik on 23 May), then Bayreuth, Trossingen, Frankfurt and Darmstadt once more, and in the autumn, new events in Düsseldorf and Braunschweig. Most followed either the model found in Bad Nauheim or that of the Musiktage in the last week of Darmstadt 1946, of a week or more of continuous new music activity, or that in Überlingen, Bremen, Donaueschingen and Tübingen, where a smaller number of events were packed into 2-4 days.

Not all of these were lasting. Donaueschingen will be discussed below; Hermann also attempted to organise a new *Konstanzer Musiktage* in 1947 as a musical successor to the Kunstwochen, with the collaboration of Scherchen and Strobel, though on a more modest scale than in the previous year.³ However, as far as

² Kurt Westphal, 'Berliner Musiktage 1948', *Die Zeit*, 3 June 1948.

³ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/6 (April 1947), p. 189; Zintgraf, *Neue Musik*, p. 118.

I have been able to establish, this appears not to have gone ahead.⁴ There was however a *Musiksommer Konstanz* organised in 1949, and then from August 1950 an annual *Festliche Musiktage in Konstanz*, with Richard Treiber as musical director.⁵ The *Konstanzer Internationalen Musiktage*, in July 1951, was given in the presence of the French High Commissioner André François-Poncet. This had a strong feature of new music from the outset, and featured a range of premieres, works of more established figures such as Fortner, Hartmann, Egk, Françaix, Honegger and others, and involved orchestras from Baden-Baden, Stuttgart, Zürich, Winterthur and Vienna, thus maintaining some of the regional and transnational qualities of the 1946 event as well.⁶ If never avant-gardist in the manner of events in Cologne and Darmstadt, this long-running event stands as a somewhat ossified legacy of the immediate post-war years, as does the *Tübinger Musiktage*, dedicated to new music, which began in 1952.⁷

But perhaps the most archetypal new music festival of this time was the *Woche für neue Musik* in Frankfurt from 1947 (see Appendix 5g), a direct successor to the Bad Nauheim festival of 1946 (simply reflecting the move of Radio Frankfurt back to the main city), and the most lasting genuinely ‘international’ post-war festival (unless one counts Darmstadt as a ‘festival’). This was not a wholly new phenomenon, for sure: as well as the festivals in Donaueschingen, Baden-Baden and Berlin in the 1920s, the *Festival internazionale di musica contemporanea* was founded in Venice in 1930, and has run to the present day. But the Frankfurt festival, in its Bad Nauheim incarnation, preceded the *Internationales Musikfest* in Vienna from 1947 onwards, whose programming was of a similar nature to various events in Germany.⁸ The 1947 programming in Frankfurt resembled that in 1946 in terms of distribution of repertoire, as it also did in 1948 and 1949, in the latter of which it was

⁴ There is no reference to it in the local newspaper, the *Südkurier*, nor can anything be located in the Stadtarchiv Konstanz, including in the Nachlass of Bruno Leiner. My profound thanks to Matthias Märkle for checking these files for me.

⁵ Stadtarchiv Konstanz S II 3465, Festlichen Musiktagen 1950. Once again, my thanks to Matthias Märkle.

⁶ Burchardt, *Konstanz*, pp. 456-7; Heinze, *Vom Theaterorchester zum internationalen Klangkörper*, pp. 44-6; Gertsberger, *Taschner*, p. 414; ‘Kleine Kultur-Rundschau’, *Badische Zeitung*, 5 June 1951; ‘Notizen’, *Die Zeit*, 12 July 1951; W.Q., ‘Konstanzer Internationale Musiktage 1952’, *Melos* 19/10 (October 1952), pp. 296-7.

⁷ The programmes for these are kept in Stadtarchiv Tübingen M743 and M745. My thanks to Antje Zacharias for copying these for me.

⁸ See Andreas Ließ, ‘Das erste Internationale Musikfest in Wien’, *Melos* 14/13 (November 1947), pp. 386-7; Andreas Ließ, ‘Das zweite Internationale Musikfest in Wien’, *Melos* 15/8-9 (August-September 1948), pp. 237-8; Helmut A. Fiechtner, ‘Das III. Internationale Musikfest in Wien’, *Melos* 16/9 (September 1949), pp. 248-9.

combined with the Ferienkurse at Darmstadt (echoing the final ADMV festival in 1937). Only a slightly greater quantity of Schoenberg's music, on the occasion of his 75th birthday, and one or two other types of pieces, would imply any sort of differentiation. The repertoire consisted solidly of accomplished interwar modernism.

The Frankfurt festival did not run in 1950, but was combined again with Darmstadt in 1951, as part of the ISCM World Music Days, hosted by Frankfurt. Here the programming was more international than ever before, albeit without any particularly strong aesthetic direction. It would continue with decreasing length from 1952 to 1954, then became simply two days long in 1955 (when it was renamed *Tage für neue Musik* and once again combined with the Ferienkurse), and 1956 (when it was separate). The following year, when Schröter left the radio station to take up the directorship of the Musikhochschule in Cologne,⁹ Hessischer Rundfunk pooled their resources, and the events in Frankfurt and Darmstadt were permanently merged into one series.¹⁰

In Berlin, the Kulturbund organised a *Berliner Musiktage* in May/June 1947 (see Appendix 5o for the full programmes), following their concert series discussed in Chapter 5. With 29 German composers, including stalwarts of the previous era such as Blacher, Genzmer, Hessenberg, Höffer and Reutter, as well as Hindemith, Butting and Tiessen,¹¹ the event really succeeded in conveying an 'expanded German music'. But this was no longer anything particularly special, and also clashed with a concurrent *Englische Musiktage Berlins* in the British sector, which was the most concentrated presentation of British music yet in post-war Germany, as well as with Furtwängler's return from denazification with a BPO Beethoven cycle.¹² It was not a success, with near-empty halls, and so the following year's *Musiktage* were somewhat broader, including some works for Trautonium, but still failed to make a particularly big impact.¹³

Furthermore, as the political situation in Berlin deteriorated, the possibilities diminished for Kulturbund events working satisfactorily across the city. In May 1947, three district authorities in the American sector forbade any Kulturbund events from

⁹ Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, p. 99

¹⁰ '75 Jahre Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt', p. 7.

¹¹ Ranke et al, *Kultur, Pajoks und Care-Pakete*, p. 177, including the full programme.

¹² Muck, *Einhundert Jahre BPO*, Band 3, p. 323. See also Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, p. 153.

¹³ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/7, 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 12 June to 26 June 1947'; Advert in *Stimmen* 1/6 (April 1948), p. 190; Kurt Westphal, 'Berliner Musiktage 1948', *Die Zeit*, 3 June 1948; 'Konzert an der Schalltafel', *Der Spiegel*, 22 May 1948.

being organised in their areas.¹⁴ Others followed suit, then there was a general ban in the American sector on 1 November, and a similar ban in the British sector soon afterwards.¹⁵ Following the Berlin Blockade of June 1948, West Berlin never really developed into a major centre for the avant-garde, unlike other German cities. As well as the geographical distance from other regional centres, this related to the individuals active there: Höffer died in 1949, Rufer settled down to become a theory teacher and to catalogue Schoenberg's archive, while Stuckenschmidt's allegiances were stronger towards Johann Nepomuk David and Blacher, about both of whom he authored monographs,¹⁶ than their more radical counterparts.

Hartmann's series in Munich continued each year after the opening season, now supported with a subsidy from the Bavarian culture ministry.¹⁷ The second season had slightly fewer concerts than the first, but similar repertoire, and included dedicated concerts of French, Russian and American music (see Appendix 5c). From the autumn of 1947, the American authorities allowed Hartmann to use the Munich Amerika Haus for various events, without even favouring those concerts featuring American music.¹⁸ For the latter, however, OMGUS would provide subsidy, and would also purchase tickets in blocks.¹⁹ For a short period the Philharmonic played a few concerts in the series, but this ended after Rosbaud moved to Baden-Baden in 1948. For the 1948-49 season and onwards, Hartmann entered into a new arrangement with Radio Munich, as well as with the Staatsoper, whose joint support enabled the series to survive following currency reform.²⁰ Programming became a little more adventurous from 1947 onwards, with dodecaphonic works of Schoenberg,²¹ as well as works of Dallapiccola,²² Rolf Liebermann, and Messiaen's *Quatour pour la fin du*

¹⁴ *Der Kulturbund in Berlin*, pp. 35-6. Apparently this extended to approval not being granted for an event in which one of the American military officers was going to speak about music.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 36, 40-41.

¹⁶ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Johann Nepomuk David. Betrachtungen zu seinem Werk* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1965); Stuckenschmidt, *Blacher*.

¹⁷ Alt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 60-2.

¹⁸ See Haas, *Hartmann*, pp. 127-8, 286-92. For example, there was a concert of Russian and French music on 13 and 21 October 1947, then of British, French, Spanish and German music on 10 November of that year.

¹⁹ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 123; Alt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 83-6.

²⁰ See Alt, *Von der Juryfreien zur musica viva*, pp. 79-83, with full figures.

²¹ This could be contentious for some critics; see Hans Hagen, 'Der scherbenhaufen. Musica viva: Nihilismus in der modernen Musik', *Echo der Woche*, 15 December 1950, reproduced in Margot Attenkofer, 'Pressespiegel 1945-1963', in Wagner, *Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, p. 127, reviewing a concert including Schoenberg's *Phantasie* for violin and piano and Berg's *Kammerkonzert*.

²² Hartmann and Dallapiccola's relationship dated back to the late 1930s; see 'Luigi Dallapiccola: "Une amitié de laquelle je suis très fier". Briefe 1938-1965', in Wagner, *Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, pp. 164-85 for their correspondence.

temps in July 1948. A similar pattern continued thereafter into the 1950s, with a staple repertoire of interwar modernism, a few post-war works clearly in those traditions (Hartmann, Blacher, Egk, Fortner, Henze, Klebe), and just occasionally a nod in the direction of the new avant-garde into the 1950s, with a watershed concert of electronic music in 1956. After this, avant-garde music gained a more permanent presence, and the series began to attract a larger young audience.²³

From 1947 onwards, other new music concert series appeared in cities with an existing history of new music which had continued into the post-war era, such as Essen, Münster, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Oldenburg, Hamburg and Cologne (also listed in Appendix 5a). Most of these were clearly modelled on that in Munich in particular, with those in Essen, Heidelberg and Oldenburg even using the same name. Gustav König in Essen included rarities such as Mosolov's First String Quartet, and a performance of Messiaen's *Quatuor* in the first series.²⁴ The series in Heidelberg was organised by Fortner, who had consolidated his position in Heidelberg and Mannheim after taking over the *Gesellschaften der Freunde neuer Musik* in both cities.²⁵ The Hamburg and Cologne series, however, were set up by the respective branches of NWDR. Various new *Studios* or *Arbeitskreisen für neue Musik* were also founded, for example in 1948 in Mainz University, and in Bielefeld, Coburg and Düsseldorf.²⁶

Amongst wider festivals, the quantity of new music remained basically consistent in type at the Niederrheinisches Musikfeste from 1947 to 1951 (see Appendix 6a). The programming was not especially adventurous, save for the premiere of B.A. Zimmermann's cantata *Lob der Torheit* in Cologne in 1948 and Messiaen's *Trois Tâla* (three movements of the *Turangalila Symphony*) in Wuppertal in 1950, though by which time Messiaen had already been programmed in a range of other locations. Pastene's plans for a more new-music-focused Schwetzingen Festspiele 1947²⁷ did not come to fruition, despite elaborate plans and OMGUS

²³ See Heinz Hess, 'Jugend und neue Musik', *Neue Zeitung*, 25 November 1948; and Max Högel, 'Musik – die große Mittlerin', *Schwäbische Landeszeitung*, 8 June 1949, both reproduced in Attenkofer, 'Pressespiegel', pp. 123-4.

²⁴ 'Konzerte der Stadt Essen 1947/48', advert in *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947), p. 356. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the announcement of the new title for the Munich series had only appeared in the previous issue of *Melos*.

²⁵ 'Notizen', *Melos* 15/12 (December 1948), p. 349.

²⁶ 'Notizen', *Melos* 15/6-7 (June-July 1948), p. 198.

²⁷ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Pastene to Intendants, National Theater Mannheim, Stadttheater Heidelberg, 26 November 1946.

support,²⁸ because of problems with resources and halls, and Orff's *Carmina Burana* was the only recent work staged in 1947.²⁹ Only in 1953 did the festival feature a fair amount of modern music once more, primarily contemporary opera, not least that of Britten.³⁰ A small amount of new music was featured at the *Internationale Musikwoche* in Bad Pyrmont in August 1948, most notably the premiere of Henze's First Symphony conducted by Fortner (see Appendix 6c), though by 1951 an extended *Freiburger Musikwochen*, running for over two months, featured the type of programming familiar from 1946-47, as did the more lavish *Berliner Festwochen* which began that year (see Appendices 6d and 6e).

Following various communications between Hartmann and Edward Clark, President of the ISCM from 1947, concerning Germany's re-entry to the organisation,³¹ Stuckenschmidt, Rufer and Strobel all attended the ISCM World Music Days in 1947, invited by the Dutch section. By this stage a new committee for a future German section had already been assembled in Berlin, including these three individuals, Blacher, Jarnach, Mersmann, Rosbaud, Schmidt-Isserstedt and Tiessen, then joined by Hartmann and Höffer.³² After convincing the organization that none of the committee members had Nazi affiliations³³ (strictly true in the sense that none were party members), the section was re-admitted in 1948. Rosbaud, Rufer and Strobel then served on the jury of the section for the 1949 festival in Palermo. Tiessen was briefly President of the German Section, then resigned and was succeeded by Stuckenschmidt, who held the presidency from 1949 to 1953.³⁴ The Berlin branch presented their own series of concerts at the Haus am Waldsee from December 1948 (see Appendix 4e). This was the clearest sign of formal international integration of the German new music world.

²⁸ GLAK/OMGUS 12/91-2/10, Jenkins to OMGUS Berlin District, 14 January 1947; Pastene to Chief, ICD, 12 February 1947; Pastene, Report on First Meeting, Schwetzingen Festival Committee 1947, 20 February 1947; Hinrichsen to Jenkins, 26 February 1947; Pastene to CO, Heidelberg Military Unit, 22 May 1947; 'Schwetzingen Festspiele 1947. Programmwurf'.

²⁹ Pelker, 'Chronologie zu Musik und Theater in Schwetzingen', p. 421; Hermann and Stiebs, *Ein Arkadien der Musik*, p. 56; Wörn, *Schwetzingen*, pp. 75-6.

³⁰ Süddeutscher Rundfunk (ed.), *Schwetzingen Festspiele 1952-1966*, (Stuttgart: Süddeutscher Rundfunk, [1966]), pp. 5-6, 10-15, 90.

³¹ Josef Rufer, 'Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945', in *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1958/59*, pp. 22-3.

³² Ibid; Heinrich Strobel, 'Besuch in Holland. Das Amsterdamer Fest der Internationalen Gesellschaft für neue Musik', *Melos* 15/8-9 (August-September 1948), p. 232.

³³ Haefeli, *IGNM*, pp. 199-200.

³⁴ Rufer, 'Die Deutsche Sektion', pp. 23-4.

Darmstadt and the move towards Dodecaphony

The Ferienkurse became progressively more international, from one international participant in 1947 to 67 in 1949 and 1951.³⁵ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Heiß and Fortner continued teaching regularly on most courses until the late 1950s. But the nature of composition teaching gained a new focus from 1948. That year, Fortner began to employ twelve-tone techniques himself, first through the simple use of rows in his Third String Quartet (1948), then a more formalized approach in works such as the *Phantasie über die Tonfolge B-A-C-H* (1950).³⁶ In 1948, Fortner and Heiß were joined on the faculty by the Polish-French René Leibowitz (1913-72).³⁷ Leibowitz was a ferocious partisan of dodecaphony, to which he had been introduced by Erich Itor Kahn in the 1930s in Paris,³⁸ and scourge of the Stravinsky of *Jeu de cartes*.³⁹ In January 1947, he had organised an event in Paris entitled *Hommage à Schoenberg*, with dodecaphonic music of numerous composers.⁴⁰ He published his study of *Schoenberg et son école* the same year, and would follow this with studies focusing on Webern's Concerto op. 24 and Schoenberg's Variations op. 31.⁴¹ With Heiß, Fortner and Leibowitz all now types of partisans for dodecaphony, the aesthetic direction of the Ferienkurse was changing.

In 1947, Benno Frank had remarked favourably on the fact that the Ferienkurse would run again, believing the first course 'reaches that element of the public who will pass on their knowledge and views'.⁴² However, following currency reform in 1948, and continuing practical difficulties for international students, the courses were in difficulties. Looking for help, Steinecke contacted the new T&M

³⁵ Kovács, 'Die Institution', pp. 62-3. The international participants included students from Turkey, Australia and the Americas.

³⁶ See H.U. Engelmann, 'Phantasie über B-A-C-H', in Heinrich Lindlar (ed.), *Wolfgang Fortner. Eine Monographie* (Rodenkirchen: P.J. Tonger, 1960), pp. 18-25 for an exposition of Fortner's techniques here.

³⁷ See for example Reinhard Kapp, 'Zu René Leibowitz', in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, pp. 77-86, and Borio, 'Kontinuität der Moderne?', pp. 173-6, 222-6.

³⁸ Sabine Meine, *Ein Zwölftöner in Paris. Studien zu Biographie und Wirkung von René Leibowitz (1913-1972)* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2000), pp. 44-5.

³⁹ See Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, pp. 117-20.

⁴⁰ Meine, *Ein Zwölftöner in Paris*, pp. 110-11, 259-60.

⁴¹ René Leibowitz, *Schoenberg et son école* (Paris: J.B. Janin, 1949); *Qu'est-ce que la musique de douze sons? Le Concerto pour neuf instruments, op. 24, d'Anton Webern* (Liège Editions Dynamo, 1948); *Introduction à la musique de douze sons. Les variations pour orchestre op. 31, d'Arnold Schoenberg* (Paris: L'Arche, 1949).

⁴² IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/7, Benno D. Frank, 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 10 April to 24 April 1947'.

officer for Hesse, Everett Helm,⁴³ who, according to Antoine Goléa, took little convincing.⁴⁴ Helm visited the courses in 1948, and wrote an internal OMGUS document attesting to their value.⁴⁵ In 1949, OMGUS granted 4000 DM to help with the *Patenring*, scholarships, and the following year Steinecke negotiated a further 5000 DM from HICOG, through Evarts, and 3000 DM in 1951, which amounted to about 20% of the budget.⁴⁶

1949 was the year of Schoenberg's 75th birthday. There had been a handful of performances in Germany since 1945, mostly in Berlin, Bad Nauheim, Frankfurt (under Zillig), Wuppertal (where Else C. Kraus played the complete piano music in the autumn of 1948),⁴⁷ and four pieces in the 1948 Ferienkurse, most notably the German premiere of the Piano Concerto, with Peter Stadlen as soloist (who also performed it in Baden-Baden and Berlin in early 1949)⁴⁸ and Leibowitz conducting. But Frankfurt/Darmstadt 1949 contained seven different works, including a whole orchestral concert, conducted by Zillig, with the German premiere of the Violin Concerto, with Tibor Varga.⁴⁹ The profile of dodecaphonic music was also boosted that year by the publication of Hermann Heiß's *Elemente der musikalischen Komposition*, which included a large section on twelve-tone technique, not to mention Adorno's *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, and an English translation of Leibowitz's book on Schoenberg, making it more accessible to some German readers as well.⁵⁰ Eimert's second treatise on twelve-tone technique and Stuckenschmidt's first book on Schoenberg would follow in the next two years.⁵¹

Of Hindemith, on the other hand, a whole twelve works of whose had been performed at Darmstadt in 1948 (including the new version of *Das Marienleben*), in

⁴³ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Antoine Goléa, *Rencontres avec Pierre Boulez* (Paris: Juilliard, 1958), pp. 72-3.

⁴⁵ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 39

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 40, 266 n. 11.

⁴⁷ 'Musica-Nachrichten', *Musica* 2/6 (November-December 1948), p. 352.

⁴⁸ 'Notizen', *Melos* 16/4 (April 1949), p. 124. These performances were with Rosbaud and the SWF-Orchester in Baden-Baden, and with Zillig in the BPO.

⁴⁹ In Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* III, p. 536, the performance of the Fourth String Quartet on 25 June is claimed as a German premiere, but this had already been played by the Peter Quartet in Essen, and reviewed five days earlier. See i., 'Arnold Schönbergs 4. Streichquartett. Europäische Erstaufführung in Essen', *Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung*, 20 June 1949.

⁵⁰ Hermann Heiß, *Elemente der musikalischen Komposition. Tonbewegungslehre, Schlagsatz, Melodiesatz, Klangsatz, Zwölftonsatz* (Heidelberg: Musikverlag Hochstein & Co., 1949); Theodor Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949); René Leibowitz, *Schoenberg and his School: The Contemporary Stage of the Language of Music*, translated Dika Newlin (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).

⁵¹ Herbert Eimert, *Lehrbuch der Zwölftontechnik* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1950); Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schönberg* (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1951).

1949 there was just the String Trio op. 34 (1924), the German premiere of the Piano Concerto (1945) and the *Trauermusik* (1936) in 1949 (a perfectly respectable showing for most composers). Leibowitz had written disparagingly about Hindemith's music back in 1946,⁵² which was no doubt picked up by some of his students. Upon being informed by Strecker that younger composers at Darmstadt 1949 were apparently losing interest in his work, he responded dismissively towards the courses in general.⁵³ Nonetheless, Hindemith's music continued to be played regularly elsewhere, for example in the Musica Viva series in Heidelberg and Munich, or the Frankfurt *Wochen*.

An American report, while highlighting the Frankfurt/Darmstadt events as the most significant relating to T&M that month, noted criticism of the Frankfurt week 'that too much twelve-tone music was played in the chamber concerts'. A further piece of text should make clear the fallacy of imagining that at this point the US authorities were somehow promoting dodecaphonic music via Darmstadt (notwithstanding OMGUS support for the event):

The strong tendency of the Darmstadt holiday courses for New Music to overstress twelve-tone music has been severely criticized. This office has called the attention of the director, Dr. Steinecke, to the matter. The apparent reason for this year's surfeit of twelve-tone music is the fact that this year was planned as a kind of Schoenberg festival, with the hope that Schoenberg himself might be present. This proved impossible. This is the fourth session of the Holiday Courses, however, and they have acquired a reputation for one-sidedness. The office of OMG Hesse will continue to advise towards a broader musical policy.⁵⁴

In a report from the following month, Burns was scathing about work of many younger composers, including Henze, Klebe, Bruno Maderna and others, calling it 'worthless', which would have 'better been left unplayed'. Once again he criticized an

⁵² René Leibowitz, 'Paul Hindemith ou la légende de grandeur dans la musique contemporaine', *L'Arche* 3/21 (November 1946), pp. 113-9.

⁵³ Norbert J. Schneider, 'Phasen der Hindemith-Rezeption 1945-1955', *Hindemith Jahrbuch* 13 (1984), p. 131.

⁵⁴ IfZ/OMGUS 5/334-2/4, Ralph A. Burns, 'Review of Activities for the Month of June 1949'.

‘over-emphasis on twelve-tone music’ and noted a French faction of students around Leibowitz who remained aloof from others.⁵⁵

If 1950 was a quite different type of festival, with three whole concerts of Bartók chamber music, seven performances of Krenek, the presence on the faculty of Varèse and Adorno (standing in for an indisposed Schoenberg), and lectures by Robert Beyer on electronic music, in 1951 the Ferienkurse were combined not only with the first ISCM festival and the Frankfurt Woche, but also the second International Twelve-Tone Congress (the first had been in Milan in 1949).⁵⁶ Performances of Maderna and Luigi Nono in 1949-50 had been the only earlier hints of the future reputation of Darmstadt, but 1951 saw Messiaen’s *Quatre études de rythme*, Pierre Henry and Pierre Schaeffer’s *Symphonie pour un homme seul* and *Orphée 51*, the world premieres of Nono’s *Polifonica – Monodia – Ritmica*, and Karol Goeyvaerts’ Music for violin, contralto and piano, and further lectures on electronic music by Beyer, Werner Meyer-Eppler, Friedrich Trautwein, Adorno, Ernst Grunert, Schaeffer and Eimert. Karlheinz Stockhausen attended the courses for the first time, at the recommendation of Eimert, and met with both Goeyvaerts and Adorno. Stockhausen’s encounter with Goeyvaerts’ Sonata for Two Pianos, which so alienated Adorno, undoubtedly stimulated the composition of his first mature work, *Kreuzspiel* (1951), which would be premiered at Darmstadt the following year.⁵⁷ Eimert, Beyer and Meyer-Eppler would negotiate the founding of a new electronic music studio at the Cologne studio of NWDR in that autumn.⁵⁸ The 1951 Ferienkurse can thus be solidly established as a key event in the history of avant-garde music (without exaggerating the avant-garde component of subsequent courses that decade). Yet it is notable how many of the first radical figures came from outside Germany (and to their number we can add Pierre Boulez, Luciano Berio and Henri Pousseur in the next few years). The major exceptions are Eimert and Meyer-Eppler. A detailed investigation of Meyer-Eppler’s earlier activities and long struggle with denazification is for a future article, but the importance of his publication *Elektrische Klangerzeugung* in 1949, elucidating new possibilities for music derived from speech

⁵⁵ IfZ/OMGUS 5/334-2/4, Ralph A. Burns, ‘Review of Activities for the Month of July 1949’. See also Paul Walther, in ‘Internationale Ferienkurse in der Krise’, *Melos* 16/9 (September 1949), pp. 242-5, on factionalisation at Darmstadt that year.

⁵⁶ Hans Curjel, ‘Zwölf-ton-Kongreß in Mailand’, *Melos* 16/7-8 (July-August 1949), pp. 213-4.

⁵⁷ See Iddon, *Darmstadt*, pp. 51-62 for a reasonably detailed investigation of this encounter.

⁵⁸ See Lowell Cross, ‘Electronic Music, 1948-1953’, *Perspectives of New Music* 7/1 (Autumn-Winter 1968), pp. 45-50.

synthesis and information theory, and series of lectures from 1949 to 1953, has been recognised and documented for some time.⁵⁹ Eimert's relationship to the post-1945 avant-garde can arguably be traced right back to his Golyshev-inflected *Atonale Musiklehre* of 1924. But their influence upon German avant-garde composition was only made manifest a few years into the 1950s, with Stockhausen's *Studien* (1953-54), *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955-56) and *Gruppen* (1955-57). Before that, indeed before Stockhausen's *Kreuzspiel*, the major early begetters of a new type of music were Messiaen, Boulez, Schaeffer, Maderna, Nono and Goeyvaerts, none of them German.

Baden-Baden and Donaueschingen

In the period leading up to the early 1950s, Strobel regained for both Baden-Baden and Donaueschingen the type of pioneering musical reputation they had in the 1920s. From an early stage, the SWF-Orchester performed modern and French music with a consistency that exceeded that of any other radio orchestra for some years (though those in Frankfurt and Cologne would catch up). The first year was notable for plenty of French works, including a rare performance of Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* and lesser-known figures such as Marcel Delannoy, Jean Hubeau and Paul Boisselet, as well as the premiere of Fortner's Violin Concerto, which Taschner went on to play in many other cities and abroad.⁶⁰

In 1948, Rosbaud left Munich and took up the conductorship in Baden-Baden. From that season, with pioneers Rosbaud and Strobel in charge, there was a stronger element of relatively daring new work, including Messiaen's *Les offrandes oubliées*, Jean-Louis Martinet's *Orphée*, and the world premiere of Henze's Violin Concerto. As for Strobel, he was held in great esteem by Thimonnier in particular, who wrote a

⁵⁹ Above all in Elena Ungeheuer, *Wie die elektronische Musik "erfunden" wurde... Quellenstudie zu Werner Meyer-Epplers musikalischem Entwurf zwischen 1949 und 1953* (Mainz et al: Schott, 1992), especially pp. 65-156. Ungeheuer however makes no mention of Meyer-Eppler's membership of the NSDAP and *Nationalsozialistische Fliegerkorps*, high-level work for the Nazi military as one of an elite group of scientists, dismissal from the University of Bonn in 1945, and repeated unsuccessful attempts to challenge his denazification, leading him to shift discipline and work for a while as an unpaid assistant to Paul Menzerath at the new Phonetics Institute at the University, which was possible through a loophole in denazification law. For this, see my 'Werner Meyer-Eppler, Physicist, Phoneticist and Sage of *Elektronische Musik*: The Historiographical Implications of his Earlier Life and Denazification', forthcoming.

⁶⁰ See Weiler, *Taschner*, pp. 115-17. Taschner played the work in Berlin, Frankfurt, Darmstadt (with Scherchen), Braunschweig and Düsseldorf in 1947, then in 1949 with Furtwängler and the BPO and then abroad.

glowing recommendation to the head of the French consulate in Baden-Baden in February 1949, recommending that the SWF orchestra play in Paris⁶¹ (as they did in June 1950).

In 1947, Hermann still appeared powerful, as he planned the Trossinger Musiktage, Konstanzer Musiktage, then Donaueschinger Musiktage all within a few weeks. But the Konstanz event appears to have been cancelled, as mentioned above, as in 1948 was that in Donaueschingen, after the currency reform.⁶² By 1949, Hermann was looking an old-fashioned figure, sceptical about dodecaphony without much else new to advocate in its place.⁶³ However, in 1950 Strobel and the SWF relaunched the Donaueschinger Musiktage, after a three-year hiatus, with a key role for the SWF-Orchester. Strobel travelled to Paris to meet Messiaen to ask advice on programming, and was through various agents came into contact with Pierre Boulez and pledged to perform his *Polyphonie X* the following year.⁶⁴ This was the start of an extremely important collaboration over more than two decades, and decisive in establishing the reputation of Boulez, who would himself move to Baden-Baden in 1959, away from a French new music culture which he still found limiting.

Whilst the first year still included works by Genzmer, Schilling and Herrmann as a type of nod to the ‘old guard’, it otherwise already had a more uncompromising feeling, with two string quartets (Nos. 14 and 15) of Milhaud, played both separately and combined as the Octet. Strobel also programmed works which achieved a lasting reputation (for a period – today all except the Hartmann are mostly forgotten): Hartmann’s Symphony No. 2 (Adagio), Giselher Klebe’s *Die Zwitschermaschine*, following Klebe’s success at Braunschweig, and Fortner’s *Phantaise über die Tonfolge B-A-C-H*. The following year, Strobel was even more daring, programming the Boulez and works of Rolf Liebermann and Messiaen (*Harawi*), while continuing to support Henze (with the premiere of his Third Symphony). If the presence of works of Krenek, Reutter, and Honegger the same year implies more standardised

⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 116-17.

⁶² Hermann had planned for the 1948 Musiktage to have a more international flavour, with works of Britten, Honegger, Messiaen and others. See ‘Neue Musik Donaueschingen 1948’, *Melos* 15/4 (April 1948), p. 121.

⁶³ Hugo Herrmann, ‘Aus dem Tagebuch eines Komponisten: Komponieren heute’, *Melos* 16/10 (October 1949), pp. 268-70.

⁶⁴ Manuela Schwartz, ‘Visionen und Pflichten eines Förderers neuer Musik. Heinrich Strobel im Licht seiner Korrespondenz’, *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung* 26 (April 2013), p. 30.

programming, then that was a feature of Donaueschingen for many years afterwards, mixing the radical with the (relatively!) familiar.

Other programming at the radio station remained relatively innovative and dedicated. For example, over a few weeks in late 1948, 'Musik der Welt' featured broadcasts of Stravinsky's *Chant du Rossignol*, *Scènes de ballet* and *Circus Polka*, Barber's Second Symphony, Berg's *Kammerkonzert*, Wladimir Vogel's *Ritmica ostinato*, Wilhelm Pijper's Third Symphony, Malipiero's Third Symphony, Goffredo Petrassi's *Coro di Morti* and Alberic Magnard's Fourth Symphony.⁶⁵ Südwestfunk was also the first station regularly to commission composers, a process which the stations in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich and Bremen took up between 1949 and 1952 (see Appendix 7 for a list of commissions up to 1951). RIAS, having been strictly speaking the first to commission a composer (Blacher in 1946), continued this process from 1948.

Other Events

There were two further principal developments for new music in the period leading up to independence which were not clearly prefigured in 1945-46. As musical life in Bayreuth remained in limbo, the music bookseller Herbert Barth gained a licence to organise a series of *Bayreuther Wochen – Neue Musik* running from March to May 1947, with a range of chamber, Lieder and piano concerts featuring works of Debussy, Ravel, Bartók, Britten, Respighi, de Falla, Hindemith, Reutter and others,⁶⁶ together with dance events and some lectures, including one by Hans Mersmann (see Appendix 5n).⁶⁷ However, attendance was poor, blamed by the organisers upon a general lack of knowledge of new music in the region, so Barth decided to link them to a larger pedagogical *Institut für Neue Musik*. This first took place in May 1948, now also including six major concerts from the Bayreuther Symphonieorchester.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ 'Notizen', *Melos* 15/12 (December 1948), p. 349.

⁶⁶ 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/5 (March 1947), p. 154.

⁶⁷ Mersmann also wrote an introduction to the event, 'Bayreuther Wochen Neue Musik', *Fränkische Presse*, 25 February 1947. I wish to express profound thanks to Franziska Göde of the Universitätsbibliothek Bayreuth for locating and copying a range of reviews and articles of this event for me from rare copies of this newspaper for this year. Mersmann lectured in Bayreuth, Hof, Hamberg, Selbr, Marktredwitz, Ulm and Detmold in 1947; see 'Notizen', *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947), p. 309; 'Musica-Bericht', *Musica* 1/3-4 (March-April 1947), p. 218.

⁶⁸ Herbert Weitemeyer, 'Bayreuth auf neuen Wegen', in Herbert Barth (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Musikwelt*. 1. Jahrgang 1949/50 (Bayreuth: Verlag Julius Steeger, 1949), p. 38; Item in *Telegraf*, 22 June 1947.

The courses were steered by Mersmann and Erich Doflein, who was now a leading professor at the Freiburg Musikhochschule. Both figures helped attract a wider student community well beyond Bayreuth,⁶⁹ while Mersmann and the board kept culture ministers around the country informed about the achievements of the course.⁷⁰ There were further courses in 1949 and 1950, with some financial support from OMGUS,⁷¹ but the institute ran up a financial deficit, while the city of Bayreuth was now focused more on the decision to re-open the Festspielhaus in 1951. There had also been aesthetic and moral scandals following three performances in the 1950 festival, around Heiß's quirky *Capricci ritmici* for piano, Alfred Koerppen's *Vagantenballade*, and Weill's *Down in the Valley*, performed by Karlsruhe students,⁷² which used popular American songs. All of these were heckled and booed⁷³ (in contrast to the performance of Orff's *Schulwerk* during the event). Mersmann and Doflein visited the Ferienkurse at Darmstadt in August 1950 and persuaded Steinecke to allow the Institute to be relocated in that city from 1951.⁷⁴ Combined with the fusion of the Ferienkurse with the Frankfurt *Woche/IGNM* that year, this consolidated Darmstadt's leading position for new music.

Composer Jens Rohwer also founded a comparable series of *Barsbütteler Arbeitswochen für neue Komposition und Musiktheorie* near Hamburg in 1948, which ran at least once per year for the next decade and attracted composers from many parts of Germany.⁷⁵ However, the other major institution dedicated entirely to new music pedagogy, the Internationales Musikinstitut in Berlin, was beset by troubles after students heard rumours that teachers such as Puchelt and Hinnenberg-Lefèbre

⁶⁹ One student at the 1948 course was the 20-year old Diether de la Motte, studying at the Nordwestdeutsche Akademie in Detmold. See Dieter de la Motte, '1948 in Bayreuth', and Christine Werner, 'Aus der Geschichte des Instituts', in de la Motte (ed.), *Neue Musik – Quo vadis? 17 Perspektiven* (Mainz: Schott, 1988), pp. 162-5, 166-72.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 167.

⁷¹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/334-2/4, Ralph A. Burns, 'Review of Activities for the Month of June 1949'.

⁷² *Down in the Valley* had previously been performed in over 50 schools in the US; 'Notizen', *Melos* 15/12 (December 1948), p. 349.

⁷³ Erich Valentin, 'Jugend und neue Musik. 3. Bayreuther Arbeitstagung', *ZfM* 111/7 (July 1950), p. 384; Gertrud Runge, 'Zuflucht bei der Phantasie. Ergebnisse der Bayreuther Tagung "Jugend und neue Musik"', *Die Zeit*, 15 June 1950.

⁷⁴ Werner, 'Aus der Geschichte des Instituts', pp. 168-9; Helga de la Motte-Haber and Julia Gerlach (eds.), *Vom Singen und Spielen zur Analyse und Reflexion. 50 Jahre Darmstädter Institut für Neue Musik und Musikforschung* (Hofheim: Wolke, 1996), p. 22.

⁷⁵ Lutz Lesle, 'Lieder, Klangsysteme und Webmuster. Zum Tode des Komponisten und Theoretikers Jens Rohwer', in Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesbibliothek (ed.), *Jens Rohwer 1914 -1994. Eine Gedenkschrift* (Kiel: Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesbibliothek, 1998), p. 11; 'Musizierwoche für Neue Musik', *Musica* 5/4 (April 1951), pp. 161-2; Josef Marein, 'Was ist ein neues Musikstück wert? Theorie und Praxis des Barsbütteler Komponistentreffens', *Die Zeit*, 14 February 1952.

had been members of the SA.⁷⁶ Then on 1 June 1948, Höffer was appointed as head of the main Musikhochschule, as Bennedik's successor. In October, Blacher, Borries and Puchelt also received positions there, followed by Tiessen in April 1949. The Musikinstitut was no longer viable without these people, especially during a period of currency reform and hardships in the divided city, and closed that year.⁷⁷

In March 1947 Newell Jenkins, faced with declining power over musical life in the US Zone, and somewhat frustrated by aloof attitudes from German audiences towards performances of American music, started a new scheme. Based upon a series of the same name created by Virgil Thomson's friend Chick Austin in Hartford, Connecticut in 1928,⁷⁸ Jenkins established a series of concerts entitled 'Friends and Enemies of Modern Music' in the Amerika-Haus in Stuttgart, featuring two American works in each event.⁷⁹ These events, which were presented to select audiences of professionals (in venues seating only 40 guests), were preceded by lectures and followed by open discussions of the works.⁸⁰ Musical excerpts were played again during the discussions, and the series was specifically designed 'to be as snobbish as possible',⁸¹ which made the events much sought-after.⁸² Evarts was inspired by Jenkins' example, so he and others founded further chapters of the series in Karlsruhe, Munich, Heidelberg, Bremen, Ulm, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Bamberg, Coburg, Regensburg and Würzburg.⁸³

⁷⁶ Linde Höffer, 'Gespräche', p. 327.

⁷⁷ Fischer-Defoy, "*Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein*", p. 318.

⁷⁸ Steven Watson, *Prepare for Saints: Gertrude Stein, Virgil Thomson, and the Mainstreaming of American Modernism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 112, 160.

⁷⁹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-2/10, Evarts to Chief of Division, ICD, OMGUS, 9 May 1947. The exact date of the first event in March is not clear from the reports. However, a subsequent event took place on 27 March, so it must have been before this. See IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-2/19, Frank, 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 18 March to 1 April 1947'. This event featured quartets of Quincy Porter and Frederick Jakobi, and was reviewed in Alex Eisenmann, 'Neuer amerikanische Musik', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 5 April 1947.

⁸⁰ Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 122; Bausch, *Kulturpolitik*, p. 137.

⁸¹ OMGUS 12/91-2/4, 'History of Theater and Music Control Branch Wuerttemberg-Baden', cited in Steiert, 'Zur Musik- und Theaterpolitik in Stuttgart während der Besatzungszeit', p. 63.

⁸² Bausch, *Kulturpolitik*, p. 137.

⁸³ IfZ/OMGUS 5/348-1/7, Frank, 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 10 April to 24 April 1947'; 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 24 April to 7 May 1947'; Frank, 'Bi-weekly report on Theater & Music for period 11 March 1948 to 25 March 1948'; GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, 'The last two years', undated; IfZ OMGUS 10/48-1/5, Evarts, 'Weekly Report', 6 June 1947; 'Semi-monthly Summary for Period from 1 July 1947 through 15 July 1947', 18 July 1947; 'Bi-Weekly Report', 21 June 1947; 'Semi-monthly Summary for Period from 27 June 1947 through 10 July 1947', 3 July 1947; IfZ CO/435/1, William C. Rogers, Chief, FTM Branch, 'Cumulative Quarterly History covering period 1 July – 30 September 1947', 15 October 1947; BHA OMGBY 10/48-1/3, Walter Behr, 'Monthly Summaries for Period from 22 December 1947 through 26 January 1948', 28 January 1948; Monod, *Settling Scores*, p. 122; Ernst Kapp, 'Drei Jahre neue Musik in Ulm', *Melos* 16/7-8

The series received much publicity and was popular, including among young people, and one Stuttgart report on musical reeducation argued that it had gained ‘stature and respect’ for American music. The society in Stuttgart formed the nucleus of the 1947 *Zeitgenössische Musiktage*,⁸⁴ the programming of which otherwise resembles various festivals from 1946 (see Appendix 5q), with the notable exception of a concluding concert of jazz given by Gene Hammers and his orchestra.⁸⁵ Even after Jenkins had returned to the US, leaving Castello to take over Friends and Enemies, the series remained a primary objective of T&M.⁸⁶

Otherwise, both the American and French occupiers continued their cultural programmes. Berlin ICD produced a book about 98 American composers and their works,⁸⁷ while writings of Virgil Thomson, Aaron Copland and Elliott Carter were translated to help promote American music.⁸⁸ There were 450 performances of American compositions in Germany from July 1947 to June 1948 (Barber’s *Adagio* by some measure the most played of all), in large measure down to the efforts of ICD,⁸⁹ and an official touring programme for US artists began in April 1948, funded by private donations, beginning with violinist Patricia Travers, and including Leonard Bernstein.⁹⁰ The music section of OMGUS moved their headquarters from Berlin to Bad Nauheim, taking many scores with them, and established an independent US Music Library in Frankfurt in the spring of 1949.⁹¹ They also gave other direct funding to German musical institutions, with the largest amount granted being 4200 DM for Hartmann’s *Musica Viva* between October 1948 and October 1949.⁹²

Yet the long-term impact of the American musical programme is questionable, once the US authorities stopped or wound down their activities. An article by Everett

(July-August 1949), p. 212. The programmes for the Nuremberg series are in the *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 5 July 1947, 14 January and 14 February 1948.

⁸⁴ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, The last two years, undated; Quarterly History Report, January, February, March 1947, 16 May 1947.

⁸⁵ On the earlier reputation of Hammers’ orchestra in Heidelberg, see Michael Kater, ‘New Democracy and Alternative Culture: Jazz in West Germany after the Second World War’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 52/2 (2006), p. 176.

⁸⁶ GLAK/OMGUS 12/90-3/2, Castello, Objectives for the Fourth Quarter 1947, 7 October 1947; Castello, Objectives for the First Quarter 1948, 8 January 1948.

⁸⁷ *98 Amerikanische Komponisten und Ihre Werke in der Interalliierten Musik-Leihbibliothek im Haus der ehemaligen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin: Information Control Division, 1947).

⁸⁸ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 21.

⁸⁹ Warkentin, *History of US Information Control*, pp. 191-2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 190; ‘Notizen’, *Melos* 15/8-9 (August-September 1948), p. 248; Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 22-3.

⁹¹ IfZ/OMGUS 5/291-3/8, ‘Theater and Music Program’, 22 July 1949.

⁹² Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 31.

Helm published in 1950 noted that not a single piece of American music was played by any of 35 different West German orchestras,⁹³ and I have not seen much evidence of the work of Piston, Schuman, Porter, Thompson, Hanson et al having achieved a regular place in German concert programming. That situation would change with the arrival of John Cage in the 1950s, but that lies outside the scope of this study.⁹⁴

The French occupation was considerably more culturally successful. Writing in April 1948, Arnaud declared his happiness at the way a special place had been found in broadcasting for composers like Debussy, Ravel, Roussel, Honegger and Milhaud.⁹⁵ An American article published the following year also noted the success of the French cultural programme, though claiming (seemingly enviously) a traditional admiration on the part of Germans living along the Rhine and Baden for French culture, as well as wider economic and other ties.⁹⁶ Antoine Goléa lectured on French music in Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Marburg, Kassel and Darmstadt in 1949 (thus outside of the French Zone), and apparently the lectures were well-received by both public and press.⁹⁷

People

Fortner continued to thrive as a leading figure of a middle generation, played widely at new music events, as did Hartmann and Blacher, and the older composers Orff and Egk. Heiß remained marginal (beyond Heidelberg and Darmstadt), as increasingly did Pepping, Reutter and others. Henze was the most successful composer of the new generation, joined from around 1949 by Giselher Klebe (1925-2009), following the premiere of his Sonata for two pianos (1949) in Braunschweig that year, and then *Die Zwitschermaschine* (1949-50) in Donaueschingen in 1950. Henze and Klebe remained dominant in West German musical life at least until the mid-1950s, even after Henze gradually incorporated dodecaphony (like his teacher Fortner) from his *Kammersonate* for piano trio (1948, rev. 1963) onwards. This technique played a

⁹³ Everett Helm, 'Music in Occupied Germany', *Musical America* 70/3 (February 1950), p. 219, cited in Toby Thacker, 'Playing Beethoven like an Indian', in Dominic Geppert (ed.), *The Postwar Challenge: Cultural, Social and Political Change in Western Europe, 1945-1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 378.

⁹⁴ This is traced in detail in Beal, *New Music, New Allies*.

⁹⁵ Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, p. 28.

⁹⁶ Percy W. Bidwell, 'Re-Education in Germany: Emphasis on Culture in the French Zone', in *Foreign Affairs: an American Quarterly Review* 27/1-4, pp. 78-85 (quotation from p. 84).

⁹⁷ IfZ/OMGUS 5/334-2/4, Ralph A. Burns, 'Review of Activities for the Month of June 1949'.

major part, in a neo-Bergian manner, in works such as *Apollo et Hyazinthus* (1948-49) or the opera *Boulevard Solitude* (1950).

The avant-gardists of the same generation – Stockhausen, Gottfried Michael Koenig, Dieter Schnebel or Josef Anton Riedl – remained on the fringes of German musical life for a period, alongside their counterparts from other countries such as Boulez, Pousseur, Maderna or Nono. Their work remained contentious, as is clear from reading many reviews and accounts of first performances, and only gained some degree of acceptance after repeated programming from Steinecke at Darmstadt, Eimert in Cologne, and to an extent Strobel in Baden-Baden/Donaueschingen and Hübner in Hamburg. Of the German avant-gardists of that generation, only Stockhausen would develop a sustained international reputation. Henze's reputation in Germany never disappeared, notwithstanding his repeated claims of marginalization by the avant-garde.⁹⁸ Klebe concentrated intensively on opera from the mid-1950s, and was very successful in this medium, though it took him further away from the new music world with which he had been associated. Neither Klebe, Egk, Fortner nor Blacher gained a sustained following outside of Germany, though Orff's reputation remained secure, albeit overwhelmingly on the basis of *Carmina Burana*. The slightly older B.A. Zimmermann was more of a slow developer, moving between a variety of idioms (and also composing a considerable amount for film and radio) before finding a clearer voice in the late 1950s.

At Radio Frankfurt, Winfried Zillig became the second most important conductor of the orchestra after Schröder in August 1947, and also directed the music section of the radio from 1947 to 1951.⁹⁹ As conductor and pianist, he performed a numerous works of Schoenberg, and an eclectic range of other modern composers, as well as of course his own music.¹⁰⁰ He also had some success with his opera *Troilus and Cressida*, commissioned by the Düsseldorf opera house and premiered there in 1951.¹⁰¹

Stuckenschmidt took a position teaching at the Technische Hochschule in 1948, and also expanded his relationship with many individuals from or in the US,

⁹⁸ For one critical perspective on Henze's self-presentation, see Ingo Kovács, 'Neue Musik abseits der Avantgarde? Zwei Fallbeispiele', in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne II*, pp. 13-62.

⁹⁹ Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio*, p. 189; Gradenwitz, *Schoenberg und seine Meisterschüler*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁰ Henke, 'Ein Freund! Ein guter Freund?', p. 205; Lemmerich, *Zillig*, pp. 168-70.

¹⁰¹ *Ein Theater macht Geschichte. 100 Jahre Düsseldorfer Opernhaus – Vom Stadttheater zur Deutschen Oper am Rhein* (Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, 1975), p. 38; Schieffer and Müller, *Neue Musik in Düsseldorf seit 1945*, p. 10.

travelling there in early 1949 to study its musical life and report back for German publications such as the *Neue Zeitung*. There he met Edgard Varèse and John Cage.¹⁰² He remained a ‘local employee’ of HICOG until 1955, when the Berlin edition of the *Neue Zeitung* was discontinued,¹⁰³ but remained a major journalistic presence, publishing numerous accessible books and collections of essays on new music. Steinecke, Eimert, Mersmann, Hartmann and Hübner all consolidated the positions they had obtained in the early years.

Conclusion

The period from May 1945 until around December 1946, saw the crucial foundations laid for a lasting infrastructure for new music in the Western zones of Germany. The ubiquitous concept and rhetoric of *Nachholbedarf* was widely accepted by many – including many cultural officers working for the occupying powers – and on the back of this lasting decisions were made in terms of institutions (especially radio stations), programming and appointments.

The music most regularly performed, composed and generally favoured during this period comes out of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the 1920s, if one takes a broad view of this to encompass the primitivist Stravinskian work of Orff as well as that of Hindemith. Hindemith was undoubtedly the favoured composer, viewed as a type of aesthetic martyr following the affair around *Mathis*, and played almost everywhere, nearly as often as Mendelssohn. Of the next generation, the favoured composer was Wolfgang Fortner, despite his record during the Third Reich, then of the younger generation Hans Werner Henze, not least due to the support of Fortner. All of these composers’ music was presented as the antithesis of that of the previous 12 years, however questionable such a claim might be. There was some renewed interest in Schoenberg and others around him, but this was occasional and mostly came from a relatively small number of those with long-term connections to the senior dodecaphonist, such as Rufer, Stuckenschmidt, Zillig and a few others. Internationalisation was welcomed, providing new opportunities for all the occupying powers to push the music from their own countries.

¹⁰² Thacker, ‘Playing Beethoven like an Indian’, p. 380; Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, pp. 42-4.

¹⁰³ Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, p. 44.

The period from 1947 to 1951 mostly consisted of an extension and expansion of what had been achieved, with a few additional developments, not least the re-entry of Germany to the ISCM. By the end of this period, a solid infrastructure had been established, consisting of a whole series of festivals and concert series featuring international new music, several dedicated journals (*Melos* in particular, but also *Musica*, and *Das Musikleben*, all launched soon afterwards and with generous coverage of new music)¹⁰⁴ and educational institutions in which such work was taught and encouraged. The role of the radio stations, who through their nature of their funding could weather some economic fluctuations, was vital, and most of the most durable festivals and series in operation from the early 1950s onwards - including *Musica viva* in both Munich and Heidelberg, *Das neue Werk* in Hamburg, *Musik der Zeit* in Cologne, the *Donaueschinger Musiktage*, the *Tage zeitgenössischer Musik* in Stuttgart, as well as later series in Stuttgart, Berlin, Hanover and Bremen – were all either organised or strongly backed by radio stations.

This situation did not however fundamentally differ in type from that which existed during the Weimar Republic, and which even to a reduced extent continued through the Third Reich. Furthermore, many of the regional centres for new music after 1945 had already established themselves as such between 1918 and 1933, such as Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Munich, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden (not really Darmstadt, though it was already a major centre for contemporary art in the earlier period), and then later others such as Essen, Münster and Braunschweig during the Third Reich. Stuckenschmidt, Strobel, Mersmann and to some extent Eimert and Heiß had all been major protagonists in the aesthetic debates of the 1920s, even if they did not then have the sort of institutional power and stability they gained after 1945.

Nonetheless, there were important differences. Weimar musical culture was as unstable as everything else during that historical period, and new music societies and festivals came and went, with only a few (such as that in Cologne) lasting the course. It was only really during the 1924-29 period that new musical and institutional developments gained some traction. At the same time (and for not unrelated reasons) the aesthetic developments of the Weimar era embodied a more radical break with

¹⁰⁴ There was also a journal edited by Stuckenschmidt and Rufer, *Stimmen*, of which 19 issues appeared from 1947 to 1950, and featured plenty of important articles on new music, but this did not last beyond this point.

and explicit antagonism towards pre-war traditions than was the case after 1945. No organization, not even the Kulturbund, was so explicitly devoted to revolutionary aesthetic change as was the Novembergruppe, and while many post-1945 figures wished to distance themselves clearly from the Nazi era, it was rare to find a similar attitude towards Weimar Germany. Rather, the post-1945 period was a period of consolidation of some of the achievements of that time.

Of the composers active in the 1920s, Schoenberg, Hindemith, Krenek, Weill, Toch, Eisler and Wolpe were all in the United States in 1945; only Eisler would return, and then to the Soviet Zone. Certain developments with which they were associated, including mechanical instruments, the *Zeitoper*, and the influence of jazz, did not make any major come-back in post-1945 Germany. Blacher, and later B.A. Zimmermann, did draw upon jazz, but they were outliers in this respect.

Mechanisation would become a factor again in the 1950s through the growth of electronic music, but less so mechanical instruments, while Wolpe, Stuckenschmidt and Hindemith's use of records as a means of composition was closer to the work of Schaeffer and Henry in Paris than that of most figures working in Germany.

One might view the period from 1945 to 1951 in Western Germany simply as a type of interregnum which bridges the Weimar avant-garde of 1918-33 with the post-war avant-garde from 1951 onwards. But this view is simplistic and requires historiographical assumptions which were only firmly established in the 1970s, overly privileging music composed or performed during the 1950s associated with the most radical approaches to composition. Whilst a perfectly acceptable aesthetic preference, historically this gives only a narrow and partial view of musical activity in West Germany during that period. In Donaueschingen in 1957, Nono's *Varianti* and Henze's *Nachtstücke und Arien* were both premiered in the same concert, and the vast majority of reviews praised the Henze effusively whilst disparaging the Nono.¹⁰⁵ The opening night of the Ferienkurse in Darmstadt 1956 featured not Stockhausen or Boulez, but Ravel's *L'enfant et les sortilèges* and Orff's *Catulli carmina*.¹⁰⁶ There was a fair amount of radical music played there as well, but also works of Stravinsky, Honegger, Hindemith, Bartók and Milhaud. In the *Tage der Neuen Musik Hannover*

¹⁰⁵ A large collection of such reviews is kept in the SWF-Archiv.

¹⁰⁶ Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* III, pp. 577-82.

in 1960, one concert featured orchestral music of Ravel, Roussel, Frank Martin and Henze, another Dallapiccola, Shostakovich, Webern and Hindemith.¹⁰⁷

Instead, I would view the 1945-51 period as one which established ‘new music’ as a secure realm of activity in West Germany, and as such enabled an avant-garde to grow as one particular development amongst others. Such an avant-garde involved composers of many nationalities and was not primarily German. Without the possibilities available in Germany, it is debatable whether Boulez, Nono, Maderna, Mauricio Kagel, György Ligeti – or John Cage and Morton Feldman - would have achieved the reputation that they did. Parallel or connected infrastructures would certainly emerge in time in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Finland and elsewhere, but the West German scene was in place well before these.

Equally significant is the fact that the aesthetic climate was favourable to types of objectivism and relatively hostile to German romanticism and expressionism, providing the ideal context for an international avant-garde who would exploit the technical innovations of Schoenberg and others, but had little interest in their expressive baggage. Hindemith and Boulez might have little in common (and neither would have thanked anyone who suggested otherwise, though Strobel championed both), but a musical culture in which Hindemithian objectivism was a norm was one more potentially hospitable towards Boulez’s assault on reified expressive norms, or Stockhausen’s early pointillism, than one dominated by the aesthetics of Wagner, Strauss or even Schoenberg.

The four occupying powers all played their part in creating the infrastructure and aesthetic climate: of the three Western Allies, the French had the most impact, the British the least. Cologne, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Braunschweig and some other cities in the Rhine-Ruhr region may have become important centres for new music, but in many ways this was due to factors other than British policy, except in Hamburg. The US forces concentrated upon the key cities of Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich, with some success, whilst also doing important work in other places such as Heidelberg or Nuremberg. Darmstadt was not a priority at least at first; while the actions of Helm may have helped the courses to continue through a difficult period, the role of the US authorities in shaping their nature and direction was minimal. In Berlin in particular, the US was at first forced into some competition with the Soviets, but the implications

¹⁰⁷ *Tage der Neuen Musik, 40 Jahre Tage der Neuen Musik Hannover*, p. 21.

of cultural policy were mostly specific to that city. There is little evidence to suggest that later Cold War competition fueled other policies for new music, compared to concerns about denazification and convincing Germans of the seriousness of the US as a nation of culture. The later activities in Germany of organisations such as Nabokov's Congress for Cultural Freedom were relatively slight, despite Nabokov's having served as an intelligence officer in occupied Berlin.

The French authorities concentrated their cultural programme in a few places, and made their shrewdest decision in appointing Francophile Strobel, for whom there was little conflict between the French cultural agenda and what he had always believed. Composers like Debussy, Ravel, Milhaud, Honegger and Messiaen generated real interest and enthusiasm from German audiences in a way that most British and US composers did not. If the original intention of the French forces was to supersede Germany as the leading cultural nation in Europe, this was quickly dropped in favour of cooperation and reconciliation in many cultural and other fields.¹⁰⁸ The new French-German rapport, bringing to an end over a century of bitter animosity, led amongst other things to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 to get around French claims towards control of the Ruhr. It was no less fundamental to music, from the festivals in Überlingen and Konstanz onwards, and can be viewed as a defining attribute of post-war West German new music.

None of this would have been the same were it not for the recent Nazi and wartime past and the experience of occupation. Nor would Weimar culture have been the same without defeat in World War One and failed revolutionary aspirations which became sublimated into culture. While the composers of the avant-garde came from many countries, they found a supportive environment in West Germany, as a result of the infrastructure and aesthetic climate which had been created to enable Nachholbedarf and also service the cultural agendas of the occupying powers.

¹⁰⁸ This subject has been much studied and written about in a broader cultural context: some significant studies include Mehdorn, *Französische Kultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*; Victoria Zined-Brand, *Deutsche und französische auswärtige Kulturpolitik. Eine vergleichende Analyse* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999); Michael Grunewald, Hans-Jürgen Lüssenbrink, Reiner Marcowitz and Uwe Puschner (eds.), *France-Allemagne au XXe siècle – la production de savoir sur l'autre/Deutschland und Frankreich im 20. Jahrhundert – akademische Wissensproduktion über das andere Land*, four volumes (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011-14); Bernard de Montferrand and Jean-Louis Thiérot, *France-Allemagne. L'heure de vérité* (Paris: Tallandier, 2011); and various essays in Carine Germond and Henning Türk (ed.), *A History of Franco-German Relations in Europe: From "Hereditary Enemies" to Partners* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Nicole Colin, Corine Defrance, Ulrich Pfeil and Joachim Umlauf (eds.), *Lexikon der deutsch-französischen Kulturbeziehungen nach 1945* (Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2013).

Without these conditions, it is questionable whether the avant-garde would have gained the traction it did. This is, I believe, a more convincing explanation for the relative success of the avant-garde and 'new music' as a distinct musical culture, than the Cold War arguments mentioned in the Introduction. This interpretation of the relative success of the avant-garde and 'new music' as a distinct musical culture draws fundamentally on considerations well over and beyond the narrow intentions and desires of individual composers, and historical processes which cannot be explained solely in terms of simple teleological 'progress' (just as much as those processes overestimated through the Cold War interpretation I essentially reject). As such, writing over 70 years since the end of the war, one might consider in what sense this culture of 'new music', a product of a very particular set of historical and political circumstances, remains equally appropriate for the present day?