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THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON GERMAN CULTURAL LIFE
DURING THE THIRD REICH, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE
TO OPERA

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Submitted for the degree of M.Mus. at the University of Durham by

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February 1983



20. AUG. 1984

ABSTRACT

One of Hitler's intentions on acceding to power was to formulate a new cultural policy which would be fit to represent his new Reich. He never succeeded in this aim, and this thesis sets out to examine the reasons for his failure.

Firstly, it places the efforts of the Nazis in the cultural sphere in the context of the cultural climate of Germany as a whole, and also in relation to the developments and trends which had taken place during the Twenties.

Secondly, the genre of opera is considered in relation to the social and political climate of the time. When the Nazis came to power, many artists - a lot of them Jewish - either left Germany of their own accord or were driven out. This was the first step in the Nazis' purging of the arts. They then fiercely supported the operas they felt were representative of their new regime, whilst at the same time organising exhibitions to denigrate all foreign, Jewish and avant garde art.

The Nazis encouraged composers to write operas with specific themes and on certain styles, and these are examined, as, too, is the role of Wagner, his influence, and position in Nazi ideology. This study concentrates on the situations in the various opera houses during the Thirties, and specifically on those composers who decided to remain, and in most cases continue their careers, in Germany during the Thirties, noting why some were successful, and the reasons why others came into conflict with the regime.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Political and Cultural Situation during the 1920s - The Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic was declared by the Social Democrats on 9 November 1918, immediately after the war. Germany was at that time in a very weakened position - it had lost millions of pounds because of the war, and was unable to pay its reparations. The years between 1919 and 1923 were extremely troubled and since the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles, there had been much propaganda against the Republic, and even plots for the restoration of the monarchy. On account of the non-payment of reparations, in December 1922 the Reparations Commission officially declared that Germany had failed to meet her obligations, and in January 1923 a French-Belgian contingent occupied the Ruhr to operate the mines and industries on behalf of the victorious powers. This resulted in further strained relationships within Germany and began to strengthen the already pervasive distrust of the Weimar Republic.

During 1923 Hitler began to emerge as a strong political figure. In July 1919 he had joined an anti-semitic, socialist, right-wing group, which by 1920 was called the National Socialist German Workers' Party (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei, N.S.D.A.P.). The uprisings, which consisted of speeches against the Republic and particularly against the Jews, collapsed in 1923 and around this time a calm seemed to emerge when the 'Dawes Plan' was accepted. The plan proposed evacuation of the Ruhr and was accepted by the German government, the French troops having moved out entirely by July 1925. It was about this time that people reckoned the 'Golden Twenties' had



arrived.

The opponents of the Weimar Republic however, were a serious and dangerous undercurrent to the general prosperity. The first Nuremberg Party Rally to be held by the Nazis was in August 1927 and there they expounded their theories on race and called for a purge of the German soul and body politic. By the end of the Twenties Germany's economic situation was becoming increasingly unstable - unemployment rose and tax-collections declined. The situation was aggravated by the world economic crisis and in 1929 when the Stock Market on Wall Street collapsed, the Weimar coalition was dead.

The Nazis seized their opportunity and made no secret of their plans for the future. Led by Goebbels, they spoke out against republicans, democrats, Jews and Communists and attempted to create a 'national' front against Bolshevism. Although Hitler stood for President in the early Thirties, Hindenburg was re-elected. In the 1932 elections, however, the Nazis scored a victory and von Papen, the German Governor at that time, was prepared to negotiate with Hitler in order to take the Nazis into his government. Supposing that he might be able to 'use' Hitler, von Papen persuaded Hindenburg to make Hitler Chancellor of Germany and from that moment onwards, Hitler and his National Socialist Party began to seize power.

In discussing the Weimar Republic it is important to reflect on the views of the 'left' and 'right' political parties of the time, as both held very strong views on the subject of art and its future in Germany.

The left-wing advocated discussion and debate on the subject of culture and in general attempted to adopt a humanistic attitude on such fronts as capital punishment and sexual freedom. Among their number were thousands of radical journalists, writers and artists, mainly from the middle-class, with a strong Jewish element. The optimism of the right, on the other hand, was fraught with extreme caution and scepticism. 'For them the manifestations of the new spirit were a betrayal of the national values and the German tradition, were degeneracy, Kulturbolschewismus.'¹ The two camps tended to isolate themselves from each other and as Walter Laqueur says,² 'Just as a man of the right would not dream of attending a performance of a Krenek opera, not to mention one of the plays staged by Piscator, a left-wing intellectual would take no interest in right-wing literature about the war.'

The Weltbühne was the most influential journal of the non-partisan left intelligentsia led by Kurt Tucholsky. It was founded before the first World War and was devoted to the theatre and related arts. In the 1920s, like the Zeitschrift für Musik, it began to become political in character. The journal attacked Social Democratic Leaders not just for their political mistakes, but for their personal shortcomings as well and its attitude towards Nazism was totally negative. Jews were involved with the Weltbühne, both on the editorial and publishing side and they were well-represented in most other fields of learning, literature and the arts. Indeed without them 'Weimar Culture' would have been very poor indeed.

1 Walter Laqueur, Weimar, A Cultural History 1918-1933 (London, 1974), 36

2 Ibid, 42.

The right-wing used the fact that there were so many Jews in key positions at this time to explain the cultural decay and moral disintegration which they believed was taking place within the Weimar Republic. Alfred Rosenberg held the view that Bolshevism was the revolt of racially inferior elements against Aryans and that Kulturbolschewismus was therefore its equivalent in the cultural sphere. The right-wing was consequently very keen to support any purge of German art from its foreign influences. Psychoanalysis, which had become fashionable after the war, was denounced by the right-wing as undermining national values. The Psychoanalytical Institute in Berlin became independent in 1920, a decisive step towards creating a body of well-trained analysts. One of the most radical psychoanalysts was Wilhelm Reich, who 'attempted to establish a synthesis between Marxism and psychoanalysis, denouncing the death-wish as a product of the capitalist system.'³ In 1933 this 'Jewish Science' as it was labelled, was condemned by the Nazis, who regarded psychoanalysis as an abomination. Many analysts were forced to leave Germany at this time, their institutes being closed down and their publications curtailed. Einstein's theories were attacked by several German scientists simply on the grounds that he was Jewish. During the Twenties journalists with National Socialist tendencies began to publish blacklists of scholars, writers and artists, and books by left-wing or pacifist authors were on occasion removed from public libraries. There was a general swing towards the right, some Jewish and left-wing editors being dismissed, proving the stupidity of the suggestion which appeared in the Weltbühne that Hitler should be given power so that the Nazis would reveal their incompetence. The Nazis were described at that time as being 'a party of effeminate cowards, a bunch

3 Ibid., 215

of lunatics and criminals who, in the final analysis, had no chance of success.⁴

The end of the 1914-18 war had seen the demise of authoritarianism in many spheres and the ensuing liberating influence released creative impulses which manifested themselves, particularly in the arts, as a series of experiments. The avant-garde, however, aroused as much hostility as it did interest and as early as 1920 Arthur Schnitzler's play Der Reigen provoked legal proceedings on grounds of alleged immorality. Walter Hasenclever also faced Court proceedings for 'undermining Christian values' in his play Marriages are made in Heaven,⁴ and Erwin Piscator's presentation of The Good Soldier Schweik by the Czech Jaroslav Hasek was cited as constituting the most outrageous affront to patriotism. Theatre performances were also the cause of riots, especially plays such as Ernst Toller's Hinkemann (1923) and Carl Zuckmayer's Happy Vineyard. Danton's Death by Georg Büchner had to be removed from the repertoire in 1924 because audiences had threatened violence when the orchestra played the Marseillaise as part of the play's incidental music.

The Jews, on account of their internationalism, were obviously unwelcome during the wave of Nationalism which swept throughout the Weimar Republic. Grunberger says,⁵ 'The Jews became the embodiment, on a scale unprecedented in history, of every evil besetting State and society in the final stage of the Weimar Republic.' They were blamed for the phase of experimentation during the Twenties and for a variety of other ills such as the detailed reporting of murder trials and for

4 Richard Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (London, 1971), 27.

5 Ibid., 31.

cultivating the smoking habit among women. In actual fact, the main charge against the Jews was that they dominated such professions as banking, business, brokerage, money-lending and cattle trading.

On 9 November 1918 a 'Council of Intellectuals' was convened which demanded the abolition of all academic institutions and the nationalisation of all theatres. Art, they said, should be brought to the people and the world thereby could be changed. The main avant-garde artists who attended this meeting were Expressionists, and although all the features characterising Expressionism had existed well before the war, the emphasis on the role of politics in the arts was not as strong at that time. One of Expressionism's strongest tendencies was a search for roots and a desire to return to origins. It is not difficult, therefore, to see that with such tenets as these, together with the fact that Expressionists wished art to be brought to the people, at least a few of the artists of this movement were bound to be converted to Nazism in due course - one such being Hanns Johst. The majority of Expressionists nevertheless were and remained unpolitical, for example Benn, Nolde and Barlach, and they were later rejected and persecuted by the Nazis on the grounds that their art was not in accordance with Nazi aesthetic ideals.

It may be said that generally speaking the literature written during the war and its immediate aftermath could be labelled Expressionist, and that written during the years of the Weimar Republic, Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity). The term was coined by G.F. Hartlaub in 1925 when he used it in the title of an exhibition of neo-realistic

painting at Mannheim, and it was really a period of reassessment after the crazy dreams of the Expressionist period. Most of the writers of this time were left-wing to varying degrees, Links wo das Herz ist,⁶ fascinated with urban and industrial life, some even becoming Marxists and joining the K.P.D. (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, the German Communist Party). The Neue Sachlichkeit movement was inaugurated in the mid-Twenties by Joseph Roth, Bertolt Brecht, Erich Kastner and Hermann Kester, and it was in the words of one of its members,⁷ 'in contrast to the simplifying pathos-mongers (abstrahierenden Pathetiker) of the Expressionist movement, made up of complete ironists, embittered critics of the ruling society, pure satirists and Voltaireans.' They felt their task was to expose the injustices and hypocrisies of their time and some very powerful literature came out of their convictions, such as Berlin Alexanderplatz and Fabian. In contrast to the Expressionists, they were on the whole very pessimistic, and innovation was in a documentary form, the writer viewing himself as an editor rather than a creator.

A very interesting and thought-provoking prelude to the years of the Third Reich was provided by the figure of George Grosz, whose art, perhaps more than that of anyone else during this period, was inextricably bound up with politics. Born in Berlin in 1893, 'His art was oriented towards expressing his disgust, disdain and hatred of men'.⁸ Grosz's major theme was the 'exploitation of the worker by the alliance of military and capital under the blessing of the republic.'⁹ One of Grosz's drawings (January 1925) depicts an old cripple with a pedlar's tray around his neck and a dog behind him. The drawing was dedicated

6 'Left where the heart is', the title of Leonhard Frank's memoir-novel (Munich, 1963), referred to in Gordon Craig 'Engagement and Neutrality in Weimar Germany', Journal of Contemporary History, vol. II (April 1967), 49-63.

7 Ibid., 55.

8 Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (London, 1971), 21.

9 Ibid., 85.

to the Reichspresident with the caption: 'For what I am and what I have, I thank you, my fatherland.' Grosz did not, however, attack only the ruling classes and bourgeois types, he also attacked the Novembergruppe. This was a group of artists whose social and political isolation had been broken by the 1914-18 war. Their motto was 'Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood', and they were opposed by Grosz because he felt that they had failed in upholding their own revolutionary goals.

During the Kapp Putsch in Dresden in the 1920s, bullets penetrated the Zwinger Galerie and damaged Reuben's 'Bathsheba', and Oskar Kokoschka, Professor at the Dresden Academy at that time, issued an appeal asking the townsfolk to settle their arguments elsewhere so that works of art would not be damaged. This was the very sort of attitude that incensed Grosz, he said 'sacred Possessions must be viewed in human terms, not in terms of objects which could be used for profit and speculation by the capitalist class.'¹⁰ Grosz maintained that the health and productivity of the working classes were matters of far greater importance than paintings and he urged the sale of paintings to allies in return for money for the working classes. By such extremist attitudes, Grosz was placing himself in the Marxist tradition. 'Though Marx did not deny individual creativity, he had been suspicious of exaggerated individuality in artists.'¹¹ Grosz firmly rejected the idea that art should stand as a thing apart from politics and called to artists for increased political comment. He therefore took great pains for his own works to be realistic, unsentimental and unromantic representations of the world and tried specifically to implement a Tendenzkunst. For most artists Tendenzkunst was something to be

10 Ibid., 94.

11 Ibid., 96-97.

avoided, because it reflected the Communist view that art could not exist independently of its contemporary context and that it should be politically committed, used as a tool in class warfare and also utilised as propaganda. Caricature, his main artistic form, is also a deeply serious form of social satire. It attempts not only to expose and ridicule the figureheads in society, but it also accuses the elements in society which are judged to be in need of reform. The Malik Verlag was created by Herzfelde to publish Grosz's drawings. Herzfelde was a publisher committed to Marxism. One idea which obsessed Grosz was that of the moral hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and the capitalists as he saw it, and he always represented them as debauched and decadent characters. He also attributed sexual perversion to the German middle class. His later drawings are not as revolutionary as the earlier ones and according to Beth Irwin Lewis,¹² 'Most of the books which Grosz illustrated from 1925 to 1932 were statements of weariness with the injustice and suffering and boredom of the world.' This coincided with the New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit) period in literature.

The officials, nevertheless, looked upon Grosz's work as distasteful and even offensive, and proceedings were instituted against him and three other artists at the First International Dada Fair, July and August 1920 in Berlin, which was openly political and anti-military.

One of the major tasks facing left-wing writers during the Weimar years was the need to develop a distinctive art form of their own in the struggle against capitalism and fascism. In 1925 the German Communist Party emerged as the only revolutionary alternative to the Social

12 Ibid., 181-182.

Democrats. The general aim of Communist writing was to create a literature which catered for the needs of the proletariat, revealing the truth about life in a capitalist society and reinforcing its class consciousness. Apart from its didactic purpose, however, its cultural aim was to enrich the artistic tastes of the working classes by directing them away from the prevalent cheap editions of sentimental trash. Workers were encouraged to try their hand at writing, and in 1930 the Roter Eine-Mark-Roman was launched, a series of novels written by working-class authors depicting life in factories, mines, tenements and other such locations.

The major organisational development of 1928 was the founding of the Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller, which was formed in order to develop the literary offensive of the K.P.D. and whose activities were funded directly from Moscow. The dramatist Berta Lask felt the need to emphasise the 'collective', as opposed to the individual of bourgeois literature. Her own plays depicted events in the history of the working-class movement, using large casts.

By the beginning of the Thirties a division was becoming apparent between the 'modernist' writers and those who were following the conservative Moscow line - an illustration of the wider political problem of a German Communist Party which had become dominated by Soviet inspired policies. For most literary figures, ideas for a 'proletarian art' were still very tentative, but more cogent and forceful ideas were being advanced by Bertolt Brecht, who envisaged an 'epic' theatre which would break completely with nineteenth century dramatic traditions. As

Raymond Furness describes him, ¹³

'The enfant terrible of Berlin, abrasive, cynical, witty and nonchalant in turns, deliberately rejected all the manifestations of bourgeois culture, particularly the "well-made play", but also rejected much of Expressionism, in particular its rodomontade, formlessness and pretentiousness.'

Brecht did not attempt to portray individuals struggling to communicate but instead turned towards a Marxist interpretation of human life. His greatest success was the Dreigroschenoper, which was first performed on 31 August 1928 in the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, and which in the Moritat equated capitalism with criminality.

His anti-individualism and revolutionary verve are expressed in his play Die Massnahme (The Precaution, 1930) in which a group of Communist agitators have just returned from China and explain how they were forced to kill one of their colleagues to ensure the success of their mission. 'The conflict is between the emotional humanitarianism of the individual and the unremitting logic of the faceless revolutionaries who know no loyalty except to the Party.'¹⁴ Perhaps the point the play is making is that feeling and intellect must be effectively combined if there is to be any hope of changing the present world. The anti-individualistic theme of the play determines its techniques, such as the use of masks and collective voice of the chorus representing a tribunal of the movement. The agitators take it in turns to play the part of their young comrade and to act the parts of all the other characters so none of the figures acquire personalities of their own, they are just members of the Party. What is important therefore, is

13 Raymond Furness, The Twentieth Century, 1890-1945 (London, 1978), 219.

14 C.E. Williams, Writers and Politics in Modern Germany (London, 1977), 34.

not the characters themselves but what we should learn from the didactic meaning of the story. Brecht here employs his concept of the 'epic' theatre whose task is not to involve but to demonstrate.

While not being consciously innovatory the work of Franz Kafka represents a break from the usual dimensions associated with such novelists as Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse. Although he never wrote a play the 'theatre of the absurd' would seem almost unthinkable without the example of Kafka's fiction, such was his impact on literature in Western Europe and the United States. Like Aesop's fables, Kafka's works can be read in different ways although there is usually a clearly autobiographical aspect and he is basically exploring the human condition. Danger and disaster are the major themes and along with them go fear and irrational anxiety. Henry Hatfield suggests¹⁵ that a major reason for the use of animals as protagonists in the novels - for example a huge insect, a badger, a monkey, and so on - is that their minds are entirely inaccessible to the reader. Although Kafka is often included among the Expressionists, in one important aspect the label fails to fit. 'While the Expressionist shouted, Kafka wrote prose full of "ifs" and subjunctives - the syntax of ambivalence.'¹⁶

Die Verwandlung (Metamorphosis, 1916) is perhaps Kafka's most famous novella. Here he depicts the frightening situation of Gregor Samsa - whose last name is a cipher for 'Kafka' - who awakes one morning to find himself transformed into an oversized insect. Samsa's transformation means in effect the renewed power of his father and he dies after

15 Henry Hatfield, Modern German Literature: The Major Figures in Context (London, 1966) 85.

16 Ibid., 86.

failing to adjust to the new situation, an apple thrown at him by his father and stuck rotten in his back contributing to his death. Kafka insisted that the insect should not be drawn, as that would limit and define which was counter to his purpose - he insisted that description enough was given in the first paragraph. In der Strafkolonie (In the Penal Settlement, 1919) is one of Kafka's most frighteningly effective stories. The condemned man comes to accept his fate during his twelve hours' punishment, but just before his death he experiences a moment of insight, and although he is powerless to stop the 'machinery' that will kill him, his conscience is actively revolting against it.

In Der Prozess (The Trial, 1925) as in Die Verwandlung, the story begins in the middle of events with Josef K. being arrested one morning. The opening has been interpreted as Josef K. being 'arrested' by those aspects of himself which until that time he had ignored, 'Der Prozess stands as a tortured attempt to show how man, after being given a chance to justify himself, fails, and has only himself to blame.'¹⁷ An interesting moment in the novel is when the whipper is asked why he is beating the emissaries of the court, he replies - 'I am employed as a whipper, therefore I whip',¹⁸ a foreshadowing of the stand taken by thousands during the Nazi period.

Kafka's longest novel Das Schloss (The Castle, 1926) is less complete than Der Prozess, and has often been compared to the earlier one.

'Das Schloss is concerned with the attempt to break the citadel of the ego, to come to terms with the self.'¹⁹ The events of the novel are seen from the point of view of the central figure, K., while the other

17 Furness, op. cit., 154.
 18 Hatfield, op. cit., 85.
 19 Furness, op. cit., 155.

characters give their explanations in conversations with K. of the situations both he and they have found themselves in. In different dialogues K. expresses varying opinions about himself and the other characters, and his own attitude changes during the course of the novel. The book is a whole series of ambiguities and contradictions - there is no certainty that K. is telling the truth about his past or about his status as a surveyor, and mystery surrounds most of the other characters as well, even to the extent of making us wonder whether or not they really exist. Some critics see in the work of Kafka an anticipation of the events of the Third Reich - arrest, torture and irrationality, and indeed his three sisters died in Auschwitz.

Hermann Hesse, a near contemporary of Thomas Mann, achieved fame with a series of works dating from immediately following the war. Like Mann he was deeply concerned for Germany's future, and his novels tend towards the educational. Der Steppenwolf (1927) is one of the most challenging of his novels, and his readers were especially fascinated by the psychological aspect of the book. August Closs²⁰ sums up Hesse's position thus,

'While sharing Heinrich Mann's opposition to the German government's approach to the war of 1914-18 and always distancing himself from nationalism, Hesse had a lyrically traditional and subjective style which distinguished him from the sharper critical and satirical tones of the Manns'.

Raymond Furness comments, with particular reference to the weakness of Narziss und Goldmund, on the prevalent feeling running throughout Hesse's novels,²¹ 'a scarcely understood Nietzscheanism and a predilection for

20 August Closs, Twentieth Century German Literature, vol. IV (London, 1969), 118.

21 Furness, op. cit., 217.

psychological platitudes (which) brought but little respect from writers of a tougher, more incisive temperament.' Hesse's popularity stemmed mainly from his popularisation of elements of the psychological doctrines rife at that time.

Thomas Mann was among the very few who realised the close relationship between culture and politics and he blamed his colleagues for staying aloof and refusing to explore the cross influences. During the Weimar Republic he saw a way in which culture and politics might co-exist harmoniously, but this was all shattered, of course, when National Socialism began to intervene and control the artistic output during the early Thirties. Walter Laqueur describes him as, ²²

'A conservative socialist in politics, a conservative innovator in literature, a believer in progress who drew his inspiration from Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner - the contradictions in his mental make-up were those of the culture of his time'.

In his epic novel Der Zauberberg (The Magic Mountain, 1924) the hero Hans Castorp spends seven years in a sanatorium during which time the dormant potentialities within him are realised. C.E. Williams writes²³ that Castorp 'was the symbol of a Germany faced with a choice between Western values and its own Romantic heritage, between a dark irrationalism pregnant with disaster and new, life-enhancing patterns of thought and feeling'. Mann offers no solution to the problems he discusses, but his own opinion is evident by the fact that around this time and later, he began increasingly to write in support of the Republic. He was very quick to recognise traits in the modern intelligentsia which were

22 Laqueur, op. cit., 124.

23 Williams, op. cit., 52.

subsequently susceptible to political totalitarianism - namely the rejection of individualism, the regression to the 'myth' idea, and the desire to return to roots and origins. After the crucial elections of 1930 he appealed to the German bourgeoisie to support the Social Democrats in order to check the growth of Fascism.

In his novella Mario und der Zauberer (Mario and the Magician, 1930) Mann exhibits overt anti-fascist intentions. The story is set in a seaside resort in Mussolini's Italy with an atmosphere of provincial nationalism and mass-hysteria similar to the atmosphere in Munich during the Hitler regime. The plot concerns a grotesque artiste called Cipolla whose act is a kind of psychological compensation for his physical and emotional shortcomings. He is a hypnotist and includes the audience in his act - he makes them dance like puppets at his own will. At the climax of the event the stage is filled by people who can only carry out the will of Cipolla, and he alone has the power to release them from his spell by a crack of his riding crop. The story becomes even more of a political parable as the hypnotist is eventually shot dead by one of his subjects. Throughout the story, Cipolla's asides to the audience repeatedly emphasise the problem of political power and leadership, and at one stage he even gives Mario the fascist salute in honour of the Fatherland. Cipolla's bitterness and hatred of his healthy victims makes him relish their humiliation. A few members of the audience sternly set their minds against doing Cipolla's bidding but even so they cannot resist becoming the objects of his will. Mann's explanation is that the most these unwilling spectators are able to do is to will not to do what Cipolla commands, and 'willing not to' is

not far from 'willing nothing', and therefore doing what he wills. They try to resist Cipolla's will without channelling their resistance into something else positive. Cipolla is therefore able to exploit this vagueness and lack of conviction in the very way Hitler exploited the instability of the last years of the Weimar Republic. Nevertheless, as much as his audience are dependent on him, Cipolla is emotionally dependent on his subjects. He is not a detached ruler and master but one who can only make contact with his fellow men by dominating them - a perversion of the desire to be loved. At one moment his dependence comes to the fore and his hold over the young waiter Mario slackens. Mario, out of all the victims, is the only one who remembers what happened while he was hypnotised, but unfortunately he was a far more ineffectual character than many of the others in the audience. Could he possibly be, as C.E. Williams suggests, a parallel with Goebbels 'with his club foot and hypertrophic intellect'? ²⁴

Throughout the economic troubles of the inter war period the periodical Zeitschrift für Musik struggled desperately to try and promulgate a truly 'German' music, its subtitle being - 'Combat Newspaper for German Music and Musical Culture'. The years 1924 and 1925 saw a great improvement in its fortunes and it began to establish the format it was to retain throughout the Third Reich. From 1925 onwards its stated aim was to be 'A Journal for the Spiritual Renewal of German Music', the intention being to encourage the production of a healthy type of German culture stressing the importance of differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' art. Dr. Alfred Heuss, a composer and musicologist and the editor of the Zeitschrift für Musik during the early Twenties

²⁴ Ibid., 55.

maintained that the decline of German musical culture had its roots in the music of Debussy and Stravinsky. He wrote in the journal, 'Decadence comes when a composer - or people - ceases to obey the instinct of his nation-race and strives to become international'.²⁵

The journal soon began making open and virulent attacks on Jews, condemning them for their internationality and charging them with the subversive infiltration of atonal music into Germany. With regard to the so-called 'decadence' of modern music the finger was inevitably pointed at Schönberg, and to emphasise the seriousness of the issue Heuss devoted a whole article to discussing him. During the years 1921 to 1923 many reviews of new compositions appeared in the journal, but only seven of these were reviews of works by leading 'modernist' composers; two reviews of works by Hindemith, two by Bartók, two by the Czech Alois Hába, and one by Hauer. There were no reviews of works by Schönberg, Webern or Berg, and not one of the monthly biographies, which had become a regular feature by 1929, dealt with a progressive. Moreover Heuss was outraged when in September 1925 Schönberg accepted a post as composition tutor at the Prussian Academy of the Arts, and spoke deprecatingly of the man responsible for the appointment, Leo Kestenberg, a Jew like Schönberg. The figure heads promoted by the journal were neo-romantics such as Strauss, Pfitzner and Paul Graener. A composer such as Hindemith, by contrast, was merely tolerated as a plausible innovator.

By 1929 when Gustav Bosse had taken over publication of the Zeitschrift (Heuss remained editor-in-chief) it had virtually become

25 Joel Sachs, 'Some aspects of musical politics in pre-Nazi Germany', Perspectives of New Music (Fall-Winter, 1970), 77.

a musical-political journal. Under Bosse's leadership political advertising became much more prolific in the journal and it was unique in being the only one of Germany's more important musical periodicals to accept such entries. After the 1930 elections musicians were being urged politically towards the right and the journal supported what the Nazis finally developed as the Reichsmusikkammer (Imperial Music Board), which will be discussed in greater detail later. During this time Bosse seems to have practised anti-Semitism both in his choice of material and the selection of his staff, and attacks were also made on all those who performed New Music. Otto Klemperer was the subject of virulent attacks at this time because of his work with the Kroll Opera, more about which in chapter three. The Zeitschrift für Musik strongly attacked the left, insisting that performers and composers of New Music were in the same league as jazz players. Jazz was something against which the journal raged with the greatest of fury just as the Nazis themselves were to in the Thirties. Especially loathed was the director of the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt, and, in 1927 this director - himself a Jew - offered classes in jazz, advertising his project as 'a much-needed transfusion of Negro musical blood with German'.²⁶

As far as the musical world was concerned the main accepted masters of music and theatre at this time were Richard Strauss, Pfitzner, Humperdinck, Weill and Schreker. Franz Schreker (1878-1934) was very successful as a composer in his own day and he used, and continued to use throughout the 1920s with diminishing amounts of success, a rich and highly eclectic brand of late romanticism as a vehicle for ideas which exhibit a similarity to those used by the dramatist Wedekind.

26 Ibid., 92.

After 1930 he was driven more and more into the background by the National Socialist movement and he died in Berlin at the age of fifty-six. His father was of Austro-Czech Jewish stock, his mother came from the minor aristocracy of Styria, and Franz was born in Monaco, where he spent his early childhood. His musical education included violin, organ and piano, and later encompassed duties such as church organist and conductor of orchestras and choirs. After his father's death in 1888 the family moved to Vienna, and from 1897 Schreker entered the Vienna Conservatory on a scholarship and studied composition with Robert Fuchs.

Der Ferne Klang (The Distant Sound) was begun in 1901 and finished ten years later and shows development towards an individual tonal language. The premiere of the opera in Frankfurt in 1912 was a sensational and controversial occasion. The work is remarkable for its dramatic unity in the fusion of libretto, music, setting the plot, and this conception of a total art work became a powerful factor in Schreker's creative life. With the success of this opera and his next two, Die Gezeichneten (The Branded Ones) and Der Schatzgraber (The Treasure Seeker), he was recognised as the creator of an unmistakably individual style. His fame as a teacher also began to spread and soon after the First World War he was offered the directorship of the well-known State College of Music in Berlin. He accepted the post in 1920 and remained there until 1932. Krenek, who had studied with Schreker in Vienna, came to Berlin to continue studying with him. Krenek later wrote about the intellectual climate surrounding Schreker at this time - 'These artists were interested in unusual, often eccentric subjects, not without pathological

and morbid implications. Their ideal for a work of art was of something strange, unique and free of obvious, traditional and popular features.²⁷ After Busoni's death in 1924 Schönberg took over the direction of a master class in composition at the Academy of Arts and his friendship with Schreker, which dated from before the war, now grew stronger. Schreker later appointed Hindemith, then looked upon as the leader of the young generation of musicians, as teacher of composition at the College in 1927.

Around 1930 Schreker's operas were not being so well received as previously. The music popular among the rising generation who were not influenced by political considerations was the classicism of Stravinsky or Hindemith's intellectualism, and Schreker's later works such as Der singende Teufel (The Singing Devil, 1928) or Der Schmied von Gent (The Blacksmith of Ghent, 1932) were unable to establish themselves despite their outstanding premieres in Berlin. His last opera Christphorus had been accepted by Freiburg for a first performance there in 1932, but on hearing of the plan the Nazi Press began to harass Schreker, so much so that he withdrew the work. For the same reason he resigned his post as director of the College at the end of 1932, and when he returned to Berlin from holiday in autumn 1933 he was told that he had been permanently relieved of his office. Later that year he suffered a stroke from which he never recovered. During the last months of his life he was abused by the German Press and expelled from all his posts for being half-Jewish. Almost without financial means, as his works were no longer performed in Germany, he fell mortally ill, and was often only semi-conscious until his death in 1934.

27 H.H. Stuckenschmidt, Twentieth Century Composers(2) (London, 1970), 89-90.

Apart from the second Viennese School the three leading composers during the Twenties were Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek and Kurt Weill, each very different from the other. Hindemith reacted to the cynical and satirical atmosphere of the Twenties and was extremely active throughout the decade as composer, organiser and performer. His early fame rested on chamber music, string quartets, song cycles, choral pieces and sonatas, which he helped to perform from 1921 onwards at the Festival at Donaueschingen. From 1923 onwards, his music was performed in Salzburg at the Festivals of the International Society for Contemporary Music. Between 1921 and 1923 he wrote three one-act operas whose libretti, by Oskar Kokoschka, August Stramm and Franz Blei each dealt with a sexual problem. Blei's Nusch-Nuschi with its castration scene and Tristan quotation caused a scandal at its first performance in Stuttgart. Hindemith subsequently wrote the Piano Suite 1922 with its jazz parodies, and the Kammermusik for small orchestra (Opus 24) - his title-drawing for the Piano Suite is reminiscent of the caricatures of George Grosz. Stuckenschmidt²⁸ suggests that the Nachtstück (Nocturne) in this work 'is a dark, gloomy lament, an expression of the emptiness behind the frantic quest for pleasure during the years of inflation in Germany'.

The two main operatic works of the Twenties were Cardillac (1926) and Neues vom Tage (1929). The story of Cardillac is based on E.T.A. Hoffmann's romantic tale of the goldsmith Cardillac who murdered his customers because he could not bear to part with his creations. Ferdinand Lion wrote the libretto for Hindemith. The structure of the work is a succession of musical numbers in a variety of strict polyphonic

forms, the purpose of which Hindemith saw as an attempt to objectivise the action by setting the romantic subject with a contrasting framework. His publisher Willy Strecker offered Cardillac to Erich Kleiber, the Generalmusikdirektor of the Berlin State Operas at that time. Kleiber had proposed to present the work in the Kroll Opera House, but the publishers, considering the venue unsuitable, withdrew the work. They subsequently entrusted the premiere to Fritz Busch in Dresden, with Otto Klemperer to give the second production in Wiesbaden - both were conductors to whom Hindemith had previously made vague promises of offering the work. The premiere took place on 9 November 1926 with the best singers in the Dresden Opera House taking the leading roles: Robert Burg as Cardillac and Claire Born as his daughter. There were mixed reactions from both press and public and in the next few years it was produced in many other German Opera Houses, although it failed to establish a permanent place in the regular operatic repertory.

Neues vom Tage was completed in March 1929, and immediately put into rehearsal at the Kroll Opera on 8 June of that year. This opera too elicited a very mixed reaction, but Hindemith in a letter dated 25 February 1930 to his publishers showed that he was very dissatisfied with Ernst Legal's production, 'which to put it very crudely but accurately, was a load of crap'.²⁹ The story concerns a married couple in which each is slightly tired of the other. They are finally reconciled and the moral is 'Everything changes from day to day'. In the opera the love duet is replaced by a hate duet, the wedding ensemble by a divorce ensemble, and so on. Westermann³⁰ (who incidentally cites the premiere as taking place in Frankfurt in 1930) comments that 'even the complex

29 Geoffrey Skelton, Paul Hindemith (London, 1975), 94.

30 Gerhart von Westermann, Opera Guide (London, 1964), 478.

and continually interesting twelve-tone music could not compensate for the dullness of the text'. The text was written by Marcellus Schiffer, Hindemith's librettist for Hin und Zurück. Hindemith held the conviction that an artist had a moral responsibility to society and that this opera is a satirical picture of cosmopolitan life during the Twenties. Perhaps the satirical aspect is not obvious enough, for as Skelton remarks: ³¹

'Hindemith was a man of great humour, but he lacked the quality of cynicism that is an essential part of satire'.

During the late Twenties he increasingly concerned himself with the composition of music suitable for performance by amateurs - works such as the Lehrstück (Lesson on Consent) of 1929 to a text by Brecht, in which the audience was expected to participate. Lehrstück, written for the 1929 Festival in Baden-Baden, deals with an air pilot who, injured when his plane crashes, calls on his colleagues for help. In this work the emphasis is placed on the importance of the individual. The Lehrstück caused quite a scandal at its first performance on 28 July 1929 due to a scene containing very little music. It was a sketch in which two clowns cure the aches and pains of a giant by sawing off the affected limbs one at a time. In the protesting audience were Gerhard Hauptmann and Andre Gide.

It was about this time that the various cultural representatives of the extreme political parties began to compete with each other to gain Hindemith's support. Brecht's attempts to convert him to Communism, however, were thwarted by his collaboration with the right-wing Gottfried Benn in the oratorio Das Unaufhörliche (The Perpetual) which

31 Skelton, op. cit., 94.

was completed in 1931 and first performed by Otto Klemperer on 21 November of that year. The progressive musicians in a section of the Hitler Youth were equally unsuccessful in winning Hindemith's support - Hindemith gave his point of view in writing the libretto to his opera Mathis der Maler, that of believing in the autonomy of art.

Hindemith evolved the theory of Gebrauchsmusik³² which was popular at the time, and led on years later to such works by other composers as Copland's The Second Hurricane and Britten's Let's make an opera. The series of pieces grouped under the title Gebrauchsmusik were designed, as Hindemith himself said in the preface to the printed scores which Schott's were bringing out, as 'interesting and modern practice material for those who sing and play for their own amusement or who want to perform for a small circle of similarly minded persons'.³³

A trend during the Twenties in which Hindemith participated was the so-called Zeitoper - an opera which attempted to mirror contemporary life as it was lived. His two works of this kind had libretti written by Marcellus Schiffer, a writer of revue sketches. One of them, Neues vom Tage, has already been mentioned. The other work, Hin und Zurück (There and Back), is a short piece in which both action and music go into complete reverse half way through.

Ernst Krenek's attempt at Zeitoper is exemplified by Jonny spielt auf (Jonny strikes up), which was first given in Leipzig on 10 February 1927 with enormous success. It was later translated into eighteen languages and produced in about a hundred opera houses. It made Krenek's fortune

32 'Utility Music' or 'Music to Sing and Play'.

33 Skelton, op. cit., 92-93.

for him and enabled him to retire from the Wiesbaden Opera House. The libretto, written by Krenek himself, concerns a world peopled with glamorous opera singers, violin virtuosi, jazz band leaders and composers - hardly a Zeitoper about real life as experienced by most people. Jazz elements are used to characterise the world of the negro violinist, and the music is enriched with rhythmic variations and new orchestral colours. There were riots when the opera was performed in Munich because of the resentment against the black American soldiers serving in the Rhineland. When the opera was staged in Dresden shortly after the Leipzig première, Paul Schöffler took the part of Jonny. He was engaged to a young Englishwoman who was studying in Dresden, Mary Lubbock, whose brother mischievously sent the Lubbock family a photograph of his sister's fiance in the role of Jonny, thereby causing considerable consternation until the truth was revealed!

Writing about the musical situation during the Twenties, Adolf Weissmann said of Krenek: ³⁴

'(he) is typical of the age. He is all will and brain, and sternly represses the sensuous side of his nature. His fertility is amazing He is the most uncompromising of ascetics and makes no sacrifice to grace or charm ... he has a very definite place in modern German music'.

Krenek's uncompromising attitude came to the fore at the beginning of the Thirties when his output was increasingly influenced by his opposition to the spreading fascist tendencies in Germany and Austria. Clemens Krauss, then the Generalmusikdirektor of the Vienna State

34 Adolf Weissmann, The Problems of Modern Music, trans. M.M.Borman (London, 1925), 215.

Opera, asked Krenek for a dramatic work, and the latter responded by choosing a historical subject touching on the fate of Austria, Karl V. Krenek worked on this opera from 1930 to 1933, and it is composed wholly using twelve tone technique. In Karl V the old Emperor has abdicated and retired to a monastery, where he tells his confessor his life story, the more important moments of which are depicted on stage. All these events are seen through the eyes of a man who is discontented as he feels he has failed to accomplish his mission in life. Spoken word is used in the opera together with polyphonic choruses and symphonic orchestral material.

In the opera Krenek was very concerned to carry out his belief that all artistic methods should be inherent in the work itself and not imposed as externals. The music in Karl V is interrupted by spoken word, and Krenek refers to the function of such occasions as 'the reflective question'.³⁵ He felt that the use of such a form led to a closer union with religious and spiritual motives. The première of Karl V in Vienna however was prevented by political events. Although the anschluss had not yet taken place the political outlook of the ruling parties was reactionary and opposed to any progressive thinking in the arts. Karl V was in particular opposed to every tenet of National Socialism. By the time the German Opera House in Prague first performed Karl V in 1938, Austria had already been occupied by Hitler.

Another composer who was active around this time was Kurt Weill, born in Dessau in 1900. He studied under Humperdinck and Busoni among

35 Ulrich Weisstein (Ed.), The Essence of Opera (New York, 1969) 351.

others, the latter having a great influence on him, especially in the development of his own brand of neo-classicism. His first stage work, the one-act opera Der Protagonist, was written in 1924, the year of Busoni's death. The libretto was by Georg Kaiser, one of the most frequently performed playwrights after the First World War, and is set in Shakespeare's time. The 'protagonist', the leader of a group of wandering players, murders his sister because she has fallen in love with a Duke, and this novel mixture of theatre, life and crime returns in Weill's later operas. The premiere took place at the Dresden State Opera House, conducted by Fritz Busch and produced by Joseph Gielen in March 1926, and was a great success.

Iwan Goll wrote the libretto for a ballet-opera for Weill, Royal Palace, about a rich, spoilt and misunderstood woman who, disgusted with her three lovers and life of luxury, drowns herself. This was one of the interests of opera composers during the Twenties - to present to the audience the lives of millionaires and extravaganzas usually more suited to revue or operetta style. This tendency can also be seen in Schönberg's Von Heute auf Morgen. Erich Kleiber of the Berlin State Opera, who had bravely staged the première of Wozzeck, gave the first performance of Weill's two works with librettos by Iwan Goll on 2 March 1927: New Orpheus and Royal Palace. The works were performed seven times and unfortunately aroused only a moderate amount of interest.

In 1927 Weill met the poet Bertolt Brecht. Brecht had a vital influence on Weill, and was crucial to his development as a composer -

'Without Brecht, Weill was inclined to lapse into sentimentality - a sentimentality which became highly marketable in his American years. His Brecht collaborations have a toughness and virility rather lacking elsewhere in his output'.³⁶ The five Mahagonny poems which Weill set to music, Brecht put in the framework of a Songspiel which had its first performance at the Festival of Chamber Music in Baden-Baden in June 1927. It created a sensation, partly due to Brecht's production but also because Casper Neher had designed a set consisting only of a boxing ring and men in workers' overalls carrying posters on which Socialist slogans were written. Lotte Lenya stood in the boxing ring and sang, and recalling the incident later she said,³⁷

'I shall never forget the uproar which it caused. The audience rose to its feet and shouted approval, booed and whistled, simultaneously. Brecht had given us all little whistles and we simply whistled back at them'. Perhaps the uproar was caused because the Berliners realised that in Mahagonny, a mythical city set on the Florida Gold Coast into which gullible victims were drawn and bled for what one could get out of them, they had seen their own city just as full of vice and sin.

During the second half of the Twenties Weill and Brecht, and particularly the latter, engaged themselves in a study of the existing opera of the time and decided that it needed to be brought up to the same technical level as that of the modern theatre, the modern theatre being the Epic Theatre. In Brecht's own words,³⁸ 'The intrusion of the methods of the Epic Theatre in opera leads mainly to a radical separation of the elements', and with this radical separation of

³⁶ Richard Shead, Music in the 1920s (London, 1976), 98.
³⁷ Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 142.
³⁸ Weisstein, op. cit., 339.

elements the struggle for supremacy between words, music and action can be resolved. To further clarify his meaning, Brecht goes on,³⁹ 'So long as Gesamtkunstwerk means that the integration is a muddle, so long as the arts are to be fused together, the various elements will be equally degraded, and each will act as a mere "feed" for the rest.' The form envisaged by Brecht for such an 'Epic Opera' was that of the moral tableau with a text that was neither sentimental nor moralising but which exhibited elements of both. Brecht wanted to revolutionise the social function of the theatre and work towards a time when 'illusion is sacrificed for the sake of discussion and ... the spectator, instead of being urged to have an experience, is forced to cast his vote'.⁴⁰

Die Dreigroschenoper (The Threepenny Opera) was commissioned by the producer Ernst-Josef Aufricht who presented it at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm in Berlin on 31 August 1928. The setting was nineteenth century Soho, the same setting chosen by Alban Berg for Lulu, but it was also, like Das kleine Mahagonny, a disconcerting mirror of Berlin itself. The work was an immediate success, and Weill said later,⁴¹ 'only the consistent use of a pleasing and easily assimilated type of melody made it possible to achieve what the Dreigrsochenoper succeeded X in doing: the creation of a new type of musical theatre'. Such melodies were necessary as in place of operatic sopranos and tenors who were not good actors, Weill used good actors with minimal singing ability.

During the late Twenties Weill had been working on his expansion of

39 Ibid., 339.

40 Ibid., 341.

41 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 142.

Das kleine Mahagonny into the full-length opera Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny (The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny). He completed this in 1929 and it received its première at the Neue Theater in Leipzig on 9 March 1930 in a production staged by Walter Brugmann, designed by Caspar Neher, and conducted by Gustav Brecher. On this occasion the theatre was surrounded by Brownshirts and towards the end of the opera a demonstration began which grew in violence and eventually spread to the stage. Police arrived and cleared the house and the second performance was permitted only with the house lights on and with police inside the theatre from the outset. When the opera was produced in Berlin by Ernst-Josef Aufricht in December 1931 it was extremely successful. The National Socialists, however, who were growing more and more powerful at that time, attacked the work as degenerate and the opera's Press reports were not as good as it deserved.

When the Nazis opened what they called an 'Exhibition of Degenerate Art' in Nuremberg later in the Thirties, they devoted a whole room to Weill, with a record-player dispensing his music. This became so popular with the public, who came along to hear their favourite tunes which they no longer dared to play at home, that the Nazis were obliged to close the room down.

Although the end of the first World War had left Richard Strauss in a rather unsettled frame of mind, he had still emerged relatively unscathed by it. The outlook and prospects were, however, entirely changed for him - the Empire of the Hapsburgs was ended and the Emperor

Franz Josef was dead. The fate of German and Austrian musicians was now in the hands of the State Theatres, and for the now fifty-five year old Strauss this produced a rather restless atmosphere. A new world of music, particularly in the sphere of compositional techniques, emerged immediately after the war and Strauss began to feel out of touch with the new developments. Although his administrative post as the head of the Berlin Hofoper had been curtailed after a series of quarrels with the Intendant Georg von Hulsen and with Hulsen's successor Droesher, he nevertheless temporarily assumed directorship of the new Berlin State Opera for a further year and conducted the concerts of the Kapella (formerly the Court orchestra) until 1920, when these duties were taken over by Furtwängler. He then took over the newly formed Vienna State Opera until Franz Schalk, who had shared the directorship with Strauss and with whom the latter had bitterly quarrelled, took it over in 1924. At this time Strauss's attitude seemed to be becoming somewhat reactionary, and in Vienna, instead of promoting works by composers of his own or younger generations, he rather preferred to concentrate on the classical repertoire. Strauss at least did well out of his time in Vienna, as it was here that Die Frau ohne Schatten was given its première, conducted by Schalk.

During the Twenties Strauss was at work on his opera Intermezzo, the beginnings of which date back to 1916. Strauss was to have collaborated on this with the Austrian dramatist Hermann Bahr, with whom Hofmannsthal was in close contact at this time, and was increasingly concerned with the aspect of characterisation which he felt more and more should be left largely to the music. Bahr, however, felt unequal to the task of

producing a libretto for Strauss and persuaded the latter to write his own text, which he did. The opera was finally completed on 21 August 1923, and received its first performance on 4 November 1924 under Fritz Busch in Dresden, the date of his resignation as Intendant of the Vienna Opera. Although the work has never really held a place in the standard repertoire of even German opera houses, it nevertheless contains some exciting music, particularly in its symphonic interludes, four of which were arranged by Strauss for concert performances. At the time the work was quickly taken up by other opera companies. Erfurt gave it two days after Dresden, Hamburg and Karlsruhe following in December, and Berlin under Georg Szell in March 1925. It reached Munich in 1926 under Knappertsbusch and Vienna the following January under Strauss himself.

During the early Twenties Clemens Krauss was called to Vienna through the intervention of Franz Schalk and in 1922 he was confirmed in his appointment at the Vienna Opera. He had always greatly admired Strauss and during the course of the next fifteen years he became renowned for his Strauss performances, giving the premières of such works as Arabella and Friedenstag. In 1924 both Munich and Vienna gave Strauss the Freedom of the City to celebrate his sixtieth birthday and Vienna gave him a valuable piece of land on which he built himself a second villa - he lived there on and off for the next twenty years.

Six years after the collaboration over Die Frau ohne Schatten in 1917 Strauss once again worked with Hofmannsthal, this time on Die Aegyptische Helena. The première took place in Dresden on 6 June 1928

conducted by Fritz Busch, and the first performance in Vienna was given by Strauss himself five days later. The work was poorly received, however, and some years later Strauss began to revise parts of it with the help of Lothar Wallerstein who had produced the Viennese première of the opera. The alterations were finished by the end of 1932 and the opera given to Clemens Krauss, Strauss's favourite conductor and colleague. The first performance of the revised score was given on 14 August 1933 at the Salzburg Festival. When the opera had its American première at the Metropolitan Opera, the highly respected critic W.J. Henderson wrote,⁴² 'The Metropolitan had known some sorry opera librettos, but none more peurile, more futile, or less interesting than this ... The orchestration is extraordinarily good ... but there is nothing new. One hears the voice of an elderly man babbling his reminiscences'.

Arabella was jointly dedicated by Strauss to Busch and Rücker, but before the opera was premièred, the Nazis had taken control of German political life and both the above mentioned were dismissed from their posts (Busch was to have conducted, and Rücker produced the première). The Nazis agreed to a première conducted by Clemens Krauss and produced by Josef Gielen in Dresden on 1 July 1933. The opera was fairly successful but seemed to stay in the shadow of Der Rosenkavalier and so did not achieve the degree of acclaim which it perhaps deserved.

So it is evident that Germany during the Twenties was a hive of rich musical activity. This largely stemmed from its past history as until the latter part of the nineteenth century it had consisted of a number

42 William Mann, Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas (London, 1964), 240.

of small states, and even after the union under Prussia these preserved a certain amount of autonomy. Each of the larger towns had, and still has, its own opera-house, and the natural rivalry that existed between them to outdo each other in excellence was marvellous for promoting and maintaining high standards. Until the 1870s Berlin had been merely the Prussian capital, and even under the imperialist regime of Wilhelm II had remained rather provincial in character. In the earlier part of the twentieth century, however, it grew enormously in size and became an international and culturally interesting capital.

There were three opera-houses in Berlin during this time: the Städtische Oper in Charlottenburg, the most traditional of the three at which Bruno Walter was the Generalmusikdirektor in the late 1920s. The Staatsoper consisted of two separate establishments. The Oper unter den Linden, with Erich Kleiber as Generalmusikdirektor and with Leo Blech as his assistant, sponsored some new developments including the première of Berg's Wozzeck in 1925. At the Oper am Platz der Republik, Otto Klemperer was Generalmusikdirektor, assisted by Georg Szell, Alexander Zemlinsky and Fritz Zweig. The Oper am Platz der Republik was more commonly known as the Kroll Oper, for which Klemperer did much in the way of contemporary opera.

Klemperer was appointed Generalmusikdirektor of the Kroll Theatre in 1927 at the recommendation of Erich Kleiber. The Kroll was an appendage to the Staatsoper, inaugurated by Kleiber in 1924 and was known to be specifically interested in contemporary works. As the Kroll was included in the budget of the Staatsoper it had no money of

of its own, and at the start of the rehearsals in August 1927 there was no rehearsal stage. For this purpose a stage had to be improvised in the Schloss Bellevue which was across the Tiergarten from the Kroll theatre. Another difficulty the Kroll suffered under was that the company belonging to the Unter den Linden Opera House performed regularly at the Kroll whilst their own theatre was being reconstructed.

In 1928 Klemperer performed Stravinsky's Oedipus Rex, Mavra and L'Histoire du Soldat, Hindemith's Cardillac and three operas by Krenek. In 1929 he gave the première of Hindemith's Neues vom Tage, and in 1930 presented Hin und Zurück by Hindemith, Schönberg's Die glückliche Hand and Krenek's Das Leben des Orest. More crucial to Klemperer than the performance of contemporary works at the Kroll, however, was the fact that these works should be well-rehearsed and of the highest possible standard. In fact the Kroll had to offer no more than ten operas every year, and many seats were bought by the Berlin Volksbühne (an association that offered cheap seats on subscription to its members) even before they knew which works were to be performed. The second season of the Kroll, 1928 - 29, began with Der fliegende Holländer, which Klemperer put on in modern dress. Senta wore a sweater and a skirt and the sailors and Dutchmen were likewise in contemporary dress. Many people were shocked by this and the Wagnerverein deutscher Frauen (The Wagner Association of German Women) protested that this was a mockery of Wagner. Before the second performance of the opera the police telephoned to say that the Nazis were planning a demonstration, so Klemperer asked for police protection. Ten detectives sat in the first row of the stalls and two hundred

others were posted around the auditorium, so the demonstration never materialised.

Much of Hindemith's music was performed at the Kroll, including the first performance of his viola concerto with the composer himself as soloist, his cello concerto, the Konzertmusik for piano, brass and two harps, and various other works. The main problem with the performance of so many contemporary works at the Kroll, however, was that it depended for its livelihood upon a contract with the Volksbühne, and the Volksbühne's subscribers did not want to hear so much Schönberg, Stravinsky and Hindemith. Even though the Kroll did give the more popular operas, for example Carmen, The Tales of Hoffmann and Madame Butterfly, they never gave them in conventional productions. The reactions of the Nazis to the style of opera productions were not very favourable at all but they became even more virulent in their criticisms when three progressive men were brought in to take the place of the previous designer Dulberg, who had become ill with tuberculosis. The three artists were Oskar Schlemmer, who had been head of the department of theatrical design at the Bauhaus, Oskar Strand, an Austrian architect and stage designer, and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, a Hungarian painter and 'constructionist' who had taught at the Bauhaus during the Twenties. The crisis came in 1930 when Tietjen announced that the Kroll Opera would be shut the following year. Klemperer did all he could to save it and he wrote an article in the Berliner Tageblatt entitled In eigener Sache, 'In one's own cause.' He also went to see Eugenio Pacelli, the Secretary of State at the Vatican, as he happened to have a concert in Rome at about that time.

Pacelli was very sympathetic and advised Klemperer to go to Dr. Bruning, the German Chancellor, and to Pralat Kaas, the leader of the Zentrum Party (the Catholic Party at the Centre). Kaas held out no hope whatsoever and Bruning said he would like to help but could not. He said,⁴³ 'I cannot help you because Germany had not paid her war debts. Instead of that she has rebuilt the Linden Opera. That should not have happened. That is why I am pleased that at least the Kroll Opera is to be shut', which indeed it was in 1931.

It is obvious that the Kroll Opera, which cost the State the least money, was closed purely for political and not for economic reasons, and what is more against the desire of the general public. The authorities disagreed with the whole direction that the Kroll performances were taking, and they were not too keen to keep Klemperer employed, because he was Jewish. Tietjen said to Klemperer in 1933,⁴⁴ 'It's your whole political and artistic direction they (i.e. the Nazis) don't like. That is why the Kroll Opera was closed'. The contract under which Klemperer had been employed as Generalmusikdirektor of the Kroll was that should the Kroll Opera be shut, he was to work in the same capacity at the Linden Opera. The Intendant Tietjen was not of the same opinion, however, and he himself wished to decide what operas were to be performed. Their argument even reached a labour tribunal, a place where you are obliged to argue your own case without a lawyer. Klemperer unfortunately lost his case and had to pay five thousand marks as a result. His life at the Linden Opera was not made particularly pleasant under Tietjen and besides, there were also three other conductors already working there - Kleiber, Furtwängler (who

43 Peter Heyworth, Conversations with Klemperer (London, 1973), 67.

44 Ibid., 67.

conducted there occasionally) and Leo Blech. In the two years Klemperer worked at the Linden Opera, 1931 - 1933, he insisted that he conduct only productions that had been taken over from the Kroll, or that were new.

Despite its label of being 'The Golden Twenties' the foundations of the Weimar Republic were far from stable. Shead says,⁴⁵ 'It is all the more extraordinary that this intense creativity took place against a background of economic collapse, political instability, ever-growing lawlessness and ever-darkening prospects for the future'. All these aspects combined to bring about the collapse of the Weimar Republic. 'The downfall of the Weimar Republic was not the result of "objective circumstances" beyond human control, it was to a large extent the outcome of a loss of nerve, of political failure and economic error!'⁴⁶ The years 1930 - 1933 were not very artistically productive years because of the political and economic reasons and also because there was a feeling of exhaustion in the creative sphere. By the time Hitler acceded to power some of the leading exponents of the Weimar spirit had already left Germany - Tucholsky, Grosz, Remarque, Piscator, Lukacs and others.

An interesting feature of the Weimar Republic which later found fuller expression during the Nazi period was the turn towards German history and classics for models. During the Weimar period it was an attempt to create a meaningful life out of a seemingly meaningless Republic and later it became a reason for the rejection of everything new and progressive, and therefore threatening, in favour of a

⁴⁵ Shead, op. cit., 91.

⁴⁶ Laqueur, op. cit., 255.

wallowing in Nationalism to an extent that Germany had never previously known. Historians began to turn more and more towards the idea of the democratic imperialist Friedrich Naumann, which defined Nationalism as the urge of the German people to spread their influence over the whole world. A hunger for wholeness, born from a fear of modernity, manifested itself in a desperate emphasis on roots and community.

At the end of the Weimar Republic there was a sort of cultural 'tug-of-war' - on the one side the radical and progressive artists, and on the other an ever increasing reaction. During the spring of 1931 agitprop groups were banned from performing at political meetings in Berlin and the police persecution was such that their central leadership dissolved early in 1932.

There were three threads in this increasing cultural reaction: fear of Communist propaganda, economic retrenchment and specific cases of agitation or pressurising by the Nazis. An example of the last of these three was the 'blocking' of the film 'All Quiet on the Western Front' directed by Lewis Milestone, whose Berlin premiere at the end of 1930 was disrupted by Goebbels' followers unleashing a number of white mice in the auditorium. One particular target of the Nazis was the Bauhaus. They replaced Meyer at the beginning of the Thirties by the more politically neutral Mies van der Rohe, but all the same the Nazis finally shut the Bauhaus down for good in 1933.

During the early Thirties there was a wave of arrests and eminent men were imprisoned with trumped-up charges against them. For example at

the end of 1931, Carl von Ossietzky a liberal pacifist who had become editor of the Weltbühne five years earlier (after Tucholsky resigned), was given an eighteen months jail sentence for revealing secret Reichswehr subsidies to the Lufthansa which was supposed to be a civilian concern. His friend Gumbel, a cataloguer of political murders prior to 1924, was forbidden to teach. Erich Weinert the poet was repeatedly prevented from reading his political satires in the autumn of 1931, when he was also unsuccessfully prosecuted for the subversiveness of his gramophone records. Also, starting in the autumn of 1929, many arrests were made leading to the imprisonment of about fifty Communist journalists in the ensuing twelve months.

The end of the Weimar Republic and beginning of the Third Reich saw modern art as doomed and damned. This hatred was primarily based on three premises: firstly, it was associated with the ideas and institutions of the November Revolution; secondly, it was believed to have been largely maintained by Jews, though in reality Jewish patrons were if anything more involved in the dissemination of the classics; and thirdly, its formal originality and element of shock made it unacceptable. All these were seen as destructive of German self-esteem and national morale.

CHAPTER TWO

The Organisation and Administration of the Reichsmusikkammer

In October 1933, nine months after the 'seizure of power', Dr. Goebbels set up a Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer) made up of seven departments, each dealing with some aspect of cultural life - literature, art, press, broadcasting, film, theatre and music, each department having a president and an executive board. The function of the chambers or councils was supposedly to provide cultural leadership and to set standards in the various spheres of art. However, as Stephen Roberts wrote,¹ the real aim was to develop culture along National Socialist lines'. The first step in this development was the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda) on 11 March 1933. Goebbels was appointed as the Reich Minister of Culture, which came as a blow to Alfred Rosenberg who felt a claim to leadership in the cultural sphere as he had previously founded and directed the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture). The Kampfbund had been founded in August 1927 and was later incorporated into the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (N.S.D.A.P., The National Socialist German Workers' Party). Goebbels' political mission in the realm of culture seemed to demand a new approach based on a national or 'folk' idea, and it was his urgent task to develop such new methods as were required. Before 1933 National Socialist art policy had been bound up with the intense culture-political activity of the folkish groups which were at that time still largely independent. The Nazis

1 Stephen Roberts, The House that Hitler Built (London, 1937), 242.

were then able to build their own art policy on this folkish policy. One of the main issues to be debated was the subject of modernism, particularly in the fine arts, and because of their decision to condemn the avant-garde in contemporary art, their policy acquired the label 'reactionary' from the leading artists of the day such as Kirchner, Schmidt-Rotluff, Barlach and Nolde. Dr. Goebbels apparently found the first couple of years of his work as founder and organiser of the Reichskulturkammer particularly difficult because of 'the self-willed nature peculiar to people of intellect and artistic temperament'.² In fact the Statute instituting the Kulturkammer stated that³ 'all creative forces in all spheres must be assembled under Reich leadership with a view to the uniform moulding of the will'.

The executive president of the Kulturkammer was an old party member, Hans Hinkel, who used to be a reporter on the first established National Socialist newspaper in North Germany, and during the Reich enforced Goebbels' cultural ideas. During the course of the years following the Nazi seizure of power, Hinkel gained more and more authority, and was appointed Reichskulturwalter (Overseer of Culture in the Reich). He was also associated with Goebbels in the publication of the Berlin Party Organ Angriff (Attack). It was Hinkel who produced the first list of 'Prohibited Musical Works' in September 1935.

A decision of Hitler's at the beginning of 1934 brought about a change in the situation regarding artistic policy. He established an 'Office

2 Ibid., 242.

3 Ibid., 242.

for the Supervision of the Entire Cultural and Ideological Education and Training of the N.S.D.A.P.', and on 1 January 1934 appointed Rosenberg as its director. With this move Hitler had decided to favour Rosenberg above Goebbels in the field of culture, and this undoubtedly meant a strengthening of the folk art policy, its practice and its ideology. Dr. Robert Ley, leader of the Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) movement, strongly supported so-called 'workers' culture' and the bringing of education to the masses. He wished his movement to have its own cultural organisation and asked Goebbels to appoint one of his staff as its director. Goebbels appointed the art expert Hans Weidemann, and under his direction, Otto Andreas Schreiber organised the Fine Arts section of the Kraft durch Freude cultural organisation. Hitler himself, speaking on the subject of the arts, pointed out two dangers which he had decided should be overcome by National Socialism. The first was well-known among the Nazis - the anti-traditionalists, cubists, dadaists, futurists and avant-garde - whom the Nazis felt as a threat to the development of National Socialist Art. According to them,⁴ 'not only the political but also the cultural line of the Third Reich is determined by those who created it'. This point of view confirmed Rosenberg's judgement on art, but the second danger of which Hitler spoke was almost as if it were a warning to Rosenberg. He said,⁵

' The National Socialist state must defend itself against the sudden emergence of those backward lookers who imagine that they can impose on the National Socialist revolution, as a binding heritage for the future, a "Teutonic Art" sprung from the fuzzy world of their own romantic conceptions. '

4 Hildegard Brenner, Republic to Reich (New York, 1972), 422.

5 Ibid., 423.

Hitler had dismissed at one fell swoop Rosenberg's folkish policy and all his fellow-reformers in the spheres of architecture, language and literature. Hitler's political attack on what were formerly his faithful henchmen was somewhat stark and unexpected. He said,⁶

' Today they offer us railroad stations in original German Renaissance style, street signs and typewriter keyboards with genuine Gothic letters, song texts freely imitated from Walther von der Vogelweide, fashions borrowed from Gretchen and Faust, pictures of the Trompeter von Säckingen type. Perhaps they would like us to defend ourselves with shields and crossbows. '

Hitler began to emerge as a public figure after he was released from prison following the failed coup d'état of November 1923, when he was re-elected leader of the newly-founded National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei. Exploiting the economic crisis and unemployment situation Hitler built up the N.S.D.A.P. as a party for the people, with a strong bias towards racial thinking and anti-Semitism in particular. By 1932 it had become the strongest party and Hitler's position of authority could at this stage no longer be questioned, a position which was finally consolidated when he was elected on 30 January 1933.

On 24 March he passed the 'Law for the Relief of Distress among People and Reich', the so-called 'Enabling Act', through which the Reich government acquired the authority to pass laws that were at variance with the Constitution. All parties except the N.S.D.A.P. were subsequently dissolved and every means of moulding public opinion and

6 Ibid., 424.

all cultural arrangements were brought under the influence of the victorious party. The 'Act to Safeguard the Unity of Party and State' was established on 1 December 1933 and this was intended to bring the entire political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation under the exclusive control of the N.S.D.A.P., including even the religious communities. The National Socialist opposition to any religion other than its own was intensified through the Nazis' cultural bible, Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts, written by Alfred Rosenberg who had been the editor-in-chief of the Nazi newspaper Der Völkischer Beobachter.

In September 1935 the Nuremberg Laws 'for the protection of the German blood and the German honour' were passed.⁷ These laws deprived all who were not of German or related blood of their civic rights. They also included discriminatory regulations with regard to Jews who had married Aryans. At this point many 'non-Aryans' left the country although many stayed, feeling too strong an attachment to their native land. Anti-Jewish measures became even stronger after the Olympic Games held in Berlin in 1936. During the night from 9-10 November 1938 all synagogues were set on fire by order of the Party and such Jewish shops as still existed were demolished and their owners very badly treated. The conquest of territories in the East with large Jewish populations led to the 'final solution' by which millions of European Jews were murdered, and this also affected those German Jews who had remained in the Reich. Initially the installations for killing and

7 Ernst Johann and Jörg Junker, German Cultural History of the Last Hundred Years (Munich, 1970), 164.

mass cremations were tried out on German mental patients, but at the protest of certain Church dignitaries they were no longer used within Germany. They were then set up outside the actual Reich territory in the crematoria at Auschwitz, Maidanek, Treblinka and other places.

Since science was regarded as a specifically Jew-dominated area the Nazis strove to found an officially 'national' science. In contrast to the 'Jewish physics' of Albert Einstein therefore, they established a 'German physics' and such was the title of the textbook written by Philipp Lenard, the Heidelberg Nobel Prize Winner. In 1938 the founder of Psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, fled from Vienna to London. At the same time Einstein was teaching in America. The loss inflicted upon German culture by the expulsion of the Jews can be deduced from the fact that of the thirty-eight German holders of the Nobel Prize up to 1933, eleven were either Jewish or of partially Jewish extraction, and thus constituted almost one-third of the total, which is noteworthy considering that Jews did not even quite account for one-hundredth of the total German population.

When Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power in 1933 almost no-one in the artistic sphere believed that this party was going to last any longer than the others that had preceded it. There were exceptions - George Grosz for example, one of the more politically perceptive writers, commented to Thomas Mann in 1933 that 'Hitler would last not six months but six or ten years'. This political satirist of the 1920s who reflected with painful honesty what was happening to the German people during those unstable years was the first to lose his German

citizenship after the Nazis' advent. In the space of the next three years almost all the great names in all spheres in Germany disappeared from the public scene - Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Feuchtwanger, Tucholsky, Einstein, Piscator, Brecht, Arnold Zweig and many others.

National Socialist art now had a path to follow somewhere between these two extremes. Although the folkish art policy had been useful and necessary to Hitler before he came to power, after he had consolidated the power of the National Socialist movement he no longer needed it. Thus at the end of 1934 the National Socialist art policy was adapted to the requirements of political power. A break was made with history; by decreeing politics to be art the regime alienated themselves from historical precedent. This is one of the features which makes the National Socialist art policy so difficult either to formulate or to analyse. It was later discovered that the arts could serve as an instrument of social control, and from then on, new and effective forms of action were developed in order to control the artistic output.

What was it about these authors, playwrights, artists and sculptors that made it so urgently necessary for them to be disposed of during the Third Reich? Perhaps the main reason was that their art exhibited keen insight into the philosophy of the new government and such perception and individuality of thought posed a threat to the authorities. A totalitarian state cannot allow the individual 'complete' freedom because a basic principle of such a society is that the individual is absorbed into the community, and takes his place as a worker in order to serve the people. Thus, art which debates on social matters or

intends to question values cannot be allowed. It must at all times instill a feeling of security, eliminating all apprehension and experiment.

The following pages provide a summary of the main changes that took place under the Nazi regime. Music is omitted here since it is dealt with at greater length in subsequent chapters.

Literature

The literature department of the Kulturkammer (Reichsschriftumskammer) was placed by Hinkel under the supervision of Hans Blunck, a retired civil servant, who was also described as ⁸ 'a Low German drawing on local folk-tales, Nordic Promethean myths and Viking sagas for his subject matter'. It was commented on at the time, however, ⁹ that there was a marked lack of literary output in Nazi Germany, and to counterbalance this, a notable number of translations of foreign novels appeared. Political and historical novels sold well, but because of the unduly harsh censorship, a great deal of other literature was removed from circulation. Blunck's theory was that contemporary literature had its roots in the Romantic period, but that its twentieth century expression ought to be a Romanticism purged of the egotism and subjectivity of liberalism.

8 Richard Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (London, 1971), 432.

9 Roberts, op. cit., 241.

Hitler's own contribution to the literary output of this time was Mein Kampf (My Struggle), the first part of which he wrote during his imprisonment in 1923. Except for the Bible, no other book sold as well during the Nazi regime, and in Hitler's first year of office, Mein Kampf sold a million copies. It became the correct procedure to present a copy to a bride and groom at their wedding, and almost every school child received one on graduation.

He had originally wanted to call the book 'Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice', but Max Amann, the manager of the Eher publishing house in Munich persuaded him to shorten the title. There was very little autobiography in the book, which disappointed Amann. Hitler put forward his views in Mein Kampf and referred specifically to the making of a new kind of state, one based on race with the establishment of an absolute dictatorship. The problems of the new Reich gaining world mastery were set forward in the first volume, and expanded upon in the second, which was completed in 1926. Apart from the insistence on the abolition of democracy, the other details of the nature of the future Nazi State were less clear. Hitler was obsessed with political power and the idea of a dictatorship, but the actual economics of the situation bored him and there is very little indeed about it in either book.

Mein Kampf is not at all well-written, despite considerable editorial advice and even pruning on the part of at least three helpers. Hitler aired his thoughts and opinions at random on many subjects including culture, education, history, sex, marriage, prostitution and syphilis.

He devoted ten pages to the last, declaring it as 'the task of the nation - not just one more task to eradicate it' ¹⁰ He also insists that marriage is not an end in itself, but for the increasing and preservation of the race and species. This leads directly on to the Nazi idea of race superiority, and the concept of the master race, on which Hitler's new Reich was based.

Hitler's obsession with race led to his advocacy of the 'folkish' state, the nature of which he unfortunately does not make clear even though he insisted on more than one occasion that it was the centre of his thinking. He wrote, ¹¹ 'the highest purpose of a folkish state is concern for the preservation of those original elements which bestow culture and create the beauty and dignity of a higher mankind.' His declared intention in controlling the output of literature was the elimination of decadent thought - a thin mask for his intellectual intolerance. Goebbels' bonfire of 'undesirable' literature is a positive example of such intolerance - thousands of books by such authors as Remarque, Freud, Schnitzler, Marx, Gide, Zola, Proust, Einstein, the two Manns and Orwell were burned in Berlin's Opernplatz. The press estimated there to have been about ten thousand people at the book burning, where more than thirty thousand books were burned. One newspaper quoted the words of Doctor Goebbels, ¹² 'The epoch of morbid Jewish intellectualism is terminated. The phoenix of a new spirit will arise here again, and we are its bearers'. Next day the same paper, with a degree of insight and

10 William Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (London, 1960), 114.

11 Shirer, op. cit., 118.

12 The New York Times (10 May, 1933).

honesty not to be permitted in later years, contained the following comment,¹³ 'are Germans suddenly to announce that they cannot tolerate writings which do not fall in with their own prejudices? What becomes of the famous Lernfreiheit which Germany fought for and established in her universities in advance of other nations ... ?' Copies of the burnt books were, however, kept in Berlin and Munich as confiscated literature.

Turning to the positive if not particularly favourable effect National Socialism had on the literary output -Hanns Johst's play Schlageter was dedicated to Hitler in 'loving adoration and unchangeable loyalty',¹⁴ and received its first performance on 20 April 1933, becoming a national sensation. If it is remembered at all today it is because of the notorious line, 'If I hear culture, I unlock my Browning'.¹⁵ Josef Goebbels' novel, also published in 1933, Michael, Ein deutsches Schicksal in Tagebuchblättern (A German Destiny in the Pages of a Diary) rejected the avant-garde, and expressed a longing for the essentially 'Germanic' virtues. At one point he wrote,¹⁶ 'These Schwabians must one day be smoked out. It is the breeding-place of destructive tendencies; and thereby it has nothing whatsoever to do with the real Munich'. The rejection of modern developments in the arts, however, does not prevent Goebbels from allowing his hero to exhibit what are undoubtedly expressionist sentiments - for example the rejection of the

13 Ibid., written by Adolph S. Ochs.

14 Raymond Furness, The Twentieth Century, 1890-1945 (London, 1978), 249.

15 'Wenn ich Kultur höre, entsichere ich meinen Browning', Josef Wulf, Literature and Dichtung im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation (Gütersloh, 1963), 113.

16 Furness, op. cit., 250.

intellect, and such flights of feeling as are expressed in the following, ¹⁷

' It is as if I were no longer living in this world. I rage in ecstasy, in dream, in anger. I have a presentiment of a new world. Uncertainty grows within me. Give me, oh God, to say what I suffer! '

As Raymond Furness says, ¹⁸ 'this pretentious novel, with its wooden characterisation and lapses into bathetic verse, does demonstrate the links between certain aspects of Expressionism and the Nazi creed'. There are definite similarities between Goebbels' novel and Ein verbemmelter Student (An Idle Student; 1917), a short novel by Gustav Sack. The descriptions in Sack's novel of the industrial landscape of the Ruhr are reproduced by Goebbels almost word for word. Inspired by Van Gogh's example, Goebbels' hero sought his fulfilment through work, having left off studying at the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich, and he eventually died down a mine. The novel also contains the obligatory Heimatlidung - German landscape is praised as though it is superior to all other, and German men and women are spoken of as archetypal heroes.

One major influence on National Socialist literature had been Julius Langbehn's Rembrandt als Erzieher (Rembrandt as Teacher, 1898), which had reached over one hundred editions a few years after it came out. The book strongly emphasised the Blut und Boden (Blood and Soil) idea that became very popular during the Nazi era. However, as Boeschstein

17 Ibid., 250.

18 Ibid., 250.

says ¹⁹ National Socialism was neither accompanied nor supported by a great and powerful literary movement, and the political situation never succeeded in creating a literary style of its own.

After 1933 the Prussian Academy of the Arts, to which such writers as Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Alfred Mombert, Alfred Döblin and Max Halbe belonged, was purged. Inferior writers such as Agnes Miegel, Hanns Johst, Emil Strauss, Rudolf Binding, Börries von Münchhausen, Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer, Wilhelm Schäfer and Hans Grimm took their place, 'hardly names to inspire confidence in the new regime's intellectual and artistic standards'. ²⁰ Literary output was subsequently put under the control of three separate censorship authorities, and 'overnight the sole criterion of literary merit became ideological correctness, while literary criticism was reduced to a matter of eulogy or defamation'. ²¹ By 1936 all forms of analytical criticism were abolished by Goebbels, and in its place were to be solely descriptions of the works of art. This was Goebbels' directive to the German theatre on 9 May 1933, laying down the official guidelines, ²²

' German art in the coming decades will be heroic, steely, romantic, it will be unsentimental and down to earth, patriotic with great fervour, it will be communal, committed and binding or else it will cease to exist '.

One of the main characteristics of National Socialist literature, as

19 H. Boeschstein, The German Novel 1939-1944 (Toronto, 1949), 3.

20 Furness, op. cit., 255.

21 G.E. Williams, Writers and Politics in Modern Germany (London, 1977), 56.

22 Ibid., 56.

pin-pointed by Goebbels' abolition of literary criticism, was its anti-intellectualism. In place of this, it tried to substitute unquestioning faith and racial unity - 'Nazi writers set out to invent a new mythology based primarily on a free interpretation of the heroic Nordic past'.²³ For the National Socialist writer, Fate was the ultimate controlling power in human affairs, and heroism consisted in surrendering one's self to whatever Fate had to offer, without thought for personal loss or suffering. The Führer became the supreme instrument of Fate, and personal fulfilment was to be found solely in the execution of his will.

Stefan George was acclaimed as a National Socialist writer on the basis of his last collection of poems, Das Neue Reich (The New Empire, 1928). His writings were steeped in the new racial consciousness and the necessity for a strong völkisch state and leader. Despite all this, however, George refused candidature as the new president of the Dichterkademie. He emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, and refused to return even though frequently entreated to by Goebbels.

Such Nazi literature spoke of Hitler in almost religious terms as a Messianic figure, and Nazi poetry was frequently recited at social gatherings and celebrations. Perhaps the most successful books of the Nazi period were new editions or impressions of older books, as those authors of repute who had decided to remain in Germany after 1933 (for example George, Jünger and Benn) were unwilling to write the kind of versified ideology required by the Party. C.E. Williams observes,²⁴

23 Ibid., 57.

24 Ibid., 59.

'these years saw the flowering of a literary mediocrity so banal and incompetent that even the Party leaders themselves became concerned about the lack of creative talent'. Nazi writing was therefore completely isolated from all contemporary literary developments taking place abroad, and conversely Nazi authors had no outside influence. Expressionism, modernism, Jews and the Weimar Republic were railed against most of all, and although Goebbels favoured some aspects of Expressionist art, Rosenberg and Hitler detested any manifestation of it.

Among the important figures working in Germany during the Twenties and early Thirties, Thomas Mann must surely be one of the best known. During the Weimar Period he had observed the political situation with some concern, and his alarm at the mounting Fascism in Italy was expressed in his novella Mario und der Zauberer, mentioned in chapter one. On 17 October 1930 Mann gave his lecture Deutsche Ausprache. Ein Appel die Vernunft. (German discussion. An appeal to reason) in the Beethoven Saal in Berlin in which he strongly criticised Fascism and warned against irrationalism. A demonstration was held against Mann, led by Arnolt Bronnen, a confirmed Nazi, who had even forced his mother to declare him illegitimate to avoid the taint of Jewish blood. On 10 February 1933 Mann gave his lecture Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners (The sufferings and greatness of Richard Wagner) in the Auditorium Maximum at Munich University, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the composer's death. He discussed Wagner and his art, but stressed Wagner's basic indifference to politics, and deplored his reduction to the status of a figure-head for the Nazis. Needless to say, this

lecture provoked a huge outcry. Richard Strauss and Hans Pfitzner being among those who signed a protest against Mann's study. Mann himself, who left Germany the following day to deliver the lecture in other European capitals, was advised not to return. He did, however, manage to publish the first part of the tetralogy Joseph und seine Brüder (Joseph and his brothers, 1933-43), in Germany in 1933, as he was determined to hold on to his German readership for as long as possible. The novels Der junge Joseph (The Young Joseph, 1934), and Joseph in Ägypten (Joseph in Egypt, 1936) were published in Vienna, and the fourth of the cycle, Joseph der Ernährer (Joseph the Bread-winner, 1943) in Stockholm. Mann chose the theme for his tetralogy during the mid-Twenties, and it proved to be all too appropriate, as Mann, like Joseph, was forced to live in an alien land. The use of myth is greatly expanded in this novel, the basic one being that of dying and rebirth. 'To Thomas Mann the creative use of myth was an answer to the irrational distortion of myth which hysterical demagogues were perpetuating in Germany.'²⁵ Although the Joseph novels had no overt political significance, Mann's use of myth to serve a human and humane intention meant that he had taken a stand against the reactionary and fascist intellectuals who sought to use the 'myth' concept for their own purposes.

After the outbreak of war, Mann became preoccupied with the Faust legend, and the culmination of this was Doktor Faustus (1947). He was deeply stirred by the effect of Nazism on Germany and the book deals with the relationship between art and disease, and the tension between

25 Furness, op. cit., 267.

Germany and the rest of Europe.

' The hysteria and demonology of the sixteenth century, when the original Faust book was written, and the fanatical inhumanity of the twentieth are linked in this book, and the figure of Adrian Leverkühn, so closely based upon Nietzsche, exemplifies also the modern artist who, threatened by sterility, turns to diabolical influences for the gift of creativity, the Durchbruch which his country also achieved, but at the cost of her soul. ' 26

The parallels with Nietzsche are most important - Leverkühn's ancestry mirrors that of Nietzsche, Leverkühn studied theology, as did Nietzsche, Leverkühn died at the same age and on the same day as Nietzsche, and also under similar circumstances. Nevertheless the novel also contains elements from Mann's own life, and actual people are used as models for the book's characters. The political parallels drawn in Mann's novel are obvious. Both Nietzsche and Wagner were powerful figureheads throughout the Hitler regime, 'the barbaric undercurrent, latent in German civilisation, broke through with fearful force in the twentieth century, and Adrian Leverkühn's music is a complete expression of that force'.²⁷ Leverkühn had rejected the individualistic force in art in favour of the collective, an idea which Bertolt Brecht attempted to put into practice.

Hitler's rise to power gave Bertolt Brecht's writings a new direction. In accordance with the Marxist viewpoint, he identified Fascism with Capitalism and saw in the Nazi tyranny merely another attempt of the bourgeoisie to maintain its hold over the working class'.²⁸ Brecht

26 Ibid., 269-270.

27 Ibid., 271.

28 H.F.Garten, Modern German Drama (London, 1959), 210.

began to formulate his idea of an 'Epic theatre' in Berlin in the Twenties. He wanted to create a drama which would be entirely different from the conventional play, a kind of illustrated lecture or newspaper report on a political social theme, loosely constructed in the shape of serious revue.²⁹ This feeling extended into his collaboration with Weill, who shared Brecht's contempt for the polite neo-Romanticism of the still dominant musical style in Germany. They both wished music to be harsh, topical, and to serve a purpose.

A new phase in Brecht's development was the Lehrstücke (didactic plays) in which he collaborated with Weill. In these works he became pre-occupied with Marxism, and his style changed to extreme austerity and economy of expression. He focussed his attention on poetry and music which would be useful in a practical sense by stimulating desirable social attitudes. These functional ideals led Brecht and Weill to formulate theories of a new kind of music drama - the 'school opera' or 'didactic drama', in which no attempt was made to arouse emotion by depicting the fate of individuals. The aim was above all to teach social attitudes by showing the highly formalised actions of abstract social types. As such drama would inevitably lead more to the education of the performers rather than the audience, it was seen as a useful teaching aid in schools, and was called Schuloper. The culmination of Brecht's collaboration with Weill was the opera The Rise and Fall of Mahagonny, first performed in Leipzig in March 1930. The aim of this opera was to put an end to the era of mere enjoyment in the opera-house, and constituted an attack against the whole conception of opera as a

29 Martin Esslin, Brecht: A Choice of Evils (London, 1959), 62.

pleasure of the senses.

Moving on to Brecht's plays, in Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe (Round Heads and Peak Heads, 1934) he portrays Hitler as a demagogue, Iberin, who is called in to quell a farmers' rising by proclaiming a racial theory based on 'round-heads' (good) and 'peak-heads' (bad), in the fictitious country, Jahoo. Eventually, the wealthy band together and dominate the poor. His play Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches (Fear and Misery of the Third Reich, 1938) depicts life in Germany under the Nazi terror.

Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder (Mother Courage and her Children, 1939) is also concerned with the tragedy of war. Mother Courage 'propagates doctrines, but by her very nature epitomizes the sufferings of the nameless masses in the cataclysm of war'.³⁰ Her mute daughter Kattrin witnesses and experiences the events of the play, which take place during the Thirty Years War, and she eventually saves the town by her compassion and self-sacrifice. Brecht's moral from the tale is that wars are instigated by the ruling class for the sake of their personal power and gain, and that the ordinary people upon whom they depend for their subjects are always the losers. Kattrin's self-sacrifice is 'a symbolic gesture which emphasises the moral commitment that is essential if anything is to be changed'.³¹

The Nazis wished the theatre to become a moral institution during the

30 Ibid., 213.

31 Williams, op. cit., 73.

Third Reich, and the official term for the bringing into line of the intellectual life of the whole nation with the tenets of the Nazi creed was Gleichschaltung. As in the other creative spheres, individuality was suppressed, and the only recognised values were the 'heroic' virtues. Despite the restrictions placed upon it, however, the German theatre still managed to maintain a high standard. What was lacking, though, was any vital development whatsoever.

Forerunners of National Socialist drama were such people as Dietrich Eckhart, who was a close friend of Hitler and who died in 1923, Hermann von Boetticher, whose Die Liebe Gottes (1919) expressed racial prejudice and contained the principle tenets of Nazism, and Paul Ernst, who was renowned for his neo-classical style of drama and affinities with Greek tragedy. The two types of play most favoured by National Socialist writers were the historical play and the peasant drama, and as mentioned earlier, Blut und Boden (Blood and Soil) literature was also very important. This preached a return to simple peasant life as a basis for national regeneration. After 1933, these forms of drama became even more important as a vehicle for National Socialist propaganda. Hanns Johst was hailed by the Nazis as being a forerunner in this dramatic field, and his plays were characterised by a crude, rustic humour. Other German authors who similarly adapted themselves were Frank Thiess and Rudolf Herzog. A playwright particularly favoured by the Nazis was Eberhard Wolfgang M"oller. The theme of his play Douaumont oder Die Heimkehr des Soldaten Odysseus (1929) is the homecoming of a soldier, a popular subject in the Third Reich.

Although most of Germany's eminent writers left the country during or shortly after 1933, there were some notable exceptions, one such being Gottfried Benn, who believed that Germany's culture could be revitalised by National Socialism. He had been one of the leading Expressionist authors during the Weimar years. A practising physician specialising in venereal diseases, his earlier verses (especially Morgue, his first volume of verse, 1912) were permeated by the ugliness and horror of disease and dying. Entfremdung (Alienation) was the word he used to describe relations between human beings.

In 1931, Benn had stated in a lecture that in his view, collectivism - or the doctrine of state control of land and means of production - was incompatible with poetry. Thus, when he supported the Third Reich in 1933, many were shocked to observe this change of attitude. Benn even affirmed his new-found faith in the Volk in his essay Der neue Staat und die Intellektuellen (The New State and the Intellectuals), which Goebbels triumphantly had widely distributed. At the time of proclaiming his commitment to the regime, however, Benn was fairly ignorant of much of the Party policy - he had never attended a political meeting or rally, and had not read Mein Kampf.

On the grounds of his modernistic past alone, Benn would have been a dubious asset to the Third Reich, but he also failed to produce any major literary work which accorded with the new cultural policy, as Johst and Bronnen had done. At one point he was even accused of being a Jew and had to establish his racial credentials in public. By August 1934, Benn began to admit privately his disillusionment with the

new regime, and early in 1935 he rejoined the army, an act he typically referred to as the 'aristocratic form of emigration'.³² He was attacked by the S. S. journal and the Völkischer Beobachter in 1936, and in March 1938 he was expelled from the Reichsschriftumskammer and forbidden to publish.

A writer of similar calibre to that of Gottfried Benn, and one who also stayed in Germany and re-entered the army, was Ernst Jünger. During the First World War Jünger had been wounded fourteen times and had been decorated with the highest military honour. After the war he described his experiences in In Stahlgewittern (In Steel-thunderstorm, 1920), which went through many revised editions and was reissued during the Second World War in 1942 under the title Ein Kriegstagebuch (A War Diary). The excitement of war and heroism in the face of death are the two most important themes running through Jünger's book. In his book Die totale Mobilmachung (The Total Mobilisation, 1931), total mobilisation for state interests is urged.

In spite of his nationalism and militarism, which would seem to point him out as an enthusiastic National Socialist supporter, Jünger was more reluctant than Benn to comply with the demands of the new regime. He refused to join the Dichterkademie, to which all professing writers were supposed to belong, and also refused to contribute to the Völkischer Beobachter. He also belonged to a group of anti-regime writers known as the Innere Emigration, and his allegorical novel Auf

32 Henry Hatfield, Modern German Literature : The Major Figures in Context (London, 1966), 131.

den Marmor klippen (On the Marble Rock, 1939) discusses the relationship between power and resistance, a rather dangerous theme at that time.

Innere Emigration was a term often applied to groups of artists in other disciplines, and has referred to a variety of attitudes ranging between opportunism, resistance and total silence. In the context of the Second World War, however, it most frequently denotes those writers who cut themselves off from the regime and totally aware of the political implications, expressed their own opposing points of view. They were generally left with three alternatives. They could adopt a method of criticism involving allegory or parable, have their work circulated secretly, or attempt to publish abroad under a pseudonym. The main forms used by these writers were the novel and the lyric, as such public forms as drama were naturally closed to them.

The Innere Emigration in literature was a core of mainly Christian writers who were faced with the problem that if they appeared to carry on writing and publishing as normal (that is, providing their writing was not openly subversive), they would seem to be supporting the regime, and if they ceased to write, inferior and maybe even harmful literature was likely to appear. They therefore found ways and means out of this dilemma, frequently concealing attacks on the regime in their novels, such attacks being evident only to the perceptive reader. Unfortunately, many of these writers either committed suicide or were deported to and killed in concentration camps. Some, like Barlach and Benn, were forbidden even to submit manuscripts on pain of being sent to a concentration camp.

Among the Innere Emigration were such writers as Hans Carossa and Richard Huch, the latter having resigned from the nazified Dichterkademie. Ernst Jünger's brother Friedrich Georg, was threatened with imprisonment and harassed by the Gestapo after the appearance of his volume of poems, Gedichte, published in 1934 in Berlin, which contained some unmistakable criticisms of National Socialism.

Several poets, such as Albrecht Haushofer, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Richard Billinger and Günther Weisenborn actually wrote lyrics inside Nazi prisons, and even inside concentration camps. Some poetry composed in the Warsaw ghetto managed to escape destruction. Billinger's Nachtwache (Night-watch) was written in a Gestapo prison in Munich, but its spirit is of resignation rather than protest. It was courageously published by S. Fischer in 1935. After his three political dramas, dealing with Roman themes but containing references to the German situation, Haushofer wrote his Moabiter Sonette (taking their name from Moabit, the district in Berlin where the prison was located) during his imprisonment of 1944-45. Haushofer had been arrested after the attempted revolt against Hitler collapsed on 20 July 1944 - the second time he had been arrested by the Nazis. Two weeks before the end of the war he was killed by the Gestapo.

Between 1933 and 1935, however, about one hundred contributions from members of the Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller were smuggled out of Germany to appear in the Neue Deutsche Blätter in Prague. One of the Berlin leaders of the Bund was Jan Petersen, and his chronicle Unsere Strasse was sent to Czechoslovakia and published in

Bern, Moscow and London. It was probably the only work written inside the Third Reich which directly depicted the struggle for resistance.

The writing of the Innere Emigration was produced mainly for a middle-class readership and this conservative literature sought to reassure and console by invoking the ultimate victory of the spiritual principle.³³ The appeal of such literature was partly escapist and partly compensatory. Rather than attempting to get to grips with how the Nazi situation actually arose and where the blame might be pinned, these writers more often than not seemed content to proclaim the sinfulness of the whole of mankind.

Jewish writers were allowed to publish in special, separate presses until 1938 as long as their 'racial' origin was clearly indicated. The situation began to worsen drastically during the Thirties, and authors gradually stopped publishing altogether.

Art

The Art section of the Chamber of Culture (Kunstkammer) was a department which had its centre in Berlin. The president was Professor Adolf Ziegler, in Munich, who succeeded the first president, Professor Eugen Hönig, in December 1936. For every exhibition that took place, application for approval had to be made to the Kunstkammer with proof of the racial and political acceptability of the artists involved. The official Art Chamber magazine was Die Kunstkammer, which began to publish lists of artists who had been blacklisted by the authorities as

33 Williams, op. cit., 66.

'degenerate'. In 1936 the magazine was superceded by Rosenberg's Die Kunst im Dritten Reich.

Many artists referred to as 'degenerate' by the Reich Authorities managed to survive in Germany, but they survived in isolation, unable to communicate with their fellow artists. They were officially listed as 'degenerate', and exhibitions were staged in an attempt to convince the public of their unworthiness as promulgators of the true German art. This was how Hitler sought to convince his public, in one of his official talks, ³⁴

' These fellows claim that they see nature that way. We should examine their eyesight. If they are really afflicted with defective vision, we can only be sorry for these poor creatures. We must make sure that they do not pass on this defect to their children. But if they only simulate this distortion, then it becomes a matter for the Ministry of the Interior, and steps must be taken to instigate prosecution against such individuals. '

Hitler decided to confiscate all paintings and sculptures of what he called degenerate German art since 1910, and have them brought to Munich where they could be publicly displayed and derided. Sixteen thousand works of art, by nearly fourteen hundred different artists were gathered together, referred to by Hitler as ³⁵ 'Impertinent attacks on our national art treasure, promoted by a number of swindlers motivated purely by political, propagandistic motives'.

In July 1937 the Government staged an exhibition of 'degenerate art' in

³⁴ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Art under a Dictatorship (New York, 1973), 60.

³⁵ Ibid., 79.

Munich, so that the public could see the supposed tastelessness of modern art. The exhibition was opened by a vicious speech from Hitler, declaring his intention to wipe out the avant-garde with no mercy whatsoever. In an attempt to influence the public, the paintings were badly displayed - hung close together and without frames and derogatory labels were attached to them. To aggravate the public even further, the prices paid for the paintings were written underneath, but omitting the dates of purchase. This was all the more misleading since the paintings were bought during the inflationary years of the Twenties, when one dollar was worth several million marks.

Within the exhibition itself the paintings were grouped according to various 'fields of degeneration' in art. For example, the first group indicated what were referred to as the characteristic signs of degeneration in art - the disintegration of form and colour and 'absolute stupidity in the choice of subjects'.³⁶ The second group contained religious paintings and plastics on religious subjects, and the emphasis of the third group was on the political background of decadent art, showing bolshevistic tendencies and suggesting class struggles. The fourth represented art in the service of Marxist propaganda, where soldiers were pictured as meaningless sacrifices in the battlefield. Aspects of race were present in the fifth group - negroes, gypsies and South Sea natives; and the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, a paper of German propaganda in America, referred to the subjects of the sixth group thus,³⁷ 'idiots, cretins and syphilites are presented as the

36 The New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, (26 May, 1938).

37 Ibid.

spiritual ideal the more stupid and imbecile the faces, the more celebrated became their artists.' The seventh group was a cross-section ... 'It gives the impression of complete madness'.³⁸ Throughout all sections of the exhibition, there were large posters with Hitler's words painted on in brown letters. One poster read,³⁹

' The conclusion was firmly established that under no circumstances should the dadaistic-cubistic and futuristic chattering about vital experience and objectivity participate in our cultural rebirth. This will be the most effective consequence derived from the knowledge of this kind on cultural disintegration that has now been left behind us. '

At the same time in Munich another exhibition opened. This took place in the Haus der deutschen Kunst, a building designed in the classical manner by Hitler's favourite architect, Professor Troost. The paintings on display were mainly of romantic landscapes or portraits of generals with decorated uniforms - nothing at all new or unexpected. In the words of Hellmut Lehmann - Haupt,⁴⁰ 'Surgical removal of every spontaneous young growth forced nourishment into half-dead branches and produced a luscious flowering of yesterday's second and third rate forgotten talents.' In actual fact, the exhibition of degenerate art in Munich turned out to be one of the most popular events in the Third Reich, a total embarrassment to the Reich authorities. It attracted two million visitors, five times as many as attended the exhibition of German art which was staged concurrently.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Lehmann - Haupt, op.cit., 89-90.

There was, in fact, a total of eight exhibitions held in the Haus der deutschen Kunst between 1937 and 1944, offering what National Socialism considered to be a cross-section of Germany's best artistic talents. There were also similar exhibitions held in other towns such as Berlin, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe and Dresden. As with other areas of culture, there was no art policy concerning paintings and sculptures, although Hitler himself had demanded 'a comprehensive and high quality display of contemporary art'.⁴¹ As there was no policy basis from which artists could proceed, the government resorted to an open competition, announced by Adolf Ziegler, president of the Kulturkammer. The only requirement for entering the competition was German nationality, and according to records, papers for 25,000 works were submitted. In fact, 15,000 works were sent in, and of these about 900 were exhibited. Hitler himself apparently attended a preview of these paintings and accepted a number of works by painters who had not previously been selected.

As in other spheres of culture, modernism was expunged, but here the Nazis found that they could maintain some continuity with the past, as the organisers of earlier Munich art exhibitions, although they had occasionally exhibited Expressionist work, had never been very receptive to modern art. The Nazis therefore capitalised on the fact that modern art was by no means totally integrated into contemporary society. For example, among the 950 painters and sculptors displayed in an exhibition in 1930, only a dozen or so could possibly be classified as modern, among them Ernst Barlach, Emil Nolde and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Their

41 Paul Ortwin Rave, Kunst Diktatur im Dritten Reich (Hamburg, 1949), 54.

works accounted for just over five per cent of the work displayed. After 1933, this small group, and all Jewish artists, were completely eliminated.

Another interesting fact when discussing the continuity before and after 1933 is that judging by the list of names appearing in the exhibition catalogues, more than twenty-five per cent of the names found in the 1930 list also appear in the catalogues of the Great German Art Exhibitions of 1937, 1938 and 1939. If twenty-five per cent seems rather small, it has to be remembered that the Munich exhibitions before 1933 drew essentially on Munich artists, but from 1937 onwards, works were accepted from all German citizens. Thus, 'National Socialist cultural policy did not stimulate creativity but instead merely built on existing traditions and continued the trends established long before the German fascist assumption of power'.⁴² It would appear that particularly in the realm of painting, those artists who had withdrawn from the trend of modern art but who were still active after 1933 seized the opportunity to move into the vacuum once modern art had been dissolved.

Emphasising the desire to return to past styles is a critique by Bruno E. Werner in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of July 1937. He wrote,

' Most of the painting shows the closest possible ties to the Munich school at the turn of the century There is an extremely large number of landscapes that also carry on the old traditions Only those paintings have been accepted that give us no cause to ask what

⁴² Bertold Hinz, Art in the Third Reich (Oxford, 1979), 15.

the artist might have meant to convey The Führer is portrayed as a mounted knight clad in silver armour and carrying a fluttering flag. National awakening is allegorised in a reclining male nude, above which hover inspirational spirits in the form of female nudes'. 43

The major change the National Socialists made in the structure of their exhibitions was to group all the works according to their subject matter, not as is customary in the twentieth century, according to various styles and influences. For example, exhibitions that were sent around to the major cities bore such titles as 'German Farmer - German Land' (Gera, 1938), 'Pictures of the Homeland' (Oberhausen, 1938), 'Adolf Hitler's Highways seen through Art' (Berlin, 1936) and 'The Horse in Art' (Königsberg, 1940).

The Nazis also took it upon themselves to purge the museums of all undesirable elements. The director of the museum in Karlsruhe, Doctor Lilli Fischel, was dismissed in 1933, and the new director appointed by the authorities immediately opened an exhibition of Regierungskunst von 1918 bis 1933 (Government Art from 1918 to 1933). Doctor Gustav F. Hartlaub was dismissed from his post as director of the museum at Mannheim. He had hidden some paintings in a cellar, and when the Nazis found them, they displayed them round the city on a wagon. Carl Georg Heise had been director of the Lübeck Museum since 1920, and had encouraged both local traditions and progressive art. In September 1933, he was falsely accused of misappropriating funds, and was advised to resign. He was dismissed against his will when the museum fell under

state management in March 1934. These 'enforced retirements', as they were called, were legalised by the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufbeamtentums (The Law for the Re-establishment of Professional Officialdom) of 7 April 1933.

The purge in the realm of the visual arts took a while longer to complete than it had done in some other spheres. The impact of the purge was blunted by some ministerial heads of department and gallery directors, who were aided by Nazi Party officials and journalists on the art periodicals Kunst der Nation and Kunstkammer. This little circle within the Party was quite radical, and '... wanted to fuse German Expressionism with National Socialism in the way that Futurism had been linked with Italian Fascism.'⁴⁴ The Nazi official Otto-Andreas Schreiber wanted to be sure that Barlach and Nolde were accepted by the authorities, so he continually stressed the German elements in their work. Emil Nolde, a Party member, was supported by the Berlin Nazi Paper Der Angriff, founded by Goebbels, and it was widely known that both the Noldes and the Barlachs had actually visited Goebbels in his own home.

This state of affairs, however, was short-lived. Hitler proclaimed against this sort of art, the artists were labelled 'degenerate', and in 1936, moderate art periodicals were supplanted by Rosenberg's Die Kunst im Dritten Reich. The first move in the huge cleaning-up process was the closure of the modern section of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin's former Kronprinzenpalast in October 1936. The four men in charge of the purging process, and who toured around the Reich confiscating degenerate drawings,

⁴⁴ Richard Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (London, 1971), 533.

paintings and sculptures, were Professor Ziegler, Schweitzer-Mjöllnir, Count Baudissin and Wolf Willich. They confiscated over 16,000 paintings, drawings, etchings and sculptures, and of those, 4,000 were burned in the courtyard of the Headquarters of the Berlin fire-brigade in 1939.

The National Socialists seemed determined to wipe out all modern art, and particularly those styles developing immediately prior to 1933. They certainly did not confine their efforts solely to those socially and politically unacceptable artists such as Käthe Kollwitz, Otto Dix and George Grosz, but also prohibited the work of the Expressionist Emil Nolde, a convinced National Socialist and old Party member. The following opinion expressed in Simplissimus, the once renowned satirical periodical, summed up the situation created in the Art world by the Nazis,⁴⁵

' There were times when one went to exhibitions and discussed whether the pictures were rubbish, whether the painter knew his job, etc. Now there are no more discussions - everything on the walls is art, and that is that. '

The Nazis put a great deal of effort into the dissemination of their culture. There were numerous officially sponsored art events in 1938 such as competitions for painters, graphic artists, sculptors and architects, with large money prizes. In addition to these there were over a thousand art exhibitions throughout the Reich in 1941. Perhaps one of the most pertinent comments on the state of the Arts in the Third Reich was that made quite unconsciously by the chief Nazi official of culture in Westphalia,⁴⁶ 'It may well be that many an artist will no longer have

45 Barbara Miller Lane, Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945 (Massachusetts, 1968), 540.

46 Grunberger, op. cit., 544.

the courage to create anything new after the opening of the House of German Art at Munich'.

In order to try and stem the flow of 'degenerate' paintings, various sanctions were enforced by the regime, such as the Lehrverbot (deprivation of the right to teach), Ausstellungsverbot (deprivation of the right to exhibit), and worst of all, Malverbot (deprivation of the right to paint). The Gestapo gave themselves the authority to invade the privacy of an artist's home to carry out inspection raids and lists of prescribed artists were put in paint shops, preventing them from buying materials.

On 23 March 1933 the Nazis passed the 'Enabling Act', which gave Hitler's cabinet exclusive legislative powers for four years. This meant that Hitler was sole dictator of the Reich, freed of any restraint by Parliament, and as such was able to shut down the Bauhaus in Berlin, the centre of avant-garde art and architecture. The modern style of architecture of the Twenties had been very popular in Germany, but there followed a bitter public controversy about the political significance of architecture, and this continued into the Thirties.

The leaders in the field of modern architecture during the Weimar period, known in Germany as the 'Bauhaus Style', were Walter Gropius and Erich Mendelsohn. Its success was primarily due to government patronage, and so the new style became identified with a left-wing government. Early in the 1920s Gropius was charged by right-wing newspapers and politicians with 'art bolshevism'.

When the Nazis came to power, they formulated their own building programme which attempted to reflect their cultural policy. As their policy, rather like their ideology, was confused and contradictory, there were rivalling factions within the regime, each feeling that something different, for example classicism or rurality, should express their culture. Hitler himself was especially interested in architecture - this was the profession to which he had once aspired - and he made two premises concerning it. The first was that modernist architects were to be denied their influence on German architecture, and the second was that the Party would support a 'German' or 'National Socialist' style of building, whatever that might be. There was, however, no law during the early Thirties which prevented radical architects from obtaining new commissions.

The Nazis saw architectural styles as symbolic of specific political points of view which had been inherited from the Weimar Republic. During that time, buildings in radical new styles had been commissioned in great numbers - far more than in any other country - but this precipitated a public controversy about the political significance of architecture. After 1930, the Nazis began to participate in this debate, and took up a stance in opposition to modern architecture.

The 'Bauhaus Style' mentioned earlier had been simultaneously developed in France, Switzerland and Holland, as well as in Germany, and constituted a radical rejection of past architectural tradition. Many buildings were commissioned from Walter Gropius and Erich Mendelsohn during the Twenties which received great acclaim, but it was the opposition to the success of this new style which rapidly became political in character.

Walter Gropius, the leader of the Bauhaus group, was determined that the new style of architecture be politically revolutionary during the Weimar period, as can be seen from various writings and exhibitions of his at that time. Thus the Bauhaus style in Germany took on revolutionary political associations that it lacked in other countries. As the Nazis began to emerge with their policies after 1928, they were forced to take a standpoint in the discussion of architecture and politics. Barbara Miller Lane suggests ⁴⁷ that the political involvement in architecture grew up during the Weimar period as a result of the atmosphere at that time which 'was compounded of extravagant artistic creativity and extreme political instability'.

The Bauhaus group was transformed into the Vereinigte Kunstleranstalten (United Institutes for Art Instruction) under the direction of Paul Schultze-Naumberg, one of the leading ideologists of National Socialism. The Bauhaus had been forced to move to Dessau and then to Berlin, and under Schultze-Naumberg its character changed from that of promoting modern design to being dominated by crafts, local art and Germanic ornamentation. In the reorganisation of the school, all twenty-nine of the faculty, including its most famous members, were dismissed. 'The central idea of the Bauhaus, which had been to achieve a total integration of art and industry, was now replaced by the long obsolete ideal of the medieval artisan's guild'. ⁴⁸

The Nazis opposed the new architecture because it was a symbol of the political and economic failures of the Weimar Republic. But by rejecting

47 Miller Lane, op. cit., 5.

48 Hinz, op. cit., 25.

the new architecture they were compelled to launch a building programme expressive of their own ideology. In attempting to formulate their ideology, however, at least four different factions developed. One was in favour of reinstating the styles prevalent during the German middle ages, with neo-Romanesque styles, another wanted a revival of the neo-classical style to suggest that Nazism incorporated 'eternal' values, another stressed the rural aspect and encouraged folk-styles, and yet others favoured a more modern and revolutionary style to express the newness of their regime. Therefore despite their claim to have instituted a Party Policy with respect to architecture, with all these different factions opposing one another, almost every type of architecture was permitted to be constructed including buildings closely resembling the work of the radical architects whom the Nazis had opposed.

Although these radical architects did rely on the patronage of the Federal and Municipal governments, they also avidly continued to publicise their work and ideas through a constant stream of books, pamphlets, articles and speeches. The two leaders of this new movement, Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut, published books and articles, and Gropius founded and edited the magazine Bauhaus in 1926.

The leading role in the attack on the new architecture was assumed by Paul Schultze-Naumberg, an architect who had been well established and respected long before the First World War. Although it was not an entirely new thought, the idea that art reflects racial characteristics only began to be discussed in Germany around 1926. In the same year Hans F. K. Günther published his controversial Race and Style, and Schultze-

Naumberg began to describe the sloping roof as part of the German 'racial physiognomy'.⁴⁹ Schultze-Naumberg began to expand upon this type of argument in 1928 when he published Art and Race, explaining how the arts expressed racial identity, and The Face of the German House, a study of the racial character of the German house.

In Art and Race Schultze-Naumberg attempted to prove that modern art reflected a cultural decadence. He used Günther's argument as a starting off point, and said that artists always paint their own self-portraits and that therefore their physical and racial type can be deduced from their art. He concluded that the painters of abstract art were not of any particular race, but that they were physically and mentally degenerate. He referred to them as⁵⁰ 'the uncreative men, formless and colourless, the half and quarter men, unbeautiful men who desire no beauty, who set their stamp upon our time.' He further said that modern art was not only a reflection of degeneracy, but also its cause. Schultze-Naumberg's writings won increasing support from within the architectural profession, and in 1928 he formed an organisation called the 'Block', which included among its members Paul Schmitthenner and German Bestelmeyer, two of South Germany's most influential architects.

The writings of the conservative Swiss architect Alexander von Senger are also important when discussing the relationship between architecture and politics during the late Twenties and early Thirties. In his two tracts The Crisis of Architecture (1928) and Moscow's Torch (1931) he combined

49 Miller Lane, op. cit., 137.

50 Paul Schultze-Naumberg, Kunst und Rasse (Munich, 1928), 127.

the idea of degenerate art with Schultze-Naumberg's racist ideas into a full-scale attack on what he called 'architectural bolshevism'. His definition of 'bolshevism' extended beyond political matters and included the exaltation of technology above art. His formula for what type of architecture might oppose the new style, however, was very vague, suggesting that it would be 'building with a soul, filled with national, religious, racial ... mythic and symbolic components'.⁵¹

After 1930 the Nazi Party began openly to attack the modern architecture under the aegis of Rosenberg. The new architecture became to the Nazis⁵²

' a symbol of a disintegrating culture which had lost contact with the traditions of German art, and as a symbol of a mass society whose members had lost their identity through urbanization and their economic security through proletarianization and unemployment'.

The basis for this attack by the Nazis had been laid in 1928, when the Völkischer Beobachter greatly expanded its coverage of artistic matters, which were specifically directed against the new style from 1930 onwards. At about the same time Rosenberg founded the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, a group of intellectuals who he hoped would help to extend the cultural influence of the party. The Kampfbund originated in Southern Germany in 1928, and its formal establishment as a national organisation dates from 26 February 1929. The issue was nevertheless not quite so simple. The Völkischer Beobachter, up until 1930, seemed to reveal a certain admiration for the new style of architecture. This was because the paper always supported programmes for large scale, low cost public housing in

51 Miller Lane, op. cit., 143.

52 Ibid., 148.

order to appeal to the working classes, and the radical architects were therefore in favour as they concerned themselves with this aspect of design. It was fairly reluctant to adopt the argument that technology could represent a cultural threat.

Schultze-Naumberg was appointed as an official authority of the Party during the early Thirties, and it was he who for the first time actually identified the Nazi Party as opposition to the Bauhaus school. The Kampfbund's propaganda effort against the new style began in 1931 and reached its climax during 1933, with the founding of a new magazine and a series of large public meetings in which Rosenberg attacked the new architecture as 'cultural bolshevism'. Schultze-Naumberg began to deliver lectures which created a sensation wherever they were given. Each lecture was introduced by Rosenberg and protected by a full complement of Nazi guards.

At the beginning of July 1930 the Völkischer Beobachter reversed its former policy and began to attack the new style with virulence. By 1932 the paper was publishing an average of three major articles on architecture each month. Although there was still some discussion of literature or drama, architecture had certainly taken the most prominent place by 1933. The editors explained this new emphasis on architecture by adopting the argument of the radical architects: ⁵³ 'In building as in no other area the cultural, economic and racial powers of the Volk are bound together.' The Völkischer Beobachter punctiliously reviewed all the exhibitions given by radical architects after 1930, and such reviews inevitably contained

53 Völkischer Beobachter, (27 January 1933).

virulent denunciations of the modern art. From April 1930 the paper regularly published Schultze-Naumberg's speeches and lengthy quotations from his books. There were often personal attacks on the most prominent radical architects, and as well as criticising their style of building, the articles frequently indulged in character assassination. The Jews were inevitably brought into the argument, as they were prominent figures in certain branches of large industries.

The conflicts existing within the regime itself severely weakened the Nazis' cultural policy. During the summer of 1933 Rosenberg had hoped to transform the Kampfbund into a State rather than a Party organ, and wanted a single government organisation to control cultural affairs. But when this organisation was established, the Reichskulturkammer, it was placed under Goebbels' authority, and Goebbels did not wish it to have the same amount of cultural control desired by Rosenberg. The two men even went as far as to express very different conceptions of the goals of Nazi cultural policy.

The Bauhaus was inevitably the object of the Nazis' first attack. By the end of the Twenties it was in Dessau, and was supported by funds from the city and the State of Anhalt. The Nazis had promised to dissolve the Bauhaus, and in January 1932 Nazi representatives threatened to reject the city budget because it was providing funds for the Bauhaus. The Nazis' demands were opposed by the city authorities, but eventually the latter were forced to give way and on 1 October the school was dissolved, and the faculty and students discharged. The Bauhaus buildings were not destroyed, however, as the Nazis had promised.

Instead, a sloping wooden roof was added to the studio wing and the whole complex was converted into a school for party leaders. 'This forgetfulness of campaign arguments and unwillingness to waste valuable buildings, no matter what their style, was to be very typical of Nazi architectural policy after 1933'.⁵⁴ Some of the Bauhaus faculty and students moved to Berlin where they continued to work for a few more months. After the Nazis gained power, architects, teachers and designers who represented the modernist movement were rapidly discharged.

Such was the ambiguity of the Nazis' architectural policy, however, that as late as June 1934, prominent architects such as Gropius, Wagner and Hönig addressed private appeals to the Reichskulturkammer hoping for aid. They wanted an opportunity to defend their work in public, but were not allowed one. When the Kulturkammer answered them at all, they urged silence, warning that should such a controversy become public, the architectural profession as a whole would be endangered. Gropius subsequently began to make preparations to leave the country.

Goebbels' artistic policy, initially at least, adopted the attitude of compromise suggested by Hitler's speeches of that time. He neither accepted the radical architects nor repudiated the Kampfbund's ideas, but tried, with firm control over all artistic organisations, to pursue a middle course. Nevertheless, the radical architects received no new commissions after 1933, and most of them, faced with the prospect of no work inside Germany, emigrated as soon as possible. After the end of 1933 no modern architect was able to publish any defence of the new

⁵⁴ Miller Lane, op. cit., 171.

style. A few architects who had worked primarily in industrial architecture and who had never been attacked in the Nazi press received influential teaching positions, and a few posts were filled by a number of younger men.

The buildings of the new regime were very varied in style, some reflecting older architectural traditions, and others displaying the influence of the modernist movement. Hitler often declared what the architectural style of the Third Reich should be, but the Kulturkammer's authorities, Feder, Schirach, Ley and Göring never agreed upon a consistent theory. Hitler's own preferences were expressed only through a limited group of buildings which he himself had commissioned. Barbara Miller Lane describes the Nazi architectural programme as consisting of three components, ⁵⁵

' an ideology, torn by internal contradictions, which the party leaders sought to embody in architecture; a propaganda campaign which was itself lacking in consistent ideological direction; and a building program which sometimes followed the prescriptions of ideology, more often ignored them, and occasionally stood in considerable contradiction to them. '

Hitler assigned architecture a special place in his cultural programme - in a speech at the opening of the Architectural Exhibition in the Munich Haus der Kunst on 22 January 1938, he said, ⁵⁶ 'Every great period finds the final expression of its value in its buildings'. Even so, his attempts to define architecture appropriate to the Third Reich

55 Ibid., 187.

56 Ibid., 188.

were at best vague and contradictory, and gave no clear guide for the regime's building programme. The only positive thing in Hitler's guidelines for the new architecture was that it must be 'heroic', but this seemed to refer to monumental scale rather than a specific style of architecture.

Hitler himself commissioned a number of projects, the Party buildings and an art museum (the House of German Art) in Munich, a new chancellery in Berlin, and the parade grounds and assembly halls for the Party Congresses in Nuremberg. The Nazis also put a great deal of effort into developing their public housing policy. The actual style of Nazi public housing, however, diverged from those standards set out for it in the Nazi ideology more widely than did any other type of Nazi building. 'The majority of Nazi housing remained without ideological content, and official propaganda was left with the job of glossing over for the public the difference between housing policy and housing practice'.⁵⁷

As regards the architectural plan for Germany as a whole, every building planned or built by the Nazis was part of the plan for the rebuilding of the whole city. In its turn, each city was fitted into the remodelling plan for the whole of Germany. As part of this process some cities were given specific titles, for example Berlin was called the 'Capital of the Reich', Nuremberg was the 'City of the Party Conventions', Hamburg was the 'City of Foreign Trade', and Gratz was the 'City of the People's X Revolution'. Each of the cities was connected to each other in some way so as to form a nation-wide network. All the traditional subdivisions

57 Ibid., 205.

of states and principalities were abolished by the Nazis, and an entirely new system was substituted. Each division was called a Gau with its capital being called a Gauhauptstadt.

Architecture began to turn into an instrument of conquest for the Nazis, their idea was eventually for Germany to redesign the whole world. Munich was the first city to experience the reality of Hitler's building plans. Hitler's architect for this work was Professor Paul Ludwig Troost, whose taste was set firmly on the classics. Troost designed the 'House of German Art' in the Englische Garten for which Hitler himself had laid the cornerstone in October 1933 during the first 'Day of German Art'. The building, which was completed after Troost's death, was dedicated by Hitler on 18 July 1937, and the exhibition of German Art was immediately opened there.

Albert Speer later took over Troost's post, his first major commission in 1934 being to develop the grounds outside Nuremberg where the Annual Party Conventions were being held. As Speer gained power and responsibility in the Reich, he began to re-organise Berlin in the shape of a rectangular cross. One feature of architecture which was anathema to the Nazis was the flat roof, which they thought looked oriental, and which was subsequently practically wiped out in Germany. The architecture of the Christian Church was completely ignored and Nazi influence is seen at its strongest in buildings used for Party purposes.

The Propaganda Ministry provided running commentaries in the press on

the construction of important buildings and the government also issued an official architectural magazine edited by Speer. In addition, many lavishly illustrated books were published by the Party. In these ways, the Nazis were able to far outstrip the efforts of the radical architects in their output of publicity. A very important aspect of Nazi architectural propaganda was that it created an impression to the public of a far greater amount of construction than was actually taking place. Perhaps the most important building was Troost's House of German Art in Munich - the first of Hitler's own buildings and a showcase for Nazi culture. The museum finally opened in July 1937 with great celebration and acclaim, and there were three architectural exhibitions there in 1938 and 1939. Barbara Miller Lane sums up the architectural situation in Germany during the Thirties thus,⁵⁸

' Style in Germany remained to a large extent the product of the taste of those who paid for it, as in the rest of Western Europe. What differentiates the development of Nazi architecture from the rest of European architectural history is the degree of ideological significance attached to it by the Nazi leaders and the intensity of the political propaganda which surrounded it'.

Press

One of the main reasons why the Nazis took over the management and manipulation of the press during the early Thirties with comparative ease was due to the organisation of the publishing industry during

the Weimar period. There was a marked lack of unity among the various segments of the industry and much discord between the editors and publishers of their respective organisations. Also contributing to the weakening of the press as an institution in Weimar Germany was the fact that the field was undoubtedly overcrowded. Germany published more newspapers than any other industrially advanced country - the multiplicity of the political parties led to a large number of papers being maintained which were not very widely circulated. Each large city had several dailies, provincial centres supported two or three, and almost every town owned a local paper. This was partly due to the well-developed press of the political parties, and their papers were certainly used as political instruments rather than in order to carry news.

The law for the defence of the Republic, made in 1922, gave the Weimar government the means of censoring what it thought fit of that which the various revolutionary parties wished to publish. This was more restrictively reinforced during the severe political and economic crisis of 1931-1932, and meant that police approval had to be sought for all public placards and handbills of a political nature. Newspapers could also be suspended for a maximum of eight weeks and periodicals for six months. Such measures were later extended to protect public officials and institutions from slander by their political enemies, although an editor or publisher could appeal against a suspension of his journal to a court.

Even more severe was a law passed on 17 July 1931, whereby the

authorities could require an editor or publisher to print an official pronouncement refuting unfounded political misrepresentations. These official pronouncements had to be published in the subsequent issue and a rejoinder could not be printed in the same issue. This guiding of the press was the foreshadowing of the State directed press which occurred under the Nazis.

The President of the Pressekammer was Max Amann who had been a permanent official of the Party since its inception. Hitler highly respected Amann, and said of him in 1942⁵⁹ 'he's a genius. He is the greatest newspaper proprietor in the world...' He, along with Alfred Rosenberg and the poet Dietrich Eckart, published the Völkischer Beobachter, the Party's central organ. With this and other such Nazi publications, the face of German journalism changed completely from variety into uniformity. Hitler became personally interested in the direction and management of the Völkischer Beobachter and Alfred Rosenberg was made its editor after he had acquired German citizenship in 1923. Hitler enlarged the size of the paper and made sure that it was widely circulated, and as it was the party organ, all party officials were required to subscribe to it. The Völkischer Beobachter was the first newspaper to achieve a million circulation in all editions, its predecessor, being the Münchener Beobachter, which began publication in January 1887 as a four page weekly. The paper was acquired by the publisher Franz Eher in 1900, and shortly after Eher's death in 1918, the edition circulating outside Munich was renamed the Völkischer Beobachter.

59 Oron J. Hale, The Captive Press in the Third Reich (New Jersey, 1964), 16

After Rosenberg's resignation, Wilhelm Weiss took over the editorship and became a leading figure in Nazi journalism.

As early as 1928, three years after the refounding of the N.S.D.A.P., 19 of the 31 Nazi papers carried the swastika emblem, which gave them the status of official organs, while the remainder were officially recognised by the Party. Censorship became progressively stricter as the months went by even though Goebbels insisted that liberty of opinion was in no way restricted. For example, it was forbidden to mention Thomas Mann's name, not even critically. News stories were also censored and such incidents as a car accident in which von Ribbentrop's eldest daughter had been badly hurt never reached the public at all.

As an attempt to secure popularity in the public eye, Goebbels made a point of inviting criticism. The editor of the Grünepost, one of the most popular weeklies at that time, took Goebbels' statement at its face value and printed an article protesting against the monstrous presentation of the news under the contemporary press regulations. The result of such openness was suppression of the newspaper and imprisonment of the editor.

Amann compiled a list on which every journalist had to be registered; only those who were Aryans, and whose wives were Aryans also, could continue to be journalists. Amann himself vetoed the entries at will, and of course those who were struck off the list were no longer able to exercise their professions. Those found guilty of misconduct or

of weakening Germany's internal or external strength, were tried before a professional court whose members were nominated by the Ministry of Propaganda.

In Mein Kampf Hitler wrote that it was extremely necessary for the State to exert a firm control over the press as it was a positive instrument of guidance and education, and had a continuing rather than intermittent influence on the masses. The first area of German publications to be 'cleansed' was the Catholic press. All confessionally oriented papers had to 'purge' themselves of every trace of a special interest press and develop a positive and co-operative attitude towards the National Socialist ideology. Special meetings were arranged for Catholic publishers and they were even reassured as to their futures so long as they conformed. By April 1934 a thousand newspapers had been suppressed by the authorities, and a further three hundred and fifty had voluntarily ceased publication. In April 1935 Goebbels made a law which compelled all newspaper publishers to register the names of shareholders, to declare the number of shares held by each, and to produce proof when requested that all shareholders possessed Aryan ancestry as far back as 1800. Many newspapers had to submit to purges of their staff, and sometimes, as in the case of the Berliner Tageblatt, they were compelled to come under entirely new ownership.

The raid on the publishing industry by the Nazis in 1935-36 was probably the largest confiscation of private property that occurred under the Third Reich. When Amann addressed the Party conference at

Nuremberg in September 1935 he explained the necessity for the new cleansing reforms. The main concerns, he said, were to expel all non-Aryans from the publishing business, and to promote the cultural-educational tasks of the press. It was, however, the cultural sections of the newspapers which presented the greatest problems. One journalist was dismissed from his post for writing disparagingly about a painting given by Hitler to the Gauleiter of Munich as a wedding present.

In November 1936 Goebbels abolished all art criticism, and decreed that all reviews had to be restricted to merely factual accounts. The worst aspect of this kind of censorship was perhaps the fact that it was imposed during peace-time, and such measures are usually associated with the exigencies of war. Inevitably the Germans became increasingly ignorant of the affairs of the outside world, except through the official Nazi channels. The German public had to accept as facts the mixture of incomplete statements and uncertain propositions handed out to them by Goebbels and Amann. Doctor Goebbels justified the regimentation of the press by saying that the freedom of the press was an abuse to true democracy, and that criticism should exist only to strengthen the nation as a whole. Goebbels was adamant, however, that the change in the output of the press was in no way due to Governmental interference. He held that it was due entirely to the change in the German reader himself, who would no longer tolerate the sort of journals that had been in circulation in the past. The official point of view was set out in Mein Kampf - the function of the press was to strengthen the Government and that it was no abuse of Governmental functions to force all opposition journals out of existence. A journalist on the Börsen-Zeitung

was jailed for life for showing foreigners the type of instructions received by editors from the Ministry of Propaganda, it was obviously against State interests to tell outsiders how strictly the German press was controlled.

The reorganisation of the German press had stabilised by 1937, and at the expense of private publishers, the financial basis for the official party papers had been made secure. With this security, however, the Nazi press achieved an incredible level of dullness and uniformity. There were recurrent appeals to editors and publishers to show more originality in presenting their material, and Hitler himself said,⁶⁰ 'It is not at all my desire that the press simply print what is handed out to it; it is no great pleasure to read fifteen newspapers all having nearly the same textual content'. Journalists were, however, the only people in the Reich with an insight into political realities, and who knew the lies that the Nazi newspapers were publishing.

The Nazis took pains to ensure that their papers were popular, take for example the following circular which was sent by the Fränkische Tageszeitung to all readers reluctant to renew their subscriptions,⁶¹

' Your intention expresses a very peculiar attitude towards our paper, which is an official organ of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, and we hope that you realize this. Our paper certainly deserves the support of every German. We shall continue to forward copies of it to you, and hope that you will not want to expose yourself to unfortunate consequences in the case of cancellation'.

60 Hale, ibid., 242.

61 Grunberger, op. cit., 502

The printing of newspapers was considerably affected by the outbreak of war, when there was severe paper rationing, reduced staff, war-time taxation, insurance, power and fuel rationing and transportation difficulties. There was a marked reduction in the number of newspapers in 1941, when the Pressekammer issued suspension notices to approximately five hundred newspapers. There was a further radical reduction in 1943 due to the worsening military situation.

Following the outbreak of war, about nine hundred and fifty papers in all ceased publication. The Frankfurter Zeitung, one of Germany's best-known and most highly respected newspapers, was abolished in 1943 at the Führer's request. In 1944 all weeklies of an entertainment character were suspended and the illustrated weeklies were limited to two - the Berliner Illustrierte and the Illustrierte Beobachter, both published by Eher. In March 1945 newspapers were reduced to a single page, issued irregularly as conditions permitted, and circulated only in the immediate locality.

The main advantage of publishing in wartime Germany was that at least there was some news, and people were eager for information. Two very successful publications were launched by the Deutscher Verlag in 1940 - one of them was the heavily illustrated Signal, which appeared in April of that year. Especially designed to impress Europeans with Germany's military power, it was printed in fifteen languages and achieved a circulation of 1,600,000 copies. The political-cultural weekly Das Reich appeared in May and was very successful. Goebbels made a weekly political contribution, but this aside, the paper maintained a high

standard of journalism and reporting. Within a year its sales had reached over one million, and more than a million and a half copies were circulated in 1942-43. The trend produced by Nazi policy and wartime necessity was toward greater concentration and standardisation in German newspaper publishing. Between 1937 and 1944 the newspapers with an average daily circulation of 60,000 or over increased their national circulation from 35 to 60 per cent. The concentration was very noticeable in the larger cities - for example in 1939 Berlin had 22 papers, which by the end of 1944 had been reduced to 9. Hitler felt he had complete control over the press and said,⁶² 'We have banished the idea that it is any part of political freedom for people to say what they please through the newspapers'.

At the centre of the Reichs press mechanism were Otto Dietrich and his assistant Lorenz, who with Hitler's approval and sometimes at his instigation, prepared the daily directive for the German press. Before eleven each morning this directive was telephoned through to the German press division of the Propaganda Ministry. At eleven, various ministry officials met and discussed the directive, shaping it into its final form. Sometimes the guidance provided by the directive was brief, and at others quite detailed. It was then communicated to the representative of the principal Berlin and provincial newspapers at the daily press conference in the ministry, and dispatched by the early afternoon to the Gau press office. Those editors who deviated from the directive were warned and fined, and in severe cases excluded from the professional journalists' list. Hitler read all the important papers and frequently made complaints and suggestions to Dietrich. The standard of newspapers

62 Hale, op. cit., 319.

printed under such conditions was bound to be low, and editors complained to Amann that they received a three-inch file of directives and a one-inch file of news. It was difficult to maintain an adequate foreign news service, and there was no recruitment of young talent. Amann himself said,⁶³ 'How could an editor publish a good paper when he sat with one foot in jail and the other in the editorial room?'

On the subject of censorship it is interesting to note the lengths to which the Propaganda Ministry went in order to shield their public as far as possible from any harmful influences. For example on 1 May 1942 circulars were sent to the newspapers with regard to several references which had been made to the value of dried fruits in the renewing and refreshing of the blood. The press were told concerning this issue that no such articles were to be accepted for publication. Presumably it was National Socialism alone and not dried fruits which were to build up a nation's blood. On 10 July 1942 the press were told that they were free to mention the formation of a Reich's committee for the fight against rheumatism, but were asked not to discuss the question of places of cure outside Germany. A German can, or should be able to, find every cure for his ailments within the homeland. A last example of this sort is taken from the circular of 8 August 1942, in which the press were told to refer to tuberculosis not as a congenital disease, but entirely as a disease contracted through infection. No-one in Germany apparently has such physical defects, and if they were to have occurred, they must surely have been caught from abroad.

63 Ibid., 323.

Broadcasting

It was Hitler's good fortune that the Nazi era coincided with the rapid growth of radio ownership in almost all social strata, and far from being a minority medium, it was rapidly expanding into an all-embracing form of mass communication. Control over broadcasting proved far easier than control over the press because radio was something of a newcomer, and therefore less bound by tradition. At the opening of a radio exhibition in Berlin in August 1933, Goebbels announced,⁶⁴ 'What the press was for the nineteenth century, wireless will be for the twentieth'.

Hitler made great use of the radio, although he did very little live broadcasting - his fifty 'political broadcasts' in 1933 were nearly all recordings - and to ensure the greatest possible audience, communal listening was instituted. His talks were broadcast during working hours, and factories and offices had to give up time for their workers to listen in order that the maximum population should be reached by the media. Although the war interrupted the Nazis' efforts at radio propaganda, there is no doubt that the Third Reich achieved a denser radio coverage than any other country in the world.

Hitler decided that the best way of keeping listeners tuned in to propaganda broadcasts was to substitute light music for the more serious kind of music recitals, and this turned out to be a long-term trend in Nazi programme planning. The entertainment music consisted

⁶⁴ J. Noakes and G. Pridham (Ed.), Documents on Nazism, 1919-1945 (London, 1974), 340.

mainly of light operas and operettas by such composers as Weber, Lortzing, Cornelius, Nicolai, Lehar, Kunecke, Reznicek and Johann Strauss. Along with this, folk music and military marches were also often broadcast, the latter frequently accompanied by the thud of goose-stepping columns.

There was a strict control over the nature of the programmes broadcast and one example of officially approved radio fare was the series 'German Nation on German Soil' of 1935. The series was 'designed to give town-dwellers an awareness of the forces of organic growth as they manifest themselves in the eternal recurrences of the seasons'.⁶⁵ The subject of music broadcasting will be returned to later.

Film

Unlike broadcasting, the film industry had yet to be nationalized when the Nazis came to power. It took the Propaganda Ministry about five years to establish a monopoly and the industry was not fully nationalized until 1943. The two major films made at the turn of the Thirties which strongly reflected Germany's psychological situation at that time were Der Blaue Engel (The Blue Angel, 1930) and M (1931), and according to Siegfried Kracauer,⁶⁶ both films 'penetrated depths of the collective soul' which had been totally ignored in the years previous, and also 'breathed a strong sense of

65 Grunberger, op. cit., 509

66 Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film. (London, 1947), 215.

responsibility for all that was expressed in them'.

Der Blaue Engel was based on Heinrich Mann's prewar novel Professor Unrath, which - characteristically of Mann - stigmatised various unsavoury aspects of German bourgeois society. The story concerns a middle-aged bachelor professor who becomes a prey to the charms of Lola Lola, a star of a company of artists performing in a tavern called 'The Blue Angel'. She, however, makes him drudge for her, and after a series of humiliating events, he attempts to strangle her.

M found an enthusiastic response everywhere, and was based on the story of the Düsseldorf child-murderer Kurten. Fritz Lang skilfully inserted pictorial reports on current police procedures to increase the film's documentary value. The centrepiece of the film is the murderer himself, portrayed 'as a somewhat infantile petty bourgeois who eats apples on the street and could not possibly be suspected of killing a fly'.⁶⁷ The original title of this film was Mörder unter uns (Murderer Among Us), and shortly after this was mentioned in the press, Lang received numerous threatening letters and was even refused permission to use the Staaken studio for his film. When Lang asked the studio manager why there was so much fuss over a film concerning the child-murderer Kurten, the manager, immensely relieved, gave Lang the permission he needed. Lang then realised why no-one was willing to help him, as in his argument, he had seized the lapel of the manager and seen the Nazi insignia on its reverse.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 220.

The manager had taken the title 'Murderer Among Us' to be too overtly suggestive.

There were two main types of films made during the immediate pre-Hitler period - one type was concerned with peaceful and human affairs, and the other dealt more directly with the basic problem of authority. One example of the first type was Berlin Alexanderplatz (1931) based on Alfred Döblin's famous novel of the same title. The mood of the film opposed the pessimistic outlook of Der Blaue Engel and M and the moral of the film is profoundly optimistic, 'He whose heart is in the right place surmounts any crisis without being corrupted'.⁶⁸ Of the second type, one of the most important was Mädchen in Uniform (1931) produced by an independent co-operative, the Deutsche Film Gemeinschaft. The cast is exclusively female and it is set in a Potsdam boarding-school for the daughters of poor officers. The film was incredibly popular, and was considered the best film of the year in Germany. Although the film appears on the surface to be a concerted attack against rigid Prussian discipline, it is really a plea for tolerance and more humane attitudes.

G. W. Pabst made a significant film around this time - Westfront 1918 (1930), which exhibited his preoccupation with social problems. The film's subject was trench warfare in the final stages of the First World War, and one of Pabst's basic intentions in this film was to 'render the commonplace in real life with photographic veracity. Many

68 Ibid., 224.

shots betray the unconscious cruelty of the candid camera

Throughout the film war seems experienced rather than staged'.⁶⁹

The film has a strongly pacifist nature and emphasises the monstrosity and senselessness of war.

One of the first areas the Nazis tackled with regard to film was the pacifist streak, and their response to Westfront 1918 came in the shape of Hans Zöberlein's Stosstrup 1917 (Shock Troop 1917), produced soon after Hitler's accession to power. The films strongly resemble one another but in Zöberlein's film there are no pacifist implications, as the last stages of the First World War are interpreted as a struggle for Germany's survival. There were also other pre-Hitler pacifist films.

Kühle Wampe (1932) was the first, and last, German film expressing an overtly communist viewpoint. Brecht and Ottwalt wrote the script with music by Hanns Eisler. The film deals with unemployment and concerns a worker's family wrecked by economic crisis, who are eventually threatened with eviction by the authorities. The film finally moves towards a mood of hope and youthful optimism created by the reuniting of two lovers against the background of an extremely energetic sports festival. The concluding song is 'Forward, never relax don't be resigned, but determine to alter and better the world'.⁷⁰ The board of censors banned the film on the grounds that it vilified (i) the President of the Reich, (ii) the administration of justice, and

69 Ibid., 233.

70 Ibid., 244.



(iii) religion. Nevertheless, the film was finally admitted with a number of cuts which tended to neutralise its political significance.

At the time when what remained of the German Republic was about to collapse, Fritz Lang made Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse (The Last Will of Dr. Mabuse). The Nazis came to power before the film could be released, however, and Dr. Goebbels subsequently banned it. Lang thought it wise to leave Germany and an uncut print of the film's French version, made simultaneously with the German original, was smuggled across the border and edited in France. In 1943 when the film was shown in New York, Lang wrote a 'Screen Foreword', in which he expounded his original intentions - 71

' This film was made as an allegory to show Hitler's processes of terrorism. Slogans and doctrines of the Third Reich have been put into the mouths of criminals in the film. Thus I hoped to expose the masked Nazi theory of the necessity to deliberately destroy everything which is precious to a people ... Then, when everything collapsed and they were thrown into utter despair, they would try to find help in the "new order". '

Even though this 'Screen Foreword' smacks of hindsight, it nevertheless clearly mirrors Nazi practices.

Kracauer identifies the surge of pro-Nazi tendencies during the pre-Hitler period with the production of a number of what he calls 'mountain' films, in particular Stürme über dem Montblanc (Avalanche, 1930), which contains elaborate cloud displays. Kracauer compares the clouds in this film with those surrounding Hitler's airplane on its

71 Fritz Lang, Screen Foreword, programme to the film (19 March 1943).

flight to Nuremberg in the Nazi documentary 'Triumph of the Will' of 1936, and he says this 'reveals the ultimate fusion of the mountain cult and the Hitler cult'.⁷²

The Reichsfilmkammer was set up on 22 September 1933 and its president was Fritz Scheuermann. Scheuermann was not particularly 'artistically' qualified for the job but he had been very successful in industry and Goebbels felt the need to gain and keep the support of the most powerful financial and industrial interests. The vice-president was Arnol Raether and the first advisory council was selected by Goebbels and consisted of members of the propaganda and finance ministries and of various major banks.

From the outset, in his many speeches to the film industry, Goebbels made it clear that the last thing he wanted was a flood of propagandist films such as S. A. Mann Brand, Hans Westmar and Hitlerjunge Quex.

The latter was a fully-fledged Nazi propaganda film, resounding with its youth song '... Our flag billows before us ...'.⁷³ Goebbels said⁷⁴ that there was 'no particular value in having our storm-troopers march about on stage or screen. Their place is on the street ... The National Socialist government has never issued an order for storm-trooper films to be made. On the contrary, it would regard an excess of them as dangerous.' He wanted a much more subtle form of propaganda as he outlined in a speech in 1941:-⁷⁵

72 Kracauer, op. cit., 258.

73 Ibid., 262.

74 Erwin Leiser, Nazi Cinema (London, 1974), 35.

75 Ibid., 124.

' This is the really great art - to educate ... without revealing the purpose of the education, so that one fulfils an educational function without the object of that education being in any way aware that it is being educated, which is also indeed the real purpose of propaganda. '

The Nazis carried out their direct war film propaganda through two types of films - the weekly newsreel, including a compilation of newsreels entitled Blitzkrieg in Westen (Blitzkrieg in the West), and the feature-length campaign films. After the outbreak of war in September 1939, greater emphasis than ever before was placed on newsreels as an effective instrument of war propaganda and the Nazis certainly managed to develop extremely effective methods of presenting their propaganda ideas on the screen.

' Their propaganda could not proceed like the propaganda of the democracies and appeal to the understanding of its audiences; it had to attempt, on the contrary, to suppress the faculty of understanding which might have undermined the basis of the whole system ... This propaganda aimed at psychological retrogression to manipulate people at will ' 76

The visual aspect of Nazi newsreel propaganda made significant use of the fact that pictures make a direct appeal to the subconscious and the nervous system, and many devices were used for the sole purpose of eliciting specific emotions from the audiences. As well as the use of such devices as maps, for example, facial qualities were also contrasted, such as close-ups of brute Negroes with German soldier faces. Music was exploited in a similar way in films and frequently

deepened the effects produced by the pictures - 'Music, and music alone, transforms an English tank into a toy'.⁷⁷

Over one thousand feature films were made during the Third Reich, and of these only about one sixth were overt political propaganda. Nevertheless, every film served a political function. Although there was much talk of realism, a realistic portrayal of everyday life was carefully avoided. With the coming of the war the need for nationalist art was stronger than ever, and films were able to captivate the broad masses. The two most successful films in box office terms of the period 1940-1942 were Die Grosse Liebe (1942), about the effect of war on everyday human affairs and personal relationships, and Wunschkonzert (1940), which showed various aspects of everyday life in wartime Germany.

The first film to win the annual State prize was Flüchtlinge (1933), the action of which is set on the Sino-Russian border in Manchuria in 1928 and depicts a group of Volga Germans persecuted by the Bolsheviks who are finally rescued by a stranger. The film is very ideologically significant and the moral can be found in the words of one of the characters,⁷⁸ 'to die for something, that's the death I want', the idea that death is a noble cause and that the individual should work for the collective good.

Heimkehr (1941) is set in Poland in 1939, the German community being

77 Ibid., 280.

78 Julian Petley, Capital and Culture: German Cinema 1933-45 (London, 1979), 123.

initially harassed by the Poles, and after the outbreak of war the Germans being imprisoned to await their execution. The film seems almost illustrative of Hitler's speech on 2 October 1940 in which he said that 'unlike our German workers the Poles are made only for forced labour'.⁷⁹ The film represents Germany with a pleasant and natural landscape, while the squalor and racial impurity of Poland is stressed throughout. At the end the imprisoned Germans talk of their 'homeland', a truly nationalistic paeon.

Über Alles in der Welt (1941) portrays groups of Germans abroad trying to get back to their homeland after the outbreak of war. Although less hysterically nationalist than Heimkehr, it is very racially prejudiced. The film's official synopsis describes the non-German world as 'a world of decadence, immorality, blindness, arrogance and destructive madness'.⁸⁰

During the Third Reich there were also a number of Blubo-Filme (Blut und Boden - Blood and Soil). Although these films were not directly concerned with nationalist movements or the theme of Fatherland, they were still highly nationalistic in their representation of the German people and landscape, the 'folkish community'. There actually was a film entitled Blut und Boden (1933), a film produced by the central office of agriculture and very much a part of the National Socialists' attempts to win over the peasantry by promises of land reforms. The film, partly documentary in character, shows the fruitful and promising future of the German peasantry as contrasted

79 Ibid., 125

80 Ibid., 126

with their unfortunate past.

Opfergang (The Great Sacrifice, 1944), as its title would suggest, was a very ideological film. The story is about Albrecht Froben, who, while married to Octavia, falls in love with Aels, a Scandinavian living in Germany. After an affair with Aels, Albrecht decides not to see her any more, but continues to ride past her house so they can catch a glimpse of each other every day, even when Aels falls seriously ill. Typhoid breaks out in neighbouring Hamburg and Albrecht falls ill with it after visiting the city to rescue Aels' child from the epidemic. As Albrecht is ill, Octavia, now aware of Albrecht's daily rides, wears his clothes and rides past Aels' window, the latter thereby dying happily. Albrecht recovers, and is able to live happily with Octavia.

In the original story it was Albrecht who died at the end, but Goebbels found this unacceptable, and insisted that it is the woman guilty of adultery who must die so that the marriage would remain intact at the end. Aels and Octavia, to differing degrees, are submissive and self sacrificing in the face of male authority personified by Albrecht. The part of Aels was played by Kristina Söderbaum, of whom it has been said, ⁸¹

' She is the perfect incarnation of the Nazi-style heroine, healthy, courageous, fond of vigorous sports, ready to fight to defend her happiness. Whether she is taking a nude bath or riding through the waves on horseback she always represents wild and indomitable nature ... It is thus on account of her spirit that the film remains Nazi.'

81 Ibid., 135.

Aels shows her approval of euthanasia (not the only Nazi film to put forward this view) when she tells Albrecht how she killed her favourite dog because she could not bear to see it suffer when it was ill.

Taken in the context of National Socialism's attitude towards women and the family, Aels' death can be seen partly as a punishment for not leading a conventional married life and for leaving her child with strangers in Hamburg. This film and many others, for example Mutter und Kind, Mutterliebe and Schlussakkord can all be seen as part of National Socialism's ideological repression of women. Tim Mason, in his article Women in Nazi Germany wrote,⁸²

' In respect of its attitudes and policies towards women National Socialism was the most repressive and reactionary of all political movements ... The oppression of women in Nazi Germany furnishes the most extreme case of antifeminism in the twentieth century'.

There were also a certain number of films made about the lives of various outstanding German figures such as Schiller and Rembrandt. Several of these films were overtly propagandist and drew clear parallels between the historical figures and period represented and the contemporary historical situation, almost projecting the Führer image and exalting it through propaganda. Friedrich Schiller (1940) is one such example. When discussing the nature of genius, Schiller maintains that genius is inborn and cannot be learned, and that his own genius is born not only of his mother, but also of the State. Schiller's Germanic qualities are continually stressed, and the contemporary relevance of the film is evident in the publicity material

82 Ibid., 137.

written by the film's scenarist Dr. Paul Josef Cremer,⁸³

' Schiller's heart beat with unrestrained passion for the ideal of a coming time. The vision that Schiller sensed with such certainty was that there was something greater than the corrupt politics of his time, greater and nobler than the self-seeking rule of petty principalities and their all too human sovereigns. And this greater ideal in which he believed and for which he fought was one Germany, one People, one Fatherland! '

In the same vein as this sort of film was Friedemann Bach (1941) about one of the most talented of Johann Sebastian Bach's children, and Wenn die Götter Lieben (1942) which portrays various episodes in Mozart's career.

The types of films most preferred by Goebbels were those containing indirect propaganda, as too many overtly propagandistic films ran the risk of boring audiences with Nazi ideals. In the main, the German film industry thrived under the Nazis, with such people as Emil Jannings, Paul Wegener and Hitler's favourite director Leni Riefenstahl.

Perhaps one of the most successful Nazi films was that of the Nuremberg Rally of 1934, 'Triumph of the Will'. Leni Riefenstahl directed this great political occasion which had been set up especially for the camera. After it had won the National Film Prize, Goebbels said,⁸⁴

83 Ibid., 140.

84 Baxter Phillips, Swastika : Cinema of Oppression (London, 1976), 50.

' This film has successfully avoided the danger of being merely a politically slanted film. It has translated the strong rhythm of these great times into convincingly artistic terms; it is an epic, beating the tempo of marching formations, steel-like in its conviction, fired by a passionate artistry. '

'Triumph of the Will' comprises many impressive newsreel shots of a most precisely organised event, supervised by Hitler himself. 'This staged show, which channelled the psychic energies of hundreds of thousands of people, differed from the average monster spectacle only in that it pretended to be an expression of the people's real existence'.⁸⁵ Through this film the Nazis worked primarily on people's emotions, and symbols such as a sea of waving swastika banners were chosen for their stimulative power. The film was commissioned by Hitler himself, and the preparations for the Party Convention were planned with great regard as to how the filming would take place - thirty cameras were used, and a production team of about one hundred and twenty.

Of the Nazi campaign films, two were shown in this country. Feuertaufe (Baptism of Fire) dealing with the Polish campaign, and Sieg im Westen (Victory in the West), dealing with the French campaign. Unlike the newsreels, efforts were made to make the campaign films of more lasting value than weekly reports, and they were usually the products of intense condensation. These German campaign films made no attempt to neglect society or national life through the biography of a hero figure -

85 Kracauer, op. cit., 300.

' Whenever isolated German soldier faces are picked out in the campaign films, their function is to denote the face of the Third Reich. Hitler himself is not portrayed as an individual with a development of his own but as the embodiment of terrific impersonal powers - or better, as their meeting-place ... ' 86

All these efforts were made in an enormous attempt to sterilize the minds of the people. Goebbels said at the Nuremberg Party Conference in 1934, ⁸⁷

' May the shining flame of our enthusiasm never be extinguished. This flame alone gives light and warmth to the creative art of modern political propaganda. Rising from the depths of the people, this art must always descend back to them and find its power there. Power based on guns may be a good thing; it is, however, better and more gratifying to win the heart of a people and to keep it. '

In defining modern political propaganda as a 'creative art', Goebbels revealed his intention not merely to force the Nazi system upon people, but to turn the very heart and soul of the people towards Nazism.

Theatre

After the First World War, Expressionism became the dominant literary style. All the works which had been suppressed during the war were now released and produced. The impact of the Russian Revolution had been great, and many ideas of that time had a Communist tinge. One of the

86 Kracauer, op. cit., 289.

87 Ibid., 299.

most influential developments of the post-war years was the Volksbühne or 'people's stage', the origins of which stem from the 1890's.

1923 is generally considered to be the end of the Expressionist movement in Germany, which coincides with the turning-point in Germany's political situation, and monetary inflation. Perhaps the most significant type of play which evolved during the twenties and early thirties was the Zeitstück. These were plays which dealt with contemporary issues, usually from a critical viewpoint. The most popular subjects were the problems of the returning soldier, the state of the law, and the growing violence as a result of political conflict. Another popular topic was the moral and spiritual predicament of German adolescents and the conflicts arising between generations.

It is noteworthy that due to economic recovery and expert Nazi techniques, audiences doubled in size between 1932 and 1942 in Germany's one hundred and ninety-seven municipal theatres. The theatre of the Weimar period had been a vehicle for presenting many political, psycho-analytical, religious and technological ideas, and Expressionist playwrights such as Kaiser, Toller, Barlach and Werfel dominated the scene. There were also many very talented actors on which the directors and playwrights could draw, almost all of whom were outlawed when the Nazis took over power. Grunberger⁸⁸ refers to

' the verve and skill with which the non-purged artists stepped into the breach to cozen the public into mistaking the haemorrhage inflicted on the theatre for a blood-transfusion. They helped turn the stage into a gilded figleaf concealing Nazi nakedness. '

88 Grunberger, op. cit., 458.

The sole contribution of the Nazis to theatrical art form was the Thingspiele - open air military tattoos and circus performances - which gained popularity after 1933. Size was the major feature of such performances and whole Storm Trooper or Hitler Youth battalions would participate in the battle scenes or processions which took place. Richard Euringer became the leading author of the German Thingspiel, he wrote,⁸⁹ 'The people's actions become an act of creation and sacrifice. The people beholds its martyrs, honours them and adores them'. Nevertheless the authorities eventually decided to let the Thingspiel die a natural death only a few years after its highly publicized beginning.

In order to encourage audiences to visit theatres, a 'Cultural Association' was formed which enabled its members to see ten plays every season at half-price. The subscribers could not, however, choose the play, the date, or the theatre. The Nazis were determined to provide the people with their own type of culture, and no expense was spared to achieve that end.

The dramas preferred by the Nazis were heroic and historic and generally unrelated to contemporary events. An exception was the fairly successful comedy Petermann Sails to Madeira, which was actually set in the Third Reich and in which the hero finds his contentment in a Strength-through-Joy trip.

The Nazis also made much of the Heimatstück, the peasant play, and

89 Ibid., 460.

particularly of their own version, which they called Blubo plays (Blubo being short for Blut and Boden, Blood and Soil). In The Giant by Richard Billinger an old farmer turns down a profitable drainage project put to him by an industrial firm because of his love of the soil, and the death in childbirth of an unmarried mother in Schwarzman and the Maid was likened by the critics to that of a soldier dying for his fatherland.

There were writers and artists, on the other hand, who refused to lower their standards to conform - for example, in 1942, the young actor Joachim Gottschalk chose death alongside his Jewish wife, and Werner Finck risked his livelihood by standing up to the authorities. Finck was a cabaret artist and often gave shows at Berlin's Katakombe. His pièce de resistance was a cabaret in which a tailor measures him for a suit. The following is an extract from one of his acts:- ⁹⁰

Tailor: What sort of jacket should it be? With chevrons and stripes?

Finck : You mean a straitjacket?

Tailor: How would you like your pockets?

Finck : Wide open - in the current fashion.

As Finck kept his right arm extended in a gesture resembling the Nazi salute, the tailor took sleeve measurements, mumbling, 'nineteen-thirty-three - suspended rights', and so on. Goebbels eventually closed the Katakombe and despatched Finck to a concentration camp.

Ferdinand Bruckner was a popular writer during the Twenties and early

Thirties. A very successful play of his was Elisabeth von England (1930), which also established his reputation as a modern dramatist. This is a historical play utilising the technique of simultaneous action to emphasise dramatic contrasts - at several points the stage is divided into two sections, and at the climax of the play the interiors of St. Paul's Cathedral and of a Spanish Church are seen, with Elizabeth and Philip of Spain praying simultaneously. Much of the action is concentrated on the treason and execution of Essex and on the personal antagonism between Elizabeth and Philip. When the Nazis came to power, however, Bruckner was forced to leave Germany.

Carl Zuckmayer was another playwright who left Germany after the seizure of power. His greatest success was a play written in America in 1946, Des Teufels General (The Devil's General). This play subsequently made Zuckmayer one of the leading playwrights in West Germany. As H. F. Garten says,⁹¹ 'It is remarkable that the most authentic play about Germany under Nazi rule was written by an exile in the heart of America'.

The National Socialists could show no cultural achievements whatsoever of their own, although Dr. Goebbels could always give the excuse that things were still only in their initial stages, and that the new Reich was planned to last for a thousand years. Nevertheless, one thing that was achieved during the years of Hitler's regime was that newspapers and periodicals in the German Language still appeared in such cultural centres as Vienna, Prague, Paris, Amsterdam, Zürich, Stockholm, London

91 H. F. Garten, Modern German Drama, (London, 1959), 197.

and New York. In 1933, Fritz Helmut Landshoff opened a German Querido publishing-house in Amsterdam. With the aid of Klaus Mann, Landshoff published Die Sammlung, the first and certainly the most important literary magazine produced by the exiles. In May of the same year Hermann Kesten was appointed literary head of another publishing establishment run by the émigrés, that of Allert de Langues in Amsterdam, with Walter Landauer in charge from 1934. Much of the German literature of those days was published by these two houses, and some of importance by Emil Oprecht's Europa publishing concern in Zürich as well. There now exists a bibliography of the literature written by exiles, and it includes over ten thousand titles.

Despite all the propaganda, cultural life in the Third Reich did not fully assume those features the wielders of power had hoped to imprint upon it. What is frequently forgotten, however, is the resistance to all this cultural brainwashing which took place within Germany itself. Such resistance could not be open enough within the country to be generally known as those people aware of it were not very far from the concentration camp. The Nazis themselves minimised the impact of any such resistance, not only to the Germans, but also towards countries abroad. Although illegal and highly punishable, it was always possible to listen to foreign broadcasts, and for contact to be maintained with the 'Free World', albeit onesidedly. It has been estimated by Gunther Weisenborn, who edited the book Der lautlose Aufstand (The Silent Rebellion, 1953), that up to the outbreak of war about a million people were arrested by the Gestapo for their opposition to the regime. Such opposition came from all quarters -

the Left, Communists, Social Democrats, Trade Unionists, Christian Churches, politicians, aristocrats, diplomats, students, intellectuals and artists.

From the cultural point of view, many buildings - universities, churches, museums, theatres, radio stations and so on, had been destroyed, and the administration connected with them had been either disbanded and banned or politically co-ordinated. Great efforts had to be made to bridge the gulf of the twelve year Nazi rule, and more especially to re-educate a population who had been dominated by National Socialist thought.

CHAPTER THREE

A Background to Musical Life during the Third Reich

The Reichskulturkammer suffered both from a lack of organisation, and a struggle for the control of the artistic policy which took place between Dr. Goebbels and the Nazi Labour Leader, Robert Ley. To reduce the risk of conflict, Goebbels made a merger between the Kulturkammer on the one hand and branches of the National Socialist Betriebszellen organisation which had, until then, claimed to represent the professional artistic unions on the other. In November 1933, Robert Ley was allowed to form the Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) movement, which came into being entirely without any consultation with Rosenberg, the self-styled theoretician on art and race. Donald Ellis says,¹ 'By the end of 1933, he (Rosenberg) was the semi-official commander of aesthetic policy without an institutional power-base', and this situation continued until the end of the Reich.'

The Reichskulturkammer was formed by two of Rosenberg's supporters - Heinz Ihlert, a banker, and Gustav Havemann, a second-rate violinist.^X Its main policy was to try and ensure that music came from the Volk, and the State's job was to fight against all so-called harmful influences on the arts. Membership of the Musikkammer was obligatory for those wanting to continue in their profession.

On 29 June 1933 the Government appointed a supervisory committee of four leading German musicians to be the future custodians of German

1 Donald Ellis, Music Censorship in the Third Reich (Memphis, 197-), 11. ^X

music - Furtwängler, Professor von Schillings, Backhaus and Kuhlenkampff. Their duties were to supervise the programmes of concerts, whether or not they were State-subsidised, and give advice to the musical associations where necessary. This was to be their guiding principle, as laid down by Dr. Goebbels, ²

' In the centre of our musical life must be the cultivation of great German music. But that does not mean that the music of the world outside Germany is not to continue to be represented and enabled to exercise the productive value of its suggestiveness for us Germans. '

Furthermore, this commission was to be 'the only authority entrusted with the decision in questions of programmes in the musical life of Prussia' ³ The same principle was to apply with regard to artists - that is, preference must always be given to German artists, but foreign artists of ability were also to be given a platform.

On 15 November 1933, Richard Strauss was appointed president of the Reichsmusikkammer without either his knowledge or prior consent, but a post to which he passively agreed. He came into serious conflict with the regime, however, during his collaboration with the Jew Stefan Zweig over his opera Die Schweigsame Frau, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

On account of Strauss's unco-operative attitude towards them, the Nazis demanded Strauss's resignation from the presidency of the

2 Manchester Guardian (29 June 1933).

3 Ibid.

Reichsmusikkammer on so-called 'grounds of ill-health',⁴ and Peter Raabe, a conductor and Nazi musicologist, was appointed as his successor. Hans Hinkel, who had earlier been associated with Goebbels in the publication of the Berlin Party Organ Angriff (Attack), was appointed Overseer of Culture in the Reich, which gave him supreme authority in cultural matters. The official publication of the Musikkammer was called Musik im Zeitbewusstsein (Music in the Mind of the Times). Hinkel, however, ordered its publication to be terminated in 1935, after Ihlert had been denounced for allowing a Jew to continue as a member of the editorial board. All regional offices of the Musikkammer were obliged to send in records of 'non-Aryan' members, after which the central office in Berlin set about their expulsion. This loss of membership meant that they were unable to continue practising their profession. The Evening Standard of 4 June 1937 carried the headline, 'Jews must not play Mozart or Beethoven', a new rule issued by Heinz Hinkel, which also forbade Jews to perform the works of Goethe. Hinkel said that it was sheer arrogance for any Jew to consider having anything to do with these great German artists. He went on,⁵

' Jews should be given an opportunity to cultivate and develop their own talents, and if they do not succeed in doing so, they will realise all the better why we don't want them as masters over our cultural domain.'

Strict conditions were laid down under which Jewish leagues in Germany could arrange for cultural meetings. The whole organisation

4 Norman del Mar, Richard Strauss, A Critical Commentary on his Life and Works, Volume III (London, 1972), 50.

5 Evening Standard (4 June 1937).

of such meetings was to be run solely by Jews, who had to have special passports containing their photographs. All the programmes they intended to present had first to be submitted for approval, and reviews of such concerts were to appear in the special Jewish press only. On 11 September Hinkel issued a list of 'Prohibited Musical Works', which was the first of its kind. It contained 110 names, mainly of composers who wrote light music. Nearly all of the composers were Jewish, many of whom had already emigrated. A few of the more serious composers included in the list were George Antheil, Alban Berg, Ernst Bloch, Aaron Copland, Ernst Krenek and Erik Satie.

In December 1937 'The Order concerning Undesirable and Harmful Music' was formed (Anordnung über unerwünschte und schädliche Musik). This, while not specifying what 'Undesirable Music' was, created the Examining Agency for music in the Reich. The Examining Agency's work was defined in a departmental report of March 1943,⁶

' To test new musical publications from opera to popular dance music including recordings; to supervise film music which is un-German; to promote contemporary German composition; to supervise musical programming in the Reich, that is, writing reports evaluating musical works for other offices. '

During its seven-year long life, however, it published only four short lists of 'undesirable' music. There are forty-one citations altogether, many being single pieces of a trivial sort. It includes the complete works of only five composers - Rudolf Friml, Roderich Bass, Robert Stolz, Ignace Paderewski and Irving Berlin. Also

⁶ Ellis, op. cit., 27.

included are such popular titles as 'On Linger Longer Island', 'Take your pick and swing', 'Frankie and Johnny' and the Yiddish song Bei mir bist du schön which enjoyed wide popularity in 1938.

The only clue left by Goebbels as to what could be called 'healthy German music' was a set of 'Commandments for the German Musician' written in 1938.⁷ These rules were :-

- 1 The nature of music lies in melody, not in construction and theory.
- 2 All music is not suited to everyone.
- 3 Music is rooted in the nature of the Volk.
- 4 Music is the most sensitive of all the arts and requires more empathy than reason.
- 5 Music is that art which most deeply affects the spirit of man.
- 6 If melody is the basis of all music, it follows that music must always return to melody; the root of its being.
- 7 No German heritage is more glorious than its music, and the Volk should be led to partake of it.
- 8 Musicians of our past are representatives of the majesty of our people and command our respect.

These rules were, however, subject to the personal interpretation of the Führer, and so had different applications in individual cases. Hitler's speech at a Reich Party Day in 1938 was very revealing as to the National Socialist cultural policy,⁸

7 Ibid., 28.

8 Ibid., 29.

' To express our Weltanschauung in music is neither possible nor necessary. Therefore, it is nonsense for someone to suppose that a Party interpretation must be pronounced over music which is played or to think that such a pronouncement is possible at all. In such circumstances an accompanying text ought to make clear the composer's (philosophical or ideological) intentions. '

Still on the subject of 'rules' issued concerning music, it is interesting to note the restrictions placed on the composition of jazz. Goebbels said on the subject ⁹

' Now, I shall speak quite openly on the question of whether German Radio should broadcast so-called jazz music. If by jazz we mean music that is based on rhythm and entirely ignores or even shows contempt for melody, music in which rhythm is indicated primarily by the ugly sounds of whining instruments so insulting to the soul, why then we can only reply to the question entirely in the negative. '

The following set of regulations were issued by a local Gauleiter, and were ostensibly binding for all dance orchestras. ¹⁰

- 1 Pieces in foxtrot rhythm (so-called swing) are not to exceed 20% of the repertoires of light orchestras and dance bands.
- 2 In this so-called jazz type repertoire, preference is to be given to compositions in a major key and to lyrics expressing joy in life rather than Jewishly gloomy lyrics.
- 3 As to tempo, preference is also to be given to brisk

9 Josef Skvorecky, The Bass Saxophone, (London, 1980), 8.

10 Ibid., 15.

- compositions over slow ones (so-called blues); however, the pace must not exceed a certain degree of allegro, commensurate with the Aryan sense of discipline and moderation. On no account will Negroid excesses in tempo (so-called hot jazz) or in solo performances (so-called breaks) be tolerated.
- 4 So-called jazz compositions may contain at most ten per-cent syncopation; the remainder must consist of a natural legato movement devoid of the hysterical rhythmic reverses characteristic of the music of the barbarian races and conducive to dark instincts alien to the German people (so-called riffs).
 - 5 Strictly prohibited is the use of instruments alien to the German spirit (so-called cow-bells, flexatone, brushes, etc.) as well as all mutes which turn the noble sound of wind and brass instruments into a Jewish-Freemasonic yowl (so-called wa-wa, hat, etc.).
 - 6 Also prohibited are so-called drum breaks longer than half a bar in four-quarter beat (except in stylized military marches).
 - 7 The double bass must be played solely with the bow in so-called jazz compositions.
 - 8 Plucking of the strings is prohibited, since it is damaging to the instrument and detrimental to Aryan musicality; if a so-called pizzicato effect is absolutely desirable for the character of the composition, strict care must be taken lest the string be allowed to patter on the sordine, which is henceforth forbidden.
 - 9 Musicians are likewise forbidden to make vocal improvisations (so-called scat). All light orchestras and dance bands are advised to

restrict the use of saxophones of all keys and to substitute for them the violincello, the violin or possibly a suitable folk instrument.

The pettiness of the various restrictions on jazz and dance music was emphasised by the manner in which they were reported in the press. For example one paper ¹¹ reported that the German Government objected to the popular American dance-song 'Lazybones' 'on the grounds that, as it sentimentalises, and therefore encourages idleness, it does not conform to the national ideals'. At a meeting of the Bench Society of Dancing Experts at Bayreuth in August 1933, a list of 'forbidden' dances was compiled, included in the list were the fox-trot, one-step and tango.

A curious piece of inconsistency occurred during January 1934. It was well-known that jazz was considered to be 'un-Aryan' by the ruling German government, but it was spontaneously announced that Germany was quite willing to receive Jack Hylton and his band under certain conditions. One of the conditions whereby Hylton could tour Germany was that twenty-five per cent of the gross takings had to be made over to the National fund of unemployed German musicians. Once this percentage was added on to a tax of three per cent, a Poor Law tax of eight per cent and the tax due to the Society of Authors and Composers which was twenty-one per cent, the band would only get twenty-six per cent of its takings, and out of this they had the bills for hire of the halls, portorage, publicity, travel and accommodation. By way of

11 Daily Telegraph (2 November 1933).

retaliation, the director of the Paris opera, on learning of Goebbels' decision in the case of the Jack Hylton band, proposed to take steps to tax Furtwängler (who was on the Programme Committee at this time) and his orchestra to the same extent, for the benefit of French unemployed musicians, when they were due to appear in Paris for four concerts during the same week as the regulation appeared.

Following the outbreak of war in 1939, certain decrees were issued by the Propaganda Ministry forbidding the printing of Jewish and enemy music, and prohibiting the performance of English, Polish, Russian and French music, except interestingly, the works of Chopin, and Bizet's Carmen. Prohibitions of this kind proliferated from November 1939 to February 1942. In 1943 an attempt was made to portray France as an ally against the British Forces, and for a short time the ban on French music was lifted to the extent that in the November of that year, newspapers were told to treat French music as though no ban had ever been imposed. In September 1944 certain 'Instructions to the Press' were issued, in which reporters were told that because 'swing' was becoming increasingly popular with the troops, there was likely to be much more of it on the radio, and it was no longer to be criticised.

Such was the disorganised set-up of the Reichsmusikkammer. The Nazis continually strove to try and create a culture of their own, and a group of musicologists emerged who attempted to maintain that National Socialism had given culture a new lease of life. Alfred Rosenberg, the Führer's deputy for the entire spiritual and ideological education of the N.S.D.A.P. (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei)

said that atonality was against the nature of the German people, and some Nazi musicologists went as far as attributing atonal music entirely to the Jews.¹² It was decided that the history of German music should be rewritten in accordance with the principles of the new regime, and musicologists were commissioned to do this. Such journals as the Zeitschrift für Musik began to reflect immediately the Nazi revolution, although Die Musik had a rather more neutral attitude towards the situation. Many editors and authors of various journals, however, began to apply themselves to defining what music was acceptable, and what was not. Michael Meyer comments,¹³

' The sum total of this musicological effort amounted to a contribution to the Nazi art of myth-making, both in justification of Nazi power and ideas and in the projection of a new music culture. '

As the Führer was so obsessed with the arts, he spent a good deal of effort encouraging musicians to contribute to the rebuilding of German culture, and composers such as Carl Orff and Rudolf Wagner-Regeny accepted commissions to replace music by Mendelssohn and other Jews.¹⁴ Mozart's operas The Marriage of Figaro, Don Giovanni and Così fan Tutte were stigmatised because their libretti were written by the Jew Lorenzo da Ponte. Of Die Zauberflöte, however, Hitler said in 1938,¹⁵ 'Only a man lacking in national respect would condemn

12 Michael Meyer, 'The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich', Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 19 (London, 1975), 654.

13 Ibid., 651-652.

14 Richard Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (London, 1971), 514.

15 Ibid., 515.

Mozart's Zauberflöte because it may sometimes come into conflict with his own ideas.' Die Zauberflöte was performed only twice during the 1934-35 season at the Städtische Bühne of Cologne, one of those performances being on the occasion of Hitler's birthday!

In other cases, pieces of music would be reinterpreted where the regime deemed it advisable. For example, the emphasis in Beethoven's Fidelio was deflected away from the prison scenes so relevant to the contemporary situation and placed instead on Leonora's marital fidelity to Florestan. Handel's oratorio Judas Maccabeus was furnished with a new Nordic text and its new title became Wilhelm von Nassau. Similarly Israel in Egypt was transformed into something called Mongol Fury. Richard Mohaupt's opera Wirtin von Pinsk was taken off after two performances at the Dresden opera. The fact that Mohaupt's wife was Jewish may have had more relevance to the banning of this work than the authorities would care to have admitted.

Exhibitions of 'degenerate music' took place during the pre-war years, a famous one being that staged during the Düsseldorf Reichsmusiktage, from 22 to 29 May 1938. Accompanying the exhibition was a leaflet, the title of which was Entartete Musik - Eine Abrechnung (Degenerate Music - A Settlement), written by Hans Severus Ziegler. The motto contained in the leaflet was the following quotation from Hitler's Mein Kampf,¹⁶

' A man who knows a certain fact, recognises a given danger and sees with his own eyes how to remedy the matter, has the bounden duty and obligation, not to work "on the quiet", but rather to intercede publicly against the evil and seek its remedy. If he fails to do that he is nothing but a wretched,

disloyal weakling, motivated either by cowardice or by laziness and ineptitude. '

In this pamphlet Hitler is described as the Statesman and reorganiser of the German nation, and Ziegler goes on to pontificate on the problem of so-called 'degenerate music' saying that its roots lie with the Jews and that National Socialism has the power to correct this. Ziegler refers to Wagner's essay Judaism in Music in which Wagner tried to explain the involuntary repulsion which he believed was felt by ordinary people towards the Jews. Wagner described the Jew as an undesirable alien, physically and artistically repulsive, sentiments which were maintained by the Nazis, and laid down as a principle by Ziegler in this leaflet. On a completely different subject, the leaflet also attributes the degeneration of music to the 'invasion of brutal jazz-rhythms and jazz-sounds into the German musical world'.¹⁷ Heinz Fuhrmann reported¹⁸ that at the exhibition, specific boxes had been installed to provide listeners with specimens of degenerate music at the push of a button, and that a special showcase had been reserved for the works of famous composers, for example Schönberg's Lehre vom Tonsatz of 1937.

16 Joseph Wulf, Musik im Dritten Reich (Gütersloh, 1963), 417.

17 Ibid., 422.

18 Hamburger Nachrichten (25 May 1938).

The music of Wagner was the model and standard by which all other musical works were to be judged. He was indeed the major intellectual influence on the Nazi ideology. Goebbels wrote, after hearing a performance of Die Meistersinger,¹⁹

' The giant Wagner stands so high above all modern musical nonentities that it is unworthy of his genius for them to be compared to him. As the great "Awake" chorus begins you feel the stimulation in your blood, and be called to an awakening. '

Hanns Eisler says that Wagner was a very useful figure in the cause of Fascism, because he was enjoyed uncritically, and he refers to the way in which Wagner fulfills the ideals of the new political regime through his constant references to old sayings, and his emphasis on deliverance through a hero instead of through a suffering self.²⁰ Eisler goes on to say that another strong trend after 1933 was the nourishment of folk song, with the hope that it would help to abolish class-conflicts and instigate a strong feeling for the 'Homeland'. The Nazis were attempting to create a situation akin to that of the early Middle Ages, when there was no industrial proletariat in the modern sense. Folk-song had its highest productive period in the Middle Ages, and Nazism found in the folk-song the best way of expressing its political aspirations.²¹ Richard Eichenaur, a 'race expert', claimed that folk songs were the only type of music through which truly German sentiments could be expressed. In an effort to bring music to the people, groups

19 Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, Dr. Goebbels (London, 1960), 115.

20 Hanns Eisler, Musik und Politik 1924-1948 (Munich, 1973), 246.

21 Ibid., 252.

of singers went out several times every week into Berlin's industrial factories and sang in the canteen rooms and machine halls for the furtherance of German art. Hans Pfitzner, although not on very good terms with the Nazis, was still willing to participate in their schemes for bringing art to the people. In 1937 he conducted a concert of his own works in a railway repair shop, standing on an up-ended cable spool while the orchestra was arranged along an elevated engine turntable.²² This concert was only one of about two hundred which were given during that year, the Nazis' mass mobilisation far exceeding in scope anything previously attempted. Nevertheless, such schemes did have their drawbacks. In Easter of that year the Strength through Joy organisation made it possible for a number of workers to be taken to a performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion. During the second part of the performance however, they unwrapped their sandwiches, unscrewed potato salad containers and enjoyed the last part of the Passion as a musical accompaniment to their supper.²³

Eisler sums up the attitude of the Nazis towards contemporary music thus,²⁴

' It is clear that modern music which reflects capitalist conditions in all their ugliness and confusion is less suited to this purpose of deceiving the people, for it says too much about the corruption and dissolution of our age. Better suited to this purpose is a (type of) music which moves in well-trodden paths, mirrors the

22 Grunberger, op. cit., 523.

23 Peter Raabe, Die Musik im Dritten Reich (Regensburg, 1934), 12.

24 Eisler, op. cit., 256-257.

"good old days", is linked to national characteristics and gives the listener the illusion of geniality, honesty and harmony which no longer exist'.

When referring to the conductors in Germany who were prominent at this time, it is interesting to note an article entitled Richard Wagner and the German Conductor of Today written in 1938 which reflects the grounds upon which so many conductors, and other musicians, were either accepted or rejected in Nazi Germany,²⁵

' The conductor who does not feel that the art of our master is the art of the present in its noblest sense, because it points to the future ... because with Hans Sachs it teaches us to plant the roots of art in the German people and to honour all things German ... because it brings to our consciousness with unexampled clarity in the Ring the terrible seriousness of the racial problem... whatever conductor, I say, does not feel all this within his heart would do better not to raise his baton in German lands'.

Wilhelm Furtwängler

Wilhelm Furtwängler, an eminent conductor before the advent of the Nazis, noticed the devastating effect that the new regime was having on concert audiences in Germany on his first tour through the country in mid-April 1933. Jews no longer attended concerts, and for the most part neither did the Nazis, because 'the orchestra had not been "aryanised" and did not conform to the "ethics" of the New

25 Geoffrey Skelton, Wagner at Bayreuth (London, 1965), 144.

Germany, and they were afraid to endanger their own reputations if they attended'.²⁶ The audiences that were left were very small indeed, but this did not dissuade Furtwängler, who refused to sacrifice his Jewish artists and even his Jewish secretary, Berta Geissmar, for the sake of gaining greater popularity in Nazi Germany. Reports were sent to Berlin about Furtwängler's doubtful allegiances to the Nazis and about his refusal to adapt his musical performances to the demands of the New Germany. Almost immediately Nazi officials were sent to Karlsruhe where a concert of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Furtwängler was due to take place two days later to inform the regional Nazi Government of Furtwängler's behaviour. The seats reserved for the Government were conspicuously empty at the Karlsruhe concert, as they were at a concert in Baden-Baden two days later.

Furtwängler endeavoured to argue that art and politics were two entirely separate things, and to emphasise his point he personally invited such soloists as Casals, Kreisler, Menuhin, Piatigorsky and Schnabel to play with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. All the soloists he invited declined to return to Germany, and their replies unanimously stressed the fact that politics had intruded into German musical life, and until such a time as equal opportunities were accorded to everyone, they would not play. Furtwängler attempted to bridge all gulfs through the medium of art but his mistake was in believing the Nazis when they constantly professed to be guided by the

26 Berta Geissmar, The Baton and the Jackboot (London, 1944), 80.

'Voice of the People'. In trying to convince the new regime that he knew what the People really wanted, he failed to see that the regime did not want to be convinced.

Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic also suffered many financial problems from March 1933 onwards. Dr. Goebbels became the official in charge of the orchestra, and promised Furtwängler in April 1933 that money would be secured for the orchestra. By June of the same year, however, no payment had been made, and in July the orchestra was faced with complete bankruptcy. After an appeal to Hitler himself the musicians' salaries were guaranteed, and in October 1933 the orchestra was officially taken over by the Reich.

The Nazis gradually advanced their control over German artists who accepted engagements abroad, sometimes granting and at other times refusing permission for an artist to leave. They began their restricting influence on the life of the Berlin State Opera by sending a message to Furtwängler saying that until Hitler's consent was forthcoming, his planned performance of Hindemith's Mathis der Maler for the season 1934-35 could not take place. There was no identifiable reason for this except that Hitler strongly disliked Hindemith. As the latter was a pure Aryan, however, the Nazis had no legal weapon to use against him. When Hitler's decree came forbidding the presentation of Hindemith's opera, Furtwängler declared that unless the order be revoked he would resign from the Berlin State Opera. Feeling so incensed with the present situation, Furtwängler wrote an article

entitled Der Fall Hindemith ²⁷ in which he pointed out the injustice of the political attacks on Hindemith, which were based on the fact that he had Jewish friends. He also wrote that Hindemith should be judged by the value of his artistic works and by his distinctions as a teacher. After the publication of this article in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung there was great cheering and applauding for Furtwängler at the performance of Tristan by the Berlin Philharmonic, the last performance Furtwängler was to give before his resignation. The article also brought the opposite reaction from the State-controlled press - there were scathing attacks on Furtwängler in the daily newspapers and he now began to realise his isolation.

The public and his own orchestra, however, pleaded desperately with Furtwängler not to resign, whatever his political opinions. Finally Furtwängler decided to have one last attempt at working in Germany, solely as an artist, and declared to the officials that he was willing to carry on. Nevertheless, the final decision remained with Hitler, who rejected this offer. As Berta Geissmar said, ²⁸ 'If Furtwängler would not work within the framework of the National State, the Führer would dispense with his art.' The authorities were then determined to make life as difficult as possible for Furtwängler and Berta Geissmar, and ensured that both of them did not leave the country. Furtwängler they detained by a series of excuses, and they took away Dr. Geissmar's passport. Furtwängler attempted to clarify his position by writing to the Government and even to Hitler, but officialdom took pleasure in

27 The Hindemith Case (25 November, 1934).

28 Geissmar, op. cit., 143.

making him wait a long time for their reply. Sometime later there came an astounding radio broadcast, in which it was announced that a repentant Furtwängler, supposedly regretful of all previous misunderstandings, and willing to wait on the decisions of Hitler, had been received by Goebbels. Although the truth was greatly distorted by the Nazis, the fact remained that Furtwängler had indeed surrendered to pressure.

Berta Geissmar had been persecuted from the outset because she was Jewish. An example of the Jew-hating that went on can be seen in the events which took place during the 1931 Bayreuth Festival, when Winifred Wagner chose Furtwängler to replace the retired Karl Muck as musical director. Lieselotte Schmidt, who tutored the Wagner children, wrote to her parents,²⁹

' We have had two very busy Furtwängler days. He is very simple and natural, without any side or conceit (he could take lessons in that from the horrible Geissmar, a very clever and intelligent, hundred per cent Jewess) ... the children were banned from all meals yesterday to save a lot of unnecessary noise - and for fear they might tell the Geissmar woman too openly to her face how ugly she is. That's the only point about him we can't understand: '

Berta Geissmar later became general secretary to Sir Thomas Beecham at Covent Garden. She recalls that she began to notice the hypocrisy and inconsistency of the Nazis most when Sir Thomas and herself toured around Germany with the London Philharmonic. Previously she

29 Geoffrey Skelton, Wieland Wagner : The Positive Sceptic (New York, 1971), 42.

had had her passport confiscated for a year and was stigmatised for being Jewish, but now she was treated with the greatest of respect because of her position as Beecham's secretary. The racial hatred that went on in spite of the fact that the Nazis appeared to promote art and culture did not go unnoticed in Germany. An anonymous letter was written to Beecham when he conducted in Leipzig saying that these so-called 'Promoters of the Art', who always applauded loudly on the front row had taken down the statue of Mendelssohn from in front of the Gewandhaus simply because he was Jewish. The artistic world was devastated by the grip that the Nazis had taken on Germany. Thomas Mann said on the anniversary of the bombing of Coventry,³⁰

' Hitler Germany had neither tradition nor future, it can only destroy. Let us hope that from its ashes a new Germany will arise that will be able to thrill and hope, to whom will be given the retrospective love of the past and the anticipatory love of the future of mankind. Thus it will earn love instead of the mortal hatred of all peoples. '

An artist whose help Furtwängler attempted to enlist in his struggle for art was the famous violinist Bronislav Hubermann. Hubermann was invited to perform in Germany in 1933 but he refused at that time, and both the letter of invitation from Furtwängler, and Hubermann's reply, were subsequently published in the press. Furtwängler drew Hubermann's attention to the memorandum issued by the Government stating that all artists of any race and nation were invited to perform

30 11 April 1942, Geissmar, op. cit., 328.

in Germany. He urged Hubermann to accept and make the first move to break down the barrier. In his reply, Hubermann expressed his deep appreciation of Furtwängler's efforts to save German concert life from the racial purging, and recalled Toscanini's refusal to go to Bayreuth and Paderewski's concert in Paris in aid of distressed German musicians, all of which he said made him proud to be a musician. Nevertheless Hubermann went on to say that he could not possibly return to Germany on the basis of the Government's declarations. As far as he saw it the new policy was merely a device whereby to fill the concert-halls with good performers. He said ³¹

' As every concert organisation of any importance is bound up with a great deal of international publicity ... the few foreign or Jewish musicians called into co-operation might be quoted as evidence that all is well with culture in Germany'.

He derided the notion that the Government felt the need to emphasise that the quality of performance must be the deciding factor in selection in music. He said ³² that this implied 'the intention to continue in operation in every other cultural field the perfectly unintelligible principle of racial selection'. Hubermann underlined the gross inconsistencies in the Government's policy, as this so-called 'freedom' was applied to the performance of music alone and not to teaching institutions, museums, opera-houses and so on. He then turned to the value of the musical expression itself, saying that performing music was a projection of the best in oneself. He

31 Manchester Guardian (13 September 1933).

32 Ibid.

asked, ³³

' Can this be expected of an artist who feels that his own human worth is being trodden underfoot and that he is officially degraded as a pariah? Of an artist who sees the protectors of German culture now in the saddle deliberately suppressing the fact that there is good reason to believe that Richard Wagner is of semi-Jewish origin?'

Bruno Walter

Bruno Walter was another conductor working in Germany during the Thirties - he was the permanent conductor at the Wiener Staatsoper. In March 1933 he was scheduled to conduct at the Leipzig Gewandhaus. The Nazis wanted to cancel the concert, and Walter himself wished to resign. The opera house, however, wanting to make a stand for music against the Nazis, did not permit Walter's resignation. Nevertheless, on the day of the concert itself, a placard was placed outside the concert hall announcing that the concert would not be taking place. Walter and some colleagues asked the Propaganda Ministry for an explanation, and the reply came from Dr. Funk, ³⁴

' We do not wish to prohibit the concert, for we are not interested in getting you out of an awkward predicament, or, let alone, in relieving you of your obligation to pay the orchestra. But if you insist on giving the concert you may be sure that everything in the hall will be smashed to pieces'.

33 Ibid.

34 Bruno Walter, Theme and Variations : An Autobiography, trans. James A. Galston (New York, 1946), 298.

Walter then informed the authorities that he would not conduct the concert, whereupon he was himself told that Richard Strauss was quite willing to conduct the concert in Walter's place. Count Kanitz, a friend of Walter's, later told Walter that the authorities had become suspicious because compromising letters written by Walter had been found in Liebknecht House, the Communist headquarters 'captured' by the Nazis.

In 1937 Walter was conducting back in Vienna, where at the time the Nazi threat was becoming increasingly strong. One evening, at a performance of Tristan und Isolde stink-bombs were thrown. Walter, determined not to give the Nazis the satisfaction of disrupting the performance, carried on. He said,³⁵

' I led the opera to its conclusion, but Isolde and Tristan - and especially the former - had become so hoarse through breathing in the vapours that the Love Death was played by the orchestra without vocal accompaniment'.

Walter decided to leave Austria permanently soon after he received a much-signed letter containing a threat of death. The Nazis subsequently sealed his flat and later confiscated and auctioned his belongings.

35 Ibid., 320.

Arturo Toscanini

Karl Muck, the musical director of the Bayreuth Festival, retired on the death of Siegfried Wagner in 1930, and this left Winifred Wagner, his widow, with a problem. She invited both Furtwängler and Toscanini to conduct in 1931, the first year after she had taken on the sole responsibility of Bayreuth, but unfortunately trouble arose between them over a memorial concert for Siegfried Wagner, and Toscanini left Bayreuth.

On April 1 1933, a cable protesting against the new German racist policy and the boycotting of Jewish musicians was sent to Hitler from New York and the list of signatures was headed by that of Toscanini. An order was issued by the head radio commissioner three days later reporting this fact, and he added that until further notice Toscanini's concerts and recordings would no longer be broadcast. Nevertheless, Hitler was quite worried about the fact that the powerful voice of Toscanini was denouncing Nazi Germany and he decided to write to Toscanini personally to ask him to reconsider his decision not to return to Bayreuth. Toscanini replied that as he was concerned for the future of the Bayreuth Festival he would agree to come back and conduct.

Toscanini, however, had occasion soon after this incident to meet Fritz Busch, with whom he discussed the letter from Hitler. When Toscanini asked Busch what would come of the Bayreuth Festival were

he to refuse to conduct, Busch said ³⁶ 'Then they will invite me, Maestro ... That is to say, they have invited me. Tietjen, who expects your refusal, has already taken steps ... Of course, I will refuse, like you ...' After this meeting Toscanini immediately telegraphed Winifred Wagner with the message that he would not be returning to Bayreuth.

This news reached the press on 6 June and two days later a summary of the Nazi reaction to Toscanini's refusal appeared in the New York Times, ³⁷

' Most organs thus far ignore Signor Toscanini's action, but the National Socialist Militant League for German Culture issued a statement saying Signor Toscanini "apparently had been unable to withstand the influence of large-scale anti-German propaganda", and added, "None of this League's authorised representatives has ever taken action against the artistic work of Toscanini. As Germans, we are convinced that artistically adequate interpreters of the works of Wagner will be found". '

As an attempt to change Toscanini's mind, the broadcasting ban on his recordings in Germany had been lifted, but when this attempt proved futile the ban was re-instated. Toscanini's recordings were eventually removed from the market.

36 Fritz Busch, Pages from a Musician's Life, Trans. M. Strachey (Connecticut, 1953), 217.

37 Harvey Sachs, Toscanini, (London, 1978), 225.

Fritz Busch

Fritz Busch was another conductor whose co-operation in building up the Third Reich could not be relied upon. He had bought a copy of Mein Kampf early in the Thirties and his aversion to National Socialist party doctrines subsequently became a conscious opposition. He spoke quite openly against National Socialism during 1931 and 1932 and what he had said was eagerly noted down by informers of the party. Busch was later attacked openly by the National Socialist press and his press reviews were further aggravated by the fact that a certain Dr. Börner had been employed as second prompter at the Dresden opera where Busch was based at that time. In March 1933 Börner was uncovered to be not a doctor at all, but the highest Nazi informer who had been introduced into the State theatre. From then onwards National Socialist cliques formed in the opera-house and continued to provide material for abusive articles concerning Busch.

Schieck, the Head of the Saxon Government, and a man who Busch felt to be just and humane, summoned the latter to his office in January 1933. Schieck was positive that in a few weeks time there would be a complete change in the political situation and that the National Socialists would assume power of government over Germany. He told Busch that when that happened, both he and his Intendant must expect to be dismissed from their posts, and to draw Busch's attention to the results of his attitude as an opponent of the Nazis Schieck said,³⁸

38 Busch, op. cit., 200.

' I am afraid that you, dear sir, will be sewn in a sack and thrown into the Elbe unless you decide at the last moment to change your behaviour completely and make concessions'.

Busch, however, assured Schieck that should such a circumstance arise he would take care to ensure that two Nazi officials, one on each side of him, went into the water with him.

At the beginning of March 1933 Busch was returning to Dresden from Berlin by train when he met Otto Klemperer who was going to Budapest for a guest performance. Even though a Nazi officer was sitting next to them, and could not possibly have missed a single word of their conversation, Busch and Klemperer made no effort to control their chatter, which was not exactly sympathetic towards the Nazi movement. When they got off the train at Dresden, Busch realised that the Nazi officer was Manfred von Killinger, who a few days later became the temporary successor of the head of the government, Schieck, and as such began to take the first measures against him.

During the afternoon of 7 March, Busch was making his final preparations at the opera house for the evening performance of Rigoletto when he heard disturbances in the street and stories that swastika flags had been hoisted on the opera house. Shortly before seven o'clock Busch was entreated by a friend of the family to leave the opera house at once as she had heard rumours that the crowd outside intended to kill him. A little later Busch was requested by a Nazi guard to follow him onto the stage, where Alexis Posse, an inferior actor but an avid party member, was standing. In a half-

circle in front of them stood about sixty Nazis, all fully armed, and to this audience Posse spoke of how Hitler's taking over of power would mean the dawning of a golden age for art. Posse also said how Busch was unacceptable to the Führer's new plan, and was therefore dismissed from his post.

Busch was then told that he had to go ahead and conduct the opera, but as soon as he made an appearance in the orchestra pit, he was greeted with cries of 'Traitor!' and 'Get out!'. The noise did not subside until Busch left his desk, whereupon he was replaced by his successor, Kapellmeister Striegler, who happened 'by accident' to be in the house. Later that evening Busch received a telephone call from a big American news agency and he recounted to them everything that had happened earlier that day. The information was immediately passed on to both the German and the International press. The courageous headline in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung next morning read 'Mediocrity makes itself important'.³⁹

The following day Busch received a telephone call from his sixty-five year old Intendant to say that he had been dismissed from his post as the Nazis had taken over the Taschenberg Palace (where the offices of the Dresden State Opera were). The very next day Busch was summoned to an interview in the Taschenberg Palace with Posse, who had made the speech two days earlier and was invited to resume his work of conducting. When Busch asked what the charges against him

39 Ibid., 207.

were the Intendant replied that he had too many dealings with Jews, too frequent absence and a too high salary - in that order. Busch refused to conduct again even though a telegram came from Hitler to the Saxon Government ordering him to be reinstated immediately. Busch left Dresden to go and see Göring in Berlin as an attempt at gaining justice, but just as he arrived there he heard that the Charlottenberg opera house had been seized by the Nazis. It was arranged for Busch to see Göring at his private house. Busch was kept waiting while Göring posed to have his portrait painted in oils. When he finally approached Busch he said he had no time at the moment for conversation. He did, however, say how sorry he was about the events in Dresden and proposed to meet Busch in the afternoon for further discussion in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Busch's conversation with Göring lasted for more than an hour during which time Göring declared that the accusations raised against Busch were ridiculous. Nevertheless, Göring did intimate that Busch ought to be grateful for the fact that Hitler had personally sent a telegram to Dresden ordering Busch to be reinstated, to which Busch replied that under no circumstances whatsoever would he go back and conduct in Dresden. Göring was not altogether enamoured of Busch's attitude towards the Nazis, but promised that the affairs of the past weeks would be put right. Although he had promised his help to Busch, Göring's power was actually not as great as he himself had imagined, and he eventually broke all his promises towards Busch.

Such was the grudge against Busch in the Dresden opera house by the new Nazi officials that a paper was placed in the house for signing,

and it stated, among other things : ⁴⁰

' The undersigned request the Führer to take every means of preventing the former Musikdirektor Fritz Busch from returning to the Dresden Opera in any capacity whatever, as in personal and artistic matters he is incompetent'.

Much to Busch's heartbreak, out of more than forty singers, only seven had the courage to refuse their signatures. Shortly afterwards, in June 1933, Busch made arrangements for himself and his family to leave Germany for South America. In the following years Busch received official invitations to conduct in the Third Reich seven times, all of which he refused.

Otto Klemperer

Otto Klemperer recalls many instances of anti-semitism, some of which occurred whilst he was still at school, that is, before the turn of the century. He remarked that Napoleon had ordered a complete integration of the Jews in Germany, but after he was defeated, there was a strong reaction against him and anti-semitism returned even stronger than before. He felt very strongly about the plight of the Jews in Germany under the Nazis and especially about Strauss's opportunistic attitude and acceptance of the situation with such apparent unconcern. Klemperer told Peter Heyworth that Strauss remained in Germany because there there were fifty-six opera houses,

40 Ibid., 210.

and only two in America, and to quote Strauss himself,⁴¹ 'That would have reduced my income;' Klemperer was appointed Generalmusikdirektor of the Kroll Theatre in Berlin in 1927 at the recommendation of Erich Kleiber. The Kroll Theatre was an appendage to the Staatsoper, inaugurated by Kleiber in 1924, and was known to be specifically interested in contemporary works. As the Kroll was included in the budget of the Staatsoper, it had no money of its own, and at the start of the rehearsals in August 1927, there was no rehearsal stage. For this purpose a stage had to be improvised in the Schloss Bellevue which was across the Tiergarten from the Kroll theatre. Another difficulty the Kroll suffered under was that the company belonging to the Unter den Linden opera house performed regularly at the Kroll whilst their own theatre was being reconstructed.

Although Klemperer's main occupation at the Kroll was performing contemporary works, what concerned him even more was that every work should be well-rehearsed and of the highest possible standard. In fact the Kroll had to offer no more than ten operas every year, and many seats were bought by the Berlin Volksbühne (an association which offered cheap seats on subscription to its members) even before they knew which works were to be performed. The second season of the Kroll, 1928-29, began with Der fliegende Holländer, which Klemperer staged in modern dress. Senta wore a sweater and a skirt, and the sailors and Dutchman were likewise in contemporary

41 Peter Heyworth, Conversations with Klemperer (London, 1973), 24.

dress. Many people were shocked by this, and the Wagnerverein deutscher Frauen (The Wagner Association of German Women) protested that this was a mockery of Wagner. Before the second performance of the opera, the police telephoned to say that the Nazis were planning a demonstration, so Klemperer asked for police protection. Ten detectives sat in the first row of the stalls, and two hundred others were posted around the auditorium so the demonstration never materialised.

Much of Hindemith's music was performed at the Kroll, including the first performance of his violin concerto with the composer himself as soloist, his cello concerto, the Konzertmusik for piano, brass and two harps, and other works. The main problem with the performance of so many contemporary works at the Kroll, however, was that the Kroll Opera depended for its livelihood upon a contract with the Volksbühne, and the Volksbühne's subscribers did not want to hear so much Schönberg, Stravinsky and Hindemith. Even though the Kroll did give the more popular operas, for example Carmen, The Tales of Hoffmann and Madame Butterfly, they never gave them in conventional productions.

The reactions of the Nazis to the style of opera productions were not very favourable at all, but they became even more virulent when three progressive men were brought in to take the place of the previous designer Dülberg, who had become ill with tuberculosis. The three artists were Oskar Schlemmer, who had been head of the department of theatrical design at the Bauhaus, Oskar Strand, an

Austrian architect and stage designer and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, a Hungarian painter and 'constructionist' who had taught at the Bauhaus during the Twenties. The crisis came in 1930 when Tietjen announced that the Kroll Opera would be shut the following year. Klemperer did all he could to save it, and he wrote an article in the Berliner Tageblatt called In eigener Sache, 'In one's own cause'. He also went to see Eugenio Pacelli, the Secretary of State at the Vatican, as he happened to have a concert in Rome at about that time. Pacelli was very sympathetic and advised Klemperer to go to Dr. Brüning, the German Chancellor at that time, and to Prälat Kaas, the leader of the Zentrum Party (the Catholic Party at the Centre). Kaas held out no hope whatsoever, and Brüning said he would like to help, but could not. He said,⁴²

' I cannot help you because Germany has not paid her war debts. Instead of that she has built the Linden Opera. That should not have happened. That is why I am pleased that at least the Kroll Opera is to be shut'.

It is obvious, though, that the Kroll Opera, which cost the State the least money, was closed purely for political and not for economic reasons and what is more against the desire of the general public. The authorities disagreed with the whole direction that the Kroll performances were taking and they were not too keen to keep Klemperer employed because he was Jewish. Tietjen said to Klemperer in 1933,⁴³

42 Ibid., 67.

43 Ibid., 67.

'It's your whole political and artistic direction they (the Nazis) don't like. That is the reason why the Kroll Opera was closed.'

The contract under which Klemperer had been employed as General-musikdirektor of the Kroll was that should the Kroll Opera be shut, he was to work in the same capacity at the Linden Opera. The Intendant Tietjen was not of the same opinion, however, and he himself wished to decide what operas were to be performed. Their argument even reached a labour tribunal, a place where you are obliged to argue your case without a lawyer. Klemperer unfortunately lost his case and had to pay 5,000 marks as a result. Klemperer's life at the Linden Opera was not made particularly pleasant under Tietjen, and besides that there were also three other conductors already working there - Kleiber, Furtwängler (who conducted there occasionally) and Leo Blech. In the two years that Klemperer was at the Linden Opera, 1931-33, he insisted that he conduct only productions that had been taken over from the Kroll, or that were new.

Less than a fortnight after the Nazis had come to power, on 12 February 1933, Klemperer conducted his new production of Tannhäuser at the Linden Opera. The sets were by Oskar Strand, very progressive, and very much to Klemperer's liking. They were not, however, to the liking of the Nazis, and it is said that they were subsequently destroyed on Hitler's express instructions. The opera received very derogatory press reviews and Tietjen found himself in a very precarious position. He had previously been appointed by Winifred Wagner to work at Bayreuth and felt that he could not allow such

productions at the Linden Opera when he would not have allowed them at Bayreuth. Eventually Tietjen told Klemperer that he could not employ him any longer. Klemperer's activity in Germany was finally terminated in March 1933 with the Berufsbeamtengesetz - a decree concerning the employment of officials, promulgated by the Nazi Government. This meant that no-one of an alien race could occupy a position as a civil servant, and as a conductor at the Berlin State Opera, Klemperer was a civil servant. Jews, such as the famous neurologist Goldstein, were beginning to disappear without trace, and Klemperer too decided he would leave. When he took his farewell of Tietjen he received no help or encouragement from him. He eventually settled in America where he received an appointment in the same year to conduct the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

Erich Kleiber

Erich Kleiber, conductor of the Berlin Opera, recalls what a nuisance State visits to the opera were, in particular the occasion of a visit by the aged Hindenberg to the Staatsoper in 1928. Hindenberg sat patiently through a performance of Die Zauberflöte and said to Kleiber at the end, ⁴⁴ 'If only they'd told me what it was all about I might have enjoyed myself more.'

There was only one occasion on which Kleiber gave the Nazi salute in

⁴⁴ John Russell, Erich Kleiber: A Memoir (London, 1957), 145.

the presence of party leaders, and that was during a performance of Siegfried. Kleiber had made a bet with Max Lorenz, who was singing Siegfried, that he could give a Nazi salute without the authorities noticing, and during Act Three, after the dragon had been killed by Siegfried, Lorenz began to realise how Kleiber could win the bet. When they arrived at the words Wohin mein Führer mich wies Lorenz glanced into the pit to see Kleiber's right arm raised momentarily, straight from the shoulder, at an angle of forty-five degrees.⁴⁵

One of Kleiber's closest friends, Alban Berg, was busily working on the score of Lulu during the early Thirties and was looking hopefully towards Kleiber for a performance of the opera in the 1934-35 season. They soon began to realise, however, that a performance of Lulu in Nazi Germany would be entirely unthinkable despite the fact that both Berg and Wedekind (on whose play the libretto is based) were German and Aryan. During this time Berg's music was no longer performed in Germany, and to confirm the hopelessness of the situation Berg had a letter from Furtwängler in May 1934 saying that it was out of the question that Lulu would be accepted anywhere in Germany at the present time.

On 8 December 1934 Kleiber was conducting Otello at the Staatsoper, given in aid of the winter relief fund, in which artists could show their approval of the new regime by taking a collecting box round their audience. Göring had announced that he intended to be present

45 Ibid., 147.

at the performance that evening, and in complete contrast to the tremendous acclamation and approval with which Kleiber was greeted, Göring was actually hissed when he entered before the beginning of the Fourth Act.

Kleiber had remained in Germany long after most other well-known conductors had left. He was very keen to champion the Five Symphonic Pieces from Lulu (arranged by Berg from his opera after he had accepted the hopelessness of a full operatic performance), which he did on 30 November 1934 'in the nature of a last salute to the independent, free-tongued, inquisitive Berlin of the 1920s'.⁴⁶ The Prager Tageblatt even reported the undisputed success of the evening two days later. Four days after this concert Kleiber resigned his post; he found the lack of freedom in the artistic world intolerable and decided to leave Germany. The authorities, however, refused to believe that he would voluntarily give up his post and kept him on until the end of his contract, which meant that he could not get away until the first week in January. They continued to send him invitations to conduct, even offering him whatever salary he chose. After much pressure, Kleiber said,⁴⁷ 'All right, I'll come, but on condition that I can give a Mendelssohn programme at my first concert'. Nothing more was heard of this, but in July 1935, Kleiber had a letter from Tietjen who was requesting on behalf of Göring that Kleiber should return to the Staatsoper. Kleiber's immediate reply to this was,⁴⁸

46 Ibid., 147.

47 Ibid., 149.

48 Ibid.,

' Please thank the Minister-President for his invitation. I cannot follow up his proposals, because I did not give up a position which I had held for twelve years, in order to return six months later and at a time when the conditions which caused me to resign remained unaltered. '

Herbert von Karajan

In 1933 Karajan moved from being director at the state theatre of Ulm to the opera house at Aachen - his first really important post, and according to Paul Robinson,⁴⁹ Karajan found himself obliged to join the Nazi Party in order to take up his post there. According to certain documents now held in the Berlin Document Centre, however, Karajan joined the N.S.D.A.P. on 8 April 1933, and even his Party Membership number has been preserved, showing that rather than being a matter of sheer necessity, Karajan's membership of the Nazi Party was also a matter of choice. As an interview with Winthrop Sargeant revealed in 1961, Karajan was very opportunistic, and he probably felt that he would stand a better chance of success anywhere if he had Government support behind him. As he himself said of the job in Aachen,⁵⁰ 'I would have committed any crime to get that post'. Also in direct contradiction to the evidence to be found in the Document Centre is Paul Robinson's remark,⁵¹ 'like Furtwängler, he (Karajan) doubtless deplored Nazi interference in musical affairs,

49 Paul Robinson, Karajan (London, 1975), 12.

50 Ibid., 12.

51 Ibid., 13.

and hoped for the Nazis' early demise'.

Karajan was invited to conduct at the Berlin State Opera in 1938 and he soon established himself as an excellent conductor. With the generous conditions under which he was working Karajan felt no pang of conscience about compromising himself to the regime. At the Berlin State Opera, which was under Göring's jurisdiction, Karajan was allowed great freedom. By this time he had very few rivals as most of the other top conductors had already left Germany. Karajan and the Intendant Heinz Tietjen never became the greatest of friends, but eventually they settled down to a good working relationship.

After a performance of Tristan by Karajan in Berlin in late 1939, the critic Van der Nuell referred to him as Das Wunder Karajan and suggested that older conductors might well learn something from him. Furtwängler naturally took this as a personal affront, and later, during his denazification procedures, evidence came to light that the extravagant Karajan review had been instigated by Furtwängler's enemies in the Nazi Hierarchy.⁵² In 1941, while Karajan was away from Berlin on a conducting tour, Furtwängler conducted a special concert for the Berlin State Opera House - probably because he was inflamed by the Das Wunder Karajan incident. With Furtwängler's return to the opera, however, Karajan fell out of favour - something which Tietjen attributed to a swing in politics: the Nazi officials backing Furtwängler had gained popularity over those backing Karajan.

52 Ibid., 17.

Shortly after this incident, Karajan received an order to join the army, but with the help of his dentist's daughter, who was Goebbels' secretary, Karajan succeeded in having the order rescinded.

Although Karajan's wife (he married for the second time in 1943) was one quarter Jewish, this did not prove in any way detrimental to his splendid career, both as a Nazi and as a conductor, during the Third Reich.

There are Jewish musicians even today, however, who still refuse to play with Karajan - Isaac Stern and Itzhak Perlman for example - and it is slightly irritating to Karajan that he has not been allowed to forget his former fanaticism. Immediately after the war, Karajan's career prospects were threatened by the allies, until he had undergone the Denazification processes. A concert of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra which he was due to conduct on the 2 March 1946 was cancelled suddenly when his activity as a member of the National Socialist Party became known to the Allied Authorities. It was only in 1948 that his name was cleared on connection with Nazism by the American Forces in Austria and this enabled him to conduct at the Salzburg Festival in the summer of 1948.

Clemens Krauss

Clemens Krauss, born in Vienna in 1893, succeeded Erich Kleiber as Generalmusikdirektor of the Berlin State Opera early in 1935, an act which has later led people to suspect Krauss of Nazi sympathies. He did, in fact, take over the première of Strauss's Arabella in 1933

when Fritz Busch, for whom the opera was intended, had been driven out of Dresden. In addition, his immediate predecessors in Berlin (Kleiber) and Munich (Knappertsbusch) had resigned for political reasons.

Krauss was certainly a very important figure in German music making at this time, and there is no doubt that his support for the Nazis eased Strauss's position, since Krauss's devotion to his music ensured its continued performance in Germany and Austria even when the composer was in disfavour. Throughout the Thirties Krauss was closely associated with Strauss both as friend and interpreter. Apart from Arabella, he gave the first performances of Friedenstag (Munich 1938), Capriccio (Munich 1942) - for which he also wrote the libretto - and Die Liebe der Danae (Salzburg 1952).

During the war Krauss was very active at the Salzburg Festivals, and especially with the direction and reorganisation of the Mozarteum. In 1943, after the destruction in an air raid of the Nationaltheater in Munich, where he had been appointed as Intendant in 1937, Krauss left for Vienna to conduct the Philharmonic Orchestra in broadcast concerts.

Krauss never denied his one time membership of the Nazi Party. Alongside this evidence, however - which contributed towards the fact that he was forbidden to conduct until 1947 - one must also remember the countless victims of Nazi persecution whom he helped to escape from Germany and Austria under the Nazis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Opera and Ideology : the effect of political interference during the
Third Reich

The main practical problem that faces opera composers is knowing how to hold the interest of an audience over a whole evening. Virgil Thomson, discussing the music of John Cage, summarised the difficulty of modern music as a theatrical vehicle, ¹ 'The most dependable device for holding attention is a "theme" or story ... "Abstraction" in art is nothing more than the avoidance of a clear and necessary attachment to subject matter.' Carl Orff went a step further when he expressed what could be read as the motto of the successful opera composer, 'Melody and speech belong together; I reject the idea of pure music'. ²

To a certain extent, opera had made itself, because of its very nature, a form significantly neglected by most mainstream avant-garde composers of this century. The reason for this was that in the great reaction against romanticism, composers favoured the smaller over the larger than life. The form and spirit of opera was therefore uncongenial to such composers as opera essentially demands a large time span in order to express itself. Since this trend towards small forms also extended into the sphere of literature, much drama, upon which operatic composers have most depended, was obviously unsuited to providing libretti. Another twentieth century tendency inimical to the composition of opera was the preference for aleatory music as opposed to the planned and composed, which leads to the conclusion that those composers who have

1 Gary Schmidgall, Literature as Opera (New York, 1977), 366.

2 Ibid., 366.

achieved a measure of success in the sphere of opera this century are, generally speaking, not among the mainstream avant-garde; for example, Orff, Thomson, Britten, von Einem, Henze and Menotti. Although the development of psychoanalysis during the early part of the century instigated a move towards a deeper examination of the psychological characters in operatic plots, the effects of the existentialist philosophy presuming that human experience is fundamentally disconnected, and the absurdist theatre rejecting cause-and-effect logic and linguistic normality, were detrimental to its further development. The themes of waiting and stasis, prominent in twentieth century literature are also extremely difficult to convey on the operatic stage. Maeterlinck was among the first to explore the dramatic potential of immobility in Pelleas et Mélisande, and as Schmidgall says,³

' Debussy made perhaps the sole effective translation of the power of inertia into operatic form Such drama must avoid the eloquence of character and situation that is almost always the igniting spark of successful opera ... This is not material on which the expansive art-form of opera is nourished. '

The changing 'dramatic' aspect of twentieth century drama was inimical to operatic development. Post-war drama especially consists not so much of characters, plots and dialogue as of philosophical and symbolic meaning. Indeed in quite a few cases the audience would have extreme difficulty simply deciding what the works were about (for example in some of the plays by Pinter and Stoppard), and as a result, the dramatic force and narrative tautness are inevitably weakened.

3 Ibid., 362.

It is not always very helpful, however, to view opera in terms of contemporary theatre. The theatre, especially the 'theatre of the absurd', has always revolted against its past, and therefore scorns the traditionalism of opera. But while the contemporary theatre can nudge opera forward on certain points, it cannot transfer its own solutions wholesale to opera. Opera is the most expensive musical luxury our society has devised, and it is therefore, for both sociological and economic reasons, very resistant to extreme experimentation. According to Ernst Krenek in his article Is Opera still possible today? of 1936⁴ opera is the art form which more than any other reflects the outlook of the age. His main argument for saying this is that in his opinion the musical and dramatic developments of the twentieth century heralded a new element in the further evolution of opera. This 'new element', he says is created primarily by the changing musical language, whose radical quality tends to accentuate the feeling of alienation above that of the sensual pleasure given by opera.

Another respect in which opera reflected the fluctuating trends of the twentieth century was the change in the mode of expressing 'reality'. In previous operatic reforms, with this aim in view, the emphasis was laid primarily on creating a greater dramatic realism. During this century, however, as Krenek wrote,⁵ 'the new movement tries to get reality not by perfecting the illusion, but by doing away with it altogether.' Krenek is probably referring here to the general trend in opera, not particularly to what was happening under the Nazis, which was hardly a

4 Ernst Krenek, Exploring Music (London, 1966), 97.

5 Ibid., 103.

natural flourishing of the art. Even so it is interesting to note that in Die Kluge, produced most successfully under the regime, Carl Orff attempted to dispel illusion by presenting the various aspects of the story simultaneously on the stage (see chapter five).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that opera is probably well-representative of the outlook of the age, it is in direct opposition to any political ideologies which attempt to simulate a united and conflict-free society. The problem of opera composition therefore became particularly acute during the years of the Nazi regime, when composers were searching for a new realism in opera which inevitably meant an intensification of the contrasting elements within the art-form, and the Nazis were desperately struggling to create a German culture depicting a harmonious and unified community.

An article also written in 1936,⁶ by Gerhard Pietzsch refers to the crisis he supposed present-day opera to be in. His opinion was, however, that a new musical style could only evolve through a complete rejection of all previous artistic efforts and ideals. He went on to say that destructive attacks have been made on Germany's national art by the West - he cites the French Grand Opéra as constituting the first attack of Jewish capitalism against the community, true expression in art, the people and the state. He emphasised that during the current time of crisis in the field of opera, combined with the proliferation of so many different musical styles, both the musician and librettist must

6 Gerhard Pietzsch, 'Uber das Libretto der modernen Oper', Die Musik, Vol. XXIX/2 (1936), 81-5.

express the ethos of the folk-community, not by working in their own individual ways, but by having consideration and regard for their following.⁷ He wrote that operas of striking originality and individuality were of no value, since they could not possibly be expressive of the thoughts and feelings of the Volk in the way that the Singspiele were in the eighteenth century. In order to communicate successfully with the people, the composer must be one of them, and have no overriding ambition to create a lasting art-work, which Pietzsch insisted would be a tribute to the composer alone. Pietzsch regretted the fact that support for artistic individuality was still so strong in many important circles, but pointed out the fact that musicians producing the longed-for folk-rooted art had the advantage of strong support from the National Socialist state. As a finale to his thoughts on opera, Pietzsch recommended greater declamatory freedom and a reinstatement of structuring opera in the old 'number' form.

Perhaps one of the trends in contemporary opera which is most antithetical to the Nazi ideology is that of encouraging the audience to be aware of the fact that they are witnessing a deliberately organised performance, as Weill does in The Threepenny Opera, instead of transporting and entertaining them by a fantasy world completely divorced from reality. Having established this relationship with the audience, the composer is then free to make whatever social comment he wishes, and under such circumstances has the assurance that it will be understood. Opera is, after all, 'a superb arena for the projecting of dramatic situations,

7 Ibid., 84.

emotional states, philosophies and even political creeds.'⁸

Another area of conflict arose out of the very nature of opera itself. Opera is concerned primarily with individuals, and as such, needed to undergo a radical transformation in order to fit in with the tenets of the Thirties, in which the emphasis was on the people and their fate. Krenek referred to the backward looking style engendered by composers working under a dictatorship in this way,⁹ 'wherever the masses, as such, become a factor in artistic expression, forms emerge which must be considered reactionary, if looked at from an objectively artistic point of view.' This statement goes a long way towards explaining the type of opera fashionable with the Nazis, and also gives an inkling as to why the composition of opera in particular became more of a dilemma than other musical forms at this time.

It would appear that as well as having to formulate a specific direction in which to channel music and opera, the new regime also had to cope with the unification of an art-form which had been dividing into radically separate trends from the beginning of the century. Composers were imposing, and rightly so, their own feelings and ideas upon the operatic medium, but their individuality was to prove a problem. Since atonalism was no longer permitted, all attempts at serial composition were banned. Kurt Weill's Dreigroschenoper and Mahagonny and Ernst Krenek's Jonny spielt auf never reached the stage after 1933 because the music contained overt jazz elements. Hindemith's new experiments with operatic

8 Günther Schüller, 'Is Opera Dead', Opera News, Vol. XXXI (New York, 10 June 1967), 8-12.

9 Krenek, op. cit., 106.

form in Cardillac were never followed through since Hindemith became persona non grata. The very new trend during the Twenties of using film to express a dramatic situation, as in Berg's Wozzeck and Weill's Royal Palace was never explored and developed. Many composers with Jewish connections or those whose faces simply did not fit were ostracised, which all led to leaving the operatic stages bare. The standard repertoire minus a few 'undesirable' works was still performed, but Germany had to prove to the rest of the world that this 'Thousand Year Reich' was the start of an exciting new cultural era. Germany could not rely solely of a standard repertoire of favourite operas, it had to produce young, talented men who could write successfully for the operatic stage and yet conform to the tenets of National Socialism.

The period of the Weimar Republic was widely acknowledged to have been a golden age as far as all branches of culture were concerned. Trends and experimentation were full of significance for future development. Art during the Twenties was inextricably bound up with the social and political issues of its time, and the period was productive of many of this century's most original forms and methods. For a moment during the Weimar epoch it seemed as though a really radical re-evaluation of opera - something so sorely necessary at that time - was actually underway. During the Twenties one major object was to reconsider the use of music in the context of both theatre and cinema and to link its expression to something more fundamentally akin to the human situation. Unfortunately, with the rise and take-over of National Socialism this new dimension of expression was lost.

The National Socialist line of action was to focus attention on a small

stream of second-rate composers who were able to emerge into the light after the big names such as Hindemith, Schönberg, Weill and Krenek had disappeared from the scene. They attempted to breathe life into these rather listless and generally uninteresting figures, claiming that they alone were the entire representation of the range of present-day composition in the realm of opera. It is the distortion of the reality of the situation, combined with the fact that the National Socialists wished to project this situation to the public as a complete spiritual revival, along with the denigration of much of the leading talent of the day, that makes the twelve-year Nazi rule so horrific and stultifying as far as music goes.

In the field of opera the Nazis had certain 'models' drawn from the past, which they presented as supreme examples of what they called 'Germanness' in music. One such opera was Carl Maria von Weber's Die Freischütz, which had its first performance in the Berlin Schauspielhaus on 18 June 1821. It was acclaimed with incredible enthusiasm and subsequently became popular throughout Germany. The story is based on an old folk legend, subject matter which was very appealing to the Nazis as one of the leading National Socialist Art Policies was to instigate a new and 'folkish' art (Völkisch) about which more will be said later. The peculiar charm of Weber's music lies in its irresistible melodiousness which has made some minor numbers a part of German folk music, for instance the bridesmaids' song, the huntsmen's chorus, and the prayer 'Leise, leise, fromme Weise' (softly sighing day is dying) from Agathe's famous aria. The work is imbued with a feeling of Germanness by its very setting, and Pfitzner described the German forest as the main character in the opera.

Although E.T.A. Hoffmann's Undine and Spohr's Faust were both performed in 1816, German Romantic Opera did not really establish itself until Weber's Freischütz. Weber instigated a native operatic tradition characterised by the use of local or national history or legend. Heinrich Marchner's Hans Heiling (1833), Konradin Kreutzer's Melusine (1833) and Albert Lortzing's Undine (1845) all upheld the same tradition, as did Wagner, Weber's successor as Kappellmeister in Dresden.

Dr. Rainer Schlösser, the Reichsdramaturg, remarked that just as a person is able to keep his outer self clean and pure by the use of a mirror, so he needs to keep his soul pure, and such a mirror for the German soul is Der Freischütz.¹⁰ Dr. Schlösser's article refers to Weber's love for art and for mankind, suggesting that love is not understood, but felt,¹¹ a sentiment which was entirely suited to the intentions of the Nazi regime, that is, the exaltation of feeling above thought and reasoning.

In 1935 the Propaganda Ministry and the German Workers' Party (Deutsche Arbeitsfront) founded the Berlin Volksoper with Erich Orthmann as the Intendant. With its 1600 seats, it was one of the biggest opera houses in the capital, and in order to make opera easily available to the general public the prices of seat tickets were kept low. The seats cost between one and four and a half marks, and to members of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, all the tickets were one mark only. The Volksoper managed to maintain a high standard of opera production, and during the first season, it produced, amongst other operas Fidelio, Tannhäuser, Le Nozze da Figaro, Tosca and Boris Godunov. In a further effort to bring music to the people, a group of singers would visit the great industrial factories, several times a week, to give performances.

10 Dr. Rainer Schlösser, 'Der Freischütz als tongewordene Deutschtum,' Deutsches Musikjahrbuch (Berlin 1937), 14-18.

11 Ibid., 18.

The hope of the new regime was that opera composers would turn from the psychologically introverted subjects with which many had been preoccupied for the first thirty years of the twentieth century (as illustrated, for example, by Alban Berg's Wozzeck) to lighter topics of more popular appeal. The regime wished them to represent the Volk in music, rather than to concentrate on the individualistic presentation of a hero figure, and in short, to manifest the ideology of National Socialism in their art.

Otto Eckstein-Ehrenegg¹² cited Werner Egk's Peer Gynt and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny's Burger von Calais as attempts at fulfilment of the Nazis' operatic requirements. Carl Orff's fairy-tale opera Der Mond (The Moon) is also quoted as not only having popular appeal, but also being highly relevant to the contemporary operatic situation and having deeper significance for the future of opera itself.

As far as the broadcasting of opera was concerned, it is no surprise that Wagner was extremely popular, especially Lohengrin, Die Walküre and Die fliegende Holländer. Despite the emphasis on a totally German culture, however, Verdi operas were often played during the Thirties, as was Bizet's Carmen and Puccini's La Bohème. Standard works which cropped up time and again were Weber's Der Freischütz, Mozart's Die Zauberflöte and various works by Lortzing. Needless to say The Mikado, very popular during 1933 and 1934, did not survive any later into the Thirties. Similarly Stravinsky's Oedipus Rex and Kodaly's Hary Janos were not performed after 1933, and Mussorgsky's Boris Godunov not after 1934. Foreign relays, however, were taken even as late as 1939, as is

12 Josef Wulf, Musik im dritten Reich (Gütersloh, 1963), 281.

evidenced by the broadcasting of La Traviata live from Rome.¹³

In order to help establish a new culture, the public were treated to evenings of Lieder nach Texten von J. Goebbels, sung by Rosalind von Schirach with music by the unknown Hanns Naumann.¹⁴ Operettas were also very popular, especially Der Bettelstudent and Gasparone (Carl Millöcker), Clivia (Nico Dostal), Das Dorf ohne Glocke (Eduard Künnecke), Der Barbier von Bagdad (Peter Cornelius) and many by Franz Lehár and Johann Strauss.

There were many radio programmes devoted to the new generation of opera composers (Junge Komponisten), the composers who were destined to take the place of those who had left, and who were to formulate the new German culture. Mark Lothar, Hermann Reutter, Paul Graener, Wolfgang Fortner, Robert Heger, Rudolf Wagner-Regény, Josef Haas and Werner Egk were among those whose works were played. The work of these composers is discussed in greater depth in Chapters five and six.

The Nazis saw opera as an art which, without having its roots deep in a feeling for the Volk, would be totally unable to develop itself further organically, and by so saying, they intended to outline for all composers of opera their artistic duty. Needless to say, the policy makers who so strongly advocated a folkish art policy had only the vaguest notions about the formal characteristics of this new art. The most they were able to stress was that this type of music should

13 In Offizielles Organ der Funk-Stunde, 14 February 1939.

14 Ibid., 30 April 1934.

strive towards the creation of a national and ethnic unity.

There is a parallel here between the wave of romanticism which swept over Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the type of musical culture which Hitler tried to create. The former was the natural consequence of the passing of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. As Westermann wrote, ¹⁵

' Men fled into the world of unreality to forget the horror of the previous decade, and a welcome contrast was offered by the magic realm of romanticism with its fairy-tales, sagas and legends, with the glitter and mystery of the Middle Ages and the perfume and secrecy of the East. '

The operas of E.T.A. Hoffmann and Weber are prime examples of this type of fantasy world. Several have already been mentioned, and a further one is Weber's Abu Hassan (1811), with its exuberant music and Eastern atmosphere. Weber's Euryanthe, set in France in the twelfth century, is an example of an opera harking back to the splendour of the Middle Ages. Typical of the fairy-tale romantic type of opera is Weber's Oberon, again set in the Middle Ages, around the beginning of the ninth century.

The aim of the Nazi regime was to create a state of affairs akin to that which followed the French Revolution by culling works from that culture and trying to build a pseudo-romantic atmosphere around them. This trend found ready expression in the art form of opera, and E.T.A. Hoffmann (mentioned earlier as a forerunner of Weber) wrote in his

15 Gerhart von Westermann, Opera Guide (London, 1964), 137.

essay Der Dichter und der Komponist in 1813,¹⁶ 'I believe romantic opera is the only genuine opera, for music belongs in the realm of romanticism alone'.

During the Romantic Era folk music became increasingly popular, including that from foreign countries. As one of National Socialism's main preoccupations was folk music, this aspect of romantic opera was emphasised, although with the plan to 'aryanise' the German people, only German folk music was permissible.

Wagner was a useful model for the Nazis to choose, as in his writings he stressed that art must be created by and for the Volk. Wagner's definition of the Volk was all those who feel a common and collective need, and 'those who can hope for the stilling of their want in nothing but the stilling of a common want, and therefore spend their whole life's strength upon the stilling of their thus acknowledged common want.'¹⁷ He related folk and folk art to the Greek myth and Greek tragedy, and said that 'in the Mythos the folk's joint poetic force seizes things exactly as the bodily eye has power to see them, and no farther; not as they in themselves really are'.¹⁸ He was convinced that Greek tragedy was a faithful mirror of the whole history of mankind, and in such a sense, Mythos is part of the Volk: 'the Mythos is the poet's ideal stuff - that native, nameless poem of the folk, which throughout the ages we ever meet new-handled by the great poets of periods of

16 Ibid., 137

17 H. Ashton Ellis (trans.), Wagner on Music and Drama (London, 1970), 86

18 Ibid., 88.

consummate culture.' 19

He stated that the figure of the flying Dutchman was a mythical creation of the folk '... a primal trait of human nature speaks out from it with heart-enthraling force'.²⁰ This primal trait is the longing for peace amidst total unrest, and can be compared with the Greek Ulysses and his longings to return home during his ventures. The woman in the Greek tale was Penelope, and Wagner embellishes on this homely character and produces the quintessence of womankind, the woman of the future, who is to redeem the flying Dutchman. The story of Tannhäuser is also described by Wagner as a 'wonderful creation of the folk'.²¹

When referring to the Ring Wagner said that the lesson to be learnt from it was 'that we must recognise evil and tear it up by the roots, and raise in its stead a righteous world.'²² Wagner wrote at great length about a Wahn, a symbolic aspiration, which he said represented patriotism in political life. He wrote,²³ 'as such it prompts the citizen to offer up his private welfare, for whose amplest possible ensurement he erst was solely concerned in all his personal party efforts, nay, to offer up his life itself, for ensuring the State's continuance'. Another tenet which appears to accord entirely with Nazi doctrine is his statement on religion:²⁴

19 Ibid., 91.

20 Ibid., 254.

21 Ibid., 255.

22 Ibid., 279.

23 Ibid., 406.

24 Ibid., 413.

' Religion, of its very essence, is radically divergent from the state. The religions that have come into the world have been high and pure in direct ratio as they seceded from the state, and in themselves entirely upheaved it'.

During the autumn of 1867 Wagner wrote about the cultural mission of Germany as he saw it. He felt that Germany was the only country to produce the qualities necessary to produce a nobler form of culture.

Although Wagner's music became so closely associated with the Hitler regime, the ideas put forward in The Ring are in fact the precise opposite of fascism. Wagner, unlike Hitler, preached that the pursuit of power is incompatible with a life of true feeling, and the attainment of power is a major step in the destruction of love. Hitler was very fond of saying 'Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany must know Wagner',²⁵ but the way in which Wagner was viewed by the Nazis was a complete perversion of his true character, and an inversion of the values he stood for. Wagner's operas relied very heavily on mythological background. This was interpreted differently in the twentieth century due to a changed attitude towards mythology, and consequently Wagner's work was made to seem what it was not. He felt that such figures and events that are to be found in myth could better symbolise the human predicaments of his time than could mere historical facts. This renewed interest in and reinterpretation of mythology is succinctly explained in an article by a grandson of Richard and Cosima Wagner;²⁶

25 Bryan Magee, Aspects of Wagner (Herts., 1968), 83.

26 Manchester Guardian, (18 May 1934).

' Prussian military ideology fused with conceptions of the "heroic" and the "Teutonic" which, borrowed from the world of mythology, had become terribly shallow and superficial in the process. And out of this fusion grew the "national" ideal of the governing class, an ideal in which that class glorified its own striving after Power. The more particular characteristics of this ideal were grafted upon Wagner's mythological symbols'.

Far from appreciating Wagner's operas holistically, new meanings were applied to such as 'the blond warrior', 'Teutonic deities' and 'Nordic heroes' in the Ring for example, and the profound inward feelings were externalised and made superficial. Wagner's complex interrelation of dramatic ideas became disintegrated into separate scenes capable of expressing the new ideology, and doctrines such as the inseparability of Power and Guilt, absolutely crucial to a valid interpretation of Wagner, were completely ignored.

Another distressing factor was that there was no opposition to this process in Bayreuth. Apparently, writers were given instructions by the authorities to perpetrate this new interpretation of Wagner and to ensure the success of the Bayreuth Festivals along National Socialist lines. Outside Germany, this treatment of Wagner was not entirely understood, and such Wagnerites were either regarded as harmless, or, to quote Ernest Newman,²⁷ as '... well-meaning thurifers, making God in their own image'.

It was said of Wagner by leading Nazi musicologists of the time that had Wagner been alive today, he would have undoubtedly been a National

27 Ernest Newman, Fact and Fiction about Wagner (London, 1931), 190.

Socialist, and that in his own day he held the same attitude that was building up the National Socialist Party during the Thirties. This is, of course, a very extreme viewpoint, but Wagner certainly poured out wordy and polemical writings on almost every subject, including racism, hygiene, vegetarianism, anti-alcoholism, vivisection and 'the regeneration of man by some hazy synthesis of humanism, Christianity, Buddhism and theosophy'.²⁸

Magazines, even those not specifically related to music, began to publish articles about Wagner. For example, the bi-monthly organ of the Nazi Youth movement, a magazine with a blood red cover called 'Will and Power', devoted an entire issue to Wagner in November 1933.^{*} In it there was a series of articles with such titles as 'Richard Wagner, the prophet of the German Revolution', 'Richard Wagner and German Socialism' and 'Richard Wagner and the Jews', all of which were 'attempts to turn the anarchistic Wagner into a disciplined Nazi ... Wagner ... being straight-jacketed into the vague National Socialist Policy'.²⁹ The editor points out that the youth of today are experiencing a crisis and a conflict, and are looking for a spiritual leader who will show them a revolutionary new social order. Such a leader he claims can be found in Richard Wagner. In his efforts to prove that Wagner would have been on the side of National Socialism, Dr. Ganzer in his article on Wagner as a forerunner of the German Revolution wrote,³⁰

28 Geoffrey Hindley (Ed.), The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music (London, 1971), 324.

29 Observer (26 November 1933).

30 Ibid.

' Wagner was the greatest enemy of Liberalism and Materialism, and although for a time he may have seemed to have belonged to the democrat camp, actually he fought against that "Foul Liberal spirit" '.

Apart from the fact that many composers had found Hitler's dictatorship unbearable and had emigrated in 1933 or shortly afterwards, which in itself depleted Germany of a great deal of its musical talent, yet greater harm was done during the years after 1933. The composers remaining in Germany, those interested in opera particularly, were under the weighty shadow of Wagner, and were encouraged to produce masterworks exhibiting the various aspects of his operas that were constantly stressed by the Nazis. Richard Strauss wrote of him in 1942, ³¹

' It is in Richard Wagner's work that we find the ideal relationship between vocal parts and orchestra. Verses forged from the purest gold of the German language, phrased with the subtlest feeling for word-derivation and formed into the most expressive of vocal lines are ... made the content of profound and edifying works ... paralleled only in Schiller's dramatic poems. '

It seemed to be solely the ideological content of Wagner's work that the Nazis were interested in. The 'crisis' of opera could not be solved by examining Wagner's theories. Many operas during the Third Reich contained ballet, virtuoso singing and spoken dialogue, and proved to be successful despite the fact that those three things were nowhere to be found in Wagner. Although Wagner was very definitely a

31 Richard Strauss, Recollections and Reflections (London, 1953), 108.

hero of the Nazis, he was much less of a direct influence on opera composers during the Thirties as perhaps the Nazis would have hoped.

Turning to the situation in the opera houses themselves during this time, Wilhelm Furtwängler succeeded Klemperer at the Berlin Staatsoper, and after he resigned at the end of 1934, Leo Blech, the assistant conductor, took over. It was hoped at the time that Clemens Krauss, the director of the Vienna State Opera, would take over from Furtwängler, but it is all the more surprising that Leo Blech was kept on, since he was Jewish. The reason for his exemption from the Aryan law may well have been because he had been appointed by and was a favourite of the Kaiser, or simply because he had put in so many years of service. An equally exceptional circumstance was the retaining of the first violinist of the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra, Simon Goldberg, apparently by special permission obtained by Furtwängler.

Towards the end of 1933 there began some discussion as to whether the Berlin State Opera should be closed down and a 'People's Opera' substituted instead. To this end, contracts were not renewed for 1934. The directorship of the Staatsoper was changed yet again at the beginning of 1934, and Wilhelm Rode, previously titled a 'Court Singer', was

appointed. The management of the opera house was now in Goebbels' hands, and its name was changed to the 'German Opera House'. As one paper printed in 1934 about the Reich's plan for the opera house, ³² 'It is intended to make the house the centre of an operatic art in accord with the Spirit of National Socialism.'

As to the fate of the Charlottenburg Municipal Opera House, its ownership and control was to be transferred from the city of Berlin to the Reich. According to one report ³³ it was 'elevated to the dignity of a State Opera House' (Deutsches Opernhaus), and of course came under Goebbels' Ministry. The Charlottenburg Opera House had been built originally by the Berliners as a protest against the pomp and unpunctuality of performances at the Prussian State Opera House in Unter den Linden in Imperial days. Now it was drawn under the same wing as its rival opera house, which if nothing else, would be sufficient guarantee of its flourishing in the future, despite the financial hardships endured by most other cultural institutions during the early Thirties.

The new regime had decided that it was necessary for the opera houses to be pruned of non-Aryan and other undesirable elements and during 1933, many Intendants, singers, orchestral musicians and stage hands lost their jobs, and their places were taken by willing but often less able substitutes. To the Nazis the theatres and opera houses were an expression of the spirituality of the German nation and so their

32 Deutsches Tageszeitung (29 March 1934).

33 Morning Post (2 April 1934).

purification was essential.

Members of the Staatsoper in Berlin were obliged to fill in extremely long questionnaires in order that the authorities might discern whether their ancestry was pure Aryan or not, even to the extent of stating the religion of the grandmothers and grandfathers on the side of both the husband and wife. The singers Guttman and Gombart were dismissed during the early Thirties - the former for being a non-Aryan, and the latter for having a non-Aryan wife. Dismissals continued throughout the Thirties, and frequently the pensions given to the unfortunate musicians as an attempt to disguise the injustice of the situation were grossly inadequate to their needs.

In 1941, a Russian opera singer of some distinction, Joureneff-Schotte, was dismissed from the Berlin Opera House. She was born in Moscow in 1918 and the Staatsoper in Vienna had authorised her engagement by the opera house in Berlin. However, letters were sent to the Intendant of the opera house by the authorities stating that despite her acknowledged talent, the request for her to be employed in the Berlin Staatsoper could not possibly be entertained on the grounds of her Russian citizenship, German instructions being that no-one of Russian citizenship could be employed in German theatres.

In the opera house at Darmstadt, the Intendant, Gustav Hartung had to leave, and along with him other members of the theatre in this purging process. Dr. Rolf Prasch was then appointed as Generalmusikdirektor at Darmstadt for the 1933-34 season, but no sooner had Dr. Prasch begun to

get his work for the theatre underway than the news surprised everyone that Dr. Prasch had been asked to leave his post. As with Hartung's dismissal, no reason is given for the dismissal of Dr. Prasch, and one can only deduce that the regime deemed it fit that they were removed from the public eye for political reasons. Dr. Prasch's dismissal had obviously been planned some time in advance, however, as on the 24 January 1934, the day after Dr. Prasch left, the name of the new Generalintendant was published - Franz Everth. The cases of the Berlin and Darmstadt opera houses are merely examples of the type of thing which swept throughout Germany in the early Thirties.

The operatic repertoire throughout the Thirties and during the war years remained fairly conservative. The main works were those by Wagner, Verdi and Mozart, operas which had been performed regularly since the beginning of the century. New works by younger composers were introduced, but on the whole these preserved the predictable and rather unstartling pattern of those operas already established. In Cologne, for example, the four most popular operas during this period were Der Fliegende Holländer, La Traviata, Die Lustige Witwe and Martha. It has already been noted that Wagner and Verdi were extremely popular, and Franz Lehár was very much a favourite of Hitler and Goebbels, despite the fact that he had a Jewish wife. Of Martha (Flotow) Westermann wrote, ³⁴ 'The success of the opera was largely due to a certain mixture of gaiety and sentimentality, which always finds an audience'.

³⁴ Westermann, op. cit., 156.

In addition to works by Wagner and Verdi, the most popular operas in Leipzig during this period were Die Zauberflöte, Die Fledermaus (Johann Strauss), Der Freischütz (Weber) and Der Wildschütz (Lortzing) - a very German selection.

In most opera houses performances of Carmen and works by Puccini were common, and this persisted into the war years. Despite the heavy bombing of those years, concert and theatre life continued to flourish in Berlin. The reviews in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, however, indicate that the standard of performance fell quite considerably during these years, especially with respect to ancillary items such as scenery for operas, and much improvisation was therefore taking place. What is impossible to determine about this state of affairs is whether the activity was coming from the people themselves or engineered by the Nazis.

To give an example of the amount of musical activity taking place during the war, the opera houses of Berlin put on between them a total of sixty one operas, thirteen ballets and two orchestral concerts between 31 October and 22 November 1943. The operas that were performed were mainly those of Wagner, Verdi and Mozart, but also included were such works as Strauss's Arabella and Rosenkavalier, Puccini's Bohème, Madame Butterfly and Tosca, and Beethoven's Fidelio.

On the night of 22 November all four opera houses in Berlin were abruptly put out of action, the worst hit of all being the Kroll opera which was destroyed completely. Although the actual building of the

Deutsches Opernhaus was badly damaged, the box office was still able to function, and the company itself managed to struggle on.

The Staatsoper Unter den Linden was the first opera-house to begin giving performances again, and it continued to do so throughout the ensuing months. The operatic repertoire was very similar to that of the pre-war years, with the additions of such as Gluck's Orpheo and Giordano's Andre Chenier. Bizet's Carmen again appeared on the opera schedule, resuming its former popularity, despite the fact that Bizet was usually ranked among the Jews. It would appear that the effect of the bombing and destruction was to encourage the Germans even more to fanatic cultural activity to boost their morale.

As Frank Campbell says of the 1943-44 season in Berlin, ³⁵

' Clearly the season did not end as it began, but nonetheless Berliners advertised or had reviewed in the papers of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 343 concerts during a period of 194 days. Add to this the unknown, but undoubtedly large, number of musical events unreported in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and the 347 operatic performances advertised in its columns, weigh against these totals the destruction of all but one of the original opera houses and the damage or elimination for extended periods of all six of the favourite concert halls, and it becomes obvious that a tremendous amount of effort and ingenuity must have gone into the making of the season. '

The Festspielhaus in Bayreuth received completely different treatment at the hands of the Nazis to that received by all the other opera

35 In Music Library Association Notes, Vol. I (June 1944), 13.

houses in Germany. It was directly protected by Adolf Hitler himself, who had been a frequent visitor to Wahnfried during the Twenties, and was on extremely good terms with Siegfried Wagner's widow, Winifred. Geoffrey Skelton wrote,³⁶ 'From Richard Wagner's own day, ideas of Germanic supremacy had always been in the air there', and so it is little wonder that Hitler found at Bayreuth such fertile sowing ground for his new ideology, especially as the Festspielhaus was probably Germany's most valuable international asset in the field of culture.

' In the Thirties Bayreuth became a show place of Nazi glory, with Hitler temporarily in residence at Wahnfried during the festivals, with Führer receptions in the grounds and swastika flags everywhere'.³⁷

The whole feeling of the Festival was saturated in the new ideology, as can be seen from the following extract from the official handbook of Die Meistersinger in 1933,³⁸

' What better examples can we find than Walther von Stolzing, the young hero who ardently loves and is ready to use his sword against outward enemies, and Hans Sachs, the warm-hearted sage who also lives and fights against the enemy inside him, thus carrying off the noblest victory over himself. The man who conceived these figures once said, "When I entered with full knowledge on the course I had chosen for myself I wrote on my flag: with Germany to stand or fall!" Germans, hear the voice of our master: love and - fight! Then - with him - you will not fall, but stand!'

36 Geoffrey Skelton, Wagner at Bayreuth (London, 1965), 140.

37 Ibid., 144

38 Ibid., 144

Hitler's financial support was also crucial to the survival of the Bayreuth Festival during the Thirties. He granted the Festival a yearly sum of fifty thousand marks from his own private funds, and he also made over this money free of tax. Bayreuth was therefore in no way inhibited by lack of funds, for like all dictators, Hitler loved ostentation and display, especially when it so closely accorded with his own ideology. With all these funds, Heinz Tietjen, the Festival director, was thus able to indulge his wildest dreams on the Festspielhaus stage. According to Friedelind Wagner, he was not satisfied unless he had eight hundred people and a dozen horses milling round on stage, and he was also able to expand the chorus of the Gibichungs with its sixty four members to over a hundred.³⁹ Performances continued even after the outbreak of war, unlike after the outbreak of the first world war, although they continued in a reduced form. There were no new productions, and audiences mainly consisted of workers and members of the Forces who were given tickets and a period of leave to attend the performances. The only time that the Festspielhaus was closed was in 1944 with the onset of 'total war', the time at which all other opera houses and theatres in Germany were closed down.

Although other opera houses in Germany had been purged of their Jewish artists, Bayreuth was allowed to keep its Jewish musicians, due to the influence of Winifred Wagner. Gradually, however, singers began to leave Bayreuth, either because they were Jewish, or simply because they disapproved of the racial discrimination. In 1933 the Jewish artists

39 Richard Grünberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (London, 1971), 519.

List and Kipnis no longer sang there, and Kirsten Flagstad, mindful of her standing in America, ceased to appear at Bayreuth shortly afterwards.

The main problem facing Bayreuth was that of a musical director. The former Director Karl Muck, had retired in 1931 after the death of Siegfried Wagner in 1930. Winifred, who took over the running of the Festival, may have taken Muck's withdrawal as a hint of criticism of her ability to run the Festival, which was openly voiced by Furtwängler shortly after she had appointed him as musical director there. Furtwängler resigned from Bayreuth before the 1932 season, giving as his reason to the press that he was not prepared to take orders in musical matters from Winifred Wagner, a non-musician.

Toscanini had also declined to conduct at Bayreuth and the Nazi Party's advent to power had further deterred intending visitors from abroad. Winifred was therefore placed in a very weak position and eventually went to Garmisch in person to invite Richard Strauss to conduct, an offer which he accepted. A month before the opening of the Festival in 1933, however, only about half the seats had been sold. In response to Winifred's direct appeal, Hitler decided to attend the Festival, and he was present for the opening, returning again for the Ring cycle.

Hans Tietjen, the director of the Berlin Staatsoper, had been appointed as artistic director of the Festival by Winifred Wagner in 1932. Siegfried Wagner had greatly admired Tietjen's productions and the fact that he had an English mother was an added recommendation in Winifred's eyes, she herself being English. Tietjen made completely new productions

between 1933 and 1939 and his stage was dominated by a new generation of singers, mostly culled from his singers at the Berlin State Opera, with such names as Frieda Leider and Max Lorenz. Frieda Leider eventually left Bayreuth in 1938 when the situation became intolerable for her Jewish husband, Rudolf Deman, who had hitherto been protected by an Austrian passport.

Despite all the clashes of personality with Winifred Wagner, Furtwängler was the most eminent conductor at Bayreuth during the Thirties. Such conductors as Franz von Hösslin (who eventually left Germany with his wife, singer Erna Lilienthal, when she was banned from singing in Germany), Karl Elmendorff and Tietjen himself also made appearances at Bayreuth during these years.

After the war no more operas were given at the Festspielhaus until 1951, and during the years in between the building was used solely for variety shows for the occupying American Forces. Winifred Wagner herself was placed in the group of major collaborators with the Nazi regime by a Denazification Court in 1947. Among other penalties she was forbidden to continue her work at the Festspielhaus.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Main Composers of Opera during the Third Reich

The three main composers of repute during the years of the Nazi regime were Richard Strauss, Werner Egk and Carl Orff. Richard Strauss, on account of his age and the post-Romantic style of his music, was looked upon more as a father figure than as a composer of the future. Much greater attention was paid to those who could promise some hope of lifting opera out of what was thought to be its 'crisis'. Werner Egk and Carl Orff were heralded as leaders of the new generation of composers who would revolutionise operatic form and infuse it with a spirit and content suited to the National Socialist ethos. Richard Strauss is such a well documented figure that only those operas which have direct relevance to the political situation are dealt with here.

Richard Strauss was born in Munich in 1864 and died in Garmisch in 1949, in the elegant villa he had owned since 1908. He was therefore an elderly man of sixty-nine when the Nazis came to power. He had the advantage of an international reputation established prior to 1933, and this protected him for a long while, but even he began to feel the pressure in the end. Strauss's conflict with the Nazis did not arise because his operas had political themes, like Berg's, or were deeply introspective, like Hindemith's. He has, in fact, been accused of contributing to the stagnation of opera because of the type of works he chose to write,¹ but his main conflict arose through his unwillingness to submit to what he refused to recognise as a power superior to his own.

1 Dietrich Steinbeck, 'Strauss und die Stagnation der Oper', Mitteilungsblatt Internationale - Richard Strauss Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1967), 9-20.

The Nazi Party had gained control of Germany just as Stefan Zweig was completing the draft libretto for Strauss's opera Die Schweigsame Frau and orders concerning non-Aryans were soon issued, forbidding theatres to produce works written by Jews. Zweig naturally assumed that this would be the end of his collaboration with Strauss, especially as Dr. Goebbels, in order to make it clear that the matter had not escaped official notice, announced on the radio that Richard Strauss was at work on an opera with a Jewish librettist.

Nevertheless, Strauss was determined to continue the collaboration with Zweig and produce the opera. When Strauss visited Dr. Goebbels in 1934 he was warned that if he continued to compose his non-Aryan opera, demonstrations including the use of stink bombs might take place. The following day however, Goebbels told Strauss that he had persuaded Hitler to reconsider his edict, and according to William Mann,²

' Goebbels and all his minions had spent hours poring over Zweig's libretto in search of possible indelicacies or other undesirable matter and had been unable to find anything that might be construed as anti-German or politically unfavourable. '

Hitler told Strauss personally that the performance would be permitted, probably feeling that it would be safer for the moment not to anger the public with whom Strauss was still in favour. He had, after all, been nominated as president of the Reichsmusikkammer in November 1933. The performance, however, had been secretly arranged to take place without officially recognising Zweig's name. On 22 June 1935, two days

2 William Mann, Richard Strauss : A Critical Study of the Operas (London, 1964), 277.

before the première of Die Schweigsame Frau, Strauss noticed the omission of Zweig's name from the theatre handbill, and announced immediately,³ 'Unless Zweig's name is printed in type as large as Hofmannsthal's for Der Rosenkavalier, I go away tomorrow morning and the première can take place without me'. The matter was attended to, but such occurrences made Strauss a less than popular figure in the new regime, and the publicity officer who amended the posters was instantly dismissed.

Hitler and Goebbels had both previously promised to attend the première, news of which had prompted Strauss to write to Zweig,⁴ 'You see the wicked Third Reich has also got its good side'. As soon as the decision to amend the theatre handbill reached Berlin, however, Hitler suddenly decided not to attend the performance and Goebbels and his wife similarly failed to appear, with the excuse that bad weather had prevented their flight.

Another incident arousing Nazi ire was a letter sent by Strauss to Zweig on 17 June 1935, in which he expressed his exasperation at the latter's unwillingness to continue the collaboration,⁵

' This Jewish obstinacy! Do you imagine that I have been led in the course of a single action by the thought that I am Germanic? ... For me there are only two sorts of people; those who have talent and those who haven't, and for me the People only begin to exist when they become the Audience. It's all the

3 Ibid., 278.

4 Norman del Mar, Richard Strauss, A Critical Commentary on his Life and Works, Vol. III (London, 1972), 49.

5 Ibid., 50.

same to me if they come from China, Upper Bavaria, New Zealand or Berlin, so long as they have paid full price at the box office ... who has told you then that I have exposed myself so far politically? ... because I mime out this Presidency of the Reichsmusikkammer? Under any regime I would have taken on these pestiferous honorary positions, but neither Kaiser Wilhelm nor Herr Rathenau have ever dictated to me. '

Unknown to Strauss, this letter was intercepted by Nazi postal censors, photocopied, and then sent on to Zweig. Zweig must have been aware of the advantage to the Jewish cultural cause of this letter's publication by the press, but his decision not to publish must have taken account of the likely repercussions on Strauss himself.

A copy of the letter was sent to Hitler on 1 July with a covering letter by the Nazi political officer for the district, saying that the opera had had such a poor reception that the third performance had to be cancelled, which could not have been further from the truth. In this instance the Nazis had taken action without waiting for Hitler's authority. The opera was subsequently officially banned in Nazi Germany. It was given in various major cities abroad during the next few months, but thereafter it remained untouched until after the war.

On 6 July 1935 a visit was paid to Strauss by a messenger of the State Secretary demanding his resignation from the post of president of the Reichsmusikkammer, on what was to be called 'grounds of ill health'.⁶ In his memoirs, which were not published until long after his death, Strauss wrote,⁷

6 Ibid., 50.

7 Mann, op. cit., 280.

' I was not aware that I, as president until now of the Reichsmusikkammer, stood under the direct control of the State Police, nor that, after a lifetime's achievement of eighty major works "recognised throughout the world", I am not considered a "good German" above all criticism.'

Strauss then went on to mention the sacrifices he felt he had made in order to conform to National Socialist policies, and said that his reward was to be labelled 'a servile, self-seeking anti-Semite' by the Jews to whom he acknowledged his debt.

By now Strauss was beginning to realise that he was caught in a situation where for once he was not in control. His fear is evident in the letter he wrote to Hitler,⁸

' My whole life belongs to German music and to an indefatigable effort to elevate German culture. I have never been active politically, nor even expressed myself in politics. Therefore I believe that I will find understanding from you, the great architect of German social life, particularly when, with deep emotion and with deep respect, I assure you that even after my dismissal as president of the Reichsmusikkammer I will devote the few years still granted to me only to the purest and most ideal goals.

Confident of your high sense of justice, I beg you, my Führer, most humbly to receive me for a personal discussion, to give me the opportunity to justify myself in person. '

Strauss never received a reply to this letter.

Since the official Nazi opposition to Die Schweigsame Frau was common knowledge, Zweig wanted to pass his ideas for Strauss's next proposed opera, Friedenstag, onto a librettist who was politically inoffensive.

8 del Mar, op. cit., 50.

As a solution to the problem, Strauss offered to work in secret with Zweig, but Zweig thought that this would be an impossibility. Zweig suggested Josef Gregor, a Viennese theatrical archivist and historian as a possible collaborator. Gregor was a close friend of Zweig's and there would be no need for secrecy between him and Strauss. Strauss declined the collaboration initially because of his loyalty to Zweig, and even after working with Gregor for four years, he still felt their collaboration to be unsatisfactory. Strauss admitted that the subject matter of the proposed opera - soldiers, hunger and medieval heroism - didn't really suit him, and when the work was completed on 16 June 1936, no plans were made to perform it.

The première of the opera was delayed until 24 July 1938 in Munich, and it was subsequently dropped from the German repertory. The reason for this becomes evident if one considers the subject matter. The opera is set in the interior of a half destroyed citadel, where an officer, who has dedicated his life to the idea of victory or death, commands a motley group of soldiers. When peace is declared the Commander's life is shattered, and he is sustained solely by his wife's love and humanity. To express the wide range of emotions throughout the opera Strauss used a huge orchestra and the most extensive choral forces he had ever used. The deeper meaning expressed by the work is that tolerance should exist between people holding different opinions on any issue, a quality which the Nazis seemed very reluctant to display.

The text abounds in lines which would be guaranteed to provoke thought about the impending war-like state of Germany. Take for example this

dialogue which occurs after a young Piedmontese youth, having braved the enemy to bring a letter from the Kaiser to the Commandant has sung a simple folk song which arouses the nostalgia of the soldiers :-

The Private :- 'He knows not what war can mean. The world he comes from is peaceful.'

Musketeer :- 'What's that mean - peaceful ?'

A Bugler :- 'Who knows what peace is ? I've not known civil life now since I was ten years old.'

Another moving moment occurs when the townspeople, in their desperate search for food, make their way towards the fortress. They repeatedly cry 'Hunger!' and 'Bread!'. In their extreme need they break down the doors of the fortress, and their lament reaches its climax. There are similarities between the attitudes of the commandant in Strauss's opera and the Emperor in Victor Ullmann's opera Der Kaiser von Atlantis (discussed in greater detail later). The Commandant, although he eventually accepts the offer of peace from the Holsteiner (the enemy commandant), has the overriding desire throughout the greater part of the opera to achieve victory and glory for himself. He sings :-

' Come, Victory, come! Be mine,
And leave him mouthing!
Come, glorious name, my torch, my light divine!
O word that makes immortal mortal men's endeavours!
Let me triumph, thou my redeemer!
Oh, grant me the laurel crown!
Thou wilt not see my spirit humbled.
Victory, I invoke thee! '

In Der Kaiser von Atlantis the Emperor eventually agrees to be the first one to die in order that Death should return to his duty and bring relief to those who are suffering under the 'gift' of eternal life. The Emperor does, however, regret that he has not been able to fulfil his mission of wiping out the human race. Just before he is led off by Death he sings :-

' Ah, but how long will there be peace ? The flame is merely weakened, not put out. It soon will blaze anew. Once more shall murder rage, and I yearned to share the grave's repose! O were my task accomplished! Ah, were we turned to dust! '

The two passages quoted from Friedenstag are both perceptive comments on the nature of authority, and Strauss also emphasises the absolute senselessness and wastefulness of war in the painful passage sung by a woman of the deputation to the commandant :-

' War for thirty years,
No acre planted!
War for thirty years,
Waste and murder. '

(see example 1)

This is very similar to the sentiments expressed by Hartmann in Simplicius Simplicissimus Jugend, an opera whose subject matter is also the Thirty Years' War. Hartmann begins his opera with a Speaker :-

'Anno Domini. One thousand six hundred and eighteen. There were twelve million people in Germany Then came the Thirty years war Death was now the master of mankind. Thirty years have

past Anno Domini. One thousand six hundred and forty eight.
 Now there are not twelve million, but only four million souls alive in
 the whole of Germany '

Another parallel between the Strauss and the Hartmann operas is the
 pervading mood of hopelessness and desolation, expressed by Strauss in
 such passages as the following addressed to the Commandant :-

The Woman : 'Tell him what war is,
 The murderer of my children! '

A Townsman : (flinging himself to the ground)
 'And my children are dead,
 And the old folk whimper for food. '

Another : 'In the wreck of our houses
 We must go hunting
 Foul rats to feed us! '

In the Hartmann opera, a 'speaking choir' heart-rendingly describes the
 scene, very much akin to that of the Strauss opera :-

' And see
 The murderers in action!
 They trample down a peaceful home!
 They break down the door.
 They eat all the food!
 Sir Death now becomes the master of all!
 No one survives, not even the cruel escape! '

Strauss's opera divides into three distinct sections, dealing with (i) the terrible situation of war, (ii) an episode between the Commandant and his wife, and (iii) the ultimate arrival of peace. The bleak and desolate atmosphere is at once set by the orchestral opening - the woodwind pointing out a melody plentiful in augmented fourths, an interval which plays an important part throughout the work. Soon after the introductory bars, the martial ethos is established (see example 2). This military atmosphere is maintained throughout the opera, especially in such passages as the Trauermarsch, where 'the members of the deputation enter from below, looking like ghosts' The two opposing views of war are starkly contrasted later on in the opera. Maria sings:-

' War, tyrant and murderer, War!
 Athirst for blood still and still more blood,
 Would'st thou disguise thyself as Honour ?
 I curse thee, O War!'

.... and immediately following, the Commandant sings :-

' War, war, glorious prince of men,
 Has but to raise his proud and mighty head
 And all things lowlier bow themselves before him.
 And freely men lay down their lives for honour.
 I bless thee War! '

Friedenstag was not at all popular in Germany at that time, and it was withdrawn from the repertory after ninety eight performances. Since 1945 the opera has rarely appeared in German opera houses, and has never been performed in Britain. A review of the Breslau première⁹ consisted

9 Joachim Herrmann in Die Musik, vol. XXXI/4 (1939) , 273.

of eight lines only and confined itself to a list of performers, whereas it devoted four times as much space to reviewing Daphne, with which it had been given as a double bill. A review of the Berlin première ¹⁰ attempted to explain the undoubted success of the opera by stressing the fact that it was a Volksoper. Such a description usually indicated that the work would receive approbation under the regime. It is paradoxical in view of the actual fate of Friedenstag that this review ends with the words ¹¹ '... The applause promises lasting success well into the future.'

Gregor was so keen to continue the collaboration with Strauss, a feeling which the latter unfortunately did not reciprocate, that he began working on the ideas for Daphne immediately after the completion of Friedenstag. Daphne was initially planned as a double bill with Friedenstag, and by October 1935 Gregor had completed the draft libretto - Strauss began work on the music for Daphne during the summer of the following year. The theme running through Daphne was intended to be not too dissimilar from that in Friedenstag, the former being intended by Gregor as a story of man's reconciliation with nature, a mythological equivalent of man's reconciliation with man in Friedenstag.

The score of Daphne was completed by December 1937, and the double bill first performance took place on 15 October 1938 in Dresden. The evening was conducted by Karl Böhm, to whom Daphne was dedicated. A review of

10 Herbert Gerigk in Die Musik, vol. xxxi/7, (1939), 486.

11 Ibid., 486.

the première¹² spoke very highly of Daphne, saying that it would be regarded as an enrichment of both German operatic literature and German music. The reviewer, however, went on to contradict himself by suggesting that the opera, on account of its mythological and therefore somewhat esoteric subject matter, would not have great popular appeal among the German public. Since the subject matter of Daphne was culled entirely from Greek mythology, it posed no obvious threat to the Nazi censors, and after the trouble caused by Friedenstag Strauss was well advised to let the two one-acters go their separate ways rather than insisting on an indissoluble partnership.

Strauss and Gregor had been working on another opera around the time of the première of Die Schweigsame Frau, Die Liebe der Danae, the scoring of which was completed by June 1940, after four drafts of the libretto by Gregor. War had broken out by this time and because Die Liebe der Danae promised to be such a difficult opera to stage, Strauss insisted that it must not be produced until after the end of the war. He did eventually permit Clemens Krauss, who was then in charge of the Salzburg Festival, to première the opera to honour his eightieth birthday, and the scores were printed in Leipzig for publication by Johannes Oertel. The Salzburg première still took place despite the fact that all 1500 printed copies of the work were destroyed in an air raid on Leipzig in January 1943.

Hitler had previously refused Strauss permission to have any birthday celebrations and to have any contact with Nazi Party members,

12 Herbert Gerigk in Die Musik, vol. xxx1/2, (1938) , 128

as punishment for his outspokenness. On the intervention of Wilhelm Furtwängler, however, Hitler was persuaded to change his mind and permitted the greatness of Strauss's music to be acknowledged, but not the man, and a bust of Gluck was sent to Strauss by Dr. Goebbels.

Clemens Krauss wrote the libretto for Strauss's last opera Capriccio, subtitled 'A conversation piece for music'. The setting for the work was a French château just before the Revolution, where a poet and a composer both fall in love with a Countess and collaborate in a sonnet. She cannot decide between them, just as one cannot decide whether it should be words or music which has priority.

The première of Capriccio took place on 28 October 1942 in Munich, after Krauss had won approval for a Strauss Festival there, and was enthusiastically received. Viorica Ursuleac sang Countess Madeleine, Horst Taubmann was Flamand and Hans Hotter was Olivier. Further performances of the opera, even with increased prices, continued to sell out until, on the night of 2 October 1943, the Munich Opera House was destroyed in an air raid. Eight days later the Darmstadt première took place, and the premières in Dresden and Vienna were on 2 January 1944 and 1 March respectively. Capriccio was not Strauss's last composition, but when Krauss attempted to suggest a further operatic collaboration to Strauss in 1946, the latter said, ¹³ 'Capriccio had to be definitely the end; now as ever it is the best and worthiest conclusion, and must remain so for ever and ever Amen. '

13 Mann, op. cit., 370.

Although Capriccio was such a popular opera, it in fact contributed nothing towards the future development of contemporary music, being a mixture of eighteenth and nineteenth century styles written in the twentieth century. After 1918 Strauss saw no need to acquire new musical vocabulary or system of composition, and he instead, with varying degrees of success, explored diverse subjects for opera.

' Capriccio was the aptest possible last opera of a composer whose long life had been filled with constant preoccupation over the problems of setting words to music. For it tackles and analyses this eternally fascinating task in ways which must have been uppermost in Strauss's mind for as far back as he could remember. ' 14

It is interesting that Strauss should have chosen such a subject for his opera since at this time especially there were great debates over what form opera should take, and whether the words or the music should have predominance (this is referred to in greater detail later), although Strauss himself took care to avoid any of these arguments. It is ironic that because of the nature of the subject matter, ideally all the words should be audible, but as Norman del Mar wrote, ¹⁵ 'Strauss's work is loved today, a quarter of a century after its creation, less for the lucidity of its arguments than for its beautiful and captivating music'.

It seemed impossible for Strauss to shake off his political involvement, however much he may have wanted to do so. At the end of 1941 Strauss and his family moved to Vienna to reoccupy their Belvedere Schlösschen

14 del Mar, op. cit., 246.

15 Ibid., 219.

which they had vacated at the start of the war. They thought this a wise move since during their time in Garmisch they had become progressively out of favour with the Nazi authorities. Their contempt for the regime had never been concealed and their life had consequently been made unpleasant by the ostracism of Alice Strauss, their Jewish daughter-in-law, and her children. When Baldur von Schirach became governor of Vienna and announced that he would make it once again the cultural centre of Europe, Strauss offered his help if part of the 'deal' could be that Alice and the children were left alone. In gratitude for this arrangement, Strauss allowed the sextet which opens Capriccio to be played six months before the stage performance, at a gathering in Schirach's house on 7 May 1942.

The bombing of the Munich Opera House in October 1943 had a profound effect on Strauss. He began to isolate himself from the outside world to the extent that when Nazi officials visited Garmisch to order Strauss to take evacuees into his large home he refused immediately. The occasion did not pass unnoticed, and Hitler's deputy, Martin Bormann, spoke to Hitler about the affair and on 14 January 1944 the Garmisch porter's lodge was commandeered and an edict issued to the effect that all leading Party members should sever connections with Strauss.

Strauss's attitude towards politics and his opportunism are well known. A Munich newspaper reputedly wrote of him in the 1920s¹⁶ 'Initially he inclined towards music; Richard Strauss later devoted himself to the commercial world.' He tacitly accepted the presidency of the

¹⁶ Steinbeck, op. cit., 10.

Reichsmusikkammer, which subsequently labelled him guilty of supporting the Nazis, but in reality the only person Strauss was guilty of supporting was himself. He was, in fact, eventually able to retire in comfort due to a decision made in his favour by the Denazification Board at the request of the Bavarian Secretary of State.

Opera is the art form to which Werner Egk owes his major successes, and it was always his view ¹⁷ that it was one of the most purposeful and powerful of art forms in existence. Egk was very concerned with the problem opera was facing during his lifetime, and he wrote about it at great length. It was obviously the genre most favoured by him, and in 1939 he wrote, ¹⁸ 'Die schönste, die zauberischste Ungeheuerlichkeit, unwahrscheinlicher als das geflügelte Pferd und verführerischer als die fischleibigen Sirenen, das ist die Oper.'

Due to Egk's primary preoccupation with the crisis opera was felt to be in at that time, and due also to the successes of his own operas (in particular the folk opera Die Zauberflöte), Egk was looked upon as somewhat of a reforming spirit in the field of opera. Here was a type of opera which would begin to represent the cultural achievements of the Nazis, a promising move for the future, stepping out of the mire of late romanticism.

17 H.H. Stuckenschmidt, Twentieth Century Composers (2), (London, 1970), 193.

18 Werner Egk, Werner Egk: Musik: Wort: Bild (Berlin, 1960), 245, 'The most beautiful, the most enchanting monstrosity, more improbable than the winged horse and more beguiling than the sirens with fish-bodies, that is opera'.

Egk's operas took a complete change of direction from the psychological character studies which were becoming increasingly more prevalent after the first World War. His intention was always to write popular operas which would interest and captivate the whole audience. To understand better how to achieve this end, Egk attended many opera performances and analysed his reactions to them. In general he felt either

- (i) He could not understand at all what was happening on stage, or
- (ii) He realised very soon after the beginning how the whole opera was going to end, or
- (iii) At some point, usually in the second act, the action of the whole opera would 'stand still' in order to give the singers an opportunity for florid (and often boring) arias.

In 1941 Egk wrote a long article ¹⁹ entitled 'Music drama, Musical opera, Folk opera?' in which he referred to the unending battle between those who felt the music should predominate (musical opera), and those who felt the drama should predominate (musical drama). He wrote that daily in the press there were articles entitled 'Where does opera stand now?' and 'How long is the opera crisis going to last', alongside pleas for composers to write full length folk operas with a high moral content.

Librettists, too, had been placing advertisements in newspapers seeking enterprising composers, but here the question of music drama or musical opera was never mentioned. Rather, the advertisements read, 'Libretto for a romantic folk opera to be given away ...' or 'Opera composer for the music for a four act folk opera sought'. It is

19 in Neues Musikblatt (June 1941).

interesting to note that while Egk believed that the fundamental problem was deciding which structure to use for opera, he admitted that if a composer were to seek advice about opera composition from music publishers, he would readily be informed that the debate over music drama and musical opera was no longer relevant. He would be told that he should keep his opera 'as simple as possible; straight-forward, easily remembered, so that every single opera goer goes home deeply satisfied, superficially crammed like a living pot-pourri'.²⁰

Egk clearly indicated his attitude towards such sentiments, and wrote that although some operas at that time were readily played all over Germany and attained success because they were 'disarmingly cheerful and simple', only those works 'which called forth intellectual emotion deserved not only to be widely accepted but also to be kept in the repertoire for longer than a season'. Egk stressed that 'neither the author, opera goer nor director decides what is or is not a "folk opera", but the people themselves, and then not in one season, but in decades'.²¹

Egk was born in the small Bavarian town of Auchseshaim near Augsburg in 1901. After leaving school, he studied at Frankfurt and under Carl Orff in Munich, and his subsequent association with the theatre began with commissions for the Schaubühne in the Steinische-Saal in Munich. Between 1925 and 1927 he toured Italy with his violinist wife, and after returning to Munich in 1927, he worked for a puppet theatre run by Munich artists.

20 Ibid., 245.

21 Ibid., 246.

He was commissioned to write for a radio programme during a short stay in Berlin in 1928, and this was the beginning of his work for the Broadcasting Corporation in Munich, for which he wrote such music, mainly in the form of incidental music for radio plays, between 1930 and 1933. The radio was a newly developing medium at that time in Germany, and his first radio opera was Columbus, first broadcast on 13 July 1933, the last commissioned work written for Munich Radio.

The text of Columbus was written by Egk himself, and the work exists in three different versions - an opera written for broadcasting, then arranged for stage performance in 1942 entitled Columbus : Bericht und Bildnis, and finally an arrangement in Berlin in 1951 in which the action is danced while the singers perform the work in the manner of an oratorio. The stage version, however, suffers somewhat from the work's broadcasting origin, and it is far too static.

It is evident by the way in which Egk wrote about composing for the medium of radio that his main preoccupation was communicating with people and not writing music merely to satisfy his own artistic impulses. He wrote, ²²

' The idea that there was a new medium through which one could expose a vast number of people to artistically formed impulses - people who up to then had avoided all such impulses in every form - was fascinating to me. This fascination lay in the human potentialities and had nothing whatsoever to do with aesthetic speculations for their own sake '.

22 Werner Egk, op. cit., 170.

Egk subtitled the work 'Report and Image', the report being made by two narrators who also comment on their contributions, while the events they describe are portrayed in grandiose musical tableaux. The choruses are especially important in this work, the introductory chorus being particularly effective in setting the atmosphere, returning as it does at the end of the first part and again at the end of the opera. Example 3 shows the note against note style with which the work begins. The music throughout is extremely atmospheric, and sounds especially good over the radio. Such passages as that at the beginning of the very last scene, entitled Der Tod der Columbus, are particularly evocative (see example 4).

The stage première took place on 13 January 1942 in Frankfurt, and was conducted by Franz Konwitschny. One press review²³ referred to the 'uncompromising hardness and simplicity of this early work', saying also that 'this is not the redeeming and rapturous music of Romanticism'. The reviewer almost criticises Egk for the brittleness of the material he chose as subject matter for his libretto, and implies that it is perhaps a shame that Egk did not write in a style similar to that of the nineteenth century composers to whom he acknowledged his debt.

Columbus had several stage performances after the war, and the programme note to the first performance in Berlin, on 17 May 1951, emphasised the oratorio like character of the work, the soloists expressing themselves mainly through musical declamation. Attention is also drawn to the sources of Egk's inspiration - the catholic liturgy and Spanish and

²³ Frankfurter Zeitung (13 January 1942).

Indian melodies - which add colour and richness. Egk is praised for the way in which he overcomes the problem of making a meaningful connection between events separated by great lengths of time - by using a dialogue between two narrators.

During 1933 the music publishers Schott of Mainz signed a general contract with Egk, and in so doing encouraged him to write his first full length opera, Die Zaubergeige (The Magic Violin). The first performance took place in Frankfurt on 20 May 1935, and brought Egk his first stage success. Egk later said that the opera was born as a consequence of his having written music for puppet shows in Munich.

The libretto was written by Ludwig Andersen (a pseudonym for Dr. Ludwig Strecker, one of the directors of Schott's Mainz), and Egk himself, after Graf Pocci. The text is plain and medieval in style, and the music full of Bavarian folk tunes. The whole is fashioned in the manner of a folk opera, and has its ancestry in the plots of the German Singspiel of the eighteenth century, and more particularly in the Viennese Zaubersingspiel. The score contains a profusion of Bavarian dances, slow waltzes, gay folk songs and peasant melodies. The story concerns a manservant who leaves his employment in order to make his fortune elsewhere. His kindness to a beggar - the King of Spirits in disguise - gains him a magic violin, but only on the condition that he renounce the love of woman. The story ends with the manservant giving back the violin, as he realises that true love is worth more than power and influence.

The opera is not revolutionary or progressive in the slightest. It is structured in clearly distinct numbers, beginning with a very tonal sounding overture. This leads to the first act which begins with repeated F major chords and the manservant Kaspar singing a simple peasant-like melody (see example 5). The particularly Bavarian flavour of the work is emphasized by such time changes as those in Kaspar's melody (already quoted) and in other places where Egk employs a 5/8 time signature. The music is very bright and appealing, and also sufficiently unproblematical to escape the strictest censor, especially in such moments as the duet between Kaspar and Gretl, which moves almost entirely in sixths, with wind doubling the vocal parts (see example 6). At significant moments in the opera, however, Egk reduces the music to an almost recitative-like style where the characters sing repeated notes (see example 7).

In the second Act Egk utilises an old but very effective musical device - that of echo. Kaspar sings 'Schwarzenloh', echoed by a backstage chorus as 'Wo?', and later Kaspar sings 'Krottenort', echoed as 'Dort'; and 'Wildentann', echoed as 'Wann!' A very early example of the use of echo in this particular way can be found in Cavalieri's Animo et Corpo.

The effects used throughout the opera by Egk are very simple. At the moment when Kaspar and Gretl meet in Act Two after a rather intricate series of events, for example, their mutual greeting is expressed in sixths (see example 8). Similarly, a brief duet sung by Kaspar and Gretl expressing their love, in the final scene of Act Three, contains

passages in which the voices frequently move in sixths with each other. The example of Egk's choral writing (example 9), taken from the closing scene of the opera, is very typical of Egk's choral writing throughout the work - simple, unpretentious and straightforward. The folk-like character is particularly illustrated by example 10, where Kaspar begins to play his magic violin. The bass line and harmonies are very basic, and the tunes memorable.

The opera was very successful, and brought Egk a commission from the Berlin State Opera, for which he chose the story of Ibsen's Peer Gynt. A review of Die Zauberbergeige in Essen in 1935 began,²⁴ 'The opening night at the opera house with the West German première of Die Zauberbergeige beautifully illustrated a leaning towards a type of theatre which would have popular appeal at that time'. Egk was congratulated for succeeding in combining the artistic and witty elements with genuine folk music, something which was said to be so often lacking in contemporary German opera. Egk's music was described as possessing a high artistic quality, and Poggi's libretto of being an apt mixture of magic, humour and fairy tale, altogether an excellent combination for a Volksooper. Stuckenschmidt²⁵ even acknowledges the exceptional nature of the opera - 'The Zauberbergeige is the first opera in a long time that owes its success not to a few happy numbers and climaxes but to a coherent, individual and highly modern style'.

As a liberal individualist, Egk was considered a left wing cultural

24 Werner Egk's Zauberbergeige, Die Musik, Vol. 28/1 (1935) , 153.

25 H. H. Stuckenschmidt, 'Opera in Germany Today', Modern Music, Vol. 8 (New York, 1935), 37.

Bolshevik in Munich, and with the spread of Nazism throughout Germany, Egk deemed it advisable to move. In 1936 he accepted the offer of a post as musical director of the Berlin State Opera, for which his next opera Peer Gynt was written.

Egk himself conducted the première of Peer Gynt at the Staatsoper Unter den Linden, on 24 November 1938, and it met with immediate acclaim.

Tietjen had engaged such great singers as Mathien Ahlersmeyer and Kate Heidersbach for the performance. Egk was very successful in his portrayal of the three completely different levels on which the whole drama unfolds: Peer's and Solveig's homeland in the Norwegian mountains, the subterranean kingdom of the Trolls and the Spanish-American scenes. Egk adapted Ibsen's original five acts and over thirty scenes and made himself a libretto consisting of a prologue and three acts - nine scenes. The basic story is that of an ambitious Peer Gynt who abducts the beautiful bride Ingrid, his own erstwhile fiancée, and thereby antagonises her husband-to-be, Mads. Peer later abandons Ingrid for the Redhead, Anitra, and is subsequently torn between a life with the Trolls, where the motto is 'Do only what pleases you', and human responsibility. The love of the good woman, Solveig, however, eventually saves him.

The libretto is very complex in its numerous elements, but despite that, Egk's approach is simple and direct. The opera abounds in lyrical arias, duets, mixed ensembles and instrumental interludes which are based almost always in a tonal language. The orchestra is never used on its own for effect, but only to delineate situations and people. Example 11 illustrates the character of the work: it is taken from the beginning of

Act Two, set in the wharf of a Central American port with Peer singing about his past.

Peer Gynt could not in any way be described as a music drama, and Egk avoided the symphonic development of Leimotiv. He rather preferred the older style of Erinnerungsmotiv, frequently used by Weber, Marschner and Grétry. In this way scenes with the same ideas and moods are unified by the use of (for example) a characteristic chord. As with Die Zauberflöte, the prime emphasis is on the melody, although the style and atmosphere of Peer Gynt is vastly different to that of the earlier opera. 'Here Egk departed from the popular idioms and styles of Die Zauberflöte to a style that was more subtle, refined and suggestive'.²⁶

Peer Gynt exhibits a variety of musical styles, and tone-colours and subtle orchestration are the most important factors. The treatment of the instruments is soloistic, and his vocal writing not unduly difficult to master. The music is full of sweetness and lyricism, and occasionally shows the influence of Offenbach's operettas. The score contains some quite poignant moments, during which the musical interest is reduced to a very simple texture in order to give prominence to the feelings expressed by the character. This is especially true of the very end of the opera, (see example 12) when Solveig sings,²⁷

' Sleep well and rest awhile, my man and child,
Forget the troubles found in distant lands!
Sleep and forget the sea, the winds so wild,
And lay your weary brow in my hands! ... etc. '

26 David Ewen, Composers since 1900 (New York, 1969), 178.

27 English translation by Walter Ducloux, 1964.

The persistent syncopated rocking rhythm is very effective, and Solveig actually ends the opera by singing top B \flat , ppp, for eight bars!

Egk also avoided geographical limitations; despite Henrik Ibsen and his Norwegian heritage, Egk's Peer Gynt could take place anywhere in the world and describe any people. The characters in the opera are types, and as such have no individuality of their own. The Trolls are the frightening representations of human weaknesses, and Peer Gynt himself depicts the embodiment of a super-ego who has set out to conquer the world.

Egk omits Ibsen's intellectual and philosophical views and concentrates on the sentimental aspects, creating a romantic opera full of memorable melodies and dramatic situations. It is therefore no surprise to learn that Egk does not deal with the scene in the lunatic asylum.

Despite the fact that the opera could take place anywhere in the world, Egk does contrast the mother country and the foreign country, and these are also shown as the symbols of Peer Gynt's twofold nature,²⁸

' Mother-country means self-knowledge, true love, warm-hearted feeling, house and home, Solveig and Norway; whereas the foreign country denotes aspiration for riches, untruth, sensuality instead of love, megalomania, seduction and (in this opera) America.'

The opera might thus be seen as a powerful, if subtle, work of propaganda, promoting the German master race above all.

28 Karl H. Wörner, 'Egk and Orff', Representatives of Contemporary German Opera, The Music Review, vol. XXIV (1953), 189.

The Nazi press declared itself positively hostile to Peer Gynt, describing it as a plagiarism of The Threepenny Opera and therefore undesirable from a National Socialist standpoint. Their main bone of contention with the work was with the jazz elements incorporated by Egk, and the fact that his style did not conform to the tonal Nordic ideal held by the political authorities. The salvation of this opera, and indeed Egk's reputation during the Thirties, was almost entirely due to the fact that Winifred Wagner managed to persuade Hitler to attend the third performance, and he was 'said to have made the statement that he was happy to have met such talent'.²⁹ The direct result of such approval was the proposal of the opera to the executive board of the Reich Music Festival, and thereby the prospect of numerous productions throughout the Reich. Egk also received a government prize of ten thousand marks for the composition of another opera. The critics naturally had to change their views in accordance with the Führer's wishes, but even so Peer Gynt was dropped from the repertoire shortly before the war, after only nine performances.

The only contemporary reviews to be found of Peer Gynt are those praising the work, so it is probable that derogatory statements were very quickly withdrawn after the occasion of Hitler's visit to the opera. The publicity material of B. Schott's Döhne, Maunz, quotes only a few press reviews, and all of them are very favourable. One review³⁰ stressed that the opera was symbolic of Nordic man, and that at the end of the

29 Nicolas Slonimsky, Music since 1900 (U.S.A., 1971), 681.

30 Berliner Zeitung am Mittag (25 November 1938).

work it was the blessed love of the Nordic dream wife Solveig who saved Peer from ruin and destruction. It said that since Richard Strauss, Egk had been the only one in Germany who understood how to handle a large and even outsize orchestra. It credited Egk with having produced sounds and timbres that have never been heard before, and also with having created dramatic tension such as had been quite rare in the previous thirty years.

The Völkischer Beobachter³¹ acclaimed Egk as one of the greatest dramatic talents of the day. As if to emphasise its approval of the opera, the review drew attention to the fact that Egk had dedicated the work to the Generalintendant of the Berlin Staatsoper, Heinz Tietjen. Almost as a justification of its own critical faculties, the review stressed that Egk himself protested against 'middle of the road' music written for immediate success.

It is interesting to examine the way the work has been subsequently received. For example, it was given its American premiere on 23 February 1966 at the Hartt College of Music of the University of Hartford, Connecticut. The musical director described the work³² as an 'extraordinary, romantic work, a score of modern contrasts full of tension and drama, mixed with a great deal of melodic simplicity'. A more psychological reading of the work led to the following description,³³

31 26 November 1938

32 Moshe Paranov, University of Hartford News Release, 14 February 1966.

33 Ibid., Mary Ann Connors.

' In his opera Egk openly confronts the weaknesses and ills of society, underlining psychological aspects of the irrational actions of Peer - the sensitive dreamer, son of a defenseless widow, a persecuted youngster attempting to get even with society'.

Press reviews of the American premiere were quite disparate in their opinions. The New York Times³⁴ referred to the opera as puerile, lacking in any character whatsoever and as being a pastiche of styles. The Manchester Herald, Connecticut³⁵ dwelt on the enthusiastic reception the work received, and referred to it as 'a score of beauty and excellence'. The review commented on the fact that some of the music sounded like that of Kurt Weill, and quoted Egk's explanation -

' In the second act I wanted to show that all Peer's acquaintances in all the years of his wanderings were people of the cheapest sort. To do this, I had to write cheap music'.

Assuming the German translation to be correct in this instance, it seems a rather sweeping condemnation of the quality of Weill's music. In an article devoted to the opera, 'Peer Gynt as Opera'³⁶ Egk explains some of his motivations and aims in composing the work,

' ...what intrigued me were the unique metaphorical imageries of the poem, the visions which pierce the night surrounding us like a lightening of knowledge, the honesty, truth and importance of the characters emerging from the abyss of myth in the form of archetypes reaching the capacity of our perception...'

The last opera written by Egk during the period under consideration

34 Harold C. Schonberg, New York Times, 25 February 1966

35 John Gruber, The Manchester Herald, Connecticut, 25 February 1966

36 Werner Egk, 'Peer Gynt as Opera' Opera Horizon, Hartt Opera-Theater Guild, University of Hartford, Vol. XV. No.3, February 1966

was Circe, the text of which was written by the composer himself. The idea had been suggested to him by Clemens Krauss, and he based the libretto on Calderon's El mayor encanto amor. The opera did not receive its première until after the end of the war, on 18 December 1948 in Berlin, conducted by Egk. In May 1944 Egk had written to a young German friend,³⁷

' Circe is not quite complete, it should have been produced in Frankfurt, but there's nothing doing there, on the ruins of Goethe's house is a notice saying: "Do not destroy; irreplaceable cultural heritage." If only such a notice could be put up in letters of fire above this whole earth! Instead, streams of bombs flow through the firmament, and a blood-bath is coming such as there has never been before. Even hope is poisoned'.

The story of Circe tells how Ulysses is driven to an island coast by a tempest, where he and his fellows are welcomed by Circe who intends to change them into animals. Ulysses, however, overcomes Circe's powers with a love potion. When he expresses a desire to remain on the island, the spirit of Achilles admonishes him to return to Greece. As Ulysses goes, Circe, realising that her greatest magic power, love, is now broken, welcomes the next shipwrecked men.

The opera is a rather curious mixture of opera buffa and opera seria, of musical farce and mythological opera. Egk's style is basically tonal, and much of the music is very picturesque. The weakness lies in the lack of musical characterisation of the central figures of Circe and Ulysses. A sensuous and mysterious atmosphere is conjured up by the use of chromaticism at the very start of the work (see example 13), and also by the scene (in Act two) in Circe's palace, where

37 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 197

Ulysses is charmed by Circe (see example 14).

The opera has been described ³⁸ as an 'ensemble opera with choruses', and the texture sometimes resembles that of the Italian madrigal. Example 15 is quite far stylistically from the opening of the opera quoted. Egk also uses musical gestures from the late eighteenth century opera, employing them in his own harmonic and rhythmic combinations. This opera, like those of Egk's discussed earlier, poses no stylistic nor aesthetic problems.

A review of the opera in 1949 ³⁹ stated that this new work from Egk 'offered compelling proof that the genre of opera is immortal'. Although Egk returned to the old form of 'number opera', the review stressed that this was no retrogressive step, as Egk explored the psychological undertones of the age old conflict between man and woman, both of whom are overshadowed by an almighty Eros. Credit is given to Egk for his rich score and masterful musical direction, and also to Heinz Tietjen, for his invaluable assistance with the preparation, staging and production of the work.

Nevertheless, the opera did not achieve great success, perhaps because Egk's mixture of buffa and seria styles did not work as he had hoped. Perhaps a contributory reason was that people's tastes in music were different after the war. Whatever the reason, Egk rewrote the opera and retitled it 17 Tage und 4 Minuten. It was performed in Stuttgart on June 2 1966, and was well received.

³⁸ Wörner, op. cit., 195.

³⁹ Deutsche Volkszeitung (6 January 1949).

As Stuckenschmidt observed,⁴⁰ Egk enjoyed a 'fool's freedom' with the Authorities, something which was granted to only a few successful artists including Gustav Gründgens. Boris Blacher later wrote,⁴¹

' There were difficulties on all sides. And when I think of my colleague, Egk, or Orff, or Fortner - none received any kind of protection from anyone, at best they were tolerated.'

Egk and his wife returned to Munich at the end of 1940, hoping to thereby escape further political involvement. In 1941, however, Egk was invited to assume leadership of the composers' section of the Reichsmusikkammer, a post which he accepted. He continued in that office until the end of the Hitler regime. In an article in the Deutsche Zeitung⁴² Egk made a statement to the press, stating categorically that the war had in no way affected German musical life - meaning both performances and the music written at that time. He stressed that concert management was also being maintained to a high standard in all cities throughout the Reich, and that music making itself was as rife as ever.

The article warmly acclaimed Egk as the new leader of German composers, describing him as 'one of the most prominent young musically creative personalities' of the time. Egk's role as leader was to represent officially the six thousand German composers who were currently members of the Reichsmusikkammer. In the article he expressed his intention to function solely as a 'solicitor' for the interests of those composers

40 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 196

41 Ibid., 196

42 'Werner Egk on German musical life during the war', Deutsche Zeitung (19 July 1941)

he represented, and also to further the cause of contemporary music. It was of paramount importance to him that German conductors became more interested in performing contemporary music, and that such music should have a scheduled percentage in all concert seasons. He was very aware of the common opposition to contemporary music, and endeavoured to foster a new interest in it. He hoped to show, not least by his own works, that present musical creativity had not exhausted itself with Richard Strauss, as some thought, but that a new generation of German composers were ready to carry on the great tradition of German music and prove themselves as masters.

Even though Egk tried to maintain his liberal attitudes, he obviously must have toed the Nazi Party line when necessary, although he apparently had no difficulty in proving his political innocence when he was denazified in an American Court in 1946.

Carl Orff was of Bavarian descent, born in Munich on 10 July 1895, the same year as Hindemith. He studied at the Akademie der Tonkunst there and became conductor at the opera houses in Munich, Mannheim and Darmstadt. In 1920 for a year he took a course of study in composition with Heinrich Kaminski who was reviving polyphony, the old concerto grosso and baroque music in general. Orff's interest in renaissance and baroque music springs from this time. From 1925 to 1936 he was the music director of Tänzerische Musikerziehung at the Dorothee Günterschule in Munich.

Any discussion of Orff's musical style must begin with the Schulwerk - his works intended for school use, which were also utilised as training in musical improvisation. The first version of the Schulwerk was completed in 1935 after ten years of work at the Günterschule, and it was eventually published between 1950 and 1954, under the editorship of Carl Orff and Gunild Keetman. The Schulwerk is designed to awaken the imaginative musical powers in the child and to develop them in a way in which the child finds enjoyable, the principle method used being that of improvisation. Through a series of volumes the pupil is made aware of the possible range of musical forms which can be commanded by a technique. There is in fact no basic difference in style or attitude between these pieces and Orff's works for the theatre, and Andreas Liess⁴³ even went so far as to say 'Orff has posed and solved the spiritual problems of his time most clearly in his music for the theatre; his Schulwerk gives practical answers to vital questions of musical education'. One important result of Orff's studies in connection with his Schulwerk was his study of folklore, and his interest, together with his friend Kurt Huber, in Bavarian folk music. Liess suggested⁴⁴ that Werner Egk's Bavarian style of writing in his opera Die Zaubergeige is derived from Orff's and Huber's work in this field. According to Andreas Liess,⁴⁵

' Orff's work mirrors the basic attitudes and beliefs of mankind; it gives a spiritual and universal picture of our age, of the modern upheaval. Almost alone among contemporary creative artists, Orff had, in his music, a direct and natural spiritual power, which avoids all rationalisation and forced interpretation; it symbolises the modern conception of the world. '

43 Andreas Liess, Carl Orff. His Life and His Music (London, 1966), 5.

44 Ibid., 21.

45 Ibid., 31.

If one examines Orff's output, however, one is struck by the very reverse of what Liess says. Taking Carmina Burana, for example, the work is based upon medieval symbolism and fate, and does not in any way reflect the contemporary Germany Orff was living in. Nowhere in his opera is there evidence of 'the modern upheaval'; rather there are strong tendencies towards escaping from the impending social crisis, this fact being clearly borne out by his two fairy tale operas Der Mond (The Moon) and Die Kluge (The Wise Woman). As to Orff's musical style, it is certainly not 'modern' in the Schönbergian sense, and gives one a feeling of security and stability rather than of chaos and disturbance.

In Orff's own view his collected works begin with Carmina Burana, which was published in Frankfurt in 1937. The texts were taken from a thirteenth century manuscript of the same name which is also Orff's source for the wheel of fortune in the first scene. Orff's musical style in this work was also less severe than it had been previously. This was due to the influence of his whole artistic relationship with Egk - Egk's sense of orchestral colour and Orff's sense of form complemented each other.

Orff was never one of those musicians who were officially encouraged by the Hitler regime. His music, closer to Stravinsky than to Wagner, was welcomed in some musical spheres since it appeared to break away from the strictures of the time, and his allegiance to Stravinsky - officially branded as a 'cultural Bolshevik' - was particularly refreshing.

An important aspect of Orff's work is the links he attempts to establish

with the past. This is so clearly a feature of Nazi philosophy that it cannot be overlooked in a study of this nature. Andreas Liess wrote,⁴⁶

' It is neither dead historical scholarship nor snobbery if Orff, to a much greater extent than Stravinsky before him, uses Latin and Greek as well as Middle High German, Old French and Bavarian dialect in his work. In the use of old languages, Orff's immediate relationship with all periods finds expression.'

In his works Orff has retained the old texts, and retained the original languages, and incorporated them into his own style. The feeling of the medieval mystery play is conjured up by the use of static monologue.

A further reason for the popularity of Orff's operas under the Nazis was probably the fact that they do not concern themselves with individuals, in the way that Hindemith's Mathis der Maler does, for example. The individual in Orff is valid only insofar as he or she is typical of humanity as a whole. In this respect Orff may be compared to Brecht and his theories of the Epic Theatre - a symbolic and didactic kind of drama. The Nazis were always very careful to employ every means at their disposal to exclude the element of individualism in the sphere of creative activity - with respect to the artist himself and the characters he portrays in his works. The exceptions to this being the individuals who were of the standard sort of hero type, for example Arden in Ottmar Gerster's opera Enoch Arden.

In his book surveying the whole of German opera during the years of the Nazi regime, Carl Niessen stated that since the première of Carmina Burana

46 Ibid., 36

in 1937, Orff had been the greatest experimenter in new forms for the musical theatre,⁴⁷ and as such was on the way towards finding a solution to the opera crisis. This new form was based on collections of songs, with a revival of mime and a strong dance impulse. Orff did not use conventional techniques for dramatic development, as the scenes in his operas appear as independent pictures, with correspondingly unconventional music.

Orff's description of his own style of work was 'World theatre', a theatre that is elemental and symbolic, and whose aim is to mirror the world. In this way, Orff's theatrical works become parables and allegories. There is also a strong awareness of the presence of spiritual forces in the background, such as Fortuna in Carmina Burana, who rules over the dance, and Peter in Der Mond, who maintains world order.

According to Stuckenschmidt,⁴⁸ the music in the two fairy tale works, Der Mond and Die Kluge is reduced to a 'series of ... songs and dances of a monotonous and harmonically stunted type.' The texts do, however, contain elements of criticism of various traditions and feelings, and Bertolt Brecht, who heard Walter Felsenstein's production of Die Kluge at the Komische Oper (East Berlin) in 1948 was so delighted by its theatrical form that for weeks he attended nearly every performance of the work. Even the repetition of parts of the text, which often sounds incongruous in other musical forms, is effective in the context in

47 Carl Niessen, Die Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart (Regensburg, 1944), 20.

48 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 110.

which Orff uses it.

Although Der Mond was not as rapturously received as some of Orff's other works, it is worth examining it in order to uncover features of his style which were eminently acceptable at this time. The story is a fairy tale, and the audience is distanced from the action by the use of a narrator. He dwells on the note E above middle C for the first thirty three bars, and along with the orchestral effects and modal quality of his melody, succeeds in creating an unreal and fantasy-like atmosphere (see example 16). The narrator is reading from a book about a land in which there is no moon. Four lads from that land appear on the stage, see the moon and decide to steal it. The narrator then says how pleased the country-folk are to have acquired a moon, and an atmospheric orchestral interlude follows. The interlude, however, is not wholly joyful - Orff gives it the title 'Dunkel-phantastische Nacht - Unruhe in der Natur' - and the dominant theme, played on the tuba, is a foretaste of the melody sung by Peter when he comes to re-establish law and order. The narrator returns once again to tell how the boys have grown old and now demand a quarter of the moon each to take with them to their graves - their parting wish is granted. When all four lads finally reach the Underworld, the moon is pieced together and the Land of the Dead begins to heave with merriment until Peter returns and persuades the Dead to go back to sleep. He then takes the moon and returns it to its rightful land, where the inhabitants are extremely grateful for it.

Orff's music for the opera is very melodic and easy to listen to, although one has little difficulty in finding passages which Stuckenschmidt would have described as 'monotonous and harmonically stunted',⁴⁹

⁴⁹ See footnote 48.

for example, the short orchestral interlude just before the four lads contemplate stealing the moon (see example 17). A very similar process occurs at the beginning of Die Kluge, which is quoted in example 18. Orff manages to imbue Der Mond with a Bavarian country folk flavour by his use of two part harmony, as for example during the jovial episode down in the Underworld (see example 19). It was very common for German peasants to sing in this style, with some taking the melody line, and the others accompanying with the tonic, dominant and a series of thirds. Example 20 is a German Air, as it was sung in two part harmony by the peasants. Orff's treatment of such 'folk' devices shows subtlety, and his singers go as far as to provide an almost instrumental style accompaniment to the melody.

The opera was first performed in the old National Theatre Munich, on 5 February 1939, only seven months before the outbreak of war. It was conducted by Clemens Krauss and produced by Rudolf Hartmann. Ludwig Sievert designed the set, which under Orff's instruction was to be divided into three parts - Heaven, Earth and the Underworld. The opera did not really have much of a chance of great success, coming as it did at such an unfortunate time, and the work received a rather ambivalent review in Die Musik the following month.⁵⁰ It extensively quoted the plot of the opera, likening the narrator to the Evangelist in the Passions and suggested that Orff used the percussion not as the basic element in his orchestra, but rather as a garnish. The reviewer credited the work with a certain artistic quality, saying that Orff

50 'Ein Opern - Einakter von Carl Orff', Die Musik, Vol. XXXI/6 (1939), 412-3.

achieved his effects in a totally unromantic way and that his clarity and perception singled him out from other composers of his day. It did, however, suggest that the performance itself went a long way towards softening the rough edges supposedly evident in Orff's work. Ludwig Sievert, the producer, was especially praised for the way in which he managed to create different areas of action on a single stage, without the whole effect being cramped or disunited.

A second production of the work did not appear until 1947 in Nuremberg, by which time Carl Orff had revised the score (it is from this second version that the examples are taken), and he made yet another, final version in 1970.

Die Kluge, the second opera written by Orff during this period, was given its first performance in Frankfurt on 18 February 1943. It proved to be very successful, and was performed in twenty one opera houses throughout Germany before the end of the war, including Kassel, Leipzig, Dresden, Hannover and Stuttgart. Performances resumed after the war as early as September 1946. It is, however, perhaps a little surprising that Orff's home town, Munich, did not perform the work until 8 April 1948. The opera nevertheless has been translated into nine languages, and has been adapted for the puppet theatre, where it was given its first performance at the Münchener Marionettenbühne in 1957.

As with Der Mond, Orff wrote his own libretto, based on the fairy tale by the brothers Grimm. In Die Kluge a poor peasant finds a golden mortar in his field, but not the pestle, and in spite of being advised

otherwise by his clever daughter, takes the mortar to the king, who promptly imprisons the man, believing that he has stolen the pestle. The farmer calls for his daughter, and the king, surprised at the girl's cleverness, makes her his wife. A little later the king dismisses his wife, thinking she has deceived him, and only allows her one trunk in which to take her most precious possessions. The clever wife, however, having first given him an opiate, puts the sleeping king in the chest and brings him to her father's house, where upon waking he is overcome by his wife's love. As in Der Mond, the characters in this opera are not real psychologically developed individuals, they are rather types, and the drama is based more on the alternation of their emotional reactions than on genuine musical characterisation.

The opera is not without various overt political comments, for example, Karl H. Wörner ⁵¹ suggests that 'in the king of Die Kluge it was possible to recognise the personified dictator (Hitler) in 1943'. Other parts of the text are similarly suggestive, for instance such lines as those spoken by the peasant when the king has accused him of keeping the pestle hidden:-

' ... For those that have a lot,
 Have power as well,
 And those that have power are in the right,
 And the fellow who is in the right
 Will turn it to his own use.
 For the ruler of everything is Force!' ⁵²

The stage for Die Kluge is divided into two parts, which for the première at least were separated from each other by two steps and a

51 Wörner, op. cit., 201.

52 Taken from the English translation of Die Kluge by William Mann.

gauze curtain. The parable of the wise woman is enacted on the main stage, while on the front stage the parable is reflected in a play of vagabonds, thus creating a duality of moral truths throughout the work which are eventually resolved into a unity. The scenes with the vagabonds are mainly spoken, and as if to mirror the three riddles posed by the king to the Wise Woman, they themselves joke with each other in riddles. Orff uses this kind of joking to express deeper moral truths, as for example in Scene two:

2nd Vagabond : 'The wolf will soon find a reason, if he wants to
eat up the sheep.'

1st Vagabond : 'When the wolf's a shepherd, it isn't just the wool,
it's the pelt he's after'.

Immediately following this scene is the one in which the King asks the Wise Woman the riddles.

By this time a mule driver has joined the vagabonds, and during the course of the fourth scene a donkey man also makes his appearance. Although the cause of all their concern is not immediately evident, they have all decided to go and see the King to demand justice. This they do singing in unaccompanied four-part harmony. (The donkey man is not singing at this point). The musical language is very simple and varies little from tonic and dominant harmony - see example 21. The donkey man then proceeds to explain to the King what all the hubbub is about. He says that the mule driver put his mule into the same stall as his own jenny-ass and next morning discovered that the latter had produced a foal. The donkey man insists that the foal is his as it was conceived

by the jenny-ass, and the mule driver also claims the foal as his own, since the foal was lying closer to his mule than it was to the jenny-ass. They therefore approach the King to ascertain who actually owns the animal. The donkey man puts his case forward very simply, as can be seen from example 22. From this moment onwards the two elements of the opera - the scenes with the King and Wise Woman and those with the Vagabonds - are no longer separate: they begin to merge and overlap and eventually integrate. The King, unfortunately for the donkey man, decides that since the foal was nearest the mule, it belongs to the mule driver, and the three vagabonds, the mule driver and the King's jailor sing the following poignant moral comment:-

' The real truth will never flourish,
When you can see it right under your nose',

and with that they applaud the King's so-called 'justice'. A further comment comes in the next scene (scene six) in which the donkey man sings to himself:-

' Alas, how easily right
is twisted into wrong!
There isn't anyone in the world
to stand by those who are plundered ...
... Where is justice now?
Where yet is judgement? ... '

Whereupon the Wise Woman enters, who takes his part and eventually procures him not only his foal but a sack of money as well.

Scene seven is a spoken dialogue between the vagabonds and the King's jailor. Orff once more adds a moral comment, as when the vagabonds try to persuade the jailor to supply them with the King's wine cheaply, the

jailor asks:-

' Do you think my good conscience
is worth no more than three Kreuzers? '

To which the third vagabond replies:-

' Well overpaid. '

Throughout the opera the scenes with the vagabonds point out the injustices of the King's rule, and the King himself is shown up as rather foolish in the end.

Therefore although the opera might at first glance seem to be no more than an entertaining fairy tale, which is no doubt how it was regarded by the Authorities or it would never have had so many performances, Orff nevertheless managed to express his true intentions through the libretto, to those who were observant enough to notice them. His musical style remained very simple and unproblematical throughout, perhaps even to the extent of superficiality, but Orff felt no necessity to jeopardise his prominent musical standing by being innovative and progressive in that field.

One review of the première ⁵³ described the work as 'phantastisch und stark in Farben und Ausdruck', and goes on to suggest that Die Kluge is quite unique among the current operatic trends. The reviewer, Heinz Joachim, compared the way Orff designed the staging for this work to the type of staging used by Shakespeare for his plays - referring to the use

53 Berliner Börsenzeitung, 22 February 1943.

of a gauze curtain to divide one part of the stage off from the other. He then related Orff's opera to the earlier type of popular theatre - to the coarse, clowning plays before Lent, to the Punch and Judy shows and to the bands of touring players - stressing the fact that Orff returned to the 'roots' as it were for his theatrical inspiration. Any contemporary work of art which appeared to resemble older forms of music and drama seemed immediately more respectable to the prevailing cultural dictates than overtly progressive works, so likening Orff's opera to the older styles of theatre, especially of a 'folkish' kind, was an immense compliment to him.

Joachim's review, like many others to be found during this period, is extremely wordy and succeeds in saying very little of any significance over many paragraphs. He referred to the fact that Orff chose a fairy tale for his subject matter and expanded it to encompass meaningful symbolism, yet nowhere does Joachim say any more about the opera's symbolic aspect than to stress the moral of the piece, that is 'to be wise and love is impossible for any man on this earth'.⁵⁴ Given that any piece of art which referred to the Volk was of great importance to the Nazis, it is no surprise to learn that the 'genuinely nationalistic qualities'⁵⁵ of the piece are emphasised during the course of the review. The overriding impression one gains from such uncritical praise of Orff's work is that through the composer's creative use of dance and mime, contemporary music theatre will progress and develop in new ways.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The first performance of Die Kluge in Berlin took place on 17 October 1947, and the programme notes for that occasion stated that although Orff's musical language was intense, no particular attempt at originality was intended. Rather than be innovative as far as musical language and form were concerned, Orff was more interested in presenting what was essentially a rather serious story in a most amusing and entertaining manner. In his music Orff produced an entirely different type of sound to that of the nineteenth century - he neglected the expressive quality of string tone, and indeed strings are often omitted altogether. Instead, an important part is played by the percussion, the number of which Orff increased and differentiated even more than was the case with Stravinsky. He also exploited the percussive potential of the piano, using such pieces as Stravinsky's Les Noces as his model. It is in this respect only that Orff's attitude to tonality approaches that of modern contemporary music, as in other ways it tends to be retrogressive.

Carl Niessen ⁵⁶ wrote that Der Mond and Die Kluge further developed Orff's idea of a new musical theatre, a new operatic form that would be of use to future composers in this genre. He praised the simplicity of Orff's music, and the new dramatic method whereby all the events are presented simultaneously on the stage, so rendering a 'suspension of disbelief' impossible. Niessen commended Orff's rejection of the lavish late romantic style, and implied that other composers would do well to study the very simple musical building bricks - sometimes a single note or simple interval - used by Orff to build up enormous dramatic tension. Orff's structuring of melodies is primitive - in many cases when it is

⁵⁶ Niessen, op. cit., 22.

not a chant around a frequently repeated note (see example 16), it is a simple repetition of small phrases which never develop to the extended form of a theme (see example 17).

Orff managed to infuse his work with Bavarian folk lore, which was quite distinct among the German provinces. There one can still encounter forms of folk dance and folk song completely different from the traditional folk lore of other regions such as Württemberg, Swabia, the Rhineland, Thuringia and Lower Saxony, or even that of northern and eastern provinces. Bavarian folk music has its own interest rhythmically because of the occurrence of $5/8$ time and an alternation of $3/4$ and $6/8$ time similar to that found in the Czech Furiant and some Spanish dances.

'Music as an independent art has gained nothing from his work. But the versatility of its function as a dramatic auxiliary has been studied by him in greater depth than ever before.' ⁵⁷

57 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 115.

CHAPTER SIX

Other Composers of Opera during the Third Reich

Paul Graener, Ottmar Gerster, Joseph Haas, Hermann Reutter, Ludwig Roselius and Paul von Klenau had successful careers during the years of the Third Reich, although their works are rarely performed today, even in Germany. Mark Lothar and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny attained moderate success, but for different reasons came into conflict with the Nazi regime. Winfried Zillig, Gottfried von Einem and Boris Blacher were not popular and only tolerated on occasions, while the works of Richard Mohaupt, Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Viktor Ullmann were banned completely in Germany under the Nazis.

Paul Graener, Ottmar Gerster, Joseph Haas, Hermann Reutter, Ludwig Roselius and Paul von Klenau

Perhaps the main reason for which Paul Graener is remembered today is that in the year the Nazis came to power he became vice-president of the Reichsmusikkammer, a position he held until 1941. He was born in Berlin in 1872 and died shortly before the war ended, in Austria. He spent some time in London and conducted the orchestra at the Haymarket Theatre but later taught composition at the New Conservatory in Vienna. He finally settled in Munich, where he composed and taught privately. In the three years immediately prior to the Nazi regime he was director of the Stern Conservatory in Berlin. He obviously enjoyed great favour

during the years of the Nazi rule, and on 26 March 1934 the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger reported ¹ how Professor Dr. Paul Graener was the sole holder of the national Beethoven prize for that year. The report stressed Graener's value as an eminent German musician, particularly, it said since through his teaching and other work as a musician he had promoted a fundamentally German view of art. Graener himself, in a letter to Hans Hinkel of 18 August 1936 ² emphasised the fact that he attached greater importance to the needs of the community than he did to his own needs, and that he believed himself to be a good National Socialist. His position as vice-president of the Reichsmusikkammer was reported by the press in glowing terms, ³ along with the announcement that Peter Raabe had succeeded Richard Strauss as president - the latter supposedly having excused himself from continuing in the post due to his failing health. His lieder and operas were very popular during the 1920's even though his approach was thoroughly conservative (he was strongly influenced by Strauss, Reger and Pfitzner).

Graener's two main operatic works were Friedemann Bach and Der Prinz von Homburg. The former was far more successful than the latter, and as such merits discussion, even though by its date it strictly falls too early for the period under consideration. Friedemann Bach was written in 1931, and has rather a sentimental text written by Rudolf Lothar. It is interesting at this point to refer to some correspondence which occurred concerning this opera, which seems to show that even the vice-president

1 Josef Wulf, Musik im dritten Reich (Gütersloh, 1963), 92.

2 Ibid., 93.

3 Die Musik, Vol. XXVII/11 (1935), 850.

of the influential Reichsmusikkammer was not above suspicion. There is a letter ⁴ dated 22 June 1933 from Mr Börner, Generalintendant of the Staatstheater in Dresden to Hans Hinkel in Berlin saying that he had been reproached on more than one occasion for having included the opera Friedemann Bach in their programme. This matter had been raised since somehow suspicions had been aroused as to whether Graener was of pure German blood or not. Hinkel replied to Börner that subsequent to investigations it had been established that Graener was in fact Aryan but that his librettist Rudolph Lothar most certainly was not. Although there were performances of Friedemann Bach after this occasion, notably in Hannover at the beginning of 1934 and in Frankfurt in July of the same year, it seems to have been dropped from the repertory after that and is hardly mentioned later in the Thirties. A review by Karl Holl of the Frankfurt performance, ⁵ conducted by Graener himself, was non-committal in terms of praise. It described Friedemann Bach as a Gebrauchsooper, and apart from listing some of the singers, said very little else.

Rudolph Lothar, in an article in Aufstieg, a magazine published by Bote and Bock, gave an account of the origin of the opera. He was apparently asked to write a libretto by the famous pianist Leonid Kreutzer and he chose the subject of 'Friedemann Bach', based on a novel by Brachvogel. He realised that the novel as it stood was unsuitable for direct translation into operatic terms, so he decided to depart from the novel and leave his hero to die in Dresden. Much later however, Lothar found out that Kreutzer had decided not to set the

4 Wulf, op. cit., 89.

5 Die Musik, vol. XXVI/10 (1934), 780.

libretto and the subject was forgotten until a writers' congress took place years later in Berlin. Here he met his old friend Dr. Gustav Bock who had been on the lookout for a good operatic libretto. Lothar eventually got hold of his manuscript of Friedemann Bach, and Bock offered it to Kienzl to set to music. Kienzl however, refused the task, and shortly after they thought of asking Graener, whom Lothar had met in Zürich during the war. Graener soon made up his mind to set the text and at the suggestion of Anton Bock, the editor-in-chief of Aufsteig, included the song 'Kein Hälmlein wächst auf Erden,' which Lothar felt played not an insignificant part in the opera's success. (See example 23).

The action is set in Dresden in 1733 and opens with the court organist Merberger announcing that he has a letter from Johann Sebastian Bach to say that his son Friedemann is shortly to be arriving in Dresden. The first music to be heard is a fanfare enunciating the four notes B-A-C-H on which the opera is based and this is followed by a baroque like fugue which persists until the entry of the voices (see example 24). The orchestration includes both an organ and a cembalo which lend even more baroque flavours. The opera had its première on 13 November 1931 in the Mecklenburgisches Staatstheatre Schwerin, under the baton of Werner Ladwig, and it received glowing reviews in the press. One review⁶ described the work as a hymn to music, and according to another⁷ (The composer, along with those who had helped with the work, was hailed ecstatically by a full house'. Another report,⁸ however, merely

6 Münchener Neueste Nachrichten (14 November 1931).

7 Allgemeine Musikzeitung, Berlin (November 1931).

8 Vossische Zeitung, Berlin (14 November 1931).

stressed the fact that Graener relied heavily on the baroque idiom, and said that the libretto served only as an excuse for writing the music.

Der Prinz von Homburg had its première in Berlin on 14 March 1935. It is set in 1675 and based on Heinrich von Kleist's heroic drama, which deals with a Prussian princeling who achieves a military victory by defying the judgement of his general staff, thereby also winning the hand of a gallant lady. According to Dr. Hans Jenkner,⁹ Paul Graener brought to Kleist's drama a dramatic nerve, orchestral colour and a sharp instinct for writing music appropriate to the text and thus further emphasising the heroic theme. Jenkner insists that this is an important work - important both to the people (Volk) and to the state.

On 19 February 1936 Graener wrote a personal letter to Hitler¹⁰ saying that on the 28th of that month he would be conducting his Prinz von Homburg at the Staatsoper in Berlin. He wrote that for almost a year he had cherished the hope that Hitler might attend a performance of this opera. He said in his letter, 'For years I have sought with this opera to create a national work of art'. There is, unfortunately, no evidence as to whether Hitler did or did not attend a performance of Graener's opera.

Example 25 is part of the orchestral introduction to the work, which contains the main musical motifs used by Graener throughout the opera (the three main motifs contained within the orchestral introduction are

9 Der Aufstieg, Verlagsnachrichten des Hauses Bote und Bock, No. 11, November 1935.

10 Wulf, op. cit., 90.

quoted after the main example). The example also displays the characteristics of Graener's style, which is rooted in late Impressionism showing the strong influence of Reger. The musical texture of this opera is thicker and weightier than that of Friedemann Bach, perhaps an attempt at creating a heroic stature through the music.

The music concentrates on two specific moods, the martial and the romantic. By the use of old Prussian military marches and soldier songs, Graener wished to imbue the work with a true spirit of heroism. Even the army camp scenes with their fanfares and march rhythms however presented merely a façade of heroism. Graener was at his best writing romantic and sentimental music, and his nature was unsuited to the stature of Kleist's heroism. 'What in Kleist is the natural expression of a Prussian and tragic mentality, in Graener becomes an artificial construction.'¹¹ Graener's love scenes, on the other hand, were very poignant, and the characterisation of the Princess Natalie is most sensitive. The voices throughout are treated effectively, in an almost Italianate manner, with broad emotional cantilenas.

Friedrich Selter congratulated Graener on his masterly adaptation of the Kleist drama, with its 'gripping plot, with the background of glorious German history'. He added that whatever may have been lost in the making of the story into an opera libretto, Graener has amply made up for in the music, 'and in this version the whole thing has decidedly gained in impact'.¹³

11 H. H. Stuckenschmidt, 'Opera in Germany Today', Modern Music, Vol. 8 (New York, 1935), 35.

12 Die Musik, Vol. XXVII/6 (1935), 445-8.

13 Ibid., 446.

Friedemann Bach was a backward looking work, unproblematical from a style and content point of view, and the opera would probably have been more successful were it not for his Jewish librettist. Der Prinz von Homburg was an attempt at a heroic opera. As Stuckenschmidt wrote,¹⁴ the watchwords of the new regime were 'folk-kinship, timeliness and heroism', so at least Graener was trying to give the Nazis a type of opera they wanted. Unfortunately, his opera turned out to be more of an experiment than a success, so the problem remained unsolved.

Ottmar Gerster was born in Braunfels on 29 June 1897, the son of a doctor. He began his musical training in Frankfurt am Main, and later became an extremely proficient viola player. He wrote five operas in all, and his concern was always that his music should have a broad popular appeal. He insisted, however, that popular appeal must not imply a lack of artistry either in the words or in the music.

His second opera, Enoch Arden, has a libretto by Michael von Levetzow, based on the poem by Alfred Lord Tennyson. The plot of the opera concerns Arden's return home from being shipwrecked for twelve years on a desert island. He returns to find that his wife has, presuming her husband to be dead, married his friend Klas, and as well as not recognising Arden, says that she no longer loves him. Arden, out of desperation, kills himself among the cliffs.

The opera was very popular at the time, and it was performed in over a

14 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 32.

hundred opera houses in Germany and other European countries. It is written in the classical 'number opera' form and abounds in popular tunes, many of which are somewhat trivial in character.

The opera received many favourable press reviews on the occasion of its première on 15 November 1936 in Düsseldorf. One paper wrote,¹⁵ 'This opera will prove to be a great and unequivocal success! Another wrote,¹⁶ 'The opera surpassed all expectations. Even after the first scene it was assured of triumph'.

Since the work was so highly publicised abroad, it naturally received reviews in the foreign press, and the Musical America¹⁷ was a little more objective in its criticism than the whole-heartedly enthusiastic German reports. The review acknowledged that at that time the Germans were desperately seeking a new style of opera, and one that would not only please the public, but that would also continue to be performed for more than one season. It suggested that Gerster's opera was therefore welcomed since it was 'compounded of a sufficient number of essential elements, no matter how heterogenous they may be, or how unrelated to the external foundation on which they are mounted.' Gerster and his librettist had purposely set out to write a work that would have popular appeal, and they succeeded in doing just that. Musical America compared the musical style of Gerster's opera to that of d'Albert's Tiefland, stressing that it was 'good, honest craftsmanship of the

15 Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin (16 December 1936).

16 Rheinische Landeszeitung, Düsseldorf (16 December 1936).

17 By Geraldine de Courcy, Musical America (25 December 1936), 13.

unproblematical order that rigidly avoids any incursions on the linear.'

Enoch Arden has been described more than once as a folk opera - Westermann¹⁸ described it as '... a very successful opera ... with music of immediate impact and a most impressive text ... a true folk opera'. Frederich Herzog¹⁹ similarly described Enoch Arden, and wrote that simplicity in style and content were far more valuable commodities than 'a complex musical language full of metaphysical meaning which is understandable only to the connoisseur, and to him only after many hearings.' He said that Gerster's opera was 'full of passion and emotional tension', and was comparable to the operas of d'Albert and Puccini. Those operas, he wrote, would always be popular in Germany 'because they affect people's fundamental emotions, because they portray great passions and present their music in its most easily understood form.'

Enoch Arden was highly acclaimed by Herzog²⁰ as a major step forward in the realm of folk opera. His article was entitled 'From music drama to folk opera', strongly implying that this was the type of opera for the future. He stressed that Gerster had found the right balance, as 'his music is in form, content and expression representative of the contemporary style without, however, foregoing all the fundamentals of tradition.' It was heralded, in fact, as the perfect model for opera composition under the Nazis.

18 Gerhart von Westermann, Opera Guide (London, 1964), 456.

19 'Vom Musikdrama zur Volksoper', Die Musik, vol. XXIX/3 (1936), 198-9.

20 Ibid., 198.

It is interesting to note that in 1935, a year before the première of Gerster's opera, a work by Ludwig Maurick on the same theme had its première in Düsseldorf. Maurick's opera, however, did not survive more than a very few performances, due to the lack of dramatic interest in its plot - he had dwelt too heavily on the metaphysical side of the story. Gerster and Levetzow had no such intentions, and concentrated their efforts purely on producing an entertainment. They did this unfortunately at the expense of some dramatic impetus and continuity throughout the work. The various episodes seem sometimes almost casually strung together, with plenty of opportunity for theatrical and orchestral effects. Example 26 shows the simple and 'popular' style of the music, which contains a number of fairly predictable sequential passages.

One sentiment which the Nazis advocated very strongly in their films (see Chapter Two) is clearly portrayed in this opera. The tragedy of unselfish love is evidenced when Enoch Arden returns home and finds that his wife has not only married again, but also fails to recognise him. So as not to spoil her present happiness, Arden commits suicide. 'The self-sacrificing nature of his love is the ultimate expression of that tragic greatness, which austerely and silently renounces all.' ²¹

Gerster subtitled his opera Der Mövenschrei, the gull's cry, with which the work begins (see example 27). This motif, just as the call of the Falcon in Strauss's Frau ohne Schatten, permeates the whole work, and is unmistakable whenever it returns. Although the work is in the old form

21 Ibid., 198.

of 'number opera', Gerster pointed out ²² that the links between sections in his opera are much stronger than those in the older style. He also stressed that although on an initial hearing one might feel that a Wagnerian leitmotif technique is being employed, this is not the case. He preferred to repeat themes in their entirety, thereby, he hoped, increasing their symbolic significance. By the use of such Erinnerungsmotif and also the onomatopoeic themes he drew from nature (as in the gull's cry), he felt that the form of folk opera could be given an optimistic future.

Two more operas by Gerster which were performed during this period were Madame Liselotte, given in Essen on 21 October 1933; and Die Hexe von Passau (The Witch of Passau), which was performed in Düsseldorf on 11 October 1941. Neither of these works was of the same stature as Enoch Arden, nor received the same success.

Madame Liselotte could almost be viewed as a forerunner of Enoch Arden in the genre of folk opera, itself being more like an operetta. It has a large cast, including monarchs and dignitaries, and the first act takes place in the year 1670, the rest of the opera, twenty years later. The main character in the work is the princess of Pfalz (1652-1721) who married a brother of Louis XIV but remained German at heart despite her French connections.

The opera received immediate public acclaim, and was given glowing reports in the local newspapers. Die Musik, ²³ however, was less than

22 In Die Theater Welt, Programmschrift der Städtischen Bühnen (Düsseldorf 1936/7).

23 Vol. XXVI/ 3 (1934), 205.

generous in its praise,

' ... Gerster's opera is unquestionably of popular appeal, and in that way superior to many works in folk opera style. Nevertheless the casualness is still perplexing with which Gerster ... has been able to make this opera equally exciting and yet in its musical conception shallow, unoriginal, confined in style and aimed at sentimental effect. '

The reviewer suggested that to go so far as to even call the work an 'opera' would be a mistake, and that a title such as 'Puccini-operetta' would be more fitting. He agreed that the opera had enjoyed a great public success at the Essen opera house, but added that this was not due to the quality of the music, but rather to the musical director Johannes Schüller, who conducted so sensitively and with such passion, and the actress Clare Autenrieth, who gave a performance of great distinction and maturity.' Examples 28 and 29 indicate the conventionality and sentimentality of Gerster's style in this opera. The first is part of the ballet music, and the second is taken from the very end of the opera.

Die Hexe von Passau is about an inspired woman who induces the mayor of Passau to join her in leading the peasant rebellion of 1489. No contemporary reviews of the Düsseldorf première of this opera exist, but a Leipzig newspaper reviewed the opera's first performance in that city on 25 April 1956. It commented on the fact that the words are of paramount importance in Gerster's opera, and that the music possesses 'an austerity of expression which avoids any excess.' One outstanding feature contributing to the dramatic development of the whole was the satirical song of the rebellious peasants, 'Strangle us, strangle us,

Count!', which came back again and again as a leitmotif, and made the distress and the power of resistance of the peasants even more poignant. Example 30 is from the Hexenlitanei, the witches' Lord's Prayer, with which Valentine (the witch of Passau) healed all the sick who believed in her. The example shows Gerster's love of theatrical effects, even though the music itself is basically simple.

Gerster's operas were simple, unproblematical folk operas, which gained him a measure of acclaim during the Third Reich. He followed the traditional style of d'Albert, and never strayed into any revolutionary territory whatsoever. In the case of Enoch Arden - it was praised uncritically within Germany, and because of its immense success, was reviewed abroad. As can be seen from the American review referred to earlier, however, the opera did not stand up to scrutiny from the outside musical world, revealing how insular Germany was at that time, and how strict the censorship must have been. The Nazis wished to give the world the impression of a flourishing cultural scene, but from the outside it was all too obvious how false this was.

Joseph Haas was born in 1879 in Bavaria, and after beginning his career as a schoolmaster, he turned to learning composition and later to teaching it. It was largely due to Haas's efforts that the State High School for Music in Munich was able to resume its work so quickly after the war (he became its president in 1945). His early works show the influence of Reger, and the later ones, including his opera Tobias Wunderlich, show little if any tendency towards anything musically or

structurally revolutionary despite the fact that during the Twenties Haas keenly promoted new music and together with Hindemith organised and adjudicated at the festivals of modern music which took place at Donaueschingen. It is possible, therefore, that the strictures of the Nazi regime suppressed in Haas any radical and forward looking impetus in the field of musical composition.

Tobias Wunderlich , which had its première on 24 November 1937 in Kassel, has a text by Hermann Heinz Ortner and Ludwig Andersen. It is set in the present time in the German Alps and the main character is Tobias, a maker of wooden shoes. A parish council wishes to auction the wooden gothic figure of Barbara from their church, and because Wunderlich protests, the saint in gratitude comes down from her pedestal and becomes his servant. The village accuses Wunderlich of an immoral relationship with his new servant, so he tells them who she is, unfortunately causing her to return to being a statue. The church soon after becomes a place of pilgrimage, and Tobias secretly carves a new wooden figure for himself. Barbara descends from her niche, and a tender duet reunites the two.

The opera was very well received by the press, and Nazi approval is evidenced by the review in the Völkischer Beobachter.²⁴ It spoke of the opera most definitively as a folk opera, in which could be traced elements of Humperdinck, Meistersinger, Cavalleria, Smetana and also the younger German generation. Perhaps the main objection that the authorities might have had to the opera was the Catholic element, as the

²⁴ Munich, November 1936.

review stressed that the Catholic aspect was certainly not central to the opera. The review's praise continued, 'A marvellous and profound German opera for which a place of honour among the folk is already prepared... It was a great hour for German opera'.

Another report ²⁵ the day after the première wrote that there were thirty curtain calls at the end of the performance and twenty in the interval between the acts, and yet another ²⁶ cited the première as a uniquely memorable day in the history of German art and more particularly of the German theatre. Franz Uhlendorff the reviewer said that because Germany already possessed such an excellent operatic tradition, the present operatic scene appeared all the more barren, and the form very much underused. Under such circumstances, he wrote, it was all the more remarkable that Haas had produced such a superb operatic work.

Haas had given a great deal of thought to the type of subject matter which would be most suitable for operatic treatment, and he came to the conclusion that it would be altogether the best thing if his material were totally unrelated to reality. By this he meant that if one tried to depict a historical event, in an opera even more so than in a play, one ran the risk of being criticised for distorting the subject matter - either exaggerating or diminishing the significance of certain characters or events. If on the other hand one's inspiration came from legends, mysteries, fairy tales and myths, which in themselves provide unlimited variety, such problems would not occur, and there would

25 Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten, 25 November, 1937.

26 Kurhessische Landeszeitung, Kassel, 26 November 1937.

consequently be no criticism for presenting an inaccurate historical portrait. Haas wrote, ²⁷ 'The man who seeks ideas and figure heads in this world will be richly rewarded and satisfied - much more richly than if he were to seek ideas and figure-heads in history'.

After discovering the dramatic legend by Ortner Haas said he was inspired to set the story to music because of the attraction he felt towards the character of Tobias - his high ideals and naïve faith. Haas gave as his creed a quote from Goethe, ²⁸ 'The sanctity of church music, the merry and roguish qualities of folk melodies - these are the two pivots around which true music turns'. He also acknowledged the problems of continuing to compose in a basically melodic style whilst using the operatic form. The drama can very well be hindered and held up by the lyrical expressions of arias and ensembles, as indeed was the case in many eighteenth and nineteenth century works, but on the other hand, he saw melody as being one of the most desirable and enjoyable elements of opera.

In Tobias Wunderlich Haas attempted to reconcile his desire for dramatic development in music with his fundamentally melodic style. He described this opera as a folk opera and said, ²⁹ 'A folk opera without melody would be without a reason for being'. He went on to say that he was pleased to incorporate genuine folk melodies into the whole, as 'a true folk song can be original and coarse, even sentimental, but unlike the cabaret song, will never be vulgar'. ³⁰ The popular combination of the

27 Joseph Haas, Reden und Aufsätze (Mainz, 1964), 52

28 Ibid., 55.

29 Ibid., 56.

30 Ibid., 56.

folk element with cheerful melodiousness in Tobias Wunderlich was almost sufficient guarantee in itself of the opera's immediate success.

Whilst the operas of Hindemith, Krenek and Weill were strongly disapproved of because they reflected aspects of contemporary society, Haas's opera succeeded on account of its use of legend as subject matter. Legends, he asserted, have no deep psychological meanings which need elaborate penetration or explanation. They do not set out to provide one with an intellectual struggle, and on the whole are an area for fantasy. He gave the motto of the opera as ³¹ 'Der Glaube ist des Wunders liebstes Kind' - there is no need to analyse, just accept.

In example 31, the gypsy Barbara sings as the curtain rises, a very simple, folk like melody, consisting of three regularly balanced four-bar phrases. This sets the tone for the rest of the work, which continues in a very melodic style bound together by recitative-like passages, through to the very end and the touchingly sentimental duet between Tobias and the saint Barbara.

Haas's second opera, Die Hochzeit des Jobs, had its première in Dresden on 2 July 1944. It is in four acts, with a libretto by Ludwig Andersen. Haas was well aware of the tragic events surrounding him during its composition, and justified his having chosen to write a comic opera by the principle, 'life is serious, art is cheerful'. ³² He went on, 'Humour is no spiritual bread on which one can live, of that I am very

31 Ibid., 56.

32 Ibid., 58.

well aware; but it is a covering which can make even dry and bitter bread palatable'.

The hero of the opera is Hieronimus Jobs, who through his serenity, triumphed over the hardships and sorrows of this world thanks to an unwaveringly optimistic philosophy of life. Haas himself admitted ³³ that the variety of characters in the opera served merely to round off the portrait of the hero, for whom he felt a great affection. Haas indicated that all the characters in his opera are familiar types, such as are to be found in fairy tales,

' Next to Jobs as a kind of "lucky Jack" is the lovely and pure figure of his girl; there is, as an opposite and evil spirit, the chemist, and as an almost imperceptible guiding hand the good spirit of the carpenter; they all lead to a moral of the acceptance of life in which what is good and brave is rewarded and what is evil and ugly is punished'. ³⁴

The opera, being in four acts, differed from the classical form of comic opera, which was usually in three. The other unusual aspect of the opera was the use of the 'narrow stage', that is, in front of the curtain. Haas used these episodes as 'expositions', elucidating the events of the main acts. The opera was favourably reviewed, ³⁵ its success mainly being attributed to the völkisch nature of its music.

Although Haas seemed to continue a successful career during the Thirties,

33 Ibid., 57.

34 Ibid., 58.

35 In Signale für die musikalische Welt, (June/July, 1944), 97.

especially as far as his operatic output was concerned, he could by no means be branded as an outright Nazi sympathiser. His deeply religious view of life was such that the Nazis would only tolerate him with caution. After the war, Haas wrote a Te Deum to commemorate the end of the war and Nazi rule. Haas had decided that since repeat performances of new operas were rare, and most remained novelties restricted to a few theatres, he would write popular operas with the emphasis on melodious music, thereby more readily eliciting a favourable response from his audience.

Hermann Reutter was born in Stuttgart in June 1900 and during the Twenties he studied piano and composition with Franz Dorfmueller and Walter Courvoisier respectively. He enjoyed considerable success during the Thirties - in 1932 he was appointed as teacher of composition at the Wuerttemberg High School for Music and in 1936 he became director of the High School for Music in Frankfurt. In order to separate himself from the classical tradition represented by Hans Pfitzner and Joseph Haas, which influenced him greatly during his formative years, he began seriously following the Hindemith school of composition. Perhaps partly due to the unpopularity of figures such as Hindemith in the late Twenties and early Thirties, however, Reutter's compositional style changed. It is aptly summed up in the following passage, ³⁶

' Reutter, too follows the general trend of musical development in Germany in the early 1930s, which manifests itself in a far-reaching simplification

36 Grove's Dictionary of Music, vol. 16 (London, 1954), 136.

of style. Old German folk songs inspire his melodies, and his harmonisation becomes increasingly archaic ... The pioneer of the 1920s has become a defender of tradition, and though he has never given up experimenting and exploring new formal possibilities, Reutter's style now shows few traces of the Donau-eschingen spirit and is to be placed somewhere between Pfitzner and Hindemith'.

The tendency towards an overtly popular style of composition and the rejection of avant garde trends was noted in the works of Joseph Haas, and these were certainly successful formulas for Reutter.

His first major opera during this time was Dr. Johannes Faust, which was given its première on 26 May 1936 in Frankfurt, conducted by Bertil Wetzelsberger. The libretto, in which the devil guarantees to Faust twenty four years of uninhibited fulfilment of all his desires, was derived from an old puppet play. The opera is written in 'numbers' consisting of melodies strongly influenced by folk songs, supported by simple and at times archaic harmonies.

The opening (see example 32) creates an atmosphere of mystery and suspense before Faust begins to sing, and an example of Reutter's vocal style can be seen in an aria by Wagner, Faust's amanuensis (see example 33). Such a melodic line is typical of Reutter throughout the opera - most of the 'songs' being very conventional both in their harmonic and rhythmic structure. Extra drama and tension are built up, however, in the scenes between Faust and Mephistopheles, even though this usually means the use of the rather predictable string tremolando to create the effect.

Reutter had been working on the opera since 1933 and had discovered that

although the original Faust puppet play was a splendid subject for an opera, it required considerable adaptation before it became suitable as an operatic libretto. Ludwig Andersen even invented some aspects of the plot so as to make Reutter's task easier. The ethos of the opera complied well with Nazi doctrines, as Reutter himself said,³⁷

'The music may be easily understood without analysis, by both the layman and the expert.'

The opera was very successful to judge by the reviews of its Frankfurt première, especially the one written by Heinrich Strobel, entitled 'Eine Neue "Faust" - Oper'.³⁸ Strobel referred to Busoni's Doktor Faustus of eleven years earlier, and said that the difference between the two interpretations was that Busoni dwelt primarily on a spiritual interpretation of a demonic Faust image, whereas Reutter dwelt on the colourfulness and folk elements in the story. Busoni's works were not played during the Third Reich, presumably they were thought to be too ponderous. The Nazis indicated the kind of treatment of subject matter they preferred in reviews such as the above by Strobel. The fact that Reutter depended so heavily on older musical styles in this opera seemed irrelevant to the reviewer. It was rather justified by the fact that the composer, whilst aware of the most recent musical developments, had actually chosen to use traditional compositional methods. Strobel drew a parallel with Egk's Die Zauberflöte, another very successful folk opera already referred to and stressed once more the importance of composers

37 Document in B. Schott's Söhne Mainz, no date.

38 Berliner Tageblatt (27 May 1936)

bearing in mind what their audience would want to hear, 'The composer should always write for his public.' Referring to the purpose of writing for a layman audience, Strobel went on to say, 'It must be admitted that there are few works in which this clear intention has been realised with as much taste as in Reutter's Faust.' The opera abounds in lyricism and popular appeal, and even in the comic scenes Reutter 'arrives at a Volkston which is genuine, fresh and at no time commonplace.' 39

The opera proved to be extremely popular, and after its première it was given its second performance in the Weimar Nationaltheater in the 1936-37 season. Also during this season it was performed in Munich, Essen, Bremen, Duisburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Stuttgart. The opera also maintained a degree of popularity after the war, and was performed in Stuttgart in 1955, and in September of 1962 in Mainz.

Reutter's second successful opera written during this time was Odysseus, which received its première on 7 October 1942 in Frankfurt, conducted by Franz Konwitschny. The work bears a resemblance to oratorio in some respects especially with the chorus standing on both sides of the stage explaining and commenting upon the action. Odysseus leaves Troy and encounters many adventures before he returns to Ithaca to be reunited with Penelope. Westermann praised this opera highly, and hinted that truly expressive music, in his opinion, could not at the same time be atonal music. 'He (Reutter) expresses himself with particularly glowing

effect in the farewell to Nausicaa, in spite of his use of delicate half-tones'.⁴⁰

The libretto of this opera was written by Rudolf Bach and the work contains no less than twenty two singing parts, various small ensemble groups, and what Reutter refers to in the score as der erzählende Chor, a chorus acting much as a chorus would in Greek tragedy. Like the reviews of Dr. Johannes Faust, the ones of this opera were also very complimentary. One critic referred to the première as 'a resounding success',⁴¹ and went on, 'This music has inner life, it casts a spell, it endows the plot with dramatic tension'. Heinz Joachim refers to the fact that Reutter is among the few opera composers who had their origins in absolute music,⁴² 'His musical language possesses a pure musical clarity and positive ability, a broadness of concept and construction, a richness with intermediate shades, such as one otherwise has hardly ever met with'.

Reutter is a small figure in the overall history of German opera. He unfortunately suppressed any radical tendencies he discovered in himself whilst following Hindemith's compositional methods, and instead concentrated on having a very successful career during his lifetime. Although his works still retained some value and popularity after the twelve year regime, he could be described as a potential talent subdued by and made subservient to the ruling dictatorship.

40 Westermann, op. cit., 522 (author's italics)

41 Berliner Lokalanzeiger (8 October 1942)

42 Berliner Börsenzeitung (8 October 1942)

Ludwig Roselius was a composer too little known even to merit a mention in Grove's Dictionary of Music. He was born in Kassel in 1902 and his early musical inspirations came from chamber music. He was best known during the Twenties as a pianist and conductor, and wrote two operas of importance to this study. The first, Godiva, had its première in Nuremberg on 17 August 1933. Slonimsky⁴³ summarised the opera's plot as concerning 'the legendary naked ride of the medieval British housewife on a propaganda mission against high taxes'. No reviews of the première are to be found but there is a short report by Gerhard Hellmers in May the following year⁴⁴ of a performance of the opera in Bremen. Gerhard Hellmers wrote enthusiastically that the most important event of the second half of the operatic season was Roselius's opera Godiva, which was given a magnificent rendering by the conductor Dr. Willy Becker. The review continued, 'The staging corresponded in every way to the rich, coloraturistic orchestration, which is reminiscent of Schreker's style, and wraps itself around the dry, psychological plot like a brocade cloak.' After thirteen lines of praise however, Hellmers turns to an even greater attraction, that of the preparation and performance of Wagner's Ring, and so on that occasion the success of Godiva was overshadowed. The opera was not permanently forgotten though, as programme notes exist for a performance in February 1937. In that particular season the work was being performed in Freiburg in Breisgau and in Krefeld, and the programme note stated that in previous seasons it had been given in Nuremberg, Bremen, Wuppertal and Darmstadt, so that it certainly achieved quite a measure of success. Dr. Hans Jenkner

43 Nicolas Slonimsky, Music since 1900 (U.S.A., 1971), 571.

44 Die Musik, vol. xxvi/8 (1934), 625.

who wrote the programme note said how successful the opera had been, and that if a work survives its first season, it often indicates that it will continue to be popular.

Roselius's second opera, Gudrun was first performed in Graz on 29 April 1939 and like Godiva, was successful. This fact alone would be sufficient to indicate that the work had Nazi approval, and a review⁴⁵ of the opera specifically states that two very distinguished members of the Party, Reichsminister Dr. Seiss-Inquart and Gauleiter Ueberreither, were present in the enthusiastic audience. The review suggests that Roselius's music here is occasionally reminiscent of that of Wagner, for example Höllander, Meistersinger and Parsifal. 'This', wrote the reviewer, 'should only serve to make us aware of the high quality of this work which is conceived in broad dimensions and which, like the Meistersinger, has a resounding finale in the radiant key of C major'.

Another critic⁴⁶ wrote of Roselius as 'a man striving for a renewal of the operatic form, a man who undertakes to contribute all he can in his creative works towards solving the problems involved'. The critic pointed out that in Roselius's work the singing voice was always dominant, and yet another review⁴⁷ concurred with that opinion, 'The simplicity of the melodic lines.... testify to the good taste of the composer'.

The opera is based on the medieval legend of Gudrun and Gerlind and

45 Südostdeutsche Tageszeitung, Graz (2 May, 1939)

46 In Grazer Tagespost (2 May, 1939)

47 Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin (2 May, 1939).

Roselius himself entitles the work Eine deutsche Ballade in zwei Akten. The music shows no revolutionary or avant garde tendencies whatsoever, as can be seen from Hergard's aria at the beginning of Act Two scene 3 (see example 34) in which the primary emphasis is on melody. The accompaniments frequently consist of repeated 'chugging' chords in the orchestra, and much of the recitative is sung over rather unadventurous string tremolos.

In summing up the work of Roselius, perhaps the most revealing information is to be found in a review by the Kölnische Volkszeitung,⁴⁸ which clearly singled Gudrun out to be a favourite, saying 'The plot is so clearly of a popular, nationalist type, the music which accompanies the events on the stage is so unproblematical and German in character, never intruding too much, the overture is austere and serious, reflecting the nordic character ...' This review unwittingly outlined an opera composer's 'recipe for success' during the hazardous years of the Third Reich.

Paul von Klenau, though born in Denmark in 1883, belongs entirely to the German cultural sphere; even the librettos of his operas were written in German. His first opera, Gudrun auf Island (Gudrun in Iceland, 1918), was very much a tribute to Wagner and Strauss, and it is really after this time that he began to develop his own style. Klenau's operas of relevance to this study are Michael Kohlhaas (1933),

48 Köln (6 May 1939).

Rembrandt van Riijn (1937) and Elisabeth von England (1939).

Michael Kohlhaas had its première in Stuttgart on 4 November 1933, and was given in a revised version at the Berlin opera on 7 March 1934. The opera is based directly on Kleist's novella of 1810, and is right wing in political direction. The inspiration for the work was the Reformation, as was also the case with Hindemith's opera Mathis der Maler. The plot deals with the moral, spiritual and political dilemmas of individuals in a world of Lutheranism. The opera is revolutionary in its use of the Simultanbühne, a front and rear stage, as used by Schreker in Christophorus (1927).

In Die Musik ⁴⁹ Klenau wrote that he saw his own music as a natural development of the music in Wagner's opera. His starting point was Wagner's extreme chromaticism, especially in such a work as Tristan und Isolde, and from there Klenau began to use the twelve tone row, but incorporating into it harmonies, modulations and dissonances. He gave as an example the leading theme of the opera (see example 35), the first four notes of which are in B minor, the next five in E \flat minor and the last three forming the dissonance G-A-C. These three elements, he suggested, could represent the tonic, sub-dominant and dominant of classical music. Although he worked with twelve notes, Klenau was very quick to point out his strong links with tonality. 'My music works with harmony and dissonance, is tonally orientated, and consequently not atonal!' ⁵⁰ He also stressed that it is incorrect to think of melodies

49 Paul von Klenau, 'Über die Musik meiner Oper Michael Kohlhaas', Die Musik, vol. XXVII/4 (1935), 260-3.

50 Ibid., 263.

using the twelve note system as merely intellectual constructions. In his opera, he wrote, they are as inspired as any other melody. Lisbeth's 'Erzählung und Tod', towards the end of Michael Kohlhaas, is an instance of Klenau using the note row for a melody which is basically key-centred.

Klenau very cleverly conjures up the atmosphere of the period by such methods as the introduction of a chorale-like melody in the Luther scene (Act two, scene 4, see example 36). In Act two, scene 1, after the Schloss Tronkenberg had been set on fire, an unseen chorus sings the Kyrie from Palestrina's mass Emendemus.

Neither Rembrandt van Rijn nor Elisabeth von England achieved the popularity of Michael Kohlhaas. Perhaps the huge resources required for a performance of Rembrandt van Rijn led to that work being less successful. It contains twenty seven singing parts and additional choruses of beggars, soldiers, peasants, fishers and so on. The orchestra is of comparatively moderate proportions. The opera received its première in Berlin in 1937.

Elisabeth von England was first performed in May 1939 in Kassel. A quite different reason is probably responsible for this opera's lack of success. Given its première date, it is highly likely that towards the end of the year, with the onset of war, operas with English subjects were taboo. The opera contains a similar number of singing parts to Michael Kohlhaas, but the latter also had a large number of minor speaking roles. Elisabeth von England has five speaking parts, one of

which is William Shakespeare. A dramatic fanfare opens the work, with a fool rushing onto the stage, chased by a crowd (see example 37). The music is mysteriously atmospheric later in Act one when, just before he sings his song to the moon, the fool muses on the court secrets he possesses (see example 38). Great dramatic use is made of passages containing a free 'rhythmic' speaking (see example 39). This dramatic recitative is, in fact, occasionally more effective than the singing parts, which are sometimes drowned by the weighty orchestral texture.

As in Rembrandt van Rijn, Klenau chose a monumental historical subject, with the main dramatic theme being the innocent involvement in guilt. One reviewer ⁵¹ wrote that Klenau felt it was his artistic duty 'to give a new form to the historical as a mythical drama of fate'. Klenau wrote the libretto himself, following a dramatic technique which, superficially at least, was strongly influenced by Shakespeare. Also reminiscent of Shakespeare was the use of a divided stage. Klenau devised a main stage and a front stage, with episodic scenes taking place on the latter.

Klenau continued to use the twelve tone system as he had done in Michael Kohlhaas. Die Musik ⁵² wrote, 'Together with passages full of dissonance there are unexpectedly numerous sections where the sound pattern flows easily in its song like and march like style, especially in the choruses'. The review also praises Klenau's characterisation of the heroine,

51 Hermann Killer in Die Musik, vol. XXXI/8. (1939), 548-9.

52 Ibid., 548.

' This queen is no opera figure but a humanly moving and heart-stirring character, and it says much that Klenau can present his people to the listener so clearly and tangibly despite the already identified operatic problem.'

The 'operatic problem' referred to is that of the voices being drowned by the orchestra.

Mark Lothar and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny

Mark Lothar was born in Berlin on 23 May 1902. He studied at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin from 1919-1920, and was a pupil of Schreker. During the 1920s he accompanied the Dutch singer Gora Nerry, whom he married in 1934, and he also continued to study piano and composition with Wolf-Ferrari and others. In 1933 he became musical director for the Deutsche Theater in Berlin, and from 1934-1944 he held a similar post at the Preussische Staatstheater. From 1945-1955 he assumed the post of musical director at the Bayerische Staatstheater in Munich.

Although Lothar's music is predominantly diatonic, he himself had a great love for opera of many types. He studied the works of Strauss, Schönberg and Berg, and his overriding feeling was that composers ought to remain free to follow any style of composition that they wished.

Lothar was very attracted to strange characters as subject matter for his librettos. His very successful opera Tyll, based on the Tyll Eulenspiegel legend of which the central character was the idiot Frans Hals, was produced in Weimar in 1928. His opera Lord Spleen was given a very successful première by Fritz Busch in Dresden in 1930. It is in the form of an opera buffa, and concerns a man who could not endure noise. Lothar was equally successful with the musical arrangements he made for revivals of Haydn's Il mondo della luna and Lortzing's Casanova in Murano during the early Thirties.

Lothar's opera Münchhausen, however, was not as successful as his other operas. In fact, Westermann, in his Opera Guide,⁵³ although he mentions several other of Lothar's operas, omits to even name Münchhausen. The story is taken from an episode in Immermann's novel about a lying baron, who through his lies, unexpectedly brought happiness and good fortune to a pair of young lovers. It was first performed in Dresden on 6 December 1933, conducted by Hermann Kutzschbach, and such singers as Maria Cebotari, Martha Fuchs, Paul Schöffler, Kurt Böhme and Martin Kremer took part. Lothar attributed the opera's unsuccessful reception to the change in the political situation rather than to any deficiency in the work itself.⁵⁴ To begin with, his librettist, Wilhelm M. Treichlinger, was half Jewish, and Lothar's publisher in Berlin, Adolph Fürstner, was Jewish as well. Lothar was quick to point out however, that Fürstner was also Richard Strauss's publisher,⁵⁵ but this was something that the Nazis chose to ignore since Strauss was such a

53 Westermann, op. cit., 459.

54 Letter from Mark Lothar to the author, 8 September 1977.

55 Ibid.

valuable figure head, both at home and abroad.

In a letter to Baron Henry van Haersolte van Doorn, dated 14 December 1933,⁵⁶ Lothar expressed his distress over the failure of Münchhausen. He wrote that he had had misgivings about the reception of the work even before the première, especially since Fritz Busch, who had been so encouraging about Münchhausen, had in March that year himself fallen out with the new regime. Lothar had also noticed that the orchestra which had gladly played for his Lord Spleen in 1930 now played without enthusiasm.

The cause of the failure was apparently attributed to a scene towards the end of the opera, where Münchhausen shouts out to the state police, 'Let me for once tell the truth', and the reply of the police is 'That is forbidden here'. At that moment several prominent figures left the audience, and among them was Gauleiter Mutschmann, a very influential Nazi. Lothar's letter to Baron Henry continued that despite the official reaction, the audience thoroughly enjoyed the work, and Paul Schöffler received demonstrative applause following his great 'lie' aria. The other singers were likewise very excellent and highly acclaimed. The composer humourously observed that after Act two, out in the hall, he heard a cloakroom attendant say to her colleague in the clearest Saxon dialect, 'Is heite eine Niede' ('It's a bad one today'). They were obviously well aware of the fate of any work which displeased the Nazi authorities, regardless of public opinion.

⁵⁶ Alfons Ott, Mark Lothar: Ein Musikerporträt (Munich, 1968), 56ff.

Lothar also knew that the publisher Fürstner was no longer recognised by the Intendant of the opera house, and because he had been informed against by some of his so-called colleagues, he had been obliged to produce his Aryan papers to the authorities to prove he was not Jewish. Since the librettist, being half Jewish, was 'incriminated', he was not allowed to appear at any of the rehearsals of Lothar's opera.

Lothar wrote to Baron Henry, ⁵⁷ 'I experienced the bitterness of defeat on the same stage where I had received the warmest applause a few years before at the performance of Lord Spleen.' Lothar's despair and hatred of the Nazi regime began with the failure of Münchhausen. Close as he felt his ties with Germany, he considered at this time the possibility of leaving and working abroad. He knew that he would be able to make a decent living writing film music for Hollywood, but he foresaw his musical talents degenerating and being wasted if he were to leave Germany in favour of that. He wrote quite plainly, ⁵⁸ 'I consider the philosophy and actions of the Nazi regime to be totally alien and objectionable'. Lothar immediately sent the score to Hans Pfitzner, for his opinion. Pfitzner wrote Lothar a very sympathetic letter ⁵⁹ advising him not to let himself be influenced too much by reviews in the press. Pfitzner admitted that what was being written in the press was fast becoming a falsity.

It is interesting that on this occasion the Nazis were very observant, and were quick to pick up any possible criticism of their regime,

57 Ibid., 57.

58 Ibid., 57.

59 Ibid., 58.

whereas on the occasion of Carl Orff's Die Kluge, first performed almost ten years later in February 1943, no apparent notice was taken of the political comments he scattered throughout the work.

There followed a long silence on Lothar's part, during which time his radio opera Das kalte Herz was broadcast on 24 March 1935, conducted by the composer. Then his opera Schneider Wibbel was very successfully performed at the Berlin Staatsoper on 12 May 1938. It was conducted by Johannes Schüller, with the stage management by Gustaf Gründgens, and with such singers as Karl August Neumann, Erich Zimmermann, Hilde Scheppan, Else Tegetthoff and Carla Spletter. The libretto was based on a comedy by Hans Müller-Schlösser and concerns a tailor who receives a prison sentence for offending Napoleon. Wibbel's apprentice, however, goes to prison in his place, and Wibbel himself leads a dark and miserable life. Despite all this, however, the work resolves itself with a happy ending.

This opera perhaps shows more clearly than his others what Lothar really wished to express in his works. His starting point was always the human character, and the fact that good and bad are inseparable in man. Death and laughter too stand side by side, as in the opera Wibbel watches his own funeral. Another overriding concern of Lothar's is that his music should be popular with the public, and a joy to sing, play and conduct. Gustaf Gründgens said of the opera in an interview before the première,⁶⁰ 'This opera of Mark Lothar is something delightfully light, it has charm and warmth, and the music is wholly straightforward ... since Lortzing I know of no opera which is so

⁶⁰ Ott, op. cit., 66.

cheerful and lively, so carefree as this Schneider Wibbel'.

The original intention was to write the whole comedy in rhyming verse, but Lothar eventually decided that the 'dialogue' should be in prose and the musical numbers in verse. The external form of Schneider Wibbel is thus a conventional number opera, with overture, recitatives, arias and ensembles. The three examples quoted illustrate Lothar's style throughout the work. The aria by Hop-Majänn (Ex. 40) illustrates the tonally based directness of Lothar's style, in all its simplicity. Mölfes aria (Ex. 41) illustrates the folk like atmosphere created by the use of a drone bass. Example 42, an orchestral interlude, demonstrates the delicate sentimentality of Lothar's music.

A review of the opera⁶¹ shortly after the première praised Lothar highly, not least because he had returned to the 'good old number opera' form. Another praiseworthy feature was that he had given the singers something to sing - 'er gibt den Sängern auch etwas zum singen'. The melodies in the opera were described as beautiful and even noble - obviously an enormous asset if the opera was to be successful during the Nazi regime.

Lothar's overall musical style was diatonic and popular, it was always his intention to write operas in that way. His originality and inventiveness was most marked in the choice of subject matter for his operas, and it was the content of his librettos which brought him into conflict with the regime. His comic operas were fresh and unusual, and were tolerated and enjoyed, but only when they did not overstep their

61 Nordwest-Zeitung, Oldenburg, May 1938.

mark and offend the censor.

Throughout his book,⁶² Dieter Härtwig emphasised the fact that Wagner-Régeny was vehemently opposed to the tenets of the Nazi regime, in spite of the fact that Grunberger⁶³ inferred that under the Nazis 'Wagner-Régeny accepted commissions for scores to replace Mendelssohn's incidental music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream"...' Indeed, Die Musik⁶⁴ disclosed that the National Socialist Kulturgemeinde had, through its leader Dr. Walter Strang, commissioned new musical settings for 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' by Rudolf Wagner-Régeny and Julius Weismann. Slonimsky⁶⁵ wrote that these new scores came to performance respectively on 6 and 11 June 1935, during the Reichstagung of the National Socialist Kulturgemeinde at Düsseldorf.

According to Härtwig, and he appears to be the only comprehensive source of information about this composer,⁶⁶ Wagner-Régeny exhibited a markedly consistent and above all uncompromising attitude during the years of the Nazi regime, his beliefs finding their most potent and poignant expression in his three major operas: Der Günstling (1935), Die Bürger von Calais (1939) and Johanna Balk (1941).

62 Dieter Härtwig, Der Opernkomponist (Berlin, 1965)

63 Richard Grunberger, A Social History of The Third Reich (London, 1971), 514.

64 Die Musik, vol. XXVII/2. (1934), 110-1.

65 Slonimsky, op. cit., 594

66 The writing of his book was supervised by Wagner-Régeny himself.

In these three operas, he collaborated with Caspar Neher on historical subjects, and the works are full of accusations aimed undoubtedly at the prevailing government and contemporary situation. The Nazi dictatorship, which forced people of sensitivity to make a decision either for or against it, threw Wagner-Régeny in the direction of humanitarian concerns, and into an attitude of direct opposition to the Third Reich.

Wagner-Régeny was born in a small town in Transsylvania called Szász-Regen, having about ten thousand inhabitants. Nowadays the town is called Reghin, in Roumania. He was born on 28 August 1903, Goethe's birthday, and lived not far from where Bartók and his mother had lived. His father was a businessman, and the whole Wagner-Régeny family was both musical and music loving.

Later in his life, Wagner-Régeny decided to go to Germany in order to study music, and he learned with (among others) Paul Graener, at the Leipzig Conservatory. During the Twenties he composed and directed much film music, and was even given his own quarters and facilities by the film company. Wagner-Régeny happily accepted the work, although he was sceptical about the ultimate value of such musical composition, and did not foresee any kind of future for himself in such a job.

Perhaps the most successful work by which Wagner-Régeny is remembered - that is, if he is remembered at all - is Der Günstling (The Favourite), which had its first performance in Dresden in 1935. This opera was the first fruit of the composer's collaboration with Caspar Neher, and is

based on the drama 'Maria Tudor' by Victor Hugo, which had had its première in the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin in Paris almost exactly a century earlier.

The opera is set in London, in the mid-sixteenth century, and concerns Fabiani, the Queen's favourite, who is not adequately fulfilling his post as the Queen's administrator, and is also seducing the betrothed wife of a workman. Erasmus, whose wife and daughter Fabiani has already seduced, threatens him with exposure, whereupon Fabiani murders Erasmus to protect himself. Eventually the Queen, who had previously offered her hand in marriage to Fabiani, becomes aware of Fabiani's crimes and faithlessness, and albeit reluctantly, sentences him to death.

Neher's libretto deals with social and ethical problems, and Ernst Krause⁶⁷ remarked that the text leaned heavily towards the form of Epic Theatre, and even Lehrstück. Such features of the drama as the clear divide between good and evil, the concentration on essentials, and the placing of 'man' as the central character, all contribute to the overall idea of Epic Theatre in Der Günstling. Although the libretto is psychologically inadequate, and fails to give even the main characters dramatic development, it creates a dramatic tension which is irresistible.

The opening bars of the opera set the scene - a very slow moving, unison chromatic line, with fugal entries in other parts (see example 43). A

67 Ernst Krause, Oper A - Z (Leipzig, 1961), 889.

male chorus of the city's inhabitants mournfully sings the following words:-

'While the Queen laughs, the people weep bitter tears. The Favourite grows fat on her bosom. The man drinks our silver - he eats our gold. The government of the land has been given to him. The axe of the executioner falls every morning ... it is sharpened every evening. Who knows when our head also, for the amusement of Fabiani, the criminal, will fall.' Senseless killings were a very poignant issue at that time in Germany, and the parallel is made even clearer by the fact that the action of the opera takes place during the sixteenth century in England, a period of mounting Facism, corruption and resistance to the power of brutal and inhuman authority. The effectiveness of the text lies in the tension that exists between a dissatisfied people and a system of unscrupulous dictatorship. The psychological conflict undergone by the Queen also adds to the dramatic tension. Choruses are used throughout with great skill, and express the mood of the people. Although the work begins in an atmosphere of hopelessness, the overall aim is to depict the triumph of social justice over injustice. The figure of the Italian court favourite Fabiani was a complete invention on the part of Victor Hugo, but he symbolises the tyrannical rule of a foreign power. There are, in fact, only two actual historical figures in Hugo's drama, on which Neher's libretto is closely based, and these are Simon Renard and Maria Tudor.

The score of the opera was published by Universal Edition in 1934, and the composer played the music through to Furtwängler, who was at that time conducting the Berlin Staatsoper, in the hope of a performance there.

As a result of a quarrel with the Generalintendant Tietjen, however, Furtwängler resigned his post as conductor, and Wagner-Régeny subsequently took the score to Karl Böhm in Dresden. Böhm, who had only been conductor at the Dresden Staatsoper since 1934, gave the work its première on 20 February 1935. The opera was a great success, and this encouraged Wagner-Régeny to direct all his energies from that time onwards into the composition of opera.

Walter Petzet, a Berlin critic, wrote,⁶⁸ 'The representation of an interesting work requires a rich artistic means and mature artistic flavour. The Dresden stage had both at its disposal in excellent proportions... ' The successful première of Der Günstling was an important milestone for Wagner-Régeny, and a very promising start to his career as an opera composer. Shortly after its première in Dresden, the opera was performed in Duisburg, Hallé, Munich, Gera and Pressburg. During the year, the opera was taken out of Germany, and performed in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Roumania and Belgium, and was always successful. In the summer of 1935, Der Günstling was performed in the Deutsches Landestheater in Roumania on the occasion of the opening of the first Roumanian open air stage in Hermannstadt. Wagner-Régeny was present at this performance, as he took the opportunity to visit his parents, whom he had not seen since 1923. The visit proved to be memorable to him on two quite different counts - he found the story of the 'Burgers of Calais', which he later used in his opera of that name, and in the library of the Bruckenthalschen Museum he discovered an old chronicle which supplied him with the material for his opera

68 In Signale für die musikalische Welt (93 Jg. Nr. 9).

Johanna Balk

Richard Grunberger⁶⁹ refers to Wagner-Régeny as a neo-classicist, and this judgement is certainly born out in the music written for Der Günstling, which in no way reflects the violence of the dramatic story. Perhaps this explains why an opera with so much relevance to the contemporary situation in Germany, albeit in the guise of an historical drama, so easily slipped past the censors. Westermann wrote,⁷⁰

' Wagner-Régeny aims at strict objectivity, avoids any suggestion of dramatisation, keeps his orchestra in subdued, sober colours, alternates arias and duets with reflective choruses, and gives the work a formal symmetry reminiscent of pre-classical style. '

The baritone and soprano come to the front of the stage after the dénouement and, brightly spotlighted sing their duet of love and farewell. Apart from this feature, however, the main style of the work is baroque, with Handelian choruses and polyphonic foundations.

The baroque and even oratorio like style was commented on in the press reviews at the time of the première, which unanimously praised the work as a great success. One newspaper,⁷¹ headlined its comment with 'Baroque Opera in a New Spirit', and went on to detail the 'number' structure of the work, in which the vocal line was the predominant element. Wagner-Régeny strictly avoided any hint of musical development

69 Grunberger, op. cit., 522.

70 Westermann, op. cit., 523.

71 Duisburger Generalanzeiger, 1935.

in the way established by Wagner in his music dramas, and Der Günstling is highly stylised (see example 44, Gils aria at the end of Act 1). In Die Musik,⁷² however, the most important thing Alfred Burgartz says about the composer, besides mentioning Der Günstling, is the fact that he was of pure German lineage.

The opera was very successful throughout Germany, mainly due to a score which had charm, a strong formal aspect, and a normal, never remotely fanatical intensity of feeling. As has been said, however,⁷³

'When the German press speaks of a "rebirth of opera seria", it commits an injustice. Der Günstling does not strike out into new territory. It rather follows the road taken as early as 1931 by Kurt Weill's Die Bürgschaft.'

Wagner-Régeny's next opera, Die Bürger von Calais, was first performed in Berlin in 1939, under Herbert von Karajan. Wagner-Régeny described the work as 'extremely exciting, gripping and beautiful. That was my opinion after as great a success as my Günstling. At the second performance I received ovations as never before in my life.'⁷⁴ Nevertheless it was noticed by Tietjen, the Generalintendant of the Berlin Staatsoper at the première, that Göring vehemently disapproved of the work. Caspar Neher agreed that the work was very controversial, especially since the première took place in the same year war broke out. He recalled the first performance,⁷⁵

72 'Hinweis auf Rudolf Wagner-Régeny', Die Musik, vol. XXVII/3 (1934), 190-2.

73 Stuckenschmidt, op. cit., 37.

74 Härtwig, op. cit., 43.

75 Der Spiegel (Hamburg, 1961).

'The public applauded an opera, in which six distinguished citizens of Calais are delivered up to the hangman of their own free will, in order to save six thousand inhabitants of their besieged city. Naturally this piece, whether good or bad, was a powerful demonstration'.

It has been suggested⁷⁶ that in writing such a work as Die Bürger von Calais Wagner-Régeny was expressing a reaction against the growing proliferation of Nazi and anti-semitic policies (his wife's family had Jewish connections). The text was drawn by Caspar Neher from the expressionist drama of the same name by Georg Kaiser, one of the foremost exponents of German anti-militarist literature, and whose entire works had been blacklisted by the Nazis. The work was removed from the operatic repertoire after only three performances, with no reason given to either composer or librettist. On the occasion of the performance of Die Bürger von Calais on radio in 1958, Wagner-Régeny referred to this prohibition,⁷⁷

' It was not strange that this work which opposed war and siege, insanity and barbarism, was immediately removed from the performance programme in the time of intense preparations for all the imaginable horrors of war'.

Opinions over the artistic quality of the work by the press, experts and general public, were widely differing. A new era of development had been broached by Wagner-Régeny's music theatre, stimulated by Brecht and Weill, and already partly hinted at in Der Günstling. When compared with the earlier opera, Die Bürger von Calais exhibited a greater

76 David Drew in The New Grove, Vol. 20 (London, 1980), 51.

77 Härtwig, op. cit., 44.

compactness of musical language, and a more assured and personal style.

Six of the inhabitants of Calais had declared their willingness to die if it would save the remaining six thousand in the besieged and starving city. The wife of the governor, also the heroine, left the city by night to travel to the hostile camp and beg the English Queen for mercy, and Wilhelm Matthes, in his review of the Berlin première of the opera ⁷⁸ commented on the enormous amount of sympathy and compassion which is evoked for the woman by both librettist and composer. Matthes said that through the music, we too experience all that the hungry and frightened townsfolk are enduring.

It is clear, however, that Wagner-Régeny and Caspar Neher were making no attempt whatsoever to tackle the problems facing opera at that time. By using a formal musical style and a rigid 'number' structure, Wagner-Régeny was reverting to older musical customs and ignoring any contemporary developments. Matthes, in the same review, referred to Wagner-Régeny as ^X being at a cross roads. He said that if he ever wanted his works to be viewed as more than just backward looking ventures, he would have to reconsider seriously his use of operatic form. He felt that some sort of synthesis ought to be brought about which would reconcile the two most important elements in Wagner-Régeny's music - a choral idiom with dissonant passing notes and a style based on dance motives and the rhythmical elements of jazz.

78 Signale für die musikalische Welt, No. 5 (Berlin, 1 February 1939), 65-66.

Three of the unusual features of the orchestration of the earlier opera had been the use of a tambourine, a small bell, and a string quartet. In Die Bürger von Calais, Wagner-Régeny employs the usual orchestra, with the addition of two alto saxophones and a tuba. This opera is also in three acts, and like the former, opens with an orchestral prelude, although this time much more homophonic in style. The layout of this opera is very similar to that of the earlier one, in that it, too, has clearly separated 'numbers', occasionally interspersed with spoken dialogue, the only difference being that Die Bürger von Calais does not have the numbers detailed and titled in a table of contents at the front of the score.

Cornelia's aria (No. 4) is entitled Ricercar, and Wagner-Régeny uses this ancient form fairly freely to express this mother's despair. The melodies and musical textures change fairly sectionally according to Cornelia's moods, and reach a poignant height where she sings 'Three times have I seen the death of my children ...' (See example 45). The accompaniment to her expressive melody follows the vocal line closely. It never shows any independence, and is consistently - at this point - a simple, homophonic texture. Later in the same song there is an illustration of Wagner-Régeny's fondness for suddenly changing the musical texture during the course of a song, and fixing upon a particular accompanimental figure - a device common enough in strophic songs of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but certainly not a hallmark of twentieth century music. (See example 46).

This opera put Wagner-Régeny out of favour with the regime, and in order

to test how far he would go to further his own career, the National Socialist Culture Commission ordered him, at the instruction of the Führer himself, to speak on television in Berlin. The composer nevertheless managed to acquit himself of this delicate and dangerous task, thus making a stand against the Nazis.

The work on his third most important opera, Johanna Balk, was completed by 1940, but the Deutsche Opernhaus refused to perform it, describing it as 'impossible'.⁷⁹ However, the director of Vienna's Universal Edition, Alfred Schlee, made it possible for the opera to be performed outside of a circle of five hundred kilometres from Berlin. The première took place on 4 April 1941 at the Vienna Staatsoper, and rumours began to circulate about the composer and librettist, saying that to have the opera performed at all, they must be respected S.S. people.⁸⁰ Although twelve theatres in Germany were very interested in performing the opera, it was not allowed any performances outside of Vienna, and it was only kept on there for two more seasons through the courageous attitude of the dramatic producer, Dr. Wilhelm Jarosch. Two features of the opera led to its unpopularity with the Nazis - the first was the fact that the villain of the piece, Bathori, was a Hungarian Prince, and at that time Germany's relations with Hungary were good, and the second was that incorporated into the work was a figure indubitably recognisable as the 'Führer', and this man was killed as a sacrifice by one of his own officers. As the press commented,⁸¹ 'Johanna Balk could not possibly

79 Härtwig, op.cit., 45

80 Ibid., 46

81 Rheinischer Landeszeitung, Düsseldorf (12 May 1941).

have been described as an enrichment of folk art, and folk art was, after all, of primary importance at that time.

The Nazis, realising that Wagner-Régeny was spiritually and intellectually opposed to their cultural revolution, banned all his other works in addition to Johanna Balk. The première itself caused quite a stir, with the opponents of the regime who saw in the opera a repudiation of the contemporary system raving enthusiastically, and the National Socialists and Hitler Youth trying to create maximum disturbance to prevent the continuation of the opera. The occasion eventually threatened to turn into a pandemonium of wild booing and abuse, and in order to keep the peace, thirty of the loudest howlers were arrested for the night. It transpired that those who had been arrested were all National Socialists. The Berlin press had been informed that they were forbidden to give an enthusiastic review of Johanna Balk, and Wagner-Régeny's name was subsequently added to the list of those artists who were not in favour with the Nazi regime.

Together with Carl Orff, Wagner-Régeny received a small pension at this time from the Austrian government in order to enable them to continue working during those unstable times. Wagner-Régeny took up residence in the Viennese suburb of Klosterneuberg. Although Carl Orff and Werner Egk were judged favourably by the regime, and consequently were well reported in the press, opinions vascillated as to how Wagner-Régeny should be represented. Several critics, for example Heinz Joachim,⁸² persisted in attempting to write about his works objectively. He referred

82 Berliner Börsen-Zeitung (7 April 1941).

to the composer's and librettist's pursuit of a musical theatre as being of significance for the future. Joachim said that in Johanna Balk even more than in Die Bürger von Calais, Wagner-Régeny had developed his ability for musical characterisation.

Another leading critic Fred Hamel, wrote on the occasion of the Johanna Balk première,⁸³

'Wagner-Régeny belongs to the most prominent representatives of new music, who consciously struggle towards the production of a new opera form. He has thought, theorised and written a great deal on that subject ...There is always a strong intellectual tension in his operas ... He created in Johanna Balk the story of the rebellion of an oppressed people against a sovereign, who in flippant disregard of his subjects conducted a despotic reign of terror...'

Hamel went on to examine the stylistic problems of such new operas and the effect they had on the Viennese opera going public who had for the most part been nurtured on the older and more 'traditional' operas.

Although Wagner-Régeny's music does not belong amongst that of the atonalists and avant garde composers, it cannot automatically be deduced from this that he sided with the Nazi regime. On the contrary, he most resolutely opposed it, and in spite of the lack of numerous sources of information concerning the composer, three entirely unbiassed facts can be adduced to ascertain his sympathies during this time. The first is that Wagner-Régeny was called up for military service after

83 Härtwig, op. cit., 48.

was broke out, and if he had been in favour with the Nazis, this command would somehow have been rescinded, as was the case with Herbert von Karajan. Härtwig says⁸⁴ that composers who were prepared to capitulate to the Nazis were on an extensive list drawn up by the Propaganda Ministry, and were exempt from serving in the army. To further aggravate his career as a composer, his name was forbidden any mention in all publicity. Wagner-Régeny was later transferred to Paris, and although his friends tried to exert their influence to enable his works to be performed, the attempts proved to be futile, and the composer said⁸⁵ 'Herr Goebbels had decided once and for all what was "desirable" and what was to be "eradicated"...' Whilst in Paris, Wagner-Régeny noted that Egk's operas Joan von Zarissa and Peer Gynt were shown frequently at the Grand Opera, and that they were also very popular throughout Germany. The second fact is that on 22 November 1943, the house where Wagner-Régeny and his wife Leli Duperrex had lived and worked for the twenty years since their marriage was bombed and completely destroyed. When Boris Blacher and his pianist wife Gerty Herzog heard the news of this they offered their house in Zehlendorf as a refuge to the couple. Blacher was also an enemy of the regime, and would surely not have opened his house to any composer whom he suspected of harbouring Nazi sympathies. The Wagner-Régenys stayed with the Blachers until the end of January 1944, when that house too was destroyed by bombs. The third fact is that Wagner-Régeny was visited by Gottfried von Einem, another enemy of the regime, and one who had earlier been imprisoned by the Gestapo when he had tried to leave

84 Ibid., 50

85 Ibid., 50

Germany for England.

Winfried Zillig, Gottfried von Einem and Boris Blacher

Winfried Zillig, born in Würzburg in April 1905, was primarily known as an opera conductor, although he began his career studying law and later took lessons in composition from Schönberg. During the Twenties he had assisted Kleiber at the Berlin Staatsoper and he was involved with the first provincial production of Wozzeck in the Oldenberg Landestheater. He wrote much music for films during the Thirties, in general experimenting with the twelve note series, but generating a tonal centre within the series (after the manner of Alban Berg). He maintained his interest in contemporary music, and after the war as the chief conductor for Hesse Radio in Frankfurt, he began increasingly to promote new music.

The two operas he wrote during the Thirties and early Forties were Das Opfer and Die Windsbraut, both of which are written in a freely chromatic idiom. Das Opfer (The Sacrifice) received its première in Hamburg on 12 November 1937. The opera has four solo parts - a bass, tenor and two baritones, a mixed chorus and a dancing chorus, accompanied by an orchestra including celeste, piano, harp, xylophone, glockenspiel and vibraphone. The story concerns Scott's expedition to the South Pole in which one of the men, Oates, becomes injured and sacrifices himself so that the other men can get back to safety without being

hindered. The opening is arresting (see example 47), and the chorus acts very much as the chorus would in a Greek tragedy - they comment and moralise on the action and even at the outset they are singing 'Without sacrifice one achieves nothing'. It is not until a little later however that the chorus turns into a chorus of penguins - they don costumes and masks during an orchestral interlude. The various scenes of the opera then move between focussing on the penguins who sing of the eternal gloomy state of man, and the four men themselves, who experience those same struggles. The two halves of the opera (that is the penguins and the men) come together at the point where the penguins sing that it is they who control the storm, and therefore it is their doing that Oates was injured and left behind because of the snow and bad weather. They seem, as a chorus in Greek tragedy, to be detached from and look down upon the ways of mankind. Oates, addressing the deity personified by the penguins, sings expressively, 'O you, who require a sacrifice, deliver these friends, these journeymen', and he himself dies that they might be spared. Nevertheless, the opera ends happily with a prayerful chorus, with the stage set as it was at the beginning of the opera.

Zillig's music was consistently chromatic, but in saying this it must be recognised that it is very tonally based (see example 48). He used the chromaticism in this work to suggest the pain and iciness of the terrible weather, and the sacrifice that Oates made. The opera was reviewed by the press several times after performances during the 1937 operatic season, but thereafter, no mention is made of it. Westermann, although he briefly mentioned Zillig in his Opera Guide⁸⁶ (a Nazi biased

86 Westermann, op. cit., 558.

document), never referred either to this opera or to Die Windsbraut. Slonimsky wrote⁸⁷ in his own inimitable fashion that the opera was 'written in an advanced Wagneromantic style, but embodying some daring dodecaphonic structures, with the tone row now vertically integrated in the form of four mutually exclusive triads'.

Such reviews as the press gave of the opera were not at all enthusiastic, and in the main, classed the work as a struggling attempt to solve the knotty problem of contemporary opera composition. Dr. Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt conducted the première, and a reviewer⁸⁸ four days later stressed the technical challenge posed by the opera, without actually praising the work as a success or condemning it as a failure. Other reviews took their starting point from what Zillig himself wrote about the work in the programme note to the performance.⁸⁹ Here Zillig said that he found Göring's libretto ideally suited to his compositional style and that he realised the opera would make considerable demands on its listeners (he even suggested that it would be advantageous if the opera goer could brief himself on the work before actually seeing it - surely a necessity for most operas, but rarely stated in the programme note!). Zillig wrote about his opera as if it was intended to be more of a purifying ordeal than a pleasant evening's entertainment. He said,

'This Opfer is a sacred, pitiless thing and the music and text are not concerned with giving pleasure to the listener or satisfying his desire for sensation, but rather with arousing that moral catharsis which follows a tragic event.'

87 Slonimsky, op. cit., 633.

88 Westfälische Landeszeitung, 16 November, 1937.

89 Hamburgischer Staatsoper, Programme Heft (6) 1937-1938.

Perhaps the deeply moral aspect of the opera turned the Nazis against it - or more likely discouraged the audience - although one would have thought that Zillig's doctrine of sacrifice would have been highly applauded by the authorities.

The Deutsche Zukunft⁹⁰ entitled a review of Zillig's opera as 'The Rebirth of Tragedy', and went on to stress the problems of composing a specifically tragic opera in those times. Although other successful tragic operas had been written around that time, for example Der Günstling of 1935, the review emphasised the fact that unlike the Wagner-Régeny opera, Göring and Zillig's drama was not basically a human one. It rather stemmed from classical antiquity, and was modelled on Greek tragedy. Another review spoke of the opera in quite revolutionary terms,⁹¹ 'The première given by our State Opera was perfect in every detail and also a surprise, because it testified to a totally new style. It represented a radical denunciation of all the principles of "Grand Opera".' Having said as much, however, the rest of the review was as guarded as the others in its praise.

Zillig's second opera, Die Windsbraut received its première at the Neues Theater Leipzig on 12 May 1941 conducted by Paul Schmitz. This opera had even more of a varied percussion section than Das Opfer, including as it did a tomtom, an antique cymbal, a chinese cymbal, several other cymbals, tam tam, triangle, tambourine, glockenspiel, vibraphone and xylophone. Zillig also employed a children's choir, a

90 21 November 1937, 11.

91 Hamburger Anzeiger, 14 November 1937.

flute and an English horn behind the stage. The story opens in a peasant's apartment, where a mother sings that her son Hans wishes to marry the Windsbraut, who throughout is personified by a backstage flute. The Windsbraut is eventually lured into Hans's dwelling where he unsuccessfully tries to persuade her to remain. He continues to pursue her however, and eventually makes her his wife, despite opposition from her father and the wood witch. The children's chorus interject throughout the opera but unlike the penguin chorus in Das Opfer, they do not comment or moralise, they merely add to the atmosphere by singing such phrases as 'Wind, Wind! Laufe deschwind!'

Zillig's musical style is much the same as in Das Opfer, but the whole piece is far more light hearted since this time the subject material is not tragic. It was consequently reviewed more favourably in the press, and the Völkischer Beobachter⁹² referred to it as a Bauernmärchen (peasant fairy tale) and wrote, 'The opera offers quite new and splendid possibilities for the development to singers and directorship alike.' The Dresdner Anzeiger⁹³ wrote,

' Winfried Zillig shows himself to be an equally able and imaginative musician whose strength lies in his ability to capture natural events or emotional changes in colourful or atmospheric pictures, and around them form and develop a fundamental theme in various ways the work and the production received great acclaim. '

92 14 May 1941.

93 13 May 1941.

Gottfried von Einem, born in 1918, wrote two operas, Dantons Tod, (The Death of Danton) which had its first performance on 6 August 1947 in the Salzburg Festival, and Der Prozess (The Trial), with a text based on the novel by Franz Kafka and first performed in Salzburg in 1953. Der Prozess was written too late to be valid for inclusion in this study.

Einem began work on Dantons Tod during the winter of 1943-44 and the work was completed in 1946. Despite the fact that the opera was written towards the end of the period under consideration, it is nevertheless very important as a culmination and revolutionary statement of Einem's beliefs and hostility towards the Nazi regime. The opera is in three parts, and is set in Paris in 1794, five years after the storming of the Bastille, during the Reign of Terror. The text is by the composer after Georg Büchner, and Einem emphasises the aspects of bitterness, strength and love present in Büchner's work, all amid the psychological pressures of the time in eighteenth century Paris.

Büchner's play is essentially an attack on dictatorship which Einem rendered simpler and more intense by cutting many of the more cumbersome speeches in the Büchner original. Certain key passages, particularly excerpts from Büchner's letters, are given without accompaniment, and are doubly effective for their conspicuous clarity. Einem frequently reduced the orchestral texture to give added poignancy to a recitative. Example 49 comes shortly after the start of the work, when Camille talks about the victims who died that day on the scaffold. Einem had said that his inspiration to compose the opera had come from the plot on

Hitler's life, and the Nuremberg Trials. ⁹⁴

An American Magazine ⁹⁵ referred to Dantons Tod as having constituted a departure from operatic tradition in two main respects. The first was the relationship established between solo voices, chorus and orchestra, in which each unit expressed the action of the libretto independently of the others, and the second was the simultaneous presentation of two scenes on the single stage.

To perform such an avant garde opera as Dantons Tod at the Salzburg Festival in itself constituted a break with tradition. In 1920, Hugo von Hofmannsthal had offered the following motto for the Festival, ⁹⁶ 'It is not our intention to pose new tasks, but rather to really accomplish the old ones', and Salzburg was certainly not the most obvious choice of places for a première to take place. The Salzburg Festival reached its climax with the performance of Einem's opera, described by the American press at the time as 'violent, noisy and somehow extraordinarily effective.' ⁹⁷

Other reports, however, were not as complimentary as the one by Henry Pleasants. The headline in the Rome Daily American ⁹⁸ was 'New Opera Deafens Salzburg'. The press review began, 'Sixteen hundred music lovers in the Salzburg Festspielhaus Wednesday evening were shocked to

⁹⁴ Quoted in Time (11 August 1947), 32.

⁹⁵ Musicology, vol. II, no. 2 (Massachusetts, 1948), 176.

⁹⁶ Quoted by Henry Pleasants in the New York Times (15 June 1947).

⁹⁷ Quoted by Henry Pleasants in the New York Times (7 August 1947).

⁹⁸ (9 August 1947).

attention by a blast of sound like one hundred Rolls Royces honking for the same doorman at the same time'. It then goes on to say that the 'boyish' Gottfried von Einem had 'compounded an explosive from unequal parts of boogie-woogie, African bush rhythms, traditional counterpoint, solo horn whimsy and percussion plus'. Nevertheless, the rather scathing review does give the opera its due, in that it was forced to admit that whatever the startling aspects of music and staging, the work was never dull. If the opera had had its première somewhere other than Mozart's birthplace, the critics might not have been quite as sharp - Dantons Tod was the first opera ever to have its première at the Salzburg Festival.

Another review of the opera ⁹⁹ was headlined 'Walkout'. This did not refer to the audience, however, as one might initially have been led to think. It was in fact the conductor Otto Klemperer, who found the opera troublesome to rehearse, packed his bag, and boarded a train for Switzerland before the performance. Klemperer's comment on Einem's score was, 'The music is agreeable ... but harmless and rather weak'. Klemperer's Hungarian assistant, Ferenc Fricsay, rushed in to take his place. The Festival authorities attempted a quick cover up of Klemperer's hasty departure by saying that the conductor was beginning to feel the strain of conducting, and had gone to Switzerland to recuperate.

The Musical America ¹⁰⁰ of May 1951 described Dantons Tod as enjoying an outstanding success, and attributed Einem's recognition to the

99 In Time (11 August 1947), 32.

100 Musical America (May 1951), 5.

reception of this work at the first post war Salzburg Festival. In the same review Everett Helm wrote that Einem was little known before the success of Dantons Tod, 'partly because he was young and partly because he was on the wrong side of the political fence to become a success in Hitler's Germany'. The New York Times of 1966¹⁰¹ gave the opera a very bad review after its performance at the New York City Opera, criticising both the libretto (which had been adapted from a Büchner play by Einem and Blacher) and the music. Concerning the libretto the review said that the emphases of the original were distorted, and that Einem's music did not give life to the characters in the drama ... 'the harmonies are tonal, with dissonances that are meant to be modern, and everything ends up flat. A duller opera has not been encountered for years'. The review ended with the words, 'While all of us welcome the chance to hear new operas, it is fruitless to attempt a serious discussion of so obvious a failure'.

Einem was by no means a popular figure during the Nazi regime, and most of the time he was barely tolerated. He had arrived in Berlin in 1933 to study composition with Hindemith, only then to learn that Hindemith had been suspended from the Hochschule on account of his political differences with the Nazi government, and was shortly due to leave the country. Einem then took a job at the Berlin Staatsoper, and subsequently studied with Boris Blacher.

In 1938 Einem was imprisoned by the Gestapo just before he was about to

101 by Harold C. Schönberg (10 March 1966).

leave for England, on a charge of 'High Treason'. The reasons given for the arrest were that Einem had had some Jewish friends, and that his mother was politically active. They were eventually forced to release him because they had no evidence against him. Einem's mother was imprisoned after the war by the French, she was suspected of having collaborated with the Nazis since she knew G"oring very well. Einem himself had known Hitler personally through having met him at Bayreuth, and he commented on the lack of human communication displayed by the F"uhrer.¹⁰²

Einem studied with Blacher, who was a Jew, in Berlin until 1941-42. Blacher's music had been forbidden in Germany from 1938, and he had been forced to leave his teaching post in Dresden.

Boris Blacher was born on 6 January 1903, in the Chinese port of Yingkow. Both his parents were Baltic Germans, and his youth was spent in China, where his parents travelled from place to place. Against his father's wishes he gave up studying architecture and mathematics at the college of Advanced Technology in Berlin in 1924, and began to study music privately with Friedrich Ernst Koch. In 1926 he left Koch and enrolled at the Music Department of the University where the teaching staff included Professor Arnold Schering and Friedrich Blume. Blacher's earliest compositions were strongly

102 Interview with the author, 12 September 1977, Vienna.

influenced by jazz, and at the suggestion of his friend Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, he attended a dancing school in Berlin, which provided him with the inspiration for numerous ballet compositions.

In 1933, Blacher was still unknown, although his Berlin music publishers Bote und Bock had already published one of his early works. Early in 1937 his ballet Fest im Süden (Southern Festival) was successfully performed in Kassel, and at the end of the same year Carl Schuricht gave the first performance of his Concertante Musik with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. The latter work was so well received by the audience that it was played a second time as an encore. From this time onward, Blacher's music became increasingly popular both inside and outside Germany.

In 1938 however, at one of the Nazi Festivals of German Music (Reichsmusiktage) in Düsseldorf Blacher noted definite political hostility towards one of his works, and decided that it would be best for him to move away from Berlin. On the recommendation of Karl Böhm he was appointed to a professorship for composition at the conservatory in Dresden. Nevertheless, despite hostility to his works by the prevailing government, Blacher was still fortunate enough to have his works performed. In 1940, his symphonic poem Hamlet was given its first performance by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Carl Schuricht; and in February 1941, his opera Fürstin Tarakanowa had its première at the Wuppertal Opera.

Blacher's use of operatic form was quite radical and untraditional. The

central figures in his works usually displayed some kind of abnormality, or else they developed strange characteristics as a result of unusual circumstances. The physical characteristics of the singers often reflected their eccentricities, for example in Preussisches Märchen, the husband of an elderly married couple sang soprano and the mother sang bass. The musical devices used by Blacher were no less unconventional. His models were Scriabin and Stravinsky, and he himself wrote with the utmost economy of texture and colour.

Blacher's first opera, Fürstin Tarakanowa (Princess Tarakanowa), given its première in Wuppertal on 5 February 1941, is orthodox in construction. Much of the music is written in a very freely handled bitonal style. Each scene is self contained and unified by the use of one short motif, which then dominates the whole scene. Sometimes this is a rhythmic motif which appears in many melodic guises, and is occasionally employed in strict ostinato. The vocal line consists mainly of a light parlando style, occasionally breaking into arioso, and the flow of music is only interrupted by the great climactic scenes between Orloff and the Princess. In the programme note for the première of the opera, the writer outlined the problems of composing opera at that time, and suggested that the main solution was somehow to merge the two extreme styles of the old number opera and the more recent concept of music drama. In Fürstin Tarakanowa, the author claimed that Blacher had admirably succeeded in doing this. He stressed that the rhythmic pulse was one of the most interesting and important aspects of the work, particularly when used as an element of construction.

The reviews of the opera were uniformly full of praise, one ¹⁰³ describing the work as among the more interesting to have come from the younger generation of composers, and also as 'one of the most significant opera performances of this season in the whole of Germany'. Several reviews expressed a hope that this opera would provide some basis for the solving of the operatic problem and a clue for writing operas in the future, most probably with rhythm as a prominent aspect. Blacher broke the strict confines of tonality, but not in such a radical manner as to offend the Nazi censors, who stressed that his work was still bound together by a feeling of tonality. To emphasise the fact that they believed Blacher's roots to be firmly in past musical tradition, many of the newspaper reviews mentioned the formal structure of the first scene, which is a passacaglia constructed in the conventional way with an ostinato bass theme. Another report ¹⁰⁴ compared Blacher's 'fine dramatic parlando' with that of Mozart, and the towering ensemble scenes to those of Handel. In spite of all these backward looking traits, however, the critic admitted that Fürstin Tarakanowa represented a milestone in the development of operatic form.

Blacher was commended ¹⁰⁵ for not allowing himself to be 'seduced' into writing an opera full of tunes, or one which could be subject to psychological or philosophical 'interpretation', and said that the constraints of the libretto induced him to evolve more clearly the musical structure of the whole. Blacher always remained true to the style exhibited in his purely orchestral works - the critic even referred to the opera as

103 Rheinische Landeszeitung, 7 February, 1941.

104 Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe, 6 February, 1941.

105 Düsseldorfer Mittag, 7 February, 1941.

a 'concert-like work'. Yet another critic¹⁰⁶ put Blacher into the same category as his older colleagues Orff, Egk, Reutter, Wagner-Régeny and Sutermeister, in his rejection of the form of music drama, which the critic regarded as having been extensively exhausted by Wagner, Strauss and Pfitzner. The review commented that despite the prevailing abundance of intellectual goals which had found their expression by resorting to puppet-plays, fairy-tales, Commedia del' Arte, Shakespearean tragedies and other such forms, Blacher 'quite naïvely' chose an 'operatic substance of an old type, which even so had been of use well enough for the young Verdi.' Perhaps the least ardent review was that in the Nazi party's official organ, the Völkischer Beobachter.¹⁰⁷ Its praise was subdued and unemotional, although it nevertheless admitted that the première was a great day for the Wuppertal stage.

In 1945, Blacher wrote the chamber opera Romeo und Julia (Romeo and Juliet), which was originally intended for concert performance. It was not produced on the stage until 1950 in Salzburg. This opera, like the previous one, uses individual motifs for the various scenes.

Die Flut is also a chamber opera, orchestrated for five wind instruments and string quintet. It was composed for the radio, and was first heard on Radio Berlin on 20 December 1946. Its first stage performance came on 4 March 1947, in Dresden. The libretto was written by Heinz von Cramer and concerns a party of travellers who, having been brought by a boatman to see a wreck embedded in a sandbank, become stranded when the

106 Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 February, 1941.

107 8 February, 1941.

tide suddenly rises. The plot concerns what happens among the group between this time, and such time as they are eventually saved. The opera is sparse and incisive in its musical form and expression (see example 50), and the scene-motif principle is very clear and convincing in this single act work. The structure is fragmented by the introduction of choral passages which describe the action and are really for the benefit of radio listeners, although they fit easily into the stage presentation.

Richard Mohaupt, Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Viktor Ullmann.

Richard Mohaupt wrote two operas, Die Wirtin von Pinsk and Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten, the latter being produced after the end of the war in 1949. His first success was with his ballett Die Gaunerstreiche der Courasche, first given in the Deutsche Opernhaus Berlin during the Olympiade - Festspiele in August 1936. Die Wirtin von Pinsk was first performed on 10 February 1938 in Dresden, conducted by Karl Böhm. The opera was, however, taken off after the second performance at the request of Gauleiter Mutschmann. Mohaupt had refused to divorce his Jewish wife, and was therefore out of favour with the Nazi authorities. He was also informed against by certain of his colleagues, which all led to a prohibition of performances of his works in the autumn of that year. Die Wirtin von Pinsk was, however, successfully performed in the Zürich Stadtheater six weeks after its Dresden première.

Gerhard Pietzsch, in the programme note to the Dresden première, described the opera as interesting and contemporary,¹⁰⁸ and went on to say that it could also perhaps be a pioneer in the world of comic opera, a domain which had been neglected for generations. Even with this report, however, from a critic who was well aware of what the Nazis required of music, the opera's reputation could not be saved. There were no further performances after this première, for the reason mentioned earlier, which indicates that the artistic worth of a work was irrelevant when political decisions were at issue.

The libretto was by Kurt Naue, freely adapted from Goldoni's Mirandolina. Naue transferred the action from Goldoni's jaunty Venetian Rococo to the time when the Poles were retreating during the period of the Napoleonic wars in 1812. Naue turned Mirandolina into Lubka, a Russian hotel landlady, who sheltered the French General Catel. He unfortunately took her flirtation with him seriously, and eventually began hunting down Lubka's sweetheart Fedor. The opera received a very favourable review from Dr. Hermann Wanderscheck¹⁰⁹ who described the evening as 'instructive for the point of view of modern German operatic music'. He remarked, and not without a genuine degree of admiration for the composer, that the opera 'shuns all operatic pathos and skilfully avoids any stereotyped sentimentality'.¹¹⁰ The only flaw Wanderscheck saw in the otherwise theatrically effective work was the fact that Lubka's part contained no striking arias. Nevertheless he

108 Blätter der Staatsoper, No.9 (Dresden, 1938), 67.

109 Film-Kurier (Berlin, 1938).

110 Ibid.

remarked upon the colourful and virtuosic ensemble episodes.

One of the most noticeable features of the work is the constant use of ostinati of various sorts, occasionally to a point of tedium.

Mohaupt frequently employed repetitive bass lines with a distinctive rhythmic characteristic (see example 51) which unfortunately wears on the ear after a time. Nevertheless, Mohaupt successfully suggests the atmosphere of the East by the colourful folk festival at the end of Act three. Although his music moves in an avantgarde direction, he still retains the old forms of aria, duet, trio and quartet.

Mohaupt found the situation in Germany intolerable, and left for New York in February 1939. Inspired by a fresco by Albrecht Dürer he composed the orchestral piece Die Stadtpfeifer von Nürnberg, first performed on 7 December 1939 on New York radio. This piece was also performed to open the International Music Festival in London in June 1946.

Karl Amadeus Hartmann was born in Munich on 2 August 1905, and after attending school there until 1922, he became a student at the Academy of Music. He studied music theory and composition with Josef Haas until 1927, and later met Hermann Scherchen, who was to influence him profoundly. He later wrote of him,¹¹¹

111 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Twentieth Century Composers (2) (London, 1970), 213.

'I must confess that in no conservatory or university did I learn anything remotely approaching that which Scherchen taught me. And this is simply because he was working from practical experience and dealing with the human element first.'

They met in 1927 and the initial pupil-teacher relationship rapidly grew into a close personal friendship.

Like Hindemith, Hartmann refused to compromise his art for the sake of achieving recognition and approval under the regime. His deliberate political isolation or innere emigration began in 1933 during the time he was working on his first string quartet and the opera Simplicius Simplicissimus Jugend. From the time the Nazis were elected to power, Hartmann prohibited the performance of his works in Germany, on account of his political conviction. Although his name was unknown within Germany, it gradually became well known abroad, and in 1935 his symphony Miseræ was performed in Prague at the Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

His chamber opera Der Simplicius Simplicissimus Jugend was written during the years 1935-36, although it did not receive its first performance inside Germany until 1949 in Cologne, with great success. The characters and dialogues in the sequence of six episodes are taken from Grimmelshausen's novel, but both formally and in content the libretto is closer to Bertolt Brecht.

The subtitle of the opera, 'Scenes from the development of German destiny' (Bilder einer Entwicklung aus dem deutschen Schicksal) gives a

clue as to the reason why - supposing Hartmann had chosen to release it - the opera would not have been performed in Germany during the Thirties. The theme of the opera is profoundly humanitarian and concerns the Thirty Years' War. The despised peasantry is personified in the figure of the boy Simplicius, who is driven by fear of an unknown force. The boy meets a dying hermit, who befriends and teaches him. Murder, rape and intemperance are portrayed on the stage, and amidst this, Simplicius reveals to the nobles and their courtesans the reality of their situation, before they themselves are killed by the peasants.

The style of the whole opera is very dissonant and percussive, in accordance with the violent and murderous theme it has as its content. As well as being rather difficult to perform, its musical style alone, without the implications of the libretto, would have made it unacceptable during the Third Reich. The music is interwoven with chorales, peasant songs and baroque ornaments. The work was dedicated to Carl Orff, and Hartmann's optimistic aim in creating the opera may be seen from this comment,

' If one holds a mirror up to the world so that it sees its horrible face, it may yet turn from its evil ways. Despite all the political stormclouds, I still believe in a better future; this is the meaning of the final apotheosis of my Simplicius. ' 112

After a fairly lengthy overture, the Speaker begins by setting the scene, over a martial accompaniment by the side drum with the rhythm



. He says,

'Anno Domini. One thousand six hundred and eighteen. There were twelve million people in Germany...'

The accompaniment changes to a pp drum roll for ...

'...Then came the Thirty Years' War, bringing with it a divided faith in one God...'

Tension is built up further by a repeated thud of the bass drum under the following words,

'...Thirty Years have past

...Anno Domini. One thousand six hundred and forty eight. Now there are not twelve million, but only four million souls alive in the whole of Germany'.

Another dramatic use of speech further on in the opera comes during the 'Pantomime', although this time the speech is actually given rhythmic values. The pulsating instrumental accompaniment to the words builds up the dramatic tension, and the chorus chants of the horrors of the war and the terror of the destroyers,

'... And see,

The murderers in action!

They break down the door.

They eat all the food!

... Those murdering devils.

There is a man who is minus a head;

And there is a head sitting all alone.

There lies a shoulder

And thighs in troughs they used to water cattle... '

This section ends with a solo speaker, saying,
 'Eight million died this way' over a trill on the percussion. His
 final words are pp and unaccompanied ...
 'You poor enslaved land.'

Hartmann makes use of a chorale melody in the prelude to part two of
 the opera, in much the same way as Berg does in his violin concerto.
 The chorale theme is one by Heinrich Isaac, and harmonised by Bach, and
 Hartmann interjects his poignant musical phrases in his own style. The
 whole prelude sets the peaceful scene of a Hermit standing beneath a
 cross (see example 52).

The opera ends with the Narrator speaking over the sounds of a wordless
 chorus and a rhythmic drum tapping,
 'There were no longer twelve million people in Germany,
 There were only four million people in Germany!'

The style of the music is very advanced and a performance of the opera
 would certainly never have been permitted during the Third Reich.
 Westermann devotes only ten lines in his Opera Guide to the mention of
 Hartmann's opera, but he does say the following, ¹¹³

' When one thinks that this work was completed in
 1936, three years before the Second World War,
 one is profoundly struck by the moral which is drawn -
 that essential humanity must be preserved in spite
 of horror. '

113 Westermann, op. cit., 557.

Hans Eisler recalled an occasion in 1937 when he was visited in Prague by a young German composer who had sneaked over the border as a tourist to show him the score of his new opera. He wrote,¹¹⁴ 'This extremely gifted work was written in a most advance style so that aside from the revolutionary tendencies of the subject, the music itself, as Kultur-Bolshevismus, was unacceptable to the Nazis'. Eisler proposed a performance of the overture in Brussels, but the young composer had replied with terror that he did not wish to face the unpleasant questions which would be asked of him by the Gestapo as to why he had not sent his score to the proper art authorities, and that he preferred to keep silence and let his work remain unperformed for the present. Eisler did not name the composer, but a reference to the subject matter of the opera being that of the Thirty Years' War seems inevitably to point to Hartmann.

Hartmann was profoundly affected by the outbreak of war, and in 1939 he wrote a concertino for violin and strings known as his Trauermusik (Music for Mourning) which was performed at St. Gall the following year. He withdrew many of his works after the first few performances, and the symphony which finally became known as his first was completed in 1940 after having been started four years earlier. He called it an 'Attempt at a Requiem', and it is a work full of protest against National Socialism. Four of the five movements incorporate an alto voice, with settings of poems by the American Walt Whitman. These poems were later used by Hindemith in his Requiem of 1946, When lilacs last in the

114 Hanns Eisler, Schriften I : Musik und Politik 1924-1948, (Munich, 1973), 491.

dooryard bloom'd. Not until 1948, eight years after its completion, did Hartmann's symphony receive its first performance.

In 1941 Hartmann became the pupil of Anton von Webern who was living in complete isolation just outside Vienna in Maria-Enzersdorf. Unfortunately, Hartmann did not find Webern sympathetic to his own political commitment, as it was the latter's opinion that for the sake of law and order, one must respect the prevailing government whatever the cost. Hartmann was astonished by his lack of ill feeling towards those who opposed him. After the war Hartmann came out of his voluntary isolation, and by the autumn of 1945 he had already founded the series of concerts Musica Viva in Munich. Many contemporary works were performed each year, as the organisation was subsidised by both the State of Bavaria and Munich Radio. At the International Holiday Courses for Contemporary Music in Darmstadt in 1947, he was among the first to champion works by Schönberg, Berg and Webern. Hans Werner Henze said of Hartmann's music, ¹¹⁵ 'Its spirituality, its spontaneous unbroken directness, its honesty and straightforwardness all seemed to me important and significant.'

The Emperor of Atlantis, subtitled 'Death Abdicates' was an opera written in 1943 under the most tragic of circumstances - in Theresienstadt, a concentration camp for Jews. The composer and librettist, Viktor Ullmann and Peter Kien, were deported to Auschwitz in 1944 to be killed,

115 Stuckenschmidt, Twentieth Century Composers (op. cit.), 217.

and the text of the opera had to be written on whatever paper Kien could lay his hands on. It appears that the libretto was even typed by an S.S. officer, on the backs of Terezin (the name of the camp) admission forms, which were of no further use, since the inmates about whom they contained biographical information, had already been deported to Auschwitz.

The camp in Theresienstadt, a small fortress town, was displayed to the public as a homestead for Jews, and in order to create this appearance, a very lively cultural life was encouraged: plays were performed, poetry recitals took place, concerts and oratorios were given, and operas were performed. The Gestapo officer, Eichmann, sent the first Jews from Prague to Theresienstadt in November 1941, and by September 1942, the camp had sixty thousand inmates.

Ullmann had been a pupil of Schönberg in Vienna in the early Twenties, and later became a theatre conductor at Aussig. He was very active as a conductor and teacher in Prague before it fell to the Nazis. His compositional style is atonal, although he adheres to the classical pattern in formal design. He was forty-four years old when he began to compose the opera, which was finished by early 1944. The work was rehearsed in Theresienstadt, but never performed there, because in September 1944, the Gestapo suspended all cultural activities. The Emperor of Atlantis was not the only work to be written by Ullmann in Theresienstadt. He also wrote the operas Peer Gynt and Der Fremde (The Stranger), a piano concerto, two string quartets, five piano sonatas, one octet for wind instruments and many lieder. The manuscript

of the opera survives because it was hidden in the camp by a fellow prisoner, Dr. Adler, who survived the war.

The story begins when the Emperor of Atlantis, also known as Überall (Overall), proclaims universal war, and patronisingly refers to the great past that 'Death' has had in comparison with what he sees as his own great future. The outcome is that Death breaks his sword, and proclaims that from that time onward, no-one shall die (hence the subtitle 'Death Abdicates'). News is then brought to the Emperor that hospitals and places of execution are overflowing, because no-one is able to die. The Emperor, in his panic, decides to misrepresent Death's rebellion, and presents it to his subjects as a gift of eternal life. The Emperor, however, is beginning to lose authority over his subjects, and a soldier and a girl belonging to enemy camps chance to meet, and fall in love. As insurrection begins to spread, the Emperor rips the black curtain from the mirror - the cover which has thus far shielded him from all self knowledge, and finds Death facing him. Death offers the Emperor peace and rest but the Emperor's main concern is that Death should return to work. The latter says that he will agree to do this only if the Emperor promises to be the first victim. The Emperor agrees to Death's terms, nevertheless regretting that he had not succeeded in his aim of wiping out the whole human race first. As the Emperor is led away through the mirror by Death, he hears the moral: One must not take in vain the name of Death, who brings comfort to those whose sufferings are unbearable.

Despite the fact that many of the singers and instrumentalists who were

likely to take part in Ullmann and Kien's opera disappeared with each transport of prisoners from the camp - as did a great many of their potential audience - the two artists continued to progress with their work. The dimensions of the work were small, of necessity, with only six singers. There were also two female dancers for the intermezzi, and an orchestra of thirteen: flute (doubling piccolo), oboe, clarinet, alto saxophone, trumpet, banjo (or guitar), harpsichord or piano (doubling harmonium), two violins, viola, 'cello, double bass, and one percussionist (cymbals, side drum, triangle and tamtam). The basic structure of the opera (which is less than an hour in performance time) follows a recitative and aria pattern, with occasional vocal ensembles, and two dance interludes. The allegorical nature of the subject matter allowed a great many significant comments to be made during the course of the work, without arousing the suspicions of the camp authorities.

Two distinct versions were made of the libretto. In the first, handwritten version, there are many references to genocide and the power of the ruler. The second, typed version, however, is much less sharp, as it had to be submitted to the camp officials. The loudspeaker plays a very important part in the overall scheme of the opera. It outlines each scene in advance, and plays the part of Sentry Commander, Justice Ministry, Doctor, Supreme Command, and Army Headquarters, who all report to the Emperor via radio and telephone. This is the only contact that the Emperor has with the world. Aaron Kramer wrote,¹¹⁶

'The impact of Brecht is obvious - not only in the Loudspeaker's narration and the interweaving of

116 Aaron Kramer, Death takes a Holiday, broadcast on radio 3, 27 February, 1979.

song with prose dialogue, but more in the mixture of fantasy, irony, and wry wit, the sardonic snap of the gallows humour, and the ability to create an allegorical but recognisable nightmare world as Brecht had done in Mahagonny and The Seven Deadly Sins . . . Clearly, to us at least, the text is a thinly disguised satire on Hitler's despotic, psychotic, unprecedentedly arrogant and murderous career, which - as in the opera - was already collapsing by 1944...'

Ullmann's music is extremely sensitive to the text, and he uses his command of many musical styles to great dramatic effect in underlining the meanings within the libretto. The music ranges in style from blues and fox-trot, through Wagner, to Deutschland über Alles, which had previously been used in the camp in a political context. Arnost Weiss recalled the Terezin symphony, written by Carlo Taube, and referred particularly to the shattering effect of the third movement. His wife was reciting a Jewish mother's lullaby, over a pianissimo accompaniment by the orchestra, which was followed by the first four bars of Deutschland über Alles repeated over and over again. The climax of the piece was at the end of the song, where 'Deutschland, Deutschland' did not continue to 'Über Alles', but culminated in a rending dissonance.

The harmonium was used to powerful effect in the opera. It had been found in an old church in Theresienstadt, and was made use of by the prisoners for their rehearsals. Its sound was associated with the Emperor himself, and was used whenever he spoke. The end of the work is most poignant; Ullmann incorporates one of Luther's melodies, harmonised by Bach, into his own original style. (See example 53).

The parable and moral inherent in The Emperor of Atlantis was clear to the inmates of the prison, but obviously not to the prison guards. Another prisoner, Hans Krasa, a Czech, revised and reorchestrated his hitherto unheard children's opera Brundibar, the story of which concerns a wicked organ-grinder who is finally defeated by the children of the town. The moral was expressed through a child's voice,

'Whoever loves justice

And will defend it

And is not afraid,

Is our friend

And may play with us'.

Brundibar was very successful, and was performed fifty five times, including a command performance for the Red Cross visitors.

Although The Emperor of Atlantis never got further than the rehearsal stage, we do know the names of the original cast for whom the rôles were created. They included such singers as Karel Berman, now a principal bass with the Czech opera, Marion Podolier, Hilde Aronson-Lindt, David Grunfeld, and Walter Windholz as the Emperor. The score survived through Dr. K.G. Adler, who had tried unsuccessfully to interest people in it after the war. Its recognition today is due to the efforts of the young English conductor Kerry Woodward, who pieced the score together over a period of twelve months. Aaron Kramer also helped with the restoration of the work, and he had completed a singable version by 1974. Its première took place on 16 December at Amsterdam's Bellevue Theatre, in a German language production. Kerry Woodward conducted the Netherlands Opera cast and the Netherlands Radio Chamber Orchestra. The English

language version received its première at the San Francisco Opera in April 1977.

The audience for whom the opera was originally created never actually heard the work. Karel Berman, who rehearsed the part of 'Death', and who is the opera's sole surviving participant, described that audience,¹¹⁷

' Grown-ups and children, in a constant expectation of death, lived a full, noble life, between outcries of pain and anxiety, among the musselmen - those more dead than alive - in hunger and misery, among the hundreds of corpses of those that died daily, among hearses taking the corpses out of town and bringing back bread, under constant great physical exertion, they lived a life that was a miracle under the conditions. '

As Louis Arogan had written after the collapse of France a few years earlier,¹¹⁸ 'It takes a great deal of courage to write without knowing what will happen to one's work'.

Lesser known composers

Lesser known names of this period are Fried Walter and Robert Heger. Fried Walter was born near Dresden on 19 December 1907. In the late Twenties he studied composition with Schönberg at the Akademie der Künste, but he never found twelve note music suited to his own style of

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid.

musical expression. Schönberg sent him as a co-repetiteur to Klemperer at the Kroll Opera, but after that was shut down, he took jobs wherever he could, as arranger, pianist, accompanist and so on.

Walter wrote several operas which achieved a degree of success at this time. His Königin Elisabeth had its première at the Königliche Oper in Stockholm in 1939, and was due to receive its German première in Hamburg in November of the same year. War broke out then, however, and Walter was told that an opera with an English subject could not be staged in Germany at that time, so the première was postponed. Nevertheless, the immense success of the opera in Stockholm in the presence of King Gustav, was very beneficial for Walter's career. So much so, in fact, that despite the prevailing circumstances, a première was commanded in Hamburg by the Propaganda Ministry.

The Völkischer Beobachter wrote of the immense success of Königin Elisabeth, 119

' not only was the great and astonishing success of this work proved, but at the same time the dramatic talent of a creative genius which awakens high hopes for the future of contemporary German opera. '

Referring to Walter's talent, the reviewer continued, 'he creates rôles and rich and worthwhile singing parts with genuine operatic pathos and a stimulating ardour of design,' and stressed that his music contained 'a counterpoint with dramatic suspense and orchestral treatment with

thrilling and unusual effects.' The review attributed the 'occasional instances of unevenness' in Walter's style to the youthfulness of the composer, and emphasised that Walter's future musical activity was deserving of every attention.

Another review of the opera ¹²⁰ commented, 'Walter's music has developed naturally from different elements to a style of distinctive character'. Walter does, in fact, rely very heavily on older techniques in this opera, and counterpoint in particular. The symphonic entr'acte after the first act is written in very strict counterpoint, as is the fugal choral finale to the whole work. Walter also depended heavily on the old seventeenth century song style, and at one point his music invoked a pavane by the Elizabethan composer Byrd. Equally evocative is the use of a harpsichord and flute accompaniment throughout the whole of one scene. Walter used as his musical unifying device the leitmotif technique, and one particularly noteworthy instance of it was the royal hymn which the chorus sang behind the stage at the very beginning. This theme is used throughout the opera.

The events leading up to the performance of Königin Elisabeth in Germany demonstrate the self-contradictory nature of the Reichsmusikkammer. The success of this opera led to the première of Walter's second opera Andreas Wolfius, at the Berliner Staatsoper. Walter was particularly pleased since his reputation as an opera composer meant that he was no longer liable to be called up for military

120 Norddeutsche Nachrichten (18 March 1940).

service. Furthermore, his light-hearted comic opera Dorfmusik was performed in 1943 at the Staatstheater in Wiesbaden.

After the war, however, Walter recalled¹²¹ with regret that people were no longer interested in his music. He attributed this fact to the notice taken of new composers who were making their name, very much as he had been during the Thirties. Works were also being performed which had been forbidden during the Nazi regime. He added¹²² that his behaviour during the Nazi period was regarded as sychophantic, and that this was a contributory reason for his being neglected.

Robert Heger was born in Strasbourg on 19 August 1886, and studied in Zurich and Munich, and later in Berlin under Schillings. He is better known for his conducting than his operas, and for several years during the Twenties he was second conductor to Bruno Walter during the German summer seasons. He settled at the Berlin Staatsoper in 1933, and although never outstanding in his work, he was certainly dependable, and won the admiration of Walter and Furtwängler. He is best known for his operas Der veriorene Sohn (Dresden, 1936) and Lady Hamilton (Nuremberg, 1950), both of which were strongly influenced by the music of his teacher, Schillings.

Such was the varied range of operas and composers during the Third Reich. In the majority of cases it is impossible to draw firm conclusions with

121 letter to the author, 4 August 1977.

122 Ibid.

regard to any particular composer's political convictions. In the cases of Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Viktor Ullmann, however, we are in no doubt as to their total opposition to the regime. It was a difficult situation for almost everyone working under those conditions, especially creatively, and the temptation to secure a career by compromising one's own artistry, however little, must have been very great.

CONCLUSION

The Third Reich was positively opposed to the avant garde and the Jews, and in order to formulate a policy acceptable to their proposed new culture, therefore, they had to eradicate both elements. Music had always played a large part in German culture, and there is much evidence to support the view that for the past two hundred years Germany, together with its neighbour Austria, has led the world in musical culture and activity. During the Third Reich the Nazis sought to control its development, raising the question of the relationship of music and culture to nationality, race and political and economic ideas in general.

Goebbels gave the Nazi point of view with regard to German music in his reply to Furtwängler's letter of 1933, in which the latter protested at the exclusion of such personalities as Walter and Klemperer from Germany's cultural life. Goebbels justified his wholesale refusal of all Jewish talent by describing it as unhealthy. He said that all diseased elements must be removed. Therefore, even if the Jews had produced worthwhile artistic efforts, they were of no consequence. Questions of race thus preceded any discussion of artistic merit.

Goebbels wrote in his letter of reply that all art must be conditioned by the needs of the people, just as he wrote later in his set of 'Commandments for the German Musician', referred to in Chapter Three page 122, 'Music is rooted in the nature of the Volk', and also, 'No German heritage is more glorious than its music, and the Volk should be led to partake of it.' Goebbels never went as far as to discuss what he meant by music having its roots in the people, but to judge by the way in which the Nazis shunned anything remotely new or experimental, he

seemed to be asking composers to cease to remain autonomous in relation to their art, and to become servants of the nationalistic tendencies artificially stimulated by the Nazis themselves. Since no art can develop in isolation, it is obvious that it must be nourished both 'by the soil' and by communications with other human beings, otherwise it would not be art in its truest sense. If the Nazis had agreed with this deeper meaning, however, they would not have prohibited such movingly human testimonies as Wozzeck and Mathis der Maler.

Goebbels also wrote in his letter that art should be 'combative in spirit' (Kämpferisch) which suggests the use of art as propaganda. This shows how little the Nazis understood the creative process, since propaganda is inevitably premeditated and sterile, and true art is by its very nature, alive and spontaneous. As Roger Sessions wrote in 1933,¹ 'It is the vivacity and completeness of the artist's vision, and not his subject-matter, that give a work of art its character and its significance.' It was the subject matter of operas that was so often scrutinised by the Nazis, as for example in the case of Zweig's libretto for Die Schweigsame Frau (see page 188). Perhaps even more insidious is the fact that Goebbels described political propaganda as a creative art. In this way he hoped to persuade the very soul of the German people of the correctness of Nazism.

The constant searching for and encouragement of composers to write folk operas during the Thirties produced a stream of interesting novelties -

1 Roger Sessions, 'Music and Nationalism', Modern Music, vol. XI (1933), 8.

hardly any of which are heard of today - and attempts at compositions 'rooted in the nature of the Volk'. Many of these operas were purely self-conscious expressions. What is unfortunate from the point of view of German culture is that Germany and Austria received great international prestige through the fact that its musicians experimented with new forms of musical expression, and it is this very tendency that the Nazis were so avidly wiping out. The efforts of the 2nd Viennese school, and Hindemith's experiments with older forms in Cardillac never lowered Germany's cultural standing as the Nazis thought - rather they raised it.

Nationalism in music is another issue which the Nazis raised, though here as in other areas, they were totally unable to give any clear guidelines to composers as to what they expected of their music.

'Nationalism' is generally brought about by a period of political and cultural oppression, and has its origins with the early German romantics: with the discovery of folk song. There was born a movement whereby composers sought to express the Volksseele (soul of the people) in their music.

It is extremely difficult to define what makes music 'national'. The strongest characterising feature would seem to be the use of folk music. The whole concept of national music is a grey area, and as Alfred Einstein said,² 'the so-called national characteristics are the consequences of the work of great masters, not their inspiration'. In other words, although one seems to feel instinctively that, for example, Debussy's music has a definite 'French flavour', it is almost

2 Manfred Bukofzer, 'The New Nationalism', Modern Music, vol. (1946), 245.

impossible to describe that Frenchness in terms of a recognisable technique. Debussy's novel orchestrations and impressionistic handling of chords was regarded at the time as ultra modern and by the French themselves as not in line with French tradition. Debussy himself created a French national music, but he did not himself compose such a music.

The use of folk music itself, except in the hands of a master, is fundamentally incompatible with art music. Folk tunes are self-contained unities and do not readily lend themselves to successful motivic treatment, which breaks melodic units into fragments. So although the minor figures who wrote operas during the Third Reich were given the initial inspiration and impetus of folk music, it was in fact a hindrance in the creation of music of genuine artistic merit.

Another instance of the Nazis' short-sightedness and lack of real musical knowledge was the fact that they turned their backs on the Jews, and by so doing, on all foreign influences. Handel and Chopin were both strongly influenced by Italian music, but no one would question the German and Polish nature of their music. The fact that the Nazis were so worried about foreign influences affecting their Teutonic art only goes to show how sterile it had become and how little confidence they themselves had in it. The Nazis, in reality, would have preferred the musical world to have stood still since Wagner's time. Any fresh impulse since then was looked upon with extreme suspicion. They failed to realise that such an attitude was totally destructive of an artist's integrity.

The recourse to German history with the classics for models was a feature which had begun during the time of the Weimar Republic. This was further exploited during the Nazi period, and unfortunately encouraged less talented composers who, instead of formulating new and original styles, turned to old historical themes for their subject matter, and expressed them in outmoded styles.

Blacklists of disapproved music were not a new feature when used by the Nazis. At the Convention of the Society of St. Gregory of America, held in Rochester, New York in 1922, a list of music was published which was deemed to be not in accordance with the Motu Proprio. The list of compositions was supposedly antagonistic to the principles enunciated in the document issued by Pope Pius X. Various choir books and hymnals were listed as objectionable as well as such works as the Cherubini Requiem, Rossini Stabat Mater and certain Masses of Gounod.

The strictures of the Nazi regime can also be compared to the limitations imposed upon music in such countries as Russia, for example. A document pertaining to the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians³ stated that folk music was very precious and belonged to the proletariat. '.... At certain moments of history musicians of the ruling classes address themselves to the art of the oppressed classes and, taking their most valuable possession, nourish their own music entirely with the vitalising juice of folk music.'

3 Nicolas Slonimsky, Music since 1900 (U.S.A., 1971), 1353.

The Nazi policy seemed to have certain tenets in common with the Soviet policy, especially with regard to dissonant and atonal music. The following passage refers to an opera by Muradeli. It was written in 1948 and condemns the opera, giving its reasons for so doing:-⁴

'The music of the opera is inexpressive and weak. It has not a single memorable melody or aria. It is confused and discordant; it is built on continuous dissonances and ear-splitting combinations of sounds...'

Just as in Soviet Russia, therefore, the Nazis sought to use music as a means of dominating the masses by appealing to the emotions. The greatest drawback for the new regime was, however, the lack of practically any musical talent whatsoever within the Party. For instance not one single member was deemed worthy to take over the Directorship of the Berlin Conservatoire. In fact, only a very small proportion of musicians were willing to submit themselves entirely to the Nazi regime, and most of them proved to be extremely unadventurous in the musical field. Professor Peter Raabe was one who chose to concur with the Nazis, and even became president of the Reichsmusikkammer. Nevertheless, his name is unknown today, and he never succeeded in producing anything noteworthy even during the Thirties.

An important feature of those years was the way in which composers suddenly appeared in the public eye '....whose works were heralded with much noise only to disappear again just as quickly'.⁵ Despite the fact, however, that composers were eagerly encouraged to produce works

4 'Resolution of the Central Committee of the all-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on 10 February 1948'. Ibid., 1358-62.

5 Walter Hagemann, Publizistik im Dritten Reich (Hamburg, 1948), 69.

displaying certain characteristics, there was - as has been noted - no member of the Reichsmusikkammer who was musically qualified to judge these works, 'Goebbels was hopelessly unmusical'.⁶ The most these guardians of German music could offer was an unceasing diet of Wagner, drawing a spurious parallel with the sixteenth century Nuremberg of Die Meistersinger, which concerned the artist's relations to his art, tradition and to society. The Nazis no longer valued music for its own sake, but thought of it as a means to represent the new Reich. Music was no longer aesthetic and creative, and a great deal of what was written during the Nazis' twelve year rule was very inferior: it was directed at the masses, in particular the marching music and endless blaring of trumpet fanfares.

The Nazis cut themselves off from all contemporary musical developments, and strove to represent their new Reich. Early in the Thirties a young composer, Hans Uldall, wrote an article entitled 'Ideological Principles of the New Music',⁷ in which he wrote '... we are still looking for new forms which will truly reflect the spirit of our time...' Perhaps this was the first great mistake the Nazis made, thinking that it was possible to create a totally new musical culture based upon the vague principles of one composer alone, and that composer himself of a previous century.

Werner Egk admitted, even while he was in the post of president of the Reichsmusikkammer after 1941, that 'National Socialism realized its

6 Ibid., 71.

7 Michael Meyer: 'The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich', Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 10. No. 4 (London, 1975), 652.

organisational goals, but not its artistic ones'.⁸ The distorted view held by the Nazis stressed that only by prohibiting alien (that is Jewish and Negro) influences would their own German composers actually be free to compose music for the Reich. Since it took about three years for the Reichsmusikkammer to establish itself, however, the sphere of German music was rapidly in danger of becoming a wasteland. In a desperate attempt to counteract this, the Nazis constantly sponsored new works, so much so that it is doubtful whether many of the new operas which emerged would have been as popular as they were, were it not for the aggressive support of the State. This support also evidenced itself in the form of censorship, which makes any study of this period infinitely more difficult. While it is impossible to gain a true picture of the situation in one sense, however - successful operas being reported by the press as failures if they opposed the regime - it is nevertheless possible to formulate some idea of the preferences of the Third Reich by studying what they allowed and disallowed.

It is impossible to decide with certainty how the regime affected the output of the composers discussed in chapters five and six. It was noted in chapter six that Reutter's music became progressively less adventurous during the Third Reich, which was probably no coincidence, but a conscious modification by Reutter in order to remain a composer within Germany. At first sight the attitude of some other composers of the period might suggest a similar compromise - Lothar and Wagner-Régeny for instance. On deeper examination, however, this is shown to be

8 Völkischer Beobachter (14 February 1943).

untrue. Both composers undoubtedly wrote tuneful music, but they had done so because it was their true compositional style, not because of any modification to appease the regime. Both composers, in fact, came into conflict with the regime in a way in which Reutter certainly did not. The case of Haas is rather more complex, since he certainly subdued his avant garde interests of the Twenties to reveal a rather unadventurous outlook during the Thirties. Nevertheless he was self-confessedly a writer of popular operas, and may well have written similar operas had there been no Third Reich.

Strauss and Orff might well have written the operas they did whatever the political climate. Hartmann, on the other hand, was deeply moved by the state of affairs, and expressed his feelings in his opera Simplicius, which was nevertheless unheard in Germany during the Thirties. The main point is the one made in chapter four (page 166) - the Nazi regime was a despicable distortion of the truth, and an attempt to falsify German history by suggesting that those composers remaining in Germany after 1933 were the sole representatives of German culture.

Some of the works discussed in chapters five and six did retain a degree of popularity after the war, but none of them is in the same class of masters as Wozzeck or Mathis der Maler, both rejected by the Nazis. By trying to create their own kind of art, the Nazis did lasting damage to German music's most illustrious heritage. Any regime which based its judgements more on the personality and nationality of the creator than on the artistic merit of the work itself was bound to strangle creative activity, and no creative artist could possibly flourish within such limitations.

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APPENDIX

Musical Examples

APPENDIX

Musical Examples

Ex. 1

II. Fl. p

III. p

tob. f

clar. p

u. p

Drei — Big Jah-re lang: gepflanzt kein Ak-ker,

Viol. p

Viol. p

Br. p

Celli p

Trb. p

II. Fl. *p* *f* *eh*

III. ag. *f* *eh*

Viol. *p* *f* *eh*

Viol. *p* *f* *eh*

Br. *p* *f* *eh*

Celli *p* *f* *eh*

Trb. *p* *f* *eh*

Viol. *eh*

drei — *Big* *Jah-re lang:* *Raub und Mord!* — *eh*

Viol. *p* *f* *eh*

Viol. *p* *f* *eh*

Br. *p* *f* *eh*

Celli *p* *f* *eh*

Trb. *p* *f* *eh*

Ex. 2

Allegro ma non troppo (Sehr mäßiges Marschtempo)

2 gr. Flöten
2 Hoboen
2 B. clarinetten
I. 3 Fagotten
II. III.
Contrafagott
I. II. Horn (F)
Pauken

I. Violinen
II. Violinen
Bratschen (geteilt)
Viola (geteilt)
Contrabass

Allegro ma non troppo

2gr. Flöten
2 Hoboen
2B Clarinetten
I. II. III. Fagotte
Contrafagott
I. II. Horn(F)
Pauken
I. Violinen
II. Violinen
Bratschen (geteilt)
Violoncelle (geteilt)
Contra-bässe

mf
p
dim.
pp
pizz.

Detailed description: This is a handwritten musical score for an orchestra. The score is written on ten staves. The top three staves are for woodwinds: 2nd and 1st Flutes, 2nd Oboes, and 2nd Bass Clarinets. The next three staves are for reeds: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Bassoons, and the Contrabassoon. The fifth staff is for Horns in F. The sixth staff is for Drums. The next three staves are for strings: 1st Violins, 2nd Violins, and the divided parts of Violins, Violas, and Cellos. The final staff is for the Double Basses. The music is in 3/4 time and features a dynamic range from *mf* to *pp*. There are several slurs and accents throughout the score. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical score for orchestra and woodwinds. The score is written on ten staves, with some staves grouped together. The instruments and parts are:

- 1. II. 3. Fag. III**: Bassoon parts, first and second.
- Chr. Fag.**: Contrabassoon.
- 1. II. 4 Hörner (F) III. IV.**: Four Horns in F, first and second.
- Pauken**: Drums.
- II. Viol.**: Second Violin.
- Br. (geteilt)**: Brass section, split.
- Celli (geteilt)**: Celli section, split.
- ctrb.**: Contrabass.

The score is in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff is empty. The second staff (1. II. 3. Fag. III) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a melodic line. The third staff (Chr. Fag.) also begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a melodic line. The fourth staff (1. II. 4 Hörner (F) III. IV.) shows a brass section with various notes and rests. The fifth staff (Pauken) shows drum notation with rests and some notes. The sixth staff (II. Viol.) shows a violin part with a melodic line. The seventh staff (Br. (geteilt)) shows a brass section with various notes and rests. The eighth staff (Celli (geteilt)) shows a cello section with various notes and rests. The ninth staff (ctrb.) shows a contrabass part with a melodic line. The tenth staff is empty.

Handwritten musical score for orchestra and woodwinds. The score is written on ten staves, with some staves grouped together. The instruments and parts are:

- 3 Fag. (3 Bassoons):** Staves 1, 2, and 3. The first staff is for I. II. (I and II), the second for III, and the third for Contrabassoon (Ctr. Jag.).
- 4 Hörner (F) (4 Horns in F):** Staves 4 and 5. The top staff is for I. II. and the bottom staff is for III. IV.
- Pauken (Timpani):** Staff 6.
- II. Viol. (Violins II):** Staff 7.
- Br. (gemeinl.) (Brass - general):** Staves 8 and 9. This section includes parts for Trumpets and Trombones.
- Celli (gemeinl.) (Cellos - general):** Staff 10.
- Ctrb. (Contrabass):** Staff 11.

The score is in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. It features various musical notations including notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *etc.* (et cetera). The notation is handwritten and includes many accidentals (sharps, flats, and double flats).

Ex. 3

Chor Moderato

2. Sop Alt *f marc.*
die hoch-ge-lehr-ten Erd-kun-di-gen ha-ben die

tenor *f marc.*
die hoch-ge-lehr-ten Erd-kun-di-gen ha-ben die

1. Baß *f marc.*

2. Sop Alt
Welt ge-teilt in drei Tei-le,

tenor
Welt ge-teilt in drei Tei-le,

1. Baß

2. Sop.
Alt
die uns be-kannt sind als A-fri-ka als

tenor
die uns be-kannt sind als A-fri-ka als

1. Bass

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the 2. Sopran/Alt voice, the middle for the Tenor, and the bottom for the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'die uns be-kannt sind als A-fri-ka als'. The piano part features a bass line with notes like 'd.' and 'olla', and a treble line with chords and arpeggios.

2. Sop.
Alt
A-si-en und als Eu-ro-pa!

tenor
A-si-en und als Eu-ro-pa!

1. Bass

The second system of the musical score continues with three staves. The lyrics are: 'A-si-en und als Eu-ro-pa!'. The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings such as 'p.' and 'ff', and performance directions like 'olla' and 'rit.'.

Ex. 4

Andante

p espr.

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 3/8 time signature. It contains a series of chords and melodic fragments, some with slurs. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 3/8 time signature, providing a harmonic accompaniment with eighth and quarter notes. A dynamic marking of *p espr.* is placed below the first measure of the upper staff.

The second system continues the piano accompaniment from the first system. It features similar chordal textures and melodic lines in both the treble and bass staves, maintaining the 3/8 time signature.

Ein Vorsänger

p dolce espr.

Da liegt Je-ner, — der vor vie-len

The third system introduces a vocal line. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics "Da liegt Je-ner, — der vor vie-len" are written below the notes. The lower staff continues the piano accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *p dolce espr.* is placed above the first measure of the vocal line.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The vocal line is in treble clef with a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics are "Jahren ei - ne neu - e Welt". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves: the right hand in treble clef and the left hand in bass clef. The time signature changes from 3/8 to 2/8 and back to 3/8. The piano part includes dynamic markings *p.* and *pp.* and a fermata over the final measure.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The vocal line is in treble clef with a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics are "ge - fun - den hat!". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves: the right hand in treble clef and the left hand in bass clef. The time signature changes from 3/8 to 2/8 and back to 3/8. The piano part includes dynamic markings *p.* and *pp.* and a fermata over the final measure. The system concludes with a double bar line and the word "etc." written in the vocal staff.

Five empty musical staves, each consisting of a five-line staff with a clef and a time signature.

Ex 5

Allegro moderato $\text{♩} = 120$

Kaspar:

K.

Musical score for the first system. The vocal line (Kaspar) is in bass clef, C major, 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment is in grand staff. The lyrics are "Was soll ich". The piano part includes markings for "Blech. u. Str." (brass and strings) and "ff" (fortissimo). The vocal line has markings for "ff str." and "p. Viol.".

Musical score for the second system. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Tag um Tag mich wei-ter pla-gen, mit". The piano accompaniment includes markings for "mp" (mezzo-piano) and "Vcl." (violin). The system concludes with a double bar line.

Musical score for the third system. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Schaf, mit Säu, mit Hammeln mich ver-". The piano accompaniment includes markings for "f" (forte) and "Blech, Str." (brass and strings). The system concludes with a double bar line.

- tra - gen! Was soll ich län - ger Gras und Mist aus-

ff Str.

Blech.

fp

f

Viol.

p

- füh - ren, Vieh füt - tern, a - - ckorn, dreschen,

mf

Br.

Vcl.

Blech.

Str.

f

Buc - ker rüh - ren Vieh

#P

p

Viol.

Br.

pp

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in bass clef, a vocal line in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are "für — tern" and "a —". The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamic markings *p*, *pp*, and *ff*. The vocal lines are marked with *p*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in bass clef, a vocal line in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are "chen," and "die — schen,". The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamic markings *pp* and *ff*. The vocal lines are marked with *p*.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in bass clef, a vocal line in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are "Buk — ter" and "rüh — ren!". The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment with dynamic markings *p*, *sf*, and *ff*. The vocal lines are marked with *p*. There are some additional markings like "ok" at the end of the system.

Ex. 6

dolce leggiero

Gretl. *p* Wir ha-ben uns be-son-nen, woll'n hier fore-kommen.

Kaspar. Wir ha-ben uns be-son-nen, woll'n hier fore-kommen.

dolce leggiero

Klar. *p*

Rei-sen ist kei-ne Schand' zu Wasser und zu Land etc

Rei-sen ist kei-ne Schand' zu Wasser und zu Land etc

Ob.

Ex. 7

Kaspar:

Guldensack

Sonst — will ich dich zu-richten, daß ich kein

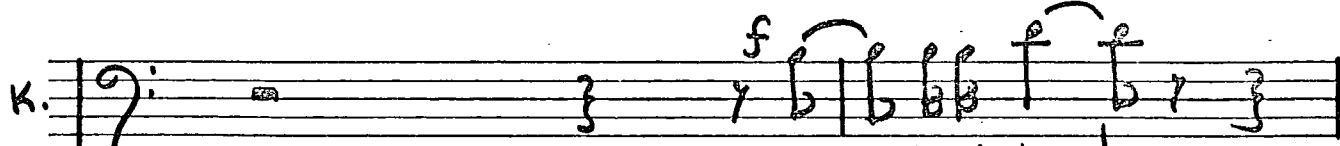
Viol. *sfz mf*

pk.

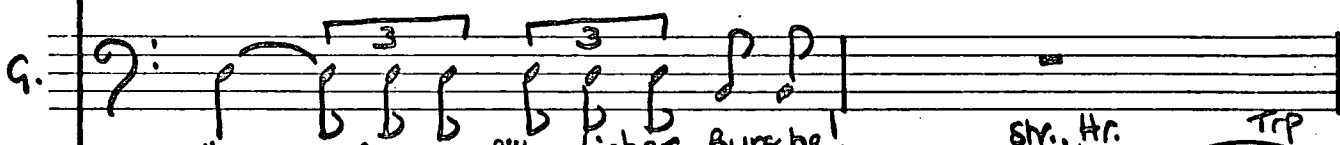
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K. *So nimm doch diese feuerspeiende Gra-*

G. *Bader mehr schmieren soll!*

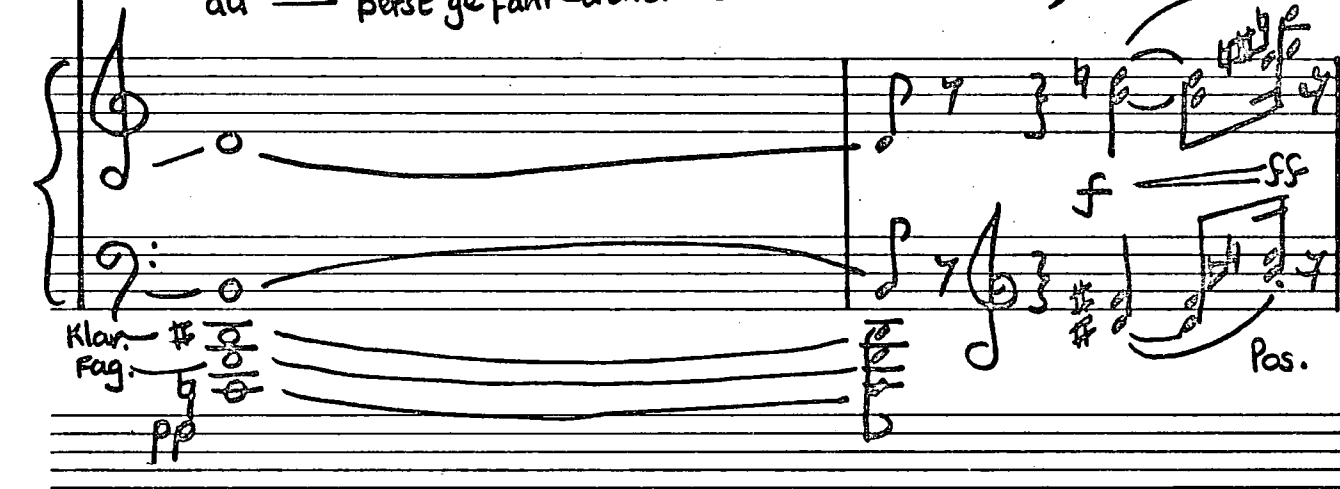
K. 

Ein — Musi — kant! —

G. 

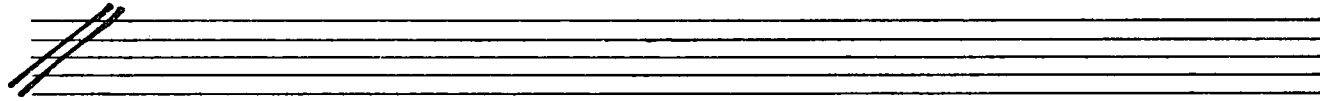
äu — Berst ge fähr — licher Bursche!

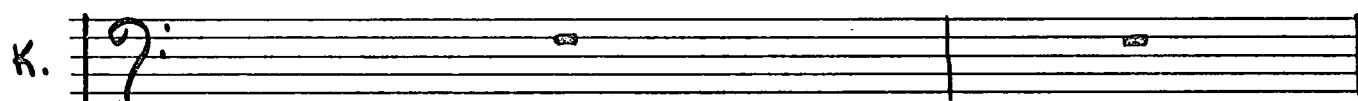
Str., Hr. Trp.




Klar. # Fag. pp

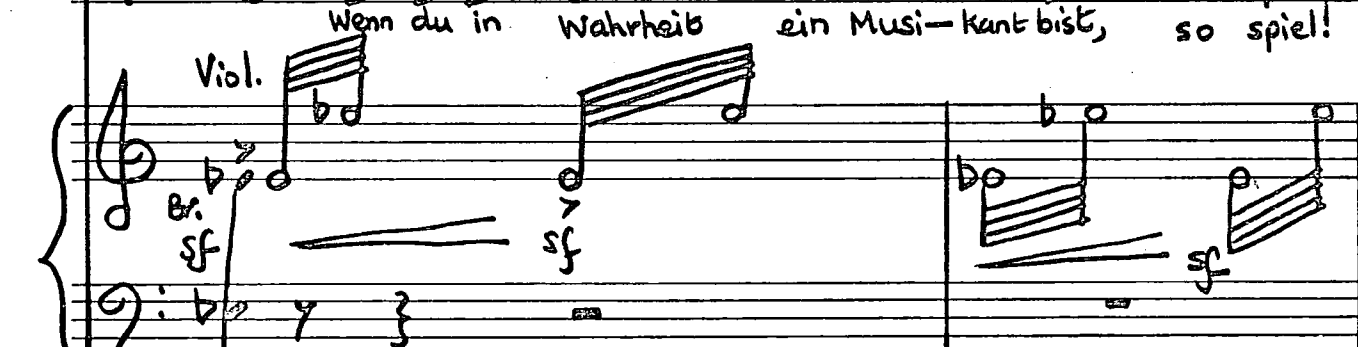
Pos.




K. 

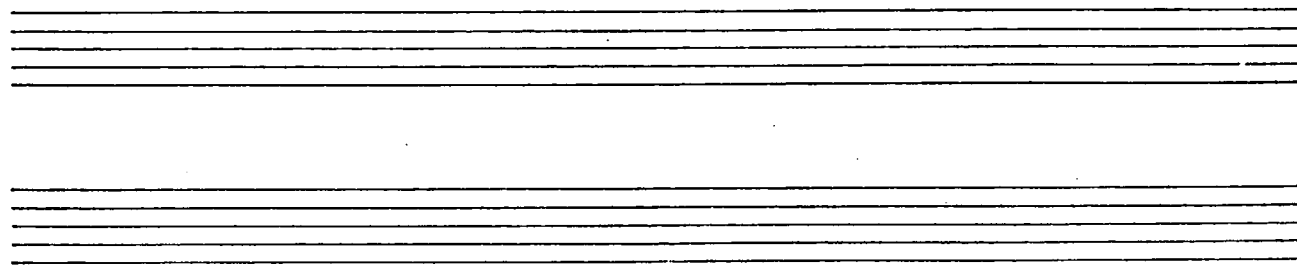
G. 

Wenn du in Wahrheit ein Musi — kant bist, so spiel!

Viol. 

Br. sf

Vel., Kb. 



K.

G.

Wer a-ber nicht zu spielen weiß, dem schlägt man die Geigen am

ffz p

ffz p

ffz p

ffz p

Br. Vcl.

f

(wieder ruhig)

Sei nur zu-frieden, du sollst deine Ver-

f.

Kopf trp. entzwei!

ff

ff

ff

ff

tr.

K.

-gnügung schon da-bei finden!

Ex. 8

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano, first system. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in treble clef, and the lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. Both staves begin with a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line features a melodic phrase starting with a half note on G4, followed by quarter notes on A4 and B4, and ending with a quarter note on G4. The piano accompaniment mirrors this melody with a half note on G3, followed by quarter notes on A3 and B3, and ending with a quarter note on G3. The dynamic marking *f* is placed above the first note of both staves. The lyrics "Kas - - - per!" are written below the vocal line, and "Cre - - - te!" are written below the piano line. The system concludes with a fermata over the final notes and the word "etc" written to the right.

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano, second system. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in treble clef, and the lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The vocal line continues with a melodic phrase starting with a half note on G4, followed by quarter notes on A4 and B4, and ending with a quarter note on G4. The piano accompaniment mirrors this melody with a half note on G3, followed by quarter notes on A3 and B3, and ending with a quarter note on G3. The dynamic marking *ff* is placed above the first note of both staves. The lyrics "Kas - - - per!" are written below the vocal line, and "Cre - - - te!" are written below the piano line. The system concludes with a fermata over the final notes and the word "etc" written to the right.

Ex. 9

S. *ff* Ja, die Son — ne muß schei — nen, die —

A. *ff* Ja, die Son — ne muß schei — nen, die —

Chor. *ff* Ja, die Son — ne muß schei — nen, die —

T. *ff* Ja, die Son — ne muß schei — nen, die —

B. *ff* Ja, die Son — ne muß schei — nen, die

ff *sempre ff*

fi. ob. klar. Trp. Hörn. Pos. (Str. *fff*) Viol. *ff* Klar. ob. *ff*

S. Wol — ken ver — weh'n, und der Him — mel muß —

A. Wol — ken — ver — weh'n, und der Him — mel muß —

Chor. Wol — ken — ver — weh'n, und der Him — mel muß —

T. Wol — ken ver — weh'n, und der Him — mel muß

B. Wol — ken ver — weh'n, und der him — mel muß

ff *ff* *ff*

Holz Trp. Hörn. Pos. (Str. *fff*) Viol. *ff* Klar. ob. *ff*

S.
ru — hen, die — Erde sich

A.
ru — hen, die — Er — de sich

Chor.
ru — hen, die — Er — de sich

T.
ru — hen, die — Er — de sich

B.
ru — hen, die Er — de sich

Piano accompaniment for the first system, showing chords and melodic lines in the right and left hands.

Empty musical staves for piano accompaniment, consisting of ten blank systems of five-line staves.

Ex. 10

(Kaspar beginnt zu spielen)

d=96
Solo Violin

pp str.

pp str.

Chor, SA

pp str.

hört, es dingt der Tö - - - - - ne Macht ge - wal - tig auf uns

pp str.

ein! Der - al - so Herz und Sinn er - greift, kann

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a bass line in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "ein! Der - al - so Herz und Sinn er - greift, kann".

kein Ver - bre - cher sein

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a bass line in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "kein Ver - bre - cher sein". There are some handwritten annotations "ek" on the right side of the staves.

A series of seven empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, intended for further musical notation.

Ex. 11

Vivace
Str. Pk.
ff

8va

Hr. Str.
mp.
fz.

3 Kaufleute

Peer Gynt

str.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (bass clef), and a second vocal line (bass clef). The lyrics are: "Es le-be Paar synt!" on the first two staves, and "Prosk, freunde!" on the third staff. The music includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*, and a fermata over the final note of the first vocal line.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, showing piano accompaniment. It consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs). The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and various chordal textures.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (bass clef), and a second vocal line (bass clef). The lyrics are: "Das le - - - - - ben". The music includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*, and a fermata over the final note of the first vocal line.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system, showing piano accompaniment. It consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs). The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and various chordal textures.

ke — be —

Vor

Br. C.

Fg. p

Kfg.

B.

zwan-zig Jahren hat's mich ausgespucke und an - - - gespült ward

ich an die-sen Strand, ganz arm, ganz nackk, — ganz e-lend und ganz

bloß, so daß ich bald *be* — kann war und vertraut mit hartem

Man . . . gel, Fehlschlag und Verlust!

ff *Hr.*
Br.C. etc

Ex. 12

Solveig

Andante giusto
p dolce

Schlafe nun und ruh dich aus, — du Mann und Kind!

ppp Str. + cl. Bcl. Kfg.

Ver — gib die har — te Fahrt in frem — des

Vcl. solo p.

più schlafe und ver — gib auch Meer — und Sturm und Land!

pp cresc. poco a poco al mp

Wind! Und leg' die mü — de

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It features a vocal line with lyrics "Wind! Und leg' die mü — de" and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a "Vcl." marking and a triplet of eighth notes at the end of the first phrase.

stirn — in mei-ne Hand!

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It features a vocal line with lyrics "stirn — in mei-ne Hand!" and piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a "p." marking and three "ek" markings on the right side of the system.

Four sets of empty musical staves for the piano accompaniment, arranged vertically.

Ex. 13

Allegro $\text{♩} = 144$

mf expr.

pp

c.p. *a tempo*

poco tenuto 6

Handwritten musical score system 1. It consists of a grand staff with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and a single-line staff below. The grand staff contains three measures of music with long horizontal lines indicating sustained notes. The single-line staff below contains a sequence of notes with various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and stems.

Handwritten musical score system 2. It consists of a grand staff with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and a single-line staff below. The grand staff contains three measures of music with long horizontal lines indicating sustained notes. The single-line staff below contains a sequence of notes with various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and stems.

Handwritten musical score system 3. It consists of a grand staff with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and a single-line staff below. The grand staff contains three measures of music. The first measure has a dynamic marking *mf espr.*. The second measure has a dynamic marking *f*. The single-line staff below contains a sequence of notes with various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and stems.

Handwritten musical score system 4. It consists of a grand staff with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and a single-line staff below. The grand staff contains three measures of music. The first measure has a dynamic marking *f*. The second measure has a dynamic marking *f*. The single-line staff below contains a sequence of notes with various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and stems.

Ex. 14

Tranquillo d=60

CIRCE

dolce
pp.
 frem-de nie ge-kann-te furcht
 ULYSS
 tritt auf. Noch unbemerkt
 von Circe, für sich:

pp *zopr.*

dolce
 frem-de, nie ge-kann-te furcht
 fühl' ich, wenn er sich mir

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "naht." followed by a measure with a fermata, then "wär'er". The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "fühl' ich, wenn — sie — sich mir naht". The piano accompaniment is written on three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The music includes various time signatures (3/2, 2/2, 4/2) and dynamic markings like *p*. There are also some performance instructions like "3" above a triplet.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "nie — hierher ge — kom — men, wär'er nie - - - - - mals hier - ge -". The bottom staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "wär'ich nie — hierher ge — kom — men, wär'ich". The piano accompaniment is written on three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The music includes various time signatures (3/2, 2/2, 4/2) and dynamic markings like *p*.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves (treble, middle, and bass clefs). The music is primarily piano accompaniment, featuring various time signatures (3/2, 2/2, 4/2) and dynamic markings like *p*. There are some performance instructions like "3" above a triplet.

Handwritten musical score for two voices. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "- blie - ben, wär' er nie - mals hier ge - blie - - - - -". The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Handwritten musical score for piano accompaniment. It features a treble and bass clef staff. The right hand has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The left hand has a bass line with a slur and a fermata. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Handwritten musical score for two voices. The top staff has lyrics: "- ben! ghn ver - ges - sen". The bottom staff has lyrics: "- blie - ben! sie ver - ges - sen". The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Handwritten musical score for piano accompaniment. It features a treble and bass clef staff. The right hand has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The left hand has a bass line with a slur and a fermata. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The dynamic marking "pp" is present.

ist un-mög-lich und ver-ge-bens
 ist un-mög-lich und ver-ge-bens

iiiiii

ihn zu lie-ben!
 zu lie-ben!

iiiiii

etc etc

Ex. 15

Die Alte
L'istesso tempo
♩ = 112

Der Zwerg Du lügst, du lügst!

Du sel-ber lügst!
Du

ff marcato *f marcato*

lügst, du lügst, du sel-ber lügst! Du lügst, du lügst, du sel-ber

lügst, du lügst, du lügst, du lügst, du lügst, du sel-ber

f marcato

lügst! Du lügst, du lügst, du selber lügst!

lügst! Du lügst, — du lügst, — du lügst!

sf

Ex. 16

4/4 Sehr ruhig $\text{♩} = 80$

Kl. F. *pp*

Tr. (C) 1 *m. Dämpfer*
pp

Uhr-Glocke *f*

Hf *f*

Erzähler *pizz. div.*
f *klirren lassen*
p Vor-zei-ten, vor-zei-ten gab es ein

Viol. *p* *m.D.*
pp *pizz. sempre legato*

Br. *p* *Flag.*

Solo Vcl. *p* *pizz.*
mf *pizz. vibr.*

d. üb. *mf* *p* *pizz. vibr.*

Kb. *p*

E. Land, wo die Nacht immer dunkel und der Himmel wie ein

Viol.

schwarzes Tuch da über ge-breitet war: etc.

etc.

etc.

Ex. 17

1 segue

Fagl

Viol

p

(arco)

pizz

Handwritten musical score for a symphony orchestra and vocal soloist. The score includes staves for Oboe 2, English Horn, Flute 2, Clarinet in B-flat, Horns (1st, 2nd, 4th), Bassoon, Tuba, Percussion, Grand Trumpet, Bassoon, Violin, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The vocal line has lyrics in German: "hätt' ich mei-ner Toch-ter nur ge-glaubt!" and "oh". The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats.

Oboe 2

E.H.

Flg 2

K. Flg

Hr 1

Hr 2

Hr 4

Fag 1

Tuba

Pk

gr. Tr.

B

Viol

Br

Vel.

Kb.

hätt' ich mei-ner Toch-ter nur ge-glaubt!

oh

pizz.

mf

Fag. 2

Tuba

Pk

gr.Tr.

B

Viol

br

Vcl

Kb

hätt'ich meiner Tochter nur ge- glaubt! oh

hätt'ich meiner Tochter nur ge- glaubt, oh hätte'ich ihr ge- glaubt, oh hätte'ich ihr ge-

arco

Handwritten musical score for a piece in B-flat major. The score includes a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: glaubt, ihr nur ge-glaubt, ihr nur ge-glaubt, ihr nur ge-glaubt, ihr nur ge-glaubt, glaubt,.

The score is written on ten staves. The first two staves are empty. The third staff is a bass clef line with notes and rests, including accents and slurs. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fifth staff is a treble clef line with notes and rests. The sixth staff is a bass clef line with notes and rests. The seventh staff is a bass clef line with notes and rests. The eighth staff is a bass clef line with notes and rests. The ninth and tenth staves are empty.

Ex. 19

4/4 $\text{♩} = \text{ca } 80$ *dolce, col canto*

Klar¹/₂ *pp* *espr.*

Tr¹/₂

Pos¹/₂ *n.D.* *pp*

Zieh-harmo-nika *pp*

Harm *pp*

Chor (4. Säufer)^A *2 Soli* der ist ge-nit-ten wol von

T⁸ (4. Säufer) *Solo* *2 Soli (sentimental)* *p dolce*

B *f* „Floret sil-va un-di-que, nach meinem Liebsten ist mir we,“

1 Kb (solo) *p*

Klar¹₂ *poco rit.* $\frac{3}{6}$ $\frac{2}{6}$ $\frac{3}{6}$ $\frac{2}{6}$

Tr¹₂ *m.D. esp.* *pp*

Pos¹₂

Tuba *solo* *sf*

gr.Tr. *pp*

Ziehhar.

Harm.

S *hin-nen,* *we,*

A *we,*

T *we,*

B *2 soli p* *nach meinem Liebsten ist mir nicht* *pietz.* *arco* *pietz.* *arco*

1 Kb (solo) *mf* *sf* *sf*

Tuba $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ *pp* etc

gr. Tr. etc

Zieh-har-n. *p* *f* etc

Horn *pp* etc

Sax etc

Chor A etc

Chor T *wenige tiefe Bässe* etc

B. *f* etc

4 Br. (Soli) *Sehr vorwiegend gehen* *pizz.* *f* *p* *pp* etc

1 Kb. (Solo) *p* etc

Der ist ge-nit-ten hin-nen, hin-nen, hin-nen, hin-nen, hin-nen,

Moderato ex. 20

Es stand ein wirtshaus an dem Rhein, da kehrten

vie-le Fuhrleut' ein. Frau Wirthin sass am

o - fen, Fuhrleut' sas - sen an dem Tisch; kein'o

Wein wollt nie - mand ho - len.

Ex. 21

4/4 = ca. 144

Mauleselmann

Handwritten musical score for the first system, featuring three staves (bass, treble, and bass) with lyrics: "An das Recht zu ap-pel - lieren, an das Recht zu ap-pel -". The score includes dynamic markings such as *f*, *p*, and *sf*, and performance instructions like "1 strolch" and "2+3 strolch".

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring three staves with lyrics: "lie-ren, wol-len wir hier mu-si - zie-ren bis der". The score includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *sf*, and a section marked with a "2" over a bar.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, featuring three staves with lyrics: "Kö - nig uns er - hört, bis der Kö - nig uns er -". The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *sf*, and a section marked with a "4" over a bar.

$\text{> } f$ $\text{> } mf$
 hört, Recht spricht, und dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht
 hört, Recht spricht, und dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht
 $\text{> } f$
 hört, Recht spricht und dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht wehrt, dem Unrecht

$\frac{1}{p}$ \rightarrow $\frac{4}{p p}$ (Sie tanzen)
 $p p$ staccat'iss.
 wehrt fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la
 wehrt
 wehrt

p (staccat'iss.)
 fal-le-ra la la la la fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la
 fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a bass staff at the top, a treble staff in the middle, and another bass staff at the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: *fal-la, fal-la, fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la* (top staff) and *fal-la, fal-la, fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la fal-le-ra, la* (bottom staff). The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and quarter notes with accents.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of three staves: a bass staff at the top, a treble staff in the middle, and another bass staff at the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: *fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra,* (top staff), *fal-la, fal-la, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra,* (middle staff), and *fal-la, fal-la, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra,* (bottom staff). The music includes dynamic markings such as *f* and *f* with accents.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves: a bass staff at the top, a treble staff in the middle, and another bass staff at the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: *fal-le-ra* (top staff), *la la la la* (top staff), *fal-le-ra, la la la la la la la la* (middle staff), and *fal-le-ra, la la la la la la la la* (bottom staff). The music includes a triplet marking ($\frac{3}{3}$) and dynamic markings such as *p*.

Handwritten musical score for three staves in 4/4 time, featuring the lyrics "fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra".

Staff 1 (Bass Clef): Starts with a $\frac{4}{4}$ time signature and a P dynamic marking. The first measure contains a whole note chord (F2, C3, F3). The second measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The third measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fourth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fifth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The sixth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The seventh measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The eighth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The piece ends with a double bar line.

Staff 2 (Treble Clef): Starts with a f dynamic marking. The first measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The second measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The third measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fourth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fifth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The sixth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The seventh measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The eighth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The piece ends with a double bar line.

Staff 3 (Bass Clef): Starts with a f dynamic marking. The first measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The second measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The third measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fourth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The fifth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The sixth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The seventh measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The eighth measure contains a dotted half note chord (F2, C3, F3). The piece ends with a double bar line.

The lyrics "fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra, fal-le-ra" are written below each staff, corresponding to the notes in the melody.

Ex. 22

1.

Fag. 2 *pp*

Em *Der Eselmann (einfältig)*

Viol. *nondiv. pizz.*

Br. *nondiv. pizz.*

Kb *p*

ei—ner Herberg wars, in ei—nem Stall, da

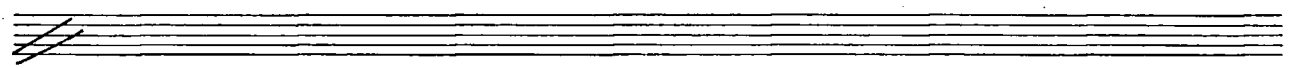
stelt ich nächstens meine Es'-lin ein, spät

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major, 2/4 time, with lyrics: "stelt ich nächstens meine Es'-lin ein, spät". The piano accompaniment is written on five staves below, including grand staff notation (treble and bass clefs) and a separate bass line. The music is in a simple, rhythmic style.

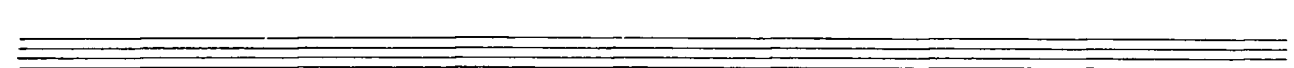
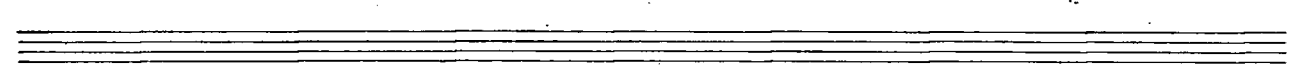
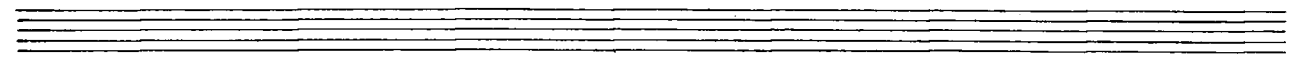
was, spät was, und

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "was, spät was, und". The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern as the first system. Below the second system, there are several empty staves, indicating the end of the page or a section.

Musical score for the first system. It consists of six staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major, 2/4 time, with lyrics: "dann und dann und dann kam dieser Mann, der". The piano accompaniment is written on five staves below the vocal line, including a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a keyboard staff (K#).



Musical score for the second system. It consists of six staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major, 2/4 time, with lyrics: "bracht seinen Maul-e-sel an und stellt sein". The piano accompaniment is written on five staves below the vocal line, including a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a keyboard staff (K#).



Vieh und stellt sein Vieh und stellt sein

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 7/8 time signature. The lyrics are "Vieh und stellt sein Vieh und stellt sein". The piano accompaniment consists of a right hand with chords and a left hand with a simple bass line.

Vieh dem mei — nen an die Sei — ten.

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line has lyrics "Vieh dem mei — nen an die Sei — ten." with a comma at the end. The piano accompaniment continues with similar chordal and bass line patterns.

Ex. 23

kein Hälm - lein wächst auf Er - den, der Him - mel hat's be-

str. p

taut und kann kein Blüm - lein wer - den, die

son - ne hat's er - schaut. Wenn du auch tief be - klar.

pp

- klon - men, in Wal - des - nacht al - lein Einst

wird von Gott dir kom - men dein Tau und Son - nen -

- schein! Dann sproßt, was Dir in - des - sen als

Keim im Her-zen lag, so ist kein Ding ver-

This system contains a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a bass line in bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are "Keim im Her-zen lag, so ist kein Ding ver-". There are dynamic markings like *so* and *mf* (mezzo-forte) in the piano part. The piano part includes chords and arpeggiated figures.

elges sen, es kommt ein Blü-ten tag etc

This system continues the musical score with a vocal line, piano accompaniment, and bass line. The lyrics are "elges sen, es kommt ein Blü-ten tag etc". The piano part includes a dynamic marking of *mf*. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Adagio Ex. 24

pp
Blechbl.
Fag.
Br.
p aspr.

p
E.H.
vell.

pp

Ex. 25

Lebhaft und Feurig

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. It starts with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The system concludes with a double bar line and the number 4 in the right margin.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. It starts with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The system concludes with a double bar line and the number 4 in the right margin.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. It starts with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The system concludes with a double bar line and the number 4 in the right margin.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. It starts with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. The system concludes with a double bar line and the number 4 in the right margin.

Handwritten musical notation for the first system. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a sharp sign, followed by several measures of music. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a sharp sign, also followed by several measures of music.

Handwritten musical notation for the second system. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music continues from the first system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a sharp sign, followed by several measures of music. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a sharp sign, also followed by several measures of music.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music continues from the second system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a sharp sign, followed by several measures of music. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a sharp sign, also followed by several measures of music.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music concludes with various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a sharp sign, followed by several measures of music. The second staff begins with a bass clef and a sharp sign, also followed by several measures of music. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The time signature is 4/4. The music includes several measures with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large slur covers the first two measures of the bass staff. The word "Schwer" is written above the first measure of the bass staff. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music continues from the first system, with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large slur covers the first two measures of the bass staff. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

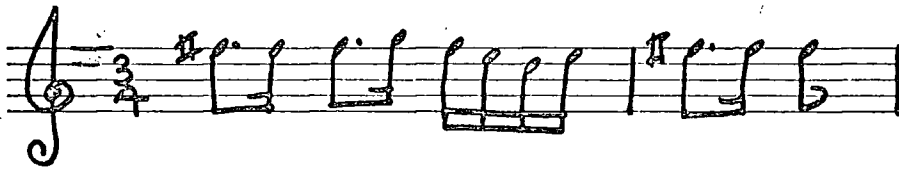
Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The music continues from the second system, with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A large slur covers the first two measures of the bass staff. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Four empty musical staves at the bottom of the page, consisting of two treble clef staves and two bass clef staves.

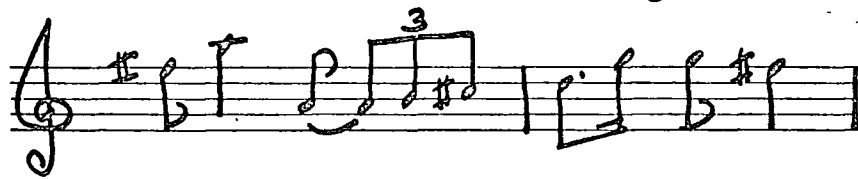
Homburg Motif



Triumphal Motif



Motif of Homburg's love for Natalie



Ex 26

BALLETT : Tanz der weissen Möven

The first system of handwritten musical notation for 'Tanz der weissen Möven'. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The treble staff contains three measures of music, each starting with a chord of F#4 and G4, followed by a half note. The bass staff contains three measures: the first has a quarter note F#3, the second has a quarter note G3, and the third has a quarter note F#3. The second and third measures of the bass staff feature a sixteenth-note triplet in the right hand.

The second system of handwritten musical notation. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has three measures: the first is a chord of F#4 and G4, the second is a quarter note G4, and the third is a quarter note F#4. The bass staff has three measures: the first is a quarter note F#3, the second is a quarter note G3, and the third is a quarter note F#3. The second and third measures of the bass staff feature a sixteenth-note triplet in the right hand.

The third system of handwritten musical notation. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has three measures: the first is a quarter note G4, the second is a quarter note F#4, and the third is a quarter note G4. The bass staff has three measures: the first is a quarter note F#3, the second is a quarter note G3, and the third is a quarter note F#3. The second and third measures of the bass staff feature a sixteenth-note triplet in the right hand.

The fourth system of handwritten musical notation. It consists of two staves. The treble staff has three measures: the first is a chord of F#4 and G4, the second is a quarter note G4, and the third is a quarter note F#4. The bass staff has three measures: the first is a quarter note F#3, the second is a quarter note G3, and the third is a quarter note F#3. The second and third measures of the bass staff feature a sixteenth-note triplet in the right hand.

Handwritten musical notation for the first system. The treble clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The bass clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with a slur. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical notation for the second system. The treble clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The bass clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). Dynamic markings include *ff* and *3. pos.*. A double bar line with a repeat sign is at the beginning.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system. The treble clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The bass clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The text *Bra* is written below the staff, followed by a dashed line. A double bar line with a repeat sign is at the beginning.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system. The treble clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The bass clef staff contains a series of notes, some grouped with slurs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The text *etc* is written at the end of the system. A double bar line with a repeat sign is at the beginning.

Sehr breit [♩ = 63]

OUVERTURE

Bra

EX. 28

Ballettmusik

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The music begins with a forte dynamic marking 'f'. The first staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, ending with a trill marked '(tr ~~~~~)'. The second staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The text 'Str. Fag. Hr. Pk.' is written between the staves.

f Str. Fag. Hr. Pk.

(tr ~~~~~)

Handwritten musical score for the second system, continuing from the first. It features two staves with the same key signature and time signature. The melodic line in the treble clef continues with eighth notes and rests, while the bass clef staff provides a steady accompaniment. A trill is present in the final measure of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. The treble clef staff shows a melodic line with eighth notes and a trill marked '(tr ~~~~~)'. The bass clef staff continues with a rhythmic accompaniment. The system concludes with a final melodic phrase in the treble clef.

(tr ~~~~~)

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. The treble clef staff features a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The bass clef staff has a complex accompaniment with many beamed notes. A 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking is placed above the first measure of the bass staff.

cresc.

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff. The top staff uses a treble clef and the bottom staff uses a bass clef. The music consists of several measures of chords and melodic lines. The first measure shows a complex chord structure in both hands. The second measure continues with similar chordal textures. The third measure features a more active melodic line in the right hand. The fourth measure shows a transition with a different chordal structure. The fifth measure has a prominent chord in the right hand. The sixth measure concludes the phrase with a final chord. The notation includes various note values, stems, and beams.

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff, starting with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation continues with several measures of music. The first measure after the repeat sign shows a chord in the right hand and a single note in the left hand. The second measure features a more complex chordal structure. The third measure shows a melodic line in the right hand. The fourth measure has a chord in the right hand and a single note in the left hand. The fifth measure features a chord in the right hand and a single note in the left hand. The sixth measure shows a chord in the right hand and a single note in the left hand. The seventh measure concludes the phrase with a final chord. The notation includes various note values, stems, and beams.

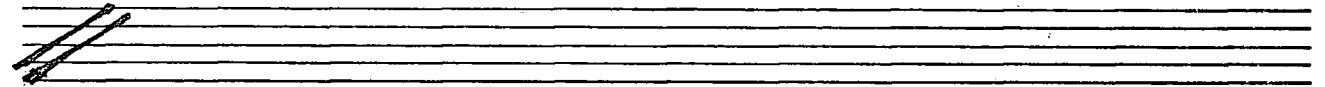
A series of empty musical staves, consisting of five grand staves (each with a treble and bass clef) that are completely blank.

ex. 29

Lis.

Bin nun an die zwan-zig Jahr in die-sem

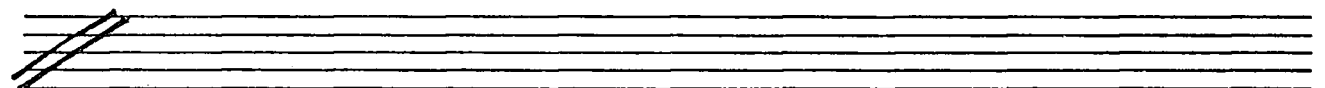
Hbl.



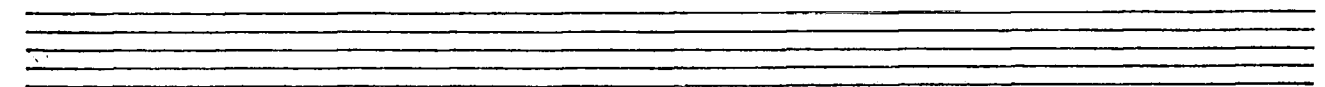
Land, soll mich a-ber we-nig be-küm-mern,

Kl.

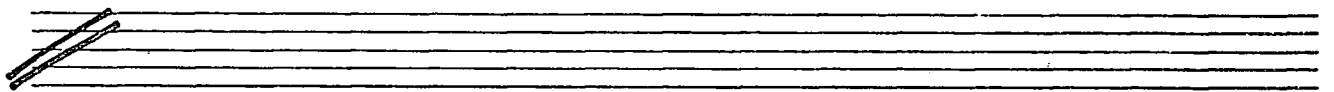
Str., Fg., Hr.



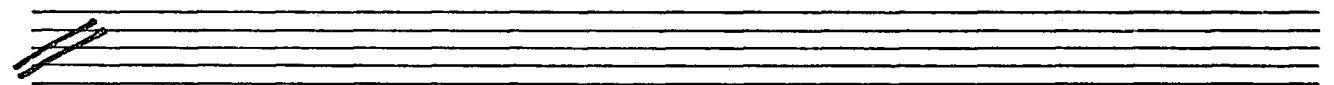
was man von mir in die Hi-sto-ri-en-set-zet, nur



hiel-te es für ein gro-ßes Lob, wenn man sagt, daß ich ein



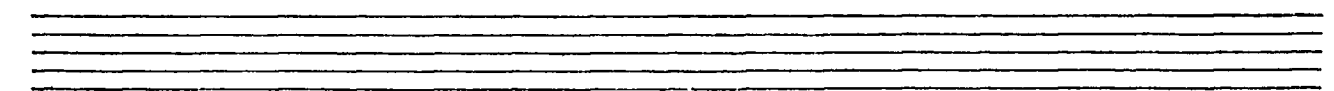
teut - sches Herz ha-be; wir Pfäl - zer



ha-ben das: wir lieben un-ser Va - ter - land bis

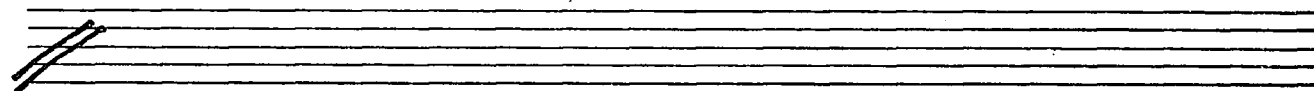
Viol. solo

pp. str.



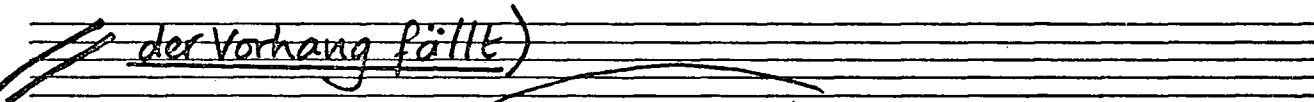
in dem Tod und geht uns nichts da-rü-ber!

Kl.



(Lieselotte schaut wie getröstet in die Höhe.)

Hr. Vc. *mf*



p. sub.

Hf.

Tutti *p*

b. o. PK.

Peterlenz

Sehr rhythmisch $\text{♩} = 164$

Wer kennt die Hexen-li-ta-nei?

VI.

Xyl.

fsl.

Schlgz.

Ist der

VI.

pp

Teu-fel un-ser Herr?

VI.

"Ja" müßt's da sa - - - gen!

Fl. Bra

alleg

This system contains a vocal line in bass clef and a piano accompaniment in grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The vocal line has a fermata over the word "Ja" and a long dash under "sa - - - gen!". The piano accompaniment features a dense texture of sixteenth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The tempo marking "alleg" is written above the piano part.

Un - ser fei - ner schö - ner

VI.

This system continues the musical score with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has a fermata over "Un - ser" and a long dash under "fei - ner schö - ner". The piano accompaniment features a dense texture of sixteenth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand. The marking "VI." is written above the piano part.

Herr?

"Ja" müßt's da

This system concludes the musical score with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has a fermata over "Herr?" and a long dash under "Ja". The piano accompaniment features a dense texture of sixteenth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The vocal line (bass clef) contains the lyrics "Sa - - - - - gen!" followed by "9st" and "der". The piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) features a complex texture with many beamed notes. The woodwind parts include a Flute (Fl.) and Clarinet (Cl.) with specific fingerings and dynamics.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The vocal line (bass clef) contains the lyrics "sa", "can", "der,", and "der". The piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) continues with complex textures. The woodwind parts include a Trumpet (Trp.) with specific fingerings and dynamics.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. The vocal line (bass clef) contains the lyrics "ist,", "der", and "die". The piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) continues with complex textures. The woodwind parts include a Violin (Vl.) and Viola (Vla.) with specific fingerings and dynamics.

4/2

Erd' mit sei - - - ner

Bve

El - - - le misse?

"Ja"

Trp.

Hr.

Pk.

Mühl's da sa - - - - - gen!

bra...

Fl.

Nicht raschi; innerlich bewegt (♩ = 72-76) Ex. 31

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo/mood is indicated as "Nicht raschi; innerlich bewegt" with a metronome marking of quarter notes equal to 72-76. The first measure of the vocal line is marked "molto espr." and "p". The lyrics are "Hör mich, heilige Bar-ba-ra, hör, daß dich er-". The piano accompaniment includes markings for "pp" and "p Vcl. espr. str.".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo/mood is indicated as "mp". The lyrics are "- bar - me! Kl. Führ mich aus dem fremden Lan-de". The piano accompaniment includes markings for "mp" and "mp Str.".

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo/mood is indicated as "quasi f". The lyrics are "in der Hei-mat Ar - me! Kl. Führ mich aus dem". The piano accompaniment includes markings for "quasi f" and "quasi f".

fremden Lande in der Heimat Ar - me!

Kl.

p

Erregt

f

etc.

etc.

etc.

EX. 32

Langsam, (♩ = 58)

aber erwegt

f. espr.

Musical score for the first system. The top staff is for Oboe (Ob. E.H.) and the bottom staff is for Strings (Str.). The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'Langsam, (♩ = 58)'. The first measure of the Oboe part is marked 'aber erwegt' and the first measure of the Strings part is marked 'f. espr.'. The strings play a chord of F# and C# in the first measure, then a series of chords in the following measures. The Oboe part has a melodic line with slurs and accents.

Musical score for the second system. The Oboe part continues with a melodic line, and the strings play chords. The dynamics are marked 'p.' (piano) at the beginning of the system.

Musical score for the third system. The Oboe part has a melodic line with a 'ff' (fortissimo) dynamic marking. The strings play chords. The instruction 'Vorhang auf' (Curtain up) is written above the Oboe staff.

Musical score for the fourth system. The Oboe part has a triplet of eighth notes. The strings play chords. The dynamics are marked 'p.' (piano) at the beginning of the system.

Handwritten musical score for a piano exercise. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a 3-measure triplet of eighth notes (F#, G, A) followed by a quarter note (B). The middle staff is a bass clef with a 3-measure triplet of eighth notes (F#, G, A) followed by a quarter note (B). The bottom staff is a bass clef with a melodic line starting on F# and moving up stepwise to B, marked with 'ff' and 'Fg'.

EX. 33

Etwas rasch
(♩ = 126)

Handwritten musical score for 'Etwas rasch'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a 2/8 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef. The music is marked with 'p' and 'mp'. The melody in the treble clef starts on F# and moves up stepwise to B. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment pattern.

Wagner (tritt auf)

Handwritten musical score for 'Wagner (tritt auf)'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is a bass clef. The music is marked with 'mp'. The melody in the treble clef starts on F# and moves up stepwise to B. The bass clef has a simple accompaniment pattern.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains several notes with accidentals (sharps and naturals) and some slurs. The bass staff contains notes with double bar lines. There are handwritten annotations: a sharp sign with a tilde-like symbol above it, "Fl." above a note, and "KL." below a chord. The system ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It includes a vocal line (marked 'W') and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics "Gu - ben" under a slur. The piano accompaniment features chords with accidentals and slurs. A dynamic marking "mp" is written above the vocal line. The system ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It includes a vocal line (marked 'W') and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics "A bend, Eu - re Mag - ni - fi -" under slurs. The piano accompaniment features chords with accidentals and slurs. A dynamic marking "c.fg." is written below the bass staff. The system ends with a double bar line.

W

— zenz!

ich komme grade von der

cb.

W

Post hier — her ;

es sind heut keine Briefe

W

ein — ge — Grof — fen,

es stiegen

etc

etc

etc

Ex. 34

Allegretto moderato
(ruhig fließend).

Hergard:

Es ist ein Schneefallen und

str.

The first system of the musical score for 'Hergard'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time, starting with a piano (p) dynamic. The lyrics are 'Es ist ein Schneefallen und'. The middle staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment, and the bottom staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment. The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

ist es doch nicht Zeit, man

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'ist es doch nicht Zeit, man'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern. There are some handwritten annotations in the piano part, including a circled '4' and some sharp signs.

wirft mich mit den Ballen, der

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'wirft mich mit den Ballen, der'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern. There are some handwritten annotations in the piano part, including a circled '#' and some sharp signs.

Weg ist mir ver-schneit. Hbl.

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are "Weg ist mir ver-schneit. Hbl." The piano accompaniment is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is in a 4/4 time signature. The piano part features a mix of chords and moving lines, with some notes marked with an 'x' and a circled '9'.

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line is mostly silent, indicated by a horizontal line with a fermata. The piano accompaniment continues with complex chordal textures and melodic fragments in both the treble and bass staves.

This system concludes the musical score. The vocal line remains silent. The piano accompaniment features a final cadence with a fermata over the final chord. The notation includes various accidentals and dynamic markings.

Ex. 35

breit und feierlich

Ex. 36

L'istesso tempo di chorale (sehr ruhig)

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is for a Brass instrument (Br.) and the lower staff is for a Violoncello (Vlc.). The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The Vlc. part begins with a dynamic marking of *p espr.* and features a melodic line with slurs. The Br. part has a few notes in the first two measures and then a more active line in the last two measures, starting with a dynamic marking of *p*.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is for a Brass instrument (Br.) and the lower staff is for a Violoncello (Vlc.). The Vlc. part continues with a melodic line, and the Br. part has a few notes in the first two measures and then a more active line in the last two measures, starting with a dynamic marking of *p*.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is for a Brass instrument (Br.) and the lower staff is for a Violoncello (Vlc.). The Vlc. part continues with a melodic line, and the Br. part has a few notes in the first two measures and then a more active line in the last two measures, starting with a dynamic marking of *p*. There is a double bar line in the middle of the system.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is for a Brass instrument (Br.) and the lower staff is for a Violoncello (Vlc.). The Vlc. part continues with a melodic line, and the Br. part has a few notes in the first two measures and then a more active line in the last two measures, starting with a dynamic marking of *p*. There is a double bar line in the middle of the system.

EX. 37

The first system of the score consists of two staves. The upper staff is for the piano, with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). It begins with a dynamic marking of *f*. The lower staff is for the trumpet, with a bass clef and a common time signature (C). It starts with a dynamic marking of *f* and includes a key signature change to one flat (B-flat) indicated by a flat sign and the text "7. b". The trumpet part has a few notes in the first measure, followed by a brace and then more notes in the second measure.

The second system continues the piano and trumpet parts. The piano part in the upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together, and a few chords. The trumpet part in the lower staff continues with a steady eighth-note bass line. There are some rests and dynamic markings in this system.

The third system of the score features a more complex piano part in the upper staff. It includes a dynamic marking of *ff* (fortissimo) and a key signature change to one flat (B-flat) indicated by a flat sign and the text "7. b". Above the piano staff, the text "vorhang auf" (curtain up) is written. The piano part has a long, sustained note with a fermata. The trumpet part in the lower staff continues with its eighth-note bass line. The system ends with a 3/4 time signature.

The bottom section of the page contains several empty musical staves, including a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and two single staves, which are not filled with music.

Fool

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It features a vocal line in bass clef and a piano accompaniment in treble and bass clefs. The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "Läßt mich!" repeated twice. The piano part includes dynamic markings like *p* and *f*, and includes triplet markings. There are some handwritten corrections and annotations above the notes.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Läßt mich allein" and "mit meinem Kum — mer". The piano part includes dynamic markings like *p* and *fz.* (for *forzando*). There are some handwritten corrections and annotations above the notes.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "mei — nem irr — sin — nig bit — te — ren". The piano part includes dynamic markings like *p* and *pk.* (for *pedal*). There are some handwritten corrections and annotations above the notes.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in bass clef with lyrics "wissenden" and "Weh!". The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Dynamics include *p* and *pp*. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Handwritten musical score for the second system, featuring piano accompaniment. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in bass clef with the instruction "nicht schleppen". The middle staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Dynamics include *pp*. The key signature has two flats (Bb, Eb). The system ends with the word "ek" on the right side of each staff.

Ex. 38

Handwritten musical notation for the first system. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with notes G4, A4, Bb4, and C5. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with notes G3, F3, E3, and D3. The music is marked with a 3/4 time signature and includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*. There are also some handwritten annotations like "vi. Kl." and "bd.".

Handwritten musical notation for the second system. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with notes D5, C5, Bb4, and A4. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with notes C3, B2, A2, and G2. The music is marked with a 3/4 time signature and includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with notes G4, F4, E4, and D4. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with notes G3, F3, E3, and D3. The music is marked with a 3/4 time signature and includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*. There are also some handwritten annotations like "bd." and "etc."

Four empty musical staves, each consisting of a five-line staff with a clef and a key signature.

Ex. 39

Cecil.

Die Son-ne des Gra-fen steht im Ze-

Vl. Kl.

p espr.

Va

This system of handwritten musical notation includes a vocal line with lyrics, a piano accompaniment for Violin and Clarinet (Vl. Kl.), and a Violoncello (Va) part. The piano part features a dynamic marking of 'p espr.' and various musical notations such as slurs and accidentals.

nicht Bacon.

Nie strahlte sie so hell und funkelte so

This system continues the musical score with lyrics and piano accompaniment. It includes a dynamic marking of 'p' and various musical notations. The piano part continues with complex chordal structures and melodic lines.

Eri wolken-lo-ser Him-mel,
 blen-dend weiß
 Fl. p. Fg.

weit und breit
 etc. etc. etc.

EX. 40

Nr. 3. Lied und Ensemble

Hop-Majänn Nicht zu langsam (♩ = 128)

schön ist je - de Blu - - me, die

Vcl. pizz.

mir auf Er - den lacht, doch

pizz. fz Br. Solo p

Bässe Fg.

eins fehlt ih - rem Ruh - me: Sie

bleibt nicht, ih - - - - - re

Pracht.

Fl. *i i i i i*

mf
(nicht schleppend)

Detailed description: This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics 'bleibt nicht, ih - - - - - re'. The piano accompaniment features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. A flute part is indicated by 'Fl. i i i i i' with a treble clef. Performance instructions include 'Pracht.' and '*mf* (nicht schleppend)'. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Detailed description: This system shows piano accompaniment for the second system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (mostly empty), a right-hand piano line, and a left-hand piano line. The right-hand line features a series of chords and a triplet of eighth notes. The left-hand line has a simple bass line with long notes. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

we - nig Früh - lings - ta - - - - - gen ist

Vl. pizz.

Fg.

Detailed description: This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 4/4 time, with lyrics 'we - nig Früh - lings - ta - - - - - gen ist'. The piano accompaniment features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. A violin part is indicated by '*Vl. pizz.*' and a fagot part by '*Fg.*'. The system concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The vocal line is in G major (one sharp) and contains the lyrics "ihr Ge - prän - ge hin". The piano accompaniment consists of a right-hand part with eighth-note patterns and a left-hand part with quarter notes. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "und schei - net mir zu". The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. The vocal line concludes with the lyrics "sa - - - lgen, daß ich auch". The piano accompaniment concludes with a final chord. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

Sehr bewegt und leicht

Blume bin.

pizz.

Bässe pizz.

Ex. 41

Sehr lebhaft (Ganze Takte) (♩ = 100)

3/4

f Solo Str.

Möfjes:

ob. p leicht

Das hast du doch ge-spürt! Heuch-ler, du

Lum - pen - ker! Das hast du doch gespürt

Heuch-ler, du Lump! Was für ein schlechter, ver-

lo-ge-ner Kerl du bist, je-der soll's wis-sen, ja,

je-der soll's hö-ren, war're du Lump!

Ex. 42 Ruhig fließend, ausdrucksvoll (♩ = 76)

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. A slur covers the first two measures. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It features a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2) in the first measure, followed by another triplet in the second measure. The third measure contains a quarter note G2. A slur covers the first two measures. The word "espressivo" is written above the first measure of the lower staff.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. A slur covers the first two measures. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It features a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The first measure has a quarter note G2, followed by a quarter note F2, and a quarter note E2. A slur covers the first two measures. The word "p" is written below the first measure of the lower staff.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. A slur covers the first two measures. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It features a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The first measure has a quarter note G2, followed by a quarter note F2, and a quarter note E2. A slur covers the first two measures. The word "p" is written below the first measure of the lower staff. The word "espr." is written above the third measure of the lower staff. The system ends with a double bar line and a 3/4 time signature.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and a quarter note Bb4. A slur covers the first two measures. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It features a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The first measure has a quarter note G2, followed by a quarter note F2, and a quarter note E2. A slur covers the first two measures. The word "p" is written below the first measure of the lower staff. The system ends with a double bar line and a 3/4 time signature.

Handwritten musical score system 1, featuring a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 2, continuing the piece. It features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs, including a large slur over the upper staff and various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score system 3, featuring a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. A double bar line is present at the end of the system. The text "Hbl." and "Pos." is written in the lower left corner.

Handwritten musical score system 4, featuring a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. A double bar line is present at the end of the system. The text "P" is written in the lower left corner.

Two empty musical staves at the bottom of the page.

Handwritten musical score for piano, first system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a melodic line in the treble clef with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes. There are dynamic markings such as *pp* and *p*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for piano, second system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music features a melodic line in the treble clef with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes. There are dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

leichte Achtel, sehr gracios

(*♩ = 138*)

Handwritten musical score for piano, third system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music features a melodic line in the treble clef with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes. There are dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for piano, fourth system. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music features a melodic line in the treble clef with various note values and rests, and a bass line with chords and single notes. There are dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Two empty musical staves, one treble clef and one bass clef, positioned at the bottom of the page.

Ex. 43

Langsam $\text{♩} = 72$

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 3/2 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 3/2 time signature. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is placed above the first measure of the bass staff. The music features a series of chords in the bass staff, with some notes in the treble staff. A large slur is drawn under the bass staff, spanning the first four measures.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with chords in the bass staff and some notes in the treble staff. A large slur is drawn under the bass staff, spanning the first four measures.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Above the first measure of the treble staff, the text "VI. II" and "cr." is written. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is placed above the first measure of the bass staff. The music continues with chords in the bass staff and some notes in the treble staff. A large slur is drawn under the bass staff, spanning the first four measures.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with chords in the bass staff and some notes in the treble staff. A large slur is drawn under the bass staff, spanning the first four measures.

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The treble clef part begins with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5) and continues with a melodic line of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5. A double bar line follows. The bass clef part starts with a whole note chord (F3, A3, C4) and continues with a bass line of quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4. A double bar line follows. The system concludes with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5) in the treble and a whole note chord (F3, A3, C4) in the bass. Dynamic markings include *mf* above the treble staff and *mf* below the bass staff. A handwritten annotation "VI. I. mf" is written above the treble staff.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The treble clef part continues with a melodic line of quarter notes: D5, E5, F5, G5. A double bar line follows. The bass clef part continues with a bass line of quarter notes: D3, E3, F3, G3. A double bar line follows. The system concludes with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5) in the treble and a whole note chord (F3, A3, C4) in the bass.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. The treble clef part continues with a melodic line of quarter notes: G5, A5, B5, C6. A double bar line follows. The bass clef part continues with a bass line of quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4. A double bar line follows. The system concludes with a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5) in the treble and a whole note chord (F3, A3, C4) in the bass. Dynamic markings include *p* above the treble staff and *p* below the bass staff.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. The system is mostly blank, with only a few notes written in the treble and bass clefs. The treble clef part has a whole note chord (F4, A4, C5). The bass clef part has a whole note chord (F3, A3, C4). A handwritten annotation "etc" is written in the center of the system.

Ex. 44 Schnell,
jedes Achtel betont
♩ = 96

ARIE GIL

Handwritten musical score for the piano introduction of 'Arie Gil'. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a dynamic marking of **ff**. The bass staff begins with a bass clef and a dynamic marking of **pk.** (pianissimo). The music features a series of eighth notes in the treble and a more complex accompaniment in the bass, including chords and moving lines. A tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 96$ is indicated. The piece concludes with a final chord in the bass staff.

Handwritten musical score for the vocal and piano accompaniment of 'Arie Gil'. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a bass clef and includes the lyrics: "Gil", "Da find'ich dich, du später", and "Trost". The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clefs). The music is in common time and includes dynamic markings such as **f**, **ff**, and **mf**. The piano part features a steady accompaniment of eighth notes in the treble and a more active bass line.

Handwritten musical score for the vocal and piano accompaniment of 'Arie Gil', continuing from the previous system. The vocal line is written in a bass clef and includes the lyrics: "Trost", "meiner Ra-che,", "meiner Ra-che,", and "dich meiner". The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clefs). The music is in common time and includes dynamic markings such as **p** and **bp.** (bristissimo piano). The piano part features a steady accompaniment of eighth notes in the treble and a more active bass line.

Ra — che spä — ten Trost, — meiner Ra — che spä — ten

Trost. Der

Griff noch nicht ver- kal- tet von der

Hand, der Griff noch nicht erkal- tet, noch nicht er-

The first system of a handwritten musical score. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in bass clef at the top, and a piano accompaniment in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The lyrics are "Hand, der Griff noch nicht erkal- tet, noch nicht er-". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The piano part features chords and arpeggiated figures, with some notes marked with a 'v' (vibrato) and a 'b' (basso).

kal- tet von der Hand

The second system of the handwritten musical score. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The lyrics are "kal- tet von der Hand". The piano accompaniment includes a section with a forte dynamic marking 'f' and a slur over several chords. The vocal line continues with a melodic line.

des Mör- ders!

The third system of the handwritten musical score. It concludes the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics are "des Mör- ders!". The piano accompaniment features a forte dynamic marking 'f' and a slur over a series of chords. The vocal line ends with a final note. The system concludes with empty staves.

EX. 45

CORNELIA

$\text{♩} = 96$
mf 2/4
drei — mal — sah ich den Tod mei — ner

mp
Kin — der, drei — mal schloß ich

un — schuld'ge Au — gen, Aug' in

Au - ge - ste - het

(Hr. sempre col canto)

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line starts with a half note 'Au', followed by a half note 'ge', and then a half note 'ste' with a slur over it, and finally a half note 'het'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and single notes in the left hand. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

da - der e - i - ge - dan

Fg. K.B.

This system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has a half note 'da', a half note 'der', a half note 'e', a half note 'i', a half note 'ge', and a half note 'dan'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and single notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

f
Ke.

This system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line starts with a half note 'Ke.' followed by a half note. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and single notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Fl. u. Kl. col ottava

ex. 46

mf poco a poco crescendo

Wenn der Altar des Ge-

poco a poco crescendo

mf poco a poco crescendo

schik-kes blu-tes Op-fer ver-

poco a poco crescendo

- langt, um zu er - lö - sen was sterb - lich

f

mf

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line starts with a half note 'langt', followed by a quarter note 'um', a quarter note 'zu', a quarter note 'er', a quarter note 'lö', a quarter note 'sen', a quarter note 'was', a quarter note 'sterb', and a quarter note 'lich'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and single notes in the left hand. Dynamics include *f* and *mf*.

ist, geb' ich mich hin. schlach -

p

pp

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line has a half note 'ist,', a quarter note 'geb'', a quarter note 'ich', a quarter note 'mich', a quarter note 'hin.', and a quarter note 'schlach -'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and single notes. Dynamics include *p* and *pp*.

--- tek das op - fer - tier, etc.

p

etc.

etc.

This system concludes the musical score. The vocal line has a half note '---', a quarter note 'tek', a quarter note 'das', a quarter note 'op', a quarter note 'fer', and a quarter note 'tier, etc.'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and single notes. Dynamics include *p* and *etc.*.

Ex. 47

Allegro Moderato

ff sf p ff

sf p

Ex. 48

Allegro

f marc.

ff sf p ff

Handwritten musical notation for the first system. The treble clef staff contains a series of chords and notes, including a dynamic marking 'f'. The bass clef staff contains a few notes, including a bass clef symbol and a note with a flat.

Handwritten musical notation for the second system. The treble clef staff contains several chords and notes. The bass clef staff contains a few notes, including a bass clef symbol and a note with a flat.

Handwritten musical notation for the third system. The treble clef staff contains several chords and notes. The bass clef staff contains a few notes, including a bass clef symbol and a note with a flat.

Handwritten musical notation for the fourth system. The treble clef staff contains several chords and notes. The bass clef staff contains a few notes, including a bass clef symbol and a note with a flat. The text "etc...." is written in the right margin.

Ex. 49

Camille

Heut' sind wie - der zwanzig Op - fer ge -

fal - len. Wir wa - ren im 9rr - tu - me, man hat die

arco poco a poco cresc.

He - ber - ti - sten nur aufs Schaf - fot ge - schickt, weil sie

8 nicht sy - ste - ma - tisch ge - nug ver - füh - ren, ok

ok

ok

Ex. 50

Mädchen

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a whole rest. The middle staff is the right-hand piano part, starting with a forte piano (fp) dynamic and a piano accent (>) over the first note. It features a series of eighth-note chords. The bottom staff is the left-hand piano part, starting with a piano (p) dynamic and featuring chords with fermatas.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Ach, wie mich dies le-ben langweilt... dies". The middle staff is the right-hand piano part, starting with a forte piano (fp) dynamic and a piano accent (>). It features a series of eighth-note chords. The bottom staff is the left-hand piano part, starting with a piano (p) dynamic and featuring chords with fermatas.

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "ö-de Da-sein > diese glat-ten Men-schen und die". The middle staff is the right-hand piano part, starting with a forte piano (fp) dynamic and a piano accent (>). It features a series of eighth-note chords. The bottom staff is the left-hand piano part, starting with a piano (p) dynamic and featuring chords with fermatas.

lärmenden Hobels.

Junger Mann:

Viel-leicht seh-nen

fp

fp

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with the lyrics 'lärmenden Hobels.' followed by a rest. The middle staff is another vocal line in treble clef, starting with the label 'Junger Mann:' and the lyrics 'Viel-leicht seh-nen'. The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment in grand staff notation, with dynamic markings 'fp' (fortissimo) on both the upper and lower staves.

wir uns nach dem A - - - - - ben-ten-er.

fp

fp

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with the lyrics 'wir uns nach dem A - - - - - ben-ten-er.' and a fermata over the 'A'. The middle staff is piano accompaniment in grand staff notation, with dynamic markings 'fp' (fortissimo) on both the upper and lower staves.

Ex. 51

Vivace (♩ = 126)

Fedor : (deutlich)

Musical score for the first system. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a piano line in treble clef, and a piano line in bass clef. The time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Vivace' with a quarter note equal to 126 beats per minute. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal line begins with a rest and then has the lyrics 'Lub - ka' under a slur. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

Musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. The vocal line has the lyrics 'Sol - da - ten ka - ben mir ge -' under a slur. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern.

Musical score for the third system. It concludes the vocal and piano parts. The vocal line has the lyrics 'sage, es komme ein hoher Of - fi - zier, die garmi -' under a slur. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic pattern.

son zu kontrol - lie - ren. Sie

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is on a single staff with a treble clef, containing the lyrics "son zu kontrol - lie - ren. Sie". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves: a right-hand staff with a treble clef and a left-hand staff with a bass clef. The piano part features a complex texture with many beamed notes and rests, typical of a 20th-century style. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

sa - gen, es steht nicht gut um diesen Krieg!

pp subito *f*

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line has the lyrics "sa - gen, es steht nicht gut um diesen Krieg!". The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings: *pp subito* in the first measure and *f* in the fifth measure. The piano part continues with complex rhythmic patterns. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

Ex. 52

(Choral: Nun ru — hen at — le Wäl — — der,
dolente

Musical score for the first system. The piano part includes parts for Klar. (Clarinet), Viol. (Violin), Fl. (Flute), Fag. (Bassoon), and Kb. (Cello/Double Bass). The score is in a minor key and includes dynamic markings such as *pp leg.* and *(pp)*. The lyrics "Nun ru — hen at — le Wäl — — der," are written above the staff.

Vieh, Men — schen Städte und Fel — —

Musical score for the second system. The piano part includes parts for Fl. (Flute) and Kb. (Cello/Double Bass). The score is in a minor key and includes dynamic markings such as *pp* and *mp*. The lyrics "Vieh, Men — schen Städte und Fel — —" are written above the staff.

-- der, es schläft die gan — ze

Musical score for the third system. The piano part includes parts for Viol. (Violin) and Kb. (Cello/Double Bass). The score is in a minor key and includes dynamic markings such as *pp* and *mp*. The lyrics "-- der, es schläft die gan — ze" are written above the staff.

Welt.

Musical score for the fourth system. The piano part includes parts for Str. (Strings). The score is in a minor key and includes dynamic markings such as *pp*, *mp*, and *p*. The lyrics "Welt." are written above the staff.

Ihr a - ber, mei - ne

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The piano part includes dynamics like 'p.' and 'pp'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are 'Ihr a - ber, mei - ne'.

Sin - - - nen, auf, auf! Ihr

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It continues the vocal and piano parts from the first system. Dynamics include 'mf'. The lyrics are 'Sin - - - nen, auf, auf! Ihr'.

sollt be - gin - - - - - nen was

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It continues the vocal and piano parts. Dynamics include 'pp'. The lyrics are 'sollt be - gin - - - - - nen was'.

eu - - - - - rem Schöp - fer wahl - ge - fällt) etc

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. It concludes the piece. Dynamics include 'ppp' and 'vcl.'. The lyrics are 'eu - - - - - rem Schöp - fer wahl - ge - fällt) etc'.

Ex. 53

Largo semplice, dolce grazioso

Madchen
 Rommer
 Pierrat
 Lautsprecher

1. Komm, Tod, du un — ser wer — ter Gast,
 2. Nimm von uns le — bens Leid und Last;

pp dolce

Vln. solo

pizz. Gtb. banjo

in un — sers Her — zens Kam —
 führ uns zur Rast nach Schmerz und

pp dolce

w.w.

Kanon a cappella, tranquillo

tenor
soprano
alto
bass

p
p
p
p

dolce
dolce

Lehr uns le-bens

—mer
Jam—mer

Lehr uns le-bens lust und Not in un-tern Brü-
le-bens lust und Not in un-tern Brü- dern
lust und Not in un-tern Brü- dern eh

p dolce

dern eh ren

eh ren

-ren

p dolce

p dolce

p dolce

p dolce

Lehr uns das hei —

pp Harm

Vln. solo.

Ob. mf

vv. pp

Allegretto grazioso

f

f

f

f

- lig — ste Ge — bok: Du sollst den gros-sen Na-men

fp

Bjo.

ritard. al fin

Ich nicht ei - tel be - schwören!

(Vorhang)

