

Hitler's Musical "Tabula Rasa" – Restitution – Restoration

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Hitler's Musical Tabula Rasa

Restitution – Restoration

... nature, so to speak, had not counted on such happenstance as ultimately would result in mankind. Its ability to destroy would be so extensive, that when this species had exhausted itself, it promised a tabula rasa, either in self-destruction, or in taking all creation with it.

*Theodor Adorno*¹

The works that constitute the submission of this PhD are broken down into the recording series for London/Decca: "*Entartete Musik*"² and the book *FORBIDDEN MUSIC – THE JEWISH COMPOSERS BANNED BY THE NAZIS*³ (henceforth: *Forbidden Music*). Adjacent and central as a means of research was a period of eight years spent as Music Curator at Vienna's Jewish Museum from 2002–10.

This essay begins with an introduction in which I lay out the unique ground covered by both the recording series and *Forbidden Music*. This is followed by Part I: an exposition of the methodology behind both the recording series and the book. Part II of the thesis offers subjective reflections on the historic and cultural environment that motivated both the book and the recordings, while Part III constitutes a series of reflections on my recovery of music lost or suppressed after 1933; a recovery that started over a quarter of a century ago and continues to raise issues that demand attention. All three sections address the means by which restitution of the musical legacy lost after 1933 may be conceived, mapped out and implemented by musicians and scholars; they may hopefully provide a reference for the restitution of interrupted and truncated cultural narratives in the future.

¹ Adorno, Theodor: *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Zur Kritik der Geschichtsphilosophie*. Complete works, Vol. 3, Suhrkamp 1980, pp.254–5.

² The use of italics was intended as a recreation of the original Nazi graphic, whereas the use of inverted commas was Decca's means of indicating that the label or producers did not consider the works recorded as "degenerate" – for this reason, all references to the recording series are in italics with inverted commas. A full discography is attached as taken from Decca's current download site; a single CD sampler released by Decca is also included with the catalogue number 28947 36912. These recordings, along with the sampler submission, fulfil Public Works Requirement B3.6d.

³ Haas, Michael: *FORBIDDEN MUSIC – THE JEWISH COMPOSERS BANNED BY THE NAZIS*, YUP, New Haven 2013. This book fulfils Public Works requirement B3.6a.

Introduction

Historic Provenance of Recording Series and Book

In 1984, as a German-speaking recording producer with the Decca Record Company, I began working with Riccardo Chailly, then conductor of Berlin's German Symphony Orchestra.⁴ He wished to record early works by Alexander Zemlinsky, the teacher and brother-in-law of Arnold Schoenberg. From Zemlinsky⁵ we eventually moved to early Schoenberg and Mahler.⁶ The collaboration was so successful that the orchestra asked if Decca would consider additional recording projects that did not involve their busy international conductor. I suggested that we pursue a series of Kurt Weill stage works that included, but also went beyond, his well-known collaborations with Bertolt Brecht. The idea was to record his entire European output. Problems with the Kurt Weill Foundation in New York brought the series to an early halt following four recordings with the singing actress Ute Lemper and a recording of his American opera *Street Scene*. With agreement from Decca's German president, Roland Kommerell, we took the budget and embarked on a series of recording projects intended to recover the principal works banned by the Third Reich. To the general surprise of everyone at PolyGram, owner of Decca, nothing similar on such a scale had previously been attempted.

The series was initially meant to be a documentation of what I had stumbled across in standard well-regarded cultural histories. Indeed, my recordings with Riccardo Chailly of early Zemlinsky, Mahler and Schoenberg, all three of whom the Nazis had denounced as "degenerate", offered an unintended beginning in the recovery of works that had vanished from programming after 1933. It soon became apparent that maintaining historic objectivity involved considerable research, a difficult task for me to undertake in addition to my obligations in Chicago with Sir Georg Solti and

⁴ This orchestra was West Berlin's second orchestra. With reunification, it underwent a number of name changes starting with RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) Orchestra; following unification, it became the DSO: Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester. In both cases, it was effectively the broadcast orchestra in West Berlin, the equivalent of the BBC Symphony Orchestra in the UK.

⁵ Zemlinsky: *Die Seejungfrau* and *Psalm 13 & Psalm 23*; Symphony no.2 in B flat.

⁶ Schönberg: *Gurrelieder*; Mahler: Orchestra Lieder with Brigitte Fassbaender; *Das Klagende Lied*.

later, in Berlin, with Claudio Abbado. The arbitrary nature by which works were wantonly removed from concert halls and opera houses appeared to cover all genres and all styles from the most avant-garde to the most conventional. Works were removed for political reasons, for reasons of cultural perception and for reasons of “race”, with Jews, Slavs and others being classed as “non-Aryan”. Thirty recording projects and a decade later, PolyGram was sold to Universal in 1999, and with it went both Decca and the series, which had by now established itself under the sub-label of “*Entartete Musik*”. This was a provocative marker concocted by Nazis, but used by us as a means of restoring that which previously had been banned by them. Inverted commas were added to the sub-label as a means of distancing Decca, its artists and producers from the Nazi concept of “degeneracy”. The fact that the series continued for ten years with three major releases annually speaks of its success, apart from the many international awards and wide press coverage it received.

On the strength of the recording series, which paradoxically had never been released in Austria, the director of Vienna’s Jewish Museum invited me in 2002 to take on the position of Music Curator. There I mounted a series of exhibitions on specifically Viennese composers and musicians banned after the Nazi annexation of Austria in 1938. The last person to hold the position of Music Curator was the father of modern comparative musicology, Professor Guido Adler, before the museum was closed by the Nazis in 1938. Vienna’s Jewish Museum, now located in Palais Eskeles in the Centre of Vienna, along with the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt, had been Europe’s oldest Jewish Museum.⁷

The diversity of lost Viennese musical talent of Jewish provenance had never previously been placed before the Viennese public in the provocative political context of Nazi censorship. In 2009 I was awarded the Theodor Körner Prize, Austria’s highest recognition for what is referred to as “Historic Educational Impartment”. A change of director at the Museum, however, brought our series of annual exhibitions to an end in 2010.

⁷ The first Jewish Museum in Vienna was founded in 1895 and was closed in 1938. It was reopened in 1988, though a smaller museum had been in operation since 1964.

This was followed by an approach by Yale University Press to write on the subject of music banned by the Nazis. The resultant book, *FORBIDDEN MUSIC – THE JEWISH COMPOSERS BANNED BY THE NAZIS* (henceforth: *Forbidden Music*) makes up the second submission within this Public Works PhD. I completed *Forbidden Music* in 2011, and after extremely positive recommendations from Yale’s New Haven assessors it was published in 2013, with a revised version published in paperback in 2014. With the publication of *Forbidden Music* came an invitation by Vienna’s Municipal Music Collection to facilitate the acquisition of Austria’s exiled music estates. It also led to an invitation by the late David Cesarani⁸ to join the Holocaust Research Centre at Royal Holloway University of London.⁹ Most importantly, from January 2016, it led to the founding of an exile music centre at Vienna’s University of Music and Performing Arts, to be jointly run with the chair of *exil.arte*, Professor Gerold Gruber.¹⁰ It is a first anywhere, and with the limitations of Vienna’s Municipal Archive restricting the number of possible acquisitions, permission was granted to make the University’s exile music centre, now known as *exil.arte Zentrum*, the largest institutional recovery effort of lost musical legacy after 1933 anywhere.

Taken together, these activities encouraged me, following the recommendation of David Cesarani, to pursue a Public Works PhD at Middlesex University. As mentioned at the opening, in part this essay consists of my reflections on historic events, as well as on my response to these events and on specific actions I have undertaken. Historic events are incorporated as the basis of my reflections. The second part of this essay cannot, and should not, be taken as an attempt to offer a series of factual accounts of history. Events are not arranged chronologically but organised as starting points for thoughts and extrapolations. Individual biographical information presented within this essay on the composers Hans Winterberg, Karol Rathaus, Walter Arlen and Robert FÜRSTENTHAL is new and subsequent to publication of *Forbidden Music*. Their inclusion only underlines the ongoing nature of

⁸ David Cesarani OBE (1956–2015) was considered Britain’s most important scholar on Jewish history and the Holocaust.

⁹ The invitation to RHUL was extended to the International Centre for Suppressed Music, previously housed at SOAS as part of the Jewish Music Institute. I was – and still am – Director of Research at the ICSM.

¹⁰ *exil.arte* was from 2006 until January 2016 a charitable association based at Vienna’s Performing Arts University. With the founding of the centre the association was folded, and the name reapplied as the name of the exile music centre, now known as *exil.arte Zentrum*.

the recording and restitution that lies at the heart of my work. Specific biographical information, or information on works, in my treatment of Erich Korngold, Erich Zeisl, Arnold Schoenberg and Ernst Toch are not covered in *Forbidden Music*; reference to their circumstances is employed here as a starting point for further observations and reflections.

As a model I've taken the historian Golo Mann, whose history of Germany is written in a single, continuous narrative. Golo Mann writes without the distraction of references or footnotes, though obviously this will not be the case with this essay.¹¹ He takes historic events as an opportunity to make often abstract observations based on reflection in the light of hindsight and it is more this aspect that I have taken as a narrative template. My other model is taken from the series of lectures given at Vienna's University by Leon Botstein: *Juden und Modernität – Jews and Modernity*.¹² In these lectures, transcribed into essays, Botstein uses a similar method of taking historic events as opportunities for evaluation and reinterpretation.

The Significance of “Entartete Musik” and *Forbidden Music* as Public Works

The bibliography offered on page 320 of *Forbidden Music* presents a wide spectrum of literary and historic authorities, offering the latest state of research as well as numerous historic sources such as journals, newspapers, letters and publications. What differentiates “*Entartete Musik*” and *Forbidden Music* from the work of Michael Kater¹³, Eric Levi,¹⁴ Fred Priberg,¹⁵ Amaury de Closel¹⁶ and many others is its chronological approach to the subject leading to the Nazi seizure of power, rather than analysing the Nazi influence on musical life afterwards. Kater, Levi, Priberg and de Closel deal with the Nazis and their policies post-1933. They focus extensively on music under fascism rather than analysing developments that were interrupted or halted. While they make obvious references to

¹¹ Mann, Golo: *Deutsche Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Fischer-Taschenbuch, Frankfurt 1992.

¹² Botstein, Leon: *Juden und Modernität Essays zur Rolle der Juden in der österreichischen und deutschen Kultur 1848 bis 1938*, Böhlau, Vienna 1991.

¹³ Kater, Michael: *The Twisted Muse, Music and Musicians in the Third Reich*, OUP, Oxford 1997.

¹⁴ Levi, Eric: *Music in the Third Reich*, St Martin's Press, London 1996.

¹⁵ Priberg, Fred K.: *Musik im NS Staat*, Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt 1982.

¹⁶ De Closel, Amaury *Les voix étouffées du Troisième Reich*, Actes Sud, Arles 2005.

music that was banned, their work does not take on the historic perspective of this music nor its potential development had it been allowed to progress. Nor do they take as their central focus banned music and its artistic–aesthetic context in the broader canvas of European and Western culture.

Other writers have picked up the historical narrative from the perspective of “hostlands”,¹⁷ with Albrecht Dümling writing extensively on music exile in Australia,¹⁸ Dorothy Lamb Crawford on exile in California,¹⁹ and Daniel Snowman on exile in the UK.²⁰ Again, such writers have focused less on the loss to homelands and the artistic price demanded of musicians both professionally and privately, in order to survive in strange and even creatively antagonistic new environments. With the exception of Dümling, most books adapt the somewhat triumphalist tone of Anthony Heilbut’s historic examination on the positive contributions to hostlands made by Hitler refugees.²¹ Most ignore the bitter reality that too often the price of survival was mediocrity.

The tendency in music exile studies, inasmuch as they existed in the 1980s and 1990s, was to focus on reactionary Nazi damage to progressive artistic movements. The post-war, de-Nazification policies that promoted music deemed “anti-fascist”, and therefore offering a perception of aesthetic “Widerstand” or “cultural resistance”, inadvertently stifled any revival of much music written by Jewish composers.²² With few exceptions, Jewish composers did not count themselves as members of the avant-garde that was seen post-war as “anti-fascist”, as they rarely chose to depart from

¹⁷ I have taken the option of referring to countries of refuge as “hostlands” – a direct translation from German’s “Gastgeberland” and more consistent in its juxtaposition to “homelands”.

¹⁸ Dümling, Albrecht: *Die Verschwundenen Musiker – Jüdische Flüchtlinge in Australien*, Böhlau, Vienna 2011.

¹⁹ Lamb-Crawford, Dorothy: *A Windfall of Musicians – Hitler’s Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California*, YUP, New Haven 2009.

²⁰ Snowman, Daniel: *The Hitler Émigrés, The Cultural Impact on Britain of Refugees from Nazism*, Chatto & Windus, London 2002.

²¹ Heilbut, Anthony, *Exiled in Paradise, German Jewish Artists and Intellectuals in America from 1930 to the present*, Beacon Press, Boston 1983.

²² For detailed documentation on the post-war suppression of pre-war progressives, many of whom were Jewish, please refer to the following: Thacker, Toby: *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955* (Farnham, Ashgate 2007); Wilford, Hugh: *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2008) and Stonor Saunders, Frances: *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (Granta, London 1999). It is additionally worth noting that major centres of post-war Modernism such as Darmstadt and Donaueschingen were initially led by musicians such as Hugo Herrmann and Hermann Heiss, who had not only benefited from their positions under the Nazis but had promoted NSDAP propaganda by composing marches and political songs.

conventional tonality. *“Entartete Musik”* documented this discrepancy clearly with many recordings of works that had been repertoire staples pre-1933 and were largely conventional in diatonic language. The quality and obvious public appeal of such works, once removed from their location on the sliding scale of the post-war perceptions of pre-war Modernism, was audible and allowed every listener to assess the works for themselves. The tangible result was, without exception, all operas recorded as part of *“Entartete Musik”* revived in numerous opera houses across Europe with even a fair number reaching the United States. The American revival, led by James Conlon (Music Director of Los Angeles Opera), of operas banned by the Third Reich has been credited specifically to the recording series *“Entartete Musik”*, a point Conlon continues to make in each pre-performance lecture. Publishers of Walter Braunfels, Erwin Schulhoff, Hans Krása, Pavel Haas, Ernst Krenek, Berthold Goldschmidt and others were motivated to produce modern performance editions. Schott has embarked on a critical edition of Erich Wolfgang Korngold, a composer whose present commercial importance, by the admission of both Korngold family and publisher, owes considerably to his presence within the recording series. Before the launch of the recording series *“Entartete Musik”*, promoters, performers and educators were reluctant to present alternative twentieth-century narratives to the then standard trajectories leading from either Stravinskian neo-classicism or Schoenberg’s Second Viennese School. Without wishing in any way to diminish the undeniable importance of Hindemith, Bartók, Berg, Krenek and Webern, these non-Jewish, previously banned composers were the first to be reintegrated into the twentieth century canon post-war. Indeed, the charge was frequently made at the start of the *“Entartete Musik”* recording series that the composers featured could not possibly be worth reviving, while taking the importance of the above established names as justification. As producer with a major label in the 1970s and 1980s, I feel I can offer eye-witness rather than mere anecdotal accounts of what new-music promoters wanted to place in front of the public, and record. I am also aware of their often noble motives for wishing to do so.²³

²³ The view that post-war music must “re-educate”, held for decades after the war, but a hint of the importance accorded

Forbidden Music, published by Yale University Press in 2013, grew out of the archival research undertaken for Vienna's Jewish Museum and the series of exhibitions mounted on banned Viennese composers, *Musik des Aufbruchs*.²⁴ By mounting the exhibitions in Vienna, it became clear that a narrative on persecution and successful relocation to new hostlands would not be complete without an examination of the effects their departure had on their historic homelands. Prior to the publication of *Forbidden Music*, no focus had been placed on this aspect.²⁵ An observation made by most reviewers was that *Forbidden Music* placed the music that was banned by the Third Reich into its historic context and presented a musical trajectory within the twentieth century that was far more nuanced than the more traditional examination of music's departure from tonality and its use of unresolved dissonance. *Forbidden Music* was the first publication to make the connection between the specific ban on Jewish composers and the break in the broader Central European musical narrative – though it must be noted, as Ernst Krenek mentions in his memoirs, Arnold Schoenberg was “the only Jewish atonal composer” he could think of, and was thus the exception who proved the rule.²⁶ *Forbidden Music* was also the first attempt to question the triumphalist tone of hostlands that had profited from Hitler's refugees. If, for example, Korngold is seen today as the father of Hollywood music, I attempt to make clear that he neither intended this nor saw it as part of his life's work. He left the industry as soon as the war was over and was disappointed at the policies that made it impossible for him to return to his homeland.²⁷ Such aspects had rarely featured outside of individual composer biographies and had not been seen as relevant to a historic treatment of the cultural effects of Nazism on Europe and the rest of the world. By highlighting the loss to homeland and the individual, I raise the hypothetical question of “musical restitution”.

to re-education can be noted in *Forbidden Music*, where I quote the correspondence between Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Egon Wellesz in 1948 (see p.281).

²⁴ *Musik des Aufbruchs* is a pun in that “Aufbruch” means both “New Beginning” and “Leaving” while offering a dialectical riposte to Vienna's contemporary music publication closed by the Nazis, *Musikblätter des Anbruch – Music Pages of a New Dawn*.

²⁵ An obvious example is the fact that Heinrich Schenker still does not enjoy the same prominence in music education in Germany and Austria as in Anglo-Saxon countries that took in his many Jewish pupils as refugees.

²⁶ Krenek, Ernst: *Im Atem der Zeit: Erinnerungen an die Moderne*, Diana, Munich 1998, p.1015.

²⁷ Korngold found himself continuously excluded from post-war musical life in his Austrian homeland. As only one of many examples, he was turned down for the State Music Prize of the Federal Republic (*Staatspreis*) as judges considered him “rich enough already”. See p.301 of *Forbidden Music* for additional information.

By focusing on the cultural position of musical developments prior to Hitler, *Forbidden Music* did not deal extensively with the subject of music under Hitler, such as offered by Shirli Gilbert,²⁸ Francesco Lotoro,²⁹ Lisa Peschel³⁰ or Sophie Fetthauer.³¹ Obviously, the crossover between the Nazi assumption of power and the “Final Solution” would demand examination. But my intention when writing *Forbidden Music* was to focus on musical life before Hitler and the effects of its removal. As such, an ethnomusicological examination of banned music in the context of purely “Jewish” composers would imply the same pseudo-science as carried out by Nazi musicologists during their notorious Düsseldorf symposium in 1938, where attempts to define “racial” characteristics with references to any use of “augmented seconds” or “diminished sixths” were made. These were even applied in analysis of works by Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer and Offenbach. In addition, a substantial minority of non-Jewish composers were banned for “non-racial” reasons, or went into self-imposed exile, making any attempt to apply an overall ethnomusicological criterion to the “*Entartete Musik*” recording series or the YUP publication of *Forbidden Music* effectively unworkable.

The people who have facilitated my path over the last twenty-five years are simply too numerous to mention. They include colleagues at various recording labels, orchestras, ensembles and countless musicians. They also include scholars and academics without whom I would have been hopelessly out of my depth. I shall shorten my acknowledgement therefore to the ever constructive guidance I have received from Benjamin Dwyer and Middlesex University. I am also extremely grateful to Clive Marks of World ORT, the Jewish Educational Organization, who has made it financially possible for me to pursue this path so late in my career.

As a final point, I was fortunate enough to be raised bilingually and my entire professional life has been equally divided between German and English. Unless otherwise mentioned, all translations from German into English are my own.

²⁸ Gilbert, Shirli: *Music in the Holocaust, Confronting life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, OUP, Oxford 2005.

²⁹ Lotoro, Francesco: *KZ Musik 1933–1945* – ongoing recording series with accompanying documentation.

³⁰ Peschel, Lisa: *Performing Captivity, Performing Escape: Cabarets and Plays from Theresienstadt*, Seagull Books, Chicago 2014.

³¹ Fetthauer, Sophie: *Musik und Theater im DP Camp Bergen-Belsen*, Böckel Verlag, Glinde 2005.

Part I

Methodology of Recording Series and Book

1: “*Entartete Musik*” – the Decca Recording Series

As a recording producer – and more precisely, as the recording producer for Georg Solti, Claudio Abbado and Christoph von Dohnányi among many other important artists on PolyGram and Sony Classical Labels – trying to find time to carry out archival research on the music banned by the Third Reich was impossible.³² Fortunately, I was able to carry out many face-to-face interviews with *Zeitzeugen* – or “witnesses of the times”. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s there were still a number of people who had been active during the interwar years and who were able to offer unique and personal perspectives. I was able, for example, to correspond with the widow of Alexander Zemlinsky, and speak with the composers Berthold Goldschmidt, Ernst Krenek, Ignaz Strassfogel and Julius Bürger, all of whom were pupils of Franz Schreker. Alice Herz Sommer, a pianist from Theresienstadt, was still with us, as was Edith Kraus, the pianist who premiered a number of the works by Viktor Ullmann. Others with whom I conducted formal and informal interviews were Pavel Eckstein, a post-war music journalist based in Prague, and Vilém Tauský, the Czech conductor, who later became active in post-war British musical life. Still with us today are important *Zeitzeugen* such as Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, Robert Fürstenthal,³³ Walter Arlen, Joseph Horowitz and Pierre Stoneborough, one of the last surviving Wittgenstein family members. I have also been fortunate enough to maintain a close relationship with the Schoenberg family in Los Angeles.

In addition, my work meant I was able to gain the perspectives of numerous musicians who had lived through the Nazi years and could relate personal accounts: Georg Solti; Christoph von Dohnányi;

³² A selected discography is available at <http://www.coralfox.com/discography.php>

³³ Since writing this, Robert Fürstenthal died on 16 November 2016.

Rudolf Barshai; Kirill Kondrashin; Antal Doráti. The list also included artists who, though they had no immediate connection with inter-war Germany and Austria, were tangentially affected by events, such as Alicia de Larrocha and Jorge Bolet. While I never subjected any of them to formal interviews, shared large-scale projects inevitably meant spending many days together, often in the same hotel, thus affording the opportunity to engage in informal conversations.

As an industry, music and publishing have long attracted Central Europeans, most of whom were former refugees. I was fortunate in being able to associate with many who were based in London and New York either through work, performances or social events. These included Victor Hochhauser, Ernst Gombrich, Georg Weidenfeld and Claus Moser along with Agnes Eisenberger and Lis Askonas. All of these former refugees had personal accounts that added contextually to my subconscious gathering of information. Coming from a family with a German-Jewish background, who decided in the early 1960s to relocate from the United States to Austria, they were as interested in my *Weltanschauung* as I was in theirs.

The dramaturgy of the recording series was determined by several factors. One was the very active cooperation of Berthold Goldschmidt, who had been a pupil of Franz Schreker and assistant to Erich Kleiber during productions of the premiere of Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*, Darius Milhaud's *Christophe Colomb* and Karol Rathaus's *Fremde Erde*. In addition, Goldschmidt had known, or moved in the same circles as, those documented in Krenek's memoirs, *Im Atem der Zeit*,³⁴ perhaps the most relevant and revealing of all musical autobiographies from the period. Among Goldschmidt's friends and associates were Kurt Weill, Bruno Walter, Egon Wellesz and even Arnold Schoenberg. Using standard cultural histories of the Weimar Republic, as well as reading the very few biographies of interwar composers available, I had been able to compile a list of nearly 200 composers.

³⁴ Krenek, Ernst: *Im Atem der Zeit: Erinnerungen an die Moderne*; see footnote 26.

Goldschmidt knew most of these, and he was able to inform me on stylistic differences and historic points, along with considerable inside information.³⁵

The second factor that determined the dramaturgy of the series was a lack of cooperation with Austrian partners. Our orchestral partnership with Deutschlandradio in Berlin led to our being unable to record many of the Austrian composers I had originally planned for: Egon Wellesz, Ernst Toch, Max Brand and Hans Gál are four major Austrian composers who were edged out. In fact, they were simply pushed further down the queue, as it was not clear, without Austrian scholarship and support, which works were the ones that were most representative and suitable for inclusion. Again, Goldschmidt could offer a good deal of historical information. We attempted to balance releases between edgy *Neusachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) with more immediately appealing repertoire. One of the standard prejudices encountered, particularly in Anglo-Saxon markets, was the belief that all interwar music from Germany was arid *Gebrauchsmusik*.³⁶ These preconceptions led me to balance the nature of material we released: a recording of “New Objectivity” would generally be followed by something more obviously popular such as *Schlager* (popular hit songs), operetta or cabaret, which in turn might have been followed by the atonal avant-garde of Schoenberg, or his much younger, still up-and-coming colleague Stefan Wolpe or the non-Jewish composer, Ernst Krenek. The inclusion of non-Jewish composers, such as Hindemith and Krenek, was important as it demonstrated that the Nazi ban on music extended well beyond reasons of religion and race.

The third factor channelling our recording dramaturgy was the discovery in the early 1990s of the music of Theresienstadt. I had from the very beginning of the series wished to avoid including music from concentration camps, as I considered it a different genre and an overwhelming topic that would edge out the undertaking of recovering music forcibly removed from the repertoire. The realisation, however, that the entire generation of Czechoslovakia’s most talented composers had

³⁵ These interviews were recorded and have been transcribed by Peter Petersen’s Exile Project at Hamburg University – the tapes are presently held in the JMI Archive at SOAS, University of London.

³⁶ *Gebrauchsmusik* was a term referring to “applied music” – music that could be “used” (German “gebrauchen”) for participation, illustration and education.

been murdered led to an examination of their output pre-internment. It highlighted a very strong, independent Czech-German identity that was distinct from Austro-Germans (to whom we will return later in this essay).

With the purchase of PolyGram by Universal, the series was halted in 1999. Our last release was a compendium of songs and *mélodies* by Joseph Kosma, a pupil of Hanns Eisler who became the father of post-war French *chanson*. The next project would have been a long overdue recording of Egon Wellesz's opera *Die Bakchantinnen*.³⁷ Most of the major releases were operas, though all genres were eventually covered.

By the mid-1990s other labels had also started to record repertoire banned during the Nazi years, but lacked the funding of Decca to record larger works. It was not until Decca had removed the psychological barrier of referencing Nazi policies that German labels would start to produce recordings of works identified specifically as proscribed after 1933 due to Nazi policies on race and musical styles. Until this point, historical background as described in accompanying CD booklet notes or concert programmes was reluctant to dwell on either exile or the Nazi manipulation of repertoire. At this time, it must be recalled, exiled Austrian and German composers were being described in British dictionaries as "British of German/Austrian birth", whereas German references ignored references to Nazi persecution altogether.³⁸ Groves and Germany's *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* have subsequently amended their policies, and I feel strongly that these changes have come about due to the unequivocal profiling of composers within the "*Entartete Musik*" series.³⁹

³⁷ This recording was already planned, and taken over in its fundamentals by Orfeo with their cast and conductor.

³⁸ Germany's *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, for example, in reference to Berthold Goldschmidt does not mention his enforced exile, mentioning only that he immigrated to England in 1935; Bärenreiter Verlag 1982, p.487. References to émigré musicians in the 1992 Groves Dictionary edited by Stanley Sadie are equally evasive, though this has been rectified in later editions.

³⁹ Vide Pamela Potter's seminal *The Most German of the Arts*, YUP, New Haven 1998, for an examination of Nazi musicology and post-war solidarity between former enemy states, underlining the rather mealy-mouthed representations of wartime fates and activities in both German and British references.

The Recording process and preparation:

Recording operas within Decca had acquired a certain routine, though *“Entartete Musik”* presented the additional challenge of recording works for which there were no available references such as early historic recordings or taped broadcasts. In many cases we were looking at material that had not been performed since 1933. Much of the performance material for recording had to be produced and re-edited from old, unusable prints or even manuscripts. Further editing was required during the recording sessions as mistakes, misprints and inconsistencies were identified. Prior to recording, the only means of assessing material was to play through the piano vocal score and read the libretto. I generally played through possible scores intended for inclusion before passing on my selections for assessment to one of the conductors we had engaged for *“Entartete Musik”* recordings.⁴⁰

My most useful exercises during the preparation of recordings was working with Berthold Goldschmidt, who took me through the scores of both of his operas, bar by bar. We worked on voice leading and orchestration along with his thinking on form and harmonic analysis. He explained his settings of the text and his choice of libretti. He was crucial in helping me understand the aesthetics of structure and the implementation of harmonic and/or rhythmic patterns. He was immensely kind and patient, and our collaboration was probably more educational than all of my years at Vienna’s music institutions. I also discovered that he, like Mahler, believed the libretto came first. As a result, in preparation of any opera recording, I learned the libretto until I could imagine the text without music. Dramatic issues that seemed unclear subsequently made sense with the addition of music.

⁴⁰ The conductors were generally Lothar Zagrosek and John Mauceri, the intention being that Zagrosek covered original works from between the wars and Mauceri the works composed in exile. In practice, Mauceri conducted many interwar works as well, such as Schulhoff’s *Flammen* and Korngold’s *Das Wunder der Heliane*, while Zagrosek also conducted works composed in exile, such as Eisler’s *Deutsche Sinfonie*.

In general, we kept very much to the traditional Decca sound stage developed by John Culshaw and Gordon Parry.⁴¹ It involved five stage microphones on a raised platform behind the orchestra. The orchestra was recorded with outriggers, spot microphones and the famous Decca Tree, developed by Kenneth Wilkinson and Arthur Haddy⁴² with its three omnidirectional microphones placed above the centre of the orchestra over the conductor. The singers were thus sufficiently separated from the orchestral microphones to allow maximum control over balance. The five microphones for singers represented points on the stage and allowed specific theatrical effects that were uniquely captured in the studio to illustrate the dramatic narrative acoustically. It came very close to creating for sound recording the equivalent hybrid that resulted from transferring drama from theatre to film and television. By this, I mean vocal and instrumental perspectives were achievable within recording that would have been impossible in theatres: individual elements could be audibly highlighted in order to compensate for the lack of visuals, creating a heightened reality in the manner of film shots zooming in to isolate specific dramatic points. This presented a clear advantage over the more straightforward means of recording dramatic works as if in “concert performance”, a solution resulting in individual singers’ remaining static with the same microphone throughout. In any case, the Decca techniques allowed singers to be kept above the orchestral mix, allowing for maximum textual clarity.

Rehearsals of such works were also new experiences for all concerned. Singers arrived having learned their own roles with little idea or understanding of their character’s interaction within the story or their relationships with other protagonists. Again, this was a unique and often comic experience when recording repertoire for the first time, without the reference of a printed libretto and only the piano vocal score as a guide. The more one dealt with various genres, the more it also became apparent that historically informed practices were required, demanding that singers employ

⁴¹ John Culshaw (1924–1980) and Gordon Parry (1929–2009) were respectively producer and engineer who created the idea of the sound-stage. The three-dimensional Decca Sound made famous from Solti’s *Ring* recording was very much a Gordon Parry creation, according to Decca sources Christopher Raeburn, Ray Minshull and James Lock.

⁴² Kenneth Wilkinson (1912–2004) and Arthur Haddy (1906–1989). Both crucial in the development of mixers, microphones and their placement.

portamento or mix head and chest voices or even resort to a head-voice croon. Certain works required mastering entire techniques that were unfamiliar for many traditional opera singers: *Sprechgesang* was obviously not easy, but equally difficult for many was the alienating technique of rhythmic speech over and mixed with orchestral accompaniment. This meant using recording techniques that enhanced such effects without creating any sense of artificiality. Indeed, historically informed performances were difficult to recreate despite many audio-references to performances from the period. Modern singers and even instrumentalists were not equipped to change without sounding mannered and creating an experience where imitation of historic performances became an *Ersatz* for active interpretations. This was particularly the case when recording cabaret and operetta, where modern vocal techniques train singing actors towards a Broadway-like “belt” or Brechtian declamation. Operetta singers today are equally unable or unwilling to use the croon that was common at the time. Either they found it artificial and intrusive or they simply had no training that allowed for such a major shift in vocal production.⁴³ Paradoxically, historically informed practices were more widely understood in early music than in the relatively recent pre-war past.

Persecution was not simply based on questions of race or political persuasion: ethical issues were also considered, with well-established composers such as Paul Hindemith and Leon Jessel prepared to support Nazi rule if Nazi rule had been prepared to support them. The Gestapo subsequently beat Jessel to death and Hindemith was exiled on the order of Hitler himself. Other composers remained in Nazi Germany but suffered performance bans, or had their compositions denounced as “cultural bolshevism”. To clarify, prioritise and illuminate such ethical and often complex issues we needed outside expertise. The historical legitimacy of our recording plans was thus overseen by Dr Albrecht Dümling, one of the very first and certainly most prominent German scholars to deal with music lost during the Nazi years without stylistic prejudice. He had recreated and annotated the historic Nazi

⁴³ A more detailed analysis of recording can be found in my chapter *Broadening Horizons – Performance in the Studio* in *The Cambridge Companion to Recording*, ed. Nicholas Cook, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.59, as well as in an additional chapter, Michael Haas: *Studio Conducting*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, ed. José Antonio Bowen, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.28.

exhibition, “*Entartete Musik*” in Düsseldorf in 1938, from which we took the title of the recording series. I wrote introductions to each of the recordings, whether I had been the session supervisor or merely the executive producer. I worked with highly competent colleagues such as Morton Winding, who covered the work I was unable to supervise due to conflicting schedules. Stanley Goodall, who was able to engineer an immense vibrancy of audio sound, which suited, perhaps even enhanced, much of the repertoire, was on the mixing desk for most of the recordings.

The reception of the recording series was extremely positive due to the participation of Berthold Goldschmidt, who was able to demonstrate and justify the apparent contradiction of having his music revived under the same Nazi label that previously had been used to suppress it. He successfully neutralised an aggressive and sceptical German press that was initially resentful of a British recording label using Nazi terminology to sell merchandise. The revelations that the Thatcher government had openly described Helmut Kohl as Hitler, as cited in an interview with cabinet minister Nicholas Ridley in *The Spectator*,⁴⁴ were still very fresh in the minds of German journalists. The German press was already hypersensitive to British anti-German feelings and were aware of the constant British media diet of World War II nostalgia. Added to this was the impression that the British were cynically exploiting Nazi terminology, as every German speaker would instantly recognise “entartet” as a Nazi word before even knowing what it meant. Without Berthold Goldschmidt as defence, I am certain their criticism would have been difficult to counter. The ultimate result was a list of awards and recognition so vast and from so many quarters that it would be impossible to enumerate. The prizes, when awarded by Gramophone or Prix du Disc, were inevitably presented to Berthold Goldschmidt. In any case, with my principal job at Decca and Sony focused on their major artists, it was not necessary for me to be the face of the project – at least as long as Berthold Goldschmidt was still alive. The validity and credibility the project gained resulted in

⁴⁴ Interview with *The Spectator*, “Saying the unsayable about the Germans”, Nicholas Ridley and Dominic Lawson, 14 July 1990, p.8.

a number of re-releases and compilation albums, as well as a documentary⁴⁵ that was commissioned by Decca. In retrospect, it seems strange that as instigator of the series, programme director and recording producer, I was not involved in the film. In any case, my introductory articles in each release and the subsequent publishing deal with Yale University Press quantified my input.

2: *Forbidden Music – the Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis*

Yale University Press's Malcolm Garrett approached me unexpectedly in 2008 on the recommendation of Alex Knapp, Professor of Jewish Music at SOAS, University of London. The original title of the book was to have been *German and True – the Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis*, a reference to Hans Sachs's final monologue in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*.⁴⁶ The idea of Jews being conveyors of German culture had made a large impression on me while working with Leon Botstein on the exhibition *Quasi una fantasia*,⁴⁷ shown at Vienna's Jewish Museum in 2002–3. His compendium of lectures given at Vienna's University, *Judentum und Modernität*,⁴⁸ had further formulated the idea and scale of what would eventually become *Forbidden Music*. In 2002 I was appointed Music Curator of Vienna's Jewish Museum.

In addition to the large amount of reading already undertaken for the recording series (outlined in the bibliography of *Forbidden Music*), I found myself having to study a wide range of related subjects that defined the lives and developments of music in *fin-de-siècle*, pre- and interwar Europe. For example: a recording series does not require the producer to know about Eugenie Schwarzwald, the progressive educationalist who ran a school for bright girls, and who hired Schoenberg to teach music, Adolf Loos to teach architecture and Oskar Kokoschka to teach art. Nor was I required to be

⁴⁵ youtube "Entartete Musik" documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDxQy-bnSyY>

⁴⁶ "Should what's German and true be forgot, its memory be the Master's lot" (*Was deutsch und echt wüßst keiner mehr, lebt's nicht in deutscher Meister Ehr*).

⁴⁷ Leon Botstein: Exhibition Catalogue *Quasi una fantasia: Vienna Jews and the City of Music 1870–1938*, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, and Wolke Verlag, 2004.

⁴⁸ Botstein, Leon: *Judentum und Modernität*, Böhlau, Vienna 1991.

aware of the interaction of literature and music as expressed by Musil's *The Man Without Qualities* (*Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*), or the journalism of Karl Kraus. Mounting an exhibition meant telling a story. Every narrative demands context and placement within an artistic, social and intellectual milieu. Much, indeed most, of this peripheral but important information was not available in English. When English historians such as Peter Gay, Carl Schorske or John Willett⁴⁹ addressed these subjects, music rarely featured as central in their cultural expositions. In addition, memoirs by composers and performers who had lived through the time, such as Egon Wellesz, Ernst Krenek, Friedrich Holländer, Artur Schnabel, Carl Flesch and other prominent performers and composers during the interwar years, were only available in German, as were the complete writings and interviews of Hanns Eisler.

In 2000, the Jewish Music Institute, based at SOAS at University of London and run by Geraldine Auerbach, invited me to join as Director of Research, with Professor Erik Levi, author of *Music in the Third Reich*,⁵⁰ in order to set up the International Forum for Suppressed Music – now the International Centre for Suppressed Music (ICSM) based at Royal Holloway's Holocaust Research Centre. We were subsequently joined by the Hans Keller specialist Martin Anderson, the owner of the publishing house Toccata Press (and later recording label Toccata Classics), and the composer Lloyd Moore. With the ICSM we were able to access and share information, and Erik Levi in particular became a generous and helpful mentor to my research. Further support came from David Drew and Frank Harders from Boosey & Hawkes, Professor Peter Petersen from Hamburg, Professor Peter Franklin from Oxford, and Christopher Hailey, formerly of Princeton's School for Advanced Study and the Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna. Local Viennese scholarship was offered by Professor Hartmut Krones and the composer Hannes Heher, who chaired the Egon Wellesz and Hanns Eisler foundations in Vienna. Additional and enormous help was offered by the Austrian National Library, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Austria's Literature Archive, its "Mediatek" and

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.324, 330 and 333.

⁵⁰ Levi, Erik: *Music in the Third Reich*, St Martin's, London 1996.

Archive of Resistance; Vienna's exceptional Theatre Museum, the University of Music and Performing Arts' archive and the Music Collection of the City of Vienna Library, all of which possess extensive collections of musical manuscripts and estates.

Archival research was demanded in preparation of all the exhibitions I was actively or peripherally involved with.⁵¹ As a recording producer, I found this to be a new experience, though I had gone through some archives at the publishing houses Universal Edition in Vienna and Schott Music in Mainz while looking for works to include in the "*Entartete Musik*" series. Unlike academic research of a still not so distant time, constructing an exhibition requires visual elements that carry their own narrative. This demanded that research go beyond pure documentation and seek out visual elements such as found in personal correspondence, manuscripts, photograph albums and other ephemera. This inevitably broadened the scope of my writing, as it allowed me to place individuals in a more continuous sequence of interactions, rather than being restricted by a timeline based on work lists. Only more recently has Anglo-Saxon scholarship started to look at tangential documentation such as diaries and letters as environmental and cultural markers. It was a development that was begun with German scholars such as Walter Kempowski, who began collecting diaries in his native Rostock, a city that saw historic transitions from Hanseatic to Imperial to Republic to Communist administrations. He documented the journals and diaries of average citizens, rather than apply the more traditional method of assessing historic newspapers on microfilm held in public archives. It was a method that I would use for both my exhibitions and *Forbidden Music*.

Another important development has been the uploading of most of Austria's historic German language papers from the mid-eighteenth century onto the ANNO site of the Austrian National

⁵¹ These included *Quasi una fantasia*, 2002–3 (and its New York transfer); *Continental Britons*, 2003; *Franz Schreker* 2004; *Erich Zeisl*, 2005; *Erich and Julius Korngold*, 2005–6; *Hanns Eisler*, 2007–8; *Ernst Toch*, 2009–10 as well as *Gustav Mahler – das Werden einer Ikone*, 2005 and *Lorenzo da Ponte*, 2006. All exhibitions were accompanied by catalogues that I either contributed to, wrote or edited.

Library.⁵² These now offer search functions that can go through all papers with their obsolete Gothic fonts in order to find words, expressions and sentences. At the time of my research, this function was not possible, and thus I was compelled to choose one paper and go through each edition individually. I chose the paper of record the *Neue Freie Presse*, where Eduard Hanslick and Julius Korngold were principal music critics, and of which Theodor Herzl had been Cultural Editor. By going through the papers in search of music reviews, all of which I kept in individual folders marked “Hanslick” or “Korngold”, as well as “Non-Hanslick” and “non-Korngold”, I was able to read and save many secondary sources that offered context to the historic events that influenced political thinking as well as artistic and intellectual developments. That this process of reading and saving historic journalism would bear fruit is expressed in Peter Franklin’s review for *Opera Magazine* in which he writes, “I also doubt that many music historians, let alone current British politicians, could offer a better account of the reasons for World War I”.⁵³ This particular observation was welcomed, as I believe few historians had bothered to assess the pre- and post-war *Zeitgeist* that affected music, and which provided the political and cultural explanation of pre-war Expressionism leading to Serialism and New Objectivity.

In addition to collecting material from *Die Neue Freie Presse*, as exhibition curator, I was in the fortunate position of being able to take digital photographs of documentation at a time when archives were still reluctant to allow any duplication beyond the permitted number of officially sanctioned photocopies and scans, carried out by the institutions and charged to the researcher. The need to make the subject of an exhibition compelling as a personality and/or performer within their *métier* and *Zeitgeist* meant that documentation went beyond the narrow opus-number focus of commissioning letters, contracts and reviews. These additional aspects within *Forbidden Music* also resulted in favourable criticism, as it brought in family correspondence that personalised the dynamics taking place behind the scenes as difficult decisions and dilemmas were encountered. For

⁵² <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>

⁵³ Peter Franklin in *Opera Books*, March 2014, p.362.

many English readers, it offered a first glimpse into the complexities of emotional trauma concealed by outward appearances of success and assimilation.

Research for the exhibitions also highlighted another important aspect that would form a central theme in the final chapters of the book: the destructive indifference of hostlands. The archives of composers Ernst Toch, Erich Zeisl, Karol Rathaus, Erich Korngold and many others are held in America where well-meaning families have entrusted them to local university or public archives in the belief that returning a musical estate to the original homeland would be a victory for Hitler, inasmuch as the country that willingly submitted to Hitler would posthumously reap the benefits of a successful native son's or daughter's life led in exile. The response most regularly encountered at such suggestions was the belief that returning a musical estate to a former homeland that had originally forced families to flee for their lives would be a betrayal. Sadly and shockingly, the true victory for Hitler has been found in the indifference shown to musical estates that did not offer a particular or obvious link to local hostland music history. Thus, Korngold and Toch were valued as Hollywood composers, careers neither composer considered more than wartime necessities, while their European years, along with supporting documentation, were ignored or neglected. The children and grandchildren of émigrés were often "fast-tracked" into assimilation, making sure they became more English than the English or more American than the Americans. Parents avoided teaching their children German in the belief that this was now the disgraced language of barbarity. This had the unintended result of alienating future generations, leaving them unable to understand or even evaluate personal documentation. With the belief that the former homelands of parents and grandparents had been discredited – a situation that would be seen as potentially damaging to their own entitlement to hostland legitimacy – they often disposed of material at the nearest appropriate archive or even just threw it out.

The inability of hostlands to respond to that which stood outside their own cultural narrative came as a shocking realisation. The loss to and of homelands was the dark and as yet unresearched inverse

of more upbeat examinations of the positive contributions made by refugees to hostlands. This aspect thus became for me a prime motivation for adding *Forbidden Music's* epilogue. Exile and success in new hostlands rarely offered truly happy endings. Trajectories of home and hostlands provide the dialectic for many of the reflections that follow later in this treatment, offering reflections on the interrelationships between the cultural environments and existential realities that resulted from the enforced and sudden transplantation of musical talent.

Forbidden Music was set out as a broad cultural narrative, which involved the overlapping of chronologies. This emphasised the stylistic plurality that was lost after 1933 and the reduced stylistic plurality that resulted from Cold War policies starting in 1948. The book is broken down into linking chapters that offer an exposition of initial background; the emergence of German identity as seen through the eyes of Richard Wagner and the wave of Liberalism that swept across Europe in the late nineteenth century, as typified by the philo-Semitic circle of Johannes Brahms. This is followed by an examination of the fight for Jewish entitlement within German music as represented by Gustav Mahler, followed by a chapter on Arnold Schoenberg, Alexander Zemlinsky, Franz Schreker and Karl Weigl, and their influence as *fin-de-siècle* composers while taking in the broader subject of Expressionism. The next part of the book follows the post 1920 shift of Modernism from pre-war Vienna to post-war Berlin, with most of Vienna's progressive thinkers and artists relocating to Germany. With Berlin as the new centre of post-war Central Europe, *Forbidden Music* looks at the role of Applied Music, cabaret, Agitprop, and so on, under the general heading of New Objectivity. This is followed by a chapter on the resistance of Hans Pfitzner to the emergence of "un-German" (Jewish) "musical impotence" along with an examination of those Jewish composers who remained wedded to Romanticism despite their anti-Semitic defamation as "un-German". The final third of the book commences with an unavoidable chapter on the Nazi takeover of German music followed by the fate of exiled and interned composers. It concludes with questions of restitution; and why, ultimately, no return was possible. An Epilogue pleads for the restoration of musical estates in order to fill the cultural lacunae left still gaping in Europe.

Reception:

As a format, *Forbidden Music* appears to have enjoyed some success. I took the ideas of cross-fertilisation of cultural disciplines as featured in our exhibitions and linked them to musical developments. This was a point that was positively mentioned by reviewers in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New Republic*, *The Wall Street Journal* and many other journals reviewing books on music. Many publications, such as the *Wall Street Journal* and indeed the *TLS*, included extensive reviews of *Forbidden Music* despite their broader policy of avoiding music books. The clear implication was that *Forbidden Music* had crossed the narrow line from music readership to general readership.

Since publication of *Forbidden Music*, the *TLS* has asked me to review a number of other books such as Sabine Feisst's *Schoenberg's New World – the American Years*,⁵⁴ Julie Brown's *Schoenberg and Redemption*⁵⁵ and Joy H. Calico's *Arnold Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe*⁵⁶ as well as Hans Gál's internment camp memoirs: *Music Behind Barbed Wire*.⁵⁷ It is of only secondary interest that my initial contact with Yale University Press facilitated the publication of Erik Levi's important *Mozart and the Nazis*.⁵⁸ Continued invitations to speak at symposia, many resulting in the publication of presentations, have allowed me to encounter an ever wider range of ongoing scholarship.

⁵⁴ Feisst, Sabine: *Schoenberg's New World – the American Years*, Oxford University Press, 2011.

⁵⁵ Brown, Julie: *Schoenberg and Redemption*, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

⁵⁶ Calico, Joy H.: *Arnold Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe*, University of California Press, 2014.

⁵⁷ Gál, Hans: *Music Behind Barbed Wire* (translated by Eva and Antony Fox-Gál), Toccata Press, London 2015.

⁵⁸ Levi, Erik: *Mozart and the Nazis: How the Third Reich Abused a Cultural Icon*, Yale University Press, 2010.

Part II

Music, Jews and German Identity

[With the development of Twelve Tone Composition,] the dominance of German music would be assured for the coming hundred years.

*Arnold Schoenberg, 1921*⁵⁹

The dominance of German music was beyond question in the minds of nineteenth century and early twentieth century German musicians. The combination of Wagner and his antipode, Johannes Brahms, had seen off both France and Italy, with Britain and Spain not even considered as serious competitors. By the time Schoenberg stated his belief in the continued dominance of German music, Jews had been enjoying a progression towards full equality that had started 54 years earlier. To Schoenberg and his generation there was no conflict between being both Jewish and a German composer, though unstated was the continued vulnerability that still resonated from Wagner's attacks in his *Das Judentum in der Musik*,⁶⁰ written first under a pseudonym in 1850, then later expanded under his own name in 1869. The vitriol and bigotry started by Wagner, and which continued to colour reviews of Mahler and even Karl Goldmark, needed to be disproved.

Mahler may have used Berlioz as his model for writing symphonies that were essentially tone poems strung together, but he effectively "Germanised" the concept, if by no other than Brucknerian means of "gargantuanisation". To Jewish musicians, it was proof of entitlement: it proved that they could take fundamentally "German" structures such as the "symphony" and "tone poem" and synthesise them to the next stage. To anti-Semites, it was the meddling of outsiders in something they could never understand. Jews who read and admired Wagner, such as Hermann Levi or Karl

⁵⁹ Rufer, Josef: *Das Werk Arnold Schönberg*, Kassel, 1959, p.26: Exact quote in my translation: "Both Schoenberg and Hauer were agreed on more than just the method of twelve-tone composition; Schoenberg believed that with this development 'the dominance of German music would be assured for the coming hundred years', as he told his pupil Josef Rufer in 1921."

⁶⁰ *Das Judentum in der Musik (Jewishness in Music)*, published initially under the name of K. Freigedank in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1850; later he published an expanded version as a brochure under his own name in 1869.

Tausig, would continue to see “German” as an aspiration that could only be achieved by their total submission as Jews. As musicians, they saw their sphere as that of the intellect and not that of biology, and either ignored or dismissed Wagner’s racial slurs. In aspiring to the condition of “German”, Jews were no different than other subject nations conforming to the demands of colonial masters, tacitly acknowledging the superiority of their imperial rulers.

Given this background, I have considerable understanding for Julie Brown in her treatment of Schoenberg and the idea of “redemption” when she writes:

In the case of post-war discussions of music as a whole, the extent to which race, and above all the Jewish Question, has until recently been absent from discussions of music from the early twentieth century, and above all from the pre-Nazi period is remarkable. The explanation may partly be found in the repercussions of the Holocaust itself, which marks a point of rupture between a period of discursive openness about race – however we define that problematic concept – as a determining feature of cultural and specifically musical production on the one hand, and of the silence about it on the other.⁶¹

Concisely stated, the idea is simple: Schoenberg admired Wagner above all other composers and responded to Wagner’s incessant calls for “redemption” (much mocked by Nietzsche)⁶² by creating a system whereby German music, the most precious creation of German culture, was assured domination for another century. Redemption of German music through a Jew would be the ultimate recompense not only of German music in the eyes of Wagner’s countless disciples, but also redemption of Jews as equal participants in German culture.

A less radical view than Schoenberg’s was that of Gustav Mahler’s childhood friend Guido Adler, who felt the way of progress must lead seamlessly from the past. He turned to scientific methods of analysis and research as a means of understanding the present in comparison with models from the

⁶¹ Brown, Julie: *Schoenberg and Redemption*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.29.

⁶² For example in his *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*. Numbered Section 255, Complete works, Vol. 2, p.723, but most notably in his attack *Der Fall Wagner*, Vol. 2 , p.905.

past. Nor was Adler the only Jewish “music-thinker” in Vienna: Heinrich Schenker was also examining the fundamentals of musical construction in an attempt to qualify musical foregrounds and backgrounds as a tool for establishing aesthetic validity. Schenker was destined to be trapped by the limitations of Viennese Classicism, whereas Adler’s less restrictive view would open fields of research that led as far back as the Italian Renaissance while reaching into the often chaotic present. Adler’s pupils were diverse and included progressives such as the non-Jewish Anton Webern. His Jewish pupils, however, such as Karl Weigl, Hans Gál, Wilhelm Grosz, Paul Pisk and Egon Wellesz, show a distinct inclination towards cautious modernism.

These pupils would each interact differently with the legacies of the past and several, such as Wilhelm Grosz and Egon Wellesz, were not chauvinistically German in cultural outlook. Wellesz was the first to bring composers such as Debussy to Vienna; he was a close associate of Bartók (who procured Wellesz’s first publisher) and he received an honorary doctorate from Oxford University as early as 1932. He was one of the first to decipher the notation of Byzantium and his models for his own operas looked towards the pageantry of the French Baroque. If there was anything specifically “Germanic” about Egon Wellesz, it was the fastidious scholarship that Goethe represents with Dr Faustus.

Great Britain too had a scholar in Sir Donald Tovey, whom Wellesz (and indeed Hans Gál) respected as a theorist, but found wanting as a historian. Wellesz’s pupil Bojan Bujić, retired professor of music from Magdalen College, Oxford, has written on the state of theory and history at the university upon Wellesz’s arrival in 1938, with Hugh Allen and Thomas Armstrong seeing their responsibilities as training cathedral organists and choir masters.⁶³ Even Cambridge-based Sir Edward Dent was more interested in the here-and-now than the past.

In a private conversation with me, Hans Gál’s daughter described her father as seeing himself “first as Viennese, then as German. I don’t think he ever thought of himself as Austrian, whatever that

⁶³ Bujić, Bojan: *Shipwrecked on the Isle of the Blessed, Egon Wellesz’s New Beginnings in Wartime England*, OUP (forthcoming).

was". In this casual observation can be understood the many conflicts that shaped young Jewish composers from Vienna during the early decades of the twentieth century. Unlike Wellesz, Gál believed German music was on an organic path shaped by structure and its unique diatonic syntax. Conveying musical ideas outside such syntax, in his opinion, would have resulted in mere rambling. His precision with the German language is thus replicated in music, and later as a teacher in Edinburgh, in his fastidious command of English. Even in exile, forced to speak a foreign language, he could not forgo what he perceived to be Germanic precision in the transactions between artist and patron, teacher and pupil.

Exile and German Musical Identity

So what should I do as an émigré from 8:00 every morning, other than compose?

... The greatest source of inspiration for an émigré is [...] the torturous power of boredom that forces him to gaze at himself for twelve hours. That's productive power.

*Hanns Eisler in conversation with Hans Bunge, 5 May 1958*⁶⁴

Given the strong sense of identity held by German composers, the sense of dislocation would be enormous once forced into new hostlands. In general, the reactions to transplantation were first and foremost attempts to fit in, just as a matter of survival. This often involved changes of musical styles, which the hostlands could welcome with enthusiasm, but more often with bafflement.

Hollywood offered refuge to countless German composers, actors, technicians and even writers. But it also led to composing works in solitude destined for desk drawers with no thought of publication or performance. Eisler's *Hollywooder Liederbuch* was just such an effort – a spiritual return to a country and system of values that now only existed inwardly. It was composing for a public that was no longer able to hear and understand. The music was imaginary, ephemeral and, in its way,

⁶⁴ Eisler, Hanns: *Fragen Sie mehr über Brecht – Gespräche mit Hans Bunge*, Sammlung Luchterhand, Berlin Akademie Der Künste, GDR, 1986, p.72.

reactionary, as even the most experimental works were written for an audience that was now part of the past.

A third reaction to displacement was the embracement of forms that were emblematic of cultural identity. Both Egon Wellesz and Ernst Toch represent this category in their writing of numerous symphonies, though they had shown no interest in such “outdated” concepts prior to emigration. The symphony was the quintessential Austro-Germanic musical statement and even those composers who had toyed with an odd symphony here and there during their younger years, such as Hans Gál or Karl Weigl, returned to symphonic composition in the cultural isolation of hostlands.

If symphonies were almost classifiable as “desk drawer works” with little hope of performance,⁶⁵ string quartets were even more arcane to non-Continentalers, yet they proved to be among the most popular of cultural security blankets. Korngold’s first work following the war was a quartet; Egon Wellesz’s first work after five years of compositional silence in 1943 was also a quartet, and Toch would continue to write quartets throughout his life as autobiographical chapters documenting time and place.

Case Study 1: Walter Arlen and Robert Fürstenthal – American composers of Lieder

Lieder, a fundamental indicator of German culture, would undergo two very contrasting reactions among composers. Hanns Eisler, Robert Fürstenthal and Walter Arlen wrote them as a form of therapy with no expectation of performance, while Erich Zeisl, who had made a career of Lied composition prior to emigration, stopped composing them altogether after 1938. He admitted that he could not set music to German after what he and his family had been through; yet he could only set music to German, as it was the only language that elicited a musical response from within. Lieder confronted the exiled composer with the realisation that their beloved native language was on the

⁶⁵ This was largely true for most of the symphonies composed, though Egon Wellesz’s first symphony received its premiere with the Berlin Philharmonic, and Toch’s with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra. Eisler’s powerful *Deutsche Sinfonie* was effectively banned in the GDR until a single performance shortly before his death.

side of barbarity. Artists who had been created by German culture found themselves traumatised; in essence, they were creatively inhibited by their own language.

Two living composers who have never met have remarkably similar biographies and remarkably similar reactions to “exile”; it is telling that their reactions to “exile” diverge in the actual musical language they employ.⁶⁶ It is also telling they both sought cultural identity through the same medium. Robert Fürstenthal and Walter Arlen were both born in Vienna in 1920, only a month apart. Both were bright boys with promising academic careers but with aspirations of becoming composers. Following the Nazi annexation of Austria in March 1938, neither was allowed to take university entrance examinations. Neither could audition for the Music Academy and neither met – indeed, they have still not met despite both living only a few miles apart on America’s West Coast. Both went through traumatic experiences yet outwardly appeared to be well adjusted and highly successful in their respective fields. Fürstenthal became an accountant, becoming Department Head at the US Navy in San Diego, whereas Arlen became Head of Music at Loyola Marymount University, and one of the principal music critics of the *Los Angeles Times*. An inward lack of reconciliation with loss resulted in frantic compositions flowing out of both men in the privacy of their homes and with no intention of performance. Both had turned to composing on the advice of their therapists. Both men were by all outward appearances totally assimilated and Americanised, speaking English with no trace of their native language.

Of the two, Arlen was the more Americanised in his musical profile. He was also more formally trained with composition studies under Leo Sowerby and four years spent as amanuensis to Roy Harris, who was known as “the father of the American Symphony”. He composed songs in English, but as often as not, this was due to his not having original texts available in post-war Los Angeles by poets such as Rilke, Cavafy or Czesław Miłosz, all of whom spoke movingly of exile and displacement. Arlen’s musical language is tonal, melancholic and redolent of American mid-twentieth century in a

⁶⁶ As stated in footnote 33, since writing this essay, Robert Fürstenthal died on 16 November 2016.

manner similar to Barber, Copland or even fellow émigré André Previn. Arlen's "Lieder" were problematic during recording sessions due to their utter lack of performance indications. Such deliberate negligence underlined the inward nature of his compositions and his belief, perhaps even a desire, that they should never be sung. Arlen was virtually blind during the recordings and the songs had never been heard. Some had lain in desk drawers since he was eighteen. Pianist and singer had to guess at dynamics and tempi, yet at one point Arlen stopped the pianist, Danny Driver, and mentioned a missing note – specifically a note he remembered being important in the harmony. Danny Driver had believed it to be a misprint and left it out, yet Arlen's total recall of even these tiny details indicated that each work, though written in solitude many decades earlier, was perfectly sculpted in sound and remained etched clearly in his memory and inner ear.

Fürstenthal's is a complementary story. Upon leaving Austria, he never touched the piano again. He had been enormously popular as a teenager and had been able to play everything from classical recitals to the latest hits at parties and gatherings. He wanted to be a composer and was besotted with his first girlfriend and cousin, Franziska Trinczer. Rescued by distant relatives in England in 1939, before making his way to America, he lost contact with Franziska; yet the memory of their relationship lingered and when his American marriage of thirty years failed, his therapist told him he needed to find out whether Franziska had survived the Holocaust. Eventually she was located as Françoise Farron, working as a much published microbiologist at Harvard University. She too had married locally and unhappily upon her escape from Vienna to Geneva, before moving to Harvard. Following their marriage in 1974 Fürstenthal took up composition again, with his only "teacher" being the works of Hugo Wolf. There were many aspects of Wolf's music that made him the quintessential Austrian composer for Fürstenthal: beautiful yet unbalanced; sensuous and mad. Wolf represented all of the complex contradictions that reminded Fürstenthal of Vienna and its mix of German, Latin and Slavic cultures. He explained it as "ich trage die Heimat in mir" ("I carry my homeland inside"). With time, he stopped copying Wolf and developed his own style, but never moved far from the rich harmonic complexity of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

I have been able to draw the following conclusions working closely with both composers. Neither intended their works to be published or performed and wrote them as a means of personal therapy. Works of art, including music, offer two very different value systems: one is the innate aesthetic value a work reflects, while the other is documentary, thus setting out motivations and contexts of a work's creative provenance. Setting certain texts to music brought them closer to the home they no longer had and to which they would never be able to return. The result is music that is deeply personal – indeed, so personal that the potential performer is excluded by both composers refusing to offer any indication of tempo, character or dynamic. Such compositions I found represented a near make-believe land created by emotionally damaged adults still trying to resolve the traumas of displacement endured as adolescents. Both composers were delighted that their works were deemed worthy of performance, yet deeply concerned when artists were unable to understand their intentions. The belief that “any good musician will know what I want” – a sentence I heard from both – indicates to me that the musical outpourings of both composers must be perceived as inner monologues. In essence, I found their compositions constituted a private doorway to a past from which they had been ejected and a hiding place from the world in which they found themselves.

Case Study 2: Hans Winterberg: The German Czech: Exiled with the Enemy

Exile and identity are made even more complex in situations where political boundaries and new realities are also invoked. This was the utterly complex and bewildering case of the German-Jewish composer from Prague, Hans Winterberg. Pre-war, Prague was a city that was, according to an apocryphal quote by Kafka biographer Max Brod, “100% German; 100% Czech and 100% Jewish”.⁶⁷ All of these elements made Prague the unique mix of cultures that largely managed to coexist in relative harmony. Tensions were greatest between Slavic and German-speaking Czechs after the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, as many German speakers from Bohemia and Moravia chose to remain Austrian citizens while continuing to live in the new Republic of Czechoslovakia. Significantly,

⁶⁷ As cited in the accompanying article to Supraphon's CD release *Tod und Paradies – Max Brod Chamber Works*. ASIN: B000006LIJ (Supraphon-Koch International).

virtually all Czech Jews were German-speaking. Most German-speaking Czechs, including Jews, were happy and proud to become citizens of the new Republic of Czechoslovakia. By 1938, with all of continental Europe under Fascist control, the majority of German-speaking Czechs were relieved that they belonged to the only surviving democracy on the continent apart from France. Hitler's ambitions and Chamberlain's weakness meant handing over the Czech states of Moravia and Bohemia to Nazi Germany as a protectorate. Winterberg, who was fiercely Czech in outlook and whose compositional style closely resembled that of fellow Czechs Martinů and Hans Krása, harboured no pan-German yearning for Bohemian and Moravian annexations by Hitler's Nazi state.

Winterberg was married to a non-Jewish German Czech, a fellow musician named Maria Maschat, who was an accomplished composer and pianist. Together they had a daughter named Ruth, who was born in 1935. In 1944, Nazi laws made the continuation of "mixed-race" marriages illegal and following their divorce, Hans was taken to Theresienstadt and their half-Jewish eleven-year-old daughter Ruth was placed in an orphanage. With the defeat of the Nazis in 1945, the Potsdam Conference determined that all Germans living in Eastern Europe should be "ethnically cleansed" as a precaution against future German expansionist ambitions. Some fourteen million German speakers were forcibly relocated to today's Germany and Austria, their property confiscated and most given only a few hours to gather possessions before being marched out. Over 250,000 are known to have died during the relocation with thousands of families pulled apart: parents and children losing each other on route.⁶⁸ Jews who had been imprisoned in concentration camps, such as Winterberg, remained imprisoned for several years before they too were removed from Czechoslovakia. As a German speaker, he was deemed to be "an enemy and traitor" to the Czech people. He eventually settled in Bavaria, married three more times, yet never lost his identity as a Czech German.

The Bohemian Germans (the designation used most often for Czech-Germans) had their own history, whether it was the Emperor Rudolf II, the astronomer Johannes Kepler or the beginning of the Thirty

⁶⁸ <http://www.welt.de/geschichte/zweiter-weltkrieg/article141112932/Als-Millionen-Deutsche-selber-Fluechtlinge-waren.html>

Years War. They had their own literature, Kafka and Franz Werfel being only two international figures, and above all their own music. Many composers assumed to be Austrian or German were originally and historically Czech: Gustav Mahler; Erich Korngold and even Arnold Schoenberg held Czech nationality despite being born and raised in Vienna, just as Viktor Ullmann held Austrian citizenship despite a lifetime in Prague and having been born in what today is part of Poland. There was no contradiction in being a Czech nationalist and a German speaking Bohemian. Mahler referred to himself as a “Moravian Jew”⁶⁹ and indeed, Bedřich (Friedrich) Smetana, the national composer of Czechoslovakia, was a German speaker who did not learn Czech until he was in his forties.

The rediscovery of Winterberg throws up further confusion in the question of German-Jewish identity in the context of exile. In this case, a Bohemian German Jew finds himself in exile in former Nazi Germany with a sense of cultural dislocation as great as any Viennese composer living in Los Angeles. His love of a homeland to which post-1945 conditions prohibited any return would result in an outpouring of uniquely Czech-German music that clearly shows its roots in Janáček and similarity to Martinů. It is German music that is distinctly non-German in its desire to recapture the specifically Czech-German identity that had been wiped out. Paradoxically, after the war, Eastern Europe’s German communities and their culture were the principal ethnicity to be obliterated. Many German-speaking Czechs saw relocation to former Nazi Germany as “exile amongst the enemy”. Today, fully a quarter of the German population can be traced back to communities ethnically cleansed from Eastern Europe. It is the echo of this permanent loss of landscape and identity, if not of language, that rings through the music of Winterberg, making his music redolent of a very different German-exile identity.

The case of Winterberg confronted me with the multiple faces of German cultural identity, and the means by which he expressed this in music. It was clear to me that the trauma of losing a homeland would have been bad enough, but being exiled to live among the perpetrators resulted in complex

⁶⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/books/first/c/carr-mahler.html>

reactions that included more estrangement than solidarity to German culture and music. Indeed, I felt this confirmed when encountering Winterberg's uniquely Czech works composed in German "exile", which are defined by a frequent use of polyrhythms and the placements of often alienating stresses unique to the Czech language—characteristics famously employed by Janáček. Yet at the same time, Winterberg relied on the generosity and support of German musicians, who in the 1960s, 1970s and '80s appear to have had a high regard for his music, performing and recording nearly all of his large scale works along with a good deal of his chamber music. Contextualising this apparent dilemma is his near total lack of music set to texts. I concluded that for Winterberg to set music to Czech may have resulted in German colleagues questioning his allegiance to his new homeland. At the same time, I surmised he was unable to set German as the language of war criminals.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ On 27 March 2017, three months after submission of this thesis, new evidence regarding Winterberg came to light that complicates his situation. His grandson, Peter Kreitmeir, has obtained documentation from the Czech National Archive proving that Winterberg identified as a Czech who also spoke German. At no point did he identify as "Bohemian-German". His first language was Czech. He was therefore released from Theresienstadt in 1945 and not 1947 as claimed by his adopted son and fourth wife, both of whom were indeed Sudeten Germans. Presumably they passed on this misinformation, for whatever purposes, to the Sudeten German Music Institute, which houses his estate and until recently was instructed by the family to disclaim Winterberg's Jewishness. In fact, Hanuš Winterberg (as he was correctly known) was allowed to leave Czechoslovakia in 1947 in order to recover manuscripts he sent to safety prior to deportation in 1945. The activities of Sudeten German interests and cultural institutions have apparently created a cynical and arguably anti-Semitic ploy to lay claim to Winterberg as one of their own. To this end, they have evidently propagated myths that could only be contested following the dogged research of Peter Kreitmeir, who has always maintained his grandfather was not a Sudeten German but a Czech Jew from Prague. Documentation obtained by Kreitmeir indisputably establishes this fact.

Exile and German Jewish Identity

The German Jew is absolutely not an Eastern European Jew. He's forgotten how to suffer, pray and uproot himself. He's only good at working – and even this is now denied him ... In any event, these émigré German Jews [in reference to the influx of German Jews in Paris after 1933] constitute a new nation: they've forgotten how to be Jews and must laboriously relearn Jewishness. On the other hand, they're equally incapable of forgetting that they're German and cannot escape their fundamental Germanness. They're like snails cursed to carry two shells on their backs.

*Joseph Roth – Juden auf Wanderschaft – Jews on a Journey*⁷¹

Perhaps a more relevant quote than that above is the one heard in nearly all oral histories, read in interviews and noted in biographies and autobiographies: “It was Hitler who made us Jewish”. At the time of writing this essay, it was impossible to ignore the parallels of religious confession being conflated into racism. And as we see today, members of a persecuted minority denounced as both “race” and religion, react in two different and often opposing manners: they either embrace the negative stereotype and make it part of their identity or they reject it ever more forcibly.

Those who embraced their Jewishness would also fall into two distinct categories: those who returned to the comfort of the religious faith of their childhood, with which they sought to form a synthesis in a strange land with the wisdom of adulthood; and those who turned to Theodor Herzl's political Zionism that saw Jews as a nation at a time when “nation” and “race” were understood as synonymous.

The Dreyfus affair, in what was held to be egalitarian, republican France, became the tipping point for Herzl and others. Jews, no matter how nationally loyal they felt themselves, would always be seen as potential traitors. Only a country that was a Jewish nation-state could change the perception of Europeans to Jews and Jews to themselves. This is not insignificant as the affair took place in 1894

⁷¹ Roth, Joseph: *Juden auf Wanderschaft*, DTV, Munich 2006; p.112.

and was not resolved until 1906 with Dreyfus's innocence proven. This means that Arnold Schoenberg was twenty years old at the start of the Dreyfus trial.

This is the background that informed the resurgence of political Zionism and would find a degree of musical expression in exile. In some cases, composers actually made it to Palestine, with Paul Ben-Haim (originally Paul Frankenburger) from Munich attempting to establish a Jewish, secular musical language that was generically dubbed "Eastern Mediterranean". Stefan Wolpe took a more practical approach and wrote songs for the Kibbutzim in the manner of Marxist fight songs sung in the working class districts of Berlin. Bronisław Huberman's Palestine Orchestra was founded in 1936, offering a platform for national music with a number of other composers such as the cellist Joachim Stutschewsky who, like Ben-Haim, sought a fusion of Jewish modes within a largely European musical language.

Zionism in American exile was expressed altogether in a more idealistic language that attempted to present the Torah as political history with ancient beliefs being only a part of the Jewish story. The most high-profile instance of American-Exile Zionism was *The Eternal Road*, conceived, concocted, composed and written by three totally secular Jews: Franz Werfel, Max Reinhardt and Kurt Weill; it was spectacularly mounted on Broadway as a fund-raising event. It would be the first of numerous Zionist pageants, many of which were staged in Hollywood with all the resources studio moguls could muster. The attempt by militantly secular composers to come up with a musical expression that was "Jewish" without being liturgical was a challenge that only few were able to pull off with any success.

In addition, the Zionist message was in need of modification for American Jews who had managed to achieve remarkable success in nearly all sectors without the impossible barriers encountered in Europe. Most American Jews at the start of the 1930s were Eastern European and not German, Czechoslovakian or Austrian. Klezmer was more representative of their musical identities than Lewandowski or Salomon Sulzer. Zionist events in America were also created to raise funds and

therefore had no place for adventurous experimentation with identity and music. Much of the music at such pageants resonated with the same modal harmonies familiar from the 1960 film *Exodus* with its score by Viennese composer Ernest Gold. It was an unapologetic kitschification of what Jewish identity meant, but it stirred the souls and opened the wallets of millions of American Jews who otherwise had no connection with what was going on in Hitler's Europe.

Case Study: Sonderling's Jewish Exiles

Rabbi Jakob Sonderling was the German-born local rabbi of Fairfax Temple, the synagogue of choice for Central European immigrants in Los Angeles. His own position is significant, as he commissioned a number of works from otherwise secular Jews and thereby brought about an inner confrontation between the religious confession of Judaism and the political anti-Semitism that had landed them in a foreign and strange country. The music that came from these commissions is fascinating, as it neatly divides into two expressions of Judaism: the "liturgical" and the "universal". The composers who offered the resultant works were not those one might have anticipated. For example, Erich Korngold was so secular that his sons were not circumcised, nor did they celebrate bar mitzvahs. It therefore comes as a surprise that his *Passover Psalm* setting is completely liturgical, despite its orchestration for large ensemble that no synagogue, let alone the Fairfax Temple, could possibly support. Schoenberg too was more consciously a political rather than religious Jew; yet again his *Kol Nidre*, sung on the eve of Yom Kippur, is conventionally liturgical and a noticeable departure from the extremes of Serialism; indeed *Kol Nidre* is based on the ancient melody sung on the Jewish Day of Atonement and is paradoxically the most conventionally liturgical of all Sonderling's commissions.

The two works that open the Jewish liturgy to universal listeners were composed by émigrés who were raised more traditionally: Erich Zeisl with his *Requiem Ebraico*, a setting of the 92nd Psalm in memory of those, including his own family, murdered by Nazis, and Ernst Toch, with his *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*. Both Zeisl and Toch came from Vienna's working-class Jewish quarter and had been raised in traditionally religious homes. Zeisl's *Requiem Ebraico* shares with Korngold's *Passover*

Psalm setting a hint of the musical language used in America's Zionist pageants, though neither work succumbs to the bathetic, as tempting as it must have been for both composers. Of the two works, *Requiem Ebraico* is by far the more sincere, with deeply felt spirituality that is missing from Korngold's shorter and more concise setting, employing the Hollywood device of ever upward key changes in an attempt to imply the incomprehensibility of the divine. It is a device used later by Alfred Newman, another Jewish composer, in the film *The Robe*, with ascending modulations as a symbol of early Roman Christianity.⁷² The structure of Korngold's *Psalm*, with its text taken from *The Prayer* by Franz Werfel and the *Haggadah*,⁷³ is simply too short to sustain such heightened emotional tension, whereas the *Requiem* is divided into shorter sections seamlessly linked and ending with a broad fugal finale. The choice of the 92nd Psalm is also significant, as it is shared across faiths, with even Franz Schubert supplying a Hebrew setting for Vienna's cantor Salomon Sulzer.⁷⁴

Though a number of composers, such as Erich Zeisl, could deliver Hollywood Zionist "schlock" as demanded by money-raising pageants, he attempted at the same time to find a means of creating a serious "Jewish" musical identity in much the manner of Czech Germans with their own variant of musical identity. Zeisl's hybrid is perhaps a degree closer to Western Classical concepts than other composers such as Ben-Haim, who was attempting a similar synthesis. Yet his works, such as the *Brandeis Sonata* and the Cello Concerto present a balance of idioms with the suggestion of Jewish provenance less apparent to those not listening for it. Ultimately, this fusion would find its most compelling and distinctly Jewish expression in two works: his opera *Hiob – Job*, based on the novel by Joseph Roth, and his *Requiem Ebraico*.

The *Requiem* is particularly interesting in that the title already betrays reluctance to identify with one religion or another. "Requiem" is a Catholic mass, not a Jewish *Kaddish*. A "Hebrew Requiem"

⁷² Though *The Robe* would not be made until 1953, twelve years after Korngold's *Psalm*.

⁷³ The *Haggadah* is the story of Israel's release from Egyptian slavery as told in the Book of Exodus in the *Torah*. It sets forth the order of the Passover Seder meal.

⁷⁴ D.953.

was thus an oxymoron, yet at the same time, a reconciliation of cultures by a composer who never realised how Jewish he was until “Jewish” was the last identity he had left to call his own.

Ernst Toch’s relationship with the religion of his youth is more troubled. Toch kept a “Dream Diary” in America, which is filled with nightmare visions of encounters with his Viennese Rabbi in Los Angeles. Yet it came as a surprise to me to find the prayerbook of his youth accompanying this otherwise most secular composer throughout his many stations of exile. His view of religion was universal and conciliatory. When approached by Nathaniel Shilkret to supply a movement for the multi-composer *Genesis Suite*, he selected *The Covenant*, the promise of God to his people after the flood – it was the story of the Rainbow. In similar vein, when Sonderling approached him for a contemporary liturgical work, he shared with Sonderling the task of selecting texts for his musical-dramatic *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*, based on the *Haggadah*.

Arnold Schoenberg’s acknowledgement of Jewishness would also not take effect until forced into exile. He reconverted to Judaism in Paris in 1933, having converted to Protestantism in 1898. His seminal Jewish work, the opera *Moses und Aron*,⁷⁵ would remain incomplete. It too is an attempt to offer a synthesis of historic perspective with religious destiny. His wife, Gertrude Kolisch, was a devout convert from Judaism to Roman Catholicism, and their children would be raised Catholic, only underlining the distance between Schoenberg’s personal Zionism as a political and cultural idea and Judaism specifically as religion. It therefore makes the traditional liturgical language of his *Kol Nidre* all the more surprising.

Yet he brings both aspects of religious destiny and nationhood together in his short, sharp *A Survivor from Warsaw*, a work that even today stands as one of the few musical commentaries on the Holocaust that does not allow itself to fall into the trap of victimised pathos. Its post-war performances throughout Europe were spun into various forms of propaganda, as Joy Calico makes

⁷⁵ Schoenberg called the opera *Moses und Aron* rather than *Moses und Aaron* as he thought the thirteen letters resultant from “Aaron” unlucky. He was superstitious about the number thirteen throughout his life.

clear in her book *Arnold Schoenberg, A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe*.⁷⁶ Performances in East Germany portrayed the Nazis as coming from the West; the Poles and Austrians had them coming from Germany and the Germans remained icily dismissive of a now irrelevant past master of the avant-garde. The musical retrenchment in Germany dismissed many pre-war progressives as part of the culture that facilitated Hitler. Schoenberg was not the only one who would find himself rejected as out of date; it was an equally sobering confrontation for composers such as Berthold Goldschmidt, Egon Wellesz, Ernst Krenek, Karol Rathaus and Ernst Toch. The significance, however, of the work is not the brutality shown by the Nazis guards, or the resignation of the narrator, but rather the spine-tingling grandeur of the men's chorus erupting in *Shema Yisrael – Hear O Israel*, part of the morning and evening prayer service. Schoenberg's defiant juxtaposition of brutality being met by a prayer that was thousands of years old carries an impact that continues to resonate long after its relatively short running time. Indeed, it is interesting to assess the emotional impact of Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* with Korngold's *Passover Psalm*, both of which take around eight to nine minutes. Schoenberg's work is a sobering confrontation, while Korngold offers comforting affirmation.

A sense of disjunction would result in musicians who viewed themselves as secular, yet found themselves persecuted as a "race" defined by the religion they had long left behind. There were inevitable creative implications for composers who self-identified as one group, for example, as belonging to a particular nationality or movement, while being persecuted as belonging to a religion with which they did not identify. Such conflicts bring up a far broader question: to what extent is self-identity a part of the creative process? Avowal of what seemed a discredited religious confession could either be seen as an act of defiance or hypocrisy. What one sees when looking at the many instances of specifically Jewish musical refugees as distinct from, for example, Jewish literary refugees, is a need for some degree of personal avowal in order to safeguard their own

⁷⁶ Calico, Joy A., *Arnold Schoenberg, A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe*, OUP, 2014.

creativity.⁷⁷ Taking the examples of the four composers commissioned by Rabbi Sonderling, we find in Schoenberg the political Zionist; in Toch a revival of the Austrian symphonist incorporating Old Testament themes into secular works; in Zeisl the cultural rather than religious or political Jew, and in Korngold an almost Roman Catholic expression of the incomprehensibility of Yahweh. All of these identities were new and assumed post-exile.

The fourth of these examples is perhaps the most intriguing of all these case studies in identity. Korngold had never identified as a Jew and, as a result, I find his commission for Sonderling perhaps the least convincing. His pre- and post-Hitler identities remained the same: a Viennese composer with roots that reached deep into Catholic Habsburg Austro-Hungary. His film music was an act of manipulating his considerable compositional technique into new media, while his style and musical language remained fairly unchanged, eliciting an oft-repeated quip attributed to Ernst Toch: “Korngold always composed for Warner Brothers, only when he was a kid, he didn’t know it at the time”.⁷⁸ Of the four composers, I believe he appears to have faced the greatest creative challenges post-war. Like Toch and Egon Wellesz, he composed a symphony along with a *Symphonic Serenade* and even a string quartet. I find that, like Toch and Wellesz, he may have seen himself as the Austrian composer returning to traditional Austrian musical architecture.⁷⁹ Paradoxically it was his reputation as “Hollywood composer” that left him severely discredited in the eyes of many former champions. I sense Furtwängler’s performance of the *Symphonic Serenade* with the Vienna Philharmonic highlighted Korngold’s self-image as an “old school” Austrian composer. Yet the *Symphony in F Sharp* remained unperformed in Korngold’s lifetime. The final twelve years of Korngold’s life resulted in creative regression with an inability to reinvent himself as an American composer, or even as an “Austrian composer living in America”. I can only conclude that Korngold’s

⁷⁷ Jewish literary refugees who fled to North or South America or to Great Britain often returned to former homelands following the war, but if they continued to write in German they did not face the same need to reinvent their identity in order to survive. As a result the degree to which writers such as Soma Morgenstern, Franz Werfel or Alfred Döblin saw themselves as Jewish did not alter to the extent one sees with German Jewish composers. In contrast, Stefan Zweig’s inability to see a means of reinventing himself in exile is ultimately what led to his suicide.

⁷⁸ See my book *Forbidden Music – The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis*, YUP, New Haven 2013, p.191 for further information on this remark.

⁷⁹ As a child, Korngold’s first composition teacher was Mahler’s teacher Robert Fuchs, a composer of many “Serenades”.

self-image was that of a Viennese belonging to what Orson Welles called “the Vienna that never was”.⁸⁰ Korngold’s Vienna had, *pace* Welles, existed, but post-1945 it had become a hateful place full of suspicion; its cultural establishment incapable of looking its formerly cherished son in the face. His attempts to engender popular favour by returning to the musical language that had made him a success pre-1938 resulted in creative paralysis locked in nostalgia. Korngold’s pre-exile works show true creative genius. Yet they would be dismissed post-war by a retrenched music establishment that used his film music and post-war nostalgia as a means of discrediting his entire output.

Poetry and Auschwitz

... nach Auschwitz ließe kein Gedicht mehr sich schreiben.

*Theodor Adorno*⁸¹

It is extraordinary that only recently the composers Pál Hermann, Ferenc Weisz, Daniël Belinfante, Jan van Gilse, Simon Gokkes, Bob Hanf, Mischa Hillesum, Dick Kattenburg, Nico Richter, Andries de Rosa, Samuel Schuijjer, Paul Seelig, Martin Spanjaard, Pál Budai, Jenő Deutsch, György Justus, Sándor Kuti, Walter Lajthai-Lazarus, Sándor Vándor, László Weiner and Marcel Tyberg have come to light. They were the composers murdered by the executioners of the Third Reich and in the case of Hungary and Holland, the cream of their respective generations. That we know Martinů and Bartók is thanks to their foresight and ability to escape. Only relatively recently has the generation of Czech composers lost during the Nazi occupation come to light: Gideon Klein, Viktor Ullmann, Hans Krása, Pavel Haas, Erwin Schulhoff and Vítězslava Kaprálová.⁸² Indeed, the musical price paid by countries occupied by the Nazis has only started to be assessed. German and Austrian musicians and

⁸⁰ *Screening Vienna: The City of Dreams in English-language Cinema and Television*, Timothy K. Conley, Cambria Press, 2016. Kindle Edition: Heading to Chapter 1 “The Vienna that is, is as nice a town as there is; but the Vienna that never was is the grandest city ever!”

⁸¹ Adorno, Theodor, *Negative Dialektik, Jargon der Eigentlichkeit, Dritter Teil: Modelle*, Vol. 6, Suhrkamp, 1980, p.355.

⁸² To be precise, Kaprálová died fleeing Paris after the Nazi invasion and Gilse died fighting in the resistance while Schulhoff died of tuberculosis during internment.

composers had opportunities to escape not possible to those in countries occupied following the outbreak of war in 1939.

For decades following the Nazi defeat, discussions of genocide were avoided. The Holocaust was not mentioned and many Jews viewed it as a badge of shame. Those who survived the camps did so at the expense of others; the thoughts of how they managed were simply too chilling for most to comprehend. The horror of Auschwitz was not the apparent brutality and inhumanity but rather, as Hannah Arendt wrote, "The banality of evil". It was the lists, the processing, the counting, the collection, the tabulating and the stamps and signatures at the bottom of directives. Evil had turned itself into a bureaucratic process and somehow made murder administratively acceptable. It wasn't inhuman, it was all too human.

The misrepresentations of Auschwitz in such films as *Schindler's List*, or *The Pianist*, paint Nazis as near aliens. They are so dehumanised in their sensitivities that their actions appear to be those of another species. Watching a bored Nazi shoot a pretty child becomes no different than watching a lion devour a gazelle on a nature programme. The horror of Auschwitz is the realisation that the capacity of the cruellest inhumanity survives in each and every one of us if offered the right circumstances. It is why the opera *The Passenger*, by Mieczysław Weinberg, himself a Jew who fled from Warsaw, caused such controversy. It dared to contrast the humanity of perpetrators with the inhumanity of victims in dialectical juxtaposition.

The word "Holocaust" was not even in common usage until relatively recently. Indeed, it does not appear in such iconic Holocaust films as *Nuit et Brouillard* or *Exodus*. Only with the television mini-series, launched in America in 1978, did "Holocaust" become common parlance. Its first reference, however, was the British *News Chronicle* of 5 December 1942: "Holocaust ... Nothing else in Hitler's record is comparable to his treatment of the Jews ... The word has gone forth that ... the Jewish peoples are to be exterminated ... The conscience of humanity stands aghast." The Hebrew word *Shoah*, meaning "calamity", gained common currency as a specifically Jewish synonym for

“Holocaust”, a word rooted in Greek. It means “sacrifice”, thus implying that Nazis were “sacrificing” Jews, and therefore engaging in a sacred duty.

There were also practical reasons that post-war silence was maintained: rebuilding a new conciliatory Europe took priority; the advent of the Cold War; the location of most Death Camps in Eastern, Soviet dominated Europe and the compliance of locals under German command carrying out the orders of execution and murder. Such is the sensitivity to such things that in 2016 the president of Poland was trying to pass a law that made it illegal for anyone in Poland or outside to implicate Poles as participants.⁸³ In the meantime, we now know that Ukrainians also manned the firing squads at Babi Yar and it would be historical mendacity on a grand scale for the Ukrainians to attempt to emulate the Poles and deny such facts.

Only with the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe were the archives of Terezín opened and access allowed so that our recording series “*Entartete Musik*” could document Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis (The Emperor of Atlantis)* in something like its authentic form. The work was never performed in Terezín, while it was only in the early 1990s that the extent of Terezín’s musical life became apparent. Adorno, who died in 1969, would have been unaware of the poetry that was being written in the shadow of Auschwitz.

Since it has become possible to speak about the Holocaust, its musical representations have been woefully inadequate. Indeed, silence is perhaps the best policy: as Wittgenstein wrote, “Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent”.⁸⁴ It seems a far more sensitive policy than Adorno’s view that Auschwitz had not only destroyed beauty, but by implication, man’s very right to beauty. In truth, it would seem that there can be no expression of the Holocaust by those who did not live through it. Every attempt to express this all too human act of ultimate inhumanity seems to end with a sense of inadequacy.

⁸³ <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.703594>

⁸⁴ Wittgenstein, Ludwig, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* – 7.1 Werkausgabe (Vol. 1), Suhrkamp, p.90 in Guttenberg PDF.

Such frustrations are best demonstrated by the late Sam Pizar's alternative text for Leonard Bernstein's *Kaddish* Symphony. Bernstein admitted to Pizar that he wished to write "a Holocaust work"⁸⁵ but felt inadequate to the task, as he had no family connections who had been victims of the Third Reich. As a Jew, however, he still felt outraged. Pizar had experienced the liberation of Dachau as a young boy and proposed fundamental text alterations that adapted Bernstein's original "argument with God" into commentary on the Holocaust. Whatever merits Pizar's text offers, the music with its combination of bombast and bathos ultimately leaves the listener with an overriding sense of embarrassing impotence.

Adorno was therefore only partially right: poetry was possible in the shadow of Auschwitz, but expressing Auschwitz in poetry remains something "thereof one must be silent". It is a point that is saliently made in the opera from 2010 by Ella Milch Sheriff, *Baruch's Silence*. Yet her opera is not specifically a portrayal of the wanton cruelty of Nazi anti-Semites in Poland, but the wanton cruelty inflicted upon successive generations by survivors of the Shoah. It is a most disquieting dialectic that again turns victims into perpetrators and leaves ethical questions hanging unresolved in the air.

⁸⁵ This conversation took place during the recording of Sam Pizar's *Kaddish* text, a recording I produced in Lucerne in 2007.

Part III

Cultural Loss

Sorrow is uneasiness in the mind, upon the thought of a good lost, which might have been enjoyed longer; or the sense of a present evil.

*John Locke: Essay concerning Human Understanding*⁸⁶

In Joseph Roth's novel *Hiob, or Job, the Story of a Simple Man*, Roth examines the idea of redemption through loss. Mendel Singer is a teacher of the Torah in a shtetl somewhere in the Pale of Settlement, like his father and his grandfather before him. He has two sons, Jonas and Schemarjah and a daughter Mirjam. The fourth child, a boy named Menuchim, is afflicted with feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, an inability to walk or take care of himself. Mendel ignores the wishes of his wife Deborah and seeks wisdom from a miracle-working Rabbi who tells him, "The pain will make Menuchim wise, the ugliness will make him kind, the bitterness will disappear and through his illness, he will become strong". The three other children resent Menuchim because of the demands he makes on their parents. Menuchim remains supremely passive and Mendel continues to trust in God. Over time, the two boys are recruited by the Russian army. Deborah helps Schemarjah escape and he makes his way to Trieste where he manages to book passage on a steamer to New York. Jonas disappears and Mirjam becomes the whore for a local battalion of Cossacks. Schemarjah is now called Sam and sends money to his family to bring them to America. It is in America that Mendel loses his identity, his children, his wife and he feels deeply the loss of Menuchim, whom he left in the care of neighbours. His most profound loss, however, is his faith in God and his dutiful religious observance. At a point when he is unable to cope further with the loss of family, the loss of identity, the loss of language or the loss of being able to understand the hustle and bustle of the people around him, he hears of a marvellous musician on tour, who on the radio plays a song that

⁸⁶ Locke: *Versuch über den menschlichen Verstand*, Meiner Verlag, 2000, p. 243 (translation found in Google Books).

sounds familiar. It finally transpires it is Menuchim, cured and now a famous musician. Mendel had always assumed that Menuchim had died, and cursed himself for abandoning him. When he discovers that he was cured by doctors and progressed as a musical prodigy, he regains his faith and compares himself with Job, dreaming of returning home and being surrounded by grandchildren.

Joseph Roth's parable was for the time (1930) an updated account of the Biblical Job. It is impossible to remain unmoved when redemption finally arrives in the person of Menuchim. Until this point Roth's Job represented loss on many painful, yet brilliantly nuanced levels. Redemption brings the loss that every reader experiences with Mendel into sharper focus, and presents loss as a parable representing the turmoil of the twentieth century and its many fatal cultural collisions. Its account of cultural loss spoke widely to the immigrant community that had fled Germany and gathered in Paris just in time to lose Roth, who died of alcoholism and cultural pessimism at the age of 42. The novel would undergo many adaptations as a play by fellow Parisian émigré Hans Kafka (no relation to Franz), a film and an opera by yet another Parisian émigré, Erich Zeisl. It is, if anything, a validation of Feuerbach's view that "pain is the source of poetry. Only he who feels the infinite loss of a finite creation possesses the necessary strength of lyrical fire. The first artist and first idealist within humanity sprang only from the sense of pain and the memory of what no longer is."⁸⁷

Locke's definition of sorrow coming from loss could therefore not be more apt. Yet the difference between a lost good, "which might have been enjoyed longer", and a "cultural loss" is very different, though relatively straightforward to define: a "good" is inanimate whereas "culture" is not. Cultural loss is reciprocal and mutual – in other words, loss is felt by both the individual and culture, which have become disengaged from one another. Culture is the intellectual and creative environment created by its progenitors. To lose its progenitors is to lose its life-force and for the life-force to lose its culture, debilitates as assuredly as transplanting a fragile flower. It may survive its initial shock; it may eventually thrive in its new position, but having withstood the upheaval, its ability to develop in

⁸⁷ Feuerbach: *Vorläufige Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie*, KPS (ZVAB) 1842–5, p.61.

the place where it first took root will have been altered. More telling is the gap that remains where once it had grown.

Thus we turn to the space left by the removal of a generation of largely Jewish musical talent. It is difficult to define why seemingly the most gifted and promising were precisely the ones who would be eliminated. They frequently suffered the misfortune of being young and, to a large extent, at the beginning of their artistic lives. Their greater misfortune, however, was unilaterally to be declared “the outsider”, in other words, to be seen as the interloper. Worse, they had undergone generations of being damned as stowaways on the noble ship of German nationalism. Those who were thus excluded naturally had an objective measure of their own vulnerability, which may explain their often successful attempts at excelling in everything they undertook.

The randomness, whereby anyone of Jewish origin was singled out as “non-German”, hence not “one of us”, has its origins in the inability of non-Jewish (“Aryan”) German nationalists to define who “us” was meant to include. For one thing, there was enormous controversy as to how “Christian” being “German” was. If it was a requirement for admission, then it was understood that Jews could not qualify. Richard Wagner had already made this abundantly clear in his notorious tract printed twice in his lifetime: *Das Judentum in der Musik*.⁸⁸ Nietzsche, on the other hand, despised both Christianity and, after initial flirtations, German nationalism. Johannes Hirschberger in his *History of Philosophy* explains:

... not just in *Ecce Homo*, in which the tensions of his time were intolerable, but also even before 1888. Already in *Human and all too Human* he questions Goethe’s virtue and lack of envy; Beethoven’s noble acceptance of isolation; Mozart’s charm and delight; Handel’s unyielding

⁸⁸ *Das Judentum in der Musik* is not only a landmark in music polemical writing, but a milestone in the general history of anti-Semitism. See footnote 60.

masculinity and law abiding freedom; Bach's inner-life and deep faith – "are these German characteristics?" [he asks].⁸⁹

But a Romantic German ideal was a prominent motivation throughout the nineteenth century precisely because there was no state that corresponded with the people who spoke the language or held to its enlightened ideals. A people without a state would inevitably idealise itself. Hölderlin, for example, also had an enormous influence on the concept of the Germanic based on a Hellenic ideal. It spoke to Hegel, the younger, less cynical Nietzsche, and to the circle of disciples around the nationalist twentieth century romantic poet, Stefan George, as well as to the Nazi apologist, the philosopher Martin Heidegger. Hölderlin's wedding of the Greek and German is a positive swoon of an unachievable Romantic ideal painted on the wall of a people who, without a state, could idealise itself to any degree it chose.

To be as one with that which lives in spiritual unselfconsciousness, to return to the orbit of nature – that is the pinnacle of thought and joy.

Don't you yet see Greece? Can you not see how joyous the new neighbour, the eternal stars that smile at our towns and fields, as the ancient seas when it spies our people wandering along the shore – the lovely Athenian thinks and brings us good fortune as earlier it was presented to a best-loved on a joyous wave?

Creative genius or insanity of our people, when will you show yourself entirely to us, spirit of the Fatherland, that I may bow before you and that my gentlest string is silent in your presence – that I, ashamed and still, a flower of the night, that I may end with joy in the heavenly day when everyone with whom I formerly grieved sees our towns are now lit and open and fully roused, and the mountains are those German mountains that belong to the muses, just as formerly Pindos and

⁸⁹ Hirschberger, Johannes: *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. 2, original 1935, reprint Herder 1963, p.517 (translation is my own).

Helikon and Parnassos, and encircled below the fatherland, the gleam of golden heavens of free, clear, spiritual joy.⁹⁰

Such appealing ideals would speak to those born German and those such as Jews who were latterly admitted in the nineteenth century by liberal constitutions. Wagner's racist response to the acceptance of Jews as Germans was devastating with the observation that it was "as ridiculous as a law in Mexico that demanded that all blacks be viewed and treated the same as whites".⁹¹ Yet Wagner spoke persuasively to those who had embraced the view of a spiritually pure and distinctly Christian Germany. This Christian view of German identity and character was mixed dangerously with Darwinian extrapolations that people were like cattle: some were bred to be stronger than others, with the weak needing to be removed so as not to pollute the pool of the strong and beautiful.

As George Steiner points out, it was recognising the need to apply barbaric means in order to achieve a beautiful "Hellenic" end that was further to determine the German character. This idea of being "cruel to be kind" would be seen as a positive national hallmark, and justified the barbarity that was yet to come. Hellenic ideals were achievable, but only if the sheep and goats were kept apart. To do this required the cruelty of national resolve:

To be argued seriously, the question of 'the guilt of civilisation' must include not only colonialism and the rapacities of empire but the true nature of the relations between the production of great art and thought, on the one hand, and of régimes of violent and repressive order on the other"⁹²

Even if German ideals had sobered considerably by the beginning of the twentieth century, the enlightened idealism of Moses Mendelssohn combined with that of Immanuel Kant created an illusion of German identity that appealed to those Jews who previously had been excluded. The

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 401.

⁹¹ Wagner: *Complete Works*, Vol. 10, Breitkopf und Härtel, Leipzig 1911, p.265. Wagner is not confusing Latinos with Europeans, but is making a reference to a Mexican law in regard to the number of Africans brought to Latin America, including Mexico, as slaves. Mexico abolished slavery in 1829.

⁹² Steiner, George: *In Bluebeards Castle*, Chapter 3: In a Post-Culture, YUP, New Haven 1971.

resistance of Richard Wagner and his influence, as reflected in the writings of his son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain,⁹³ who in turn influenced Kaiser Wilhelm II, would only strengthen Jewish resolve to prove them wrong. The question was no longer one of integration but of assimilation (or as Wagner put it: ‘amalgamation’);⁹⁴ and assimilation meant giving up their identity, if not their traditions. The enthusiasm with which assimilation was embraced often resembled the zeal of the convert, with Jewish composers attempting to sound as German as possible and, as a result, suppressing whatever originality they may have had to offer. Predictably, this would result in anti-Semitic attacks growing even more repugnant, outwardly accusing Jews of being incapable of “being” German, but being brilliant at “imitating” being German. Even when Jewish composers grew in confidence, they could be subjected, as in the case of Mahler, to accusations of composing what was malevolently perceived as “Jewish-sounding” music, such as claimed by Rudolf Louis writing about Mahler in 1914:

What I find so fundamentally repellent about Mahler’s music is its axiomatic Jewish nature. If Mahler’s music spoke Jewish, I perhaps wouldn’t understand it, but what is disgusting is that it speaks German with the Jewish accent – the all too Jewish accent that comes to us from the East”.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, if during the nineteenth century Vienna had attracted Jewish musical talent, by the twentieth century it was producing its own supply. Mahler was perhaps the last to immigrate to Vienna with subsequent generations being born or raised in the city: Arnold Schoenberg, Alexander Zemlinsky, Karl Weigl, Franz Schreker, Egon Wellesz, Hans Gál, Wilhelm Grosz, Ernst Toch, Hanns Eisler, Erich Zeisl, Max Steiner and Erich Korngold to name only some of the better known.

⁹³ Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* was a notorious anti-Semitic two-volume work that was full of conjecture and wild extrapolations. It made the English-born Chamberlain a major literary figure in Germany following his endorsement by the Kaiser.

⁹⁴ Scholz, Dieter David: *Richard Wagners Antisemitismus. Jahrhundertgenie im Zwielficht: Eine Korrektur*, Parthas, Berlin 2000, p.76.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Fischer, Jens Malte: *Gustav Mahler*, Zsolnay Verlag, Vienna 2003, pp.134–5.

Case Study: the Hollywood Paradox: Korngold and Toch

In dealing with just the above names, it is possible to cite the mutuality of loss in the cases of two very different composers: Ernst Toch and Erich Wolfgang Korngold, both of whom ended up in Hollywood. Korngold initially saw film music as an organic development from his decade of arranging and updating once popular operettas that had fallen out of fashion. His musical language was unequivocally late Romantic and he felt that writing music for cinema was even a development leading organically out of grand opera, a genre for which he was equally known. Yet as soon as he was confronted with the reality of writing film music as the sole means of earning a living, his attitude changed to that of fellow Viennese composer Ernst Toch, who, prior to arriving in Hollywood, had been the very opposite of Korngold. Toch was a modernist and had been an active participant in new music festivals across Europe. His music aesthetic was the antithesis of Korngold's. Both would find themselves bound by necessity to the film studios in order to earn enough money to guarantee affidavits for other family members and as their only means of possible employment until the end of the war. Both Korngold and Toch, along with Erich Zeisl and a number of other émigré composers, would stop composing film music as soon after the war as conditions permitted. Despite the undeniable contributions they made to the genre, they personally regarded their time in Hollywood as wasted and even went so far as to dismiss their work as trivial and meaningless. Attempts, however, to reconnect with their original pre-1933 cultural environment were thwarted for reasons that have to do with the mutuality of loss, meaning the loss of these specific composers to the cultural environment from whence they were expelled.

The Ultimate Post-Hitler Dilemma: Equivalency of Loss

The loss experienced by those seen as "the perpetrators" goes largely unacknowledged and the common view, or even the view of natural justice, dictates that their loss was the direct result of their actions. Yet this formulation begs the question of who "the perpetrators" were and to what degree they spoke on behalf of the greater cultural environment. Hitler's actions led to a purge of

musical life in central Europe, but he could not purge a central European appetite for music. A vote in a democratic system for a man who promised to restore Germany's pre-war status at a time of economic turmoil was not generally understood as a vote to remove much of Germany's home-grown culture. The loss of musical talent was a blow that was instant and felt adversely by all, even by Hitler's most ardent supporters. New operettas were needed to replace non-Aryan operettas, and jazz and American music were deemed un-German, as was serialism or atonality. It can be argued that many Germans were unaware of the price that a vote for Hitler demanded. He would proceed to dismantle Germany's musical life in ways that affected every participant, even reaching back into history to remove such central figures as Felix Mendelssohn and Jakob Beer, better known as Giacomo Meyerbeer, or Karl Goldmark, a composer still prominently represented in Austro-German opera houses until 1933.

The destruction of a cultural environment, even if the intention is change for a presumed "more desirable" cultural environment, was a loss to everyone who remained. This loss was amplified with the defeat of Nazism and the subsequent imposition of values that were intended to negate those of Nazism. As most inhabitants and participants in the decimated cultural environment that became Hitler's ultimate legacy were themselves only too eager to place distance between themselves and the cultural values of National Socialism, we see a rejection of *all* pre-war aesthetics and an attempt to build an entirely new cultural environment. Unfortunately, it was an environment that continued to exclude those already excluded by Hitler's National Socialism.

As Adorno surmised in 1944:

Pro domo nostra, when in the course of the previous war, which compared to the present war now appears nearly harmless, the symphony orchestras were silenced by the nationalist rousing of commanding officers, Stravinsky composed his *Histoire du Soldat* for a sparse, indeed shockingly shabby chamber ensemble. It would be his best score, the only valid manifestation of surrealism in which something of negative truth emerged from the convulsive, dreamlike grip of the music. The

work was preconditioned to represent poverty: it drastically succeeded in demolishing official culture by its locking out the ostentation of material excess. Herein is found an indication for the cultural production that should follow the present war, which in Europe has left a degree of destruction that even the tatters [represented by Stravinsky's work] could not have foretold. Progress and barbarity are today so wedded together into a singular mass culture, that barbaric asceticism and the development of unbarbaric means can be seen as the only reliable antidotes.⁹⁶

Or as he perhaps puts it more succinctly:

The belief that after this war life can carry on as "normal", or indeed that culture can be "rebuilt" is idiotic – as if the very idea of rebuilding culture were itself not a negation.⁹⁷

To German Jews, forced to renounce their national heritage because of a religion they no longer believed in, European culture took on the significance of the Titanic: It had become not only a tragedy, but at the same time a sacred tomb that should be allowed to rest undisturbed, defying all attempts of recovery.

Cultural Restitution

The hypothetical view that if there were perfect justice, the tenacity of evil would be punished, presupposes two complete sentences: one, that there is perfect justice and second, that evil is tenacious.

Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason

Which comes first, "restitution" or "restoration"? In fact, the first represents to me a more abstract idea, while the latter is substantive. Restitution is bound together with the sense of "justice" and the return to a previous state, or a return of cultural assets acquired through improper means, whereas

⁹⁶ Adorno, Theodor: *Minima Moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben: Pro domo nostra: Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 4, Suhrkamp, 1980, p.56.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.61–2.

restoration is returning a physical object. Restoration is therefore much less complicated than restitution, which demands a complete return to previous values and beliefs or the equivalency of a cultural legacy. We restore a physical work to the repertoire; restitution is according it the value it was previously due but subsequently, unjustly, denied. It is highly idealistic and perhaps unachievable:

The world is for tyrants. *You! Live!* In contrast, the basis of a demand for a poetic sense of justice is to misunderstand the nature of tragedy, indeed, is to misunderstand the world.⁹⁸

So wrote Schopenhauer in his *The World as Will and Representation*. It only underlines the nature and the scale of restitution: the return to a world where answers were sought for questions that history has tragically forgotten. It offers solutions to problems that have evaporated from our consciousness. It demands a return to values that are no longer relevant except in the interests of understanding the past and according justice to the efforts of the creative minds that have been lost. If restitution were only applied to money, it would be far easier, but as Georg Simmel writes in his *Philosophy of Money*:

As of late, the writ of Restitution has been expanded to include all objects, inasmuch as they are marketable. That means, therefore, the speed of circulation in transactions accords everything the fundamental characteristic of money, it allows them to be used as money and subordinates each thing to the advantages offered by ease of financial transaction.⁹⁹

Would that it were so simple! The restitution of cultural assets is to return to an environment that time has reshaped and is essentially lost in the violent past of the twentieth century. It is to turn to what George Steiner dismisses as the “currently fashionable archaeologies of consciousness”.¹⁰⁰

If, for example, we look at the banned works by Jewish composers written in the 1920s that were part of the period we call New Objectivity, we find ourselves at once confronted with musical ideas

⁹⁸ Schopenhauer: *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung; Züricher Ausgabe*, Vol. 1, Zürich 1977, p.319.

⁹⁹ Simmel, Georg: *Philosophie des Geldes; Aufsätze und Materialien*, Complete Works, Suhrkamp, 2003, p.581.

¹⁰⁰ Steiner, George: *In Bluebeard's Castle*, Chapter 4: *Tomorrow*, YUP, New Haven 1971, p.97.

that seem the antithesis of what we ordinarily expect. The music confronts us with a deliberate distance, or more accurately it is aggressively alienating, while sidestepping every opportunity to interact emotionally with the listener. Hearing a work outside of its historic context may evoke a response in the listener that is contemporary and even favourable, yet it effectively evades the aesthetic intentions of the composer. The penalty of incomprehension, rather than merely updating a response within the listener, leads to extended silence. The same would be the case for works that were composed in the run-up to the outbreak of the First World War. These were often chaotic, atonal and apocalyptic. Again, an understanding of the aesthetic motivations is required before comprehension of the composer's intentions is achievable. These are two pre-1933 trends that met with violent rejection by Hitler's cultural policies, and their removal was the effective removal of an artistic reaction to historic and social events that affected everyone regardless of whether they were the artist or patron. The apocalyptic visions before the war are balanced by the sobriety of music afterwards and both reacted to very real and very different stimuli. Expressionist and post-Expressionist (New Objectivity) painting and literature have been intellectually integrated into the canon. The paintings of Kandinsky and Beckmann, or the writings of Kafka, Joyce and Musil, enjoy a cultural prominence rarely shared with composers such as Schreker, Wellesz or Toch. Understanding the world and motivation of composers whom I clearly view as having written music meant deliberately to alienate or culturally shock the listener and performer of the day, is required of today's listener in order to achieve any semblance of intellectual restitution. In addition, such works, crucial in their galvanising reflections of time and place, make intellectual, financial and indeed time demands on today's musicians and listeners while posing risks to those in the business of mounting performances. The public remains suspicious of the unfamiliar, and even if Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces*, op.16 sound like a fairly typical film score to today's listener, audience resistance to Schoenberg in general remains a barrier.

Whose composers are these anyway? Restitution without Borders:

A more complex restitution is required where no single body, group, community, nation or country is prepared to take possession of the cultural legacy left stranded by decades of war and upheaval. Here, for example, we can look at the situations of the Jewish composer Karol Rathaus, who was born in Ternopol in what today is the Ukraine. At the time of his birth in 1895 he was Austrian in an Austria that resembled today's South Africa or India: the common language, though not the dominant language, was German, just as the common language in South Africa and India is English, while being the first language of only the smallest minority. He spoke Polish at home, but was educated in German, which became his preferred language; he even wrote in German when communicating with fellow Ukrainians Jascha Horenstein and Soma Morgenstern. Rathaus was a proud Austrian, and when Ternopol was integrated into Poland in 1918 he chose to retain his Austrian citizenship. His career was in Berlin and he maintained his Austrian citizenship even after the arrival of Hitler, allowing him a freedom to travel not accorded to German Jews. As a result he was able to emigrate first to France, then to England and finally to America where he spent the last decade of his professional life building up the music department of Queens College at City University New York. When Austria was absorbed into Germany in March 1938 he was able to obtain Polish nationality, thus allowing him to leap over the quotas imposed on German immigrants. After the Potsdam conference, following the war in 1945, Ternopol was ceded to the Ukraine, then effectively a subordinate Republic within the USSR. Following his death his cultural legacy remained unclaimed by Austria, Germany, Poland, the Ukraine and the United States, all of which saw his creative centre of gravity as lying elsewhere. As a secular Jew, he would have been the last person to have referred to himself as a "Jewish" composer despite the fact that this was the profile accorded him by the Nazis, which eventually led to a sentence of musical silence.

Another example would be the composer Viktor Ullmann, who was born in Teschen,¹⁰¹ which like Ternopol was in Austria. Unlike in Ternopol, the language spoken at Ullmann's home was German. This, rather than Polish or Czech, was the language spoken by most Silesian, Moravian or Bohemian Jews. In 1918 Teschen was made part of newly formed Czechoslovakia, and in 1938 it ended up as a bartering chip within the Munich Accord and was consequently ceded to Poland. Throughout all of these upheavals, Ullmann remained Austrian until Austria was dissolved in March 1938. He then became stateless until his deportation in 1942 to Theresienstadt and eventual murder in Auschwitz in October 1944. He was the son of baptised converts to Christianity, so had never entered a synagogue or knowingly harboured Jewish sensibilities until his falling foul of the Nuremberg Laws and subsequent imprisonment. Again, his legacy remains unclaimed by Austrians, Czechs, Jews or Poles. It is a bitter irony that had he survived his fate would have been the same as that of Hans Winterberg, whose sense of homelessness can be added to that of Rathaus and Ullmann. These issues matter materially as culture is a question of national identity and is supported by national funding. Only since 1945 have the countries of Eastern Europe become mono-cultures with ambivalence shown to German-speaking "East Prussians" from former Königsberg or German-speaking Poles from former Danzig and Breslau, or German-speaking Czechs from Prague, with the same being true of Germans from Slovakia's former Pressburg, or Slovenia's former Laibach.¹⁰² For writers, nationality matters less as nobody questions if Günter Grass is Polish or Joseph Roth is Ukrainian. Both wrote in German and their artistry transcends the physical borders of their birth. This is unfortunately not the case with music, which by its very nature transcends linguistic borders, but is dependent on being claimed by one nation or another in order to have their contributions returned to the wider European canon. In other words, music, as distinct from literature, requires public money in order to be heard.

¹⁰¹ Today, Český Těšín.

¹⁰² Königsberg/Kaliningrad; Danzig/Gdansk; Breslau/Wrocław; Preßburg/Bratislava; Laibach/Ljubljana.

George Steiner observed: “So far as the major agencies of history went, progress was not a dogma, but a simple matter of observation”.¹⁰³ The dogma that has been applied has been one of captive nationality, whereas the reality that comes from observation invalidates this hitherto self-evident definition.

Expanding on this, Adorno writes, “Nowhere is our conscious demand for Justice taken further, and nowhere more comprehensively denied, than in the victim of consciousness as the completion of ontological reconciliation”.¹⁰⁴ Thus Adorno writes in regards to Kierkegaard’s dialectic between the negation of consciousness and justice. This is significant as restitution demands a clear definition of “victim”; yet “victim” and “perpetrator” are, as demonstrated in the above quote, for all intents practically equal, forming a synthesis in reconciliation.

A Difficult Duality

The duality of victim, and as explained in the previous section, the mutuality of loss, is felt by both object and subject – by the object of persecution and persecutors. The losses of sons and daughters were just as painful for families, friends and communities of “the enemy” as for “the victors”. The idea that a return to a state of pre-grief is only available for those who were victorious is to extend injustice into successive generations. Thus the concept that perpetrators are themselves in need of restitution is to expand the demand for justice into one of reconciliation. The restitution of a specific type of artistic expression, itself the result of a mindset brought on by events and environments, is as relevant to the culture-consuming public as it is to artists. Restitution confronts us with the practical irrelevance of guilt where losses are mutual. Restitution can therefore only take place where guilt is no longer a substantive. Indeed, restitution itself is reconciliation with events of the past by which victim and perpetrator are drawn together as those in need of reclaiming a joint culture.

¹⁰³ Steiner, George: *In Bluebeard’s Castle*, Chapter 3: In a Post-Culture, YUP, New Haven 1971, p.67.

¹⁰⁴ Adorno, Theodor: *Kierkegaard. Konstruktion des Ästhetischen: VI. Vernunft und Opfer; Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 2, Suhrkamp, 1980, p.891.

If we return to Simmel's view of objects being bargained as money, we need to ask if cultural restitution is itself something that can simply be bought, or paid for. It is far more complicated than that. Naturally millions of Euros can restore, but restoration is not the same as achieving justice, righting a wrong or equalling like with like or like with unlike. Restitution is a return to understanding, a return to commonality and a return to the point from where victim and perpetrator became separate entities. It is a multifaceted, multi-layered undertaking that ultimately neutralises victimhood.

This leaves open the practical question of how restitution is to be effected, if not with money but with some abstract concept of reconciliation that brings protagonists back into the unity that existed before divisions split them into the opposing camps of victims and perpetrators. As Steiner makes clear in his essay *In a Post-Culture*, education is insufficient. Indeed, possession of cultural appreciation or sensitivity barely counts when dealing with situations that involved poetry readings taking place next to gas-chambers, or orchestras playing in Auschwitz. Restitution demands mutual understanding and openness from all parties in order to restore what was destroyed. Yet understanding is not enough without exposure to loss, and this exposure is something we deal with in the next segment. It is the question of "restoration" – a restoring of objects, regardless of whether they are musical or abstract ideas, that led to the creation of music. Restitution can only pave the way for restoration, as restitution is a process of mind that is necessary in order to be accessible to everyone who has mutually experienced loss.

Cultural Restoration

Millions of Jews were murdered, and that is to be viewed as an historic interlude and not as the actual catastrophe itself. What is culture actually waiting for? And even if countless millions can afford to carry on waiting, can one easily imagine that that, which happened in Europe could carry consequences, and the quantity of victims may mean that barbarity determines the quality of total society?

*Theodor Adorno, Autumn 1944: Minima Moralia – Reflections from a damaged life – Far from the action*¹⁰⁵

Restoration, as already mentioned in the previous passages, is more than the “archaeologies of consciousness” but amounts to the physical return of items that were unjustly removed, either by theft or censorship. Removing the cultural contributions of European Jews has been overshadowed by their murder. It has paradoxically hindered a restoration of the very works of music that the Nazis proscribed. The barbarity of Hitler’s policies resulted in post-war re-evaluations of how ordinary, thoroughly civilised people were able to be complicit in genocide. What group insanity took hold, and how could it have been prevented? This needed to transcend the “soul searching” that followed the horrors of the First World War. The reaction to loss of Empire and *ancien régime* resulted in a sobering confrontation with reality, a dark and pessimistic assessment of how those on the losing side of war needed to see their future. It was anti-delusional and alienating, removing the last vestiges of magic and fairy-tale that dominated German music and art. Even the apocalyptic atonal chaos that predicted “the war to end all wars” sought to order its expressive hysteria by imposing strict formulas. Music continued to alienate, but now it did so as an optimistic belief that like smelling-salts it would bring people back to their senses and eventually lead them into a new dialectic where beauty would no longer be perceived as mere consonance but dissonance itself

¹⁰⁵ Adorno, Theodor: *Minima Moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben: Weit vom Schuß; Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. 4, Suhrkamp, 1980, p.62.

would become a thing of beauty. It looked positively to the future, rather than, Jeremiah-like, predict the disasters, battles and losses still to come.

Such “Objectivity”, now referred to as “New”, was meant to lend scientific sobriety onto the amorphous language of music. Indeed, the First World War was a war that opened the Pandora’s Box of science: poison gas and massive weaponry that wiped out entire communities with a single explosion proved that calculations, if carried out properly, could remove all subjective probability with objective certainty. The same could apply to culture: even music, which had always been thought of as that most subjective of cultural disciplines. Such scientific certainty was exactly what threatened the “barbarity” Adorno mentions in the above quote. Yet these ideas, as galvanising as they were, amounted to soul-searching. Music and indeed the arts became “didactic”.

After the Second World War and atrocities that reduced the horrors of the First World War to a mere overture, the arts needed to be reinvented, and people needed to be changed. People could only be changed if their culture changed, and this change in culture demanded a rejection of everything that had carried on before. It was all denounced as guilty of creating a society that had no ethical issues with industrial-scale murder. The fact that this rejection included the works of those who were themselves murdered was mere collateral damage. Many even went so far as to believe that a new post-war Modernism was necessary since interwar Modernism had so abjectly failed. It was, if you will, the “wrong” Modernism.

As described in the previous chapter, victim and perpetrator became as one. To avoid future victims, it was necessary to carry on destroying the lives of past victims. In the specific field of music, it meant continuing the censure imposed by Hitler, if merely with differing ends in mind. Adorno’s article *Quasi una fantasia* from 1963 uses language to describe the composer Franz Schreker that correspond almost exactly to the vocabulary used by the Nazis in their own Schreker denunciation

from 1938 in their exhibition “*Entartete Musik*”.¹⁰⁶ Yet it was the barbarity of genocide that paradoxically resulted in the cultural barbarity that Adorno so worried about. Indeed, it could be argued that he was himself a prime instigator in silencing those voices he truly believed were the cause of the barbarity he feared. Victim and perpetrator had *de facto* become one and the same.

Restoration demands more than the “archaeologies of consciousness” – it demands archaeology of aesthetics. This is far more demanding and difficult to achieve. Each work, even Verdi’s *La Traviata*, grows out of a specific *Zeitgeist*. Mastery of his art, along with a string of ear-worms, guaranteed a position in the canon that the drama *La Dame aux camélias* would not otherwise have warranted. Had censors removed Verdi for a period of twelve years, and then deemed him harmfully irrelevant for a further forty years, even *Traviata*’s tunefulness would most likely not save her from oblivion. We are confronted with a similar situation when faced with Karl Goldmark’s formerly popular operas, *The Queen of Sheba*, *Cricket on the Hearth* and *Merlin*. Here is a composer who once featured alongside Dvořák and Brahms, and formed with both not only a bond of friendship but also a dominant aesthetic triumvirate that strongly influenced pre-Mahlerian Vienna. Today he is forgotten and all attempts to revive him only leave us perplexed as to how he had ever risen to such exalted heights in the first place. His death in the opening decades of the twentieth century spared him the horrors of confronting Nazism personally, but cast his music into a black hole from whence it has yet to free itself.

More directly caught up in a similar situation was the composer Hans Gál. His opera *Die heilige Ente* (*The Sacred Duck*) was an enjoyable farce that from the moment of its premiere in 1923 under Georg Szell in Düsseldorf until its removal in 1933 could boast an unbroken run in countless opera houses including Berlin. This fact is worth pondering for a moment, as it is as far aesthetically from the iconic operas of Weimar Constitution Germany as possible. Yet even such successes as *Jonny spielt auf*, *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, *Maschinist Hopkins*, *Wozzeck*, *Neues vom Tage*, *Die tote*

¹⁰⁶ Adorno 1986, Vol. 16, *Quasi una fantasia*, p. 265. Compared with the Nazi description of Schreker as “the Magnus Hirschfeld of opera – no sexual deviance was left unportrayed”. Exhibition 1938, Düsseldorf.

Stadt and *Der Schatzgräber* would vanish from the repertoire only a few seasons following their initial splash. Gál's funny little duck waddled and quacked its way unimpeded through the great houses of the nation without missing a single season. It was in effect the representative work of Weimar Constitution Germany. Since 1933 it has yet to be heard in its original version. The story is amusing enough and the music extremely appealing, but its aesthetic resonance falls soundlessly on today's dead ears. The restoration of Goldmark and Gál presuppose enormous acts of cultural restitution that may be impossible to achieve.

George Steiner approaches this dilemma when addressing the difficulties of comprehending the beauty of classical poetry. Initially, the issues appear different, but in reality the incomprehension that is imposed by the passage of time throws up many similarities, even if the passage of time between today and the early twentieth century is not as distant as it is to Ovid or Dante. He makes the following points:

To be genuinely informative, contextual annotation would soon amount to little less than a history of the language and of culture. We would find ourselves involved in a process familiar to information theory – of infinite regress. The total context of a work such as *Lycidas* – or the *Divina Comedia*, or *Phèdre*, or Goethe's *Faust* – is 'all that is the case', or the active wholeness of preceding and subsequent literacy. The thing cannot be done. [...] But suppose that it could. Suppose that some masterly editorial team devised a complete apparatus of explanation by virtue of glossaries, concordances, biographical and stylistic appendixes. What would happen to the poem?¹⁰⁷

He goes on to ask, "Would we have something, at least, of the main legacy of our civilisation made accessible to the general public of a modern, mass society? Or would we rather see the bulk of our literature, of our interior history, pass into the museum?"¹⁰⁸ These are difficult questions for the music restorer. How does the message of yesterday speak to people today? In light of history, is it not inevitable that we view these works through the retrospective lens of war, Holocaust and

¹⁰⁷ Steiner, George: *In Bluebeard's Castle*, Chapter 4, *Tomorrow*, YUP, New Haven 1971, p.104.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.105.

dislocation? When we watch the confusing Hurricane sequence in Weill and Brecht's *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* from 1930, do we understand that it was an allusion to Hitler's destructive power, or was it more an extension of the cowboy, Wild-West fantasy of Brecht's infatuation with the works of Karl May? Is *Woyzeck's* dialectic more powerful in a society that has grown out of illiteracy and virtual slavery for the uneducated, or is it a "blast from the past" and no longer relevant? When Büchner wrote *Woyzeck* in 1836 the teenage soldiers and unwed girlfriends, tormented and bullied by superior officers, were a reflection of reality. By the time the opera was composed, *Woyzeck* had ceased to be the hapless, under-developed sixteen-year-old and Marie the feckless child at his side. Berg had turned both into tragedies representing middle-age rage, paranoia, helplessness and panic. The age-change between play and opera offers an entirely different narrative, yet both represent their respective *Zeitgeists*. Our view today is shaped by a retrospective lens through which things look smaller rather than larger; and we understand and take from the music and drama what it offers to audiences today. *Mahagonny* and *Woyzeck* still speak to today's public, though perhaps the message that is heard is not the one that was heard at the time of its premiere or even the message that the composer and writer intended.

Steiner goes on to write:

An archival pseudo-vitality surrounding what was once felt life; a semi-literacy or sub-literacy outside, making it impossible for the poem to survive naked, to achieve unattended personal impact. Academy and populism. The two conditions are reciprocal, and each polarises the other in a necessary dialectic. Between them they determine our current state.¹⁰⁹

Where I take issue with Steiner's pessimism is my own feeling that today's academic restoration of a work is tomorrow's populism. The two do exist as polar, yet necessary, opposites. It is evident in the updating of opera productions, now commonplace in nearly all performances, or the reinterpreting of *Phèdre* as a missing scene from *Mama Mia!*. Before the populist can sink their teeth into

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.106.

something, it needs first to be digested and understood. This is where “Academy” comes in. Perhaps what follows is misunderstood chaos, yet a restoration of a work must inevitably be preceded by restitution, either requiring audiences to engage in “archaeological consciousness” or the work itself engaging in “contemporary consciousness”. Where this functions, a true restoration can take place.

It is inevitably easier to “restore” a building where foundations are still visible than to project what something may have looked like based on a pile of rocks. Where this is less straightforward, the “Academy” determines the historic foundations and calculates size and shape. Builders can then construct a restoration of what might previously have been a ruin, or indeed, nothing more than a pile of rocks. Music is not so different, and where aesthetic changes seem to place the accessibility of a work beyond the comprehension of today’s audience (an experience we often have when viewing old films or reading novels from an earlier age or, in Steiner’s examples, classical poetry) we can only attempt to project what we ourselves already understand. Restoration is when, in spite of such difficulties, something worth hearing still manages to resonate in some distant corner of the listener’s consciousness.

The “Academy”, or to be more precise, the academic, is unable to calculate without knowledge, and knowledge comes from the accessibility of historic documentation. It can define the circumstances surrounding a work, a commission, the purpose of its creation or the spontaneity from which it might have sprung. Documentation is the principal building block in restoration; it is the tangible that links the past to the present and offers us a glimpse into the mind of the artist and the process of creation or interpretation. Yet it is also the most fragile link between us and the creative or interpretive artist. Paper crumbles, it burns, it turns into mush when wet and ink runs. It is destroyed in bombing raids and in a day that predated photocopying, musical manuscripts were almost always singular in the representation of the composer’s thoughts. Correspondence offers a wormhole into the thoughts and mindset of the artist, and even ephemera can throw up myriad answers as well as myriad questions. The previously mentioned “Dream diaries” of Ernst Toch, or the desolate

correspondence of Hans Gál following the suicide of his son Peter, inform our ability to comprehend their work. We can never know exactly how the composer meant for a work to be performed. Most were pleased to hear something they had written and were generous to any performers. We can only interpret a work, yet interpretation demands a degree of understanding and understanding demands a degree of physical contact with documentation. It is the foundation of recovery.

Cultural Recovery and Rescue

The scapegoat mentality consists of entangled collective laughter, compromised by the desire to unleash built-up aggression and the censoring mechanism that inhibits aggression by keeping it in check. This results in furious laughter of the mob silencing the designated outsider, a situation, should circumstances allow, that can turn violent, yet be excused as otherwise civilised people merely having a bit of fun.¹¹⁰

Theodor Adorno, 1968

Destruction of a cultural legacy is already a catastrophe, as it removes the artistic, aesthetic and cultural entitlement from an entire group. Demeaning a cultural legacy is almost as disastrous, but still allows for the eventual recovery and rescue of works. Adorno's analysis of scapegoating is rather forthright and, in the context of his output, remarkably concise in analysis. Yet the recovery of culture that was initially banned takes on many different perspectives. There is the "recovery" of a work that was presumed lost, but found, as in the case of Kurt Weill's published works with Universal Editions, hidden behind the pipe organ of a village church in rural Austria; or Mahler manuscripts hidden under the bed of Erwin Ratz, who, though a musicologist and former Schoenberg pupil, worked as a baker throughout the Nazi dictatorship. There is also the recovery of orchestral or vocal parts based on a saved full score, or the far more complicated process of producing a full score based on the recovery of orchestral and vocal parts.

¹¹⁰ Adorno: *Soziologische Schriften I: Anmerkungen zum sozialen Konflikt heute*; Complete Works, Vol. 3, Suhrkamp, 1980, p.193.

But sometimes, indeed it happens more frequently than one would suspect, works are discovered in distant lofts or basements, such as those of Marcel Tyberg or Gideon Klein – both of whom were murdered in Nazi camps. Prior to their works being found, they had little or no profile as composers; indeed, they were effectively unknown. This offers in itself a fascinating duality in cultural recovery: the finding of works by recognised artists, and the recognition of artists by finding their works. This is what makes the rescue operation of music and indeed culture so testing. We only know a bit of what there is to find. We can know the location of a sunken ship full of treasure, but just as often we're stumbling over treasure in ships we never knew had sunk. It forces us to place the equivalent of a cultural "price tag" on something that has never before been offered for sale.

A far more difficult operation to carry out, however, is the rehabilitation of works that were dismissed, ridiculed or rejected by known musical establishments for reasons amounting to lack of intellectual or artistic rigour or integrity. This adds enormously to the challenges as, in addition to finding physical remains, rescuers find themselves in the position of judge, jury and mediator of public opinion. Rescuing the works of the scapegoat falls into this category and it is the reason that this subheading starts with Adorno's quote on the subject.

Korngold's *Das Wunder der Heliane* was an evening of disgust and revulsion. It is, of course, profoundly unfashionable to subject operas to moral judgment, but I find this corrupt, at the least decadent and fully meriting the description "degenerate", which has had to be abandoned since the Nazis used it as a category.¹¹¹

The astonishingly harsh and indeed Nazi-tinged assessment of Korngold's opera *Das Wunder der Heliane*, which was the very first work recorded in the Decca "*Entartete Musik*" series, was written by Michael Tanner in *The Spectator* in November 2007. It underlines the challenges of resurrecting previously banned works that effectively continue to be scapegoated. In looking through the musical detritus left by twelve years of Nazism, and a subsequent forty years of musical retrenchment, it has

¹¹¹ Tanner, Michael: *The Spectator*, Opera Review: *Good Humour, Bad Taste – L'Elisir d'amore; Das Wunder der Heliane*; 28 November 2007.

been necessary to suspend personal opinions, taste or priorities and take works at face value and address all issues as questions of justice specifically to the artists who have been damned by politics and circumstances. Tanner may argue that it is “wrong” to expose listeners to three hours of Korngoldian excess and it is “right” to dismiss it. As Adorno points out, too often “justice is lost in arguments regarding right [and wrong]”.¹¹² Where integrity, competence and serious craftsmanship have been employed, the rescuer can only recover what he finds. The diver examining a sunken galleon does not make a difference between recovering a gold coin or a silver one, nor would he evaluate whether he should have saved more gold than silver, but would have concluded that both were equally worthy of saving as both were equally lost. The intrinsic value of one coin over the other was, at the moment of recovery, of less consequence.

Harold Marcuse on his Reception History internet page offers the following quote by Elliot Gorn, Professor of History at Purdue University, which explains this phenomenon:

Historiography teaches us that all interpretation is limited by the cultural bias of the individual historian, the limits of primary sources, the perceptiveness and blindnesses created by a scholar’s social position (yes, race, class, and gender among other factors). [...]Relativism [is] in our blood.¹¹³

The formation of the musical canon is in any case a continuous re-evaluation of the previously rejected, ignored or dismissed, whether it is searching out silenced women’s voices in music, or according equivalence to all musical genres. It has been for this reason that the rescuer’s efforts are mounted to recover light music as well as opera; operetta as well as experimental and jazzy Berlin tangos as well as opulent symphonic poems. The evaluation of whether one work is “gold” and another “silver” or indeed “tin” needs to come at a later stage.

In George Steiner’s *Martin Heidegger*, he writes that

¹¹² Adorno, Theodor: *Dialektik der Aufklärung – Begriffe der Aufklärung*, Complete Works, Vol. 3, Suhrkamp, 1980, pp.32–3.

¹¹³ Harold Marcuse: *Reception History*: <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/receptionhist.htm#hmdef>. The quote from Elliot Gorn is taken from his lecture *Professing History: Distinguishing Between Memory and Past*, published in the Chronicle of Higher Education, 28 April 2000. Marcuse offers a link to the full article.

Germany's pre-eminence in just those activities which may be the highest in reach of man, namely philosophy and music, is a constant theme in German thought and self-awareness. From Bach to Webern, from Kant to Heidegger and Wittgenstein, it is in the German sphere that the genius of man would seem to touch the summits and plumb the last depths.¹¹⁴

In this context Steiner, who is himself of Austrian origin, speaks of "Germany" as a linguistic-nation rather than as a political state. Yet the characteristics of its language are found also in its music and it is not a coincidence that such untranslatable concepts as "kitsch" or "Weltschmerz" are derived from German. The depths of German creativity, and how low the lowest common denominator can be, has rarely been a priority for scholars. Yet the full gamut of loss must be recovered before a reliable evaluation can be made. Only then can those items that have been recovered be slotted into the still open gaps of German music as well as those of European culture. For this reason, recovery remains a question of quantity first and "quality" second, though I strongly believe that high and low art are needed to offer a comprehensive cultural picture and it is not the job of Academy to judge. "Touching the summit" is easier to define than "plumbing the depths". To the diver, the gold coin in a sunken galleon is as valuable as the brass shoe buckle and yet both are part of the same story.

The difficulties did not frighten him, and he was satisfied with his work and decided to carry it through, and the victim that he had salvaged from the depths and the shame would be returned to the lap of virtue.¹¹⁵

Perhaps Rousseau's language is overripe, but the sentiment is the same. Not only is recovery of a composer's physical work necessary, a certain defence of reputation is also needed if justice is truly to be fulfilled. In other words, what do we make of music lexica, such as previous editions of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, that tabulate the biographies of musicians as "So-and-so: American/British composer/musician of German/Austrian origin ... born in such-and-such a year; moved to Vienna/Prague in 1933; moved to Paris/London in 1938 before settling permanently in the

¹¹⁴ Steiner, George: *Martin Heidegger*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, p.125.

¹¹⁵ Rousseau: *Emil oder Ueber die Erziehung (Émile ou De l'éducation)*; Gesammelte Werke, Vol. 2, Tredition Verlag, Hamburg, pp.119–20.

United States/Great Britain...“?¹¹⁶ Or perhaps more incriminating: myriad articles that state something along the following lines: “... was promoted as head of [a prominent German music institution] in 1933” or “... left [Austria or Czechoslovakia] for Berlin in 1933 where he made a living as a successful [cabaret/opera] composer”? All of these are emblematic of the mealy-mouthed presentations of the upheavals of the twentieth century as represented in our standard reference works. They do little justice to those who were expelled or hold to account the opportunists who took their place. Music history continues to be written by the guilty or the complicit.

Alfred Einstein’s copious correspondence to Hans Gál, held in the Bavarian State Library, or Melina Gehring’s examination of his correspondence in her dissertation *Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*,¹¹⁷ spell out in detail the subverting of history and historiography by both the defeated and the victors. Einstein, in his work on *Riemann’s Music Dictionary*, published by Schott, would undergo enormous difficulties as he fought the removal of his name as editor and insisted that articles be removed rather than be published anonymously in Nazi Germany – a stipulation with which Schott ultimately did not comply. The German language equivalent to *Grove* is called *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG) – Music in Past and Present*.¹¹⁸ Published in 1949, it maintained the fog of cover-ups and obfuscations with biographies of the complicit being left notoriously blank after 1933; many who had been forced into exile were not included at all. Such false, hidden and artificial narratives attempt to paper over the chasm that swallowed European culture after 1933. They are the musicological equivalent of Peter Alexander films made after the war in which an undamaged and highly affluent Germany and Austria are portrayed with no mention or indeed hint of the foregoing catastrophe. It is silence and deception as complicity.

Regardless of how one regards Korngold’s *Das Wunder der Heliane*, the attempt at bringing down his reputation has been an ongoing concern since the end of the war. He was damned as a recalcitrant

¹¹⁶ *Vide* Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. 7, Macmillan, London 1995, the reference to Berthold Goldschmidt on p.505.

¹¹⁷ Gehring, Melina: *Alfred Einstein, Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*, von Bockel Verlag, 2007.

¹¹⁸ *MGG*, Bärenreiter, Leipzig 1994.

conservative even before the Nazi takeover. That he wound up as composer of Hollywood's Earl Flynn swashbucklers seemed to confirm the view that his way forward was to embrace the past. Yet moving to Hollywood was not a conscious decision in order to strike further blows on behalf of nineteenth-century Romanticism. He was successful at supplying music for Hollywood swashbucklers because he was a very a fine composer of exactly the sort of music that was required. It was not completely representative of him as an artist and he was only too eager to leave Warner Bros. Studios at the very first opportunity at the end of the war. *Das Wunder der Heliane* predates his swashbucklers by some six or seven years and was composed, indeed premiered, almost to the same day as the premiere of the first commercial sound film. Its language, therefore, anticipates Hollywood, it does not echo it.

Tanner's view of the opera, and of Korngold, is representative of what Steiner calls "Academy". It is damning, and attempts to sink Korngold's work as thoroughly as any Nazi ban. Yet it remains typical of the response that believes Hitler cannot be blamed for everything. It is the increasingly hollow argument one encounters that generally runs along the lines of, "Bartók is a better exile composer than Korngold". The placement of Bartók next to Korngold is to compare unlike with unlike and to assume there is only aesthetic accommodation available for one. It is the same arrogance of "Academy" that trivialises attempts to find women's contributions to music, or damns one genre over another. It represents the type of arrogance that time has proven wrong on countless occasions.

Yet when Eduard Hanslick dismissed Tchaikovsky, or Julius Korngold rubbished Berg's *Wozzeck*, they wrote with a precision and musical exactitude that was incontestable. It is why Edward Dent denounced Julius Korngold as "modern music's most formidable enemy"¹¹⁹ and why Wagner would base his character Beckmesser on Hanslick. The compelling validity of their arguments, however, did not withstand the test of the music's ultimate appeal or timeless quality. Tanner's subjectivity in

¹¹⁹ Korngold, Julius: *Die Korngolds in Wien*, M&T Verlag, Zürich 1991, p.68.

denouncing Korngold as “degenerate” steers very far from the organised arguments of Julius Korngold and Eduard Hanslick, who in any case were too precise to have employed such concepts as “degenerate” in their reviews. Tanner’s overall condemnation demeans the objectivity of “Academy”, which traditionally has been its starting point. Intriguingly, such objectivity is ever apparent when reading the wildly misjudged assessments on Tchaikovsky and Berg, as the very factors that make these composers appealing today are the same points that are scrupulously held to account.

What becomes a challenge for music recovery is the unequivocal damning of works as a result of changing tastes and fashion. Just as it is impossible to impose the political correctness of today onto works of the past, so it is equally impossible to impose concepts of good and poor taste retroactively. Korngold’s opulence, Schoenberg’s abrasiveness and Toch’s coolness are equally indicative of a *Zeitgeist* that only a few can now recall. At the time these composers wrote their works, they were responding to specific impulses and were meant to stand out for exactly the reasons critics dismiss them today. To damn them retroactively when the works themselves do not promote negative or murderous values, such as the marching songs of the Hitler Youth, is misrepresentation and misunderstanding. We can accept an art critic saying he finds Rubens’s nudes unappealing, but it would not be tolerated should he write that they were “corrupt” and indeed “corrupting”. Rescuing music that was once forcibly removed is made all the more difficult if not impossible while such opinions are still given common currency. It appears to be too much to hope that such proscriptions and condemnations come to symbolise resistance to bone-headed authority, or “Academy”. Yet it appears to have had that effect with, for example, the ban by the Irish Free State and subsequent Republic of Ireland (strongly pressured by the Catholic Church) of works by Ó Faoláin, Edna O’Brien, Behan and Beckett (among many others).¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Curiously, Joyce’s *Ulysses* was never actually banned in Ireland. It didn’t have to be, as the threat of a ban was sufficient to restrict importation of the book into the country.

Loss, restitution, restoration and recovery are all interlinked, as can be seen in the forgoing articles. Politics and the arbiters of taste, along with the realities of today's box office, are the forces that work and conspire against these efforts. Together they are as censorious as any dictator, though thankfully not as murderous. It seems incredible that there was a time still in the active memory of many today when one European nation tried to remove another through cultural genocide and "tabula rasa". The sobering assessment of this state of affairs can only underline the importance of understanding, non-judgmental acceptance and recovery.

Conclusion:

What I have gathered over the past twenty-five years, which started with the recording series, continued while music curator at Vienna's Jewish Museum and when writing *Forbidden Music*, is the cyclical nature of history. There are no intrinsically good and bad nations, but rather people formed by environments and governments, too often manipulated by the unscrupulous. I have been involved in recent months in the creation of an exile music centre that is based in Vienna and housed in the very building that once offered musical instruction to an entire generation made to flee for their lives. Every day that I walk through the doors where Rudolf Serkin studied and Franz Schreker taught, I'm reminded of the personal accounts of each individual who was lost to the culture of his native country. The Mozart and Beethoven that Serkin and Schnabel took to America were not the same Mozart and Beethoven who remained in Hitler's Vienna after 1938. Nor was any kind of alternative found to fill the gap left by Arnold Schoenberg and his brother-in-law Rudolf Kolisch, leader of the quartet that premiered much Austrian Modernism.

For this reason, our search for, and collection of, musical estates is not intended to become a repository of the past. This is the requirement of standard archives and libraries. Instead, based at Vienna's Music and Performing Arts University, the largest institution of its kind in the world, we see ourselves as a platform for the future: a means of attempting to recover that which was transplanted, and perhaps partially refilling the cavities left in Europe's cultural soil. The young

musicians coming through this institution are now four generations removed from Hitler's madness. To some, this distance of time represents the fear of forgetting, while to others it represents the courage to investigate loss that is no longer inhibited by the weight of guilt.

Unexpectedly I have been contacted regarding musical estates and often concerning someone long forgotten yet representing a tiny stone in the vast mosaic of stylistic plurality that existed pre-1933. Each case offers three variants: (1) the significance of the individual prior to emigration; (2) the human story that followed the existential cat-and-mouse search for refuge and (3) the void that was left in the former homeland. Memory is now turning to history, as witnesses die away, and indeed, witnesses of witnesses grow old. Sons and daughters of former refugees, and even grandchildren, are now in their sixties and many are even older. History becomes something that is turned over in books as part of the march of time that gives us endless lists of kings, queens and famous battles. Nor can the present be discounted when desperately trying to save the past. What does the plight of today's millions of refugees ultimately hold for Europe's prospects of stability? Are we starting to see our age turn authoritarian? Most worrying of all: is the Anglo-American world now about to become the next great threat to peace and stability? Having been on the "winning" side of two world wars and a Cold War, has the Anglosphere grown arrogant and belligerent while the countries that formerly facilitated dictators now become the voices of moderation and conciliation? We can't know what the future holds, but when Hitler's Munich Putsch attempt in 1923 was dismissed as mere political hooliganism, Joseph Roth already saw the spectre of the Shoah and wrote in sobering language what would come to pass twenty years later.¹²¹ Just as Roth correctly saw the 1923 attempted coup as a symptom of something far more profoundly pathological, so we must accept the upheavals taking place today as more than just nationalistic petulance.

Today in the Anglosphere we have deep wounds that threaten the entire body politic and have the potential to destabilise the world. It does not trivialise the pogroms that took place after Austria's

¹²¹ Roth, Joseph: *Das Spinnennetz*, written in October 1923 in Vienna and today published by Fischer Verlag.

“Anschluss” in 1938 to compare them with the upsurge of attacks, some deadly, that have been carried out by British gangs on foreigners since 23 June 2016. As Walter Arlen mentioned in one of his many private conversations with me, “We knew the Viennese were anti-Semitic, we just didn’t expect it to be so murderous until March 13th, 1938”.

For decades the Viennese remained silent on the legacy they lost following Hitler’s annexation of Austria. Eventually they reclaimed both the Second Viennese School and Gustav Mahler and even drew creative lines from one to the other while bypassing such composers as Alexander Zemlinsky, Franz Schreker, Egon Wellesz and Karl Weigl. A post-war Western musical avant-garde with an unremittingly confrontational agenda allowed the Viennese the delusion of being active proponents of post-tonal twentieth-century music. It assuaged guilt and became their alibi, necessitating the continued suppression of any composers who questioned this paradigm. For example, when I was asked by the director of the Vienna Spring Festival in 2002 to collaborate on programming, the only composer he would consider was Anton Webern. Korngold, Hans Gál, Schreker and others were dismissed as not only irrelevant, but possibly harmful. It was an attitude that one encountered with orchestras, schools and broadcasters. The director of the Festival, Hans Landesmann, was a former refugee and felt that presenting tonal Jewish composers would confuse the perception of a Schoenbergian anti-fascist aesthetic. Landesmann’s generation of nervous survivors has now passed on and today’s public is far removed from its sense of direct association. Indeed, such feelings have morphed into curiosity that no longer frets about being “off-message” with works that do not stand in aesthetic opposition to the Third Reich. In fact, we have now arrived at a time when curiosity rather than pity or empathy is the motivation for recovery. Empathy with musical victims of the Holocaust, however worthy, may lead to deceptive realities. To empathise with oppression has led in some cases to identify with the oppressed so completely that objectivity is lost or at the very least distorted. It might be assumed that my own interests in repertoire lost during the Hitler years came from a natural empathy for the perished German Jewish relatives I never knew. This is a coincidental fact and had no bearing on my research. Empathy for victims may have motivated a good deal of

research into concentration camp music, a genre that is often in dialectical contrast to the environment of its creation. It was effectively a type of *Gebrauchsmusik*, or music employed as a means of survival. As such, it is music that arises out of necessity and is only tangentially part of the broader plurality narrative that existed pre-Hitler. It was indeed a curiosity in the near limitless creative plurality prior to 1933, rather than empathy, that motivated my work. Had I relied solely on empathy, I would have been led into a hubristic attempt to rectify an unrectifiable wrong. Returning to the metaphor of the sunken galleon, everything that was lost was important, though clearly not of equal value. For me, it was the *importance* of plurality rather than the subjective *value* of individual works that provided the impulse to recover them.

Like Guido Adler, I too believe that the past offers the key to the future. To jettison everything with no regard to the past is the road to destruction. Yet what perception one finds in the opera written by Karol Rathaus in 1928–9 called *Alien Earth*, in its treatment of immigrants in search of work and their subsequent exploitation.¹²² The unfettered economic liberalism that formed a coalition of working class Catholics and wealthy monopolists in the late nineteenth century resulted in the Christian Social Party that eventually devoured Liberalism and its inclusive ideals. Johannes Brahms warned against the continued free-market madness that destabilised late nineteenth-century Vienna and that persevered in the exclusion of the poor from polling booths. Every time social and economic liberals clambered into political beds with fiscal conservatives, it resulted in a synthesis that harmed the less well off. In the nineteenth century, the far left no longer opposed the far right, but joined together in a coalition of murderous nationalism. “History does not repeat but it does rhyme”, so reads the apocryphal quote attributed to Mark Twain. In looking through the rubble left by past catastrophes, we may discern the future, and perhaps in addition, find the means of avoiding the next cataclysm.

¹²² *Fremde Erde* is the original title, and it was premiered at Berlin’s State Opera Unter den Linden, conducted by Erich Kleiber on 10 December 1930.

Appendix: Recordings in the Decca series “Entartete Musik”

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Various Artists

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Hawthorne Quartet

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Gewandhausorchester Leipzig · Zagrosek

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Lessing · Bruns

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Tomowa-Sintow · Welker · Pape · Runkel · Haan · Gedda · Berlin Radio Chorus · Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Mauceri

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Wolpe: **Zeus und Elida** etc. – Ebony Band, Capella Amsterdam

Ebony Band · Capella Amsterdam · Herbers

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Kálmán: **Die Herzogin von Chicago** – Various artists, Berlin Radio Chorus

Various artists · Berlin Radio Chorus · Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Bonyngé

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International release 09 July 1999

Waxman/Zeisl: **The Song of Terezin/Requiem Ebraico** – Jones, Kraus

Jones · Kraus · Riedel · Berlin Radio Chorus · Kinderchor des Berliner Rundfunks · Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Foster

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International release 03 November 1998

Haas: **Šarlatán** – Bogza, Brych

Bogza · Brych · Chmelo · Švejda · Vodicka · Mlejnek · Jezek · Prague Philharmonic Chorus · Prague State Opera Orchestra · Yinon

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Rathaus: Symphony No.1/Der letzte Pierrot – Deutsches Sinfonie-Orchester, Berlin, Yinon

Deutsches Sinfonie-Orchester, Berlin · Yinon

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Krasa: **Verlobung im Traum**/Symphonie – Berggold, Hellekant

Berggold · Hellekant · Lascarro · Henschal · Bartosz · Dohmen · Ernst Senff Chor · Deutsches
Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Zagrosek

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Zemlinsky: **A Florentine Tragedy**/Mahler, A. Lieder – Kruse, Vermillion

Kruse · Vermillion · Dohmen · Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra · Chailly

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International release 04 September 1997

Goldschmidt: Cello Concerto/Clarinet Concerto/Violin Concerto – Ma, Orchestre symphonique de
Montréal

Ma · Orchestre symphonique de Montréal · Dutoit · Meyer · Sinfonieorchester Komische Oper ·
Kreizberg · Juillet · Philharmonia Orchestra · Goldschmidt

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Grosz: **Afrika Songs** – Various Artists, Matrix Ensemble

Various Artists · Matrix Ensemble · Ziegler

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International release 28 February 1997

Krenek: Symphony No. 2, Op. 12 – Gewandhausorchester Leipzig, Zagrosek

Gewandhausorchester Leipzig · Zagrosek

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Ute Lemper

Berlin Cabaret Songs

Ute Lemper · Matrix Ensemble · Robert Ziegler

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International release 01 October 1996

Korngold / Weill / Krenek: Violin Concertos – Juillet, Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin

Juliet · Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Mauceri

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Korngold: ***Between Two Worlds/Symphonic Serenade/Theme & Variations*** - Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin, Mauceri

Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Mauceri

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Deutsches Sinfonie-Orchester, Berlin · Zagrosek

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Zemlinsky: ***Die Seejungfrau/Psalms Nos.13 & 23*** – Ernst Senff Chamber Choir, Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin

Ernst Senff Chamber Choir · Radio-Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Chailly

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International release 15 May 1996

Eisler: ***Deutsche Sinfonie*** – Goerne, Wangemann

Goerne · Wangemann · Markert · Lika · Gutschow · Schwarz · Ernst Senff Chor · Gewandhausorchester Leipzig · Zagrosek

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International release 06 September 1995

Krenek: ***Jonny Spielt Auf*** – Marc, Posselt

Marc · Posselt · Kruse · Kraus · St. Hill · Chorus Of The State Opera Of Leipzig · Gewandhausorchester Leipzig · Zagrosek

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Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie · Delfs

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International release 04 September 1995

Schulhoff: **Flammen** – Various artists, Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester Berlin

Various artists · Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester Berlin · Mauceri

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International release 06 September 1995

Schreker: **Die Gezeichneten** – Various artists, Deutsches Sinfonie-Orchester, Berlin

Various artists · Deutsches Sinfonie-Orchester, Berlin · Zagrosek

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International release 23 March 1995

Zemlinsky: **Lyrische Symphonie/Sinfonische Gesänge** – Marc, Hagegård

Marc · Hagegård · White · Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra · Chailly

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International release 05 September 1994

Ullmann: **Der Kaiser von Atlantis/Hölderlin-Lieder** – Berry, Mazura

Berry · Mazura · Vermillion · Kraus · Lippert · Alder · Gewandhausorchester Leipzig · Zagrosek

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Eisler: **The Hollywood Songbook** – Goerne, Schneider

Goerne · Schneider

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