

***From Weimar Republic to Third Reich:  
Composing agency in changing socio-cultural contexts***

***Volume 1 of 2***


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Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

***Signed:***

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ian D. Sutherland', followed by a long horizontal line extending to the right.

## *Abstract*

This dissertation interrogates the nature of composers as aesthetic agents re-orienting from the socio-cultural contexts of the Weimar Republic (1919-1932) to those of the Third Reich in Germany (1933-1945). Work in the sociology of culture, sociology of arts and sociology of music has focused on cultural consumption, including music, as bound up in the reflexive projects by individuals and groups to constitute and reconstitute their social reality. Within my research I focus on the creation of cultural artefacts, in this case ‘works’ in the Western art music tradition, as central to processes of aesthetic agency where composers are engaged in reflexive projects of constituting and reconstituting their social reality and acting within those constructs.

To begin the opening historical chapter, ‘Mortification of Modernism’, uses Goffman’s work in *Asylums* (1968) to contextualize the cultural policies and activities of the Weimar Republic, considered the classical era of modernism, as a home world from which those involved in modernist ventures developed presenting cultures supported by bespoke institutions established in the early post WWI years. During the waning years of the Republic and the rise of National Socialism, these support structures, including the individuals that made up the cooperative networks of modernism, were destroyed removing most connections to the Weimar Republic modernist home world. In the first years of the Third Reich through numerous denunciations, dismissals, policies, etc. the presenting culture of Weimar modernists was mortified through abasements, degradations and humiliations. Having identified – through qualitative mapping of concert programmes, music reviews and festival participation – composers involved in modernist circles in the Weimar Republic, their career paths and compositional outputs were traced throughout the years of the Third Reich to interrogate the aesthetic agency of composers in light of significant situational and perspectival incongruity.

The dissertation then considers each of five composers in depth in separate chapters – Paul Hindemith, Rudolf Wagner-Regeny, Ernst Pepping, Heinrich Kaminski and Wolfgang Fortner. The five were selected based on four criteria: a high degree of activity in Weimar modernist circles (festivals, concerts, societies); continued presence in Germany for a

significant portion of the Third Reich; continued professional activity as composers during the Third Reich; access to relevant source material both secondary (biographies, reviews, stylistic analyses, etc.) and primary (scores, letters, diaries, authored texts, etc.) from the subjects. The data illumines complex repertoires of adaptive strategies these individuals engaged in – with, through and to musical products – and how music is not only shaped by wider socio-cultural contexts, but how its construction is a primary resource for agents to respond to and structure the socio-cultural contexts around them. Key findings include the constitution of music as resource for showing both complicity with and subversion against the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*; as a resource for proxy presence in multiple social spaces (private homes, concert halls, opera houses, etc.) affording the construction and dissemination of composer identity and philosophy; as a technology of self for personal therapy; and in total as a resource for *weltanschauung* - world-building activity where composers construct and re-construct their social realities through musical creation – music as an active tool in and reflexive resource for individual social reality.

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## *List of Abbreviations*

AdMV: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* (Universal German Music Society)

BPO: Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra

Donaueschingen: *Donaueschingen Musiktag* (Donaueschingen Festival of Contemporary Music)

ISCM: International Society for Contemporary Music

KfdK: *Kampfbund für deutsch Kultur* (Fighting League for German Culture)

NMg: *Die Neue Musikgesellschaft* (New Music Society)

NSDAP: *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist Germany Worker's Party – Nazi party)

NSKG: *Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde* (National Socialist Cultural Community)

RKK: *Reichskulturkammer* (National Chamber of Culture)

RMK: *Reichsmusikkammer* (National Chamber of Music)

SA: *Sturmabteilungen* (Storm troopers; “Brown Shirts”)


SPD: *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

SS: *Schutzstaffel* (Security Squad – Hitler's security police)

ZfM - *Zeitschrift für Musik* (Journal of Music)

## Recordings

On the accompanying CD are recordings of short excerpts from selected pieces discussed in the case study chapters.

Throughout the thesis these are denoted by the symbol  followed by a track number and title. Below is a complete list of all tracks.

<b>Track #</b>	<b>Composer, work title, date of composition</b>
<b>1</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Overture: Sganerelle Oder der Schein Betrug</i> (1929), mm. 1-13 – piano reduction
<b>2a</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Liederbüchlein: Rotkelchens Silberlied</i> – accompaniment (1920/1934)
<b>2b</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Liederbüchlein: Rotkelchens Silberlied</i> – melody (1920/1934)
<b>3</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Spinettmusik: Movement I</i> , mm. 1-14 (1934)
<b>4</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Klavierbüchlein: Adagio für Léli</i> (1940)
<b>5</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Sonate I, Movement I</i> , mm. 1-15 (1943)
<b>6</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Sonate I, Movement II</i> – mm. 1-12 (1943)
<b>7</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Sonate I, Movement IV</i> , mm. 1-19 (1943)
<b>8</b>	Wagner-Régeny, Rudolf: <i>Hexameron, Movement 5</i> (1943)
<b>9</b>	Kaminski, Heinrich: <i>Klavierbuch I: Praludium</i> , mm. 1-5 (1935)
<b>10</b>	Kaminski, Heinrich: <i>Klavierbuch I: Praludium</i> , mm. 35-41 (1935)
<b>11</b>	Kaminski, Heinrich: <i>Klavierbuch I: Courante</i> , mm. 19-21 (1935)
<b>12</b>	Kaminski, Heinrich: <i>Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel</i> , Exercise 1 (1935)
<b>13</b>	Kaminski, Heinrich: <i>Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel</i> , Exercise 10 (1935)
<b>14</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Sonatine, Movement III</i> , mm. 1-8 (1931)
<b>15</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Spandauer Chorbuch: #189, Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin</i> (keyboard only) (1934)
<b>16</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Zwei Romanzen: Romanze I</i> , mm. 1-4 (1935)
<b>17</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Sonate I, Movement I</i> , mm. 1-14 (1937)
<b>18</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Sonate II, Movement I</i> , mm. 1-18 (1937)
<b>19</b>	Pepping, Ernst: <i>Symphony in C Major, Movement 1</i> , mm. 1-7 – piano reduction (1939)
<b>20</b>	Fortner, Wolfgang: <i>Sonatina für Klavier, Movement I</i> , mm. 1-14 (1934)
<b>21</b>	Fortner, Wolfgang: <i>Sonatina für Klavier, Movement II</i> , mm. 1-19 (1934)
<b>22</b>	Fortner, Wolfgang: <i>Sonatina für Klavier, Movement III, „Rondo nach schwäbischen Volkstänzen“</i> , mm. 1-27 (1934)

## **Introduction**

## *Introduction*

The *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP) – Nazi party) became Germany's government in January 1933, by June it was made abundantly clear Nazi politics and ideologies were to have severe ramifications for music and musicians and their freedoms to act. The June 1933 issue of the important journal *Die Musik*, entitled “The New Germany”, contained a stern warning to the readership from the infamous Joseph Goebbels:

“German art of the next decades will be heroic, hard as steel, and romantic, sentimental and factual, national with great pathos, and it will be binding and demanding – or it will not be.” (*Die Musik*, ‘Personalien’, p. 641 quoted from Meyer 1993, p. 34).

My research is an interdisciplinary study on the adaptive musical agency of five composers who had to orient towards such ideologues, ideologies and resultant policies and actions, towards the “other” of Nazism in a “new Germany”, as its actors transformed the nation's cultural landscape in relation to abhorrent beliefs.

In exploring the experiences and actions of these composers – Paul Hindemith, Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, Heinrich Kaminski, Ernst Pepping and Wolfgang Fortner – I investigate their adaptive strategies of agency relating to the challenges and difficulties (situational incongruities) they faced in National Socialist Germany. My research is a unique study into how creativity in music is far more than creating music, how it is about world-building activity highlighted here in the complex (and sometimes twisted) adaptations composers engaged with in facing impositions of ideological dictates. While other studies on music and the Third Reich (Levi, 1994; Meyer, 1993; Prieberg, 1982; Wulf, 1963; to a lesser extent Kater, 1997; 2000) are implicitly motivated in judging degrees of Nazi collaboration, or focus on the mass emigrations from Hitler's regime (e.g. Brinkmann and Wolff, 1999), I embrace the messiness of the activity of composers who remained in Nazi Germany to explore how National Socialism was experienced, perceived and was operationalised in composers' daily creative lives and careers. Before proceeding further I want to state very clearly that while these composers in varying degrees experienced circumstantial and



perspectival incongruities in Nazi Germany, in relation to the millions of individuals who were tortured and murdered under the banner of Nazism, they were fortunate. While at times I discuss these composers as “suffering” critical attacks, political denunciations, censorship, dismissals, military conscription, etc., it is in full recognition that none of them experienced a concentration camp or gas chamber.

In presenting this research I move from this *Introduction* to the chapter *Methodology and Theory* in which I describe the interdisciplinary design of the study and key theoretical concepts developed and used. In the next chapter, *Mortification of Modernism*, I draw upon the work of Goffman (*Asylums*, 1968) to develop a conceptual framework for considering how the rise of the Third Reich and its cultural policies came to bear on the activity of cultural producers (with reference to data collected from the five case studies). Having established methodological, theoretical and conceptual frameworks I proceed through each of the five case studies in turn (Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping, Fortner) developing the argument that musical creativity and musical products are resources for adaptive social situation and action – social agency. To illustrate the discussion of musical content I have included my own recordings of excerpts from strategic pieces. These are found on the accompanying CD.

Before introducing each chapter I begin, here, by situating my research as an interdisciplinary qualitative study that not only seeks to investigate the relationships of music, musical creativity and social agency amid situational incongruity but one that seeks to do so in a manner that bridges an interdisciplinary divide between sociology and musicology.

### *An interdisciplinary approach*

The work contained in this thesis is focused on an interdisciplinary approach to studying music in action – musical activity constitutive of and constituted by social agency. It is research that reflects upon the experiences and actions of the aforementioned composers to consider how musical creativity is a dynamic force in social life, how it is a formative resource for self reflexivity, situation and action.

Specifically, this is a historical study of how composers as social actors mobilise musical creativity and resultant products to manage and act experienced situational incongruity – a Weberian inspired project of studying music and its creation as subjectively meaningful, reflexive action by actors to orient towards, and act in relation to, “the other”. By reflexive action I am referring to circular self referencing work (in relation to “the other”) where individuals evaluate their situation in wider social structures to create understandings of those structures and to appropriate enabling and constraining factors in relation to their own social activity. As such, I use “self reflexivity” to refer to the capacity of social actors to evaluate relationships between actions and effects in recognising social forces as well as an ability to alter one’s social situation.

The situational incongruity I consider resulted from the impingement of Nazi ideology on Germany’s cultural sector (and from generally experienced socio-cultural, political and economic difficulties in Germany at the time). Having chosen to focus on composers involved in modernism during the Weimar Republic who remained active in Nazi Germany, the incongruities I investigate were fore-grounded in their orientations by the pervasive ideological stance towards modernism (and the Weimar Republic generally) as *entartete* – “degenerate” – by National Socialism. My thinking focuses on how these composers used musical activity as a medium within and through which to do things (situate/resituate self, present/re-present self, therapy self, create ontological and professional security, act subversively, etc.), i.e. as agency, within the maelstrom of policy changes, denunciations, dismissals, emigrations, imprisonments, etc. which accompanied the rise of National Socialism. With each case study I begin by situating the composer within modernist circles during Germany’s Weimar Republic (c. 1919-1932) before interrogating their actions within the cultural contexts of the Third Reich.

This research required the combination of several academic disciplines: music/arts sociology, sociological theory, musicology, history. While in many ways the subject matter – the consideration of musical creativity’s relationship to social agency amid situational incongruity – demanded an interdisciplinary approach, the interdisciplinarity was in itself a research aim. It has been my intent throughout to use my case study material to chart a course of research that bridges the disciplines of sociology and musicology.

I have long held an interest in historical musicology, particularly the history of twentieth century music and the activity of composers within that history, and with the sociological study of musical activity. However, there is a difficult intellectual gulf between, on the one side musicology and on the other side music sociology. Ironically, this gulf is constituted by “the music”; how to deal with the materials (sounds and how they are organized and interpreted) of musical activity. Here I briefly explore this gulf to situate my research as not just exploring the activity of composers to manage and act situational incongruity but as using this exploration to join other scholars (Cook, 2000; DeNora, 2000; Martin, 2006) in bridging the gulf between musicology and music sociology. Uniquely, my project of bridging this gap develops an approach to socio-music studies through studying musical creativity (rather than interactions in musical events such as listening or performing) in the form of Western art music composition.

Over years of study and training as a western art musician and scholar I became disenchanted with the isolationist and elitist stance musicology had taken, at least until the latter half of the twentieth century, in relation to other academic disciplines and musical traditions. The more interdisciplinary, cultural studies turns in musicology, known variously as the “new” musicology, “cultural” musicology and “critical” musicology (Clayton *et al* (eds), 2003; Kramer, 1990; Leppert and McClary, 1987; McClary, 1991; Subotnik, 1991; 1996;), has gone some ways in recognizing and reforming this isolated elitism. Nonetheless, I find their arguments and conclusions – often framed as sociological in nature – are not sufficiently rigorous when evaluated sociologically – both in terms of method (e.g. lack of grounded case study research) and in terms of theoretical underpinnings. Emanating from Theodor Adorno’s “hunch” that musical materials are simulacrum of social life and order (which I return to in the concluding chapter) the new musicology can, I suggest, be considerably strengthened by a more thorough-going form of interdisciplinary scholarship. The interdisciplinarity that I have in mind avoids the conceptual and theoretical short cuts too-often taken by ‘social’ musicology, in particular, its failure often to identify the mechanisms by which music and its materials are constitutive of and constituted by social life.

However, the best “sociology” in the cultural studies approach of new musicology (e.g. Small’s (1998) redefinition of music as musicking in *Musicking: the Meanings of Performing and Listening*; Martin (2006) *Music and the Sociological Gaze*), has brought the discipline closer and closer to music sociology. Yet, within music sociology lays another significant problem. While on the one hand musicology (new or old) studies “the music”, the discipline of music sociology tends to ignore “the music”. Largely owing to a devotion to the production of culture approach, music sociology has tended to ignore the material elements of what it studies, to abstract and reify the products (primarily recorded music), in favour of its production and use for social situation and structuring. This gap is evident equally in work that deals with production and work that deals with taste and social exclusion (e.g. Beal and Peterson, 2001; Bennett, 1999; 2000; 2001; Bryson, 1996; DeNora, 1995; Dimaggio, 1982; Gilmore, 1987; Hibbett, 2005; Kingsbury, 1988; Small, 1998; Peterson, 1976; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Scruggs, 1998).

Put succinctly, the discipline of musicology (and related discipline of music theory) has excellent traditions of studying musical materials (the forms, timbres, rhythms, pitches, melodies, harmonies of musical activity). However, it falls short in addressing how musical materials are active and dynamic materials in social life tending to merely declare them social simulacrum. The discipline of music sociology has excellent traditions of studying the social production and consumption of music (to paraphrase Becker, 1989 – how music is a product of what a lot of people do jointly – and how its consumption is used in social situation and agency by social actors) but comes short in addressing the material sounds of what it studies.

I am not the first researcher to have identified this intellectual gulf nor am I the first to attempt to traverse it (see DeNora, 2000; Martin, 2006; McCormick, 2009). In particular DeNora’s *Music in Everyday Life* is successful in discerning how “the social” gets into music and how music gets into “the social” through the purposeful use of musical products (primarily recorded music) in social agency. DeNora’s explanations of mechanisms behind Adorno’s hunch that music is a force in social life (that ‘at the level of daily life, music has power’ (DeNora, 2000, pp. 16-17)) are extremely useful in understanding how music, not as a reified product but in the dynamic sense, is inherently social. I believe a key finding in her work is encapsulated in the statement:

‘To be in control, then, of the soundtrack of social action is to provide a framework for the organization of social agency, a framework for how people perceive (consciously or subconsciously) potential avenues of conduct’ (p. 17).

This statement – which is substantiated through a wealth of case study data and draws upon the work of social theorists on key sociological concerns such as self reflexivity and ontological security/insecurity/risk (e.g. Beck, 1992; Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994; Giddens, 1990; 1991) – gets to the heart of the intellectual gulf I have been discussing. Simultaneously, it allows me to develop the concept of agency as I will use it in this study, as the reflexive identification (not necessarily in terms of conscious propositions) of, as DeNora puts it, ‘potential avenues of conduct’. In what follows, I hope to show how agency can be generated through creative musical acts, or, in other words, how musical activity itself is a medium of agency.

DeNora’s work shows how musical materials, the sounds (the forms, timbres, rhythms, pitches, melodies harmonies of musical activity), are frameworks used to organize social situations and agency. However, within this statement DeNora also indicates a limit to her research; she focuses on soundtracks, that is to say extant recorded music. While DeNora moves to the level of musical materials, her study, like those of the production of culture approach, focuses on the use of musical products (recordings, scores, performances, etc.) not on the dynamic processes of making music. DeNora focuses on how social actors use the materials of extant musical products for socially situating themselves and acting within those situations. Her work, like virtually all contemporary socio-music studies (e.g. Beal and Peterson, 2001; Cohen, 1995; Hayes, 2006; Hibbett, 2005; Lareau, 2005; Sterne, 1997; Wilson, 2003; Wolfe and Haefner, 1996), was not intended to consider musical creativity (in the sense of making new music – either through composition, improvisation or performance), it focuses on the dynamic processes of interactions with musical products. However, what might be considered the end point of her research in *Music in Everyday Life* points to a new frontier for music sociology and one that adds another interdisciplinary brick to bridging the gap between music oriented disciplines, the focus on musical creativity as mobilizing the materials of music for social situation and action by social actors.

What my research attempts to do is to take the soundtrack cue from DeNora's work to consider how the *creating* of soundtracks (here composition in the western art music sense) provides a framework for the organization of social agency and is in fact constituted by and constitutive of that agency. At the heart of this work, as I believe to be the case in DeNora's, is the continued exploration of Adorno's hunch that music is a force in social life; that its materials are resources for social situation and agency.

### *Thesis outline*

Beginning with the presentation of methodology and general theoretical frameworks in the chapter *Methodology and theory* I next discuss a key conceptual framework I developed to investigate the situational incongruities experienced by my five case studies, namely, the *Mortification of Modernism*. The remaining data chapters develop each case study in turn before I collate findings and make final arguments in the concluding chapter. While this is a relatively conventional approach I markedly depart from convention by omitting a formal centralised literature review. This decision requires some explanation.

Throughout this study I reviewed and used literature from: music sociology; historical studies on the Weimar Republic; historical studies on the Third Reich; historical/cultural studies on music/arts in the Third Reich; musicology literatures on each composer; primary source documents (letters, diaries, scores, programme notes, journal articles) relevant to each case study. To complete a conventional review of these distinct literatures would have been excessively lengthy and choosing only one of them would have negated the interdisciplinarity I sought. As such I chose to abandon the conventional form of a centralised literature review in favour of reviewing and using these literatures as I proceeded through the individual chapters. In each chapter I take time to comment on the literatures when they are relevant, commenting on their usefulness or highlighting any shortcomings. While the lack of a stand alone literature review may elicit criticism, I believe that the interweaving of literature throughout the thesis better serves the interdisciplinary approach I have developed; specifically, it avoids privileging one literature over another instead using the various literatures in service of the overall exploration of musical creativity and social agency.

## *Methodology and Theory*

In *Methodology and Theory* I outline the overall historical methodology of my research. This began with a survey of secondary sources on the histories of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich (focusing on extant cultural/historical studies of music/arts during those politically reified periods) and in assembling primary source documents for each of the identified case studies. As the goal was to investigate musical activity during situational incongruity I carried out an extensive process of discerning publicly active composers (i.e. composers active in composing and having their works performed) within Weimar Republic modernist circles that remained publicly active, despite circumstantial and perspectival difficulties, for at least a significant portion of the Third Reich. This involved a process of identifying active composers through performances of their works at important festivals and via key performing ensembles.

Throughout the research I allowed theoretical concepts to emerge (in a grounded theory approach) from the data rather than seeking to impose theoretical concepts or use the data to test extant theories. While many of the theoretical concepts I present, particularly the various adaptive strategies of action, are unique to this study, there were a number of extant theories and concepts which were useful:

- (1) Goffman's theory of mortification from *Asylums* (1968): to conceptualise the process of change to musical fields by the Nazi cultural bureaucracy as experienced by individual actors (mortification of modernism);
- (2) Giddens' work on reflexive projects of self from *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (1991) to conceptualise how musical creativity was used to situate the self amid situational incongruity;
- (3) Goffman's work on *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956) to understand how musical creativity was harnessed by composers to reflexively present (or more accurately re-present) themselves during the Third Reich.

Taken together, these concepts provide the foundation for my conceptualization of musical creativity as resource to reflexive social agency.

### *Mortification of Modernism*

In investigating the dynamics of musical activity as social agency one of the central features of my work was the development of a conceptual framework to contextualise the effects of social, cultural and political changes (new ideological rules and regulations) imposed by National Socialism on Germany's artists. In *Mortification of Modernism* I argue these changes constituted a process akin to Goffman's theory of mortification developed through his research on total institutions (prisons and mental health care institutions) in *Asylums* (1968).

In Goffman's research he theorised individuals come to such total institutions with presenting cultures – their knowledge of how to act – derived from home worlds maintained and substantiated by various support structures. Taking this cue from Goffman I argue the support structures of Weimar modernism (cooperative networks, societies, festivals, journals) constituted a homeworld from which composers developed modernist presenting cultures – the knowledge of how to act musically – with which they entered the totalitarian Nazi state. I then argue that National Socialist changes to the cultural sector came to bear on the agency of composers as mechanisms for the debasement of that presenting culture – the process of mortification – as the institutional practices outlined by Goffman debased the presenting cultures of new inmates and patients.

Drawing largely on primary source data (letters, diaries and reflections) I develop the view that, just as Goffman's inmates and patients engaged in adaptive strategies of action in total institutions, so too did the five composers I have studied. As a result of the mortification of modernism they were forced to adapt to the changed conditions of artistic production and reception instituted by Nazi ideologues. The conceptual framework of the mortification of modernism established the key theme that connects all five case studies – how musical activity is mobilised by social actors as adaptive strategies to reflexively connect 'personal and social change' (Giddens, 1991, p. 33) in 'attempts to produce their social situations and



themselves *as selves*' as they 'manage perspectival and circumstantial incongruity' (DeNora, 2000, p. 6 & 52).

Following this key theme I then proceed through each of the case studies. While each study is a unique piece of research unto itself the format of presentation is standardised. With each case study I begin by providing basic biographical information. Using extant literatures and my own primary archival research I then situate each composer as active within Weimar Republic modernist circles before investigating adaptive strategies of action during the rise and establishment of the Third Reich.

### *Case Studies*

#### *Paul Hindemith (1885-1963)*

The first case study focuses on one of the most famous 20<sup>th</sup> century Western art music composers, Paul Hindemith. Hindemith was a natural beginning point. The extant literature and available primary sources (e.g. letters, musical scores) on Hindemith are both extensive and accessible. Additionally Hindemith was one of Germany's most publicly known composers during the Weimar Republic and Third Reich and experienced significant public difficulties (reported in the press) with the Nazi regime. Hindemith's experiences and actions offered many foundational lessons in my exploration of the social situation and action of composers during this period.

With Hindemith I first develop the view that he nurtured a conscious aesthetic agency through music from his earliest professional career. As an aesthetic agent Hindemith, like the other composers studied, actively used aesthetic processes (musical creativity/composition) and products to both situate himself socially (to produce/appropriate social situations and himself as self) and as resources for action meaningfully oriented towards "the other". Primarily using Hindemith's letters I describe his musical creativity as involved in reflexive projects of self as he produced his social situations and his self as self by thinking with and through musical processes and products.

Having developed arguments regarding reflexive aesthetic agency I interrogate his Third Reich activity through considerations of his compositional decisions, particularly his decisions on what to compose and what not to compose. With reference to an abandoned opera (*Etienne und Luise*) and a completed opera (*Mathis der Maler* (1936)) I argue that the creative decision making process was used by Hindemith to appropriate elements of the changing social, cultural and political contexts through counterfactual reasoning on conditions of critical reception. I then use the aforementioned concept of the mortification of modernism to develop a line of thinking of music used to “re-present” Hindemith’s professional self as a contemporaneously valuable German artist through beliefs in his creative powers to overcome negative reception by Nazi ideologues. This strategy of using music to present/re-present self is a key theme that runs throughout all five case studies. Finally, I look at Hindemith’s last years in Nazi Germany (he emigrated in 1938) to discern a strategy of presenting himself as a viable German musical export claiming his importance to German musical culture through his international activity.

*Rudolf Wagner-Régeny (1903-1969)*

Following my case study on Hindemith I turn to the experiences and actions of Romanian born German composer Rudolf Wagner-Régeny. Wagner-Régeny, as with the rest of the case studies, remained in Germany throughout the Third Reich. Unlike Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny’s was a nascent career in 1933. His actions and experiences afforded a longitudinal view to a developing career (one originally based in modernism) amid the situational incongruities of the Nazi state.

With Wagner-Régeny I further develop views to music and self reflexivity and the use of musical creativity and products to present/re-present the self publicly. However, I deepen this discussion by introducing the concept of private versus public space. As a theme developed in subsequent studies, I explore the differences in agency afforded through different musical contexts from public works for the stage (e.g. operatic works) to private subversive interpretive work done with, through and to music in private settings. With public music a key strategy is introduced which also figures prominently in the cases of Pepping and Fortner, the strategy of positive periodicity. I argue that Wagner-Régeny, like Pepping and Fortner, sought positive reception through public works by employing

materials and methods of musical composition linked to periods of cultural history (e.g. Baroque) highly valued and considered aesthetically acceptable by Nazi critics and ideologues. While developing arguments round agency at this public level, I also develop arguments regarding music as individual therapeutic resource. Particularly with Wagner-Régeny's latter Third Reich activity (c. 1940-1945), when he had fallen from favour with the regime, the role of musical creativity as affording private therapeutic workspace for the self is discussed.

As with each case study I begin by situating Wagner-Régeny in the Weimar modernist homeworld. I then outline his Third Reich experiences, which progressed from public acclaim to proscription and denouncement, through his engagement with the public spectacle of opera investigating three principal stage works: *Der Günstling* (1935 – ‘The favourite’), *Die Bürger von Calais* (1939 – ‘The citizens of Calais’) and *Johanna Balk* (1941). Subsequently I reflect on Wagner-Régeny's smaller, more intimate works including the positive periodist keyboard collection *Spinettmusik* (1934) and the folksong collection *Liederbüchlein* (1935). Focusing on private space I turn to Wagner-Régeny's latter Third Reich works, all for the piano: *Klavierbüchlein* (1940), *Zwei Sonaten* (1942-1943), *Hexameron* (1943). Throughout my work on Wagner-Régeny his personal diaries and later reflections on the period are used to understand how he related music, creativity and agency.

#### *Heinrich Kaminski (1886-1946)*

Heinrich Kaminski, like Hindemith, was a recognised composer by the end of the Weimar Republic. Appointed to the prestigious Berlin based *Akademie der Künste* (Academy of Arts) in 1930 he was considered a master of complex polyphonic composition. However, with the rise of the Third Reich and the mortification of modernism Kaminski returned to an isolated rural retreat near the Bavarian Alps. Using Kaminski's experiences and activity I expand the discussion of musical agency in relation to public versus private space highlighting a key strategy used by Kaminski, a strategy of retreat. While this is not dissimilar to arguments made by other scholars regarding “inner immigration” (see Arendt, 1973, p. 88; Cohen, 2001, p. 132; Laquer, 1996, p. 65) what is discerned is a strategy of retreat as not just an avoidance of contact with sources of incongruity, but rather the use of

music and its creation to afford and maintain a private sanctuary for self therapy/maintenance as well as a safe place in and from which to act.

In the remainder of the chapter I consider how Kaminski mobilised his music and musical creativity to think and act with to manage the resultant situational incongruities he experienced through modernism's mortification. Particularly I explore music as a reflexive existential resource. Using writings by Kaminski (journal articles and programme notes) and anecdotes from his students I discuss how Kaminski used music not only to situate himself at the level of day to day social, cultural and political interactions (as seen in the cases of Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny) but to extend his project of self beyond more localised notions of time and space towards philosophical and existential concepts regarding the self and eternity. I then detail three further strategies of action. Closely related to the presentation/re-presentation of self discussed throughout my research Kaminski engaged in a strategy of musical diversity. Also discussed in relation to Wagner-Régeny and later with Fortner, the strategy of musical diversity was a strategy of presenting self through diverse media and genres written for diverse markets of consumption; the proliferation of various musical markets (e.g. sacred and secular, chamber and symphonic) with accessible new works. Kaminski, like Wagner-Régeny (and as later discussed with Pepping and Fortner) was also engaged in the aforementioned strategy of positive periodicity: writing neo-classically derived accessible works that were successfully received (e.g. *Dorische Musik für Orchester*, 1934). Finally, despite the mortification of modernism, Kaminski was strategically able to rely on a few members of his modernist cooperative networks for performance of his output and for financial assistance.

#### *Ernst Pepping (1901-1981)*

Unlike Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny or Kaminski (though similar to the final case study on Wolfgang Fortner) Ernst Pepping was able to develop and maintain a successful compositional career in the Third Reich inasmuch as he secured fulltime employment, had his works performed and published and experienced little discernible difficulty with the regime after its initial establishment. I use my case study on Pepping (and the following study on Fortner) to interrogate how he developed this "successful" career. Specifically I discuss how he was successful in moving away from his modernist roots (modernist

presenting self) at the end of the Weimar Republic to present himself first as a composer of sacred music (primarily choral) and eventually secular instrumental music (primarily orchestral).

I begin by situating Pepping's early professional compositional activity (during the Weimar Republic) as focused on developing a secular modernist compositional career particularly inspired by the works of Hindemith. Using compositions such as his *Sonatine* for piano (1931) which were received as “difficult” and with “little public appeal” (Eber, 2006, p. 16) I follow Pepping's progression from aesthetically challenging modernist oriented instrumental works to more conventional sacred choral works beginning in the late Weimar Republic (e.g. *Choralsuite* (1928) and *Kleine Messe* (1929)). I argue that this movement away from modernism towards a strategy of positive periodicity in sacred music culminated in his successful appointment to the Berlin-Spandau *Kirchenmusikschule* (School of Church Music) in 1934 and the composition of his extensive multi-volume *Spandauerchorbuch* (Spandauer Choral Book – 1934-1938). This, I argue, afforded Pepping an advantageous identity and space as a professional sacred music composer through which he was able to avoid the ideological derision experienced by many of his colleagues.

Central to my discussion on Pepping is his short book *Stilwende der Musik* ('Style Changes in Music' – 1934) which I argue is an artefact of his reflexive project of self. I develop the view that by writing this book Pepping engaged in thinking with and through musical materials and processes to situate himself by developing a philosophy of music he believed appropriate for National Socialist Germany. This was a philosophy of music rooted in *gemeinschaftswerk* (community work) following the strategy of positive periodicity (homage to the styles and practices of the Renaissance and Baroque periods).

While I contextualise Pepping's transition to a successful cultural producer in the Third Reich through his appropriation of sacred choral music composition, Pepping shifted back to secular instrumental works in the mid to late 1930s. Beginning with *Zwei Romanzen für Klavier* (1935) and the *Drei Sonaten für Klavier* (1937) I discuss a cautious re-presentation of professional self as Pepping gradually moved his activity back towards the realm of secular works by avoiding connections to “degenerate” modernism. Using this shift I

further discuss the use of composing and musical products in social agency through the representation of self. Referring to his *Senfl Variationen* (1937) I discuss how Pepping's cautious re-transition to the world of secular instrumental composition was not just accomplished through the strategy of positive periodicity but followed a project of cultivating connections to non-musical cultural history and icons (e.g. Ludwig Senfl, the titular reference in *Senfl Variationen*, was a prominent Reformation era composer with links to Martin Luther). Finally I consider how Pepping was eventually successful on the grand symphonic stage with three neo-classical large-scale symphonies composed 1939-1944 arguing that he accomplished this through his reflexive understandings of what kinds of music were appropriate for the contemporary *Zeitgeist* – what kinds of music would prove successful for the furtherance of his professional career in Nazi Germany.

#### *Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987)*

My final case study explores the musical activity of Wolfgang Fortner. At twenty-five years of age at the beginning of the Nazi regime Fortner's case affords consideration of a career in truly nascent stage, one coterminous with the end of the Weimar republic and establishment of the Third Reich. Despite Fortner's relative youth, before the advent of the Third Reich he had already experienced the beginnings of the mortification of modernism in the form of negative reviews from the Nazi oriented press. In relation to his 1930 socialist inspired *Chor der Fräuleins* he was labelled a "cultural bolshevist". As such my case study on Fortner is a final consideration of the use of musical creativity to re-present the self, to overcome the "cultural bolshevist" label which had been given him.

Developing a view that Fortner situated himself as torn between reified aesthetic opposites of modernism versus traditionalism I argue that in the early Third Reich, as he sought a representation of self, he engaged in a project of reconciling aesthetic approaches from which he too developed a strategy of positive periodicity. Considering compositions such as his *Konzert für Streicher* (Concerto for Strings – 1933), *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin* (Four Songs on Words by Hölderlin – 1933), *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* (A German Mass – 1934) and *Sonatina für Klavier* (Sonata for Piano – 1934) I argue that Fortner sought positive public reception by connecting his compositional activity to valued German icons and traditions of the past. Ultimately Fortner, like Pepping, was successful in garnering

positive critical reception and with reference to contemporaneous reviews I discuss how Fortner's positive periodist aesthetics and associations to German cultural history were positively appropriated by the musical press reciprocally feeding back to his future compositional work to continue this project into the latter years of the Third Reich.

Fortner's case also provides a perspective on an artist who in 1940 joined the NSDAP. Though there is no valid excuse for an individual voluntarily joining such a repugnant socio-political organization, I consider Fortner's decision to join the Nazi party – along with other associations he developed to affiliated organizations – as substantiating his positive presentation of self through a strategy of connecting himself to Nazi organisations.

To conclude this final case study I briefly reflect on the emergence of this German composer in the post WWII era. Here I further substantiate claims that Fortner reflexively tailored his creative activity to develop and present his professional self positively. Following WWII and the downfall of the Third Reich Fortner re-styled his compositional activity, and eventually disowned earlier compositions, to enthusiastically embrace the latest trends in modernism. Here I argue again composers, as aesthetic agents, appropriate wider social, cultural and political contexts through creative activity and use those understandings to positively present the self publicly.

Within this introduction I have situated my research as a unique interdisciplinary study that brings together sociology and musicology to interrogate the musical activity of five composers active in the Third Reich. Here I have introduced the introduced key concepts and individual chapters of the thesis. In the following chapter I detail the methodology followed in this research and further discuss the theoretical concepts I have developed and used.

## **Methodology and Theory**



## *Methodology and Theory*

In this chapter I outline the methodology developed and used to carry out my research and the key theoretical concepts that emerged from the data which were employed to contextualize the musical activity of the five case studies.

### *Methodology*

The design of this project followed a historical methodology beginning with a survey of secondary literature on music and cultural policies in the Weimar Republic (Gilliam, 1994; Bullivant, 1977; Kaes *et al.*, 1995; Levitz, 1993; 1996; Peukert, 1993) and in the Third Reich (Etlin, 2002; Kater, 1992; 1997; 2000; Kater and Riethmüller, 2003; Levi, 1991; 1994; Meyer, 1993; Mosse, 2003; Petropoulos, 1999; Prieberg, 1982; Steinweis, 1993; Wulf, 1963). This literature provided detailed descriptions of the cultural fields of Germany (with close reference to musical fields) over these periods and dynamics of change that occurred; how they were structured and regulated, as well as information on individuals active within them. This review of literature also highlighted both the lack of extant sociological research on composers active in Nazi Germany and the lack of grounded research on the transitioning of cultural producers from the modernist art worlds of the Weimar Republic to those of the Third Reich. The benefit of this literature was the clear outlining of significant and meaningful differences between the cultural ideologies and policies of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich and that these came to bear on Germany's cultural producers affecting their *in situ* activity. This was especially true in the realm of governmental policies and bureaucratic structures impinging in different ways on the music profession during the two political periods.

The data contained in these historical surveys indicated that in the Weimar Republic (a period of relative artistic freedom) musicians were, with the support of progressive political and bureaucratic officials, engaged in processes of developing modernist art worlds through acquiring positions in established institutions (such as the Berlin *Akademie der Künste* and *Hochschule für Musik* or the *Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein* – Universal German Music Society) and creating new ones (such as the *Donaueschinger Musiktager* –

Donaueschingen Contemporary Music Festival, and the International Society for Contemporary Music). During this period composers developed professional careers largely through participation (i.e. securing performances of their new works) in prominent national and international music festivals which served as showcases for new works. Through these festivals composers gained exposure which sometimes led to publishing contracts and future performances of their works, in addition to time and space to engage in cooperative network building. Chief among these events were the annual summer festivals in Germany of the internationally recognized *Donaueschingen Musiktager* and the *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein* (AdMV) as well as the summer festivals of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) held at various centers around Europe. At these festivals many of the most prominent contemporary European musicians (though not only European musicians) were regularly in attendance and the festivals were widely reported on in the musical media. Important among the music media were several new journals (e.g. *Melos* and *Musikblätter des Anbruch*) and established journals (e.g. *Die Musik*) which acted as more pervasive forums for debate and promotion of contemporary musical trends, styles and compositions.

This research outlined ways and means of musical production in Germany during the Weimar Republic, systems and processes I understood (though they were never contextualized as such in the literature) as emblematic of the theory of art worlds (Becker, H., 1982). However, more importantly the data pointed a way forward for my research, a way of identifying the professionally active modernist musicians by collating the concert programmes of the aforementioned festivals (a procedure detailed below) and by surveying prominent music journals to find articles, often written by contemporaneous composers, which discussed the musical activities of these art worlds. I could then highlight the changes in the systems and processes of these Weimar Republic art worlds to those of the Third Reich.

In the research on cultural production in the Third Reich I discerned similar processes to those in the Weimar Republic: the acquirement of positions in established institutions and the creation of new institutions. However, conceptually I saw these process as aimed at reversing the changes in fields made during the Weimar Republic: the removal of modernist artists from established institutions (such as the *Akademie der Künste* and the

*Hochschule für Musik*) replaced by National Socialist supporters, and the disbanding or reforming of modernist institutions (such as the International Society for Contemporary Music and the AdMV) along with the establishment of new organizations such as the *Reichskulturkammer* (National Chamber of Culture whose subordinate domain oriented chambers included the *Reichsmusikkammer* – National Chamber of Music). Within the cultural policies of Nazi Germany was a goal of removing the influence of modernism from Germany's cultural landscape to serve the purposes of National Socialist cultural ideology directed towards subjugating and regulating Germany's cultural producers.

This project stemmed from ideological conflict between modernism and more conservative cultural commentators and scholars going back to the early Weimar Republic (as evidenced for example in the conservative music journal *Zeitschrift für Musik*). In many instances conservative cultural commentators active in the Weimar Republic became Nazi cultural ideologues and bureaucrats in the Third Reich, now backed and legitimized by the support structures of National Socialism (Kater, 1997; Sachs, 1970; Wulf, 1963).

Given these changes in musical art worlds from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich I hypothesized that composers who were active in/were dependent on the formation and maintenance of modernist art worlds in the Weimar Republic had to find ways to adapt to the changes inherent in the establishment of the Third Reich – to resituate themselves amid situational incongruity and revise how to act musically. Therefore, by developing studies of composers active in Weimar modernism who remained professionally active in Nazi Germany, I could study adaptive strategies of action – adaptive social agency – by comparing and contrasting activity in the Third Reich to their previous activity in the Weimar Republic. In designing an interdisciplinary study that also bridged gaps between musicology and music sociology, as well as redressing a lack of sociological attention on creative processes, I was especially interested in focusing on changes in composers' musical activity over these periods – what they were composing and how they were composing it. However, I sought to do this in a more grounded way than approaches typical of the “new musicology” by using, wherever possible, primary source data from composer reflections on these changes and how they musically adapted to them. This required sources such as letters, diaries, journal articles, programme notes, etc. by the composers I would choose to study.

To develop these case studies I engaged in a lengthy process of identifying five composers active in modernist circles during the Weimar Republic who remained active for at least a significant portion of the Third Reich. The decision to include five case studies was made in consultation with my supervisor, deciding that five in depth studies would provide optimal data within the limitations of the thesis length requirements.

### *Identifying Case Studies*

Based on the survey of changes in the music profession from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich I began to identify potential case study subjects who were active during both political periods. To discern the most active composers in both the modernist circles of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich I collated the new music concert programmes of the principal contemporary music festivals of the Weimar Republic: Donaueschingen, *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein* (AdMV), International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Additionally, to identify the most successful of these professional composers I incorporated the concert programmes of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (BPO) under celebrity conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. Since the BPO was, and is, widely recognized as Germany's premiere orchestra (and one of the most prestigious in the world) any contemporary composer featured on its programmes would indicate a composer of significant professional recognition. As well, since the BPO was continuously active throughout the Third Reich (which neither the Donaueschingen, AdMV or ISCM festivals or societies were) its concert programming provided a record of performance activity over the breadth of the study period.

Completing this survey of data involved an extensive process of examining all concert programmes from these institutions to collate the names and performed works of each composer appearing on every concert over the period studied. Through this process I formulated a database of contemporary composers and works according to frequency of performance during the period. Primarily I was looking to identify German composers as these had the highest likelihood of having been active in Germany in both the Weimar Republic and Third Reich. As such I immediately discounted names of composers (e.g. Stravinsky) that I knew were never primarily active in Germany. This generated a list of 441 potential case studies involving 1415 performances of contemporary pieces.

To develop this list of composers I used available archives of concert programmes. The Donaueschingen Festival (a festival still active today) maintains an online catalogue of all concert programmes going back to its first festival in 1921

(<http://www.swr.de/swr2/donaueschingen/programme/-/id=2136962/xdzs6y/index.html>).

Through this resource I was able to access all concert programmes from the years 1921-1930, 1934, 1936-1939. While the Donaueschingen festival has been in almost continuous operation since its inception in 1921, between 1931 and 1933 it was suspended due to financial difficulties and following 1939 the festival was disbanded by the National Socialist government (it resumed in 1946 following WWII). While the AdMV was disbanded in 1937, its history and festival concert programmes (going back to 1859) have been meticulously catalogued by Dr. James Deaville of McMaster University (Ontario, Canada). Available online (<http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~admv>), using Dr. Deaville's archival research I was able to access all concert programmes of the annual AdMV summer festivals between 1920 and 1937. The concert programmes of the annual festivals of the ISCM (from its founding in 1922) were found in Haefeli's (1982) *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik IGNM: Ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart* (the ISCM was banned in Germany from 1933-1945 by the Nazi government). The BPO concert programmes were available in Wackernagel's (1965) *Wilhelm Furtwängler: Die Programme der konzerte mit dem Berliner Philharmonischen Orchester 1922-1954*.

In addition to providing a database of contemporary music performances over the period the programmes of the Donaueschingen and AdMV festivals, as well as those of the BPO, presented key information on the changing dynamics of concert programming between the Weimar Republic and Third Reich. After 1933 instantiations of these festivals (excluding the ISCM which had been banned in Germany) and the programming of the BPO indicated the hyper-nationalism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism of National Socialist Germany. Programming was often thematically tailored to reflect National Socialist ideology (e.g. a focus on nationalist oriented works and music based on folk traditions) and excluded works by Jewish or non-German composers.

The database developed identified 441 potential case studies. This required the design of practical limitations to narrow down the field of composers. First I eliminated all

composers who appeared in my database with fewer than ten works performed. Ten performances was decided as a threshold of professional success as it was significantly higher than the average number of performances (3) achieved by dividing the total number of performances (1415) by the number of different composers identified (441) and represented the mean proportion of performances between the lowest number of performances of a composer (1) and the highest (54). By excluding composers with fewer than ten performance credits twenty-six possibilities remained.

Next, criteria for excluding composers who would not fit the research goal of studying adaptive strategies of modernist composers experiencing situational incongruity were incorporated:

- 1) Exclusion of composers who emigrated either before or in the first five years of the Third Reich
- 2) Exclusion of composers who died either before or in the first five years of the Third Reich
- 3) Exclusion of composers whose primary residence/activity was outside Germany during the Third Reich (including any composers centered in Austria as these individuals were outside the Third Reich until 1938)
- 4) Exclusion of composers who were or became supporters of National Socialism before 1939 (either through membership in the NSDAP or by holding prominent bureaucratic posts during the Third Reich) a year in which the party re-opened its membership (which had been relatively closed since 1933) in a drive to attain membership representative of 10% of the German population (they never achieved this goal).

To apply these limiting factors required biographical research on all twenty-six composers who had achieved ten or more performances in my database. To facilitate this research I used key musicological reference sources including the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* as well as aforementioned sources on music in the Third Reich (Kater, 1997; 2000; Levi, 1994; Meyer, 1993). In cases where little to no information could be found in these sources I used the principle musicological bibliographic resource, the *Répertoire Internationale de Littérature Musicale*, to identify other source documents that yielded the information required.

After completing this research and applying the above listed limiting factors twelve potential case studies remained<sup>1</sup>. Having become familiar with available secondary and primary sources on music and musicians in the Third Reich, and how to locate them, I then excluded composers for whom I found available sources were limited. Particularly, since I wanted to ground my research in primary source data from the case studies (letters, diaries, journal articles, books, programme notes) I removed composers for whom such data was non-existent or would prove highly difficult to access. I also had to identify composers for whom extant scores of the period were available. Developing works lists of these composers I was able to search the catalogues of libraries with significant music collections (British Library, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, *Sächsische Landesbibliothek und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden*, *Städtische Bibliotheken Dresden*) to identify composers whose works were still available.

Based on these processes I narrowed my potential case studies to the five composers studied in this thesis:

- 1) Paul Hindemith
- 2) Rudolf Wagner-Régeny
- 3) Heinrich Kaminski
- 4) Ernst Pepping
- 5) Wolfgang Fortner

#### *Developing the case studies*

For each of these composers I began by creating extensive historical biographies reviewing any extant secondary literature by other scholars and researching primary sources written by the composers themselves. To identify this literature, in addition to the source documents mentioned above, I relied heavily upon the *Répertoire Internationale de Littérature Musicale* and copies of the aforementioned journals (*Melos*, *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, *Die Musik*, *Zeitschrift für Musik*) housed at the British Library (London).

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<sup>1</sup> Boris Blacher, Max Butting, Werner Egk, Wolfgang Fortner, Paul Hindemith, Paul Höffer, Philipp Jarnach, Heinrich Kaminski, Ernst Pepping, Felix Petyrek, Heinz Tiessen, Rudolf Wagner-Régeny

With this historical data I began by situating each composer as operative within Weimar modernist circles and then detailed their activity during the Third Reich (this is reflected in the structure of each case study chapter) with a view to comparing and contrasting their activities over the two periods. Important in this process was developing full lists of the composers' published compositional outputs focusing on works written between 1919 and 1945. To analyze this data I followed a procedure of graphing by year the quantitative outputs of each composer over this period. While graphing compositional output in this manner does not reflect the relative amounts of work that go into different compositional activities (e.g. composing a lengthy opera requires more effort than a single song for voice and piano), it does provide general evidence of relative compositional activity over time. Additionally I also graphed each composer's output according to genre/media. Again, while this does not reflect relative amounts of work that go into different compositional projects, it allowed me to graphically analyze the various foci of activity of composers over the periods and assess changes to those foci. As discussed in each case study below, patterns of increased or decreased compositional activity and changes in genre/media focus over these periods emerged.

In addition to analyzing the amounts and focus of compositional activity I spent considerable time familiarizing myself with the aesthetic materials of the works of each of these composers. This required a significant amount of score study (relying on my musicology and music theory training). While recordings of works by Paul Hindemith were readily available, recordings of works by the less known composers Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner were less numerous. As such I had to rely primarily on my own score reading skills and, in some instances, the availability of a piano to play through works whose scores I either purchased or was able to access on loan from the Städtische Bibliotheken Dresden. Throughout this research I took detailed notes on aesthetic parameters of their works over the period 1919-1945 correlating these changes to data gleaned through the secondary and primary sources that discussed the activity of these composers and where possible the composer's own discussions of these or other works.

Through this extensive secondary and primary source research I developed a substantial amount of data on the life, activities, and compositions of each of the five case studies. Comparing and contrasting the activities of, and especially the compositional outputs of,



these individuals between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich indicated significant changes in their activity, especially in their compositional decisions. They were indeed engaged in adaptive strategies of action through music.

By comparing the changes in activity across the case studies I discerned several key strategies of musical action. While these strategies of action are unique to this research, as I collected the data I came to use three key sociological theories/concepts under which the individual strategies of action were grouped. Before moving to the case studies I briefly outline these overarching concepts.

### *Theories and concepts*

Through the process of constructing each case study I became intimately familiar with the musical practices and products of Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner. Though they were individual composers with little interconnectivity (other than their shared modernist backgrounds) they developed similar characteristics and adaptations in their musical activity in managing and acting the changed circumstances of cultural production and reception in the Third Reich. For example, there was a general turn towards more aesthetically conventional works and an engagement with elements of music typically interpreted as nationalistic (e.g. folk music, song setting texts by canonical German authors such as Hölderlin, or staged music that used historic German themes). These elements were elements not to be found in the works of these composers from the Weimar Republic or the post WWII era. However, these changes were far from cut and dry distinctions between activity before and after the year 1933, they occurred gradually primarily developing in the first two to three years of the Third Reich, a period I came to understand as one where composers sought to present or *re-present* themselves as valuable German artists. What emerged confirmed the aforementioned hypothesis that composers who were active in/were dependent on the formation and maintenance of modernist art worlds in the Weimar Republic found ways to adapt to the changes inherent in the establishment of the Third Reich – to resituate themselves amid situational incongruity and relearn how to act musically.

What surfaced from the data was that composers were experiencing a distinct loss of connection to the art worlds of the Weimar Republic and amidst these incongruities were developing new ways to act relative to the changing socio-cultural dynamics of the Third Reich. These adaptive processes afforded the reflexive situation of themselves in those unfamiliar dynamics appropriating to themselves the social changes they were experiencing. To contextualize this type of activity – the adaptation of modes of action amid enforced incongruity from official structures of control – I turned to Goffman’s research in *Asylums* (1968).

The extant historical studies on music in the Third Reich (Kater, 1992; 1997; 2000; Kater and Riethmüller, 2003; Levi, 1991; 1994; Meyer, 1993; Prieberg, 1982; Wulf, 1963) had indicated changes in the art worlds of Germany, particularly the removal of connections to modernist institutions and the instalment of new regulatory systems to monitor and control the activity of the music profession and the cultural sector in general. Within Goffman’s study of *Asylums*, which details the systems of control in US prisons and mental institutions and the adaptive (often subversive) strategies of inmates/patients to act and maintain themselves within these control mechanisms, I found useful conceptual tools. Particularly Goffman’s concept of the mortification of self provided an invaluable conceptual space in which to think. In his research Goffman contextualized the systems of institutionalization of inmates/patients of total institutions as a process of mortification of self. Within the mechanisms of institutionalization Goffman discerned a process of destroying an individual’s connections to their outside lives, removing tangible connections to their non-institutional selves. The area of their lives outside the institution (their homes, families, friends, etc.) was contextualized as their homeworld from where they had developed a presenting culture – their knowledge of ways and means of action. As connections to homeworlds were removed patients/inmates had to learn new modes of action within the institutional culture of their prison or mental institution requiring the development of adaptive strategies for modes of action.

While the Third Reich was not a total institution in the strict sense defined by Goffman, the similarities were striking. To contextualize information regarding changes in the art worlds I had accumulated and the consequent adaptive changes I found in the activity of these composers, I came to understand the Weimar Republic as a modernist homeworld, and the

National Socialist process of removing connections to that home world as the mortification of modernism. This concept is developed in detail in the following chapter entitled ‘Mortification of Modernism’ and is a key theme revisited in each case study where I show how each composer personally experienced significant situational incongruities as a result of the establishment of the Third Reich and worked with music to adapt to those changes to remain active as professional composers in Nazi Germany.

As I accumulated increasing amounts of information pointing to these adaptive changes it became evident that composers were not just making changes in their professional activity to adapt to a more conservative socio-cultural climate; they were using their musical activity to situate themselves within that climate. Both within the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich composers used musical practices and materials, particularly decisions on what materials to use in any given new work (their musical creativity), to appropriate to themselves the social, cultural and political conditions and changes of the times in which they were living. This led to the second theoretical concept used to contextualize the data, Giddens’ concept of the reflexive project of the self (1991) and a key theoretical theme of the thesis – the use of musical creativity by social actors to reflexively connect ‘personal and social change’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 33).

Finally, it became apparent that one of the key motivators of engaging in a reflexive project of self was the desire of composers to understand the conditions of reception of their work. Particularly at the beginning of the Third Reich composers acted through various adaptive strategies of action to achieve positive reception by cultural ideologues. Composers seemed to be working from a logical premise, based on the history of music criticism in the western art music tradition, that their compositions, when presented publicly through performance and/or publication, presented *them*. In several cases, as discussed below, these composers (not just their works but the composers themselves) had already been received negatively by conservative cultural ideologues, the same ideologues that within the Third Reich held considerable influence. I came to understand a number of the key strategies of action common to various case studies as calculated agency seeking a positive presentation of self through music. This returned me to Goffman and his work in *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956). From here I developed the theory that for composers the products of composing constitute the ‘items of expressive equipment’ (Goffman, 1956, p. 23) most

intimately identified with them as persons. If composers wished to remain active as professional musicians they had to avoid controversy with the Nazi regime and its cultural ideologues, they had to carefully present themselves as valuable German artists in the Third Reich, especially during the first years of the regime.

Within each case study I elaborate on the situation of each composer in the Weimar modernist homeworld before detailing their experiences and compositional activity during the mortification of modernism and throughout the Third Reich highlighting how they engaged in reflexive projects of self and self presentation through music via key adaptive strategies of adaptive action. In the concluding chapter I collate each of these strategies of action to develop a final argument that musical creativity and products are resources to reflexive projects of self and self presentation.

In the end I return to Adorno's hunch that music is a simulacrum of the social to argue not that music is a simulacrum but that it is an important mediator of "the social" as individuals use music and creative processes to appropriate the social for themselves and to plan and structure actions. In a sense the music and society nexus (inasmuch as they can be conceptually constructed and abstracted) is constituted by reflexive musical activity which coproduces "both", mediating through *in situ* activity.

## **Mortification of Modernism**

# *Mortification of Modernism*

## *Introduction*

This chapter contextualizes the changes National Socialism brought to bear on Germany's musicians focused on conceptualizing the experiences of these changes by Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner for whom "degenerate" modernism had been a central artistic milieu. In this chapter I seek to lay the conceptual groundwork to explore the subjective, socially oriented musical activity of these specific composers throughout the individual case studies – to get to the micro level of social action at the individual and small group level, rather than focus on abstracted macro level interrelationships of cultural fields or aesthetic movements.

I begin by outlining the development, institutionalisation and legitimisation of modernism within the Weimar Republic, the musical world in which each of these composers was active prior to the Third Reich. By outlining modernist support structures (cooperative networks, societies, festivals and journal publications) I draw upon Goffman's work in *Asylums* (1968) to contextualise Weimar modernism as a homeworld for these composers – a period during which these composers learned (or were learning) ways of musically acting (what Goffman called a 'presenting culture') within a period of relative artistic freedom. During this period these composers were involved in projects of musical modernism that developed domains and fields which substantiated their musical activity. Drawing upon my own archival research and the secondary sources on music in the Third Reich (Kater, 1992; 1997; 2000; Kater & Riethmüller, 2003; Levi, 1994; Meyer, 1993; Wulf, 1963) I explore the socio-cultural changes imposed by the rise of National Socialism and its cultural ideologues as they sought to reconstitute and/or destroy these domains and fields, the modernist homeworld. This activity created significant perspectival and circumstantial incongruity for modernist composers. Using Goffman's *Asylums* I contextualise these changes as a mortification of modernism, the destruction of the modernist homeworld as Nazism attempted to reform artistic production in the Third Reich to support projects of xenophobia and racism.

To start I introduce overarching theoretical concepts used in this and later chapters. Specifically I outline the concepts of artistic field and domain as developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1996), contrasting them against similar theories of Bourdieu (1993; 1996/1992), and Goffman's concept of mortification (1968). Moving to the development of the Weimar modernist homeworld I discuss cooperative networks, field institutionalisation, and resultant bespoke institutional support structures of modernism (societies, festivals, journals). Transitioning to my discussion of the mortification of modernism through the rise of National Socialism, its laws and policies, I briefly review the historic developments that led to the downfall of the Weimar Republic and the creation of the Nazi dictatorship. Outlining the process of the mortification of modernism, grounded in the experiences of my five case studies, I explore the removal of connections to the Weimar modernist homeworld through mass emigrations and dismissals in the early Third Reich and the destruction of modernist institutions established in the 1920s. I then show how musical fields and domains, riddled of modernist figures, were reconstituted through new National Socialist bureaucracy put in place to subjugate and regulate the music profession.

### *Theoretical Concepts*

As the production of culture approach to arts sociology has asserted, creative work such as musical composition does not occur in isolation (Becker, H., 1982; Bourdieu, 1993; 1996/1992; Coser, 1978; Peterson, 1981; Wolff, 1981; Zolberg, 1990) but is a form of work that is 'the result of what a lot of people have done jointly' (Becker, 1989, p. 282). This view to a 'social production of art' (Wolff, 1981) occurs on micro, meso and macro levels, an understanding that creativity occurs within dynamic socio-cultural contexts. In the forthcoming case studies I study the adaptive actions of individual composers to situate themselves, present themselves and act through various musically oriented strategies. This extends the viewpoint of the social production of art/music beyond Bourdieusian analyses of cultural fields (and their interrelations with other fields, notably 'the field of power'; Bourdieu 1993; 1996/1992; 1996) as sites of struggle between heteronomy and autonomy in relation to various types of capital (economic, cultural, social), towards exploring the interpretive meaning and use of creative processes and products by *in situ* creators to inform their social agency.

To first contextualize the supportive modernist musical world of the Weimar Republic I use Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) delineation of the socio-cultural contexts of artistic production/creativity into domains and fields. While Csikszentmihalyi's work is similar to the theories of habitus, capital and field developed by Bourdieu (1984; 1993; 1996/1992), I have found his concepts of domains and fields more useful for their focus on creativity and the meaning of this for creators/producers as opposed to Bourdieu's focus on power and struggle within and between fields in relation to poles of heteronomy and autonomy (see footnotes 2 and 3 for further discussion)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Given the centrality of Bourdieu's field theory of cultural production (1993; 1996/1992) to arts and cultural sociology this decision requires some explanation. The first important point is to note the similarities between the work of Csikszentmihalyi on creativity and that of Bourdieu on cultural production. Both recognize, as do interactionists like Becker (1982), production does not happen in isolation. Furthermore, they both operate in opposition to the largely 19<sup>th</sup> century concept of the, as Bourdieu put it, 'charismatic ideology of "creation"' (1996/1992, p. 167).

For Bourdieu, cultural production occurs within social spaces, fields, which are constituted by structured positions dependent on the distribution of economic and cultural capital (see diagram *The Rules of Art*, p. 124). For Csikszentmihalyi the social space of production is constituted by the domain – shared symbolic rules and regulations of a given tradition of creativity (musical, literary, scientific, etc.) which are "overseen" by the field – gatekeepers who evaluate novel ideas, products, etc. In Bourdieu's language Csikszentmihalyi's *domain* is a field constituted by types of capital, and Csikszentmihalyi's *field*, those gatekeeping individuals/groups, are Bourdieu's positions. Essentially both have conceptualised the same broad contexts of action for cultural producers. The key difference between them is what they use these concepts to explore and explain.

In Bourdieu's work the focus is on power, aimed at understanding how social practices support dominant groups. The most significant contribution of Bourdieu's field theory is the provision of a conceptual framework to consider how fields of cultural production interrelate with other fields (power, education, science, religion, etc.). However, within this Bourdieu has elected to ignore the individual creator in favour of 'asking who has created this "creator"' (1996/1992, p. 167). While this project of inquiry has succeeded in debunking the "illusio" of creativity's 'charismatic ideology' and discerning means of the production of value around cultural products, it methodologically eliminates the possibility of exploring the subjective social meanings of creative processes at the individual level. It is here that we find the fundamental difference between Bourdieu and Csikszentmihalyi. Where Bourdieu seeks to understand cultural production in relation to other fields (ultimately to dominant social groups) inevitably focusing on a struggle between heteronomous and autonomous principles, Csikszentmihalyi's social-psychological approach seeks to explore creativity (as opposed to 'production') as 'a central source of meaning' in human lives (1996, pp. 1-2); how it is linked not just to abstracted domains or fields but how it is operative at the individual level to inform projects of the self and to inform individual social action.

It is this project which is more akin to my overall goals. Though this current chapter investigates changing fields of cultural production between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich in relation to political and ideological constraints on cultural producers, in the broader picture I am not so much interested in abstracting a field of musical composition (in the Bourdieusian sense) as I am in exploring the social meanings and use of creative processes by individual producers as they appropriated and negotiated field conflicts at the micro level – the personal level where social activity is experienced. While Bourdieu's field theory could be used to theorize field changes in cultural production between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, so too can Csikszentmihalyi's concepts of domain and field but with the added benefit of having been developed to explore the social nature of creativity at the micro level.



Csikszentmihalyi defines domains as extrasomatic knowledge, shared symbolic rules and regulations (practices, procedures and materials) accepted within various creative endeavours (implicitly through the accumulated actions of *in situ* actors), while fields are gatekeeping institutions and individuals that implicitly or explicitly oversee these domains and act as filters for change within them. Below I use these concepts to discuss how during the Weimar Republic individuals interested in a break from aesthetic traditionalism (i.e. modernism), developed and entered into extended cooperative networks in a concerted, and eventually successful effort to create roles within musical fields from which they influenced musical domains to substantiate modernism. Similarly, the establishment of National Socialist *Kulturpolitik* (cultural policy) involved a reversal of this process, the purging of modernist influence (on racial, political and ideological lines) in musical fields effecting changes within musical domains, a process I conceptualise as the mortification of modernism.

In *Asylums* Goffman's work on American mental and penal institutions illumined the complex oppression of the individual (and resultant subversion by inmates to maintain their selves through adaptive strategies) through policies and practices of institutionalisation; how imposed contexts and structures, in Goffman's research the rules and regulations of mental institutions and prisons, come to bear on the agency of individual actors. Though the Third Reich was not a total institution in the sense of a discreet located complex of relatively fixed population size, strong similarities make *Asylums* a useful space for reflection. Goffman characterized total institutions as places where '...the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution...The handling of many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people...is the key fact of total institutions' (1968, p. 6). The National Socialist regime and its cultural ideologues via speeches, circulars, events, puppet cultural icons, new cultural agencies and policies consciously set out to achieve such a "rational" plan, institutionalising National Socialist ideology across a wide population through complex bureaucratic organizations based on aims and goals of racial, national and cultural supremacy. Central to Goffman's argument was the notion of mortification theorizing that individuals come to total institutions with presenting cultures – their knowledge of how to act – derived from a home world maintained and substantiated by various support structures. When individuals enter a total institution mechanisms

(documents, institutional clothing, behavioural restrictions, etc.) are in place to debase connection to these support structures including abasements, degradations and humiliations through which the extrasomatic rules and regulations of survival are learned, the sum total of which is mortification. I assert the cooperative networks and institutions of the art worlds of the Weimar Republic constituted a home world from which composers – including Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner – derived their knowledge of how to act musically. During the ascension of National Socialism these cooperative networks and institutions were disassembled and remoulded, a process of mortification having profound and situated effects on cultural producers redefining how composers were to act<sup>3</sup>.

### *Weimar Republic: Modernist Home world*

#### *Cooperative networks and field institutionalisation*

Within this section I present the general development of modernism during the Weimar Republic, where it came from and how it was substantiated. Key to this section is the calculated movement of modernist composers into important field positions. During the 1920s Leo Kestenberg – musical advisor to the *Preussische Ministerium für Kunst, Wissenschaften und Volksbildung* (Levitz, 1996, pp. 35-36; Kestenberg, Sadie, 2001) – was

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<sup>3</sup> Here too one could use Bourdieu's field theory to explain the struggle between a sub-field of cultural production (musical modernism) and a field of power (Nazi cultural ideology). One could view Nazi cultural ideology (and its agents and systems) as a heteronomous pole which threatened the autonomy of the sub-field of musical modernism. While this type of theorisation links well to a macro-level, systematic theory of structure and action, it tends to ignore that these fields are populated by subjective individuals whose diverse (often contradicting) actions make up those field and sub-field abstractions. In contrast, what I see as the overriding benefit of Goffman's theory of mortification towards my research project is the recognition that at the level of social activity and experience (i.e. at the individual and small group level) the meaning and purpose of these actions are 'messier' than Bourdieu's field abstractions allow for – autonomy does not lie at the level of the field (though that informs it) but at the level of individual action. For example, if one were to follow the argument laid out in Bourdieu's *On Television and Journalism* (1996) that the subjugation of television and journalism by the field of business/economics has led to the elimination of autonomy within that sub-field of cultural production, it would follow that the subjugation of the musical field in the Third Reich by the Nazi bureaucracy eliminated the autonomy of composers. While in many instances this might be "true" (in the sense that composers felt compelled to write nationalist works or folk songs) it would miss the subtlety of individual subjective social action and meanings where a composer may create a sense or belief of personal autonomy through a veiled subversive message (as will be seen to be the case in Wagner-Régeny's Third Reich operas or his *Hexameron*) to circumvent the field of politics. While I absolutely see the validity of Bourdieu's theories and their elegance in explaining social structures, what I am interested in is the level of messiness of individual social action and the subjective meanings surrounding those actions which I believe Goffman's approach is more useful at recognising.

the principal actor among others involved in a project of appointing well known modernist composers to two of Germany's most important cultural institutions the *Akademie der Künste* and the *Hochschule für Musik*, both in Berlin. Consecutive appointments of Ferruccio Busoni, Arnold Schoenberg and Heinrich Kaminski (one of the case studies below) to the *Akademie der Künste* and the appointment of Franz Schreker as Director of the *Hochschule für Musik* were part of a project of installing modern composers in important institutions substantiating them in the field and providing legitimacy and resources for them to exert influence over musical domains. Throughout this section I am also showing the development of cooperative networks in which my five subjects were involved, that these individuals were not islands unto themselves but were central actors in networks that developed Weimar modernism. I begin this discussion with some brief generalisations of the Weimar Republic as a period of artistic experimentation.

Following World War I the Weimar Republic was established during which art in various guises flourished, an age toted as the 'classical era of modernity' (Peukert, 1991, p. 164). As Levitz concluded from her research on pianist/composer Ferruccio Busoni: 'Abruptly and irreversibly awakened from the slumber of nineteenth-century aestheticism, young composers struck out in every direction, seeking a new art and a new order' (Levitz, 1996, pp. 55-56). The republic's first years were of considerable instability socially, politically, and economically, but the hopes of its progenitors rested in a culturally enlightened social democracy. Seeds for this were sown in its very constitution<sup>4</sup> which effectively married state with a liberal stance towards culture and its development.

Early Weimar performance activity highlights a flourishing of contemporary work and is indicative of the growing instrumental support arising from modernising networks and institutions. Reflecting on the 1920-1921 Berlin concert season Cambridge musicologist and first President of the International Society for Contemporary Music, Prof. Edward Dent

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<sup>4</sup> Constitution of the Weimar Republic:

Article 18: *The organization of the Reich in states, as far as possible under consideration of the will of the concerned population, shall serve the people's maximal economic and cultural achievement.*

Article 114: *The rights of the individual are inviolable.*

Article 118: *Every German is entitled, within the bounds set by general law, to express his opinion freely in word, writing, print, image or otherwise [...] in case of the cinema, other regulations may be established by law.*

(see Dean, 1976) recalled few concerts that excluded new works (Dent, 1949). Hugo Leichtentritt – German musicologist, critic and composer – wrote in 1924:

‘But in 1919, soon after the revolution, it became evident that music also would have its share of the revolutionary spirit. A number of talented, ambitious and energetic young men forced their way to the very front rank and acquired considerable power and influence, which they exercised in behalf of revolutionary art.’ (p. 195)

Leichtentritt’s comments highlight a movement in the musical world of ‘young men...to the very front rank’ acquiring ‘power and influence’, the movement of committed modernists into the musical field to become developers and gatekeepers of modernism, to exert influence and power over modernising musical domains. While the project of moving modernist musicians and composers into influential field positions (a project discussed in more detail below) began in earnest after the establishment of the Weimar Republic it issued from earlier developments of revolutionary composers and musical thinkers, particularly Arnold Schoenberg and Ferruccio Busoni. Though these two individuals are not studied in any detail in my research I mention them here as key innovators who exerted considerable influence over individuals in my case studies.

Both Busoni and Schoenberg wrote important texts, were sought after teachers, and developed influential musical philosophies and systems. Schoenberg authored the influential *Harmonielehre* (‘Theory of Harmony’ first published in 1911) and developed the system of dodecaphonic serialism (he was the “father” of the Second Viennese School). Busoni was a celebrated concert pianist and composer remembered particularly for his revolutionary short book *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (*Essay on a New Aesthetic of Music*), first published in 1907, and his *Neue Klassizität* philosophy (new classicism – essentially neo-classicism) developed during his tenure at the Berlin *Akademie der Künste* (1920-1924). Highlighting the networks behind the development of Weimar modernism, from 1903 Busoni and Schoenberg began a professional relationship, not always amicable, that lasted nearly two decades which involved the sharing of ideas, compositions and students (for their correspondence see Busoni 1987; Schoenberg, 1958).

As modernist luminaries both men took on prominent positions within the musical field. In 1920 Leo Kestenberg convinced Busoni to accept a post as professor of composition at arguably the most important cultural institution in Germany, the Berlin *Akademie der Künste* (first established in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). To convince Busoni to take this position other prominent modernist musicians petitioned him including Hermann Scherchen. As a conductor of instrumental/orchestral works by contemporary composers including numerous works by four of my own case studies (Hindemith, Kaminski, Fortner and Pepping) Scherchen was in his own right an influential actor within modernism. His letter to Busoni underscores the zeal of modernist projects and their desire to focus on key individuals within Germany's musical field:

“We young composers have had to fight bitterly and with almost no support whatsoever... The whole time we turned our eyes to you, because we always felt you somehow gave our projects direction... I am not writing for my own sake; therefore I don't ask you to answer me, but rather answer our dreams, answer the youth movement... we yearn to see you among us, in our circle, the focus of our intellectual discussions” (Scherchen to Busoni, April 13, 1920, quoted from Levitz, 1996, pp. 48-49)

Busoni's return to Berlin was celebrated by individuals such as Scherchen and in modernist publications including the *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (see the January 1921 issue dedicated to Busoni). However, his appointment to the *Akademie der Künste* angered some conservative field members who felt Busoni's work degenerate, particularly his *Essay on a New Aesthetic of Music* which attacked musical conservatives as 'lawgivers' that deprived music of its freedom (Busoni 1962, p. 77). To appease them Kestenberg made a compromising co-appointment, the conservative nationalist Hans Pfitzner<sup>5</sup>. Though Busoni died in 1924 his influence, especially his *Neue Klassizität* (essentially neo-classicism) lived on and is discussed later in the case of Rudolf Wagner-Régeny who studied and reflected on Busoni's 'new classicality' to inform his compositional projects in the early Third Reich (Wagner-Régeny 1968a, p. 78).

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<sup>5</sup> for in depth discussion see Levitz, 1993; 1996, pp. 35-41

Beginning in 1925, following Busoni's death, Schoenberg took over his *Akademie* position. Between 1900 and 1933, when Schoenberg fled Nazi Germany for the United States, he taught at least 160 students between Vienna and Berlin (Frisch 1999). His aesthetic practices and theoretical concepts were revolutionary influences at the time:

‘Arnold Schönberg is to be considered one of the most powerful forces as regards the influence exerted by him on the efforts of the youngest generation’ (Leichtentritt 1924, p. 195)

In addition to this influence Schoenberg, like Busoni, became a key field member and hub for modernist activity. His students, friends, colleagues and correspondents, including the aforementioned Scherchen and Kestenberg, comprised many of the principal actors of musical modernism: Emil Hertzka (managing Director of the important Universal Edition music publishing firm), Hans Rosbaud (who conducted works by Wolfgang Fortner such as his *Konzert für Orgel* in 1932 – see Colpa 2002, p. 527), the celebrated conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (who conducted works by Hindemith, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner) and Paul Hindemith (see Schoenberg, 1958). During the Third Reich, though he himself had already emigrated, his works were fully proscribed and the serialist system he had developed was considered “cultural bolshevism” (Kater 1997; 2000; Levi 1991; 1994). Though composers were essentially banned from using atonality and the serial techniques Schoenberg is credited with having developed, towards the late Third Reich amid disillusionment with the constraints of Nazi cultural policy Rudolf Wagner-Régeny turned to similar procedures as self therapy. Once the shackles of the Nazi *Kulturpolitik* were removed many of Germany's younger composers, prominently Wolfgang Fortner, enthusiastically embraced atonality and serialism.

In addition to Busoni and Schoenberg another appointment to the *Akademie der Künste*, Heinrich Kaminski (discussed in case study below), highlights the calculative positioning of modernists among Germany's music institutions. In 1929 Hans Pfitzner, who Kestenberg had appointed to the *Akademie* at the same time as Busoni to appease angered conservatives, resigned. Kestenberg was successful in convincing Kaminski to take over the vacant position (Hartog 1986; 1987). As discussed in detail below Kaminski, though he spent most of his career physically isolated at a rural retreat in southern Germany, was recognized as having ‘exercised an influence on young German musicians, comparable

only to the spell cast over them by Busoni and Schönberg' (Redlich 1947, p. 185).

Kaminski's success as a modernist composer by the late Weimar Republic led to this appointment to replace Pfitzner. Kaminski held this position from 1930 until the establishment of the Third Reich when his contract was denied renewal and he retreated to southern Germany.

While Busoni, Schoenberg and Kaminski worked at the *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin's other principal music education institution, the *Hochschule für Musik*, was likewise central to modernism largely due to the work of composer Franz Schreker. In 1920, the same year Busoni was appointed to the *Akademie*, Kestenberg was also involved in the appointment of Franz Schreker as Director of the *Hochschule für Musik* (Hailey 1993). Schreker – like Busoni, Schoenberg and Kaminski – was another member of modernist networks, one similarly considered a 'musical anarchist' by conservative members of the musical field (Erckmann, 1921a, p. 736). Like his celebrated colleagues he too was situated by Kestenberg into an important pre-existing musical institution as a member of a modernising musical field. During Schreker's tenure as Director of the *Hochschule* he played a major role in the transformation of Germany's musical domains. As Leichtentritt wrote as early as 1924

'Since Franz Schreker of Vienna was made director of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, his field of activity has been considerably widened. He has collected around himself a brilliant array of extremely gifted young musicians, and by his teaching even more than by his operas has contributed considerably towards making Berlin a centre of progressive music' (Leichtentritt, 1924, p. 195).

This 'brilliant array' of young musicians, an impressive roster of instructors and students, turned the Berlin *Hochschule* into one of the leading, cutting edge conservatories of Europe (Hailey, 1993; on Schreker's contemporaneous influence see Bekker 1919; 1927). Among the students drawn to this school under Schreker's directorship were two of my case studies Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, who studied there from 1920 to 1923, and Ernst Pepping, who studied there from 1921 to 1926. Of the instructors hired by Schreker, the most famous and celebrated was another of my case studies, Paul Hindemith.

As a young composer in the 1920s Hindemith was proclaimed the most promising composer of the new generation (Leichtentritt, 1924). During the Weimar Republic he joined the modernist cause eventually adopting a *Gebrauchsmusik* (utility music) philosophy actively encouraging the general public in the consumption of contemporary music:

‘The most significant thing about it seems the effort constantly to widen the circle of listeners to new music and to educate the to [sic] cooperation. It is in this last sense that Hindemith’s work has an important directive influence.’ (Reich, 1931, p. 486)

In his work to bring modern music to the general public Hindemith founded the internationally acclaimed Amar Quartet<sup>6</sup> and headed the highly influential Donaueschingen festival programming committee, a festival important to the careers of many modernist composer including Wagner-Régeny, Pepping and Kaminski. In 1927 Hindemith took his official place in the institutional field when Schreker appointed him to the *Hochschule* where he taught composition, worked on pedagogy, and researched new media including radio, film and electronic composition gaining wider recognition in and influence on the musical domain (Reich, 1931; Kemp, 1970a; Skelton, 1975; Neumeier, 1986; Schubert, 2001).

With the appointments of Busoni, Schoenberg and Kaminski to the *Akademie der Künste* and that of Schreker, and consequently Hindemith, to the *Hochschule für Musik* modernism gained footholds in established German cultural institutions. From these institutions these individuals taught, composed, performed and researched within a modernising ethos that sought to awake Germany’s musicians and public from, to paraphrase Levitz (1996, p. 55), devotion to nineteenth century aesthetics. None of them did this on their own; they were part of networks interconnected with themselves, governmental representatives (e.g. Leo Kestenberg), conductors (e.g. Scherchen, Hindemith, Rosbaud), critics (e.g. Leichtentritt), etc. While the collaborative movement of these individuals into already established cultural institutions was important, the networks developed created a number of bespoke modernist institutions (festivals, societies, journal publications) that further substantiated and

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<sup>6</sup> String quartet dedicated primarily, though not exclusively, to contemporary work. Hindemith was the violist for the quartet.



disseminated musical modernism. In the next section I present some of the more important institutions created as modernist support structures. Like the movement of modernist icons into field positions and the inherent cooperative networks involved in this, the institutions were central resources for the work and careers of the forthcoming case studies.

### *Institutions of Modernism*

From the beginning of the Weimar Republic there was a move by modernist networks to institutionalize themselves, not just to install modernist figures into established institutions such as the *Akademie der Künste* and the *Hochschule für Musik*, but to create new institutions and update older ones to develop niches for modernism within musical domains. This activity led to the establishment or reformulating of various festivals, societies and journals which served as support structures for the modernist base.

However, as with the cooperative networks and field positions within pre-extant institutions, these institutions were likewise mortified with the rise of the Third Reich. Before describing the mortification process I outline some of the principal support structures developed in the 1920s that were important resources for the career and musical development of the five case studies discussed below. Specifically I refer to the societies and festivals of the *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein*, the International Society for Contemporary Musik, the journals *Melos*, *Musikblätter des Anbruch* and *Die Musik*, as well as a host of smaller contemporary music societies around Germany. I begin with the *Donaueschinger Musiktage* (Donaueschingen Music Festival) what became the most important contemporary music festival of the time, one resurrected after the Third Reich and still active today as the oldest and most prestigious contemporary music festival in Europe. The Donaueschingen festival hosted premieres of works by each of my case studies and was intrinsically linked to the career of the first – Paul Hindemith.

### *Donaueschingen Musiktage*

Founded in 1921 by Prince Fürstenburg and his music director Heinrich Burkhard the Donaueschingen festival quickly became one of *the* events for contemporary music. It developed as a festival that instrumentally supported modernism through mobilising

performance opportunities for contemporary composers and assembling international audiences of important professional figures (Rieple, 1959). Contemporaneously describing the activity of the festival Evans (1923) highlighted its supportive nature in affording opportunities for Europe's new music scene:

‘The organizers are avowedly “out” to provide an opportunity for those composers who are deemed the hope of musical Central Europe. It is an annual tournament of new art, held under conditions which entitle us to regard it as representative – for the Prince and his able musical director, Heinrich Burkard, are in close touch with the best-informed musical circles, and only too anxious to discover all that is most valuable’ (p. 631).

Though Evans mentions the activity of Prince Fürstenburg and Heinrich Burkard, in 1923 Paul Hindemith became the driving force behind the programme committee (those that evaluated submissions to the festival for performance and invited guest artists and commissions). In a 1923 article Weissmann (1923c) discussed the festival as revisiting the age of aristocratic patronage predicting it would lead to a school of contemporary music spiritually led by Hindemith whose career success he linked to the festival. What began as a private invitational affair under princely patronage did eventually become a government sponsored enterprise of national and international importance featuring composers from around the world (Bechert, 1925). The annual week-long festival was distinguished by modernist programming where ‘wild’ composers like Hindemith, Schoenberg, and Bartók were regularly performed (Helm, 1956, p. 657). Hommel (1978) described the festival as an experiment to develop original means of artistic expression including the use of new media such as auto-mechanical instruments, sound-film and the radio. Focusing primarily on accessible resources of chamber music, a direction which reflected and supported modernist tendency to write for small ensembles, the festival accessed world-class performers including: pianists such as Eduard Erdmann, Erwin Schulhoff and Philipp Jarnach; ensembles such as the Amar Quartet and Wiener (Vienna) Quartet; conductors such as Hermann Scherchen and even the Frankfurter Rundfunkorchester (see archive of programmes at <http://www.swr.de/swr2/donaueschingen/programme/-/id=2136962/xdzs6y/index.html>)

The programming committee intentionally selected works by new and often “undiscovered” composers creating a centre for musical experimentation affording successful exposure to many composers who went on to have influential careers (Häusler, 2001). In relation to my own case studies, and as discerned from the online archive (cited above), the festival was a central resource for them. For example, between 1921 and 1930 eighteen of Hindemith’s works (including solo, chamber, choral, and staged works) were performed there. In 1928 Wagner-Régeny attended the festival and secured his first publication (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a). In 1929 two of his instrumental works were performed there. Both Pepping and Kaminski also had works premiered at the festival, the former finding a stage for his early avant garde instrumental works (in 1926) and his ultimately successful choral work *Kleine Messe* (1929) while the latter premiered an instrumental quintet there in 1925.

As a bespoke modernist institution the Donaueschingen festival provided an annual resource for contemporary composers to have their works performed by professionally recognised performers, meet other composers and hear and discuss each others’ work. As with the case of Wagner-Régeny it was also a space that afforded instrumental career development where composers could meet and discuss opportunities with publishers and other music professionals. As discussed below, this was a resource that was to fall to National Socialist ideology in the early Third Reich. Another society and festival that did not survive Nazism was the *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein*.

#### *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein*

Founded in 1861, the *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein* (AdMV, Universal German Music Society) was Germany’s first established international musical institution. Including hundreds of members from Germany, England, France and Russia the AdMV began life as the most important institution for the cause of the nineteenth century avant garde (<http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~adm/archiv.htm>). However, by 1900 it was fractured along liberal and conservative fault lines. Committed to strengthening the society Richard Strauß, who ironically became the first President of the Nazi *Reichsmusikkammer* (Kater, 1997; Levi, 1994), was elected president (1901-1909) under whom the AdMV returned to a supporting and promoting role regarding contemporary music; Schoenberg, among others, became a member at this time (Deaville, 1997; 2001). In 1919 the AdMV society continued its modernising with new members such as Heinz Tiessen and Georg

Schünemann, who became Schreker's Assistant Director at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*. The revolutionary *Zeitgeist* was reflected in the society's 1920 annual festival which featured works by Schoenberg and the conductor Hermann Scherchen. In 1924 Hugo Leichtentritt referred to this festival as 'the climax of the modernist movement' where the AdMV was 'tuned to the radical key' (p. 198).

Throughout the 1920s the annual AdMV festivals were, like the Donaueschingen festival, key events in the new music calendar and featured some of the most famous contemporary figures such as Schoenberg, Busoni and Stravinsky. From my case studies works by Hindemith were performed at the society's festivals in 1923, 1924, 1928 and 1932. Pepping's Hindemith inspired *Konzert für Bratsche* (Concerto for Viola) and part of his *Choralsuite* were performed at the 1927 and 1929 festivals respectively. Two of Kaminski's most famous works, his *Psalm 69* and his *Concerto Grosso* (discussed in detail below), were performed at the AdMV festivals in 1921 and 1923 respectively. The 1921 performance of *Psalm 69* was particularly crucial for his career as conductors who heard it – including Hermann Scherchen – sought to premiere it in their regular performance seasons and the important Viennese publishing firm Universal Edition signed Kaminski to a ten year contract (Hartog, 1986; 1987). Even the young Wolfgang Fortner, while still a student, had his first string quartet premiered through the AdMV in 1930 (see concert programmes collated at <http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~admv/admv.htm>).

While the AdMV was an older established society that modernised during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly during the 1920s, the International Society for Contemporary Music (still very much active today) was founded specifically to support new innovations in music.

### *International Society for Contemporary Music*

The International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was founded August 11, 1922 following the Salzburg *Internationale Kammermusikaufführungen* (International Contemporary Chamber Music Festival) organized by Schoenberg's pupil Egon Wellesz and Rudolf Réti (Krones, 1982; Walterskirchen, 1996). The society was founded as a facilitating mechanism for international music collaboration performatively accomplished

via two annual festivals, one for chamber music, one for orchestral music (Haefeli and Oehlschlägel, 2001; see Haefeli, 1982 for archive of concert programmes). Busoni confidant and Schoenberg pupil Edward Dent was unanimously elected the first president, a position which he held until 1938. The ISCM was set up with national divisions in each member country, while the President and representatives of the national divisions oversaw the international aspects of the society, particularly the annual festivals (Haefeli, 1982). During the Weimar Republic the German division of the ISCM became an eminent force in the country's music scene hosting concerts which engaged, like the Donaueschingen festival, notable conductors (e.g. Scherchen, Klemperer and Jochum), pianists (e.g. Schnabel and Gieseking), etc. to perform works by emerging composers. The society further raised the performance opportunities for contemporary composers and, unlike Donaueschingen or the AdMV, afforded access to full orchestral performing forces through its annual international orchestral festival.

During the Weimar Republic the ISCM's annual festivals took place across Europe including: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, England, Belgium and the present day Czech Republic (Haefeli, 1982). These festivals afforded international exposure to many young German composers as did the AdMV and Donaueschingen festivals, but at international locations bringing their music to international audiences. Between 1923 and 1931 seven of Hindemith's chamber and orchestral works were performed at ISCM festivals. In 1925 and 1927 two of Kaminski's large scale works, *Concerto Grosso* and *Magnificat*, were performed. In 1930 Pepping found a performance opportunity for his *Prelude for Orchestra* during a particularly important ISCM festival in Brussels held in conjunction with the Congress of the International Society for Musicology (Haefeli, 1982). The ISCM afforded modern composers a truly international stage for exposure and collaboration. For German musicians the ISCM too was to fall during the mortification of modernism. As discussed below the ISCM was banned in Germany during the Nazi regime.

While the festivals of Donaueschingen, the AdMV and the ISCM provided performance opportunities for contemporary composers, as well as opportunities for networking and collaborating, other bespoke organisations of the Weimar Modernist homeworld were designed not just to encourage the performance of new music but to discuss key issues within it. Central among these were the *Melos Gemeinschaft* and its journal *Melos* and

*Musikblätter des Anbruch* the journal of Universal Edition, Europe's leading publisher of new music at the time.

### *Melos*

The *Melos Gemeinschaft zur Erkenntnis zeitgenössischer Musik* (Society for the Understanding of Contemporary Music) and journal<sup>7</sup> began with *Die Neue Musikgesellschaft* (NMg) established by Hermann Scherchen and pianist Eduard Erdmann. Founded alongside the infant Weimar Republic, NMg asserted itself as a radical force whose activities ended with financial burden after only two seasons; out of its ashes came *Melos* which began with a view to consolidating international relations whilst supporting and promoting contemporary modernist composers. The journal of the society, entitled *Melos*, published between 1920 and 1933, bears witness to the establishment of modernism, its process of legitimization and its mechanisms of domain influence. The first issue outlined the society's goals, to found a respectful community devoid of aesthetic dogma, where individuals could address issues surrounding tonality and atonality, the relationship of text and music, the relationship of music to other arts and, pre-dating the production of culture approach in arts sociology by decades, art's sociological foundations<sup>8</sup> (Scherchen, 1920a, pp. 1-2). The early content of *Melos* was of tradition building, legitimizing modernism through educating about its past and future developments. The earliest issues include articles on: figureheads of modernism – Busoni (see Gurlitt and Scherchen, 1920; Scherchen, 1920c), Schoenberg and disciples (see Scherchen, 1920b; Erdmann, 1920; Strecke, 1920; Wellesz, 1921a; 1921b; Bekker, 1921); a series of articles by Tiessen on 'The New Stream'<sup>9</sup> discussing the historical perspective of contemporary music's development referencing works by Strauß and Schoenberg (1920a); discussions on the conflict between music and politics with reference to Busoni's *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1920b); the development of impressionism *vis á vis* Debussy, Busoni, Wagner and Strauß (1920c); the place of expressionism in music with particular reference

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<sup>7</sup> Scherchen founded the journal but the society was originally headed by Fritz Windisch who was succeeded by Philipp Jarnach followed by Heinz Tiessen (Hass, 2005)

<sup>8</sup> 'Liebe aber schließt Doktrin aus: Liebe will umfallen und erkennen, Doktrin dagegen – herrschen. So find Wesen und Ziel dieser Zeitschrift bestimmt durch das Leitwort "Melos", das all Erörterungen hier durchklingen wird. Keine Gemeinschaft wirtschaftlich gleich Interessierter trat zusammen, eine Sammelstätte liebend Erkennender sollte gebildet werden!' (Scherchen, 1920a, p. 1)

<sup>9</sup> 'Der neue Strom'

to Schoenberg (1920d). Other articles which attempt to legitimize roads of modernism include a series of articles on the ‘other side’ of equal temperament<sup>10</sup> and tonality (Awraamoff, 1920a; 1920b; 1920c), articles on tonality itself (Riemann, 1920) and the state of affairs in contemporary music (Rukser, 1920).

What *Melos* afforded was a forum for modernism to codify its past, canonize its figure heads, debate prescient theoretical issues and discuss musical futures. The society also hosted concerts featuring works by modern composers, such as one in April 1923 that featured Hindemith’s *String Quartet #5* (Weissmann, 1923c).

However, *Melos* was only one of several bespoke modernist journals. Universal Edition, an Austrian publishing firm (headquartered in Vienna) and the leading publisher of contemporary music began *Musikblätter des Anbruch*<sup>11</sup> (Music Journal of the Break) in 1919 publishing it continuously until the 1938 *Anschluss*. Universal Edition itself was a central organisation in the development of modernism. Franz Schreker referred to it and its publications as having “not only encouraged and sponsored the modern music movement, it has founded it” (quoted from Simeone 2001, p. 134). Two of my case studies were on Universal Edition’s roster. As mentioned above, in 1921 Heinrich Kaminski was signed to a ten year contract with the firm based on a performance of his *Psalm 69* at the AdMV festival of that year. Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, as discussed in detail below, became closely associated with the firm when in 1932 Universal Edition retained the rights to his forthcoming opera *Der Günstling* which they published in 1935.

As one of its most important ventures, the journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch* was another forum for modern music, and one which served as advertisement for Universal Edition’s composers and publications. The journal was widely read in Germany until 1933 and abroad until it disappeared in 1938 (Simeone, 2001). *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, like *Melos*, afforded contemporary musicians space to discuss and debate many of the issues surrounding new music. The contributors to the journal included many of the principal figures within Weimar modernism including Heinrich Kaminski whose articles in the

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<sup>10</sup> The standard tuning system of western music where the octave is divided into 12 more or less equal parts usually based on A 440Hz

<sup>11</sup> Known simply as *Anbruch* from 1929 until 1938.

journal (see Kaminski, 1921; 1923; 1986a[1925]) are discussed below as resources for reflexive work in his project of self.

In addition to the principal societies and festivals (Donaueschingen, AdMV, ISCM, Melos) and journals (*Melos*, *Musikblätter des Anbruch*) of modernism a host of other institutions were also developed. Below I briefly discuss two other journals (*Die Musik* and *Zeitschrift für Musik*) which had bearing, both positive and negative, on modernism and were central to the process of modernism's mortification in the Third Reich. Additionally I mention smaller regional contemporary music societies that were set up around Germany.

### *Other Bespoke Modernist Institutions*

The journal *Die Musik*, like the AdMV, was an existing musical institution that saw modernisation during the Weimar Republic. While it never became exclusively modernist, such as *Melos* or *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, its content up to 1933 was balanced between more traditional fare (discussing canonical works by canonical composers) and that of modernism. *Die Musik* followed general musical trends and events. For example, in 1930 upon Kaminski's appointment to the *Akademie der Künste* one of its contributors (Günter, 1930) published an article on the composer's life and works. As a journal that survived into the Third Reich, and as discussed below, its content was reformed towards National Socialist cultural ideology. While *Die Musik* became a National Socialist organ after the establishment of the Third Reich the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (ZfM), established in 1834 by Robert Schumann, became polarized to the political right early in the Weimar Republic (Sachs, 1970).

While *Die Musik* took a more measured stance with modern trends the ZfM began publishing articles as early as 1921 that focused on rebuffing modernist developments. In an article by Herforth (1921) he argued that Germany's youth had to learn to distinguish 'great music from sick music' (p. 306). Exemplifying a strong xenophobic stance an article by Schmitt (1921) argued Germany was the superior cultural centre of Europe. Niemann's article of the same year negatively evaluated modernist products as Bolshevik and internationalist (1921, pp 181-182). Also in 1921 Göhler contextualized the 'international-bolshevistic-futurist' music as 'artistic impotence...sick and perverse' (p. 403). In 1923



Heuss and Niemann published an article with anti-Semitic overtones on Schoenberg's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* declaring the composer '...a creature, whose *seelenleben* [soul] has nothing in common with ours' (p. 9). Similar articles to these ran throughout the pages of the ZfM during the Weimar Republic. The attacks on modernism bear a not coincidental relationship to Nazi ideology – xenophobic, racist, anti-Semitic – and foreshadow the ideological background work that led to the mortification of modernism as National Socialism rose to power. As discussed below, the ZfM became a Nazi cultural mouthpiece. However, during the Weimar Republic the ZfM and its content are witness to the tensions that ran between modernists and those devoted to traditional lines of artistic products new and old.

While the Weimar Republic saw growing tensions between modern and traditional cultural production (this was not limited to music) smaller regional contemporary music societies began developing across Germany including: *Neue Musikgesellschaft* (Bremen), *Konzerte zeitgenössischer Musik* (Bochum), *Neue Musik* (Hamburg) and the *Bund für neue Tonkunst* (Königsberg). These more localised societies were influential in the development of modernist composer both as performance venues and as places where aspiring composers often received their first experiences with contemporary works. Hindemith availed of the new Frankfurt concert series *Verein für Theatre und Musikkultur* (Skelton, 1975; 1977; Streller, 1985). Wolfgang Fortner reflected fondly on his childhood experiences at the *Leipzig Konzertverein* where he was first exposed to new music (Fortner, 1963).

### *Summary*

From the earliest days of the Weimar republic modernists calculatingly moved members of their ranks into established cultural institutions including the *Akademie der Künste* and the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*. This established important modernist figures like Busoni, Schreker, Schoenberg and Hindemith into respected positions within the field from which they could exert considerable influence over musical domains, particularly in the training of the younger generation of composers. Concurrently the cooperative networks of modernism gave rise to new bespoke institutions, or reformed existing ones, comprising societies, festivals and journals which asserted a domain for new music. By the mid 1920s the activities of the Donaueschingen festival, AdMV, ISCM and a number of smaller regional

organisations and festivals, created performance opportunities for Germany's contemporary composers greater than perhaps at any other period in German history. Through these institutions Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner were afforded to varying degrees exposure on national and international stages, opportunity to meet with and discuss music with colleagues from across Germany and abroad, and to secure career enhancing steps such as publication and future performance contracts. In the wider perspective, these institutions, along with publishing firms such as Universal Edition and journals like *Melos* and *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, all substantiated contemporary art music at the time affording a codification of its past, discussion over its present and debate about its future. The networks and institutionalisation of modernism created a homeworld of Weimar modernism. While the Weimar Republic had significant social and economic difficulties, it did afford safe and fertile time and space for musical experimentation, a time and space in which each of my five case studies were active and involved whether as full time professionals such as Hindemith and Kaminski, or as student-professionals such as Wagner-Régeny, Pepping and Fortner.

However, the homeworld of Weimar modernism was not to last. As indicated throughout the above sections the discussed support structures established during the 1920s in Germany were all to suffer a process of mortification as National Socialism began its rise to power. In the brief discussion above regarding the *Zeitschrift für Musik* I presented a conflict between modernism and traditionalism. While modernism itself did not constitute a fully harmonious alliance – new schools, groups and philosophies clashed under banners of expressionism, new classicality, atonality, *Gebrauchsmusik*, etc. – modernism, as a reified concept, came into increasing conflict with conservative beliefs about musical aesthetics and the place of music in society. As the political climate of the Weimar Republic degenerated so too did the musical world succumb to conflicts between right-wing conservatism and left-wing modernism. In the remainder of this chapter I contextualise this increasing cultural conflict, and the eventual victory of National Socialism, as the process of the mortification of modernism which had profound effects for the five composers considered in my research. Before turning in earnest to the process of mortification I provide some general information regarding the downfall of the Weimar Republic.

## *The Downfall of Weimar*

By 1928 the Weimar Republic's tapestry began to unravel with growing political polarization, particularly increased support for the extreme right, exacerbated by the 1929 economic crisis and a new unpopular World War I reparations deal (Layton, 2005; Nicholls, 2000; Wright, 2002). These changes did not go unnoticed in the music press. In January 1931 *Musikblätter des Anbruch* published an issue entitled 'Politization' warning of a Third Reich and the 'secret terror' that was building in relation to suppression of modern art (Heinsheimer). In December 1932 Karl Wörner, writing in *Melos*, decried the depravity associated with the closing of the Dessau Bauhaus. These articles highlight the bearing on modern music and art of the National Socialist movement before the official establishment of the Third Reich. As Meyer (1993) concluded, before 1933 'broad sectors of the arts and the public had already been intimidated into some form of collaboration' (p. 29).

Amidst continuing economic crisis Germany moved towards authoritarian government. The army, fearing a Bolshevik revolution, made overtures to the political right in the hopes of avoiding a German version of the events in Russia. Germany's liberal Social Democratic Party (SPD) retreated to opposition status in the Reichstag. The parliamentary elections of 1930 saw the National Socialist and Communist parties make huge advances in the polls. In 1932 Hitler challenged the incumbent Hindenburg in the Presidential election and though he did not win he did achieve more than 35% of the vote in each of two ballots. The demoralized president requested the resignation of Chancellor Brüning whose cabinet was dissolved on May 30, 1932 (Patch, 1998).

To appease the increasingly powerful Nazi party Brüning's successor, Franz von Papen, lifted measures put in place to limit paramilitary wings of the National Socialists, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) and the *Schutzstaffel* (SS), and called for new elections. During the 1932 parliamentary elections the National Socialist party, though never achieving an outright majority, became the dominant party within the Reichstag. Hitler demanded the chancellorship and after first refusing President Hindenburg relented on January 30, 1933 (Kolb, 1988; Hiden, 1996). Hitler wasted little time in establishing his dictatorship. On March 23rd, after members of the Communist Party and Social Democratic Party had been

jailed following the February 27<sup>th</sup> Reichstag fire (considered evidence of a communist plot), and under the duress of mass SA presence, the *Ermächtigungsgesetz* (enabling law) passed giving Hitler and his National Socialist cabinet legislative power; Germany effectively became a dictatorship with Hitler as *der Führer* (Patch 1998; Shirer 1997).

### *The Third Reich: Mortification of Modernism*

#### *Emigrations and Dismissals*

Evidence of the effects of National Socialism and the general socio-cultural movement of Germany towards the ultra-conservative right, on music and musicians is rife. Even in its nascent stage what became the widespread National Socialist movement concerned itself with cultural matters. In 1921 American pianist George Antheil reported receiving a bomb threat in Munich from the National Socialists as reaction to his programming of “non-German” works for a concert there: ‘Hitler & Co...were known to the concert-agency trade purely and simply as a bunch of hoodlums’ (Antheil, 1981, p. 6). As discussed above, publications such as the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, and others such as the Nazi broadsheet the *Völkische Beobachter* and *Heidelberger Beobachter*, developed and continued attacks on modernism throughout the 1920s. The young Wolfgang Fortner experienced the vengeance of such publications when his first professional position, at the Heidelberg Church Music Institute, was threatened in an article published in the *Heidelberger Beobachter* entitled ‘*Kunstbolschewismus am kirchenmusikalischen Institut in Heidelberg*’ (Artistic Bolshevism at the Church Music Institute in Heidelberg). Fortner was advised by his publishers (of the Schott und Söhne firm) to refrain from retaliating:

‘Proclamation can only damage your position in Heidelberg; especially in the reactionary party [NSDAP] there are unfortunately enough people who will reproach the local authorities for having appointed a music-bolshevist to that position’ (Letter from Willi Strecker to Fortner: Mainz, May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1931; quoted from Colpa, 2002, p. 98).

Within the first months of the Nazi regime the rise of National Socialism led to mass dismissals and/or emigrations of many members of modernist circles. Within a milieu that was increasingly anti-modernist in January 1933 Heinrich Kaminski found his contract with

the *Akademie der Künste* not renewed and in 1934 he resigned his conducting post at Bielefeld when it was contested by Nazi supporters. While Kaminski did not emigrate he removed himself to his rural retreat at Ried in southern Germany (Hartog, 1986; 1987; Kirchberg, 2001). Many more musicians, including Schoenberg and Schreker, lost their jobs due to the anti-Semitic *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service) legislated on April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1933 (Meyer, 1993; Levi, 1994; Kater, 1997). Schoenberg emigrated in June 1933 (Frisch, 1999) whilst Schreker, removed from his post at the *Hochschule*, suffered a stroke and died in March of 1934 aged 55 (Hailey, 1993). Assaults on respected musicians, Jewish and otherwise, were not unusual and cultural denunciations surged from the Nazi press (see Wulf, 1963 for detailed examples). In May 1933 Gustav Bosse writing in the *Zeitschrift für Musik*<sup>12</sup> described a ‘revolution in the street’ headed by the right-wing associated *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (KfDK, Fighting League for German Culture) and the Nazi *Sturm Abteilung*. Amid this intense situational incongruity many of Germany’s best known musicians and composers fled Nazi Germany; in addition to Schoenberg these included household names such as Kurt Weill, Ernst Krenek and Bruno Walter. It is estimated to the United States alone some 1500 musicians from Germany, and other European countries assaulted by the Third Reich, immigrated between 1933 and 1944 (Gay, 1999). The book *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* details and explores much of this mass exodus (Brinkmann and Wolff, 1999). While my own research is focused on the use of music as a resource to agency by composers who remained in Nazi Germany, even here my first case study, Paul Hindemith, fled Hitler’s Reich in 1938 (Kemp, 1970a; Skelton, 1975).

These mass dismissals and emigrations have been recognised as having had a profound effect on musical production within Nazi Germany. Kurt Weill, as reported by Gay (1999, p. 21), said to an interviewer in 1935, after his immigration to the United States: “‘Lots of the best talents have left Germany, and I hear nothing from the pens of those that remained’”. Echoing Weill Wagner-Régeny wrote:

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<sup>12</sup> “*Führerverantwortlichkeit oder Revolution der Strasse*” (Leadership responsibility or revolution in the street?)

‘Then many friends had left us because they succeeded in escaping to foreign countries. Life developed conservatively with what had remained in Berlin’<sup>13</sup> (1968, p. 76)

These individuals were experiencing the first stage of modernism’s mortification after the establishment of the Third Reich. Over the previous years National Socialist cultural ideologues had attacked contemporary trends in the arts through organs like the *Zeitschrift für Musik* but now with the National Socialist party in legislative control of Germany these attacks took on a very powerful, meaningful and dangerous reality for cultural producers. Amid this situational incongruity many of modernism’s leading figures, those that had been prominent actors in the field in the 1920s (Scherchen, Schoenberg, Kaminski, eventually Hindemith, etc.) voluntarily left Germany or were removed from their positions. In these first months these composers were experiencing not just ideological attacks in the press but the active removal of connections to the Weimar modernist homeworld, the destruction of cooperative networks of modernism and its field positions built up during the 1920s, the first stage of modernism’s mortification within the Third Reich itself. Hindemith described the situation as ‘chaos’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 66) an uncertainty felt by many of Germany’s artists like Wagner-Régeny: – ‘*Es war viel des Fragens, des Erwägens, der Angst*’ (‘There were a lot of questions, considerations, fear’) (1968, p. 76).

The next stage of the mortification of modernism came with the destruction or reformation of modernism’s institutionalisation – the societies, festivals and journals that were modernism’s support structures. This began with the mass emigrations and dismissals, particularly following the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, of Germany’s older cultural institutions such as Kaminski’s and Schoenberg’s dismissals from the *Akademie der Künste* and Schreker’s from the *Hochschule für Musik* but quickly filtered to the bespoke modernist institutions founded during the 1920s. Here I revisit each of those discussed above to complete their story under National Socialism.

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<sup>13</sup> ‚Dann hatten viele Freunde uns verlassen, weil es ihnen gelungen war, in das Ausland zu entkommen. Umso enger gestaltete sich das Leben unter denjenigen, die in Berlin geblieben waren.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 76)

### *Modernist institutions under National Socialism*

From the beginning of the Third Reich Nazi ideologues began banning or reforming modernist institutions. Like the loss of modernist field members, this process further removed connections to the modernist homeworld for those composers – including Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner – who remained in Nazi Germany.

### *Donaueschingen*

The Donaueschingen festival, due to the financial difficulties of the Great Depression, was suspended after the 1930 festival. When it resumed in 1934 (continuing to 1939) it was no longer a ‘tournament of new art’ as Evans had described it in 1923, it was a tool for reforming Germany’s musical production towards National Socialist ideology stripped of its modernist tradition ‘after its leading spirits had left Germany’ (Meyer, 1993, p. 163).

The festival’s themes during the Third Reich indicate the ideological reformation of its activity following National Socialism’s foci on moulding youth, developing a fervent following based nationalist community, and substantiating a belief in a historic cultural superiority: *Neue Musik für die Jugend* (New Music for the Youth), *Neue Gemeinschaftsmusik* (New Community Music), *Neue Unterhaltungs und Gebrauchsmusik* (New Popular and Utility Music), *Von der Volksmusik zur Kunstmusik* (From Folk Music to Art Music), *Minnesang und Spielmannskunst* (Minnesinger and Minstrel Art<sup>14</sup>), and *Die großen Meister der Zeitwende* (Great Masters of the Renaissance). Many works performed during these festivals were endowed with National Socialist ideology: *Zwei Marschlieder mit Instrumenten für die Hitlerjunge* (Two Marches with Instruments for the Hitler Youth), *Marsch ‘Mein Vaterland’* (“March of My Fatherland”), *An meine Heimat* (“To My Native Country”) and *Festliches Präludium – Gebet des Jünglings* (“Festival prelude: Prayer of the youth”). In direct conflict with the festival’s original new music focus works by canonical composers such as Johann Sixt (1757-1797), Konradin Kreutzer (1780-1849) and Mozart were featured. Even the performing forces involved in the festivals, such as the

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<sup>14</sup> Minnesang was a middle ages lyric song tradition beginning in about the twelfth century in the German speaking lands with its parallel to the Bards of the British isles and the troubadours of France.

*Nationalsozialistische Reichsymphonieorchester*, belie the reformation of the once central modernist institution (Full festival programmes are available at <http://www.swr.de/swr2/donaueschingen/archiv/programme>)

In this reformation Nazi ideologues described Donaueschingen's modernist past as '...dedicated to the destruction of all notions of blood – and folk – dependent art' (Walther Abendroth, quoted from Meyer, 1993, p. 299). As a central resource to the exposure and performance of modernist music Donaueschingen essentially no longer existed. During the 1920s four of my case studies – Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski and Pepping – had relied on this resource having multiple works performed through Donaueschingen. During the Third Reich festivals none of these composers, not even Hindemith whose early career was tied so closely to Donaueschingen (Weissman, 1923c), were performed there. The one composer in my case studies, Wolfgang Fortner who was still a young student when Donaueschingen was suspended in 1930, that participated in the festival during the Third Reich did so with works fitting National Socialist *völkisch* ideology like *Schwäbische Volksweisen* (Swabian Folk Melodies) performed at the 1939 Donaueschingen festival, the last festival until after World War II.

As National Socialist ideologues were successful in reforming, and eventually disbanding, a bespoke modernist institution like the Donaueschingen festival, they were likewise successful in reforming and eventually disbanding Germany's oldest international music society, the AdMV.

#### *Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein*

Surviving to 1937 the AdMV quickly purged itself of Jewish and modernist members in 1933. For example, for the 1933 festival, the first major music festival after Hitler's ascension, the AdMV withdrew works programmed by Walter Braunfels, a close colleague of Kaminski's who had already been dismissed from the Köln *Musik Hochschule* and who eventually emigrated (Jung, 1980), and Schoenberg's disciple Anton von Webern (Levi, 1994). These works were replaced by those of conservative composers – all members of the Nazi associated KfdK – Heinz Unger, Max Trapp and Wolfgang von Bartels (Meyer, 1993).



During the 1920s Hindemith, Pepping and Kaminski each participated in AdMV festivals multiple times; neither were involved in the Third Reich AdMV festivals. Wolfgang Fortner did participate in the 1936 festival with a nationalistically styled *Eine deutsche Liedmesse* (A German Song Mass) in a festival that seems to have embraced a more modern, international stance perhaps due to the influence of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The society and its festivals were banned in 1937 (Kater, 1997).

Though both the Donaueschingen festivals and the *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein* continued for a time in the Third Reich they did so on National Socialist terms; they were no longer modernist support structures. While neither Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski nor Pepping were involved with Donaueschingen or the AdMV during the Third Reich, Fortner's involvement with them indicates manners in which composers strategically adapted to the mortification of modernism. The works by Fortner, mentioned above, performed through the AdMV (*Eine deutsche Liedmesse*, 1936) and Donaueschingen (*Schwäbische Volksweisen*, 1939) indicate the stylising of music towards the prevalent nationalist and *völkisch* currents of the time. As discussed below, such adaptive strategies constituted composers' agency during the Third Reich as they dealt with the situational incongruities they faced in the loss of connections to the Weimar modernist homeworld.

While the reforming and ultimate disbanding of the Donaueschingen and AdMV festivals represented the loss of modernist connections within Germany, the mortification of modernism also removed the international connections enjoyed by Germany's composers, principally the International Society for Contemporary Music.

#### *International Society for Contemporary Music*

The German section of the ISCM was dissolved early in 1933; such an international society was antithetical in a regime which denounced the works of Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky (Evans, 1998) and Bartók (Breuer, 1995) based on their non-German citizenship. In lieu of the ISCM the Nazi regime backed the *Ständinger Rat für Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten* (Permanent Council for International Cooperation Among Composers) established by Richard Strauß and Emil Nicolas von Reznicek in 1932. In a well

orchestrated propaganda stunt before the international press in 1934 Strauß and sympathetic foreign composers<sup>15</sup> rebuffed criticisms of the banning of the ISCM in Germany by arguing the new council served the same purpose (Meyer, 1993). However, the council begun by Strauß and Reznicek was not set up to support all contemporary music, just that of traditionally oriented composers. As noted in the international music press it was a political tool for controlling the international influence on the music profession:

‘...and now at Richard Strauss’s instigation, a “Permanent Council” has been formed in opposition to it [ISCM], with the object of pursuing a thoroughly Hitlerian policy in music...’ (André de Blonay *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, October 1935, quoted from Calvocoressi, 1935, p. 1099).

Germany’s composers lost a primary link to the free interaction with the international musical world; they were becoming increasingly isolated.

This isolation of, and increasingly control over, the music profession through National Socialism moved beyond modernist societies and festivals. The forums for musical discussion and debate, societies and journals such as *Melos* and *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, were also drawn into the mortification of modernism.

### *Journals*

Following the establishment of the Third Reich the *Melos* society and journal was dealt with swiftly. Editor in Chief Hans Mersmann was dismissed in May 1933 whilst the name of the journal changed to *Neues Musikblatt*; the content of the renamed journal was conformed to National Socialist ideology. Concurrently Mersmann was also fired from the German Broadcasting System and charged by various articles in the ZfM with propagating degenerate atonal music. *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, as an Austrian publication, was banned within Germany’s borders and disappeared entirely after the 1938 *Anschluss* (Meyer, 1993). Even more than the reformation of *Melos* and the eventual dismissal of *Anbruch* they were used as propaganda resources, icons of a disdainful past displayed at the 1938 *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate Music) exhibition. This exhibition, which mirrored the 1937 exhibition of degenerate visual art, was established to document and disseminate the

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<sup>15</sup> Carol Berard (France), Adriano Lualdi (Italy), Kurt Atterburg (Sweden), Wilhelm Kienzl (Austria)

dangerous nature and influences (racial, political, aesthetic) of musical forms considered anathema to the “new” Germany (Kater, 1997). Issues of *Melos* and *Musikblätter des Anbruch* were featured alongside examples of jazz music (degenerate because of its connection to African Americans) and works by Schoenberg, Stravinsky and even Paul Hindemith (Meyer, 1993).

As with the societies and festivals, the mortification of modernist print material was not limited only to bespoke modernist journals such as *Melos* or *Anbruch*. The traditionally neutral journal *Die Musik* became an organ for National Socialism. One of the most overt examples of the reformation of *Die Musik* was its publication of all governmental music decrees, dismissals, resignations and emigrations beginning in March 1933 (Meyer, 1993; Wulf, 1963). Not only were composers suffering the loss of connections to the modernist homeworld via these decrees, dismissals, resignations and emigrations, these activities were actively being publicised by the Nazi regime to ensure that cultural producers were aware of these events. *Die Musik* also carried highly ideological content. The June 1933 issue of the journal was subtitled *Das neue Deutschland* and contained a chilling warning from Joseph Goebbels:

““If art wants to shape its time, it has to confront its problems. German art of the next decades will be heroic, hard as steel, and romantic, sentimental and factual, national with great pathos, and it will be binding and demanding – or it will not be””  
(*Die Musik*, June 1933 “Personalien” p. 641; translation from Meyer, 1993, p. 34).

In the process of mortification the rise of the Nazi regime stripped away most of the connections, and means of connecting, to the Weimar modernist homeworld. This began through various dismissals and emigrations of many German musicians and cultural producers and proceeded to the reforming or banning of institutional modernist support structures. However, the mortification of modernism did not just strip away connections to the Weimar homeworld. Like systems identified in Goffman’s study of total institutions, National Socialism put in place its own new structures and systems to further debase modernism itself.

## *New Institutions*

In the first two years of the Third Reich the Nazi government set up bespoke organisations to control the Germany's cultural sector. Ironically, these new institutions, primarily the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK - National Chamber for Culture), were based on socialist oriented organisations prevalent in the Weimar Republic. However, whereas Weimar bureaucracies such as the *Preussische Ministerium für Kunst, Wissenschaften und Volksbildung*, for which Leo Kestenberg worked, were set up as departments to support the relative free development of the arts and sciences, the Nazi cultural bureaucracy was established to control this development and mould it according to the racist, xenophobic principles of National Socialism – the *Gleichschaltung* (restructuring) of the cultural sector (see Steinweis, 1993, pp. 35ff).

With regards to the music profession this bureaucracy was established to suppress, control and re-educate its practitioners in ways not dissimilar to the systems identified by Goffman in total institutions. In September, six months after the *Ermächtigungsgesetz*, the law establishing the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK), under the umbrella of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda, was passed. This organization was established to promote a spiritual subjugation of cultural professions, overseen by an assembly of spiritual leaders, to re-educate cultural producers to work for national interests, rather than exercise their artistic activities with free will (Meyer, 1993). In November 1933 the *Reichsmusikkammer* (RMK), one of seven specified chambers of the RKK, officially opened to 'regulate, and in some cases limit, the social and economic aspects of the music profession' (Levi, 1994, p.28).

Officially membership in the RMK was mandatory. Paralleling the required paperwork for patients at mental hospitals identified by Goffman, professional musicians were supposed to fill out membership forms which were to be scrutinized to ensure all RMK members were racially and politically acceptable. Any individuals who aroused racial or political suspicion were subjected to further investigation by the education ministry or the Gestapo (Levi, 1994). Though none of my case study composers were officially investigated in the early years of the Third Reich the fear instilled by these systems was noted in Wagner-Régeny's reflections. Writing about the early Third Reich Wagner-Régeny expressed the trepidation he felt at even answering the door for fear the visitor would be interrogating him

about occupation, German parentage and affiliations to political parties and churches (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 76). In 1939 Heinrich Kaminski learned the damaging effects of these kinds of investigations. At this time Kaminski was asked to accept a position at the *Hochschule für Musik*, to fill the vacancy left by Hindemith's emigration. As this was a position under the jurisdiction of the education ministry Kaminski was subjected to investigation by the *Reichs Sippenamt* (National Office of Genealogy). The investigation found him to be half Jewish. He was denied the position and his works were proscribed until the decision was overturned on new evidence in 1941 (Kater, 1997).

As discussed in the forthcoming case studies the climate of purges, investigations and suspicions led composers to carefully design their public self presentation. In a process of appropriating this wider socio-cultural context, a process of situating the self through reflexive projects of self, to avoid potentially dangerous situational incongruities regarding ideological investigations or censorship, composers used various strategies of musical agency – decisions regarding what to compose and what not to compose – to present themselves as acceptable, or at the least uncontroversial artists within the Third Reich. Throughout the case studies I discuss these adaptive strategies as re-presentation of self to fit in against the cultural backdrop of National Socialist Germany.

At the same time as the new cultural bureaucracy was established to subjugate, re-educate and regulate the music profession (as it was for all other segments of the cultural sector) it continued the process of reforming the field that began with the mass dismissals and emigrations before and after the *Ermächtigungsgesetz*. The RKK and its subordinate chambers, including the RMK, were installed with assemblies of spiritual leaders, cultural figures acceptable to National Socialism (Meyer, 1993). While the dismissals and emigrations ridded the field of modernist figures, the individuals appointed to the RMK and the other RKK chambers reconstituted the field, with minor exceptions, with older conservatively oriented practitioners who would largely tow the National Socialist line. This is particularly evident in the composers' council of the RMK. With the exception of Hindemith, who as discussed below was disliked by Nazi cultural ideologues (and Hitler himself) but highly respected by his musical peers, each member of the RMK composers' council was a regime sanctioned late romantic composer, many of whom were members of the KfdK: Siegmund von Hausegger, Emil Nicholas von Reznicek, Gustav Havemann

Unger, Georg Schumann, Paul Graener and the proto-typical anti-modernist Hans Pfitzner. Pfitzner, whom Kaminski had replaced at the *Akademie der Künste* in 1930, is emblematic of the beliefs of many of these individuals. Pfitzner's infamous polemics including his *Futuristengefahr* (Danger of Futurism) and his *Die neue Ästhetik der Musikalischen Impotenz* (The New Aesthetic of Musical Impotence) are indicative of his and his colleagues', general belief that music had been polluted by modernists such as Schoenberg and Busoni (Dent, 1923; Erckmann, 1929; Griffiths, 1983; Franklin, 1984).

With the *Gleichschaltung* of the cultural sector – the dismissals, emigrations, reformations/banning of modernist institutions, implanting of conservative minded individuals into positions of authority, and the establishment of bureaucratic control structures – the rise of National Socialism removed connections to the Weimar modernist homeworld for many composers who remained in Nazi Germany. Through publications that were or became Nazi organs, like *Die Musik*, the National Socialist regime ensured that Germany's musicians were presently aware of these changes and the requirement of them to reform their activities to operate in Hitler's totalitarian state.

### Summary

During the Weimar Republic music underwent a period of revolution producing extended networks of aesthetic experimentation. In a relatively short span of time individuals such as Schoenberg, Busoni, Schreker, Hindemith, Kaminski and others from around Germany and across the globe, began to connect ever more closely creating support structures which afforded space and means by which to work, collaborate and debate in an age of exploration.

From the earliest period of the Weimar Republic individuals such as Leo Kestenberg were involved in a project of installing modernist, progressive musicians into important positions within Germany's established cultural institutions. Successively at the *Akademie der Künste* these included Busoni, Schoenberg and Kaminski. At the *Hochschule für Musik* Schreker was appointed director and throughout the Weimar Republic he gathered to the school important contemporary music figures, including Paul Hindemith, making it one of the leading conservatories of Europe. This project established figures of musical

modernism in Germany's musical field from where they could, and did, exert influence over the musical domain. Within the domain itself modernism established new, bespoke institutional support structures including the Donaueschingen Festival, the International Society for Contemporary Music and the *Melos Gemeinschaft zur Erkenntnis zeitgenössischer Musik* while benefiting from the modernisation of older institutions such as the *Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein*. The networks that established these institutions also created journals such as *Melos* and *Musikblätter des Anbruch* which afforded forums for codifying modernisms past, discussing its present and debating its future.

These activities constituted a Weimar modernist homeworld – a time and space where freedom to experiment and express openly with music was cultivated. However, modernism (which itself had conflicting factions) came into increasing conflict with conservative cultural practitioners and thinkers. Within music this is most evident in the ultra-conservative, xenophobic publication the *Zeitschrift für Musik* which from the early years of the Weimar Republic denounced projects by composers such as Schoenberg as cultural bolshevism, sick and perverse, etc. As the Weimar Republic proceeded towards its downfall this cultural vitriol became closely aligned with right-wing politics, National Socialism.

With the establishment of the Third Reich came drastic changes to musical fields and domains, the removal of available connections to modernism's home. The laws and policies of the Nazi regime, from the very beginning of the Third Reich, had a profound effect on the music profession. Individuals such as Kaminski, Schoenberg and Schreker lost their jobs and their legitimacy within the musical field. Hundreds of leading German cultural figures either retreated to isolation (e.g. Kaminski) or emigrated (e.g. Schoenberg, Weill and eventually Hindemith). The support structures of modernism that had proliferated musical domains were reformed towards National Socialist ideology or were completely disbanded. Composers such as Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski and Pepping who had been active participants in modernism through the Donaueschingen festivals, the AdMV and the ISCM found these support structures recast as National Socialist tools or, in the case of the ISCM, banned and replaced by regime sanctioned organisations. Those that were active in these once modernist support structures, such as the young Fortner, did so

with works that presented them as active participants in National Socialist Germany and its ideologies, not as individuals operating from a will to exercise their artistic freedom.

The process of modernist mortification also included the establishment of bureaucratic systems to regulate the music profession and the cultural sector in general. The *Reichsmusikkammer* was established to oversee all aspects of the music profession and to encourage the re-education of Germany's musicians towards nationalist means and goals. They were no longer free to exercise artistic freedom. Official policy held they had to fill out RMK membership forms and submit to investigations regarding their past activities within the music profession, politics and their genealogy. Though Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping, Fortner and their colleagues who had been active within modernist circles in the Weimar Republic, did not move into a total institution in the Goffmanian sense of a discreet located complex of relatively fixed population size, the totalitarian Nazi state and its attempts to control the music profession are analogous. Organised into 'whole blocks of people' (Goffman, 1968, p. 6) through the RMK, the removal of networks and support structures, and the depriving of international links followed the same process of a mortification of self outlined by Goffman in relation to prison inmates and mental institution patients. In this case it was not the mortification of single selves, but of the activities of hundreds of musicians and other cultural producers.

This process of modernist mortification meant composers found the music profession redefined on National Socialist terms. This led Heinrich Kaminski to retreat to southern Germany, Hindemith to declare the events as 'chaos' and eventually emigrate, and instilled fear and anxiety in Wagner-Régeny. These experiences and actions, which are expanded and given more detail in subsequent case studies, indicate the localised effects of National Socialist cultural policy at the individual level. Reflexively aware of these situational incongruities they, like Goffman's informants, developed adaptive musical strategies, to re-learn how to act within the Nazi state.

In each of the following case studies I explore how each composer used music to reflexively situate themselves, first within the Weimar modernist homeworld but most especially amid the circumstantial and perspectival difficulties of the Third Reich. Throughout I argue music is a central resource to reflexive projects of the self particularly



in the 'reflexive process of connecting personal and social change' (Giddens, 1991, p. 33). I then go on to consider music as a resource for agency, how music was used not just to reflexively situate the self but to act to manage situational incongruity. Within the Third Reich I view music as an important resource for each of the five case studies in presenting themselves publicly, a presentation of self that, as oriented towards action within the Third Reich, was a re-presentation of self away from the modernist self developed during the Weimar Republic. Through my discussions on agency I highlight key strategies employed by these individuals as they negotiated their ability to act within Nazi Germany. I begin with Paul Hindemith.

## **Paul Hindemith**

## *Paul Hindemith*

### *Introduction:*

In the select pantheon of twentieth century composers Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) looms large. The literature on Hindemith is vast including several full length biographies (Briner, 1971; Skelton, 1975/1977; Streller, 1985), shorter biographies (Kemp, 1970a), chapters in books on 20<sup>th</sup> century composers (Brinkmann and Wolff (Eds), 1999; Kater, 2000; Lampert, 1984; Rickards, 1995; Stuckenschmidt, 1970), accounts of his years in the United States (Noss, 1989), studies on his music (Lauberthal, 1986; Neumeyer, 1986; Scott 1929), documentation of his extra-musical outputs (Fischer-Defoy and Schall, 1999; Schubert *et al.*, 1988; Skelton, 1995) and edited collections from symposia and the Hindemith-Institute (Hindemith Jahrbuch/Annales Hindemith, 32 volumes 1971-2003; Hindemith Forum, 7 volumes 2000-2003; Bolin (Ed.), 1996). Yet, there is a richness of data relatively untapped regarding his musical actions and experiences during the Third Reich. Most biographies (Briner, 1971; Kemp, 1970a; Skelton, 1975/1977; Streller, 1985) consider Hindemith's Third Reich activity, as do the few major works on music in the Third Reich (Kater, 1997; 2000; Levi, 1994; Meyer, 1993). However, the extant literature approaches the material with a view to distancing Hindemith's reputation from the odious policies of National Socialism; my aim is different.

In this chapter I begin my exploration of musical creativity as a resource for agency amid situational incongruities. Using Hindemith's experiences and activity I seek to understand how music was a central resource for agency from his early career, through the Weimar Republic and most importantly within the Third Reich. To do this I first develop the view that Hindemith was engaged as an aesthetic agent from his early professional career – the use of music to do other things (self situation, structure action, to act). Through examples from letters (relying on Skelton's 1995 published translations) I show how Hindemith used musical concepts and activity to produce his social situations and his self as self as he dealt with modernising aspects of politics, society and art. This was a process of self reflexivity and action with and through music where Hindemith used his compositional activity to connect 'personal and social change' (Giddens, 1991, p. 33). Developed early in his career

this process became central to his agency in the Third Reich where he mobilised music through a repertoire of musical actions.

Following a brief biographical overview of Hindemith's musical career I turn to activities from the Weimar Republic in three sections. The first, 'Music as resource for self reflexivity: situating the self musically', uses evidence from Hindemith's early letters to develop an argument of musical creativity and thinking affording self reflexivity. In his early career Hindemith developed understandings about his musical art world that led him to focus on modernist developments. This involvement in modernism, Hindemith's fostering of modernist cooperative networks and support structures, is then considered in the section 'Hindemith and Weimar modernism' to situate Hindemith as a central actor in a modernist homeworld that, as described in the previous chapter, he became a prominent musical field member. I then introduce concepts of music in action, music created to do things in 'Mobilising music as a change agent: *Gebrauchsmusik*'.

Having situated Hindemith as a reflexive aesthetic agent central to the Weimar musical field I focus on his musically constituted agency during the Third Reich. The first of four sections on Hindemith's Third Reich activity, 'Composer agency: what to compose, what not to compose? *Etienne und Luise* and other aesthetic projects', considers Hindemith's reflexivity through his deliberations on what musical projects would be right for the time, a common theme running throughout the subsequent case studies. This process informs Hindemith's personal construction of "the time" mediated through his thinking with and through musical projects, a strategy of counterfactual reasoning. Here I interrogate the decision to abandon an operatic project, *Etienne und Luise*, in early 1933 to consider how aesthetic projects – even incomplete ones – are used as resources for situation and action. The following section '*unsere Zeit*: The battle against a reified past' I further develop the concept of the mortification of modernism linking this to self presentation. Here I consider how Hindemith was framed, via his earlier products – particularly the opera *Neues vom Tage* (1929) – as belonging to years of 'dreadful German decay' (Goebbels, 1935, p. 247), '*den letzten vierzehn Jahren*' (Bullerian, 1933, p. 656). I then develop an argument that musical creativity is a resource for self presentation (a common theme throughout the case studies) as I contextualise Hindemith as having sought a re-presentation of self through musical activity, in National Socialist Germany. In the third section I discuss *der Fall*

*Hindemith* (the Hindemith case), the events leading up to and including conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler's public letter (November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1934) defending Hindemith against cultural critics. This was the final act in the downfall of Hindemith's musical field position in Germany. The fourth section 'A new strategy of action: Hindemith as musical export' considers how Hindemith attempted one last strategy of action within the Third Reich to rehabilitate his professional career. Before eventually immigrating to Switzerland in 1938 and the United States in 1940 Hindemith attempted to prove his worth as a German artist by framing himself and his work as important musical export to the world.

The final section of this chapter, 'The work: *Mathis der Maler* (1935)', focuses on one work, the opera *Mathis der Maler*, a work present at the forefront of Hindemith's compositional activity from 1933-1935 and the one most discussed in the literature. This work is emblematic of many of the concepts developed in the previous sections. Focusing on the centrality of belief in musical affordances (that music affords what we think it will afford), here music as a change agent, I consider how *Mathis der Maler* came out of a process of counterfactual reasoning and was central to Hindemith's strategy of musical self re-presentation.

#### *Hindemith: A brief overview:*

Paul Hindemith was a prodigious composer, noted violinist, violist, theorist, pedagogue and conductor. Born in Hanau (near Frankfurt am Main) November 16<sup>th</sup> 1895, his career included studies at the Frankfurt *Hochschule für Musik*, principal violinist of the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra, *Wehrmacht* musician and soldier during WWI, founding member of the *Amar Quartet* (celebrated for performances of contemporary works), member of the programme committee of the *Donaueschingen* festival, internationally acclaimed performer, professor of composition at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*, musical advisor to the Turkish government. Following his emigration from Nazi Germany, arriving in the United States in 1940, he became professor of composition at Yale, Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer at Harvard and an internationally recognized conductor. After WWII Hindemith and his wife Gertrude retired to Switzerland. He died unexpectedly in Frankfurt on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963 (Briner, 1971; Noss, 1989; Skelton, 1977; Streller, 1985).

## *Hindemith in the Weimar Republic*

From his earliest professional career Hindemith developed as an aesthetic agent. To interrogate this development I begin by discussing letters that highlight how, during significant socio-cultural change, Hindemith used music to understand himself within immediate art worlds and wider socio-cultural and political contexts. Following this I further substantiate the claims in the previous chapter that Hindemith was a central actor and field member in the development of Weimar modernism. Despite later becoming a neo-classicist or even, in the minds of many post WWII avant gardists, a conservative, Hindemith's earliest reputation was of an 'enfant terrible' (Levi, 1994, p. 107) a dyed-in-the-wool modernist. Though the young Hindemith's experimental aspirations led him to write 'I don't care a damn if people like it [his compositions] or not' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 12), by the mid to late Weimar Republic he was acutely concerned with the putative others' relation to contemporary music and sought, through musical agency, to fix a gap between contemporary music and the general public. This activity, his involvement in *Gebrauchsmusik*, constitutes the last section on Hindemith's Weimar activities I include. Here I introduce Hindemith's belief in music as a change agent, that what music affords comes from what we think it will afford. This belief and resultant compositional activity is central to understanding Hindemith's musical agency in the Third Reich.

### *Music as resource for self reflexivity: situating the self musically*

Hindemith's earliest career was coterminous with significant upheaval: World War I, birth of the Weimar Republic, burgeoning forms of modernism. Coming to a head at the end of the First World War and expanding throughout post-war Europe (especially in Germany's ultimately failed Weimar Republic) it was, as discussed in the preceding chapter, the artistic age of modernism. Hindemith's correspondence from this period indicates an individual struggling to manage and act within the situational incongruities of this social, cultural and political change. Part of Hindemith's struggle emanated from a desire to experiment musically, to push aesthetic boundaries. Through his musical creativity he experienced the changing times – the rapid growth of modernism – feeling stifled by his traditional conservatory education. In a letter to his friend Emmy Ronnefeldt from June

1917 he exclaimed with surprise the reaction of his teacher (Bernhard Sekles) to new works in progress:

‘I showed him my songs with orchestra (2 are finished) and do you know what worried him? That the songs are too free in form and bear no resemblance to “usual” Lieder! And these are our modern musicians! Something written from the depths of one’s soul, with not a thought in hell of Lieder forms or such-like rubbish, something a little bit unusual – this makes them nervous! I want to write music, not song and sonata forms!! [...] But in 3 devils’ name I am not bound to keep on thinking in these old patterns! And I have the feeling that it’s precisely my new songs that, through their lack of restraint, are more genuine than Sekles’s *Temperamente*, for instance. With all respect to my teacher! I’m coming more and more to the conclusion that it’s high time I shook myself free of all this conservatory nonsense. What ties me to these people, after all? Tradition, and nothing else [...] And all I want to do is make music. I don’t care a damn if people like it or not – as long as it’s genuine and true’ (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 11-12).

This letter is a tempestuous outburst of a young composer situating himself, producing his social situations and his musical self as self within them. It opens up the idea of thinking *with* and *through* musical creativity – mobilizing music as a reflexive resource – to construct understandings of the individual agent within wider contexts. Here Hindemith contemplated through his creative projects to understand the art world in which he was active. While Hindemith used language to do this it was his musical creativity that served as the catalyst for this reflexive thinking. By thinking through compositional projects and their initial reception by his teacher, Hindemith developed understandings of his art world – what is old, what is new and his situation through these concepts. Hindemith understood the old as ‘tradition’ emblemized by patterns of ‘song and sonata forms’. Hindemith was not interested in being tied to these traditions; he wanted to shake himself ‘free of all this conservatory nonsense’. Hindemith was planning for the future plotting musically how he would act, ‘colonisation of the future’ in the Giddens sense (1991, p. 111).

In a later letter to Ronnefeldt (November 1917) Hindemith further indicates how music is used to understand the future as a ‘counterfactual possibility’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 111).

Writing about a new ‘degenerate’ piano work he recounts:

‘I have finished the third of the piano pieces. It sounds terribly degenerate, has neither time signature nor key, nor harmony in the accepted sense. If I go on working in this genre, I shall end up one day in a territory beyond good & evil.’

Hindemith used music as a counterfactual conditional (a process given more examination below in relation to *Etienne und Luise*), that *if* he continued creating in this way he would end up in some unknowable ‘territory beyond good & evil’. While Hindemith was ultimately vague about where music would take him, speculating about music was used to draw the future into the present; music was understood as the activity that would lead to that intrinsically unknowable territory. Returning to the earlier June letter (above) Hindemith understood and planned his future through musical activity, a path of writing ‘music not song and sonata forms!!’ understanding his development as unbounded by ‘thinking in these old patterns’. This phrase is particularly important as it shows the composer *thinks* through musical patterns. Hindemith used language to express these sentiments, and his friend Emmy as a sounding board for them, but it was his musical creativity that led to this reflexivity; music was the medium through which he planned to act.

Hindemith did not just use music to situate himself in his “own” art world. Other correspondence shows that this reflexivity with and through musical creativity extended beyond to wider and more pervasive issues to appropriate elements of socio-cultural and political change. In a letter from November 1918 Hindemith indicated how music can be mobilized for appropriating critical political conditions in Germany at the end of WWI:

‘Of course I know nothing at all about politics, and for that reason have in the past few days become a keen social democrat. When the war ends, I too shall be inscribing Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité on my banner. Infected by the democratic bacillus, I shall from now on compose only bright red pieces. I have now completed a sonatina (yet again), the first movement of which is so left-wing and radiates so much bolshevism that on listening to it the whole right-wing loudly cries “shame” and rises from its seats, but that does not worry the composer Hindemith.’  
(Hindemith, 1995, p. 23)



This letter, written to his friends Fried and Emma Lübbecke during Hindemith's military service at the end of WWI, is an artefact of the composer's thinking about the changing world around him through music. It is an artefact of his appropriating salient political concepts of his time, the rise of socialism, for himself (the Bolshevik revolution occurred in 1917 and the socialist movement was becoming increasingly influential in German politics – see Fowkes, 1984; Hertzman, 1963; Hunt, 1969; Kolb, 2005). Though Hindemith claimed he knew 'nothing about politics' he went on to show how he was coming to "know" politics through something he did "know" – music. Claiming he has become a 'keen social democrat' Hindemith went on to write he would 'from now on compose only bright red pieces' a cue that he would create socialist music. While discerning what "socialist" music might be proves tenuous at best, Hindemith was using his creative processes to map what socialism was to him. Hindemith understood socialism through music. He then commented on a sonatina he had completed claiming the first movement was 'left-wing', one that radiated 'so much bolshevism'. Despite claiming he knew nothing about politics Hindemith was appropriating key political concepts through his musical creativity by mapping political concepts onto his musical creations. At the same time he was mapping unfamiliar political concepts for himself with familiar musical concepts. Hindemith was mobilizing music to connect socio-political changes to his personal self through thinking with music, developing understandings about politics by relating political concepts to musical concepts. This was done reflexively, Hindemith speculating on the conditions of reception of his music, how 'the whole right-wing' would cry "shame" in response to his sonatina. He came to understandings of politics by anticipating political reactions to the artefacts of his creativity. In a sense this is politics getting into music, but it is more than this for Hindemith, politics is not just "getting into" music but music is, for Hindemith, constitutive of and constituting politics.

### *Hindemith and Weimar modernism*

The formative early professional years of the developing Hindemith reflected in these early letters were spent in the Weimar Republic. While playing with the Frankfurt opera orchestra and the Frankfurt museum concert series, immediately after WWI, he began developing cooperative networks of colleagues, including conductors Wilhelm Furtwängler and Hermann Scherchen, who would become influential allies in the years to come. He was

also able to avail of the new support structures, discussed in the previous chapter, that were beginning to proliferate the musical domain, such as the new regional Frankfurt concert series *Verein für Theatre und Musikkultur*. At this time he was also able to secure publication with the firm of Schott und Söhne<sup>16</sup>, a firm central to his career and one that figures prominently in later case studies, especially that of Wolfgang Fortner.

During this early Weimar period, while the modernist homeworld was developing, Hindemith's modernist reputation was born. This reputation was reached, for example, through his early one act operas such as *Das Nusch-Nuschi* (1920) where the protagonist is castrated and *Sancta Susanna* (1921) which features a nymphomaniac nun with a lust for Christ. These works, along with *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (Murderers, the Hope of Women – 1919), challenged social conventions thematically and aesthetically. They caused consternation at their premieres in Stuttgart but when staged in Frankfurt were interpreted as indications of Hindemith's talent and promise as a composer, moving him into prominent progressive, intellectual, artistic circles (Skelton, 1975;1977; Streller, 1985). The convention challenging composer Hindemith planned in his early letters was coming to fruition.

In 1921 Hindemith came to the first instalment of one of the modernist homeworld's principal support structures, the *Donaueschinger Musiktage*, and founded the *Amar Quartet* – one of the most successful chamber groups in Europe, specializing in, though not entirely devoted to, modern works (including Hindemith's own). By 1923 Hindemith was closely tied to, and invested in the Donaueschingen festival, and his awareness of and connections to the wider modernist world began to grow. Writing to Heinrich Burkhard (co-organiser of Donaueschingen) Hindemith indicates his activity within modernist circles and his activity in developing modernist homeworld structures:

‘I’ve heard from Hertzka [managing director of Universal Edition] that Webern has a new quartet ready. Write to him at once and reserve the first performance rights for this summer [Donaueschingen festival]...how is it with the Schönberg Serenade? If you don’t get it, then at least try to get the new Wind Quintet. Leave no stone unturned: we must at all costs have something by him as well as Webern.

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<sup>16</sup> *Schott und Söhne* became Hindemith's life-long publishers.

Particularly the Schönberg you must get without fail. If you have these things, Donaueschingen will be morally way above all this year's other music festivals' (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 33-34).

Hindemith's activities, musical and administrative, place him at the centre of developments in modernism, constructing his professional self through aesthetic projects and in organisational activity of modernist support structures and acting as a principal actor in the creation of the modernist homeworld. Hindemith was quickly becoming the most famous young German composer of his time, gaining increasing prominence in the musical field (Briner, 1971; Kemp, 1970a; Skelton, 1975; 1977; Streller, 1985).

The following years were extremely busy for the young musician. His works continued to be performed through new and old organisations and festivals: Donaueschingen festival, concerts and festivals of the newly formed ISCM, festivals of the AdMV, and tours with the Amar quartet<sup>17</sup>. During this period Hindemith's "wild" experimentation began to give way to a developing musical pragmatism, though his wild reputation stayed with him through to the Third Reich. Surveying the state of cultural affairs in 1925 and his position within it he penned a prophecy in a letter to his publishers (Ludwig and Willy Strecker of the Schott und Söhne firm) dated April 2, 1925, a prophecy that was to ring true:

'I am firmly convinced that a big battle over new music will start in the next few years – the signs are already there. The need will be to prove whether or not the music of our day, including my own, is capable of survival. I of course believe firmly in it, but I also believe that the reproaches made against most modern music are only too well deserved. Enemies of the new music will use all possible means to attack it...I am of the opinion that in the next few years the utmost orderliness will be called for in such matters, and I myself will do all I can to achieve it...I have been striving for the highest degree of purity and orderliness' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 38)

This short observation highlights the previously discussed controversy that surrounded modernism, that it had a difficult relationship with the more pervasive and appreciated

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<sup>17</sup> In 1924 alone, the Amar Quartet gave 129 performances (Skelton, 1975).

traditional, canonical musical fare. In this conflict Hindemith was a conscientious actor considering his own position within the wider context and willing to see the other side, to see validity in the criticisms of modern music. He also introduces the concept of belief that he believes ‘firmly’ in modern music, that music is and does what people believe/think it is and will do.

Within this prophecy Hindemith also unknowingly foresaw the mortification of modernism alluding to the severity of the conflict: the enemies of new music will use ‘all possible means to attack it’. Hindemith could not have predicted the ideological impositions of National Socialism, but he was aware of a growing backlash. Aware of this conflict Hindemith and others attempted to convincingly disseminate contemporary music to the general public through *Gebrauchsmusik* – through a strategy of designing music as a change agent.

#### *Mobilising music as a change agent: Gebrauchsmusik*

By 1927 Hindemith was appointed by Schreker to a composition post at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*, a position of highest regard and one that solidified his place within the musical field. Now one of the most established young composers in Europe Hindemith began to turn to *Gebrauchsmusik* – literally “utility music” (the composer preferred the term *Sing und Spielmusik*). I include a brief discussion on Hindemith’s involvement with *Gebrauchsmusik* to introduce the strategy music as a change agent. Above I showed thinking with, through and about musical creativity constituted aesthetic self reflexivity for Hindemith; he used musical thinking to connect personal and social change within his own art world and with wider socio-cultural and political changes. As Hindemith engaged in this activity he used music to draw the future into the present and to make plans for action. He then developed professionally as a modernist composer centrally active in the creation of a Weimar modernist home world. However, Hindemith’s *Gebrauchsmusik* involvement focuses the discussion to music’s use for getting things done, a change agent.

Prior to the Third Reich Hindemith developed beliefs in being able to engineer music to change social situations to bridge what he understood as a widening gap between modern music and the public and to fight the attacks against modernism. Hindemith sought to deal

with these incongruities through musical agency, through a strategy of composing new music (supported through festivals, teaching, etc. the support structures of a modernist homeworld he helped create) accessible to a wider population to draw them into contemporary musical trends. *Gebrauchsmusik* was a musical strategy for social purposes (i.e. not “art for art’s sake”) typically tailored to amateurs rather than professional musicians (Hinton, 1989) in ‘an attempt to re-establish contact between the composer and his public’ (Muser, 1944, p. 33). This use of musical creativity to seek/effect change mirrors recent findings in social and psychological studies on music where agents have been found to be instrumentally using recorded music to regulate their bodies and emotions (DeNora, 2000; Sloboda, 1992) and experiences of time and space (Bull, 2005). Through *Gebrauchsmusik* Hindemith plans and structures his agency through beliefs in the power of his creativity to effect social change.

As a mode of action *Gebrauchsmusik* was conceived as music *for* everyday life as opposed to more elitist forms of concert music consumed passively in sacralised venues. In the latter half of the Weimar Republic Hindemith virtually abandoned composing concert music in favour of pedagogical and “social” music for amateurs, children, etc. creating works such as the children’s Christmas play *Tuttifänchten* (1925), opera *Wir bauen eine Stadt* (1930), or the series of instrumental and choral works *Plöner Musiktag* (1932). In these works his musical creativity was focused on a project of connecting himself and his music to broad social strata. Hindemith did this by writing music accessible to amateur musicians and music for the musically untrained. Such works made minimal musicianship demands on the performers. Vocal music was based on uncomplicated step-wise melodies with narrow ranges. Instrumental works required elementary technical skill employing, for example, only the open strings of a violin. This was not musical creativity understood as leading to immutable masterworks, but rather as musical creativity leading to participatory works for the social masses where “quality” was a secondary consideration (Hinton, 1989). Though not explicitly described as such by Hindemith, this was a social project: ‘...the Weimar avant garde sought to employ the major innovations of 20<sup>th</sup> century music to elicit forms of emancipatory consciousness and action in the broadest strata of the population’ (Zabel, 1992).

Central to this concept was the belief in contemporary modern music. Hindemith's statement 'I believe firmly in it [music of our day]' underscores a principle feature of musical affordances, the requirement of belief or thinking what music will afford. By seeking 'orderliness' and 'purity' Hindemith believed he could overcome the attacks on modern music and bridge the gap between modernism and its consumption by the wider public. Hindemith sought this by inviting students and the musical laity to participate in works designed with minimal skill requirements to be performable and understandable by music non-specialists. Hindemith and others believed that by designing works in this way the music itself would be a change agent for them. It would increase the interest in, consumption and understanding of modern music. As a change agent he believed this would rebuff the criticisms of modernism from musical conservatives and that it would connect composers and musicians with greater segments of the wider population. The key understanding gleaned from this is not that works like Hindemith's *Plöner Musiktag* were inherently change agents, they did not inherently afford participation in modern music by the general population. They could only be change agents because Hindemith believed they could be and through that belief designed and presented them as such. Music affords what we think it will afford.

During the Weimar Republic Hindemith employed his creative processes and products for things more than just music; he was developing a repertoire of musical actions socially oriented. With reference to his early letters I showed how musical creativity was a resource for reflexive thinking and situating *vis á vis* the art world in which he was operative. Hindemith used his musical knowledge and creativity to emblemize concepts of old versus new and to engage in speculation about future action – the colonization of the future. I then explored how musical creativity was mobilized not just to understand how 'elements of an art world come to bear' (Becker, H., 1982, p. 201) on musicians by musicians, but how musical activity is used to appropriate at the individual level salient socio-political concepts. As Hindemith developed his professional self he moved to a central position within Weimar modernism operative in establishing cooperative networks and structures (e.g. Donaueschingen festival) to support Weimar modernism and himself within this. During this period Hindemith came to recognize a widening gap between contemporary music and the general public as well his awareness of a looming battle over new music. Hindemith and others sought to redress this gap and defend modernist work against attacks

through a strategy of designing music as a change agent. Through *Gebrauchsmusik* Hindemith sought to connect the general population with contemporary music. Hindemith's engagement with *Gebrauchsmusik* is a critical turn in understanding how musical activity is involved with social agency, that it constitutes strategies of action. Hindemith engaged in writing *Gebrauchsmusik* to encourage involvement of a wide putative other with contemporary music. He did not write works such as *Plöner Musiktag* as immutable masterworks for passive consumption in a concert hall, he wrote them to achieve something socially. Through a belief in musical affordances Hindemith engaged in a strategy of designing music to act as a change agent.

In the following section these concepts are used and expanded to understand Hindemith's activity within the turbulent times of the Third Reich – how music constituted his agency as he struggled to manage and act within dangerous perspectival and circumstantial incongruities.

### *Hindemith and the Third Reich*

Within the considerable literature surrounding Hindemith, his work and times, his Third Reich years (1933-1938) remain an area less purposely explored. Skelton's (1975/1977) generally excellent biography deals with this period as 'Semi Exile' (pp. 105-154) contextualising Hindemith's struggles with the new cultural-political reality as a man against an oppressive regime. This tact, which implicitly holds that Hindemith's reputation must be saved from the scourge of Nazism, is taken by most scholars regarding this period of Hindemith's career. Even Kater's (2000) immaculately researched chapter on Hindemith in the Third Reich, despite issuing an analysis of 'spectrums of grey' rather than 'black-or-white'<sup>18</sup>, takes as germinal point the question of Hindemith's collaboration with the regime. My inquiry does not judge the extent of regime collaboration; rather it is an attempt to understand Hindemith's use of composing and musical products to do other things.

As Hindemith approached the Third Reich he found himself in a climate of increasing hostility from the Nazi ideological press the early stages of modernism's mortification; he

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<sup>18</sup> Taken from a Taruskin quote reviewing the book printed on the book's back cover.

was particularly vilified by Alfred Rosenberg and his *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*<sup>19</sup> and by the new face at the *Zeitschrift für Musik* Fritz Stege<sup>20</sup> (Kater, 2000). Paul Hindemith's letters from 1934-1936 provide a wealth of information regarding the interactions between composer, music, ideology and bureaucracy – how he managed and acted situational incongruity. Through this correspondence it is clear that Hindemith believed his agency, as constituted by music, had to be focused on a re-presentation of self, to reform the views of him by National Socialist cultural ideologues.

In the difficult final years of the Weimar Republic Hitler and the National Socialists were poised to become Germany's masters. Hindemith was cognisant of changes round him. In July 1932 he wrote to Emma Lübbecke-Job, '...we're in a state of siege, perhaps if one writes letters one will be shot dead – who knows?...What will happen we do not know; now as before we leave it to the good Lord.' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 63).

In 1932 Hitler had challenged von Hindenburg for the German Presidency, the *Sturm Abteilung* (SA) were regularly engaged in battle with other paramilitary groups, and July was an election month, the election in which the NSDAP made its greatest poll advances (Patch, 1998; Shirer, 1997). As Hindemith appropriated salient concepts of left versus right wing politics at the end of WWI through aesthetic reflexivity so too did he appropriate the socio-cultural changes at the end of the Weimar Republic connecting personal and social change. Hindemith's abandonment of an operatic project, *Etienne und Luise*, indicates how

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<sup>19</sup> The KfdK was founded in February of 1929 by Alfred Rosenberg, a committed party member and editor of the party organ *Völkische Beobachter*, to combat modernism and secure proper German artistic values, based as much upon anti-modernist aesthetics as Nazi racial thought. The organization's musical activity, supported in particular by conservative editor of what was to become one of Nazism's principal musical voices the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (ZfM), included concerts where legitimacy for German musical fortitude was sought in works of Wagner, Bach, Schubert, etc. A coup for the organization came on April 20, 1933 when they hosted a celebratory concert for Hitler's birthday. Though the KfdK was founded and run by a dedicated party member and though its impetus was based on National Socialist principles it was not an official organization of the party and operated independently of the government. Rosenberg certainly had ambitions to become the nation's leading cultural demagogue and likely sought out a legitimizing government post. However, he came in direct conflict with Goebbels for cultural control. Neither Rosenberg, nor the KfdK ever reached the goal of becoming the legitimate government agency for culture but in 1934 Rosenberg was made 'Commissioner for the entire intellectual and ideological training and education of the Party' and the KfdK became in June 1934 the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde (NSKG, National Socialist Cultural Community), and was granted official party status (Levi, 1994; Kater, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> As early as August 1930 Fritz Stege wrote the following regarding Hindemith's children's opera *Wir bauen eine Stadt*, 'This experimentation with the hearts of children is the more reprehensible as the trouble of rehearsing is not compensated by the musical substance...Can one imagine a cruder artistic swindle than these children's choruses, which cannot be performed by children?' (quoted from Strobel, 1961, p. 44)



he produced his social situations and situated himself within them by mediating these changes by reflexive thinking with and through musical projects using musical projects and counterfactual conditionals for a strategy of counterfactual reasoning.

*Composer Agency: What to compose, what not to compose? Etienne und Luise and other aesthetic projects*

*Etienne und Luise* was a novel by Ernst Penzoldt, a love affair between a French prisoner of war and a German girl during World War I. On November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1932 Hindemith wrote to his publishers regarding the prospects for such an opera<sup>21</sup>: ‘Penzoldt is the new favourite, having already sent me a detailed outline of a theme we had previously discussed... Something will certainly come of it.’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 64). In a subsequent letter dated January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1933 (ten days before Hitler became Chancellor) Hindemith was still enthusiastic, planning to complete the majority of work on the opera during the following summer with a planned completion sometime in the winter (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 65-66). Then, less than two months later, Hindemith re-evaluated the project taking into consideration the changes occurring with the establishment of the Third Reich:

‘Esteemed brother, you haven’t heard from me for some time. Here there was such chaos that writing was unthinkable... The prospects for the next few weeks are of course bad, and I also have no idea to what extent it might be possible to bring out new operas in the autumn. To judge by what I now see happening in musical and theatrical affairs, I believe all the key jobs will shortly be occupied by rigidly national types. Next spring, by which time the first difficulties should have been got over, the prospects for an opera by Penzoldt and myself should be very good. Maybe not this particular text, though one cannot really know. Anyway, caution is called for, and I am in favour of shelving this particular subject for a while and seeking another. I have been looking around and have come on something that is innocuous and interesting and will this year and next be particularly topical<sup>22</sup>.’ (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 66-67).

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<sup>21</sup> For full discussion on the development of this incomplete opera see: Nickel, G., Schaal, S. (1999). ‘Die Dokumente zu einem gescheiterten opernplan von Paul Hindemith und Ernst Penzoldt’. *Hindemith Jahrbuch*, 28. pp. 88-253.

<sup>22</sup> Hindemith was planning a comic opera on the construction of the railroad. These plans never came to fruition either. The operatic work he did begin in 1933 was *Mathis der Maler*, discussed in depth below.

There are several important points in this letter that begin to illumine the modes of action of Hindemith and others during the Third Reich. First is the awareness of chaos and resulting uncertainty of producing new works in the near future understood through surveying wider contexts. Hindemith recognized shifts in the musical field that ‘all the key jobs’ are going to ‘national types’. As discussed in the chapter on the mortification of modernism, as Nazism rose, the key to controlling the cultural sector was to destroy or reform bespoke modernist organizations and supplant undesirables (communists, Jews, modernists) in established institutions. In this letter Hindemith is particularly aware of the reconstitution of the field by National Socialist supporters. Hindemith recognizes this as a serious problem because it will have an effect on his musical work. He connects these social changes to himself through their anticipated effects on musical creativity. Yet there is a pervasive hope that in the near future the situation will resolve itself. In accordance with the surveying of the changing musical fields Hindemith orients this thinking directly to his aesthetic projects, to his compositional choices. Hindemith is all but certain that the time is not right for an opera about a French prisoner of war and a German girl. He does not abandon the idea of working with Penzoldt, but this opera needs to be shelved and replaced by something ‘innocuous’, ‘interesting’ and ‘particularly topical’. Hindemith’s appropriation of socio-political context is focused *through* his musical activity, what he will compose and when. He produces his situation and himself within that situation, as mediated by deliberating through musical activity, by anticipating reception.

What is operative here is Hindemith’s use of music in a strategy of counterfactual reasoning. Hindemith uses his musical creativity as a resource for counterfactual reasoning, connecting social change to himself by considering how these changes might affect conditions of reception for his compositions. He accomplishes this by making the creative project, in this case a nascent *Etienne und Luise*, a counterfactual conditional essentially questioning “if I compose this what will happen?” His answer to this question was that should he and Penzoldt continue to work on *Etienne und Luise* their creative actions will prove problematic within the cultural climate of National Socialist Germany. He comes to understand this avenue of creativity – as if he can see the opera in completion – as dangerous that when premiered in the public domain its reception will lead to negative consequences. This counterfactual reasoning indicates even an incomplete musical project

affords reflexivity and can directly inform agency leading to a strategy of action or in this case inaction – do not proceed with this musical project, it is not worth it.

Gradually Hindemith's understandings of the chaos and the changing institutional structures (taken over by 'national types') leads the composer to consider engaging Nazi affiliated cultural organisations for the 'musical future':

'To judge by what is happening here I don't think we need worry too much about the musical future. One must just be patient for the next few weeks. With all the changes so far nothing has happened to me...I had a long talk with some of the higher-ups in the Kampfbund [*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*]. It was only about educational matters, but I got the impression (after having satisfied them that I was neither a half nor any other fractional Jew) that they have a good opinion of me there...One of these days I shall of course have to get the Kampfbund to support my things officially, but it is a bit too early yet for that. In the present state of general uncertainty it won't be possible to do much anywhere...' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 69)

Taken with Hindemith's earlier assertion that 'all the key jobs' are going to 'rigidly national types', the composer was aware of the changes occurring around him (and orients these changes with and to his musical activity) experiencing a 'state of general uncertainty'. However, this is the first instance in his extant correspondence of considering the necessity of orienting to the changing field. Latent in his statement 'One of these days I shall of course have to get the Kampfbund to support my things officially...' is the notion of presenting himself through such political association. A positive presentation of self was a key component of composer agency during the Third Reich and is featured, in addition to Hindemith, in my research on Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, Ernst Pepping and Wolfgang Fortner. Composers sought to present themselves as reliable (or at least non-controversial) within the Third Reich but especially so during the first two or three years of the regime. They did this through various strategies (accessible aesthetics, innocuous dramatic themes, associations to historic German cultural icons, etc.); here Hindemith highlights one of the ways of re-presenting professional self, a strategy of association (not necessarily collaboration) with Nazi affiliated organisations such as the KfdK.

Another strategy to re-present self within the ‘state of general uncertainty’, one evident in the actions of Wagner-Régeny and Fortner also, is an orientation to “safe” German cultural history, symbols and icons. My research points to composers appropriating such associations through setting texts by historic canonical German authors, such as Hölderlin, co-opted by the regime for propaganda purposes. In the above letter Hindemith goes on to write:

‘...but what I really had in mind was a big thing for men’s chorus, a short [sic] of cantata with soloists and perhaps a very primitive brass band such as can be found in any village. I am looking for texts in Novalis (the Night Hymns) and Hölderlin. Don’t you agree that a kind of light and harmless but still very serious piece would be just the thing for now?’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 70).

Though there is no evidence that Hindemith ever completed, or even worked on such a project, his counterfactual reasoning, a search for ‘light and harmless’ yet ‘serious’ subject matter, not only rejected a work (*Etienne und Luise*) on ideological lines, but reasoned what would be ideologically congruent. In addition to picking up on a traditional German genre, men’s choruses (*Männerchor*), he sought appropriate texts from Novalis and Hölderlin. Novalis (Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg) was a celebrated German romantic author and philosopher (Scholz 1978) and Hölderlin’s co-option by the Nazi regime is well documented (Nielinger-Vakil, 2000). Like others, Hindemith’s desire to navigate the uncertainties of the early Third Reich led him to consider the “safe” territory of German canonical literature. While Hindemith never actualised this project his careful reasoning around text and subject matter, through which he appropriated socio-cultural changes for himself, did lead him to a work, considered in depth below, that drew upon ideologically oriented German history. Hindemith’s *Mathis der Maler* was set not in the present (such as his opera *Neues vom Tage*) but during the 1524-1525 Peasant Revolt, the time of the Lutheran Reformation.

*‘unserer Zeit’: The re-presentation of professional self in the early Third Reich*

Hindemith’s correspondence, as discussed above, indicates a social actor aware of and working through social, cultural and political changes in Germany as they affect musical work. Hindemith was surveying wider contexts and constructing his social situation with

and through his aesthetic projects. As he acted to manage situational incongruities he developed the strategy of re-presenting himself within National Socialist Germany to counteract his negative appropriation by cultural ideologues as they continued their assaults on modernism and its practitioners. In this section I seek to clarify what this negative appropriation was, what eventually led to *der Fall Hindemith* (the Hindemith case). My research points to composers, not just Hindemith but also subsequent case studies, battling a reification of time and space imposed by Nazi ideologues. As part of the mortification of modernism cultural ideologues framed the previous fourteen years (*den letzten vierzehn Jahren*), the Weimar Republic, as a period of utmost degeneracy, one anathema to the new Germany they sought to create – *unserer Zeit* (our time). In the estimation of such ideologues, regardless of Hindemith's current work, the composer was understood through various modernist associations (ISCM, Donaueschingen and works like the 1929 opera *Neues vom Tage*) as unwelcome in *unserer Zeit*.

During the first years of the Third Reich articles published in important journals and newspapers claimed national socialist ownership of the present cultural period for the German people (*unserer Zeit*), while decrying the previous fourteen years as degenerate. This cultural propaganda emanated from the highest levels. In a *Die Musik* article published in 1933 Bullerian quoted Joseph Goebbels as saying: 'During the last fourteen years art has lived behind the times. Thus, the eye directs itself to the things of today and what will come tomorrow!'<sup>23</sup> (p. 656). Reference to 'the last fourteen' years became a salient concept and one Hindemith sarcastically referenced later in 1934 as 'the famous 14 years' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 85). On March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1934 right-wing critic Paul Zschorlich, writing in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, berated Hindemith's associations during these years especially the ISCM an organization he considered 'dominated by Jews, musical Bolshevism, dilettantishness and atonality...' (quoted from Strobel, 1961, p. 50)<sup>24</sup>. In August of the same year Herzog's

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<sup>23</sup> 'In den letzten vierzehn Jahren hat die Kunst hinter der Zeit gelebt. Also, das Auge richten auf Dinge, die heute sind, morgen kommen werden!' (Bullerian, *Die Musik* 25(9), 1933, p. 656)

<sup>24</sup> The article, published in the *Deutsche Zeitung* of March 17<sup>th</sup> reads:

In this international organization dominated by Jews, musical Bolshevism [sic], dilettantishness and atonality have created a soundingboard for their products.

Paul Hindemith is very popular in this international society. He even gives it valuable support. He fits also into this framework. His musical products are thoroughly at home in an atmosphere characterized by the names Alban Berg and Arthur Honegger, Bela Bartok and the quarter-tone-mixer Alois Haba. Surrounded by works of a certain intellectual and cultural tendency that we in Germany prohibit, Paul Hindemith will again be on the program in Florence' (Strobel, 1961, p. 50)

article ‘*Was ist deutsche Musik?: Erkenntnisse und Folgerungen*’ (What is German music?: Thoughts and Conclusions) attempted to define ‘German’ music in accordance with Nazi racial and xenophobic ideology<sup>25</sup> claiming that which is undesirable in music, ‘*ist nicht Musik aus unserer Zeit*’ (1934, p. 805). In December 1934 another *Die Musik* article derided Hindemith’s association with the *Donaueschingen* festival of contemporary music, which was described as a forum for raving experimenters, creators of music devoid of *Volk* connections (Majewski, 1934). On December 6<sup>th</sup> in a widely reported address Goebbels referred to Hindemith’s opera *Neues vom Tage* (1929) as indecent, common and kitschy, ‘surrounded with the discordant dissonances of a musical nonsense’<sup>26</sup> (published in Goebbels 1935, p.247). Goebbels’ address seems to have been based on Hitler’s own estimation of Hindemith who, according to Hindemith’s correspondence, was offended by *Neues vom Tage* (Hindemith, 1995, p. 85). As part of the experience of mortification at the individual level, it was not just the reforming or disbanding of modernist support structures that had to be dealt with. The negative definitions of these structures by conservative, nationalist cultural ideologues were used to attack those that had been involved with them through series of what Goffman (1968) would call degradations, debasements and humiliations.

Contrary to Hindemith’s pervasive hope ‘the first difficulties’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 66) were not resolved. Though Hindemith described Berlin as a battlefield in February 1934 he remained enthused by possibilities in music education that might be afforded through the new regime (Hindemith, 1995, p. 76-77). His desire to connect contemporary music to the general population was still a strong interest. This February letter – which describes

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<sup>25</sup> Herzog’s aim was to explain a vast expanse of music history with Nazi racial and xenophobic ideology. He began by describing Gregorian chant as oriental and Jewish and that this caused serious problems in the post WWI years (i.e. the Weimar Republic) as it inspired the overt linearity of composers of that time (including Hindemith). In contrast he upheld the Lutheran Chorale which as freer with more lofty goals. He contextualised impressionism as decidedly French and exemplary of narrow consciousness, a pervasive anxiety and constriction of expression. He saw impressionist works as merely ornamental oriental improvisations. German music, he argued, exemplified by Bach, Beethoven, Bruckner and Wagner had a well formed, deep and profound inner nature. For the future he claimed that Germany must rescue the heroic aspects of its art. Specifically he argued for the rescuing of the fugal form from the burlesque parody it endured during the *Novemberrepublik* (i.e. the Weimar Republic). He called for the concert life of Germany to do more to highlight canonical composers like Mozart, Beethoven and Haydn, particularly the lesser known symphonies of these composers as well as support for more recent composers like Max Reger and Hans Pfitzner. He went on to concede that as of yet (August, 1934) there was no true music of the Third Reich but that art takes time to regenerate. (Herzog 1934).

<sup>26</sup> ‘...sich dagegen aufzulehnen, mit den misstönenden Dissonanzen einer musikalischen Nichtskönnerlei umgeben.’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247)

cautious advances with Nazi affiliated organisations such as the *Arbeitsfront*, *Arbeitsdienstlager* and the KfdK – confirms Hindemith’s earlier intimations of a strategy of association to National Socialist organisations, of presenting himself through such organisations.

As with his *Gebrauchsmusik* work of the latter Weimar Republic Hindemith also sought to achieve his re-presentation of self through the belief that his compositions would work as change agents for him. Central to this was finding the right time and place to have his works performed, to influence the conditions of reception. In a letter to his publishers (October 1933) he indicated he had been pondering the performance conditions within Germany and that he believed they could be used for a positive presentation of his works and consequently himself. Hindemith’s colleague and friend, the celebrated conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, wanted to perform works by Hindemith in December of 1933. However, Furtwängler suggested (and Hindemith agreed) it judicious to wait until February of 1934. Hindemith’s agreement issued from his personal assessments of the mindset of the concert going public: ‘I have a very strong feeling that people everywhere are sick of the bleatings of the old guard but am of the opinion they should be given time to reach a state of real longing!’ (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 71-72). Hindemith wanted to hold back his works from the public – in recognition that the active concert repertoire was now somehow boring, comprising works by traditional composers, the ‘old guard’ – to develop a hunger for his works. Later, on November 23<sup>rd</sup> he wrote: ‘From all that I have heard here, the outlook for my things should be good in the coming spring, the point will soon be reached at which the general boredom becomes unbearable’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 73). Hindemith was engaged in reflexive reasoning regarding the most opportune time to present his works to maximize their potential as change agents.

In the end Hindemith did not wait for spring deciding to participate in a February 1934 concert with the Berlin Philharmonic:

‘As I already told you, there was to have been a concert of new music here [Berlin] on the occasion of the Musikkammer conference; apparently it is not now to take place. Instead, on Sunday, 18.II [February 18, 1934], there will be a concert in which I shall take part along with the greybeards Hausegger [Siegfried von], Pfitzner [Hans], Graener [Paul], Schumann [Georg], and Strauss [Richard]; I shall

conduct the Philharmonic in my Concert Music for String Orchestra and Brass. One really could not ask for more in the way of an official introduction... The piece must of course be finely done and stand out to some extent among the ancient tootlers – to me the contrast with the following “Eulenspiegel” [by Richard Strauss] is naturally not displeasing’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 77)<sup>27</sup>

This letter indicates both the ramifications of the mortification of modernism, a concert of new music had been cancelled in favour of one featuring the ‘greybeards’ or ‘ancient tootlers’ (all of whom in this instance were members of the composer’s council of the *Reichsmusikkammer*) and Hindemith’s actions to manage such events. Despite the cancellation of a new music concert Hindemith reasoned this was an opportunity; the ‘ancient tootlers’ would afford him a means of legitimate and positive presentation (‘official introduction’ as Hindemith stated). Hindemith again uses music as a counterfactual conditional that if his *Concert Music for String Orchestra and Brass* is presented alongside the important contemporary musical icons, even if he judges them passé, he will be positively presented. Not only would Hindemith’s music be presented, he himself would conduct the Berlin Philharmonic granting him co-presence alongside the ‘greybeards’ with an orchestra now under the protectorate of Reichsminister Goebbels (Levi, 1994; Kater, 1997). As an added bonus this concert was broadcast via radio across the nation.

As Hindemith was managing and acting within the early Third Reich to positively present himself he used a number of strategies in his agency: avoiding, through counterfactual reasoning, potentially controversial themes (*Etienne und Luise*); considering/using “safe” historic German cultural history, symbols and icons (Hölderlin, *Mathis der Maler*); cautious orientation to Nazi affiliated organizations. With this concert he reasoned an opportunity through physical co-presence to combine his music with contemporary cultural icons, with the Berlin Philharmonic, and to broadcast beyond the boundaries of a single concert hall. Hindemith anticipated being able to address the temporal concerns of whether he belonged to the previous or current epoch by acceptably situating himself in the present

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<sup>27</sup> It is likely that Furtwängler had a hand in programming Hindemith at this concert. This may be the very performance that Hindemith referred to in his letter to Willy Strecker (c. Oct. 9, 1933) regarding the postponement of his works by Furtwängler until February, 1934 (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 71-72).



as both composer and conductor. Hindemith mobilised counterfactual reasoning with his *Concert Music for String Orchestra and Brass* to anticipate a positive reception and presentation of himself contrasted against the ‘tootlers’. Hindemith believed through the traditional fare offered by his older colleagues the truly positive nature of his work would emerge and act as a change agent for his current situation. However, Hindemith’s anticipations were not quite accurate. The performance was greeted with hostility from the audience. Willy Strecker (Hindemith’s publisher at Schott), who listened to the radio broadcast at home, wrote to him after hearing the disquiet of the audience: ‘A little opposition never does any harm. It simply shows that you do not yet belong in the category of senile old men.’ (Skelton, 1975, p. 116).

### *Der Fall Hindemith*

Despite Hindemith’s calculated actions his situation in Nazi Germany did not improve. Hindemith found himself having to deal with increasing situational incongruities which eventually led to his emigration. These increasing difficulties included Hitler himself. In a letter to Willy Strecker from November 1934 he wrote: ‘It is obvious “Neues vom Tage” shocked the Führer greatly’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 85). To deal with this incongruity Hindemith again turned to the strategy of music as a change agent. Realising that Hitler’s appropriation of *Neues vom Tage* led to a negative impression of him with the dictator he considered re-presenting himself through music to manage the incongruity. Hindemith suggested in this letter that if Hitler could attend a school performance of his children’s play *Plöner Musiktag*, one of his earlier *Gebrauchsmusik* works, Hitler’s opinion of him would be changed:

‘I shall write him [Hitler] a letter in which I shall ask him to convince himself to the contrary and perhaps visit us some time here in the school, where I would have the cantata from Plöner Musiktag performed for him – no one has ever been able to resist that.’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 85).

Though no such letter was ever sent, nor is there evidence Hitler attended a performance of *Plöner Musiktage*, Hindemith’s thinking continues to indicate an actor believing in the affordance of music as a change agent.

In contrast to Hindemith's belief in his musical actions to re-present him, others (especially Furtwängler) were more instrumentally active on his behalf. A letter written on November 15<sup>th</sup> 1934 details the interaction of music professionals with the Nazi bureaucracy for the sake of Hindemith and highlights the changed dynamics of the musical world due to the reconstitution of the music/cultural sector:

‘To start with, there was a meeting of the Musikkammer in the Herrenhaus [Prussian parliamentary chamber]. Havemann [Gustav] spoke first, and suddenly I heard myself being placed beside Strauss and Pfitzner as the only notable composers and export articles in his remarks. After that I was taken to see State Secretary [Walther] Funk, who is the big shot dealing with our affairs in the Propaganda Ministry, and there I could hardly get a word in, for Havemann and Stein overwhelmed him with such a flood of panegyrics that my ears burned. He was already in the picture, Fu. [Furtwängler] had already been with him, and he promised to talk to the Führer tomorrow. It was true, he told us, that the latter had once walked in horror out of a concert in Munich where something of mine was played [*Neues vom Tage*], but he (F.) hadn't the slightest doubt that everything would be all right...As well as with him, Furtw. had also spoken to Göring. It all seems to be going splendidly. He will now definitely be going to the Führer in the next few days and is convinced everything will click.’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 84)

This account shows the serious, high level dealings of the Nazi bureaucracy in its attempts to control cultural elements they deemed undesirable. The Hindemith case was one involving not just his celebrity musical colleagues but high level officials within the National Socialist regime. To exercise their musical profession these individuals had to orient to Nazi bureaucracy and officials. This is direct evidence of the reconstituted field that the gatekeepers of musical domains very much included the Nazi bureaucracy and its politicians.

This account also highlights how others used similar strategies to Hindemith's in trying to reform his situation, particularly the use of associations to cultural icons. In this account Gustav Havemann, a *Parteigenossen* (Nazi party member) and celebrated violinist, used a complex of semiotic associations to rehabilitate Hindemith through appeals to senior Nazi bureaucracy. In a meeting with the RMK Hindemith was aligned with prominent,

acceptable, contemporary German musical icons (Strauss and Pfitzner) to argue that along with them Hindemith was the only notable composer and, tapping the Nazi ideological precedent of German cultural superiority, one of the only worthy ‘export articles’ of German culture (below I discuss how Hindemith later similarly tried to present himself and his music as important export articles). Though there is no direct reference to specific works by Hindemith he himself is considered an export article – the composer and the music are conflated into one – Hindemith is his compositions and his compositions are him. Having formulated this argument Hindemith was taken to State Secretary Walther Funk who dealt with cultural issues in the Ministry of Propaganda. Funk had already been apprised of the situation by Furtwängler. After hearing the arguments posed by Havemann and Stein, Funk promised to petition the Führer on Hindemith’s behalf. In addition to speaking with Funk, Furtwängler had also spoken with Hermann Göring who, as Prussian Minister of the Interior, was now in control of the Berlin Staatsoper.

Despite these seemingly positive inroads the next action by Furtwängler incited swift reprisal. In a letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> November, again to Strecker, Hindemith relates a meeting he had with Furtwängler where the conductor disclosed he was writing a letter to be published in several German dailies including the high circulation *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Furtwängler was to have also sent this letter to Hitler, whom he was planning to meet, a meeting ‘fixed through Göring and Hess’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 85). On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November the letter *Der Fall Hindemith* appeared in print. The result was drastic; Furtwängler had pushed too far in going public with the Hindemith case. The Nazi cultural bureaucracy united against Hindemith and consequently Furtwängler. Hindemith’s works were further censored, and performance of his new opera, *Mathis der Maler* (discussed in depth below), was indefinitely postponed. Furtwängler himself was forced to resign from the Berlin Staatsoper, the Berlin Philharmonic and as Vice President of the

*Reichsmusikkammer*.

In the following month, December 1934, Hindemith fared no better, his public reception continued to deteriorate. In addition to articles such as the aforementioned *Die Musik* one debasing Hindemith through his association to the Donaueschingen festival (Majewski, 1934), and in addition to the scandal around Furtwängler’s letter, this was the month that

Goebbels publicly humiliated Hindemith in his address to the *Reichsmusikkammer*. Having called the opera *Neues vom Tage* (1929) indecent, common, kitschy, discordant and musical nonsense (Goebbels, 1935) he then proffered a call to action against such degeneracy:

‘We have been quiet long because we believed that it was not good for German art to tear open old wounds again. Where it concerns, however, the basic demands of the *Weltanschauung* of our belief, silence and a peaceful accepting would be a sin in itself. We regard ourselves in opinion equal with all the countless German artists, musicians, painters, master builders and poets who waited during the past years of the most dreadful German decay...’<sup>28</sup> (Goebbels, 1935, p.247).

Despite Hindemith’s cautious positioning, influencing reception and dialogue with Nazi organisations Hindemith’s music, and himself through the music, remained associated by National Socialism’s chief cultural ideologue to the ‘past years of the most dreadful German decay’.

By then Hindemith had reached the tipping point; he applied for and was granted leave from his teaching duties at the Berlin Hochschule. Over the coming years he intermittently engaged in another strategy, one not directly acted through music, a strategy of retreat. Spending increasing amounts of time away from Germany he worked as a musical consultant to the Turkish government – creating a conservatory in Ankara – as well as time in Switzerland before leaving for the United States (Briner, 1971; Skelton, 1975/1977; Streller, 1985). As a strategy of action retreat – which is discussed in detail in the case study on Heinrich Kaminski as affording musical creativity and therapy – mitigated situational incongruity by avoiding everyday contact with it. By working in Turkey or Switzerland Hindemith physically removed himself from the situational incongruities that pressed down on him in Berlin.

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<sup>28</sup> ,Wir haben lange geschwiegen, weil wir glaubten, dass es der deutschen Kunst nicht zuträglich sei, alte Wunden wieder aufzureissen. Wo es sich aber um weltanschauliche Grundforderungen unseres Glaubens handelt, da wäre Schweigen Sünde und kampfloses Hinnehmen Aufgabe der eigenen Sache. Wir empfinden uns da auch in Meinungsgleichheit mit all den unzähligen deutschen Künstlern, Musikern, Malern, Baumeistern und Dichtern, die in den vergangenen Jahren furchtbarsten deutschen Verfalls in Armut und Not...’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247)

Though Hindemith eventually emigrated, fulfilling a prophecy he penned a year earlier that he would ‘probably be forced to look for some occupation abroad’, it was ‘the last thing’ he wanted to do (Hindemith, 1995, p. 83). Despite Hindemith’s retreat he did not yet give up hope of rehabilitating his position in Germany; he maintained his focus on music and musical activity as resources for agency. In the next section I consider how Hindemith not only used the strategy of retreat to mitigate the presence of situational incongruity in his everyday life, but used his work abroad as a further strategy to re-present himself as an acceptable composer in the Third Reich by presenting himself as an important German musical export to the world.

*A new strategy of action: Hindemith as musical export*

Amidst all the difficulties Hindemith experienced he still strived to rehabilitate his position in the Third Reich. Prominent in his post *der Fall* activity was developing the view of himself as an export asset (similar to Havemann’s argument quoted above), as a German musical ambassador to the world.

Before going abroad Hindemith and his wife Gertrude retreated to the Black Forest (to Lenzkirch) away from the turmoil of Berlin. There he worked on the orchestration of the opera *Mathis der Maler* (Skelton, 1975/1977), a work whose importance to Hindemith as a change agent is discussed later. This strategy of retreat, to rural locations to afford private compositional work, is discussed in depth regarding Kaminski’s retreat to his rural sanctuary in southern Germany. At present, however, I focus on Hindemith’s retreat outside the borders of the Third Reich and how he mobilised the public activity outside Germany to influence his situation within it.

In February 1935 Hindemith was offered the position of Director of the Conservatory of Music and Drama in Ankara, Turkey tasked with establishing a German style music conservatory there (Hindemith, 1995, p. 87). With several trips to Turkey in 1935 and 1936 Hindemith developed reports and implemented actions to do just that. Hindemith was keen to have this activity reported to Goebbels and the Propaganda Ministry. Hindemith felt his activities in Turkey presented him as a valuable German music export, that he was disseminating German musical culture abroad. Following his initial trips to Ankara in April

and May of 1935 his initial report for the Turkish State Secretary of Education (Cevat Bey) was also handed to Gustav Havemann and onwards to the Propaganda Ministry as evidence of these activities. Regarding the submitted report Hindemith wrote: ‘I think it should have a good effect’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 89; see also Skelton 1975; Kater 2000). Hindemith’s activity in Turkey became a new strategy of action to re-present himself, to show himself as a valuable German export.

For a time Hindemith’s activities abroad proved successful. In 1936, while on a performance tour to London, he managed a true musical *coup d’etat*. Hindemith was engaged to perform his viola concerto *Der Schwanendreher* with Sir Adrian Boult at the Queen’s hall when King George V died (evening of January 20<sup>th</sup>). When the death was announced the concert at the Queen’s hall had to be cancelled but Sir Adrian (and Edward Clark) wanted Hindemith to take part in a performance that would fit the sentiments of a nation in mourning. When no suitable piece could be found it was decided Hindemith should write something new. The result was his *Trauermusik* for viola and string orchestra which was premiered in a BBC broadcast on January 22<sup>nd</sup>. The work was based on the hymn tune *The Old Hundredth* and included a Bach chorale. Hindemith himself saw the advantages this event could provide and wrote to his publisher on January 23<sup>rd</sup> to capitalize on the opportunity:

‘Shouldn’t we perhaps make use of this story? Would you like to circulate it to the German press? It is after all no everyday occurrence when the BBC gets a foreigner to write a piece on the death of their king and sends it out over the complete network’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 90)

Hindemith considered this musical activity – his composition and performing – as affording good press at home, press that may go some way in changing his situation in Germany. Like the submission of his Ankara conservatory report to Goebbels, Hindemith mobilised his activity as a strategy of musical export.

By mid 1936 Hindemith’s international ventures were paying off and he felt confident enough to resume teaching at the Berlin *Hochschule*. He was even commissioned, though he never completed it, by the *Luftwaffe* for a work ‘for a highly official orchestral concert in the autumn...As welcome as it is important, this seems to me an opportunity not to be

missed, and I have said yes to it' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 92). However, trouble was far from over. In June Hindemith had also received word that official permission would not be granted for a premiere of the opera *Mathis der Maler* in Frankfurt. In reference to this Hindemith bared his feelings towards Germany's musical climate:

'It looks as if Frankfurt cannot be relied upon, and I feel that is nothing to cry about. The slump in musical life is growing so fast that something will soon have to be done about it; one will then be glad not to have taken part in the debacle' (Letter to Willy Strecker 29 June, 1936 – Hindemith, 1995, p. 93)

Hindemith's assessment of the current situation, again discerned through its impingement on one of his works, concluded musical life in Germany had deteriorated so far that it was not worth premiering *Mathis der Maler*. He stated the situation was worsening rapidly and alluded to it being symptomatic of the 'debacle' that was Nazi *Kulturpolitik*. Hindemith was acutely aware of and experiencing the limiting effects of the mortification of modernism. He was no longer able to exercise his musical activity freely. However, throughout these years Hindemith continued to situate himself and act through music. In the following penultimate section I consider the one work that featured prominently in Hindemith's correspondence throughout his managing and acting this situational incongruity – the opera *Mathis der Maler*.

*'The work': Mathis der Maler (1935)*

In the preceding sections I have described Hindemith's agency as constituted by and constitutive of music. With and through music Hindemith engaged in reflexive thinking to situate the self, colonized the future and managed and acted within situational incongruity. To focus these key themes I finish this chapter by discussing Hindemith's activity round *Mathis der Maler*, his largest and most discussed compositional project during the Third Reich, a work, like his *Gebrauchsmusik* compositions, engineered as a change agent.

With *Mathis der Maler* Hindemith mobilized his creativity to change his situation within Nazi Germany. The work was of such importance to him that before its completion he moved to influence its reception, to colonize the future for the opera. In a letter dated November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933 (a year before *der Fall*) Hindemith wrote to his publisher:

‘I have been thinking whether it might not be advisable to put down a little bait beforehand [before *Mathis der Maler*]... Might it not be to our advantage to put a volume of cadenzas to all the (7 or 8) Mozart concertos on the violinists’ Christmas table?’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 73).

Arguing such works are easy to market, cheap and quick to produce he was keen to associate his musical work with Mozart’s (notably during the festive Christmas season). Hindemith reasoned he could prepare the future for *Mathis der Maler* by combining his compositional output with Mozart’s, by writing for a widely consumed and appreciated genre, to put into the public domain accessible, useful musical material. As with his earlier consideration of texts by Novalis and Hölderlin or his hope in positive presentation alongside the ‘ancient tootlers’, Hindemith’s anticipation of reception conditions for these cadenzas (an example of counterfactual reasoning) led him to influence his work’s future by a strategy of associating himself with that of canonical culture.

In another move to colonize the future for the opera, and at the request of Furtwängler, Hindemith composed a symphony based on themes from the incomplete *Mathis der Maler*. Premiered by the Berlin Philharmonic on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1934 the work was a success acclaimed by public and critics alike (Paulding, 1976). However, it was not enough to overcome his reception by Nazi ideologues and was followed by the aforementioned article in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, written by Zschorlich, which debased Hindemith through his “degenerate” connections to the ISCM (Strobel, 1961, p. 50).

Throughout 1934 as attacks on Hindemith increased he continued to manage and act situational incongruity with *Mathis der Maler* believing it to be a change agent for him. Before *der Fall* Hindemith’s letters to Willy Strecker at Schott highlight his belief in the future agency of the opera:

“‘Mathis’ will do a lot to put things right’ (29 July, 1934 – Hindemith, 1995, p. 80)

‘Once the opera [*Mathis der Maler*] is firmly on its feet, all the better armed will we be to set out.’ (28 October, 1934 – Hindemith, 1995, p. 82)



Hindemith refers to the work anthropomorphically as ‘Mathis’, giving it ‘feet’. He believes the work *itself* will help ‘put things right’, an armament for his cause. Again Hindemith uses his musical creativity to bring the future into the present reasoning he can manage and redress the present situational incongruity in the future through the opera. The work is more than a developing theatrical production; it is for Hindemith a central agent in a struggle between himself and the cultural ideologues.

Hindemith’s letters following *der Fall* maintain focus on *Mathis*. To his colleague Johannes Schüller he wrote: ‘I am sending you herewith a provisional print of the Mathis text. But please keep it strictly to yourself, nothing may be said about it in public for the present’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 87). Hindemith was still working on and disseminating the opera but doing so cautiously having retreated from the hostility of *der Fall*. In a letter to French composer Darius Milhaud (March 1935) he promised to send the score of the *Mathis* symphony and the text of the progressing opera (Hindemith, 1995, p. 87). While the composer did not disseminate the work publicly he was promoting it within the safe space of his trusted colleagues. Also in March 1935 he wrote to his publisher: ‘The fifth scene is finished... Reading through the score and playing the piano arrangement I have assured myself that “Mathis” is a respectable piece’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 87). Into 1935 Hindemith, reassuring himself of its respectability, still believed in the opera as a change agent for his professional situation.

Throughout the difficulties Hindemith faced *Mathis der Maler* was a constant companion, in a sense his letters suggest it sustained him. He believed entirely in its ability to work for him to change his situation, so much so he sought opportunities with other creative works to prepare the future for the opera. His Mozart cadenzas and *Mathis* symphony, while works that were to present him positively, were works reasoned to be agents to colonize the future for the developing *Mathis der Maler* which itself would positively affect his future. Even following *der Fall* he quietly disseminated the work through the safe space of trusted colleagues. While he was keen to influence the future conditions of reception, the opera was engineered to score a critical success and thus re-present himself in Nazi Germany. Within the literature on Hindemith, *Mathis der Maler* and the events surrounding its composition and performance have received more scholarly attention than any other work from this period. All accounts of Hindemith’s life and work discuss this opera. Many

authors have felt assured they can read Hindemith's *true* experience of the Third Reich through it, that it was autobiographical (Briner, 1971, p. 140; Kemp, 1970a, pp. 30-31; Kemp, 1970b, p. 271; Muser, 1944; Hope-Wallace, 1938; Skelton, 1975, p. 112; Zenck, 1980). For all these interpretations there are others that discern no correlation between the opera and Hindemith's experiences in Nazi Germany (Anderson, 1952; Hirsbrunner, 1990; Sutcliffe, 1996)<sup>29</sup>. More importantly Hindemith never suggested the work was at all autobiographical<sup>30</sup>. Any such assertions are subjective interpretations by later critics and scholars and not grounded in Hindemith's actions. Yet, based on the importance Hindemith gave to the work in his correspondence there is something important regarding its construction.

There are three important actions by Hindemith that highlight this work as calculated agency. Firstly, as discussed above, *Mathis der Maler* was considered by Hindemith during

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<sup>29</sup> A 1952 discussion, although brief, of this opera mentions nothing of the Nazi era (Anderson, 1952). The Royal Opera Covent Garden's 1995 (November 16<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>) production reset the action in modern Los Angeles. Interestingly a review of this production makes little mention of the context surrounding its composition (Sutcliffe, 1996). One scholar has even suggested that the nature of this opera, particularly the less "modernist" musical elements, is explainable not as a reaction to the Third Reich, but rather as resorting to the 'European tradition' as part of the 'maturing process' of the composer, as really a 'reconciliation with the past after stormy years of departure' (Hirsbrunner, 1990, p. 71).

<sup>30</sup> Even Hindemith's own programme notes for the 1938 premiere in Zürich do not belie any autobiographical intentions. Though one might well argue he was still conscious of his reputation in Germany:

“One will not expect of a musician and dramatic poet a work that would satisfy the demands of an art historian. Nonetheless, one will no doubt grant him what has always been the prerogative of painters of historical persons and events: to present what history taught him and what meaning he recognizes in its course. If I have tried to depict in dramatic form what I read in the sparse life dates of Mathis [...], it is because I cannot conceive of any more lively, more problematic, and more artistically stirring, that is in the best sense more dramatic figure than that of the creator of the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, of the *Karlsruhe Crucifixion*, and of the *Stuppach Madonna*. [He is a] man whose identity, in the puzzle of legend, has become so much of a shadow that centuries ignored his name, yet who, nevertheless and to this day, speaks to us through his art with uncanny intensity and warmth. [He is a] human being blessed with the highest imaginable perfection and insight of his artistry, but tormented by all the hellish tortures of a doubting, seeking soul. This man, equipped with the susceptibility of such a nature, experiences at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the surge of a new era, with its inevitable disintegration of so-far valid views. Although he fully acknowledges the momentous artistic achievements of the emerging Renaissance, he nonetheless decides, in his own work, in favour of the definitive unfolding of the traditional – just as, two hundred years later, Bach proved himself a preserver in the stream of musical progress. He [Grünewald] gets caught in the powerfully working machinery of State and Church, and while his strength allows him to withstand the pressure of these forces, his paintings tell us vividly how the wild times with all their misery, their illnesses, and their wars unnerved him.

How bottomless must have been the abyss of fickleness and despair that he navigated when, at the threshold of modern times, he gave intimate expression one more time to medieval piety – as if in an ultimate, incomprehensibly developed blossoming – and then turned to Lutheran Reformation. [...] His death [...] is, perhaps, the silent resignation before the futility of earthly works, perhaps the drowning under the impact of despair. But then again, perhaps it represents the ambling of a man to his grave, on an elevated, calm piety – of a man who finally found the balance between the bliss and the terrors of his soul.” (quoted from Bruhn, 1998, pp. 42-43)

its composition, to be a redemptive work; it had a specific purpose, engineered to be a change agent. Secondly, in March 1933 he abandoned the *Etienne und Luise* project and by June 11<sup>th</sup> was ‘busily occupied with [Mathis] Grünewald’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 70). Unlike *Etienne und Luise* Hindemith must have considered *this* work ‘particularly topical’. Finally, Hindemith attempted to control as many parameters round this opera as possible. He acted to prepare its future and did not rely upon a librettist for the text; he chose to research and write the libretto himself.

Through *Mathis der Maler* Hindemith composed an opera he anticipated, through the same counterfactual reasoning that led him to abandon *Etienne und Luise*, would be received positively and would therefore present him positively. The plot of *Mathis der Maler* (see footnote 29), designed by Hindemith, avoids controversy<sup>31</sup>; it is historical (Peasant’s Revolt during the Reformation era) therefore avoiding connections to the present<sup>32</sup>. The characters and references to individuals from German cultural history (Mathis Grünewald, Cardinal Albrecht, Martin Luther) chosen by Hindemith reference ‘historic halcyon years for the Nazis’ (Kater, 2000, p. 33)<sup>33</sup>. Like Hindemith’s considerations of works based on Novalis or Hölderlin texts, or his Mozart cadenzas, the opera follows a strategy of cultivating associations to safe German cultural history and icons. The music Hindemith composed likewise avoids controversy. Like much of his *Gebrauchsmusik* work it is tonal, traditionally orchestrated, the melodies tuneful and singable. What Hindemith constructed

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<sup>31</sup> Plot synopsis: The town of Mainz is embroiled in conflict from the reformation to the 1524-1525 peasant revolt. Additionally Cardinal Archbishop Albrecht is dealing with financial difficulties and seeking a way to maintain his authority. Mathis, who is under the patronage of the Cardinal, has fallen in love with the daughter (Ursula) of a rich Lutheran supporter (Riedinger). The Cardinal himself has an interest in the wealthy Riedinger for he needs his financial help. However, the Protestant Riedinger is furious over the Papal plan to oppress the reformation through the burning of Lutheran books. The Cardinal at first promises Riedinger that Lutheran books will not be burned if Riedinger will give the Cardinal financial backing. In the end the Cardinal follows the papal order and allows the book burning. Meanwhile Martin Luther has sent a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop suggesting he marry a Protestant to heal the division in his prelature resulting from the reformation. Ursula, with whom Mathis is enamoured, is the best candidate as marriage to her is another means of getting to her father’s money. When Ursula learns of the marriage plans she begs Mathis to take her away. Despite the advice from his counsel (Capito) the Cardinal refuses to betray his religious vows and decides against the marriage. In the ensuing violence Mathis flees but has a vision of himself as St Anthony tempted by various vices. Eventually St. Anthony (Mathis) meets St. Paul (the Cardinal Archbishop) who urges him to return to his art and finish his painting. Following the vision Mathis returns to his studio where he is once again amidst his work. At the end his work on the famous Isenheim altarpiece is complete. Following a visit from the Cardinal Mathis leaves, prepared for death.

<sup>32</sup> This is a key characteristic of fascist era operas identified by Levi (1996) and one I also identify later in the operas of Wagner-Régeny.

<sup>33</sup> The Nazis co-opted Luther and the Reformation for their propagandist means (see McGovern, 1941; Steigmann-Gall, 2003).

was an opera that he felt harmless but serious, right for the times. Hindemith engineered *Mathis der Maler* as exemplary of his compositional skill, but in a way that avoided the controversies stirred over earlier works like *Neues vom Tage*; in *Mathis der Maler* there is no nude bathtub scene.

Hindemith's actions around this opera bring into relief how a composer can mobilise music as a central resource for agency. *Mathis der Maler*, and the process that led to its composition, was directly connected to his reflexive project of self through the need to manage and act within situational incongruity. As Hindemith was declared part of *den letzten vierzehn Jahren* he sought to re-present himself as part of *unserer Zeit*. Though Hindemith attempted to do this through other works and opportunities it was in *Mathis der Maler* that he most completely invested his hopes. Hindemith reasoned and firmly believed this opera would be a change agent for him. From its conditions of reception to its plot and musical characteristics, through this opera he focused his agency, to manage and counteract the situational incongruity he experienced.

For Hindemith this activity ultimately failed. Permission to premiere *Mathis der Maler* was never obtained in Nazi Germany; it was premiered in Zürich in 1938 after Hindemith had left his homeland. Despite mobilising music as a reflexive resource and tool for action he could not sufficiently change his situation.

### *Summary*

Throughout this chapter I have developed a view to Hindemith as an aesthetic agent, using music as a resource for self reflexivity, for self presentation and as a resource to a repertoire of action strategies. Particularly with regards to the Third Reich, I have been developing the argument that music is a key resource to social agency, a resource for action to manage and act within perspectival and circumstantial situational incongruity, to connect personal and social change.

In the Weimar Republic Hindemith became a central actor within modernism, acting to develop and support its supportive networks and structures. As a recognised actor in the establishment of the Weimar modernist homeworld he assumed prominent position in the

field. In 1927 his field position was legitimized through his appointment to the *Hochschule für Musik*.

Hindemith's early letters show how with and through musical projects he engaged in a process of situating himself. As emblematic of this I used letters to his friend Emmy Ronnefeldt to argue that he used his musical creativity as a catalyst for reflexive thinking. As he thought through compositional projects he considered their initial reception by his teacher (Sekles) and thereby developed understandings of his local art world – what was considered old, what was new, and how he situated himself with these concepts. Through this reflexive work Hindemith came to understand the old as 'tradition' emblematised for him with the musical concepts of 'song and sonata forms'. By thinking through his musical creativity he began to plot his future, drawing it into the present, planning its colonisation; he wanted nothing to do with song and sonata forms. Hindemith developed his musical self concept as not connected to tradition, he wanted to shake himself 'free of all this conservatory nonsense', to develop into a modern contemporary composer.

Using a letter to Fried and Emma Lübbecke I have also argued that music was not just a tool to situate the self within Hindemith's local art world. At the end of WWI, while in active military service Hindemith also used music to situate himself in wider socio-political contexts. By thinking through his musical works he came to appropriate salient political concepts such as socialism. As with examples of his musical self reflexivity in the Third Reich, Hindemith did this through anticipating reception. Referring to a piano sonatina, he claimed the first movement radiated bolshevism and was left wing. Hindemith was appropriating political concepts for himself through music. He mapped unfamiliar political concepts for himself with familiar musical concepts by anticipating how the music would be appropriated by a political audience that 'the whole right-wing' would cry 'shame'.

Throughout the Weimar Republic Hindemith continued to develop as an aesthetic agent. Having situated himself early on as a composer who sought to break down tradition he developed a reputation as an 'enfant terrible' (Levi, 1994, p. 107) a dyed-in-the-wool modernist. However, by 1925 a change in his aesthetic approach began. Convinced that a battle over new music was forthcoming, he oriented his musical agency to counteract attacks on modernism and connect contemporary music to the public. With Hindemith's

*Gebrauchsmusik* work I introduced the first of several strategies of action based in musical action - music as a change agent. Hindemith believed that music could be designed to accomplish social goals, specifically to substantiate modern music by encouraging the wider public to participate in it. He believed music could afford social action through participation. This is a common theme running throughout all five case studies and highlights a key feature of music in action, music affords what we think or believe it will afford. For Hindemith this was a belief in the power of contemporary music. Works like the children's plays *Wir bauen eine Stadt* (1930) and *Plöner Musiktag* (1932) were believed and designed by the composer to afford social agency. They were to redress the gap between modernist music/composers and the general public which would ultimately counteract the attacks on modernism by conservative field members. The strategy of music as a change agent, developed in Hindemith's case in the homeworld of Weimar modernism, was carried through to the Third Reich when he felt compelled to manage and act within significant situational incongruity.

In the preceding chapter I developed the argument that within the rise of National Socialism was a project of mortifying modernism. Here I have identified several adaptive strategies, such as music as a change agent, used by Hindemith and others (as discussed in subsequent case studies) as they dealt with and adapted to the difficulties faced with the rise of the Third Reich. A significant part of adapting to the Third Reich was situating the self within it, coming to understandings of how to act musically within Nazi *Kulturpolitik*, and particularly in Hindemith's case, how to deal with increasing personal attacks from Nazi cultural ideologues. This was essentially a process of connecting social change to the individual. A key strategy in accomplishing this for Hindemith was counterfactual reasoning.

The use of music in counterfactual reasoning was used by Hindemith in early compositional projects to anticipate reception from his teacher or from an imagined political audience. Within the Third Reich this took on a more serious tone. Above I used Hindemith's abandonment of *Etienne und Luise* to see that counterfactual reasoning was used to produce his social situations and situate himself within them. Hindemith did this by appropriating the social, cultural and political changes through speculative thinking with and through musical projects such as *Etienne und Luise* using his own creativity processes

as resource for counterfactual reasoning. *Etienne und Luise* became a counterfactual conditional. Anticipating a negative reception of an opera based on a French prisoner of war and a German girl he came to appropriate wider socio-cultural sentiments, particularly xenophobia, through music. This counterfactual reasoning was also directly tied to action. Hindemith never composed this opera; instead he chose to compose a very “German” *Mathis der Maler*.

Implicit in Hindemith’s counterfactual reasoning, more explicit in statements like ‘One really could not ask for more in the way of an official introduction’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 77), was a recognition by Hindemith that to manage the situational incongruity he faced, particularly his relegation to the “degenerate” fourteen years, he needed to re-present himself. Hindemith, like each of the case studies, sought to re-present himself as an acceptable, or at least non-controversial, composer in the Third Reich. The remaining strategies of action I highlighted were all oriented to this goal, but achieving this goal largely through musical means.

One of the strategies of re-presenting self was the presentation of self through, or connected to, Nazi organisations (a strategy also identified in my research on Wagner-Régeny and Fortner). In Hindemith’s case he considered associations with the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*. Though not an official Nazi organisation (it became official when reformed as the *Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde* (Kater 1997)), it was one closely related to the party. As quoted above, Hindemith wrote: ‘One of these days I shall of course have to get the Kampfbund to support my things officially’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 69). Hindemith saw strategic value in being supported officially through this organisation, support that would help re-present him as an acceptable composer in the Third Reich.

Another key strategy, and one also discussed in all case studies, is the cultivation of association to “safe” German cultural history, symbols and/or icons. This was first evident in Hindemith’s consideration of writing works based on texts by Novalis or Hölderlin and was also identified in his Mozart cadenzas. In both these cases he considered, and in the case of the cadenzas did, cultivate association to canonical German cultural history and icons – literary and musical. However, the strategy of composing works associated with safe German connections is most obvious in his opera *Mathis der Maler*. Having

abandoned, through counterfactual reasoning, *Etienne und Luise* Hindemith chose a theme centred on defining German cultural history. Set in the period of the Lutheran Reformation during the Peasants Revolt, the opera included Germanic icons such as Mathis Grünewald (lead character and painter of the famous Isenheim altarpiece) Cardinal Albrecht and Martin Luther. Also scored in a tonal, tuneful idiom, *Mathis der Maler* was designed as an opera that would fit socio-cultural sentiments of the day. As Hindemith rejected *Etienne und Luise* to look for ‘something that is innocuous and interesting and will this year and next be particularly topical’ (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 66-67) he came to settle on *Mathis der Maler*. Through the same counterfactual reasoning that led to the abandonment of the initial project, Hindemith must have reasoned *Mathis der Maler* would be innocuous, interesting and topical; through it he was also appropriating socio-cultural sentiments of National Socialist Germany by considering what operatic work would be accepted within it.

Hindemith’s work on *Mathis der Maler* is also indicative of the strategy of music as a change agent oriented towards the re-presentation of self. In addition to the opera, I have argued that Hindemith attempted to use music as a change agent in other settings. He saw opportunity in conducting his *Concert Music for Sting Orchestra and Brass* alongside the ‘ancient tootlers’, predicting the contrast between them and his music would be ‘naturally not displeasing’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 77). Through a project of anticipating reception he believed that the contrast with the ‘bleatings of the old guard’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 72) would highlight the worth of his work that this work would act as a change agent for him to prove himself a composer. Similarly, though he never carried out this action, he believed that the difficulties with Hitler himself could be overcome if the Führer would only attend a performance of the school musical play *Plöner Musiktage*. However, it was *Mathis der Maler* that was Hindemith’s greatest hope of redemption. Throughout his letters Hindemith continuously refers to it, as if it sustains him, firmly believing that it will legitimize him. Hindemith felt so strongly the positive affordances for change that *Mathis* would give him that he mobilised other musical projects to colonise its future. With Mozart cadenzas he sought through the strategy of German cultural associations to substantiate himself as a worthy composer to influence the future reception of the opera. Likewise he wrote the *Mathis* symphony. Scored in, and based upon, the same tonal and tuneful material that constitutes the opera, the symphony was a prelude to the big event. However, the big event, the German premiere of *Mathis der Maler*, never occurred during the Nazi regime. Despite



Hindemith's calculated musical agency he was not able to overcome the situational incongruities of modernism's mortification, particularly the degradations and debasements of him in the press and by Nazi cultural ideologues in public speeches.

Following Furtwängler's failed open letter, *der Fall Hindemith*, the situational incongruities faced by the composer continued to mount. Hindemith engaged in two more strategies of action before finally emigrating.

First, he engaged in a strategy of retreat, of physically removing himself from the everyday experience of incongruity by travelling with his wife to the Black Forest to continue work on *Mathis der Maler*. In terms of Hindemith's overall strategy of retreat it was his international activities that were most important. While mitigating the experience of incongruity by avoiding the everyday contact with it, his work in Turkey and England indicates one final strategy of action – the styling of self as musical export. This strategy is unique to Hindemith's case. Hindemith's wide fame allowed him to maintain some international travel, despite travel restrictions imposed on Germans at the time. In Turkey Hindemith established a German styled music conservatory at Ankara. Seeing his work there as disseminating German culture abroad, and thereby connecting to the Nazi ideology of German cultural superiority, he submitted reports to the Propaganda ministry in the hopes that their opinions would change. In England, upon the death of King George V, Hindemith wrote and premiered his *Trauermusik* for viola, broadcast across the BBC network, a story he hoped would show his importance at home.

Though Hindemith did make inroads to re-presenting himself as a valuable German composer in the Third Reich, he ultimately failed and followed the mass exodus of Germany's cultural producers that had begun at the beginning of the Nazi regime.

## **Rudolf Wagner-Régeny**

## *Rudolf Wagner-Régeny*

### *Introduction*

Wagner-Régeny (1903-1969), Romanian born German composer, offers a more longitudinal view into the practices of a composer in the Third Reich than that afforded by Hindemith. As with the remainder of my case studies, Wagner-Régeny stayed in Germany throughout the Nazi regime. Additionally, unlike Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny was not a celebrity musician at the beginning of the Third Reich and as such, his case, like those of Pepping and Fortner, affords the exploration of how a composer developed a nascent career amid the situational incongruities of the period cut off from the modernist homeworld in which his career development initially began.

In this chapter I continue the exploration of music as a resource for agency through adaptive strategies further developing ideas of music affording reflexivity leading to action. This case study features concepts introduced and developed through my contextualisation of Hindemith's activity (music as a resource for reflexivity, managing and acting situational incongruity through self presentation/re-presentation, colonising the future) but furthers the argument by developing ideas round activity in private versus public space and interpretive work done to music. Expanding arguments on strategies of musical action, I introduce a new key musical strategy which features prominently in the cases of Wagner-Régeny, Pepping and Fortner – the strategy of positive periodicity.

Similar to Hindemith's strategy of associations to valued German cultural history (a strategy also employed by Wagner-Régeny, Pepping and Fortner), I develop an argument that composer's in the Third Reich engaged in "safe" aesthetics neo-classically derived from the styles and practices of early periods of European (though contextualised in the Third Reich as German) music history. Developing out of movements in the Weimar Republic to resurrect interest in early music, composers like Wagner-Régeny developed their compositional skills and presentation using the modal, linear, polyphonic methods of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. As this was a strategy of writing music based on

positively valued aesthetics from earlier periods of European music history I have named the strategy positive periodicity.

In this chapter I also discuss music as a therapeutic resource. Particularly in reference to Wagner-Régeny's experiences in the late Third Reich, when his exposure to situational incongruity increased dramatically, I consider music as a therapeutic resource and means for maintaining and constructing the self in the past, present and into the future. I argue that music was a resource for situating and maintaining the self, but was also an important resource for hoping and planning a musical life after the Nazi regime.

As with the Hindemith case study I begin by situating Wagner-Régeny within the modernist homeworld where he developed networks with influential individuals, groups and events. Wagner-Régeny's later reflections on the Third Reich provide direct references to the negative experiences of the mortification of modernism through the loss of such connections eroded through the persecution and loss of friends and colleagues. In this chapter I assert that private connections to that homeworld (e.g. through invoking the teachings and memories of past modernists such as Busoni) were central to his agency and reflexive project of the self.

Wagner-Régeny's Third Reich experience is first outlined through the section 'History at the Opera'. Wagner-Régeny dealt with the incongruities of a changing socio-cultural climate with adaptive strategies through the public medium of staged music. The rise and eventual fall of the composer's success in the Third Reich was framed by three large scale operas – *Der Günstling* (1935), *Die Bürger von Calais* (1939) and *Johanna Balk* (1941) as well as a host of incidental music for theatrical productions. The three operas were collaborative projects with Caspar Neher, a stage designer and librettist he became acquainted with through cooperative networks of the late Weimar Republic. The pair first scored a neo-classical success through the positive critical appropriation of *Der Günstling*. This opera highlights the strategy of positive periodicity – the use of neo-classically derived musical aesthetics positively appropriated by the critical press. A second strategy, paralleling aspects of Hindemith's activity, was connection to "safe" theatrical productions; the strategy of cultivating associations to valued "German" cultural history, in this case literary icons sanctioned by National Socialism. *Die Bürger von Calais*, based on Georg

Büchner's play of the same name, moved away from such positive literary connections and began the composer's decline within the cultural climate of the Third Reich. The third opera discussed, *Johanna Balk*, exacerbated this decline and led to the composer's ultimate downfall within Nazi Germany.

Turning to a discussion on interpretive work I consider how Wagner-Régeny was engaged in private interpretive work done to his own creative process and products. While Hindemith was deeply engaged in believing in powers of affordance of his works, Wagner-Régeny mobilised his music as objects for interpretation which he linked to his reflexive project of the self, especially in reference to the three operas mentioned above. While later scholars have engaged in semiotic interpretations of these operas, the results, though engaging, highlight the dangers of this subjective project. However, by considering the composer's own interpretations and beliefs around these works I further substantiate the argument that music is a resource for situating the self and for managing and acting situational incongruity.

Following the discussion of Wagner-Régeny's staged works, where key concepts of public versus private space and strategies of action (positive periodicity and association to German cultural history) are outlined, I turn to his non-staged works, principally lieder and pieces for solo keyboard performance. Here I interrogate his public presentation of self in the early Third Reich, activity which became increasingly private and constituted by and through anomic disillusionment. I first present *Liederbüchlein* (1935) as an artefact of Wagner-Régeny's agency that afforded the presentation of the composer through the strategy of German cultural association, specifically literature. I then discuss his *Spinettmusik* (1934) in relation to the strategy of positive periodicity and along with *Liederbüchlein* contrast them with *Der Günstling* to show how the composer sought to appropriate both public and more private domestic space. It is also asserted that the publication of these works in 1935 (the same year as the successful *Der Günstling*) was part of an instrumental action to capitalise on the composer's public operatic success. This type of instrumental action as a strategy towards public presentation of self is substantiated through a discussion of his piano concerto *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* (1936). With tangible evidence from the composer's writings I show how this work was designed to capitalize on *Der Günstling's* success, present the composer also as performer and afford financial independence to free

time to pursue other compositional projects. Through its aesthetic design as an uncontroversial work it achieved musical prescription for colonising the future by drawing on cultural conventions to present the composer/performer in a positive manner.

Finally I turn to Wagner-Régeny's late Third Reich works. In the last five years of Nazi Germany Wagner-Régeny withdrew from the public stage work he had been engaged with, exhibiting an increasing sense of anomie while privately increasing his aesthetic connections to modernism through the private workspace of piano works. Through the affordance of the small, intimate space of the piano – his own instrument – his isolation and connection to modernism was constructed through three sets of keyboard works *Klavierbüchlein* (1940), *Zwei Sonaten* (1942-43), *Hexameron* (1943). These works indicate music not just as part of present activity but music as a resource for future building. Particularly with *Hexameron* I explore music as space for self therapy and projecting the self into the future.

#### *Weimar modernism*

Prior to WWII Wagner-Régeny's aesthetic association to modernism was not as evident as composers such as Hindemith. Yet, like Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny developed important associations through Weimar modernism, networks that suffered under the mortification of modernism. For the younger Wagner-Régeny (eighteen years Hindemith's junior) these were developed in the latter years of the 1920s during his emergence as a composer. In the following section I show how Wagner-Régeny was connected to various modernist artists who were influential to his development and career path and how connections with these individuals and modernist events such as the Donaueschingen festival led to premieres and publications of his earliest professional works.

Born August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1903 in present day Rehgin, Romania (then Hungarian Szasz-Régen, Transylvania), Wagner-Régeny grew up in a musical household, beginning piano studies at age ten before brief studies in Leipzig under Robert Teichmüller followed by studies at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* (1920-1923)<sup>34</sup>. In 1923 he married the visual artist Léli

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<sup>34</sup> Wagner-Régeny's years at the Hochschule parallel the first years it came under the directorship of Schreker and expanded its engagement with contemporary avant garde artists.

Duperrex<sup>35</sup>. During the remainder of the Weimar Republic Wagner-Régeny worked as a freelance pianist and conductor developing an interest and career in composition in the latter part of the decade through composing and arranging for film (acquainted with Guido Bagier<sup>36</sup>) and modern dance working with Rudolf von Laban<sup>37</sup> and his touring troupe. During the 1920s he also developed relations with modernist composers Boris Blacher, Darius Milhaud, Hanns Eisler, Max Butting and Hindemith. The composer himself credited Milhaud, Eisler and Butting as influential to his compositional development (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a, p. 71). Wagner-Régeny's attendance at the 1928 Donaueschingen festival provided him new contacts including his first publisher, Benno Balan who released his small chamber operas. His first performance successes came on the heels of securing publication when on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928 his *Moschopolus*<sup>38</sup> and *Der nackte König*<sup>39</sup> were premiered at Gera, an opera house synonymous at the time with contemporary works (Weill's *Der Zar lässt sich photographieren* and *Der Protagonist*, Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* and Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat*). In 1929 a student work, *Sganarelle oder Der Schein betrügt* (published by Balan) was premiered in Essen. Wagner-Régeny credited another figure of Weimar modernism as influential to this and later works – Ferruccio Busoni (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a). Also in 1929 the young composer again attended the Donaueschingen festival where two of his works had been selected for performance by Hindemith and his programme committee – *Intermezzo für ein Tonfilmprogramm* and a *Gebrauchsmusik* work *Kleine Gemeinschaftsmusik für Bläser und Streicher*. The experimental writing in these instrumental works bear out in his next two chamber operas *Esau und Jakob* (1929 – premiered at Gera 1930), based on the Old Testament story, whilst *La sainte courtisane* (1930 – premiered at Dessau 1930) was influenced by the

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<sup>35</sup> Léli Duperrex was a visual artist (painter/sculptor) educated in Munich and at the *Academie des Beaux Arts*, Paris. Virtually all of her works were lost when their Berlin flat was bombed in WWII (Wagner-Régeny, 1989, pp. 262-263).

<sup>36</sup> Influential pioneer of *Tonfilm* (sound-film). Bagier authored *Der kommende Film: eine Abrechnung und eine hoffnung. Was war? Was ist? Was wird?* (1928). See also Evans, 1922 p. 629 and p. 631 for his professional influence.

<sup>37</sup> Rudolf von Laban was an important figure in the development of dance theory and its codification. The relationship of von Laban to the Nazi regime is a complicated one. Early on he enjoyed the patronage of Goebbels and was promoted to the position of Director of the *Deutsche Tanzbühne*. He also published unequivocally his support for the new regime and Hitler in particular: “We want to dedicate our means of expression and the articulation of our power to the service of the great tasks of our *Volk*. With unswerving clarity our *Führer* points the way” (originally from Laban's “Meister und Werk in der Tanzkunst” *Deutsche Tanzzeitschrift*, May 1936. Quoted here from Manning, 1988, p. 318). Later he fell out of favour with the regime and left for the United Kingdom. See also Back, 1997; Kew, 1999.

<sup>38</sup> Influenced by Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat* (1918).

<sup>39</sup> Based on the children's story *The Emperor's New Clothes*.

*Sprechstimme*<sup>40</sup> technique employed by Schoenberg in *Pierrot Lunaire* (Saather, 1986; Becker, M., 1989a; Medek, 1968; 1999; Kater, 1997).

In 1929 Wagner-Régeny met Caspar Neher, Berthold Brecht's stage designer (Willet, 1986), the librettist of his three principle operas during the Third Reich (discussed below). Through Neher Wagner-Régeny came to know the Brecht-Weill circle and Weill, who had encouraged Neher to explore libretto writing, facilitated their first joint project, *Der Günstling* (premiered 1935). Weill helped the pair secure a retainer for publication rights from Universal Edition (discussed previously as the publisher's of *Musikblätter des Anbruch*) (Saather, 1986; Becker, M., 1989a; Medek, 1968; 1999).

Though Wagner-Régeny's career progressed during these late Weimar Republic years he was not insulated from the financial difficulties of the time. With the bankruptcy of his publisher Balan and the drying up of work with Laban's dance troupe he turned to the Berlin bar and café scene to supplement his income through his piano skills (Saather, 1986; Becker, M., 1989a; Medek, 1968).

Regarding Wagner-Régeny's friends and colleagues he became, by the end of the Weimar Republic, centrally located in modernist circles. His cooperative networks, work in Berlin's bar and café scenes and connection to "degenerate" elements of the Weimar Republic (e.g. Brecht-Weill circle, Donaueschingen) place him within the wiles of modernism. However, his aesthetic products are not as unconventional as many of his contemporaries. His early years of professional compositional activity indicate a composer navigating between traditionalism and modernism, a balancing act also discussed in the chapter on Fortner. While some authors imply Wagner-Régeny was always a modernist composer (Levi, 1994, pp. 118-119; 1996, p. 263; Kater, 1997, p. 178) and suppressed this during the Third Reich, other authors – Becker (1989a), Rienacker (1999) – have noted the ambiguity of Wagner-Régeny's aesthetic relation to modernism. Becker (1989a) concludes convincingly the composer was essentially neo-classical, characteristic of a blending of styles from the Baroque with elements of atonality, polyrhythm and serialism. After WWII, as I discuss later with Fortner, Wagner-Régeny clearly engaged with the experimental, embracing the

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<sup>40</sup> *Sprechstimme* is an expressionist vocal technique where exact pitches are avoided. The vocalist approximates pitches as indicated in the score.



newest compositional techniques (e.g. his *Trois parfums: Pastiches dodécaphonique en metre variables* – 1951, and his homages to modernist composers in *Sieben Klavierfügen* – 1953). While the claims of Wagner-Régeny being a modernist following WWII are most certainly correct, he is a composer who came to modernism gradually.

As discussed below, this progression towards modernism became a resource for personal therapy and maintenance of the self in the latter Third Reich as his neo-classical outlook privately embraced increasingly experimental aesthetics constituted by and constitutive of an anomic disillusionment with the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*. Rather than the perceived suppression of modernism (Levi, 1994) I argue Wagner-Régeny progressed to modernism and that this process was central to his reflexive project of self, particularly as it was carried out in private space in the latter years of the Nazi regime. However, during his developmental years in the Weimar Republic he aesthetically maintained a neo-classical outlook while inhabiting the social space and cooperative networks of Weimar modernism.

As an aural example that highlights Wagner-Régeny's tentative modernism in the Weimar Republic I have provided the opening segment of his overture to *Sganarelle oder Der Schein betriigt* (1923) (Track 1). In this overture connection to a conservative aesthetic is clear (largely tonal in the key of D major) but is tempered with modern unexpected harmonic shifts which encapsulate his latent movement from the traditional to the avant garde.



Track 1: Excerpt from *Overture: Sganarelle oder Der Schein betriigt* (1923)

Wagner-Régeny at the time of the rise of the Third Reich did not espouse a radical or “degenerate” aesthetic but like Hindemith he was “guilty” of degenerate associations. Against the Nazi cultural reification of time and space he can be understood as having belonged to *den letzten vierzehn Jahren* rather than *unserer Zeit*. However, Wagner-Régeny was far less known by Nazi cultural ideologues until 1935 (when his opera *Der Günstling* became famous) and was initially able to avoid the degradations, debasements and humiliations Hindemith fell victim to (though witnessing their incursion on his friends and

colleagues). His experiences during the Third Reich offer useful comparisons to those of Hindemith in exploring the richness of music's centrality to a composer's agency. To begin this exploration I situate Wagner-Régeny's experience first through his operatic works – his largest compositional projects during the Nazi regime – before turning to his withdrawal into small instrumental works for keyboard in the final incongruous years of the Third Reich.

### *Wagner-Régeny and the Third Reich*

#### *History at the Opera*

In Rudolf Wagner-Régeny's early compositional career he was first and foremost a composer of public stage works. Though I later focus on non-staged works (*Spinettmusik* (1934), *Liederbüchlein* (1935), *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* (1936), *Klavierbüchlein* (1940), *Zwei Sonaten* (1943) and *Hexameron* (1943)) from 1933-1941 Wagner-Régeny's compositional efforts were primarily expended on large-scale operas – *Der Günstling* (1935), *Die Bürger von Calais* (1939), *Johanna Balk* (1941) – and music for several theatre productions, primarily in Berlin. Beyond the quantitative importance of Wagner-Régeny's staged works a survey of them provides an overview of the composer's Third Reich experience and how, through music, he situated himself. Pragmatically, considering the reception of his three large-scale operas of the period outlines the composer's career path and how he moved from small chamber style operas, performed at provincial houses (e.g. Gera and Essen) at the end of the Weimar Republic, to the large artistic centres of Dresden and Berlin in the Third Reich. It is also through the operas that I trace how he eventually fell out of favour with the Nazi regime *vis á vis* political readings of his 1941 opera *Johanna Balk* which led the composer away from the stage into smaller, more intimate musical forms. This movement from public to private space, a strategy of musical retreat into himself, highlights his reflexive project of self as he sought escape from the difficulties of the socio-cultural situation in which he was living.

The operas, when coupled with the non-staged works, also point to the aesthetic negotiations of the composer as part and parcel of his agency. Particularly his first full scale opera (*Der Günstling* – 1935) indicates the central strategy of positive periodicity used by

Wagner-Régeny (as well as Pepping and Fortner) understood as congruent with and constitutive of the contemporary cultural *Zeitgeist*. With the later operas, and especially the keyboard works (discussed below), Wagner-Régeny moved further and further away from the more conservative aesthetics of positive periodicity towards an adoption of modernist practices in the late and post Third Reich period. Finally, Wagner-Régeny's later reflections on his work of the period point to meaning construction through interpretive work around these operas and how this was important for the social situation of him and his librettist Caspar Neher.

Before turning to the operas Wagner-Régeny *did* compose, I consider, as was the case with Hindemith, something he *did not* compose. Hindemith's decision to abandon the opera *Etienne und Luise* is paralleled in Wagner-Régeny's abandonment of the opera *Die Fabel vom Seligen Schlächtermeister* (Fable of the Blessed Butcher) with librettist Hans von Savigny. Unlike Hindemith's *Etienne und Luise* Wagner-Régeny's *Schlächtermeister* was later completed (1964) while the composer was active in East Germany. In the foreword to the opera's 1964 publication Wagner-Régeny reflected, 'Our [his and Hans v. Savigny's] views were carried so long here and there, until Mr. Hitler and the whole wailing gathered in the end, and in the noise of the marching steps we got lost'<sup>41</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1964, p. vi). According to the composer, the socio-political changes at the time of the ascension of Hitler and the Nazi party led to the abandonment of the operatic project. Wagner-Régeny provided little detail as to exactly why the two became 'lost', unlike Hindemith who expressed his decision to abandon *Etienne und Luise* on incongruent thematic concerns. Yet, the composer's experiences of the changes in Germany at that time were directly linked by him to the loss of this project. While Wagner-Régeny does not indicate he used this project as a counterfactual conditional as Hindemith did with *Etienne und Luise*, it does show how he appropriated situational incongruity through effects on his musical activity.

As aforementioned Wagner-Régeny's earliest performance successes were through small chamber operas (*Moschopolus* and *Der nackte König*) both performed at Gera in December 1928. It was not until 1935 that the composer was to score an operatic success on a prominent stage. In this year *Der Günstling, oder Die letzten Tage des grossen Herrn*

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<sup>41</sup> 'Unsere Ansichten wurden so lange her und hin getragen, bis schliesslich Herr Hitler und das ganze Walhall aufzogen, und in dem Lärmen der Marschritte gingen wir verloren'. (Wagner-Régeny, 1964, p. vi)

*Fabiano* ('The Favourite, or The Last Days of the Great Fabiano') was premiered at the world famous Dresden *Semperoper*. Responsive to the loss of composers Universal Edition (who had a retainer on *Der Günstling* arranged by Weill) sustained during the mortification of modernism, Wagner-Régeny's value to the firm increased significantly. In 1934 Universal Edition published his *Spinettmusik*, in 1935 his first large-scale opera. *Der Günstling*, composed between 1932 and 1934 was an immediate success and Wagner-Régeny, at age thirty-two, became a minor celebrity in the German operatic world. The libretto by Neher was based on Georg Büchner's translation of Victor Hugo's *Mary Tudor* (1833), a fact I return to below, and the opera was premiered February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1935 under the baton of Karl Böhm – the first of eleven performances during this initial run of *The Favourite* at the Dresden *Semperoper* (Kater, 1997; Medek, 1989). The reception of the opera in the critical press was welcoming:

‘One must think far back to remember a premiere of a music-dramatic work which counted the interest of the music world so thoroughly (and to a large extent justifiably) like this first full length opera of the twentieth century *siebenbürgischen* composer’ (Göhler, 1935, p. 325)<sup>42</sup>.

Positive critical reception of this opera framed the strategy of positive periodicity highlighting neo-classical values of linear, contrapuntal elements rendered in contemporary non-challenging aesthetic language – an interpretation of balance between modern and traditional aesthetics. Göhler's review is exemplary of the interpretative work done to the opera that situated *Der Günstling* as a turn away from Wagner (Richard) ‘and the instrumentalists of our time’ (p. 325) towards a positively valued *Führerstellung* (voice leading – linearity; a term not without positive extra-musical significations during the Third Reich). Banking on the notion of historicism and positive periodicity Göhler likened the work to Baroque styles where:

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<sup>42</sup> „Man wird – wenn man einmal die Uraufführung der „Arabella“ von Strauß in diesem Zusammenhang ausser Acht lässt – recht weit zurückdenken müssen, um sich der uraufführung eines musikdramatischen Werkes zu erinnern, der das Interesse der musikalischen Welt so ausgesprochen (und auch zu einem gut Teil berechtigt) gegolten hat wie dieser ersten abendfüllenden oper des zweihundressigjährigen siebenbürgischen Komponisten.“ (Göhler, 1935, p. 325)

‘...the fusion of the style elements was carried out and proved impressively that an amalgamation of Baroque contours and impressionistic moods can show very well an artistic unity’ (p.326)<sup>43</sup>.

*Der Günstling* provides a case where composer intentions and critical reception match, where what the composer tried to achieve is born out in reception. Wagner-Régeny described the music as ‘positioned... against the sounds of Wagner and Strauss’ combining arias, folk songs and jazz elements all influenced by the ‘new classicality’ taught by Busoni (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, pp. 78-79). With *Der Günstling* the composer was successful at distancing himself from the aesthetics of Wagner and Strauss (an anti-romantic modernist project), as well as the more unconventional practices of modernism (e.g. atonality, serialism), doing so neo-classically by combining familiar elements creatively – the strategy of positive periodicity.

However, the positive critical reception of this work was not the only important aspect of this premiere; the space in which it was premiered is noteworthy. A premiere at the Dresden Semperoper was a significant step up in exposure and prestige from performances of his smaller chamber style operas in the late 1920s – a step into grander, more visible space. The Semperoper has a long history of world-class performances, including premieres of the majority of Richard Strauss’s operas, to speak nothing of the grandeur of the building itself and its physical capacity (see figure 1).

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<sup>43</sup> „...die Verschmelzung der Stilelemente vollzogen und eindrucksvoll unter Beweis gestellt, dass eine Verquickung barocker Konturen und impressionistischer Stimmungen sehr wohl eine künstlerische Einheit darstellen kann.“ (Göhler, 1935, p. 326)



**Figure 1: Semperoper, March 2007. The Semperoper has twice been historically rebuilt, most recently after its destruction during the 1945 allied bombing of Dresden.**

Following the Dresden premiere *Der Günstling* was performed across Germany<sup>44</sup> (Medek, 1968, p. 79), fame and financial prosperity, though he was by no means a wealthy man, were enjoyed by the composer. In his personal writings he referred to the premieres of *Der Günstling* and his other early operas as ‘milestones’ and spoke joyfully of the freedom they gave him and his wife Léli where for them the ‘future was alive’<sup>45</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1989, pp. 262-263). This opera not only affected the present, its success was used to draw the future into the present, to situate it as bright and fruitful. This was a significant change from the Depression era years of eking an existence as a bar and café pianist, or his experiences

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<sup>44</sup> *Der Günstling* was performed over 130 times between 1935 and 1941 (Levi, 1994, p. 119) and featured alongside Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, Strauß’s *Die Schweigsame Frau*, Weber’s *Oberon* and Mozart’s *Il nozze di Figaro* at the 1935 Dresden festival (Fleetwood, 1935b, p.554).

<sup>45</sup> This anecdote refers to a later period when his currency was in sharp decline and he and his wife sojourned in Austria using distance and remaining capital to overcome the disconcerting elements of their professional lives:

*„Während der schönsten Sommeraufenthalte in Kärnten und auf ausgedehnten Autotouren war immer „das künftige“ in uns lebendig. Die Premierer meiner opern waren „Meilensteine des Lebens“, und sie erhielten durch diese Bezeichnung vorwärtsstrebende, kräftespendende Bedeutung. Ihre Bilder und Plastiken waren „Markierungen im Unterwegs““.* (Wagner-Régeny, 1989, pp. 262-263).

of mass emigrations and dismissals when '[l]ife developed conservatively with what had remained in Berlin'<sup>46</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 76).

Between the opera projects of *Der Günstling* and *Die Bürger von Calais* (1939) Wagner-Régeny was involved in other arenas of stage music; from 1935 to 1939 he was composing music for theatrical productions, primarily for the *Deutsches Theatre* in Berlin, where he developed a close relationship with *Generalintendant* Heinz Hilpert (Wagner-Régeny, 1968). Once established as a stage composer Wagner-Régeny's gaze was drawn almost exclusively to it in one form or another until 1941. The composer and his work had now successfully moved from small provincial theatres to Dresden and finally to the centre of Germany, Berlin. While the scores of the music for theatrical productions during this period are lost, an inspection of what plays Wagner-Régeny was involved with gives further insight into how his aesthetic agency utilized not just the positive periodicity of musical aesthetics, but the positive appropriations of authors and playwrights at this time. The first such project, and one that has garnered criticism in the literature (Kater, 1997; Levi, 1994), was his music for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (A Midsummer Night's Dream) by Shakespeare. While the relevance of Shakespeare in the Third Reich is discussed below, it is the nineteenth century composer Mendelssohn that is most germane to *Sommernachtstraum*.

In 1935 Wagner-Régeny accepted a commission from the National Socialist *Kulturgemeinde* (NSKG, formerly the KfdK) for music to replace the well known score by the Jewish Mendelssohn<sup>47</sup>. Like Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny was following a strategy of developing associations to Nazi affiliated organisations, it also provided him with 2000DM income. This has been considered by some (e.g. Kater, 1997, p.195) as complicity with the regime and its anti-Semitic policies. In Wagner-Régeny's later writings he addressed this criticism, describing the commission as an order (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 80). Kater goes on to show how Wagner-Régeny's claim that he was following others, including composer Karl Orff, was disingenuous as Orff's score for the play was written after Wagner-

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<sup>46</sup> 'Dann hatten viele Freunde uns verlassen, weil es ihnen gelungen war, in das Ausland zu entkommen. Umso enger gestaltete sich das Leben unter denjenigen, die in Berlin geblieben waren.' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 76)

<sup>47</sup> Wagner Regeny was approached by Friedrich Herzog – member of the NSKG and editor of the prominent journal *Die Musik* – regarding the commission for which he was paid 2000RM. Additionally the score was to be published by the NSKG's recently formed Deutscher Musikverlag (Levi 1994, p. 73)

Régeny's. Though there is merit to Wagner-Régeny's claim to seeing the commission as an order, evidence I have discovered strongly suggests the composer embraced this commission opportunistically. Though difficult to find, I uncovered a surviving 1935 score of Wagner-Régeny's *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (published by the NSKG) at the British Library (g.1621.b.2). This score bears a dedication to a British colleague dated December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1935 and is signed by the composer himself. At the time Wagner-Régeny benefited from the commission and was happy to use it to present himself abroad. In a similar action to Hindemith's dissemination of *Mathis der Maler* to trusted colleagues, Wagner-Régeny used his musical products to present himself.

Music for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* was followed later by music for Heinrich von Kleist's *Amphitryon*<sup>48</sup> and further Shakespeare productions *Coriolanus* (1937), *King Lear* (1938) and *Twelfth Night* (1939) along with a ballet version of von Kleist's *Zerbrochene Krug* (1937)<sup>49</sup> and a radio production of Schiller's play *Die Räuber* (1938). All but *Zerbrochene Krug* were performed at the Deutsches Theatre, the former performed at the equally prestigious Berlin Staatsoper. Contextualising the appropriation of these theatrical works in Germany shows how Wagner-Régeny engaged with "safe" theatrical projects (imminently public action) – positive associations with literary icons adopted by National Socialism as inherently German. These works, like *Der Günstling*, continue engagement with historical settings rather than the *Zeitoper* that had been prevalent during the Weimar Republic (e.g. Hindemith's *Neues vom Tage*) while engaging playwrights appropriated through extensive historical narratives as centrally German. This included, somewhat ironically, Shakespeare.

Each of the playwrights/authors of these productions was acceptable canonical cultural figures in the Third Reich. As early as the mid-eighteenth century Lessing<sup>50</sup> had labelled Shakespeare a genius connecting his work with *Volksdrama*. In the nineteenth century Goethe took up the cause of Shakespeare and by 1875 the English bard was considered

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<sup>48</sup> Kleist's three act version, written around 1803, of the ancient Greek tragedy is based on the social comedy of the same name by Molière. Based in ancient Thebes, the piece is a comedy which deals with identity issues, of others and of self, around the trickery of Jupiter impersonating Amphitryon, Theban commander, to his wife, Alkmene, with whom he has an amorous affair before Amphitryon's return from battle (Wittkowski, 1978; Kleist, 1967; 1983)

<sup>49</sup> Unlike the music to accompany plays, the score for this ballet has survived. It is quite conventional, tonal and less linearly conceived than much of his other work of the period (Wagner-Régeny 1937).

<sup>50</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) was a highly regarded, influential German writer and intellectual of the enlightenment period. A poet, he also wrote widely in philosophy and literary criticism (Batley, 1990).



dramatic poet par excellence by German audiences (McNamee, 1962). Hitler modelled speeches on Shakespearean verse and the long established German Shakespeare Society invited well known racial “scholar” Hans Günther to address their annual meeting in 1937 (Strobl, 1999). Likewise Heinrich von Kleist was posthumously inducted into Nazi culture as prototypical nationalist writer (McGlathery, 1987; Reeve, 1989). Kleist’s *Der Zerbrochene Krug*, to which Wagner-Régeny scored a ballet<sup>51</sup> (1937), was set as a feature film in 1937 and hailed a comic masterpiece (Silberman, 1984). Radio productions scored by Wagner-Régeny featured works by Schiller: *Wilhelm Tell*<sup>52</sup> and *Die Räuber*<sup>53</sup>. Schiller, despite being an emblem of nineteenth century liberal bourgeoisie and author of plays criticising despotic authoritarianism, was likewise supported in the nationalist consciousness during the Third Reich (Simons, 1981; Piling *et al.*, 2005). Wagner-Régeny’s strategy with these works, just as Hindemith’s failed attempt with *Mathis der Maler*, was to engage in uncontroversial public theatrical projects with strong links to German nationalism, appropriating safe theatrical space and presenting himself publicly within it.

Wagner-Régeny’s work for the stage to 1939, based in strategies of positive periodicity and positive literary associations, constructed his identity as a successful stage composer. Stage music, as a highly visible public art form, afforded him prestige and the accoutrements that come with this, aspects the composer certainly enjoyed and used to foresee an ‘alive’ future for himself and his wife. Strategically Wagner-Régeny operated through an opportunistic stance with the composition of music for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* and projects involving works by Shakespeare, Kleist and Schiller.

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<sup>51</sup> The music Wagner-Régeny wrote for this score is quite conventional. It is highly tonal and is less contrapuntal/polyphonic than much of his other music (Wagner-Régeny, 1937). Interestingly, after Wagner-Régeny’s conscription into the Wehrmacht (1943), he was granted leave to attend a performance of *Zerbrochene Krug* in Dresden. He was required to wear his uniform while there and was called to the stage for a bow. This is an interesting case of the Nazi propaganda machine using a de-valued artist to show the “commitment” of artists to the Reich (Wagner-Régeny 1968b).

<sup>52</sup> Schiller was inspired by his friend and colleague, Goethe, to base a play on the legend of the Swiss (his nationality has long been questioned) marksman Wilhelm Tell and his assassination of an Austrian usurper, Gessler (Schiller, 1950).

<sup>53</sup> ‘The Robbers’ is emblematic of the Romantic *Sturm und Drang* style. The play explores the natures of evil and critiques the use of class and religion in social distinctions through the plays two protagonists two brothers set against each other, one seeking wealth and power, the other anarchic political revolution (Schiller, 1979).

Between 1936 and 1938 Wagner-Régeny and Neher worked on a new large-scale opera *Die Bürger von Calais* (The Citizens of Calais) premiered at the Berlin Staatsoper, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1939 under Herbert von Karajan, Germany's new musical sensation<sup>54</sup>. Again the public space of this premiere is important. The Prussian Staatsoper was under the jurisdiction and patronage of Hermann Göring<sup>55</sup> and premiering a work here was yet another mark of professional success. However, the opera only garnered five performances at the *Preussisches Staatsoper*, as it was denounced by several critics as 'problematic' (Kater, 1997, p. 193).

The new opera, based on the 1917 play of the same name by Georg Kaiser<sup>56</sup>, was risky. Wagner-Régeny and Neher had used the work of an author not endeared to or by National Socialism. The works of Kaiser – unlike Shakespeare, Schiller or Kleist – had been proscribed because of the author's socialist/modernist associations (Kenworthy, 1957; Benson, 1984). In *Die Bürger von Calais* the Christ-like protagonist Eustache de Saint-Pierre is a pacifist figure who dies to save the citizens of Calais from the invading English King who pardons the lives of the citizens. Neher's adaptation makes the king a queen and Eustache a German Josef<sup>57</sup>, but maintains the pacifist theme (Kaiser, 1952/1917; Kenworthy, 1957; Benson, 1984). Specifics on exactly why this opera was not well received are scant and speculative at best but Härtwig (1989) speculates a connection to Neher's bleak gray on gray staging; other authors (e.g. Rienacker, 1999) suggest it was a change in Wagner-Régeny's aesthetic path. The work is considered more ambitious, less neo-classical, and more modernist with potential musical influences of Weill and

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<sup>54</sup> Karajan's career began in earnest during the Third Reich. His collaboration with the Nazi regime has been, to say the least, hotly debated (see Bachmann, 1990; Osborne, 1998).

<sup>55</sup> As Minister President of Prussia Göring controlled the Staatsoper while Goebbels, as Gau of Berlin was intent upon control of the city opera house the Städtische Oper. For a further discussion on the controversy between Göring and Goebbels over these cultural institutions see Levi, 1994, pp. 172-175.

<sup>56</sup> Born Friedrich Carl Georg Kaiser in 1878 (Magdeburg), he died in Switzerland in 1945. Kaiser was a German Expressionist dramaturge, one of the most frequently performed during the Weimar Republic. His most famous plays include *Von morgens bis mitternachts – From Morning to Midnight* (1912); *Die Bürger von Calais – The Burgers of Calais* (1913 – not premiered until 1917); *Der gerettete Alkibiades – Alkibiades Saved* (1917-1931), *Gas I* (1918) and *Gas II* (1920). Though Kaiser remained in Germany until 1938 he was far from a Nazi supporter, and became an outright dissident upon leaving Germany. In a review Helt (1974) criticizes a Kaiser scholar for not paying more attention to the dramaturge's Nazi years, in particular for not highlighting Kaiser's anti-Nazi *Pamphletgedichte* which was 'circulated in Germany in the mid-thirties' (595) (Kenworthy, 1957; Schürer, 1971; Benson, 1984)

<sup>57</sup> Perhaps this was to dissuade connection with the original play. But then, why would they keep the same title?

Stravinsky (Kater, 1997, p. 193) both composers officially considered *entartete* by 1939<sup>58</sup>. Wagner-Régeny's own reflections posit another answer, that the pacifist themes were interpreted as politically undesirable when read against Germany's re-armament, annexation of Austria and looming pre-emptive strike against Poland.

In his writings on the years 1933-1943 the composer stated that *Die Bürger von Calais* was removed without explanation. Later, however, he claimed to have learned that the sister of Hermann Göring felt it was '...not good to put a besieged town, hunger, war miseries and death in the consciousness of the people' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 82)<sup>59</sup> in the build-up to war. Amidst a rearming Germany a pacifist stage work performed at the centre of the Reich may have been interpreted as undesirable, not right for the times, the kind of reception that Hindemith foresaw for *Etienne und Luise* leading to its abandonment. If under these circumstances Wagner-Régeny and Neher were harbouring views antithetical to the Nazi regime, as Rienacker (1999) suggests, this text afforded space to present them. While these possibilities highlight the centrality of individual experience in emerging musical meaning – and the dangers this posed for composers such as Wagner-Régeny operative during the Third Reich – also notable is that in 1939 Wagner-Régeny was regarded highly enough to have a work premiered at the centre of the Third Reich, at one of the most prestigious opera houses in Germany, conducted by one of the rising stars (von Karajan) of the German musical world. Yet, for all his success he was not beyond reproach and the removal of this work began a downward spiral in his freedom to work in the Nazi regime; the Third Reich was a minefield of incongruities individuals had to negotiate.

Prior to the failure of *Die Bürger von Calais* Wagner-Régeny and Neher began collaboration on a third major opera, *Johanna Balk* one closely associated with Wagner-Régeny's own narrative; it was set in his home region of Transylvania. Again the composer and librettist sought a premiere in Berlin. Based upon Transylvanian chronicles of the

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<sup>58</sup> While Stravinsky remained a confusing case in the Third Reich, his works had been featured at the 1938 Düsseldorf *Entartete Musik* exhibition. For in depth discussion on the complexities of Stravinsky's reception in the Third Reich see Evans (2003). This was a case where practise did not match policy. Particularly following the German about face on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact Stravinsky was ideologically painted as degenerate, belonging to the Weimar Republic. He was also held by some to be Jewish. Despite these denunciations, his music continued to be performed during the Third Reich. Weill, however, was considered fully degenerate. He fled Germany in 1933.

<sup>59</sup> 'dass es (1939, wenige Monate vor dem Ausbruch des II. Weltkriegs!) nicht gut sei, eine belagerte Stadt, Hunger, Kriegsnot und den Tod dem Volke in das Bewusstsein zu stellen.' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 82)).

oppression of Saxon German's under a seventeenth century Hungarian prince in Siebenbürgen, *Johanna Balk* contains similar themes to Wagner-Régeny and Neher's previous collaborations: historical and foreign setting, a powerful noble, oppressed people. The plot of *Johanna Balk*, though having similarities to *Der Günstling* and *Die Bürger von Calais*, is more explicit in vilifying a despotic ruler. The musical setting too was more daring. Various writers, including Wagner-Régeny himself, have identified the musical influences of Weill and Stravinsky with the loosening of tonality, use of bitonality (material in two keys at the same time) and heavy use of rhythmic ostinati (Fronius, 1987; Kater, 1997; Levi, 1994; Medek, 1968; Wagner-Régeny, 1989; Willet, 1986).

Sometime between 1939 and 1940 Wagner-Régeny consulted *Generalintendant* Wilhelm Rode<sup>60</sup> of the Goebbels controlled *Städtische Oper*, rival house to Göring's Staatsoper, and submitted the manuscript of the new opera for review. Here there is a direct link to censorship based on interpretive work done to music. The opera, set in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania) which in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was part of Hungary (under control of the Hapsburg monarchy), features a Hungarian prince as the villain. This was deemed problematic as Hungary had recently allied itself with the axis powers. Censors considered the Hungarian villain potentially offensive to Germany's new ally. Based upon this assessment Neher revised the libretto setting the action in Germany rather than Transylvania and changing the villain from a Hungarian prince to a German noble. When the revised version was considered it was again rejected, now on the grounds that the German villain might be associated with Hitler (Kater, 1997, p. 194). Rejected by Berlin a second time Wagner-Régeny and Neher left the German capitol heading for Vienna, no flippant choice.

Throughout Wagner-Régeny's writings Vienna stood as a sanctuary of freedom, a meaningful place. In his reflections on the Third Reich years the composer often writes positively of the city indicating the Austrian capitol as a place affording escape, a strategy of retreat:

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<sup>60</sup> Rode, a well know baritone renowned for some of his Wagnerian roles, took over as *Generalintendant* of the *Deutsche Oper* following the death of Max von Schillings. He is an interesting choice for Wagner-Régeny to approach. It is unclear if the two knew each other, though this is possible, but perhaps Wagner-Régeny was hoping the baritone's past associations, he sang in the premiere of Weill's *Die Bürgschaft* and Schreker's *Der Schmied von Gent*, would bear in his favour. (biographical details from Riemens, 2001).

‘There remained to us only hope for Vienna. Austria was a free land. To it I belonged by birth [born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire]. There was my publisher [Universal Edition]. I travelled as often as I could to Vienna to prove my affiliation to Austria’ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p.77)<sup>61</sup>

In Vienna Wagner-Régeny and Neher found a more amenable *Gauleiter*, Baldur von Schirach<sup>62</sup>, and *Johanna Balk* was premiered at the Vienna Staatsoper in 1941. Goebbels was furious that the work was to be performed after refusal in Berlin. The premiere was scandalized by the presence of disruptive SA members and Goebbels decreed the opera could not be performed within five hundred kilometres of Berlin. Additionally the composer was denied eligibility for commissions and prize money from the RMK and was struck from the preferred radio broadcast list. Most seriously his exemption from military service was lifted (Kater, 1997).

With *Johanna Balk* Wagner-Régeny fell out of favour with the regime losing the public acceptance and prestige he had gained over the previous years. On February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1943 he was conscripted into the Wehrmacht, originally ordered to the eastern front he was saved by the intervention of Baroness von Einem (mother of composer Gottfried von Einem) and was sent instead to Paris. By the end of 1943 he was back in Berlin where he tended to his terminally ill wife Léli. In November 1943 their Berlin flat and virtually all their belongings – including Léli’s sculptures and paintings, many manuscripts, and Wagner-Régeny’s clavichord – were destroyed during a bombing raid. The couple spent the next two months with various friends. In February 1944 the composer was militarily re-assigned to Mecklenburg in the east where he and his now near death wife awaited the arrival of the advancing Russian army (Becker, M., 1989a).

Over the period 1935-1941 Wagner-Régeny developed a career based on the stage. In *Der Günstling* he followed a strategy of positive periodicity amid diverse influences of folk song, jazz and the new classicality of Busoni. This was successful and positively received

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<sup>61</sup> ,Es verblieb uns nur die Hoffnung auf Wien. Österreich war ein freies Land. Zu ihm gehörte ich von meiner Geburt an. Dort war mein Verleger. Ich reiste so oft ich konnte nach Wien, um meine Zugehörigkeit zu Österreich auch äusserlich zu beweisen.’ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 77)

<sup>62</sup> Baldur von Schirach was head of the Hitler Jugend and later appointed *Reichsstatthalter* and *Gauleiter* of Vienna. Though it is true that he was a patron of the arts in Vienna and presided over a far more liberal and open artistic climate, he was a ruthless opportunist, long standing *parteigenössicher* and confidant of Hitler. Under his rule in Vienna 60,000 Jews were deported to concentration and death camps (Wortmann, 1982).

and supported by the critical press. In 1935 the composer took the strategy of endearing himself to a Nazi organisation, the NSKG, who commissioned him to write music to replace Mendelssohn's score to *Ein Sommernachtstraum*. Though he later tried to explain away this action, at the time he was pleased enough with it to sign, dedicate and send a copy to a British colleague. Between 1935 and 1939 he engaged in a strategy of cultivating associations to valued German culture through safe theatrical productions of works by Shakespeare, Kleist and Schiller. Then in 1939 he experienced his first failure within the Nazi regime through *Die Bürger von Calais*. Two years later interpretive work done by political censors, including Goebbels, to *Johanna Balk* led to disaster. It is the concept of interpretive work that I turn to in the next section. I begin first by reprising the interpretive work other scholars have done to Wagner-Régeny's operatic output before presenting what Wagner-Régeny did to the music himself. I consider not the emergent properties of music as constructed by others, but the emergent properties of music constructed by the composer; how through interpretive work music was mobilised as a resource in his reflexive project of the self.

### *Interpretive work*

As discussed in reference to Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* reading operas through a perceived socio-political climate is a difficult task fraught with interpretive pitfalls: 'examination of the composer's choice of subject matter and libretto may reveal a more or less clearly stated political objective' but '[w]hether such clear political messages can be discerned in the operas composed during the era of fascism in Germany or Italy is more debatable' (Levi, 1996, p. 260). Such interpretive work on operas within Nazi Germany (and Italy) has been undertaken by a number of scholars (see Bokina, 1997; Dahlhaus, 1981; Patraha, 1999; Tambling, 1996), particularly in *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945* (1996). In Levi's chapter of this edited book (quoted above) he discerns general characteristics of opera in fascist regimes including: avoidance of connections to the contemporary through use of historical settings and themes; avoidance of collaboration with librettists sanctioned by the political regime (1996). Both of these points apply to the collaborations of Wagner-Régeny and Neher, as they do to Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, during the Third Reich. Neher, though not denounced during the Third Reich, was never an individual sanctioned

by the regime. Furthermore, as evident in the previous discussion, the works he and Wagner-Régeny collaborated on during this period drew upon historical settings and themes. However, through the interpretive work done by others to *Johanna Balk* in particular, such strategies, even if they were employed consciously to avoid controversy, were not successful; composers and librettists cannot control the reception and appropriation of their works by the public in any definitive manner.

The case of *Der Günstling* is indicative of the ambiguity of such semiotic interpretations. The three-act, four scene opera follows Victor Hugo's tale of Mary Tudor who condemns her lover (the "favourite") to death only coming to regret the decision too late (her lover already having been beheaded). Kater (1997) has emerged potential symbolic criticism of the Nazi regime in elements of the opera including: the executioner's axe, the barren land, the downfall of an oppressive ruler (p. 193). Similarly Härtwig (1989) interprets the Queen's change of heart as symbolic of the ethical nature of humanity. Härtwig goes on to interpret both *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk* in the same way – that all three of the Wagner-Régeny/Neher operas of the period espouse a belief in humanity's inherent morality. Read against the backdrop of the xenophobia, anti-Semitism, etc., of National Socialism such scholars produce these operas as critiquing the socio-political climate in which they were written<sup>63</sup>. While such interpretive work is stimulating and highlights the dynamic nature of emergent musical meaning, these projects of doing things to music do not objectively interrogate the centrality of the creative process to the individual composer. It is more beneficial to consider the *process* of creating as intermediary resource for constructing understanding and acting within a wider social context. To do this I turn to what the principle creative actors did with, through and to "the music".

Drawing upon Wagner-Régeny's later reflections on the years 1933-1943 found in *Begegnungen: Biographische Aufzeichnungen, Tagebücher, und sein Briefwechsel mit Casper Neher* (Medek, 1968) I explore how music was an active ingredient in the composer's agency as he dealt with the situational incongruities of National Socialism's

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<sup>63</sup> Highlighting the ambiguity of this type of interpretive work Kater finds just the opposite interpretation in regards to *Die Bürger von Calais*:

““adapted to Nazi ideology to the extent that what was celebrated here was the willingness of selfless individuals to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the community, a heroic theme Hitler himself might have inspired in Neher”” (Kater 1997, p. 195)

abhorrent policies. Throughout his account of this time Wagner-Régeny highlights elements of the mortification of modernism and the disturbances of a peaceful life brought about by the rise of National Socialism<sup>64</sup>. He recalls how racial purity, xenophobia and anti-Semitism ‘hissed through the lanes’ (p. 76) at the beginning of the Nazi regime<sup>65</sup> and the persecution and loss of friends and colleagues:

‘The news came that our friend Steinhardt had been captured, dragged into a cellar and beaten up there. I was on the move with flowers and chocolates from one friend to another “to comfort”’. (1968, p. 76)<sup>66</sup>

Describing the effects of the exodus of so many friends and colleagues he wrote:

‘Then many friends had left us because they succeeded in escaping to foreign countries. Life developed narrowly with what had remained in Berlin’. (1968, p. 76)<sup>67</sup>

The composer was experiencing the tangible effects of the rise of National Socialism first hand. This left him confused ‘*was sollte man tun? Weggehen? Wohin?*’ (What should we do? Leave? Where?). *„Es war viel des Fragens, des Erwägens, der Angst*’ (There were a lot of questions, considerations, fear) (p. 76). These experiences continued throughout the Third Reich. Referring to the year 1938 Wagner-Régeny wrote:

‘Life in Berlin had become agonizing outside the rooms inhabited by our friends. The “Reichsmusikkammer” and the “Propaganda Ministry” dictated without limit. It was ordered what was to be written, and how it must be taken from German blood, soil and heritage. Hilpert, Neher and I united even more closely to perhaps get through the times together’. (1968, p. 81)<sup>68</sup>

Wagner-Régeny’s reflections describe troublesome experiences, anxiety and fear. Yet these incongruities were met with therapeutic means enabled through creating music

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<sup>64</sup> ‚Die freidlichen Lebensäusserungen wurden gestört‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 76)

<sup>65</sup> ‚Arteigen, Rassenrein, Lästige Ausländer, Judenpack. So zischte es anfangs durch die Gassen...‘ (p. 76)

<sup>66</sup> ‚Die Nachricht kam, dass man unseren Freund Steinhardt eingefangen, in einen Keller geschleppt und dort verprügelt hatte. Ich war mit Blumen und Schokolade von einem Freunde zum andern unterwegs, „um zu trösten“.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 76)

<sup>67</sup> ‚Dann hatten viele Freunde uns verlassen, weil es ihnen gelungen war, in das Ausland zu entkommen. Umso enger gestaltete sich das Leben unter denjenigen, die in Berlin geblieben waren.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 76)

<sup>68</sup> ‚Das Leben in Berlin war ausserhalb der von unseren Freunden bewohnten Räume qualvoll geworden. Die „Reichsmusikkammer“ [sic] und das „Propagandaministerium“ diktierten uneingeschränkt. Es wurde befohlen, *was* zu schreiben sei, und *wie* es geartet sein müsse, um von deutschem Blut, Boden und Erbe zu sein. Hilpert, Neher und ich, wir schlossen uns *noch* enger zusammen, um vielleicht gemeinsam die Zeiten durchzustehen.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 81)



collaboratively. His work, particularly with Neher but also Heinz Hilpert (*Generalintendant* of the Deutsches Theatre), was central to the mediation of these incongruities – musicking as a therapeutic resource:

‘Now 10 years of persistent everyday work began with Caspar Neher. Today it appears to me, after 30 years, as if we had saved ourselves through work.’ (1968, p. 77)<sup>69</sup>

An important aspect of music therapy was the aesthetics of their projects, particularly the exploration of the ‘new classicality’ espoused by Busoni some ten years previous:

‘Therefore, we were impressed more and more by Busoni’s thoughts which brought new classicality to our eyes.’ (1968, p. 78)<sup>70</sup>

In Wagner-Régeny’s work he found solace and a way forward within an innovative return to styles and practices of past periods – ‘admittedly no copy of the classical’<sup>71</sup> – in the teachings of a modernist progenitor. The scores for the three operas of this period were constructed through a conscious strategy of choosing inoffensive musical material. It was ‘strongly through-composed’ and set ‘not to be felt as a flame blazing on the theatre, not as disagreeable and inartistic’ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 77)<sup>72</sup>. In his words he ‘carefully selected’ a kit of ‘small musics’ that ‘covered something familiar’ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 78)<sup>73</sup>. In this manner he and his colleagues were able to produce works of positive periodicity but at the same time maintain continuity with modernist projects born during the Weimar Republic in the iconic connection to Busoni. Through surveying the musical landscape of the Third Reich they came to understand what would be controversial and what would not, what would be agreeable and what would be disagreeable, what would be considered artistic and what would be considered inartistic. It was through musical creativity that they appropriated the socio-cultural climate in which they worked and

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<sup>69</sup> ‚Nun begann eine 10 Jahre anhaltende tägliche Arbeit mit Caspar Neher. Es erscheint mir heute, nach 30 Jahre, so, als hätten wir uns durch die Arbeit vor einem sicheren Untergang errettet.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 77)

<sup>70</sup> ‚Deshalb liessen wir uns mehr und mehr von den Gedanken Busonis beeindrucken, die eine neue Klassizität vor die Augen stellten.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 78)

<sup>71</sup> ‚Freilich keine „Kopie“ des „Klassischen“ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 78)

<sup>72</sup> ‚Unser ohnmächtiger Hass wurde durch wohlgesetzte Musik nicht verdeckt, er erhielt durch stark durchgebildete musikalische Formen ein notwendiges Gegengewicht, um nicht als eine entflammtes Lodern auf dem Theater als unangenehm und unkünstlerisch empfunden zu werden.‘ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 77)

<sup>73</sup> ‚So erinnerte ich mich der Versuche, die mich schon früher in diese Nähe geführt hatten. Ich legte eine Mappe von kleinen Musiken an, die, sorgfältig ausgesucht, ein Ähnliches zum Inhalt hatten.‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p.78).

situated themselves within it; composing was a reflexive resource. As Wagner-Régeny's career in the Third Reich continued, and a sense of anomie developed, he began to move increasingly towards the controversial, disagreeable and inartistic as seen in the critical emerging of modernist influences (Weill and Stravinsky) in *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk*. Below I explore this movement towards modernism as the composer retreated from public stage works and collegial collaborations towards smaller more private works for solo keyboard.

However, it was not just the "sounds" of these operas that were bound up in a reflexive project of the self. This project extended to the thematic content and literary connections of the operas being written, used to create private sanctuary by these actors within the Third Reich. In his contextualising of the years 1933-1943 Wagner-Régeny wrote of the need to transpose the texts of these operas onto the times of their creation, a project of aesthetic semiotics, to understand what it meant to stage "princes murdered by their own body guard" [*Johanna Balk*] or to anticipate the atrocities of war in a besieged city [*Die Bürger von Calais*]' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 77)<sup>74</sup>. Wagner-Régeny described the process of aesthetic semiotics as part of his process of self-reflexivity, that he understood the meaning of *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk* through the times in which they were written. The reverse of this statement is also true; he came to construct understandings of the times, situating himself within them, *through* the creation of these later operas. Even the earliest opera of this period, *Der Günstling*, is contextualised by the composer as having extra-musical meaning for himself and Neher.

An angle not considered in the literature, and one that is mentioned by Wagner-Régeny in his journals, is the constructed meaning of the "involvement" of Georg Büchner, the German translator of Hugo's *Mary Tudor* used by Neher to create the libretto for *Der Günstling*. Wagner-Régeny wrote he and Neher found comfort in Büchner, that 'The man of the people [Büchner] entered my studio' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 77)<sup>75</sup>. Though Büchner had died in 1837 his narrative extended beyond his death and was wedded by

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<sup>74</sup> ,Freilich sind in unserem Texte (wie auch in den „Bürge von Calais“ und in „Johanna Balk“) heute Transpositionen notwendig, um zu verstehen, was es bedeutete, damals einen „Fürsten von seiner eigenen Leibwache ermorden zu lassen“ oder einen antizipierten Kriegsgreuel in einer belagerten Stadt zu verstehen.' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p.77)

<sup>75</sup> ,In Georg Büchners kleineren Schriften fanden wir Ergänzungen. „Der Mann aus dem Volke“ betrat mein Atelier.' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 77)

others to socialism, expressionism and modernism (Reeve, 1979; Holmes, 1995). What emerges from Wagner-Régeny's journal entry is the use of Büchner's posthumous narrative as a positive affordance in the private space of the collaborative work between himself and Neher; the construction of meaning and importance around a past literary icon privately situated by them as 'the man of the people'. This reference suggests a form of private subversion, the use of an author (as would seem to be the case with their considerations of Busoni) associated with products and socio-political thought anathema to National Socialism, a form of narrative therapy for Neher and Wagner-Régeny. This importance is developed and expressed in private space, not explicit in the public spectacle of the opera 'itself', existing only between the composer and the librettist. At the same time as *Der Günstling* is operative for them on the public stage their work is used by them to create private space, a sanctuary "outside" the Nazi regime but situated within it. Here Wagner-Régeny and Neher pursued a strategy of private musical sanctuary for subversive work. As Wagner-Régeny wrote: '...it appears to me, after 30 years, as if we had saved ourselves through work' (1968, p. 77). This strategy of music affording private sanctuary within the Nazi regime is also discussed regarding Wagner-Régeny's later keyboard works and is identified in the agency of Heinrich Kaminski.

Following the scandal around *Johanna Balk* and the consequences endured by Wagner-Régeny in the fallout of these events the composer, while still contemplating stage works, moved increasingly towards small scale, non-collaborative, non-staged works. In the next section I discuss these works to interrogate how music mobilised his sense of disillusionment and ultimately anomie, but was also a resource for mediating these feelings, as resources to continuing his activity in spite of mounting difficulties in the latter Third Reich. I begin the discussion of Wagner-Régeny's non-staged works, however, with those that served as instrumental affordances for positive presentations of the composer's self in the earliest years of the Third Reich.

### *Non-Staged works*

In the discussion of Wagner-Régeny's operatic output his experiences as a stage composer were used to paint broad brush strokes of his experience in the Third Reich and consider the complex interaction between work and interpretation publicly (work done by the critical

press and political ideologues) and privately. Important themes including space and positive periodicity in these processes were introduced: the importance of where works were performed, the appropriation of large public space and how musical and extra-musical associations are employed and interpreted in the public domain and privately among collaborative artists. The following section takes an in depth look at Wagner-Régeny's compositions outside the genres of opera or theatrical music. I use his *Lieder* (art songs) and solo keyboard works to consider the use of musical aesthetics in the projects of the self focusing primarily on the late Third Reich works as constituted by and constitutive of a growing sense of anomie. I begin first by considering the situation of these works *vis á vis* Wagner-Régeny's overall output to show how they grow in importance in the latter Third Reich, the period in which the composer was unable to produce large-scale staged works owing at least partially to the negative developments around the production of *Johanna Balk* in Vienna which curtailed his access to resources required for such productions.

Figure 2 (below) graphs Wagner-Régeny's entire compositional output. While graphing musical output this way is not a precise way to present relative amounts of labour required for varied media and forms, what this graph does provide is insight into relative compositional activity. Wagner-Régeny composed throughout his professional life with no lengthy period of inactivity though there are short periods of relative inactivity: 1931-1933, 1946-1949, and 1962-1965. It is inaccurate to say he did not compose during these periods; they are periods of decreased activity. For example *Der Günstling* was composed between 1932 and 1935 but counted as a work only from 1935. However, the first two of these periods of decreased activity correlate to periods of high situational incongruity. During the first (1931-1933), Germany was still suffering the fallout of the Great Depression, experiencing the unravelling of the Weimar Republic and the rise of National Socialism. In the rubble of a desecrated, defeated and occupied Germany Wagner-Régeny's second period of decreased activity, 1946-1949, contains little work. A song titled 'A crumb of bread' from this period would perhaps speak volumes if it had not been lost.

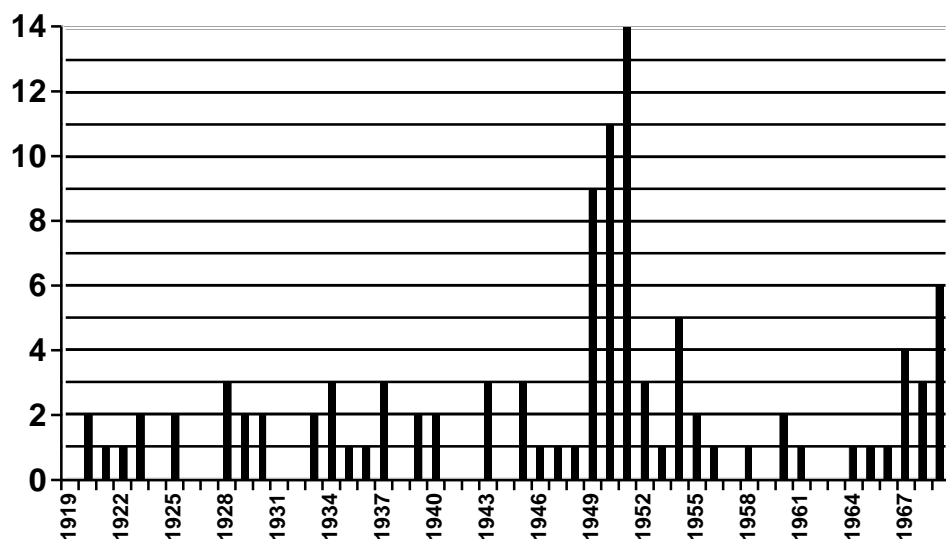


Figure 2: Wagner-Régeny compositional output 1919-1969

It would be remiss not to mention the dramatic spike in his compositional activity from 1949-1955, his first years in communist East Germany. Within this new environment it seems Wagner-Régeny set fervently to work to professionally establish himself in the new communist state.

Figure 3 (below) quantitatively details Wagner-Régeny's compositional output by genre during the Nazi regime. The genres most prevalent are staged works (light blue), keyboard works (purple) and lieder (yellow)<sup>76</sup>. The period of most diverse activity was the earliest years of the Third Reich, 1933-1935, when he was engaged in writing for the stage, keyboard, solo voice and orchestra (the orchestral work is a piano concerto *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* discussed below). Wagner-Régeny, as will also be the case with Fortner, employed a strategy of musical diversity in the early Third Reich; he cast a wide musical net exploring diverse spaces within the cultural climate before coming to settle on his niche, staged music. Wagner-Régeny's strategy of musical diversity ceases after the success of *Der Günstling* in 1935 from which point he built his compositional career on the public stage up until the failure of *Johanna Balk* in 1941. After *Johanna Balk* he focused almost exclusively on keyboard composition.

<sup>76</sup> The single instrumental work written in 1936, *Zehn Melodien für eine Blockflöte allein* (Ten melodies for solo recorder), is a further expression of positive periodicity drawing upon clear forms in a tonal language in a pedagogical work for studying this instrument so closely aligned with the Baroque period.

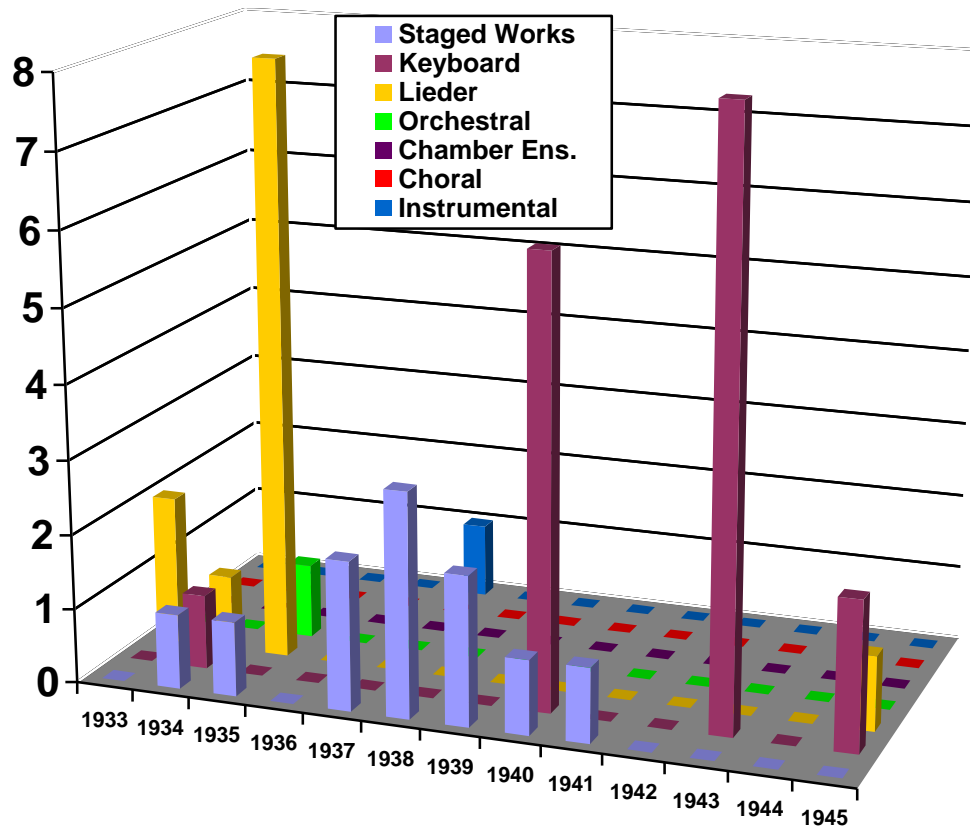


Figure 3 Wagner-Régeny output by genre 1933-1945

In what follows I first study works from 1934-1935 (*Liederbüchlein*; *Spinettmusik*; *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*) to discern how music was used as a resource for a reflexivity and presentation of self in the early Third Reich prior to and immediately following Wagner-Régeny's success of *Der Günstling*. I then turn to works from 1940-1943 (*Klavierbüchlein*; *Zwei Sonaten*; *Hexameron*) to consider how these solo keyboard works were part of self-construction, situation and personal therapy in the latter years of the Third Reich.

### *Liederbüchlein*

A set of eight folk songs for voice and piano, *Liederbüchlein* was compiled and published in 1935, and along with a series of Baroque inspired keyboard works entitled *Spinettmusik* (discussed below), were released during the success of *Der Günstling*. There are certain advantages to Lieder composition relating to dissemination that are not afforded by large-

scale public staged works. Lieder are imminently performable: performing forces are minimal (vocalist and a pianist); they are performable in a wide range of venues from concert halls to private homes; they are often suited to pedagogical means; they draw upon a wide market of amateur and professional performers. In addition to potentially tapping a wide market *Liederbüchlein* is emblematic of music as a resource for presentation of self in the early Third Reich. Through a combination of personal references, literary connections and unchallenging aesthetics, this set of folk songs was a well designed vehicle for presenting the composer in a positive light in the Nazi *Kulturpolitik* while capitalising on fame garnered through *Der Günstling*.

Personal references to the composer in *Liederbüchlein* are found at the very beginning of this publication, in the cover art (figure 4 below).



**Figure 4: Cover Art from *Liederbüchlein* (1935)**

The inscription accompanying the pastoral scene reads ‘Cover art “Siebenbürgischen Landschaft” by L.D. Wagner’ (note in figure 4 the initials ‘L.D.W.’). This ties the publication directly to Wagner-Régeny’s birth place of Siebenbürgen. Moreover, this cover

art is by his wife Léli Duperrex Wagner (L.D. Wagner)<sup>77</sup>. From the outset Wagner-Régeny tied this work directly to his narrative past and present with references to his birthplace and wife.

References to his personal narrative do not stop at the cover art. On closer inspection of the score one finds the place and date of composition following each of the individual songs. *Liederbüchlein* was not a collection of recently composed works, rather it was a compilation of folksongs composed by the composer between 1920 and 1934 representing works from his student years, early professional career and songs composed during the first two years of the Third Reich. There are instrumental reasons why Wagner-Régeny would do this. Publishing these works, with their accessibility in performing forces, venues and aesthetics afforded the composer a means of musically organising a professional narrative available to a wide consumer market. *Liederbüchlein* was a mini-anthology of his compositional activity in the Lieder genre. The inclusion of early works to recent works meant *Liederbüchlein* afforded an encapsulation of his musical activity across time. This presentation of professional self, and resultantly the presentation of self through music, allowed the composer to associate himself with values according with Nazi cultural policy. He did this through two primary means: literary connections and uncontroversial musical aesthetics. Taking his *Rotkelchens Silberlied* (composed in Schässburg, Siebenbürgen in 1920) as indicative of the set illumines how the composer did this.



Track 2a and 2b: *Rotkelchens Silberlied* (“Red Robin’s Silver Song”)

NOTE: Track 2a is the piano accompaniment – Track 2b is the melody line

*Rotkelchens Silberlied* (Red Robin’s Silver Song – Tracks 2a and 2b) is a short folksong using the words of Hermann Löns, the first of two songs in this mini-anthology which use texts by this author (the second is *Mein Gluck auf Erden*). As discussed above in relation to Georg Büchner, Wagner-Régeny was conscious of connections to literary figures, in this case though the connections are related positively to Nazi ideology. Löns – like

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<sup>77</sup> Léli would not have adopted the Régeny addition to her husband’s surname as it was a change made after their marriage to differentiate the composer from Richard Wagner, once Rudolf Wagner-Régeny began publishing.



Shakespeare, von Kleist, Schiller, Hölderlin, etc. – was sanctioned by the regime. A native of northern Germany, Löns died in France during active military service in WWI and his work was later appropriated as expressing Nazi ideology. For example, his *Wehrwolf* (1910) traces the trials and tribulations of a German farming community during the historic Thirty Years War. His poetry and prose were often set against the backdrop of the Lüneburg heath (northern Germany) extolling the beauty of the land and upholding the German spirit. He and his work were repatriated for the Nazi cause – in 1934 Hitler ordered Löns' body exhumed and transported to the Lüneburg heath for reburial (Deimann, 1935; Löns, 1958; Dugall, 1966; Watt, 1992)<sup>78</sup>. Löns is not the only ideologically congruent author used by Wagner-Régeny in this set, there are two settings of texts by Arno Holz (*Er klagt, dass der Frühling so kortz blüht* and *Er hört mit ihr den Gukguk schreyn*). Holz, a late romantic naturalist poet whose work also praised the German people and land, was likewise appropriated by Nazi cultural ideologues for their cause (Turley, 1935; Durzak, 1971; Oester, 1982). With these literary connections Wagner-Régeny established a frame for emerging ideological congruency, congruency not just of the present but reflected back to dissociate himself from ‘...the past years of the most dreadful German decay...’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247).

The aesthetics of this work, and in general of all eight songs in the collection, similarly cast him in a positive light. This work is completely tonal. In neither the vocal part nor the piano part is there a single note not found in the tonic key of A-flat major. Additionally, neither part is technically demanding for a performer. The vocal line is primarily step-wise following the A-flat major scale with a narrow range (minor seventh) and is, with the exception of phrase endings, completely syllabic. Not only does *Liederbüchlein* serve as a resource for musical presentation of the self capitalising on the success of *Der Günstling* but it is accessible to students, amateurs and professional performers alike – it appropriates private and public space<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> Wagner-Régeny was not alone in setting texts by Löns at this time. Another clear example of this type of literary ideological affiliation is Paul Graener's *Drei Männerchor nach Texten von Hermann Löns* (1937).

<sup>79</sup> Performance evidence of *Liederbüchlein* is limited though selections were given in 1937 by soprano Marta Rohs accompanied by Wagner Régeny at an afternoon concert in Albrechtsberg (Fleetwood, 1937b, 652).

## *Spinettmusik*

The works discussed to now have been texted works. In the remaining sections I consider Wagner-Régeny's engagement with absolute music, primarily music for keyboard. In 1935 Universal Edition also published Wagner-Régeny's *Spinettmusik*, composed in 1934. This work is a Baroque inspired collection of six short pieces in the manner of a Baroque suite, for keyboard solo. As such it draws upon, in its form and musical materials, a strategy of positive periodicity. It is also, like *Liederbüchlein*, an imminently performable work as the performing forces required are minimal (keyboard instrument and a keyboardist) and the suite poses no significant technical challenges to a performer. The title *Spinettmusik* is a cue that these works are designed for the domestic market. The term "spinett" (in English spinet) is rather ambiguous. The term generally denotes early, small, domestic keyboard instruments which employ a plucked (similar to a harpsichord) rather than struck (such as the clavichord or piano) mechanism. The spinet has virtually no repertoire of its own, borrowing primarily from the harpsichord literature (Barnes, 1985; Kenyon, 1949; Philip-Brutton, 1967). Wagner-Régeny himself was an early keyboard enthusiast and owned a clavichord which he played often (see photographs in Medek, 1968; Becker, M., 1989a)<sup>80</sup>. This collection, designed for a domestic instrument, afforded him exploration of and association with early (Baroque) keyboard styles and mannerisms – positive periodicity. Both the musical style of these works and his instructions in the published score (these works are to be played without use of the damper pedal and dynamically *mezzo forte* throughout) indicate his desire to foreground them as Baroque inspired, early keyboard works. Spinets (along with other early keyboard instruments like the harpsichord) were incapable of dynamic contrast or the connecting effects of a damper pedal which are synonymous with the modern piano. Yet, *Spinettmusik* was not intended for the small niche market of early keyboard owners and performers alone, such music has a long history of performance on the modern piano. Wagner-Régeny's instructions to not use the damper

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<sup>80</sup> Towards the end of WWII, when stationed in Mecklenburg, Wagner-Régeny uses the clavichord as a therapeutic resource – as a medium of distraction from the desperate situation he and his dying wife found themselves in. During this difficult time he was desperate to obtain a clavichord. In correspondence with Neher it is mentioned on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December, 1944 (Medek, 1968, p. 218). On the 11<sup>th</sup> of January Neher asks 'Rudi' did 'the harpsichord arrive safely – or better a clavichord?' [*Kam das Cembalo gut an – oder besser Clavichord?*] (Medek, 1968, p. 220). Then on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January Wagner-Régeny writes to Neher, 'I have sat at my clavichord incessantly for eight days.' [*Nun sitze ich seit acht Tagen ununterbrochen an meinem Clavichord.*] (Medek, 1968, p. 221).

pedal and to maintain a *mezzo forte* dynamic are clear evidence he fully expected them to be performed as piano works, consumable by a wide amateur and professional audience.

Not only is *Spinettmusik* referential to early periods in title, aesthetically it carries many of the hallmarks of Baroque keyboard works all visible in the first piece of the six part set (Track 3):



Track 3: *Spinettmusik*, Movement 1

- Functionally tonal: Like *Rotkelchens Silberlied* from *Liederbüchlein* the first piece contains no pitches outside the tonic key (G major). Additionally the harmony employed emphasizes the movement between tonic and dominant (here G and D respectively), the foundational principle of Western art music tonality.
- Clear form structure: The first movement is an AAA<sup>i</sup> form ending with a tonic extending coda
- Polyphonic four voice texture where each voice enters successively
- Use of compositional techniques familiar in Baroque keyboard works: pedal tones, inversion, voice exchange, retrograde

In *Spinettmusik* Wagner-Régeny employed culturally relevant musical significations of the Baroque period (title, tonality, form, compositional techniques), the employment of positive periodicity, in constructing an accessible work designed for domestic use (though this does not preclude its use by professional performers). *Spinettmusik* is neo-classical drawing upon uncontroversial musical practices but also in exploration and extension of the neo-classical teachings of Busoni. As the composer said in reference to *Der Günstling* this is ‘admittedly no mere copy of the classical’ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 68)<sup>81</sup>; he has not constructed a work that uses only the sounds of tradition. Elements employed by the composer (e.g. use of IV<sup>7</sup> chords at structurally important points) exemplify a “modernness” to the setting, despite the significations of the Baroque. However, like *Der Günstling*, this

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<sup>81</sup> Freilich keine „Kopie“ des „Klassischen“ (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 78).

music was not intended '...to be felt as a flame blazing on the theatre, not as disagreeable and inartistic' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 77)<sup>82</sup>. Wagner-Régeny has used musical materials to situate his work in an acceptable past and present, he created a balance of new and old.

*Liederbüchlein* and *Spinettmusik* emerge key points between the relationship of music to Wagner-Régeny's aesthetic project of self and the centrality of music as a resource for agency. Firstly these works are bound to his self narrative. In *Liederbüchlein* the cover art references his past (home region of *Siebenbürgen*) and his present (work by his wife). Within *Spinettmusik* Wagner-Régeny was able to explore his interests in early keyboard music and neo-classicism and associate himself with Baroque-style composition. The coupling of association with positive periodicity of Baroque styles and association to Nazi appropriated literary figures (Löns and Holz) in *Liederbüchlein* highlight a second feature in the use of music in his agency. These works afforded a positive presentation of the self within the early Third Reich, a presentation of self that avoided negative aesthetic cues/significations associated with modernism. Finally the timing of these works, both published in 1935, indicate attempts to capitalise on the public success of *Der Günstling* by injecting diverse works into the market, works consumable in varied settings – he was a composer casting his net far and wide writing works for public and domestic consumption for amateurs and professionals alike. An exploration of Wagner-Régeny's 1936 piano concerto (*Orchestermusik mit Klavier*) further illumines this final point with tangible evidence from situated actors on how music is designed and used instrumentally as calculated agency to present the self and colonise the future.

### *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*

At the suggestion of Dr. Heinsheimer<sup>83</sup>, director of Universal Edition's opera/theatre department, Wagner-Régeny set about writing *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* in 1935:

'Dr. Heinsheimer's cleverness surprised me. "You are a splendid piano player", he said. "Write a concerto and we will arrange many performances, always with you as

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<sup>82</sup> ,...um nicht als eine entflammtes Lodern auf dem Theater als unangenehm und unkünstlerisch empfunden zu werden' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p.77)

<sup>83</sup> Hans Heinsheimer (b. Karlsruhe 1900, d. NY 1993) was then director of Universal Edition's opera/theatre department and editor of the journal *Der Anbruch*. In 1938 he fled Austria for the USA where he worked at Boosey & Hawkes in New York before turning to Schirmer where he eventually became vice-president. Heinsheimer was also a writer and contributed to *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Morgan, 2001a).

soloist. That can bring in enough for you that you, in peace, can find a second large opera which you would like to write”<sup>84</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a, p. 79).

From its inception *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* was not a work intended as “art for art’s sake”, it was an instrumental commercial project to provide income to Wagner-Régeny thereby freeing time in the future to work on further stage projects. It was a work conceived and designed to structure Wagner-Régeny’s future activity, to afford time to work on a new opera. Like Hindemith’s Mozart cadenzas and *Mathis* symphony, Wagner-Régeny used his musical creativity instrumentally to achieve other musical goals.

*Orchestermusik mit Klavier* was also designed to present Wagner-Régeny not just as a composer but as a performer. As was the case with Hindemith conducting his *Music for String Orchestra and Brass* alongside the ‘ancient tootlers’, so too Wagner-Régeny was to present himself as composer and performer in physical co-presence with his audience. The premiere in Dresden on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1936 with Karl Böhm conducting, was followed by performances in Vienna and Stuttgart<sup>85</sup> and finally in Berlin where Wagner-Régeny performed it under the patronage of the NSKG (again a strategy of presenting himself through association to a Nazi organisation) at the Staatsoper (Becker, M., 1989b; Fleetwood, 1937a). *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* afforded the composer direct public exposure in major musical centres in much the same way as *Der Günstling* but with the added bonus of the composer on stage, co-present as performer.

The musical characteristics of this work are designed and fit for the aims the concerto was to achieve, success granting personal exposure and financial benefit to afford his future activity – not a vehicle of creative ingenuity but one to ensure agreeable reception through unchallenging aesthetics. Like the other works discussed thus far it is a very accessible piece. The concerto is written in a familiar three movement structure (though movement three is unconventionally split into two sections). Each movement in turn exhibits a readily definable form. The first movement, for example, is in a clear seven part rondo form

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<sup>84</sup> „Die Tüchtigkeit von Dr. Heinsheimer überraschte mich. „Sie sind ein vortrefflicher Klavierspieler“, sagte er. „Schreiben Sie sich ein Konzert, wir werden viele Annahmen arrangieren, und immer sind Sie der Solist. Das kann Ihnen soviel einbringen, dass Sie in Ruhe eine zweite grosse Oper finden, die Sie schreiben möchten“ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 79)

<sup>85</sup> Conducted by Carl Schuricht.

(ABACABA) with metrically accented march-like rhythms. All movements are functionally tonal with clear tuneful melodies utilising homophonic settings in familiar melodic and accompaniment patterns. Likewise, the relation of soloist to orchestra is uncomplicated. Particularly in the first two movements the soloist introduces thematic material with the orchestra repeating and varying it. This is, however, a deviation from how concertos are usually constructed, but one I believe exemplifies his calculated agency for self presentation. Within the concerto repertoire the convention is for the orchestra to present the opening material with the soloist entering later. However, this unconventional approach (though it is not without precedent<sup>86</sup>) serves the purpose of presenting Wagner-Régeny not just as composer but as a concert pianist; the construction places the soloist front and centre from the beginning and gave to Wagner-Régeny as soloist the spotlight throughout.

The critics greeted this work with relative indifference considering it acceptable but not exciting. The following review is indicative of those given to *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*:

‘Rudolf Wagner-Régeny’s piano concerto was premiered [Berlin premiere] by the Staatskapelle with the composer as pianist. It is not a very “vital” work, and was “lukewarmly received”’ (Fleetwood, 1936, p. 365).

While such reviews do not laud praise on Wagner-Régeny, they achieve what the composer and his publisher intended. Though not ‘vital’ it was ‘lukewarm’, acceptable, non-controversial, but importantly ‘with the composer as pianist’. The work was performed numerous times and garnered reviews in the press. The work highlighted the composer in public space in important musical centres, furthering his exposure while avoiding controversy. Wagner-Régeny did not need the work to be earth-shattering, he merely needed to write a “passable” new work. *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* can be considered an artefact of musical prescription to colonise the future. It drew upon culturally relevant conventions (form, tonality, etc.) to prescribe a public performance setting that presents the composer/performer through a clearly defined relationship between soloist and orchestra, to afford financial benefit to free his time in the future to compose a new opera.

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<sup>86</sup> Notable exceptions to this rule certainly exist, such as Beethoven’s fifth concerto, the *Emperor*.

Combined with *Der Günstling*, *Liederbüchlein*, *Spinettmusik* and the music for theatrical productions *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* represents the musical products of Wagner-Régeny's successful years of professional activity during the Third Reich. They draw upon positive literary connections and positive periodicity in aesthetically unchallenging settings presenting the composer in a positive light as an emerging German musical artist in the newly established Third Reich. By 1936 Wagner-Régeny had presented himself (with the help of his publishers) as a composer of opera, lieder and solo keyboard works – a composer for public and domestic stages – and as a concert pianist. However, as discussed above, with forthcoming failures of *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk* the positive reception Wagner-Régeny had received was to change. With the change in reception came changes reflecting and constituting the increased stress and disillusionment the composer experienced with Hitler's Reich. In the following section I consider his turn to solo keyboard works to further explore his use of music in his reflexive project of the self.

#### *The late Third Reich works*

Despite stagings of *Die Bürger von Calais* in Stuttgart, Wroclaw and the Rhineland Wagner-Régeny stated he and Neher '...had become unpopular by our operas'<sup>87</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968, p. 82). He was aware of the consequences of their operatic failures. Commensurate with the difficulties faced, the composer's focus shifted to the absolute music of keyboard composition writing *Klavierbüchlein* (1940), *Zwei Sonaten* (1943) and *Hexameron* (1943). Despite this productive shift the composer maintained thoughts about future operatic works with Caspar Neher. In correspondence between the two between 1940 and 1944 they discussed an opera based on a Japanese theme (Wagner-Régeny, 1989, pp. 90<sup>88</sup>, 208<sup>89</sup>) and work on an opera entitled *Der Därnwäscher* (1989, pp. 192<sup>90</sup>, 194<sup>91</sup>, 204<sup>92</sup>), neither of which was ever completed. What were completed and performed were the solo keyboard works which became central to Wagner-Régeny's self and therapeutic means during WWII.

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<sup>87</sup> 'Durch unsere Opern missliebig geworden' (Wagner-Régeny 1968, p. 82)

<sup>88</sup> Letter to Neher dated 21.8.1940.

<sup>89</sup> Letter from Neher to Wagner-Régeny dated 9.9.1944.

<sup>90</sup> Letter to Neher dated 17.7.1942.

<sup>91</sup> Letter to Neher dated 14.8.1942.

<sup>92</sup> Letter from Neher to Wagner-Régeny dated 9.9.1944.

## *Klavierbüchlein*

In 1940 Wagner-Régeny composed *Klavierbüchlein* (Published by UE, 1941). Paired with *Spinettmusik* he performed this work in recital on Sunday January 19th, 1941 at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin along with readings of Heinrich von Kleist's works (read by Heinz Hilpert) and excerpts from his ballet *Der zerbrochene Krug*, played by the composer on the piano (Wagner-Régeny, 1968). Wagner-Régeny, amid operatic failures, joined with his friend and colleague Hilpert to tailor the presentation of his new work, and himself, in conjunction with the positive periodist *Spinettmusik*, his previously successful ballet and readings from the German cultural icon von Kleist. Like *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* Wagner-Régeny was co-present as composer and performer.

*Klavierbüchlein* is in conception similar to *Spinettmusik*; a collection of ten short pieces. Like *Liederbüchlein* and *Spinettmusik* there is an element of self narrative; the tenth and final piece is dedicated to his wife Léli. With this work Wagner-Régeny again constructed music that is imminently performable (though technical demands are higher than in *Spinettmusik*) and at home in the recital hall – such as his own performances of it – as well as domestic settings<sup>93</sup>. There is also evidence *Klavierbüchlein* was conceived as pedagogical. In his *Klosterneuburg Tagebücher* (7.1.1943) Wagner-Régeny recounted a visit from a Dr. Westphal who, after playing the *Klavierbüchlein*, declared these works would be 'daily bread' for piano lessons like Schumann's *Kinderszenen* or Bach's two and three voice inventions<sup>94</sup> (1968b, p. 106).

Though *Klavierbüchlein* shares a conceptual base with *Spinettmusik* and, along with *Liederbüchlein*, appropriates a diversity of performance possibilities, it stands as a turning point in his aesthetic approach, moving towards a more acerbic, experimental style. *Klavierbüchlein* is neo-classical in its small Baroque inspired forms and like *Spinettmusik* mirrors the lack of expressive instruction – tempo, articulation, dynamics save a few accent

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<sup>93</sup> Regarding domestic performances of such works Wagner-Régeny provides an interesting anecdote regarding this piece as it endeared him to his military superior in Paris in 1943. His captain invited him to his apartment to play his Bechstein piano where the composer played for him a Mozart sonata and *Klavierbüchlein* (1968c)

<sup>94</sup> Westphal überzeugte mich auch, indem er Stücke aus dem Klavierbüchlein spielte, dass meine Klaviermusik eines Tages „tägliches Brot“ in den Klavierstunden sein wird, ähnlich den Kinderszenen Schumanns, dem Heft der zwei- und dreistimmigen Inventionen usw. (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p.106)



markings, ornaments and fermatas – of early keyboard works. Wagner-Régeny explicitly invited performers into the creative process through an inscription in the opening of the original 1941 publication (the inscription is omitted in the later *Gesamte Klavierwerke*):

‘Each playing of this music should be expressive, according to how the sounds seduce, and in the tempo which he [the performer] holds adequate’<sup>95</sup>

Musical significations towards positive periodicity are foregrounded, but less prevalent in *Klavierbüchlein*. Wagner-Régeny employed linear, polyphonic settings using familiar compositional techniques such as canon and Baroque dance forms (e.g. Ciacona movement 3) – all elements of positive periodicity. However, aesthetic materials and significations emerged by critics and scholars around the later operas are also foregrounded. In *Klavierbüchlein* Wagner-Régeny avoided functional tonality and in several movements (e.g. movement 2) moved towards atonality. Influences of popular styles such as jazz are evident through the heavy use of seventh chords (e.g. movement 1) as well as the influence of Weill’s song-style in the ‘Adagio für Léli’ (movement 10) dedicated to his wife.

This last movement – ‘Adagio für Léli’ (Track 4) – described by the composer as an arietta for the right hand (Medek, 1974), is indicative of the aesthetic shift in his work. In many respects it is an accessible work: tuneful, homophonic with accompanying ostinato crotchet-quaver chordal rhythm, short and technically undemanding. Yet, there are aesthetic aspects of it that are in stark contrast to *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*, *Spinettmusik* or *Liederbüchlein* aspects more akin to his earlier works of the Weimar Republic. Most pronounced is the lack of functional tonality. Wagner-Régeny sets up an expectation of D-flat major from the first chord but chooses to obscure this through constant G-naturals (not found in D-flat major) while the melancholic tune (beginning with the right hand in m.3) is set initially in f minor. Proceeding through the piece Wagner-Régeny through composed the harmony to an eventual D major – a key very much unrelated to either D-flat major or f minor. As an arietta this is a “little song” without words but one influenced by Weill’s song-style which, through dedication to his wife, is linked to Wagner-Régeny’s own narrative. While some of this evidence is interpretive work done to the music by me, there is the “sound” of a shift in Wagner-Régeny’s musical actions. If indeed this work was

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<sup>95</sup> ‚Ein jeder spiele diese Musik mit dem Ausdruck, zu welchem ihn die Töne verleiten, und in der Geschwindigkeit, die er für angemessen halt‘ (Wagner-Régeny 1941)

influenced by Weill (Wagner-Régeny did claim Weill's influence in *Die Bürger von Calais*) and is embracing – as interpreted by others in his later operas – a more experimental aesthetic these changes come on the cusp between acceptance and rejection of the composer within the Third Reich. Completed in 1940 *Klavierbüchlein* stands between the failure of *Die Bürger von Calais* along with the rejection of *Johanna Balk* in Berlin and the negative events surrounding the 1941 premiere of *Johanna Balk* in Vienna. As such *Klavierbüchlein* is the first musical evidence of Wagner-Régeny's growing disillusionment with Nazi Germany and its *Kulturpolitik*. As discussed below, music was the key resource through which he gave action to these feelings, mobilising his musical creativity as a therapeutic means.



Track 4: Wagner-Régeny *Klavierbüchlein*, Movement 10 'Adagio für Léli'

#### *Disillusionment – Anomie: Zwei Sonaten*

1940 and *Klavierbüchlein* stood at the very end of Wagner-Régeny's favoured period within the Third Reich. He and Neher still hoped for a Berlin premiere of *Johanna Balk* and planned another opera (*Därmwäscher*), neither of which came to fruition. Wagner-Régeny was also concerned about changes at Universal Edition. Over the preceding years a number of the publisher's key staff had left or been dismissed particularly as a result of the *Anschluss*. In 1940 the company was taken over by Johannes Petschull a Nazi businessman whom Wagner-Régeny considered an eccentric 'in bondage' to Goebbels' ministry of propaganda (1968b, pp. 89-90). Following the negative events round *Johanna Balk* life in Germany proved very difficult. In 1942 Wagner-Régeny and his wife engaged in a strategy of retreat, leaving the 'scanty, shaking Berlin' for Vienna (Wagner-Régeny 1968b, p. 87). Despite initial hope for their time in Vienna and a productive meeting with Universal Edition's director Alfred Schlee, over the six months the couple spent in Vienna there is a definite change in the composer's outlook, a growing sense of anomic disillusionment musically expressed in his *Zwei Sonaten* for piano.

Upon arrival in Vienna the couple took up residence in the suburb of Klosterneuburg. In his Klosterneuburg diary Wagner-Régeny described the physical and social benefits this strategy of retreat offered. Their rooms were well lit by natural light and looked onto an idyllic setting next to a Church (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 89). Wagner-Régeny soon found himself enjoying the company of musicians, poets, curators and art historians and the luxuries of wine, fresh fruit and good restaurants. He found his senses dulled, wondering whether or not he would be able to compose:

‘One feels substantially quieter here than in Berlin. The constant surroundings of princely rooms, the nice views that one enjoys from the windows, everything serves to tune the inner person harmoniously. I suppose: too harmoniously. But we want to wait and see whether I cannot write music for the first time in my life somewhere else as in Berlin.’ (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 90)<sup>96</sup>

In contrast to the difficulties of life in Berlin, the calmness of this Viennese suburb felt strange.

Being in Vienna the composer was able to strengthen connections with Universal Edition and initially overcame misgivings regarding ownership and staff changes. In his diary he recounted in some detail a positive meeting with Universal Editions new managing director, Alfred Schlee<sup>97</sup> (August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1942). At this meeting he felt ‘a certain stagnation, which occurred because the unsafe P. [Petschull]<sup>98</sup> had taken over UE, conquered’ concluding ‘the consequences of my work can become normal again’<sup>99</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 95). Schlee and Wagner-Régeny came to the following agreements:

- 1) To publish a prospectus of his works

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<sup>96</sup> *Man fühlt sich hier wesentlich ruhiger als in Berlin . Die fürstlichen Zimmer als ständige Umgebung, die schönen Blicke, die man aus den Fenstern genießt, alles trägt dazu bei, den inneren Menschen harmonisch zu stimmen. Ich vermute: zu harmonisch. Aber wir wollen warten, und sehen, ob ich nicht zum erstenmal in meinem Leben anderswo als in Berlin Musik schreiben kann.* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 90)

<sup>97</sup> Universal Edition not only suffered the mortification of modernism through loss of contracted composers, but in its own staff. Following Emil Hertzka’s death in 1932 Hugo Winter and Alfred Kalmus took over the firm. Kalmus fled Vienna in 1936, Winter was dismissed following the Anschluss. Heinsheimer, director of the opera department and the individual who recommended Wagner-Régeny write his *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*, fled Vienna the day before the Anschluss. This left the firm in the hands of Alfred Schlee who had been with the firm since 1927. Schlee did his best to keep in contact with UE’s composers. (Simeone, 2001)

<sup>98</sup> Reference to Johannes Petschull, a Nazi businessman who acquired all shares of UE in 1940. he was also managing director of Edition Peters (Simeone, 2001).

<sup>99</sup> *Gottlob sehe ich eine gewisse Stockung, die eingetreten war, weil der unsichere P. die U.E. übernommen hat, überwunden, und die Auswirkungen meines tuns kann wieder eine normale werden.* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 95)

- 2) Publication of new piano sonatas (*Zwei Sonaten*) which would carry a catalogue of his other published works on the back cover
- 3) The opera *Därmwäscher* planned by Wagner-Régeny and Neher, when completed, would be published by a stage music firm (not Universal Edition)
- 4) The orchestration of *Därmwäscher* would be contracted out to someone else for expedient completion

Wagner-Régeny situated his future closely related to his publisher. The meeting with Schlee temporarily allayed his fears and resulted in progressive decisions – again the instrumental use of music to present the self (the composer) figures prominently. To re-publicize/re-present him the firm was to publish not only a *Werkverzeichnis* (catalogue of compositions) but the two new piano sonatas, which themselves would carry catalogue for easy consumer access to his publications; his piano sonatas would be used as promotional vehicles.

It is unclear as to whether *Zwei Sonaten* was complete at the time of the meeting but they were published by Universal Edition in 1943. Though Wagner-Régeny was working on solo keyboard works he was still focused on stage works – here the planned *Därmwäscher*. It appears from the ordering of the agreements made between the composer and Schlee that the piano sonatas would be published first followed by the opera. The piano works would prepare the way for the new opera similar to Hindemith's attempts to prepare the future for *Mathis der Maler*<sup>100</sup>. However, in contrast to Hindemith setting the stage for *Mathis* with uncontroversial works, *Zwei Sonaten* was contemporaneously anything but uncontroversial and represents a significant step into modernist aesthetics.

Compared to the works previously considered *Zwei Sonaten* are the most disjunct in form and style and go the farthest of all of Wagner-Régeny's works to date towards modernism. The accessibility evident through familiar materials (tonality, functional harmony, simple rhythm) found in *Spinettmusik*, *Liederbüchlein*, and to a lesser degree in *Klavierbüchlein*, are largely absent. *Sonate I* (Track 6) is exemplary of the set as it highlights continuities in Wagner-Régeny's neo-classical style (principally Baroque compositional techniques) as

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<sup>100</sup> It also seems that Schlee, and therefore Universal Edition, are being cautious over publishing a new opera by the composer of *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk* as they agree the work will be published by an unidentified stage music firm.

well as the experimental methods he was then using. In this four movement work the first and third movements employ the most challenging material while movements two and four are more accessible. Within the first movement Wagner-Régeny avoided the conventional sonata-allegro form (exposition – development – recapitulation) by employing four, rather than the conventional two, themes creating a disjunct form, particularly upon first hearing. Additionally the material is highly chromatic disavowing functional tonality. However, aspects of Wagner-Régeny's positive periodist activity are still present. This movement is polyphonic with two and three voice textures and draws upon Baroque compositional techniques such as imitation, repeated melodic and rhythmic motives.



Track 5: Wagner-Régeny – *Zwei Sonaten: Sonate I*, Movement 1

Contrasting the challenging aesthetics of the first movement the second, while still chromatic and avoiding functional tonality, is more accessible. The movement is cast in an AA<sup>1</sup> form with a homophonic texture where the tuneful melodic material is conventionally played by the right hand with a harmonic left hand accompaniment (Track 6).



Track 6: Wagner-Régeny – *Zwei Sonaten: Sonate I*, Movement 2

The third movement resumes the modernist conventions of movement one with free atonality and contrasting thematic sections. The fourth and final movement is the most accessible finishing the sonata with an unconventional/modified rondo form<sup>101</sup>. The opening theme is lively, tuneful and set homophonically with use of alberti bass. Yet even here each iteration of A is contrasted by one of three chromatic sections (Track 7).



Track 7: Wagner-Régeny – *Zwei Sonaten: Sonate I*, Movement 4

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<sup>101</sup> A rondo is typified by continuously returning A sections which are separated by contrasting material (e.g. ABACABA). The rondo of movement four of *Sonate I* is as follows: A runs measure 1-13 B runs from measure 14-29 followed by A. C runs from measures 37-55 and is followed immediately by D running measures 56-63 with a repeat of C from measures 64-73. The final A section runs from measures 74-91 and is followed by a coda measures 92-99. The overall form is then unconventionally ABACDCA.

This sonata, and its brother work, represents a significant departure from all Wagner-Régeny's previous works of the Nazi period. After the piano concerto the *Zwei Sonaten* are the first major solo works he composed. Posing both aesthetic and technical difficulties the works are far less accessible than previous and require more than basic amateur skills to perform, limiting the broad appeal evident in *Spinettmusik*, *Liederbüchlein* or even *Klavierbüchlein*. Rather than respond to the denunciations he experienced with *Johanna Balk* with accessible, traditionally based fare Wagner-Régeny delved deeper into his modernist heritage. This aesthetic movement towards overt experimentation is concurrent with expressions of frustration with Nazi *Kulturpolitik* and a growing sense of anomie in his writings.

### *Hexameron*

The Austrian retreat ended on October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942 when Wagner-Régeny and Léli went back to Berlin, though they maintained the Klosterneuburg apartment in hopes of a spring return. Wagner-Régeny's diary entries of this period belie anomic disillusionment though he finds in this solace and comfort. Wagner-Régeny's difficulties with Universal Edition and the 'whole political-cultural situation' have led to an awakening. He finds comfort in concluding 'Today the number of performances says nothing more; neither about the goodness of a work, nor about the needs of the audience'<sup>102</sup>. In this resignation he rids himself of the shackles of worry and care regarding the professional problems he faces. 'Even the evident malice of Dr. P. [Petschull] becomes nothing'<sup>103</sup>. He bemoans, 'My piano things lie there – nobody plays them because nobody is informed of their existence'<sup>104</sup>. His piano scores are no longer reprinted, he claims the score of *Zerbrochene Krug* has been lost and none of the decisions, except the publication of *Zwei Sonaten*, agreed upon with Schlee have come to fruition. Wagner-Régeny is once again convinced Universal Edition is obeying orders from Goebbels' ministry to which he declares 'I am a thorn in the eye'<sup>105</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> 'Die Anzahl der Aufführungen sagt heute nichts mehr; weder über die Güte eines Werkes, noch über die Bedürfnisse des Publikums. Es ist tröstend.' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>103</sup> 'Selbst die offensichtlichen Bosheiten des Herrn Dr. P. werden nichtig.' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>104</sup> 'Meine Klaviersachen liegen da – niemand spielt sie, weil niemand von ihrer Existenz unterrichtet ist.' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>105</sup> 'Und damit befolgt er die Weisungen der musikabteilung im Propagandaministerium, dem ich ein Dorn im Auge bin.' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

On the outside all he sees are bowing, faceless, disoriented fools<sup>106</sup>. Yet the composer finds comfort in this anomic disenchantment: ‘Now a resigned feeling of happiness accompanies my days’<sup>107</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, pp. 102-103).

Wagner-Régeny distanced himself from the musicians, poets, curators and art historians he had socialised with in Vienna. Referring to them as the ‘modern clique’ he describes them as ‘imprisoned [in] conceptions, wanting to make the day before yesterday the day after tomorrow’<sup>108</sup>. He declares ‘In reality I am alone’<sup>109</sup>. Wagner-Régeny also dismissed suggestions from his colleague and friend Karl Böhm to collect together the ‘revolutionaries’ and establish Dresden as a modernist centre<sup>110</sup>. He concludes ‘One can find beauty and peace only in oneself!’<sup>111</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, pp. 102-103).

Wagner-Régeny retreated into himself, distancing himself from the growing chaos of the outer world and its cultural politics. This was again a strategy of retreat, but not one of physical retreat to a foreign country or an isolated setting within Germany, it was a retreat inwards through music. As he sought beauty and peace within himself he did so through musical creation by writing his *Hexameron*.

*Hexameron* revolutionized the strategy of positive periodicity the composer employed in earlier works. He returned to short Baroque styled keyboard works, six in total, but pieces that were thoroughly experimental by design and execution. These short works became musical space for the composer to seek peace and beauty through working out ‘technical experiences’ – they were intimate work spaces for the composer to privately continue his exploration of musical experiments that he hoped one day could be used in bigger more

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<sup>106</sup> *Die Premieren der letzten sieben Jahre können nicht ungeschehen gemacht werden. Sie sind jedermann im Gedächtnis. Und das Gefühl, dass die „Jungfrau von Orleans“ mein erstes reifes Werk sein wird, gibt mehr Gewissheit und Sicherheit, als alle Anerkennung von aussen zu geben vermöchte. Wohin ich auch blicke: ich sehe haltlose Narren. Sie dienen, haben kein eigenes Gesicht.* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>107</sup> *„Auch diese Umstände sehe ich mit Ruhe an. Ein resigniertes Glücksgefühl begleitet meine Tage jetzt.“* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>108</sup> *„Die „moderne Clique“ in Wien, Jarosch, Schuh, Neher, Orff, die „Avantgarde“ auf ihre Fahne geschrieben hat, lebt leider in Vorstellungen gefangen, die Vorgestriges zum Übermorgen machen möchte.“* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>109</sup> *„In Wahrheit bin ich allein.“* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 102)

<sup>110</sup> *„Nun, höre ich, soll in Dresden ein „modernes“ Zentrum geschaffen werden, weil Böhm von dort nach Wien geht und Elmendorf gewonnen werden könnte, das „Revolutionäre“ um sich zu sammeln, um sich „guten Ruf“ bei der presse zu schaffen. Es ist nicht eines Seufzers wert!“* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 103)

<sup>111</sup> *„Schönheit und Frieden kann man nur in sich selbst finden!“* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968b, p. 103).

public forms. Through *Hexameron* Wagner-Régeny drew the future into the present, engaging in its colonization:

‘In January [1943] I had written the “Hexameron” and for Heinz Hilpert the music to “Antonius und Cleopatra”. It was a month full of inhibitions and fears. The inhibitions because of the technical experiences laid down in the “Hexameron” could not yet be used in bigger forms, and fears because of the “cultural policy”<sup>112</sup> (Wagner-Régeny, 1968c, p. 109)

For the first time Wagner-Régeny writes explicitly of fear and the presence of inhibitions regarding his work and National Socialist cultural policy. Rather than pursuing large scale public works, he used smaller forms afforded by the piano as space to express and experiment with new technical means hidden from public view within his personal musical retreat. *Hexameron* was a tool for his own personal exploration and growth reverting back to smaller forms, pieces he called ‘studies’, through which he attempted to explore his musical future – extending his musical self forwards into the ‘intrinsically unknowable territory of counterfactual possibility’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 111) – but also through which he experienced the fears of his current situation.

The ‘technical experiences’ *Hexameron* afforded Wagner-Régeny were complete rejections of tonality through an exploration of composing through pitch distances (intervals):

‘I wrote small pieces for piano, which I called *Hexameron*, which are little works in six parts. They are interval studies. The first piece deals with the 7<sup>th</sup>, and then its double – that is a classic custom/practise, to present one piece in a second version. The second piece deals with the 4<sup>th</sup>, the third mixes the intervals; the 4<sup>th</sup> stands on the 3<sup>rd</sup> (the melodic development and the harmony are built from 3rds), the fifth piece is composed from the most dissonant possible intervals, and the sixth is a fun Finale.’<sup>113</sup> (Medek, 1974, p. 144)

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<sup>112</sup> *„Im Januar hatte ich das „Hexameron“ und für Heinz Hilpert die Musik zu „Antonius und Cleopatra“ geschrieben. Es ar ein Monat voller Hemmungen und Ängste. Hemmungen, weil die im „Hexameron“ niedergelegten technischen Erfahrungen noch nicht in grösseren Formen sich anwenden liessen, und Ängste, weil die „Kulturpolitik““* (Wagner-Régeny, 1968c, p. 109)

<sup>113</sup> *„Im gleichen jahre, nämlich 1943, schrieb ich kleine Stücke für Klavier, die ich Hexameron nannte, das heisst Werkchen, bestehend aus sechs Teilen. Und zwar sind das Intervallstudien. Das erste Stück beschäftigt sich mit der Septime, dann folgt sein Double – das ist ein dlassischer Brauch, ein Stück in einer zweiten Fassung herzugeben. Das zweite Stück in einer zweiten Fassung herzugeben. Das zweite Stück beschäftigt sich mit der Quarte, das dritte mischt die Intervalle, das vierte steht auf der Terz (das heisst der melodische*



While Wagner-Régeny drew the future into the present he used his neo-classical interests to incorporate ‘classic custom/practice’. Music was a resource for future plans but afforded through familiar structure and knowledge.

The fifth piece from this set (Track 8) indicates the extent to which the composer used *Hexameron* to explore his musical future. Described by the composer as based on the most dissonant intervals possible, it afforded him a private intimate space away from larger public forms to explore a style of composing he wished he could use in bigger forms (e.g. opera) but recognized he could not. The piece explores intervals traditionally considered dissonant in western music: the 7<sup>th</sup> (and its inversion the 2<sup>nd</sup>), the 9<sup>th</sup> (the compound expression of a 2<sup>nd</sup>) and the tritone (augmented 4<sup>th</sup>/ diminished 5<sup>th</sup>). However, Wagner-Régeny clearly goes about his technical experiments through familiar structure – here principally a binary form (AB) and the use of a passacaglia bass line (repeated bass line employed to unify the whole).



Track 8: Wagner-Régeny *Hexameron*, Movement 5

*Hexameron* and *Zwei Sonaten* are artefacts of the composer’s movement towards overt modernism and were resources for the development of his musical self in finding ‘beauty and peace’ within his own activity. Particularly with *Hexameron* he was no longer writing for a putative other but mobilising music privately for his own development. The ‘technical experiences’ of *Hexameron* were part and parcel of his agency as he used music as a resource for his trajectory of the self, for colonisation of his future musical activity. At the same time it is through this activity that he situated himself by personally experiencing the fear of Nazi *Kulturpolitik* through his musical experiments. Through *Hexameron* Wagner-Régeny worked out in small private forms musical practices he hoped he would someday be able to use in large public forms, but through this creativity experienced the inhibitions and fears of the situational incongruity he found himself in. Music was both a resource for

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*Ablauf und die Harmonie bilden sich aus terzen), das fünfte aus möglichst weiten, dissonierenden Intervallen und das sechste ist ein lustiges Finalstück.’* (Medek, 1974, p. 144)

situating his present and planning his future trajectory; it was both a mirror of the now and a window for the yet to come.

The importance of musical activity to Wagner-Régeny in the late Third Reich is foregrounded in a poignant exchange in his correspondence with Caspar Neher. On January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1945 Neher wrote: ‘Rudi has the harpsichord arrived [in Mecklenburg] safely – or better a clavichord?’<sup>114</sup> (Medek, 1968, p. 220). On January 14<sup>th</sup> Wagner-Régeny replied: ‘I have sat at my clavichord incessantly for eight days.’<sup>115</sup> (Medek, 1968, p. 221). Nearing the end of WWII the conscripted composer was stationed in the east with his dying wife awaiting the advancing Russian army. Amid this terrible situation he found consolation, and perhaps even joy, in a simple private keyboard.

### *Summary*

Wagner-Régeny developed his cooperative networks, most importantly his connection with Neher, within modernist circles. Though his works from the Weimar Republic were not overly experimental his career was constituted by a gradual movement towards modernism. Particularly in the final years of the Third Reich, as the positive periodist strategy of his neo-classical outlook revolutionized towards increasingly experimental aesthetics, this musical progression towards future developments became a resource and therapy of the self embracing and expressing the anomic disillusionment the composer came to experience.

Wagner-Régeny’s early success – based in a presentation of his self as a composer of domestic and public works – centred round staged works. *Der Günstling* afforded him freedom and at the time positively framed his future trajectory. Following the success of this first full length opera, which used the strategy of positive periodicity, he engaged in opportunistic strategies composing music for safe theatrical productions and instrumentally presenting himself with *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* to afford future operatic work. Espousing aesthetics that were designed to not be disagreeable, inartistic or as flames burning on the stage he presented a public musical self that was inoffensive and agreeable.

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<sup>114</sup> ‘Kam das Cembalo gut an – oder besser Clavichord?’ (Medek, 1968, p. 220)

<sup>115</sup> ‘Nun sitze ich seit acht Tagen ununterbrochen an meinem Clavichord.’ (Medek, 1968, p. 221).

By 1939 Wagner-Régeny had become successful enough for his new opera *Die Bürger von Calais*, to appropriate public operatic space at the centre of the Third Reich with von Karajan conducting the premiere at the Berlin Staatsoper. Potentially due to political interpretations of the pacifist opera its run was short lived. Followed up with *Johanna Balk*, which did succumb to negative political interpretations, the composer and his librettist were made unpopular through their products.

Wagner-Régeny's reflections on the collaborative efforts of these staged works were described by the composer as therapeutic means – that through their work they saved themselves. He and his colleagues saw their work as continuing the new classicality of Busoni and as invoking Georg Büchner 'the man of the people' (through *Die Bürger von Calais*) following a strategy of creating a private sanctuary of meaning behind the scenes of the public works, away from the eye of National Socialism. In hindsight he intimated these operas were central to how he constructed an understanding of the wider National Socialist climate claiming it was not innocent to stage princes murdered by bodyguards (*Johanna Balk*) or anticipate atrocities of war (*Die Bürger von Calais*). This illumines how creative artists construct their own meanings through the process of creation – how the creative process is part of their reflexive projects of the self, whether or not these accord with public interpretations. Music affords private, intimate constructions of self in addition to a public presentation of self.

As seen through the diversity of Wagner-Régeny's early Third Reich output, the public presentation of self was afforded through engaging a strategy of musical diversity, of casting a wide musical net to test the changing cultural climate. In the first years of the Nazi regime Wagner-Régeny compiled/composed both *Liederbüchlein* and *Spinettmusik*, works that exemplify positive literary connections and positive periodicity respectively. Published by Universal Edition they capitalised on the success of *Der Günstling* and presented a positive view of an emerging composer. *Liederbüchlein*, as a mini-anthology of folksongs – including settings of texts by Nazi sanctioned authors – by the composer from 1920-1934, further afforded Wagner-Régeny's presentation of self through a strategy of connecting his past musical activity with the present through associations to valued literary figures (Löns, Holz), authors of his folksongs.

While it has been argued that not only were *Liederbüchlein* and *Spinettmusik* bound up in the composer's narrative of self and strategy of self presentation but were published to capitalise on *Der Günstling*'s success, the case of *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* provides tangible evidence from the situated actors of this strategy in action. *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* was from its inception an aesthetic project of instrumental design to capitalise on the composer's success to date, to present him as both composer and performer and to afford financial security to free time to pursue other compositional projects.

*Orchestermusik mit Klavier* was musical prescription that drew upon culturally relevant musical conventions to prescribe a positive performance to afford future compositional activity.

All of these works, from *Der Günstling* through to his incidental theatrical music, represent the composer's successful years of professional activity in the third Reich. Drawing upon strategies of positive literary connections, positive periodicity and through musical prescription to colonise the future they positively constructed and presented the composer as a valuable German artist. However, despite these successes the failures of *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Johanna Balk* led to the composer's professional downfall. These failures led to an anomic disillusionment with the state of affairs of Germany's cultural climate in the late Third Reich. During this time the composer managed and acted this situational incongruity through the keyboard works *Klavierbüchlein*, *Zwei Sonaten* and *Hexameron*.

*Klavierbüchlein* represents an aesthetic shift in Wagner-Régeny's work. As emerged by other scholars in reference to his operas (and substantiated by the composer in the case of *Johanna Balk*) significations of modernism (non-functional tonality, influence of modernist composers including Weill, Stravinsky, etc.) were increasingly foregrounded. Three years later *Zwei Sonaten*, though in respects maintaining continuity with his earlier works, stand as significant aesthetic steps away from the purely positive periodist strategy of works like *Spinettmusik*. Conceived in part as promotional vehicles they no longer avoided potential negative aesthetic connections. Rather, they point to the composer's increasing shift towards experimental modes of composition. Completed between 1942 and 1943 they are aesthetic artefacts from the period of Wagner-Régeny's retreat into himself – a search for beauty and peace, of resignation from the outside world.

Wagner-Régeny's journal entries from this latter period describe this resignation from the wider cultural climate of Nazi Germany. He recognized that his works were unperformed and unrecognized; he saw himself as a thorn in the eye of the propaganda ministry; he distanced himself from the modern clique of Vienna and the overtures of Böhm in Dresden to gather modern artists together. In his words, he was uninterested in their 'imprisoned conceptions, wanting to make the day before yesterday the day after tomorrow' declaring 'In reality I am alone'. Through this resignation he found a feeling of happiness looking inwards for beauty and peace.

As expression of this resignation to the outside world he composed *Hexameron*. For the first time, through *Hexameron*, he declared the fears and anxieties he experienced in the creative process in relation to the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*. Yet, he forged on in the private intimate space afforded by writing for the piano. Through *Hexameron* he withdrew and planned his future trajectory – not based in making the day before yesterday the day after tomorrow – by experimenting with new compositional techniques on a small scale working out methods to use one day in 'bigger forms'. *Hexameron* was both a resource for situating himself in the present as he experienced the fear and inhibitions of his creative experiments, and a resource for his future trajectory, how he worked out future musical activity in small private forms afforded by the keyboard.

Music provided Wagner-Régeny a way of being in the Third Reich. *Der Günstling*, *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* and subsequent music for the theatre afforded him significant success and notoriety. Yet success for him was short-lived and like Hindemith, he found himself on a less desirable side of the regime. With the increased situational incongruity, and eventual anomic disillusionment, his agency came to focus on the affordances of the small, intimate workspace of the keyboard, withdrawing into increasingly personal space maintaining and continuing his self musically.

***From Weimar Republic to Third Reich:  
Composing agency in changing socio-cultural contexts***

***Volume 2 of 2***

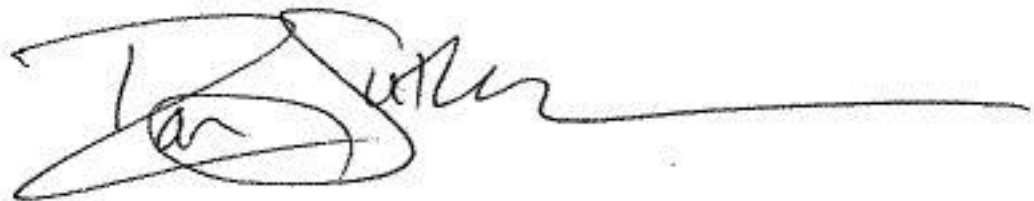
**Submitted by: Ian D. Sutherland**

**To the University of Exeter as a Dissertation for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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***Signed:***

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ian D. Sutherland', followed by a long horizontal line extending to the right.

**Heinrich Kaminski**

# *Heinrich Kaminski*

## *Introduction*

Heinrich Kaminski (1886-1946), like Wagner-Régeny and the forthcoming case studies of Pepping and Fortner, was a composer who remained in Germany throughout the Third Reich. Using Kaminski's experiences and actions I continue the exploration of music's use in agency and further develop music as a workspace in private versus public spaces. In particular, developing out of the strategy of retreat, Kaminski's case affords a unique view of music used to create and maintain private sanctuary within the Third Reich, a concept introduced previously regarding Wagner-Régeny's collaborative work. As with Wagner-Régeny's conclusion that he and Neher had saved themselves through work I contend that the private sanctuary Kaminski developed with and through music was a resource for self therapy.

While Kaminski remained in Germany during the Nazi period he was not, like Wagner-Régeny or Hindemith, active in urban centres such as Berlin or Vienna. With the rise of the Third Reich and the troubles Kaminski experienced with the mortification of modernism he returned to the rural retreat (near Ried) at the footsteps of the German Alps that he created during the Weimar Republic. With Kaminski I move deeper into music as a resource for the reflexive project of self as he mobilised his thinking through music to situate himself existentially. As with previous and subsequent case studies I also discuss the strategy of positive periodicity in the public presentation of self during the Third Reich and how this presentation/re-presentation was sought through the strategy of musical diversity.

Following a brief overview of Heinrich Kaminski's life I situate the composer as entrenched in modernist cooperative networks. As discussed in the chapter on the mortification of modernism, despite Kaminski's relative seclusion at his Ried retreat in southern Germany, he developed a presenting culture based on his musical projects derived from modernism, a presentation that cast him in a reclusive, mystical light. Like previous case studies Kaminski was tied to modernist networks through individuals (e.g. Hermann Scherchen, Walter Braunfels, Leo Kestenberg), festivals (e.g. Donaueschingen, ISCM),



publications both of his music (by Universal Edition) and of journal articles (e.g. in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* the journal of Universal Edition) and his appointment in 1930 to the *Akademie der Kunst* in Berlin. As an active participant in modernist circles Kaminski personally experienced the mortification of modernism. In the remainder of the chapter I consider how music was used to manage and act the resultant situational incongruities of this mortification, how Kaminski mobilised music to think and act through interpretive work done with, through and to music.

In the section ‘Interpretive work: music as an existential resource’ I explore this theme of doing things with, through and to music to afford the reflexive project of self. Through writings on Kaminski, reported conversations, journal articles and programme notes by the composer I outline how Kaminski situated himself contemporaneously, historically and existentially. Not only is music used to situate the self at the level of day to day social, cultural and political interactions (as seen in the cases of Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny) but to extend the individual’s project of self beyond traditional notions of time and space towards concepts of eternity. Specifically, Kaminski developed a belief in polyphonic styles and procedures as constitutive of a cosmic cooperation of forces, situating himself as a composer within them. While this conception of music was developed prior to the Third Reich his polyphonic works, public and private, and other activities such as the *Orden der Liebenden* (Order of those that Love, described below) demonstrate how he related such beliefs to more everyday experiences to manage and act within the Third Reich.

Having contextualised Kaminski’s use of music in his reflexive project of self I turn to Kaminski’s agency as constituted by music in the Third Reich. Kaminski, like Hindemith, experienced many ups and downs regarding National Socialism and its policies: he was turned away from the *Akademie der Kunst* in 1933, denounced on racial grounds in 1938, and then declared ‘politically beyond reproach’ in 1941 (Kater, 1997, p. 83). I study how the composer dealt with these events through four strategies of action. The first and most pervasive strategy was that of retreat. Kaminski created musical sanctuary, primarily at his Ried retreat, through a combination of rural isolation and private musical work (e.g. his unpublished *Die Messe deutsch* – 1934). From his private workspace at Ried Kaminski engaged in, like Wagner-Régeny and as discussed later Fortner, a strategy of musical diversity: presenting himself through diverse media and genres written for diverse markets

of consumption. Like Wagner-Régeny, and as will become evident with Pepping and Fortner, Kaminski also engaged in a strategy of positive periodicity: writing neo-classically derived accessible works that were successfully received (e.g. *Dorische Musik für Orchester*, 1934). Finally, Kaminski strategically relied on accessible members of his cooperative networks (individuals he still had contact with despite the mortification of modernism) to have his works performed and to receive financial assistance.

After exploring strategies of his musical agency I present a brief historical summary of the composer's final years. In these latter days the composer feverishly worked on a final work, the opera *Das Spiel von König Aphelios*. Through this activity he ignored his failing health in an attempt to finish one more major composition. Kaminski died two days after finishing the opera (Hartog, 1986; 1987).

#### *Heinrich Kaminski Overview*

Heinrich Kaminski was born in Tiengen near Waldshut<sup>116</sup> in the south-west of Germany, on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1886; he died June 21, 1946. Born to an ex-Catholic priest Kaminski first studied music with his mother (a singer) whilst appropriating a strong religious/spiritual side from his father. The young Kaminski showed no prodigious musical characteristics and little predilection to becoming a composer. As a young man he initially went to Heidelberg, where he worked in a bank, to study politics before meeting a wealthy patron (Martha Warburg) who supported his musical studies (beginning in 1909 at the Berlin Stern Conservatory). Initially he was a piano pupil of Eisenberger who anticipated a conducting career for his new student. Kaminski had other ideas and developed compositional interests through brief studies (with Juon, Kaun and Klatte) but mainly through self tuition (Kirchberg, 2001).

While Kaminski studied in Berlin and eventually (1930-1933) taught at the *Akademie der Künste*, his life offers a new view to the cultural producer in the Third Reich, that of a reclusive artist. Kaminski and his family led a mostly private life close to Munich in Upper Bavaria in a rural setting at Ried – the home of family friend Maria Marc, widow of the

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<sup>116</sup> Located in the south-west region of Germany in the corner of what is now Baden-Württemberg. This region was known as Swabia prior to WWII comprising the states of Baden, Hohenzollern and Württemberg.

expressionist painter Franz Marc. With the exception of his *Akademie der Kunst* appointment and a conducting job at Bielefeld, Kaminski remained in relative isolation at Ried. However, his influence stretched well beyond Bavaria through his music and participation in modernist networks and events. As Redlich (1947) wrote, Kaminski ‘once exercised an influence on young German musicians, comparable only to the spell cast over them by Busoni and Schönberg’ (p. 185). A significant part of this influence was Kaminski’s devotion to and belief in the value and power of polyphonic music.

Kaminski’s music – as will be shown to be the case with Pepping and Fortner – is primarily polyphonic. This style became, during the Third Reich, positive periodicity through its appropriation as signifying valued Baroque German cultural history. While such positive periodicity was evident in the activity of Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny it becomes a central strategy for action employed more explicitly by Kaminski and, as I show subsequently, by Pepping and Fortner. In Kaminski’s case he engaged in interpretive work done to polyphonic music developing metaphysical beliefs about its importance which he used in his reflexive project of self to situate himself contemporaneously, historically and existentially.

### *Weimar Modernist*

By the beginning of the Weimar Republic, like Hindemith, Kaminski was a more established composer than the other case studies considered here. Despite his relative physical isolation at Ried, Kaminski continued to develop a successful compositional career during the 1920s. In this section I show how this development was linked to Weimar modernism through collaborative networks (individuals, festivals, publications). Towards the end of the Weimar Republic and the early years of the Third Reich Kaminski also personally felt the mortification of these networks and subsequent situational incongruity. Additionally I discuss Kaminski’s presentation of self as a musical mystic and that he was appropriated as such by the musical press.

### *Modernist Cooperative Networks*

In 1914 Kaminski moved from Berlin back to the south of Germany, initially Munich but later to Ried, near Lake Kochel, his primary residence for most of the rest of his life. During these early professional years he began establishing cooperative networks with progressive artists and patrons who came to figure prominently in his career in the 1920s; some of whom he was strategically able to maintain contact with during the Third Reich. He met the expressionist painter Franz Marc (member of *Der Blaue Reiter*) when Marc's wife Maria became a piano pupil of his. Though Franz Marc was killed in WWI (in 1916) the connection to the painter and his wife was profound and in 1921 Kaminski and his family (he married Friedericke Joppin in 1916) moved into the Marc home at Ried<sup>117</sup>. It was in a small garden studio constructed for Kaminski at Ried that he completed most of his work. Through Frau Marc Kaminski also became closely acquainted with expressionist painter Emil Nolde. In 1917 he befriended the conductor Franz von Hoesslin who performed his music and introduced him to the composer Walter Braunfels. In 1922 Kaminski made the acquaintance of another patron the wealthy Swiss businessman and accomplished clarinetist Werner Reinhart (a patron of modern composers including Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Stravinsky, Honegger and Krenek). Reinhart was one contact Kaminski was strategically able to maintain during the Third Reich and from whom he continued to receive financial support (Hartog, 1986;1987).

In 1920 the conductor Bruno Walter agreed to perform Kaminski's *Psalm 69* in Munich and when it was featured at the June 1921 AdMV festival several conductors – including the previously discussed Hermann Scherchen (as well as Siegfried Ochs, Hermann Abendroth and Fritz Stein) – sought to programme it while Universal Edition was impressed enough to sign Kaminski to a ten year contract. *Psalm 69* also began to establish his reputation for complex polyphonic sacred music (Hartog, 1986; 1987) what I contend was reformed in the Third Reich as positive periodicity.

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<sup>117</sup> Kaminski himself avoided active service in WWI first by the intervention of Baroness Feilitzsch (Kaminski seems to have had a knack for engendering himself to wealthy, well connected women) and after a second draft by contracting bronchitis and pneumonia during basic training (Hartog 1987).

By 1922 Kaminski's interconnectivity in contemporary music circles had elevated his notoriety significantly and his new work, *Concerto Grosso*, was scheduled for premiere under Wilhelm Furtwängler in the 1922-23 Berlin Philharmonic concert season. However, Kaminski failed to finish the score on time and it was premiered at the 1923 AdMV festival in Kassel where Kaminski himself conducted. *Concerto Grosso* became one of Kaminski's most performed works disseminating his reputation widely. The work was conducted by, among others, Hermann Scherchen who performed it numerous times (Weissmann, 1928b)<sup>118</sup>. *Concerto grosso*, a complex polyphonic work for double orchestra and piano, was called by Weissmann (1928b) Kaminski's most modern work to date. Typical of Kaminski's work, it is imitative and employs elements of motet and fugue – direct cues to the Renaissance and Baroque styles and practices, neo-classicism. The sheer complexity of the part writing is impressive; at times twenty independent voices provide the listener with an extraordinarily thick, often dissonant, sonorous texture. The rhythmic writing is difficult and varied with at times constantly changing metres. Where others sought experimentation and innovation in atonality, extended techniques, micro-tonal exploration, etc., Kaminski engaged in rhythmic innovation while pushing the boundaries of linear complexity through neo-classically derived polyphonic procedures (Kaminski, 1923a; see also 1923b; 1923c). *Concerto grosso* also shows the interpretive work done to music by Kaminski and his investment of value and belief specifically in polyphonic aesthetics. He described the

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<sup>118</sup> The following reviews are indicative of the contemporary critical reception of *Concerto Grosso*. English critic Foss writing in 1925:

‘Heinrich Kaminski's “Concerto Grosso,” for double orchestra, is a heavy, serious, pompous work, following Reger rather than Bach, and with the thickest texture imaginable. An interesting study in polyphony, it does not achieve that complete freedom of instrumental treatment that the programme described. It is the palpable failure, of, I think, an interesting mind. The composer could to advantage halve its length, and a little gaiety would give his muse a fresher colour’ (p. 606).

In 1928 the lauded German critic Adolf Weissmann was more charitable:

‘The Concerto Grosso by Heinrich Kaminski, the well-known composer, a rather complicated work, had been given here and there in Germany, but certainly had never been so effectively performed as it was by Scherchen. It is a curiosity in so far as it avoids traditional ways, but is rather enterprising in its contrapuntal style and linear movement. Kaminski has perhaps never gone so far in modernity as in this Concerto Grosso, which is obviously intended to prove the possibility of combining the old and the new in grand style. But the impression is not quite so satisfying as the composer had hoped. The synthesis of the two spirits has not been attained, and the conflict between tradition and modernity is apparent.’ (p. 265)

Similarly, Leichtentritt reviews a 1931 radio performance conducted again by Scherchen:

‘Hermann Scherchen conducted a radio programme that contained two modern works. Heinrich Kaminski's Concerto gross for double orchestra belongs to the German Bach renaissance initiated by Max Reger. Kaminski, with an exorbitant orchestral apparatus, is apparently trying to be more papist than the Pope, as the German proverb goes. The result is a complicated texture, which sounds thick and obscure. On the other hand there are striking episodes and an atmosphere of the sublime and solemn that do not fail to impress the listener.’ (1931e, p. 1035).

polyphonic work put into *Concerto Grosso* as reflecting the laws of life, the being and dignity of humanity (Kaminski, 1923a).

In 1924 Kaminski's *Drei geistliche Lieder* (Three Sacred Songs) for soprano, violin and clarinet were performed at the 1924 ISCM *Kammermusikfest* in Salzburg<sup>119</sup> while in 1925 his *Quintett* (clarinet, horn, violin, viola and cello - 1924), written for his patron Werner Reinhart, was successfully featured at the 1925 Donaueschingen festival (Mersmann, 1925). He continued to capitalise on success with the 1925 premiere of his *Magnificat*<sup>120</sup> in Kiel by Fritz Stein (later performed at the 1927 ISCM festival in Frankfurt am Main). Fritz Stein, who also conducted Kaminski's *Psalm 69*, became an ardent supporter of the composer during the Third Reich when Stein succeeded the dismissed Franz Schreker as Director of the *Berlin Hochschule für Musik* (Wirth and Schenk, 2001). In 1926 Kaminski's works were featured at the conference for German organ music by Walther Körner (Hartog, 1986; 1987). In this year he worked on his *Der Mensch*, his most aesthetically challenging work to date. The version for orchestra, choir and *Sprechstimme* (a second version is for

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<sup>119</sup> These three songs were critically well received. Writing specifically about the performance at the ISCM Kammermusikfest Foss:

‘Heinrich Kaminski's 'Drei geistliche Lieder' for voice, clarinet, and violin, are of a totally contrasted kind. Their idiom, like the combination of instruments, is original without being unfamiliar, and my only regret was that Madame Lottie Leonard's powerful voice sometimes obscured the sound of the whole. In the first song one was particularly sensible of the beauty of the vocal line, and of the restraint with which the powerful feelings were expressed in the music. The second song was dainty, simple, and charming, and full of meaning, though I confess that at this first hearing I was a little puzzled by the significance of certain harmonies, particularly those of the closing chords. They had the obscurity of simple speech. It is in the third that the composer seems to achieve completeness of expression. It has the freshness and spirited frankness of the old Church music, admirably expressed by the clear contrapuntal idiom, and when it ends one is left with a sense of spiritual exaltation, a feeling something like that of having just drunk nectar. This was to me the most interesting German work in the whole Festival.’ (Foss, 1924, p. 845)

<sup>120</sup> Like the *Concerto Grosso* the *Magnificat* was one of Kaminski's most successful works, but was also fodder for the occasional critical canon as the following review of its performance at the 1927 ISCM Festival in Frankfurt am Main testifies: ‘Kaminski's *Magnificat* had many faults. The solo voice is not well treated, and there are patches which are not very clear. But there is a fine spirit behind it, a kind of mystic exaltation which carried a feeling of sincerity. Scherchen conducted it.’ (Evans, p. 734). The *Magnificat* is again a lengthy work for orchestra and chorus. Here Kaminski's experimentation, evident in the complex polyphony of *Psalm 69*, is readily evident. The work is scored for soprano solo, viola solo, orchestra and small *distant* (fern) choir. Kaminski invokes a sense of mysticism by adjusting the regular configuration of the performing forces and using unconventional instrumentation. The choir itself is to be literally distant, away from the primary performing forces. Within the orchestra the instrumentation is unconventional and relies upon sounds that are intended to evoke a sense of the ‘mystical’ if not a sense of the orient. This is done with the inclusion of a prominent percussion section (bass drum, gong, cymbals and triangle), the use of the celesta and the employment of extended techniques including tremolo figures (double basses and timpani) and harmonics (harp, cello, violin). Like *Psalm 69* the writing is highly polyphonic, usurping traditional tonality and employing complex rhythmic ideas and changing metres. (See Kaminski 1926a; 1926b).

alto and six-voice choir) borders on atonality and includes the use of *Sprechstimme* popularized by Schoenberg in *Pierrot Lunaire* (see Kaminski, 1926a).

Kaminski now turned to the operatic stage composing *Jürg Jenatsch* an opera based on Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's historical novel of the same title depicting the Swiss national hero. In 1928 Kaminski, still working on the manuscript, found houses in Berlin, Dresden and Zürich jockeying for premiere rights. Kaminski eventually decided on Dresden and *Generalmusikdirektor* Fritz Busch. The 1929 premiere was not successful, due in part to inadequate preparation (Moser, 1929). Kaminski was deeply affected by this failure and left Dresden depressed<sup>121</sup> (Hartog, 1986; 1987).

During this depression Kaminski was supported by his friends and colleagues. Following one of his key strategies of action for managing the difficulties he faced, the strategy of retreat to private musical workspace, he spent the summer of 1929 at Werner Reinhart's Château de Muzot in the "Rilke" tower (named after Rainer Maria Rilke who had stayed and worked there). Here Kaminski continued to develop what was understood by colleagues and critics as his mystical approach to music (discussed in detail below) through his motet *Die Erde* (The Earth) based on Yasna 29 of the Hymns of Zarathustra<sup>122</sup> and his *Hohem Lied der Liebe* (High Song of Love) based on Ittivotaka 27 of the Pali canon of Theravada Buddhism<sup>123</sup>. Back in Germany Walter Braunfels (whom Kaminski had met through von Hoesslin), musicologist Hans Joachim Moser and the aforementioned Leo Kestenberg were pushing for Kaminski's appointment to the *Akademie der Künste*<sup>124</sup>. Kaminski left his secluded rural life in 1930 when through the work of these individuals he accepted a composition masterclass at the *Akademie* previously held by conservative Hans Pfitzner (Hartog, 1987). Kaminski – like Busoni, Schoenberg and Hindemith – was one of

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<sup>121</sup> The opera was performed as a radio broadcast in 1932 with Scherchen conducting. In 1935 Bekker and Mendel upheld it as a good example of modern operatic work (Bekker and Mendel, 1935, p. 273). Despite the improvement in reception the opera was staged only once more - in Nürnberg, 1937 (Hartog 1987).

<sup>122</sup> Yasna 29 is one of the most famous of the hymns of Zarathustra. It depicts a dialogue in heaven between the 'ox soul', 'the maker of the ox' and the 'the right - the wise lord - the good mind', with Zarathustra intervening to give cues and make comment in the concluding two stanzas. The hymn deals with some of the basic questions of religion and spirituality: where do we come from? why does the world seem unjust? It ends with the seeking of knowledge through divine countenance (Duchesne-Guillemain 1952, p. 61).

<sup>123</sup> Ittivotaka 27 of the Pali Canon of Theravada Buddhism exhorts the nature of love to win over hatred and calls the individual to bring loving-kindness into being (see Masefield 2000, pp. 15-16).

<sup>124</sup> It seems the way was paved for this in 1928 when with the support of Braunfels, Moser and Kestenberg Kaminski was awarded the Beethovenpreis (Hartog 1986; 1987). In 1929 Kaminski was also awarded the Musikpreis of Munich (3000DM), though no connection with his Berlin supporters can be found for this.

the modernists installed in important institutions as part of the project to institutionalise and substantiate modernism. At about the same time he also accepted a conducting post in Bielefeld.

In the latter years of the Weimar Republic Kaminski was, through his music, being presented internationally. In addition to performances of *Drei geistliche Lieder* and *Concerto grosso* through the ISCM (1924 Salzburg and 1925 Prague respectively) his *Magnificat* garnered international exposure when performed in Amsterdam in 1929 (Antcliffe, 1929) and at the Worcester Music Festival in England (Thompson, 1929) while his organ works were featured at London's Royal Albert hall in 1934 ('A Recital of Modern Organ Works', 1934). Before the English premiere of *Magnificat* his reputation, disseminated through his music, was becoming part of musicological parlance, a point of stylistic reference, and aligned with notable modernist figures – newly discovered works by Purcell (17<sup>th</sup> century English composer) were compared to 'the hard, rasping counterpoint of Heinrich Kaminski or Busoni' (Eaglefield-Hull, 1927, p. 1076).

By the end of the Weimar Republic Kaminski had become one of Germany's celebrated contemporary composers. His works had been successfully performed at home and abroad gaining him critical recognition (see Weissmann, 1928a; Leichtentritt, 1930c). In 1926 he was included in the newly updated *Das neue Musiklexicon* (Einstein, 1926) and the *Kurzgefasstes Tonkünstler-Lexicon* (Altmann, 1926). Authors held him in stature of importance with Schoenberg, Hindemith and Honegger (Blum, 1986, pp. 160-161). As a composer entrenched in modernist cooperative networks, he sought innovation neo-classically through polyphonic practices of the past while re-contextualising these practices with modernist aesthetics (high chromaticism, complex rhythm, modality, *Sprechstimme*, etc). Up to the fall of the Weimar Republic Kaminski was heralded as bringing a "Weltanschauung" deeply rooted in the consciousness of a fervid faith and firm convictions' (Calvocoressi, 1933). Though Kaminski preferred to work at Ried, by 1930 he accepted the distinguished *Akademie der Kunst* appointment. However, with the rise of National Socialism this was not to last.

Kaminski's first experience with the mortification of modernism came in January 1933 when he found his contract with the *Akademie der Künste* not renewed. Over the next two



years he witnessed the dismissals/emigrations of his colleagues and friends including: Walter Braunfels, Bruno Walter, Hermann Scherchen (Jung, 1980; Kater, 1997; Walter, 1946). Aghast at the turn in the socio-cultural and political climate, the rise in anti-Semitism and these dismissals/emigrations he strategically returned to a reclusive existence at Ried, a move interpreted as ‘inner emigration’<sup>125</sup> by some historians and musicologists (Hartog, 1986; 1987; Kirchberg, 2001). While this strategy of retreat, and other strategies employed to manage and act the situational incongruity of the Third Reich, are discussed in detail below, I prelude that discussion by exploring how Kaminski used music in his reflexive project of self beginning in the Weimar Republic. Specifically I explore how he used interpretive work on music to present himself as a musical mystic. Secondly I examine how he used music, primarily polyphonic music, to situate his self contemporaneously, historically and existentially.

#### *Interpretive Work: Music as an existential resource*

The literature surrounding the life and work of Heinrich Kaminski appropriates him as a ‘modern recluse’ who ‘used to compose in the most austere surroundings’ (Redlich, 1947, p. 187); as a ‘giant’ who ‘lived in another world in which there was no reality for him’ (Abegg, 1986, p. 84)<sup>126</sup>. Beginning with this reception of Kaminski, which cast him not just as a recluse but as a mystic among musicians, this section explores not a lack of reality as stated by Abegg, but how Kaminski presented himself as a reclusive mystic and situated himself with and through music by doing interpretive work to his own creativity and musical products. Here I explore how Kaminski situated himself within contemporary musical trends (his value of polyphony and disavowal of certain experimental projects), historically in relation to an evolutionary view of music history and existentially relating to concepts of life, death and eternity. This he achieved for himself by believing in music as emblematic of life, being and the dignity of humanity (Kaminski, 1923a; see discussion

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<sup>125</sup> The term ‘inner immigration’ has been applied to a number of artists, for example the composer Karl Amadeus Hartmann (see Kater 2000; McCredie 1980; Heister 1994), to apologize for their continued presence in Nazi Germany. The theory holds these individuals were powerless to battle the regime so rather than leave their homeland they employed mental, if not physical, isolation. This terminology is contested later in this chapter.

<sup>126</sup> “Und ein Riese war Kaminski, aber er lebte in einer anderen Welt, in der es für ihn keine Realität gab” (Abegg 1986, p. 84).

above on *Concerto Grosso*); belief which informed his project of self and his presentation of self disseminating it through conversations, journal articles and programme notes.

Critics and scholars contemporaneously and posthumously constructed a spiritual or mystical understanding of Kaminski through his music:

‘His music wants to express not “something”, but the organic blossoming and growth of crystals and flowers which follow the inherent law – something other than awaking impressions and pictures in the listener.’ (Moser, 1929, p. 604)

This quote from Moser is indicative of the project of doing things to music, of interpreting metaphysical properties in Kaminski’s works, responsive to similar interpretive work done by Kaminski himself. Of Kaminski’s *Magnificat* Antcliffe wrote: ‘The work is no mere setting of the sacred hymn, but is an elaborate attempt to express the mystic atmosphere...’ (1929, p. 461). Referring to Kaminski’s *Drei geistliche Lieder* Foss wrote: ‘...and when it ends one is left with a sense of spiritual exaltation, a feeling something like that of having just drunk nectar’ (1924, p. 845). Such interpretations described not just the listener’s experience of the piece but connected that experience to what the composer purportedly intended. While Moser and Antcliffe (above) concluded Kaminski was expressing inherent laws of nature and mystic atmospheres Redlich described Kaminski’s activity as ‘expressing the Faustian struggle of a lonely soul’ (Redlich, 1947, p. 185). Their mystical/spiritual appropriations of the music were their understandings of what the composer intended and how they understood Kaminski himself.

While these projects are subjective semiotic readings of the composer through his musical products they reflect Kaminski’s own development and presentation of self along spiritual and mystical lines. There were three primary elements to this presentation: his reclusive life at Ried; his interests in philosophy and theology (western and eastern) that he related to and used in his music and teaching; the articles and programme notes he wrote that situated himself within contemporary musical developments, within his evolutionary configuration of music history, and within existential questions.

Firstly Kaminski developed a reclusive self reputation through the creation and inhabitation of austere surroundings at his Ried retreat where he received close friends, colleagues, and

a handful of students (including Walter Abegg, Erich Doflein and Carl Orff). Ried was more than just a place to live and work it was a resource for his compositional activity and, as discussed below, a therapeutic resource particularly with the rise of National Socialism. Kaminski did not just live there as a ‘modern recluse’ he actively invited trusted individuals to this retreat, his musical sanctuary. For example, as discussed below, in 1933 he invited some of his Ried guests to join an *Orden der Liebenden* (Order of those that love) to combat the hatred of National Socialism through the Buddhist practise (outlined in his 1929 work *Hohem Lied der Liebe*) of consciously sending love out into the world daily (Hartog, 1986; 1987; [www.musikmph.de/projects/pro1\\_eng.html](http://www.musikmph.de/projects/pro1_eng.html)).

Secondly, Kaminski cultivated interests in philosophy and theology appropriating them with and through music. Christian theosophist Max Heindel’s *Die weltanschauung der Rosenkreuzer* was particularly influential (Hartog, 1987) and Abegg, while a student of Kaminski’s, recalled his teacher instructing him to read Herrigel’s *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens* (“Zen in the Art of Archery”)(Abegg, 1986, p. 83). Additionally Kaminski’s text choices for works such as *Die Erde* (based on part of a Hymn to Zarathustra) and *Hohem Lied der Liebe* (based on a text of Theravada Buddhism), both briefly discussed above, highlight his exploration and dissemination of such interests through music.

Finally, in addition to his musical output Kaminski presented his views through published articles and programme notes that show him mobilising music to situate himself contemporaneously, historically and existentially. Regarding the contemporary his article “‘Mechanisierung’ der Musik?” (Kaminski, 1986a/1926) expressed his weariness over mechanical music (e.g. development of mechanical/electronic instruments) within the experimental projects of contemporary cultural producers. In ‘Evolution oder Revolution’ (*Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1926 – journal of Universal Edition) Kaminski debated the merits of musical change *vis á vis* what is beneficial ‘evolution’ or what is just ‘revolution’ (innovations used to illicit shock from an audience). By thinking with music he developed the common evolutionary line of reasoning for understanding music historically but focused on, as will also be seen in the case of Ernst Pepping, what was authentic music. For Kaminski, experiments based in revolution were inauthentic, true authenticity came only from polyphonic work. Two of Kaminski’s students – Erich Doflein and Carl Orff –

concluded that ‘polyphony was for him a world view’<sup>127</sup> (quoted from Hartog, 1986, p. 27; see also Gaiser, 2003). This world view was used by Kaminski to situate himself more globally thinking about the *Kirchentonarten*, ancient church modes used in many of his works, to see them not as an ‘historical affair’ but as representative of musical modes found everywhere from ‘Iceland to India’ (Kaminski, 1986c, pp. 81-82). Kaminski came to understand the musical materials he used as part of universal concepts and traditions and consequently himself as active within those concepts and traditions. Though he worked primarily in relative isolation at Ried, his reflexive interpretive work done with, through and to music situated his activity on a scale approaching the universal.

This type of interpretive work permeates much of what Kaminski wrote about music and was used by him to “understand” existence. Programme notes he wrote for a 1926 concert at Winterthur (Switzerland) are indicative of this reflexive thinking through music. Kaminski wrote that music afforded access to eternity where his ‘forefather’s’ (the composers that preceded him) flowed in the stream of eternity against the tyranny (i.e. death) of time ‘since “time” includes “death”’<sup>128</sup> (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 78). Kaminski believed that music, as art, afforded a connection to the stream of eternity allowing an individual to escape the strictures of time and space and ‘dive headlong into the light of eternity’<sup>129</sup> (1986b, p. 78). Kaminski believed music transcended bodily existence and that through it the spirit lived on beyond the body’s death. He also developed a belief that musical art was a path to understanding eternal laws as music was representative of them claiming music contained ‘holy symbology’ (1986b, p. 79). He also understood music therapeutically as a source of true life – ‘The fact that it fulfils us – and helps to release us’<sup>130</sup> (1986b, p. 79). For him music was the ‘purest revelation of the “living being” which is given to the human spirit’ (1947, p. 82). However, this was a revelation found primarily in polyphonic music, that the purest revelation of the human spirit was ‘rooted in the variety of polyphony and finds in it its most complete fulfilment’<sup>131</sup> (Kaminski, 1947, p. 82).

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<sup>127</sup> Polyphonie war ihm weltanschauung’ (Hartog 1986, p. 27).

<sup>128</sup> ‘...Denn “Zeit” schliesst “Tod”...’ (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 78)

<sup>129</sup> ‘...um mit dem Haupt in’s Licht der Ewigkeit zu tauchen...’ (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 78)

<sup>130</sup> ‘Dass es uns erfülle – und erlösen helfe!’ (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 79)

<sup>131</sup> ‘„Begreiflich also, dass Musik, diese reinste Offenbarung ‚lebendigen Seins‘, die dem menschlichen Geist gegeben ist, ihrem innersten Wesen nach in der Vielfalt der Polyphonie wurzeln muss und in ihr ihre restloseste Erfüllung findet“ (Kaminski 1947, p. 79)

Similar thoughts towards polyphonic music and how Kaminski used these for reflexive self concepts were encapsulated in his writings on the *Concerto Grosso* ('Zu meinem Concerto Grosso') published in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* in 1923. Here he more concretely constructed his understanding of time as history seeing the previous three centuries of European music as non-polyphonic, 'hypnotized' by 'harmonic principle' (*hypnotisierende harmonische Prinzip*) and inauthentic as form had to be imposed by the composer. In contrast 'polyphonic music is only understood cosmically as the cooperation of real living forces and receives its form merely and exclusively from the legitimate work of living forces...' <sup>132</sup> (p. 153). He claimed that polyphony was in its very essence real, authentic and a cosmic cooperation of 'living forces'.

Through this interpretive work done with, through and to music Kaminski developed three key existential points. First, he viewed music as a way of transcending bodily existence, including death. Second, he understood music as representative of eternal laws of existence, of the cooperation of forces that bind the universe together. Finally that music was a therapeutic resource to personal fulfilment and emotional release. Kaminski believed these features of music were revealed most purely in authentic polyphonic music, the kind of music he himself wrote, and that music of the previous centuries had been largely inauthentic.

Not only did Kaminski hold these views and compose with them in mind, but he readily shared these with others through music periodicals, programme notes and conversations. Kaminski actively imbued, through his beliefs, his music with extra-musical meaning (as is also discussed regarding Ernst Pepping's book *Stilwende der Musik* in the following chapter) using music as a resource to develop and situate the self contemporaneously, historically and existentially. While Kaminski appears to have believed in inherent powers in polyphonic music, music's power is not in its materials but how actors such as Kaminski mobilise music to do things with, through and to it. As previously argued, music affords what actors think or believe it will afford, even in such metaphysical terms. Through his

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<sup>132</sup> „...während polyphone Musik in ihrem eigentlichsten Sein und Wesen ein nur kosmisch zu begreifendes Zusammenwirken lebendiger Kräfte ist und also auch ihre Form lediglich und ausschliesslich aus dem gesetzmässigen Wirken dieser lebendigen Kräfte empfängt...“ (Kaminski, 1923a, p. 153)

dedication and beliefs in polyphonic music Kaminski constructed his view of music history and came to see himself in a linear progression from the ‘forefathers’ to his situation within modernism – not engaged with mechanical music or musical revolution but in composing real, authentic music that for him was a cosmic cooperation of living forces. He used musical beliefs to extend his understandings of history and time engaging with and through music to existential concepts.

While this existential work was carried out during the Weimar Republic his maintenance of polyphonic composition, residence at Ried and activities such as the instigation of ‘the order of those that love’ during the Third Reich indicate the central position of this work in sustaining his self through the Third Reich.

### *Third Reich*

In the previous section I explored how music was a resource to Kaminski’s self reflexivity, that it was used to situate himself contemporaneously, historically and existentially and that he actively presented himself through his musical works, conversations, journal articles and programme notes. During the Third Reich this situation of self was challenged. In this section I consider how Kaminski used music to manage and act these situational incongruities; music as a key resource to his agency. Throughout this section I discuss four strategies of action engaged in by Kaminski: strategy of retreat to create musical sanctuary; strategy of positive periodicity; strategy of professionally presenting self through musical diversity; strategically maintaining contacts with accessible members of cooperative networks to afford performance and financial opportunities. I begin this exploration of agency with a concept first introduced in relation to Wagner-Régeny and Neher’s cooperative work, the creation and use of musical sanctuaries in Kaminski’s strategy of retreat.

#### *Private Music: Musical sanctuary:*

The personal reflections of Redlich, one of Kaminski’s students and confidants, points to the negative side of Kaminski’s experiences in the Third Reich:

‘When Hitler came to power he [Kaminski] drifted into the background like so many artists of the more introspective type... At the beginning of 1939, when I left Munich for good, Kaminski seemed under a cloud. Rumours were being bandied about from which only one fact emerged clearly: that he had ceased to be persona grata in his own country’ (Redlich, 1947, p. 188)

Unlike any other case study considered here, from the very beginning of the Nazi regime Kaminski appropriated Nazi ideology and policies as anathema to his beliefs and world view. The composer had been wary of the successes of the Nazi party leading up to 1933 and felt the whole movement represented a ‘nightmare’ and Hitler himself a ‘psychopath’ (Hartog, 1986, p. 46). In May 1933 he expressed his serious appraisal of the rise of National Socialism in a letter which understood the situation as a spiritual crisis (to which the church must react), one most people were not anticipating:

‘It is about big decisions now – for the Church: whether she remains true and constant to her spiritual mission... whether she is healthy and red-blooded enough to stand firm... Serious decisions are necessary, it is about life or death, even if the people reading the papers don’t anticipate it...’<sup>133</sup> (Quoted from Hartog, 1986, p. 47)

Later in the regime (1943) Kaminski’s scorn for National Socialism led him to aid Alexander Schmorell – prominent member of the clandestine *Weissen Rose* group – in hiding from the Gestapo (Hartog, 1986; 1987)<sup>134</sup>.

In addition to Kaminski’s overall anxiety over National Socialism he directly experienced situational incongruity through the mortification of modernism and the Nazi racial laws, incongruity he dealt with through a strategy of retreat creating and utilising private space.

In 1933 Kaminski’s contract at the *Akademie der Kunst* was denied renewal resulting in the loss of his job and a salary of 1000DM per month (Hartog, 1987). He witnessed the dismissals/emigrations of individuals of his cooperative networks (e.g. Braunfels,

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<sup>133</sup> ‘Um grosse Entscheidungen geht es jetzt – für die Kirche: ob sie aufrecht bleibt und an ihrer geistigen Mission festhält... ob sie gesund und lebenskräftig genug ist, den Zeretzungstendenzen stand zu halten... Schwerwiegende Entscheidungen sind erforderlich, es geht um Leben oder Sterben, auch wenn das die Zeitung lessened Menschheit nicht zu ahnen scheint...’ (Quoted from Hartog 1986, p. 47)

<sup>134</sup> Schmorell was later executed after another confidant betrayed him.

Scherchen). Additionally his conducting position in Bielefeld was contested and though Fritz Stein (a Nazi supporter and now Director of the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*) attempted to broker a deal for him, Kaminski chose to avoid the conflict and resigned in 1934; he returned to his Ried retreat. The one time Kaminski sought to leave the safety of Ried for Berlin was disastrous. In 1938 Fritz Stein, ever a Kaminski supporter, tried to appoint Kaminski to the Berlin *Hochschule* (to fill Hindemith's position). The required racial investigation (by the National Office of Genealogy – *Reichs Sippenamt*) concluded he was half Jewish (by his father – née Jakob Wartenburger) a decision repealed on new evidence in 1941 (Kater, 1997)<sup>135</sup>. However, before the repeal Kaminski was denied the teaching position and a performance ban of his music was issued. Terrified Kaminski fled to the rural setting of Ascona Switzerland (Hartog, 1987). Ried, and other rural locations like Ascona, afforded escape, peace and solitude which Kaminski required not just to avoid conflict and controversy, but to compose. Retreat to such rural locations was an important strategy employed by Kaminski in managing situational incongruity to afford musical activity. In 1929, following the failure of his opera *Jürg Jenatsch*, he retreated to Reinhart's Château de Muzot in Switzerland (mentioned above where he wrote *Die Erde* and *Hohem Lied der Liebe*). With his dismissal from the *Akademie der Künste* and his conducting position at Bielefeld he returned to Ried in 1934. When racially denounced in 1939 he briefly moved to Maria Marc's apartment in Ascona, Switzerland<sup>136</sup> (Hartog, 1986; 1987). The spaces and 'austere surroundings' (Redlich, 1947, p. 187) Kaminski chose to live in afforded safe spaces for him in which to work and thus were sanctuaries constituted by his compositional activity.

Though Kaminski's habitation of austere surroundings has been contextualized as him having 'drifted into the background' (Redlich, 1947, p. 188) during the Third Reich this drifting to the background was not simply avoidance of direct contact or involvement with the regime – it was a strategy of retreat that afforded action. While this strategy has been discussed in relation to various cultural producers in the Third Reich (e.g. Kaminski, Karl Amadeus Hartmann) by various authors (Hartog, 1986;1987; Kater, 1997; Kirchberg, 2001; Levi, 1994; McCredie, 1980) as "inner immigration" (see Arendt, 1973, p. 88; Cohen,

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<sup>135</sup> In June 1941 this decision was reversed after a lawyer proved Kaminski's father only half Jewish and the composer, therefore quarter Jewish, was declared racially beyond reproach (Kater, 1997). He did however remain in the second edition of *Lexicon der Juden in der Musik* (Gerigk 1943).

<sup>136</sup> Here Kaminski wrote his *Toccata and Fugue in C Major* for organ (see Kaminski, 1939)



2001, p. 132; Laquer, 1996, p. 65) I understand it not just as attempts to avoid or ignore the Nazi regime, but as a strategy of affording the self by managing and acting the everyday contact with incongruity to afford action. It was through the affordances of a largely private, rural setting at Ried that Kaminski was able to express and act his anti-Nazi beliefs.

A poignant example of how Kaminski used this space to afford such action, though not directly through music, comes from a gathering for his birthday in 1933 (when he turned 57). When friends gathered for this occasion he invited them to unite in a secret ‘*Order of Those that Love*’ (*Orden der Liebenden*) to counteract the hatred that was being put into the world by Nazism. The order confessed a belief that love could overcome hatred, believing in a Buddhist associated philosophy, contained in Kaminski’s 1929 *Hohem Lied der Liebe*, of hating nothing and consciously sending thoughts of love out into the world every day. Kaminski had encapsulated this in a statement (unfortunately no extant copy can be found) which he read out and circulated to the present friends and colleagues which included two of his students Heinz Schubert and Reinhardt Schwarz-Schilling (Hartog, 1986; 1987; [www.musikmph.de/projects/pro1\\_eng.html](http://www.musikmph.de/projects/pro1_eng.html)). The spiritual and mystical elements, discussed previously, within his reflexive project of self were mobilised in the safety of the private space of his Ried home to initiate a community that expressed his anti-Nazi sentiments; a cooperative spiritual network. However, the seeming panopticon of the Nazi state did penetrate this action when the Gestapo investigated Kaminski’s *Hauslehrer* (Martin Simon – employed to home-school the Kaminski children) finding in the teacher’s letters to his wife reference to the *Orden der Liebenden*. Managing this incongruity Kaminski temporarily fled his Ried retreat for Switzerland in the same month (July 1933) returning in the autumn (Hartog, 1986; 1987).

Kaminski’s strategy of retreat, the creation of sanctuary, was constituted by musical work. Sanctuary was not simply afforded by idyllic rural settings it required musical activity which was employed by Kaminski as a therapeutic resource. In 1934 Kaminski composed *Die Messe Deutsch* a work he never fully completed and one not intended for publication (Bärenreiter posthumously published its fragments in 1949). As a work in progress it afforded Kaminski space to express feelings surrounding the socio-political climate and as an unpublished work one that afforded this space privately and intimately within the private and intimate surroundings of his Ried workshop. *Die Messe Deutsch* is a “German” mass.

The history of mass settings *auf Deutsch* (e.g. Brahms' *Ein Deutsches Requiem*) draws upon the history of the Lutheran reformation and such works are often interpreted, especially in relation to National Socialist Germany, as nationalistic. However, Kaminski's only mass (he wrote no other in German, Latin or any other language) bears no authorial design towards nationalism. In fact its text decries fears and anxieties over a world in chaos, particularly the introit of the mass.

The introit is the opening part of the Proper of the Mass, one of the sections of the mass whose texts change to "properly" fit the appropriate occasion. Traditionally the texts used relate to a specific liturgical season or feast day, however Kaminski's introit fits a general despair over the affairs of the world. The German text used by Kaminski is likely of his own design. The composer did not indicate taking the text from any extant source (nor could I find a match) and Kaminski did write his own texts for other works including *Introitus und Hymnus* and the later opera *Das Spiel vom König Aphelios*. As an artifact of his creativity the introit exemplifies his emotional responses to the world in which he lived seeing it as confused, disfigured, and dark:

*'O wirre Welt! Wie ganz entstellt, ach, wie entstellt hast du Gottes heiligen Willen und aller Wege Ziel und Sinn so ganz verkehrt! Mein Gott, wie hält uns Dunkel schwer um fangen! Wie wir verstört bis in die Wurzel sind und mit geheimem Bangen nur dies Leben noch zu leben wagen und wie sinnige uns mühd das Klagen unserer zertretenen Seele völlig zu er schlagen! Weh uns, wohin in welchen Abgrund reisst Verblendung uns ganz verlorene, berufen doch zum Licht aus Licht geboren!'* (Kaminski, 1949)

'O confused world! How totally disfigured, ah, how disfigured you have transformed God's holy will and all ways, goals, and meanings! My God, how we are caught heavily in the darkness! How we are distraught down to our roots and we dare to live this life with secret anxieties, and how the complaining of our crushed soul strikes our being completely dead. Woe be to us, where in which abyss tears delusion from us totally lost, but appointed to us to the light, born from the light!' (Translation: E. Mark Murphy, 2008)

Kaminski described the world as ‘God’s’ but a world which has been ‘disfigured’ and has transformed ‘God’s’ intentions (‘ways, goals, and meanings’). As always Kaminski’s reflections are carried out through spiritual/religious concepts. The text also describes anxieties of living in a confused, disfigured world, ‘caught in the darkness’ – ‘How we are distraught down to our roots and we dare to live this life with secret anxieties...’. Through music, privately constructed, Kaminski expressed his anxieties and fears regarding wider contexts. As discussed above, Kaminski understood music as affording emotional therapy: ‘it fulfils us – and helps to release us’<sup>137</sup> (Kaminski, 1986b, p.79). Here Kaminski used this belief in music as a therapeutic resource, an outlet for his anxieties. Understood amidst Kaminski’s general feelings over the times in which he lived *Die Messe Deutsch* afforded private musical space to work for this release, to work in his private Ried workshop in his own language writing a work not for completion or publication but to therapy his self and to express his reflexive misgivings of a world transformed and disfigured by those that inhabit it.

Music as a therapeutic means was also directly connected to Kaminski’s family situation. In May 1939 when Kaminski returned to Ried from Ascona (following his temporary retreat from Ried brought on by his racial denunciation) he and his family suffered the loss of his daughter Gabriel (by war’s end the Kaminski’s lost three of their four children). This tragedy led to his *In Memoriam Gabrielae* which was premiered by his student Heinz Schubert<sup>138</sup>, member of the *Orden der Liebenden*, in Rostock, 1940<sup>139</sup>. *In Memoriam Gabrielae* was written for orchestra, alto and violin solo and afforded Kaminski a performative memorial for his daughter.

#### *Public music: Positive periodicity*

While I have above contextualised Kaminski’s actions in terms of a strategy of retreat affording musical sanctuary, Kaminski’s activities at Ried were not all held in the privacy of his rural surroundings. While *Messe Deutsch* remained a private work until after

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<sup>137</sup> ‘Dass es uns erfülle – und erlösen helfe!’ (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 79)

<sup>138</sup> Exactly what happened to Heinz Schubert is a mystery as he disappeared in 1945. It is suspected that he was either killed in the streets or died anonymously in a concentration camp.

<sup>139</sup> Kater (1997) provides evidence that this performance of Kaminski’s new work by Schubert – during the period of Kaminski’s proscription on racial lines – caused difficulty for the young musician. Schubert disappeared in 1945 virtually without trace.

Kaminski's death he did engage in composition for the public and at times was quite successful. In these public works (of which *In Memoriam Gabrielae* is one) I have found aesthetics that are more conservative than works from the Weimar Republic such as *Der Mensch*, they are more modally strict resulting in a more tonal sound. However, at the same time they continue a modernist project, they experiment with the temporal parameter of music (rhythm, metre) continuing work he did in, for example, *Concerto Grosso*. Written from Kaminski's polyphonic *Weltanschauung* the public Third Reich works follow a neo-classically derived positive periodist strategy similar to some of Wagner-Régeny's work and as is shown later, similar to that of Pepping and Fortner. Through his public works Kaminski constructed and presented himself as a non-controversial composer of the polyphonic art for orchestras, domestic and pedagogical music. Kaminski's public works of this period not only correlate to a strategy of positive periodicity but the strategy of musical diversity. Before turning to brief discussions of three works – *Dorische Musik für Orchester* (1934), *Klavierbuch* (1935), *Zehn kleine Klavier übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel* (1935) – I use quantitative graphs of Kaminski's output to substantiate conclusions presented in relation to Wagner-Régeny (also forthcoming in relation to Fortner) that approaching the Third Reich compositional activity for composers decreased while activity in the first years of the new regime engaged the strategy of musical diversity. Turning to these three works I show how they exemplify not just positive periodicity and diversity in genre and media but were also aimed at diverse markets of consumption from the public concert hall to chamber, domestic and pedagogic settings.

The graph below (figure 1) indicates Kaminski's compositional output quantitatively from 1929-1946. The graph shows the overall decrease in his compositional output in the years leading up to the Third Reich (1929-1933) followed by a substantial increase in compositional activity from 1934-1936 with a relatively steady (though small) output from 1938 decreasing until his death in 1946.

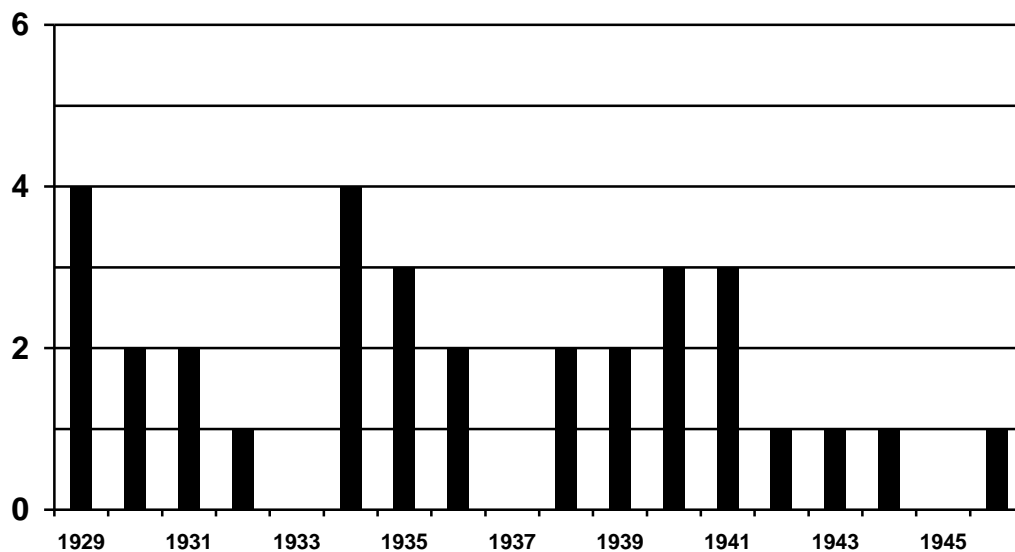


Figure 1: Kaminski compositional output 1929-1946

The years of decrease, as in other case studies, parallel the years of high socio-economic instability in the waning Weimar Republic. In Kaminski's case they were the years he was most routinely away from Ried (teaching in Berlin, conducting in Bielefeld a correlation also noted by Hartog, 1987) and 1933, the first year of the Nazi regime, was the year in which he was dismissed from the *Akademie der Kunst* and was under pressure to leave Bielefeld. The earliest years of the Third Reich (1934-1936), in which Kaminski's production significantly increased correspond to his move back to Ried to appropriate again the conducive private setting of his rural workshop. It is also important to note the high level of activity between 1938 and 1941. These were the years during which he was racially proscribed and include works such as *In Memoriam Gabrielae*. When his situation as a professional musician in Germany was curtailed through censorship (and he suffered the loss of Gabriel) he, like Wagner-Régeny following his own proscription after *Johanna Balk*, turned to his compositional activity as a therapeutic resource. A closer look into the genres Kaminski was engaged with indicates again the early Third Reich cultural producer using a strategy of musical diversity. The graph below (figure 2) illustrates by genre the trend of Kaminski's Third Reich work.

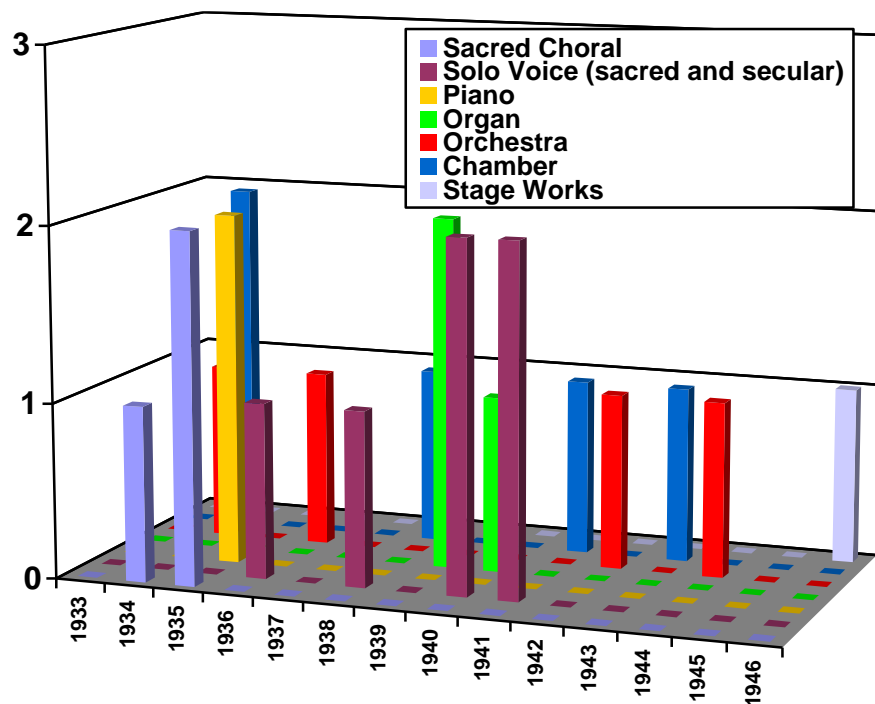


Figure 2: Kaminski works by genre 1933-1946

In the earliest years, 1934-1936, Kaminski was writing sacred choral works, sacred and secular solo vocal works, a large collection of piano pieces, chamber works and orchestral works. Kaminski was engaging with diverse musical genre and media from domestic or chamber music (*Klavierbuch*, *Präludium und Fuge für Bratsche*) to large public orchestral work (*Dorische Musik*). Importantly a number of these works, including *Die Messe Deutsch* (also *O Seele, denke deiner Heimat* – 1935; *O je, o je, jetzt hamma wieder schnee* – 1936), went unpublished, they remained within Kaminski’s own private setting. Having discussed Kaminski’s connection to private musical space above here I consider those intended for public consumption, three works that presented himself in different public contexts. The first *Dorische Musik für Orchester* (1934) appropriated the orchestral hall while *Klavierbuch* (1935), a three volume set of Baroque inspired keyboard works, appropriated the domestic and chamber music spaces while the third *Zehn kleine übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel* appropriated pedagogical space. In addition to diverse musical genres and media, Kaminski was composing for diverse markets of consumption.

In 1934 Kaminski completed *Dorische Musik für Orchester* (Doric Music for Orchestra). Kaminski relied on his Weimar cooperative network to have the work premiered, Scherchen conducting its first performance in Switzerland at Winterthur in February of 1934. Pleased with it Kaminski himself conducted the work's German premiere in March with the *Rundfunkorchester* (Radio Broadcast Orchestra) (Kirchberg, 2001; Hartog, 1987). The work was immediately successful and Furtwängler programmed it with the Berlin Philharmonic on November 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>, 1934 (Wackernagel, 1965). Compared to his earlier orchestral work, particularly the *Concerto Grosso*, *Dorische Musik* is much less experimental. It is a composition that appropriates the linear polyphonic style of early western art music and is exemplary of positive periodicity. As the name suggests it is a piece in the dorian mode, which Kaminski maintains throughout. In this sense it is a more 'tonal' work than earlier more complex polyphonic works such as *Concerto Grosso*. With *Dorische Musik* Kaminski created an offering for the orchestral stage, one which afforded him further polyphonic work created in an unchallenging modal setting. Though its tonality is accessible it did afford Kaminski workspace for rhythmic experimentation, particularly variable metres, an aesthetic characteristic of Kaminski's compositions since the Weimar Republic. The use of changing metre, additive metre and explicit subtle changes in tempo are extensive. For example between measures 32 and 53 Kaminski indicates 23 metre and/or tempo changes in subtle control over the temporal parameter of music.

Kaminski's reliance on Scherchen to premiere the positive periodist *Dorische Musik* indicates another key strategy of Kaminski's activity in the Third Reich, reliance on what remained of his cooperative network. While much of his network suffered under the mortification of modernism Kaminski maintained what contacts he could. Scherchen, though in exile in Switzerland, was able to premiere *Dorische Musik*. This link also benefitted Kaminski's strategy of retreat as he was able to test the work outside Germany first. Kaminski also benefitted from maintaining links with his wealthy patron Werner Reinhart, also in Switzerland, who was able to provide him and his family with financial assistance. From the summer of 1934, after losing his income both from the *Akademie* and Bielefeld, Reinhart provided Kaminski with a monthly stipend of 400DM (Hartog, 1986;1987) freeing him to work at Ried on compositions such as *Dorische Musik*. Scherchen was not the only contact that premiered his works. Pianist friend Edwin Fischer

introduced Kaminski's three volume *Klavierbuch*, when he premiered *Präludium und Sarabande* from the collection in Bielefeld in May 1935 (Hartog, 1986).

With *Klavierbuch*, a collection of Baroque inspired piano works, Kaminski appropriated both domestic and public musical markets with works suitable for amateur and professional pianists alike. Kaminski devoted effort to these works from 1934-1935 using them as workspace to hone his polyphonic craft considering himself creating a 'quite new piano style' (Hartog, 1986, p. 54). Hartog concluded *Klavierbuch* represented '...the master at the height of his craft'<sup>140</sup> (Hartog, 1986, p. 55). Not only does it represent the musical art of Kaminski (whether at the height of his abilities or not is a subjective debate) but it represents Kaminski to a wide (amateur and professional) early Third Reich audience at a time when re-presentation to a "new" Germany, as seen especially in Hindemith's case, was necessary for artists. Kaminski engaged in this presentation of self through strategies of musical diversity and positive periodicity

As in *Dorische Musik* Kaminski used traditions from the Baroque keyboard suites in *Klavierbuch*, not unlike the keyboard collections of Wagner-Régeny, or as will be shown later the choral collections of Pepping. Drawing creatively on musical cues of Baroque dance forms – prelude, courante, sarabande, polonaise (the order of *Suite I* in *Klavierbuch I*) – Kaminski aligned himself with accessible and acceptable styles of German cultural history. Yet these are not copies of Baroque works. At times, such as the opening measure of the prelude from *Klavierbuch I* (Track 9), Kaminski wrote passages very much akin to his compositional forefathers:



Track 9: Heinrich Kaminski *Klavierbuch I, Präludium*

This opening section is entirely in A major using conventional keyboard figurations (repeated notes, scales, chords) in a simple two voice, imitative polyphonic texture. Other sections are far more chromatic and dissonant drawing upon conventions of modernism (Track 10).

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<sup>140</sup> „Es repräsentiert den meister auf der Höhe seiner Schaffenskraft” (Hartog 1986, p. 55)





Track 10: Heinrich Kaminski *Klavierbuch I, Präludium*

In addition to increased chromaticism Kaminski utilized the workspace of piano composition to continue his interest in complex rhythmic structures. The *Courante* of *Klavierbuch I* is exemplary. Again employing a two voice texture Kaminski used the wide spacing afforded by the piano to construct two clear but interrelated voices with increasingly complicated rhythmic groupings (Track 11):



Track 11: Heinrich Kaminski *Klavierbuch I, Courante*

With *Klavierbuch* Kaminski carefully constructed three volumes of neo-Baroque works that incorporate modernist elements with an overall traditional design. The workspace of the piano allowed him to write works for publication that could be consumed by amateur and professionals thereby appropriating domestic and public performance spaces. With their mixture of old and new *Klavierbuch* simultaneously afforded a positive periodist strategy and the somewhat concealed furtherance of Kaminski's modernist projects. Coupled with *Dorische Musik für Orchester* they are works, unlike *Die Messe Deutsch*, that travelled beyond the privacy of Ried and presented the composer, alongside important German musicians such as Furtwängler and Fischer, in an uncontroversial aesthetic.

At this time Kaminski's strategy of musical diversity also engaged pedagogical pieces, again for the piano, with *Zehn kleine Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel*. Unlike *Dorische Musik* or *Klavierbuch*, *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel* (Ten short exercises for the polyphonic piano) written in 1935, are works for piano students. They are ten miniature works simple in design: two-voice textures, tonal/modal, relatively uncomplicated rhythm. They are all short (several only a few measures long) and become progressively more challenging. The first exercise (Track 12), in C major, exemplifies this basic pedagogical engineering – C major, uncomplicated rhythm, two-voice polyphonic texture.



Track 12: Heinrich Kaminski *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel*, #1

As each exercise became more difficult Kaminski wrote longer pieces with increasingly complex rhythms, ornamentation, and some chromaticism. The final exercise (number 10, Track 13) highlights these features in comparison to exercise one. In an overall a minor tonality Kaminski included short chromatic scales, divided the beat (crotchet) by four (semi-quavers), and incorporated ornamental figures typical of Baroque music.



Track 13: Heinrich Kaminski *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel*, #10

With *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen* Kaminski produced a set of two-voice polyphonic works for the ‘polyphonic’ piano. He not only used the piano to create polyphonically but interpreted the instrument itself as polyphonic. With these works he also rounded out the consumer markets for which he was composing through the strategy of musical diversity. Through *Dorische Musik* he composed for the public concert hall. Through *Klavierbuch* he composed for professional and amateur pianists. With *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen* Kaminski engaged with the pedagogical market, with young students of the piano. In addition to the strategy of musical diversity in relation to genre and media Kaminski engaged with composing works for professional orchestras, professional and amateur pianists, and for students.

Kaminski’s strategies of retreat, positive periodicity, musical diversity and connection to what remained of his cooperative networks were successful until his racial denunciation in 1939. Not only was he able to compose private and public works but supporter Fritz Stein was able to secure for the composer a stipend of 2000DM per year from the Ministry of Education and Science (*Ministerium für Erziehung, Wissenschaft und Volksbildung*). Furthering Kaminski’s engagement with public works he was commissioned by Edwin Fischer to write a piano concerto which resulted in his *Orchesterkonzert mit Klavier*; again

premiered (in 1937) outside the Reich in Winterthur (Suder, 1986). The concerto was later performed in Germany by Walter Rehberg and Edmund Schnid (Hartog, 1986) and in November 1937 by the Berlin Philharmonic with pianist Conrad Hansen (Wackernagel, 1965). In 1936 Kaminski was awarded the *Harry Kreismann Stiftung* and the following year saw a re-staging of his *Jürg Jenatsch* at Nürnberg whilst Fritz Stein directed a full concert of his music at the 1937 Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest* (Hartog, 1986; 1987).

Kaminski was able to maintain a successful compositional career during the Third Reich as long as he avoided the scrutiny of the regime. In the early years of the Third Reich he engaged in a strategy of musical diversity using uncontroversial aesthetic choices in a strategy of positive periodicity. Throughout the Nazi regime he relied on an overall strategy of retreat while relying on members of his cooperative network for financial aid and performance opportunities. However, as previously mentioned, Kaminski was fully proscribed between 1939 and 1941 when he abandoned the strategy of retreat. During this period, while he continued to compose, his works went largely unperformed. Following the 1941 declaration that he was “politically beyond reproach” after his racial status had been re-assessed (Kater, 1997, p. 83) Kaminski maintained his seclusion at Ried.

### *The final years*

During the final years of his life and that of the Third Reich, Kaminski’s disdain for the Nazi regime, despite him benefitting from various prizes and stipends mentioned above, continued. During convalescence from an operation to remove a tumour (presumably cancerous) from his mouth in Munich in 1943 he helped *Weissen Rose* member Alexander Schmorell hide from the Gestapo. Returning to Ried Kaminski zealously took up the pursuit of the one last big musical work, an opera, perhaps seeking the operatic success that *Jürg Jenatsch* had not achieved in 1929. From 1944 till his death in 1946 he worked on *Das Spiel vom König Aphelios* an opera for which, like Hindemith and *Mathis der Maler*, he also wrote the libretto. Kaminski’s health continued to deteriorate but he chose to ignore the symptoms and continued working on his last musical project; his musical goals superseded his health. As the war drew to a close his Ried sanctuary was confiscated by approaching allied forces and the Kaminskis stayed with friends in nearby Benediktbeuern. In September 1945 Kaminski’s remaining daughter, Benila died, the third child lost during

the war. Determined, Kaminski worked feverishly through 1946 on the opera refusing to give in despite tragedy and the return of illness. The composer finished the opera June 19, 1946 and died two days later (Hartog, 1986; 1987). Kaminski's commitment to and belief in the power of music sustained him through these last years, battling through family death and his own worsening condition. He remained a composer to the end.

### *Summary*

Kaminski was a composer who worked in seclusion. Whether at Ried or other rural retreats for him a private, intimate setting was essential for musical work. He required private space to afford musical workspace and musical workspace constituted his private physical space. During the Weimar Republic he developed and maintained cooperative networks within modernist circles through festivals (Donaueschingen, AdMV, ISCM) where his music impressed conductors (e.g. Scherchen) and publishers (e.g. Universal Edition) and encouraged them to perform and publish his works during the 1920s and into the Third Reich. Though Kaminski avoided the larger musical centres his music and his writings on it travelled for him and presented him across Germany and abroad disseminating his reputation as a mystic, spiritual composer of polyphonic works. By the end of the Weimar Republic Kaminski was a well recognized composer, conductor at Bielefeld and composition professor at the *Akademie der Künste*.

In the discussion on the interpretive work done to his music by Kaminski and others I discussed how the composer constructed himself and was constructed by others as a 'modern recluse' (Redlich, 1947, p. 187) and a musical mystic. Kaminski engaged in this reflexive development and presentation of self musically through three means. He created and maintained his Ried sanctuary for his compositional work inviting students and friends to occasionally share this with him. In and through music he explored interests in philosophy and theology writing works such as *Hohem Lied der Lieben* and *die Erde*. In addition to his musical output through his articles, programme notes and discussions with colleagues and students he developed and presented himself as a mystical, spiritual composer. Using music he reflexively situated himself contemporaneously, historically and existentially. During the 1920s he situated himself as participating in projects of polyphonic authenticity outside 'mechanical' or 'revolutionary' projects within modernism (Kaminski,

1986a/1926). He believed the musical materials he used such as the ancient church modes were no 'historic affair' but derived from larger more encompassing systems found from 'Iceland to India' (Kaminski, 1986c, pp. 81-82). With music he situated himself universally. Finally as a reflexive existential resource he believed polyphonic music afforded access to a stream of eternity through which one could step from the strictures of time and space to 'dive headlong into the light of eternity' (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 78). Music was understood by the composer as a means to life fulfilment (Kaminski, 1986b, p. 79).

This reflexive interpretive work done with, through and to music led Kaminski to develop three key existential beliefs. For him music afforded the transcendence of bodily existence, including death, so much so that at the end of his life he ignored the symptoms of his failing health to continue his musical work. Kaminski believed music was representative of eternal laws that bind the universe together and that the modes and polyphonic materials he used situated him universally. Finally, for Kaminski, music was a therapeutic resource for personal fulfilment and emotional release a belief he used in managing and acting situational incongruity with the composition of private works like *Die Messe Deutsch* and the public memorial to his daughter *In Memoriam Gabrielae*. During the Third Reich Kaminski used these beliefs in musical affordances to manage and act situational incongruity.

For Kaminski National Socialism was a 'nightmare' and Hitler a 'psychopath' (Hartog, 1986, p. 46). In response to the establishment of the Third Reich he invited friends and colleagues into the *Orden der Liebenden*. While Kaminski harboured a general disdain for National Socialism he personally experienced the difficulties of the mortification of modernism. In 1933 he was dismissed from the *Akademie der Kunst*. In 1934 he lost his Bielefeld conducting position. During these earlier years he witnessed the dismissal or emigration of close colleagues including Braunfels and Scherchen. While in 1941 he was declared politically beyond reproach, in 1939 he had been racially proscribed. Throughout these ups and downs Kaminski continued to use music as a resource for action. Within this chapter I have outlined four key strategies he engaged with.

First and foremost Kaminski engaged in a strategy of retreat. Throughout his career a reclusive rural existence afforded his compositional work but in periods of situational

incongruity he unfailingly retreated to a rural location whether at Ried, Reinhart's Chateau de Muzot (after the 1929 failure of *Jurg Jenatsch*) or Maria Marc's Ascona apartment (after his 1939 racial proscription). These locations, especially Ried, afforded him safe private spaces in which to live and work. Yet these were not merely physical locations, they were – constituted by his compositional activity – musical sanctuaries. In this safety he worked on private works such as *Die Messe Deutsch* which themselves became private sanctuaries constructed through musical creativity in which he could therapeutically release his fears and anxieties cloaked from the regime. However, Kaminski did not just engage in private therapeutic musical projects. His *In Memoriam Gabrielae* was, like *Die Messe Deutsch*, a way of dealing with life's difficulties, but in this case through a public work.

Though Kaminski and artists like him have been contextualized as involved in an “inner emigration” works like *In Memoriam Gabrielae* highlight how Kaminski did not just ‘drift into the background’ (Redlich, 1947, p. 188) during the Third Reich. While his private space at Ried afforded his compositional activity, this activity still extended beyond this rural location. Using the neo-classically derived strategy of positive periodicity – developed using musical cues to the Baroque (polyphonic works, keyboard suite dance forms, modal and tonal settings) – his works continued to be presented. Kaminski combined this strategy with that of musical diversity early in the Third Reich. Paralleling Wagner-Régeny's early Third Reich activity (and as discussed later that of Fortner), during a period where composers sought to re-present themselves within National Socialist Germany Kaminski engaged with diverse musical genre, media and markets of consumption.

With *Dorische Musik für Orchester* (1934) Kaminski composed for the professional orchestra and the public concert hall. Following the fourth strategy identified he relied on an accessible member of his cooperative network, Hermann Scherchen, to safely premiere the work outside the Reich in Switzerland. Kaminski shortly thereafter conducted it in Germany and it went on to be successfully programmed by Furtwängler with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. While the positive periodist work is more modally/tonally stable than Kaminski's 1920s works, through *Dorische Musik* Kaminski was able to maintain a project of rhythmic and metrical experimentation. Kaminski's next major compositional project, *Klavierbuch* (1935) was a work for amateur and professional pianists usable in public recitals and private homes. Like *Dorische Musik* Kaminski's *Klavierbuch* was

introduced by another accessible member of his cooperative network, acclaimed pianist Edwin Fischer. Essentially a collection of Baroque keyboard suites, like the modal *Dorische Musik* it too engaged the strategy of positive periodicity while affording Kaminski's interest in rhythmic and metrical experimentation.

The final work discussed above, *Zehn kleine Klavier Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel* (1935), as an artifact of the strategy of musical diversity was intended for the student market. This collection of ten progressive keyboard pieces in two voice textures with clear forms in tonal settings is one of the most obvious examples of the strategy of positive periodicity by a Third Reich composer.

While Kaminski was able to write these works at Ried, he was not able to do so alone, he required the assistance of friends and colleagues. He was able to devote time to composing only because individuals such as Scherchen, Fischer and Furtwängler were willing to perform them and because contacts like Reinhart and Stein were able to provide financial means.

In Kaminski's final years (1943-1946) there is one last example of the centrality of music to the composer's life and self. In failing health Kaminski remained devoted to his compositional activity putting off recognizing and dealing with an increasingly deteriorating physical condition. Kaminski chose music over physical well being, a decision that proved to be one of music over life. He worked on the opera to completion, until his life was nearly at an end. Perhaps he believed music would give him that final release to 'dive headlong into the light of eternity'.

## **Ernst Pepping**



# *Ernst Pepping*

## *Introduction*

With the case of Ernst Pepping (1901-1981), like Kaminski and Wagner-Régeny a composer professionally active throughout the Third Reich, I continue my study of the role of music in reflexive projects of self and as a resource for action. Unlike the three previous case studies, though similar to the forthcoming study on Fortner, Pepping developed a successful and sustained career as a composer in the Third Reich: he secured fulltime employment; his works were both performed and published; he experienced no discernible difficulty with the Nazi regime. Based on this a common thread throughout the chapter is how Pepping was able to achieve such success musically.

Principally I investigate how Pepping was successful in moving away from his initial developments as a modernist composer of secular instrumental music during the Weimar Republic towards a career as a sacred choral music composer in the years immediately prior to and following the establishment of the Third Reich. Central to this is Pepping's reflexive project of self as understood from a short book he published in 1934 *Stilwende der Musik* ('Style Changes in Music'). For a composer who was very private, granting few interviews and refusing access to personal documents<sup>141</sup>, *Stilwende der Musik* was an invaluable tool for investigating his musical agency during the Third Reich. By thinking with and through music in abstract concepts, similar to Kaminski's use of music as a resource to reflexive existential thinking, Pepping developed a philosophy of music he believed appropriate for his times. He mobilised his deliberations to develop his career first as a sacred music composer and then as a secular instrumental music composer, declared by the *Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1942 as one of Nazi Germany's leading young composers (Adrio, 1942).

I start by discussing Pepping's early background. Under the section 'Weimar modernism: Pepping's abandoned modernist career' I situate Pepping's early education and career development as within Weimar modernist circles. Through his earliest professional works –

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<sup>141</sup> Gebauer, who met and talked with Pepping on several occasions, notes for example that the composer did not want letters between himself and his publishers examined and generally kept his private life very private (1976, p. 27: see footnote 33)

such as the Hindemith inspired three instrumental concerti (1926-1927) and his *Sonatine* for piano (1931) – Pepping had attempted to develop a professional career as a contemporary instrumental music composer engaged in modernist circles and events such as Donaueschingen and the ISCM. However, these early works were received as “difficult” and with “little public appeal” (Eber, 2006, p. 16). Trying his hand at sacred vocal music Pepping scored successes with works including *Choralsuite* (1928)<sup>142</sup> and *Kleine Messe* (1929)<sup>143</sup>. These successes paired with support from the *neue Kirchenmusik* movement circles around musicologist Friedrich Blume began Pepping’s gradual disassociation with modernism and instrumental music. Similar to Kaminski’s strategy of retreat, Pepping too cultivated advantageous safe space for himself within the Third Reich, culminating in his appointment to the Berlin-Spandau *Kirchenmusikschule* and publication of *Stilwende der Musik* in 1934. By this time the movement away from modernism had become a calculative aspect of his agency.

In the discussion ‘*Stilwende der Musik: Thinking and doing music*’ I interrogate how Pepping, similar to Kaminski, used musical thinking to develop understandings around socio-cultural changes throughout history to understand his situation in the early Third Reich. Where Kaminski engaged in interpretive work with, through and to music to develop existential beliefs around “authentic” polyphonic music Pepping too turned to polyphony as he mobilized thinking to develop a philosophy of what kind of music was authentic and appropriate for the spirit of the times; music he believed was constituted by and constitutive of the *Zeitgeist*. Responsive to this reflexive thinking Pepping made aesthetic decisions regarding what kind of music would be successful for him and his career. What I develop is an argument that by thinking with and through music Pepping came to understand his times as moving towards objectivity and communal focus which he believed was constitutive of and could be constituted by linear polyphonic music based on neo-classically derived styles and practices of early music – a strategy of positive periodicity. Like Kaminski he used materials and procedures of polyphonic music to think with to develop understandings of the contemporary times. However, unlike Kaminski’s work in, for example *Die Messe Deutsch*, Pepping did not use music as a therapeutic resource for emotional release or as a strategy of retreat, he used his interpretive work to

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<sup>142</sup> Premiered Düsseldorf 3.7.1929 by Richard Hillenbrand (Poos, 1971).

<sup>143</sup> Premiered Baden-Baden [Donaueschingen Festival], 1929.

situate himself *vis á vis* the past and present and as actively participating in contemporary socio-cultural changes – what he believed constituted a general movement towards objectivity and community. I argue that Pepping accomplished this by believing in music as affording *gemeinschaftswerk* (community building) highlighting again how music affordances are dependent first on what actors think music affords.

In the next section ‘From Weimar to Third Reich: Aesthetic negotiations’ I consider Pepping’s aesthetic agency, what and how he chose to compose, against the reflexive project of the self introduced through *Stilwende der Musik*. Beginning with the transition between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich I first consider Pepping’s agency before *Stilwende der Musik* when he was still engaged in modernist instrumental projects. Using *Sonatine* for piano (1931) I show the aesthetic distance Pepping travelled from the experimentalism contained in this work versus the conservative positive periodist strategy he employed in works around, and following, the writing of *Stilwende* particularly the multi-volume collection *Spandauer Chorbuch*. Considering his exclusive shift to sacred music as calculated agency based on his reflexive readings of the *Zeitgeist*, I interrogate how works like *Spandauer Chorbuch* afforded safe associations and workspace for the composer as he legitimized himself in the early Third Reich.

In the final section before the chapter summary I contextualise Pepping’s move back to secular instrumental composition as a cautious re-emergence/re-presentation into media and genre he first attempted to appropriate as a modernist composer during the Weimar Republic.

While other scholars have considered Pepping’s Third Reich secular instrumental works disturbingly anachronistic (e.g. Cadenbach, 1996 writing on the 1943 *Streichquartett*) I seek to understand how a positive periodist strategy was central to Pepping’s agency. Beginning with his *Zwei Romanzen für Klavier* (1935) I view how he first re-engaged with instrumental works through these two short romances for piano designed largely for the domestic market. These works maintained his understandings of appropriate and authentic music for his times by continuing polyphonic, tonal means. Turning to his *Drei Sonaten für Klavier* (1937) I then show how he furthered his cautious secular public re-emergence with three neo-classical sonatas for piano premiered first in a space where he was already a

legitimized and successful composer – the church music circles gathered for the 1937 Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest*. Also in 1937 Pepping re-engaged with orchestral music when his recently completed *Senfl Variationen* were premiered at the Bad Pyrmont summer festival. Again a neo-classical work that drew upon conventional and familiar music-cultural symbols such as tonality and theme and variations form, this work re-introduced Pepping to the orchestral world through connection to a venerated Renaissance composer Ludwig Senfl. As in other case studies, especially Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny, Pepping too used a strategy of developing positive associations for himself through associations to valued German cultural icons.

Finally I look at Pepping's symphonic oeuvre, three large-scale symphonies composed 1939-1944. Focusing on the *Symphony No. 1* in C major (1939) I explore how Pepping became a successful secular instrumental composer on the grand public stage. Pepping accomplished this through his reflexive engagement with the socio-cultural world around him and his understandings of what would be authentic and appropriate. With the success of this and his subsequent *Symphony No. 2* in f minor (1942) (his *Symphony No. 3*, completed in 1944, was never performed in the Third Reich) Pepping had exerted his agency in developing a recognized career as a composer in Nazi Germany.

#### *Weimar modernism: Pepping's abandoned modernist career*

Pepping was born to a working class family in the *Ruhrgebiet* town of Duisburg in North Rhine-Westphalia on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1901, growing up around Duisburg, Mühleim and Essen. From 1916 he studied at the *Evangelischen Präparandenstadt* and the *Staatlichen Lehrerseminars* in Essen where he passed the state teacher's exam in 1921. He spent his formative years in the Weimar Republic and was a student at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* where he began studies in 1921 (Kirchberg, 2001). Pepping originally applied to study composition under Director Franz Schreker, but was rejected. Instead he joined the composition class of noted pedagogue and sacred music composer Walter Gmeindl<sup>144</sup> (Cadenbach, 2005; [www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/biografie.htm](http://www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/biografie.htm)), himself a former student of Schreker (Wörner, 1953). Gmeindl, like Schreker, encouraged experimentation and was

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<sup>144</sup> There is evidence that Schreker, after seeing the products of Pepping's studies and work, made overtures to claim him into his own fold. Pepping, however, seems to have held allegiance to Gmeindl. (Gebauer, 1977).

open to contemporary modernist trends<sup>145</sup>. In addition to his official music studies Pepping was heavily influenced by Hindemith, *Gebrauchsmusik* and the Donaueschingen festival. Movements including the *Singbewegung* (singing movement, one of a myriad of youth group activities), the resurgence of interest in Baroque and early music and the growth of contemporary church music all played formative roles in Pepping's development (Gebauer, 1977; Hiemke, 1996; Krummacher, 1995; Sohng, 1978; Votterle, 1974).

Having grown up in the years just prior to World War I and experiencing the birthing of the Weimar Republic as a young adult, Pepping had a front row seat and was an active participant in the drama of 1920s modernism. In 1926, the year he graduated from the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik*, he was awarded the prestigious Mendelssohn prize, and returned home to Mülheim a freelance composer. During this early professional period Pepping developed networks within modernist circles. His early works were especially influenced by Hindemith<sup>146</sup>, as will also be shown to be the case in the following study on Fortner. During this time he sought to develop himself into a modernist secular instrumental music composer. His three concerti (1926-1927), for example, are similar in materials and instrumentation to Hindemith's various *Kammermusik* works (1922-1927)<sup>147</sup> developing a chromatic linear polyphonic style pushing towards atonality (Henseler, 1996). Hindemith was aware of Pepping and the young composer was commissioned to write a work for the 1926 Donaueschingen festival – *Serenade for Military Orchestra*<sup>148</sup>. It was at the Donaueschingen festival, along with his time at the Hochschule, that Pepping's connection to the wider contemporary music world was constructed. Works of his were

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<sup>145</sup> Notably Gmeindl's composition class, though after Pepping's time, was the scene of a political conflict in February 1933. At a recital of new works by Gmeindl's students prominent members of the Berlin KfDK Paul Graener rose, following the first performance, and addressed the audience, "Ladies and Gentlemen! These people have the audacity to present this miserable stammering to you as German art at a German music academy. As a German artist I protest against this." (Dümling, 1993, p. 464). Nazi ideologue Fritz Stege reported on this incident in the *Völkischer Beobachter* – "How far things have gone under the fourteen year Marxist regime... was proven by a concert that Mr. Gmeindl's class was allowed to give. The savage sounds that were inflicted there on a suffering populace defy all description" (Originally published as *Aus dem Berliner Kunstleben – Musik* in the *Völkischer Beobachter* February, 1933. Also cited in Wulf, 1963 p. 17).

<sup>146</sup> As Gebauer (1977) notes: 'Any young composer would have to reckon with Hindemith's influence in those years' (p. 33).

<sup>147</sup> The similarities lie in unconventional instrumentation and the adherence to Baroque inspired polyphony.

<sup>148</sup> For this festival the invitation for military band/orchestra works was unsuccessful and the festival committee directly commissioned composers for such works. Pepping was one of the composers commissioned, along with Hindemith, Krenek and Ernst Toch (Carmichael 1994).

premiered through Donaueschingen in 1926<sup>149</sup>, 1928<sup>150</sup> and 1929<sup>151</sup> and he came into contact with important figures in the modernist movement such as Hermann Scherchen who conducted the premiere of his military serenade in 1926. Pepping's work was also heard at the AdMV festivals of 1927<sup>152</sup>, 1929<sup>153</sup> and 1931<sup>154</sup>. In 1930 his *Präludium für Orchester* was performed in Brussels at the ISCM festival<sup>155</sup>. By 1929 Pepping moved back to Berlin where he worked from 1929-1930 as a film score arranger and composer with *Grammophon-Cinema* (Cadenbach, 2005; Kirchberg, 2001).

Central to the establishment of Pepping's early career were these networks of composers, organisations and festivals. Pepping first tried to develop a career as a modernist instrumental music composer. While some of his early instrumental music has been lost, extant works (such as the 1931 *Sonatine* for piano discussed below), various reviews, and writings on Pepping from the 1920s place these firmly within modernist styles<sup>156</sup>; though Pepping was never considered a "degenerate" or "dangerous" composer like others of his colleagues (Heinemann, 2001). Pepping's early instrumental works were considered "difficult" with "little public appeal" (Eber, 2006, p. 16). Publicly unsuccessful in instrumental music, in 1928 he found success in sacred choral music becoming increasingly influenced by the *neue Kirchenmusik* movement (new church music movement) and a circle around musicologist and sacred music specialist Friedrich Blume<sup>157</sup>. Pepping's *Kleine Messe* (premiered at the 1929 Donaueschingen festival) was performed at Friedrich

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<sup>149</sup> *Short Serenade for Military Orchestra* (see Carmichael, 1994 for detailed discussion of this work) and *Suite for Trumpet, Saxophone and Trombone* (see Henschler, 1996 for a detailed discussion of this work).

<sup>150</sup> *Choralsuite* and *Choralvorspiele für Orgel*. Note: The *Donaueschingen Musiktage* had been moved to Baden-Baden.

<sup>151</sup> *Kleine Messe für drei Singstimmen*. Note: The *Donaueschingen Musiktage* had been moved to Baden-Baden.

<sup>152</sup> *Konzert für Bratsche* (see Henschler, 1996 for a detailed discussion of this work).

<sup>153</sup> *Zwei Chöre* aus der *Choral Suite für grossen und kleinen Chor a cappella*.

<sup>154</sup> *Deutsche Choralmesse für sechsstimmigen Chor*.

<sup>155</sup> This meeting of the ISCM was a larger occasion than usual as it was held in conjunction with the Congress of the International Society for Musicology (*Kongress der Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*).

<sup>156</sup> See: Baden-Baden [Donaueschingen] review - *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 95(9) [September, 1928], p.503; ADMV festival review - *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 96(8) [August, 1929], p. 465; Laux, K (1929). Baden-Baden Musiktage. *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 96(9) [September]. 539-540; *Kleine Messe* publication review - *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 97(8) [August 1930], p. 654.

<sup>157</sup> Friedrich Blume was one of the most celebrated musicologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, certainly of the German tradition. Blume studied and worked with many of the earliest progenitors of the German positivist *Musikwissenschaft* tradition; Sandberger, Kroyer, Riemann, Kretschmar, Johannes Wolf, Schering and Abert. His earliest work was on Lutheran church music with emphasis on Bach. Later this expanded to include research on Praetorius, Schütz, Haydn and Mozart. Blume is well known for his involvement in the German music lexicon *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Lang, 1963).

Blume's home, favourably impressing the host. Blume encouraged the young Pepping and helped secure publication with the Kallmeyer firm<sup>158</sup> (Adrio, 1971a).

In the waning years of the Weimar Republic Pepping's network participation followed his success with sacred music moving away from secular modernism towards contemporary sacred works heavily influenced by Baroque and pre-Baroque polyphonic techniques – what became a strategy of positive periodicity during the Third Reich. This transformation solidified in 1934 when he secured a position (with the help of Blume) at the *Kirchenmusikschule* in Berlin-Spandau (Cadenbach, 2005; Kirchberg, 2001; Gebauer, 1977) engaging a strategy of cultivating safe musical workspace within a regime sponsored institution. However, after several years of almost exclusive sacred choral works in 1937 Pepping re-emerged as a secular instrumental composer during the latter years of the Third Reich.

This vacillation between sacred and secular spheres, modernist and conservative styles has been considered by a number of music critics and scholars who have interpreted in his works a searching for a unique voice (David, 1948; Adrio, 1971b[1934]) through, as Poos (1989) has concluded, a use of tradition<sup>159</sup> in a struggle for freedom from historical precepts and structural constraints. Scholars have identified a changing array of styles and compositional techniques – old and new, sacred and secular – across Pepping's oeuvre (Grote, 1971; Manicke, 1971; Poos 1958; Sauerland, 2002; Scheideler, 1996; Weeks, 1970) from his Hindemith inspired contrapuntal early chamber music (Hensler, 1996) and the renaissance and early Baroque styles found in his Weimar and Third Reich choral works (Votterle, 1974; Krummacher, 1995; Schaftertons, 2001). Below I argue that this vacillation between styles and media was part of Pepping's agency, how he calculatingly changed what he was writing in accordance to his reflexive engagement with wider socio-cultural changes, what he understood through his reflexive project of self as appropriate music for the spirit of the times – music constitutive of and constituting the *Zeitgeist*. Central to this was the reflexive work he engaged with through thinking about music in his short book *Stilwende der Musik* published during the first full year of the Third Reich 1934.

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<sup>158</sup> Kallmeyer published *Kanon: Suite in drei Chorälen* – 1928 and *Hymnen* – 1929

<sup>159</sup> Poos here refers primarily to the widely extended use of traditional tonality.

*Stilwende der Musik: Thinking and doing music*

In 1934 Pepping published *Stilwende der Musik* (Style Changes in Music), one of the few extant sources from the composer's hand. In it Pepping constructed a philosophical view of music and through this a resource for situating the past, present and drawing the future into the present to plan future activity (colonisation of the future). Through *Stilwende der Musik* Pepping also presented himself as a composer interested and engaged in wider socio-cultural changes the creation of 'a new community' (Pepping, 1934, p. 79). This reflexive thinking and presentation of self was accomplished through interpretive work – interpreting relationships between musical styles and historical changes (hence 'Style Changes in Music') to develop a theory of music appropriate and authentic for the *Zeitgeist*. In *Stilwende* Pepping developed and published his belief that art (music) and politics are linked issuing from the human spirit relative to historical developments and the contemporary *Zeitgeist*. By thinking through music Pepping came to understand his times (early Third Reich) as constitutive of a significant shift in the *Zeitgeist* from a society focused on subjective individualism towards one focused on objective communalism. This changing *Zeitgeist* required responsiveness from composers such as himself to re-assemble 'dispersed parts' to engage in the process of creating a new community:

“Art as much as the politics of the day is inspired by the same will...the will to collect the dispersed parts, to form a new community. The rudder of the spirit has been turned around. There has hardly ever been a time when the objectives of the past have been opposed as ruthlessly as today” (*Stilwende der Musik*, 1934, pp. 79-81; translation from Kater, 1997, p. 165.)

In this passage, and throughout *Stilwende*, Pepping worked out musical beliefs – its past, present and future. Central to this was a devaluing of anything considered decadent from the immediately previous years (that which is opposed 'ruthlessly'). Pepping used this text to distance himself from such traditions – he broke 'with all that he had previously composed and disowned earlier works' (Brunner, 1997; quoted from Eber, 2006, p. 18) – but also constructed a way forwards through musical aesthetics coming to understand authentic music for the times, music which would help in constructing the new community, as polyphonic, drawing upon styles and practices of early music – a strategy of positive periodicity. Through thinking and writing about music Pepping engaged in his reflexive



project of self a construction of understandings of history, his present and his colonisation of the future. He sought to ‘collect the dispersed part’, those traditions such as early polyphonic styles that he considered to have been lost, to engage in musical activity that is right for the current times.

*Stilwende der Musik* afforded Pepping opportunity and resource to put into print philosophical/ideological beliefs on music; it was a space for interpretive work on music. It was a text that allowed him to solidify his approach to and beliefs in music as a power in and of itself. Like Hindemith, Pepping believed music had intrinsic powers that it could act as a change agent; both composers believed in music’s powers for agency. Through this interpretive work Pepping was able to do things to music, he was able to construct a belief in the validity and importance of his own musical style – the neo-classical polyphonic style he had nurtured within sacred works from 1928 – and by association his musical products, and influence his own reception.

In developing his understanding of history Pepping used musical aesthetics to construct his understandings of historical changes in relation to style changes in music. Pepping saw an integral and reciprocal relationship between historical developments and periods and musical aesthetics identifying an ebb and flow throughout music history between two musical pillars: linearity and verticality (see *Stilwende* pp. 39-40). For him the preceding period, particularly 19<sup>th</sup> century romanticism, was a rejection of linearity in favour of verticality, the conception of music harmonically through functional tonality (music as vertical chord progressions, not interrelated melodic lines). Pepping, like Kaminski, constructed musical linearity and verticality as polar opposites and then applied them to historical time periods – musical aesthetics, like Hindemith’s early views on ‘song and sonata forms’ as emblematic of what was old, became emblems for his understanding of history. For Pepping the difference between these pillars was a difference between rational objectivity (linearity) and emotional subjectivity (verticality), where rational objectivity was desirable and reflected his understanding of the current *Zeitgeist* and where emotional subjectivity was undesirable and anathema to the current *Zeitgeist*.

Not only do the abstract concepts of vertical versus linear aesthetics become mobilised as emblems of history, they are then given value judgements by the composer through

interpretive work. Pepping interpreted music constructed linearly via polyphonic techniques as objective expression whilst works vertically constructed were interpreted as emotional and subjective. A desire for objectivity was a common expression of the time and a significant element of some developments in Weimar modernism (e.g. *neue sachlichkeit*) as a reaction against the vestiges of Romanticism and the validity of earlier traditions of polyphony. While Pepping avoided connection with aesthetic practices of modernism in *Stilwende der Musik* he maintained this view of modernist composers (like Kaminski) and used it in the early Third Reich to conclude that the music of his time must renounce subjective individualism and return to objectivity and music of communal rather than individual value (p. 91).

Though *Stilwende der Musik* argues a conservative approach to music, philosophically much of it bears a Hindemithian stamp. Though not explicitly acknowledged by Pepping, he makes arguments akin to the *Gebrauchsmusik* beliefs and shares concern over the relationship of music and the public. While Pepping largely divorced himself from his associations with modernist circles and aesthetics he maintained philosophical links to it.

Like Hindemith, Pepping wanted a greater engagement of the public with contemporary music, though their means diverged. Hindemith had encouraged the participation of the musical laity through music education and composing works accessible to amateur and beginner musicians (Hinton, 1989). Hindemith had come to argue for functional music, a driving force behind the Donaueschingen festival from 1925, devaluing the concept of art for art's sake. *Gebrauchsmusik* was a philosophy that composers should write music for specific social purposes and for amateur performers rather than just works for professional performers to play for the public in sacralized spaces; it was 'an attempt to re-establish contact between the composer and his public' (Muser, 1944, p. 33). By 1929 the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* had gained enough currency that an entire issue of *Die Musik* was devoted to it (see *Die Musik* 1929, 21(6)). In *Stilwende der Musik* Pepping harnessed the *Gebrauchsmusik* philosophy as a musical correlation to National Socialism's desire to develop a "new" national German community. Similar to the strategy of connecting music to safe German cultural history, symbols and icons, Pepping cultivated a strategy of connecting his works with "safe" ideology salient at the time, Nazism's desire to reform the German nation.

Musically orienting himself to these wider social changes Pepping sought a musical engagement with the public not through education or writing for amateur performers but rather through believing in affordances of musical aesthetics that he constructed. Like Hindemith, he believed the music he composed would act as a change agent within the general public. Melody was central to this belief, the defining aspect of music for Pepping. The ebb and flow between the historical polar opposites, vertical and linear conceptions, led him to conclude that truly authentic music for his time was melodically conceived and polyphonically wrought. Pepping asserted that music worked on an eternal movement from tension to relaxation and to harness this power music had to be constructed linearly based on melodic not harmonic precepts (Pepping, 1934, p. 88). Pepping believed that when music was constructed in this manner, when it was ‘authentic’, it was a true expression of humanity – similar to Kaminski’s belief that music was the ‘purest revelation of the “living being”’ (1947, p. 82) – and could have strong powers over humanity by engaging individuals in *gemeinschaftswerk* – community building. In essence Pepping thought and believed that music was a catalyst for creating community, a change agent for social construction and interaction, and representative of an ideological community. Throughout *Stilwende* Pepping developed a theory of music affording social change – music constructed authentically (that which is responsive to the *Zeitgeist*) through melodic and polyphonic means would lead to a collection of dispersed parts to ‘form a new community’ that when individuals engaged with authentic music it became a resource for cohesion, an outlet for a group to commit to shared values, a means of social betterment.

These concepts emerged from the reflexive self work Pepping did and encapsulated in his book. For him to develop beliefs in music as a social change agent, he first had to recognise that social change was occurring, required or desired. It is clear that Pepping came to understand the times he was living in as times of incongruity through *Stilwende der Musik*: “‘The rudder of the spirit has been turned around. There has hardly ever been a time when the objectives of the past have been opposed as ruthlessly as today’”. In appropriating this sense of incongruity Pepping, similar to Hindemith’s use of music to appropriate salient political concepts through counterfactual reasoning and mapping politics with known musical concepts, used music to understand his self in relation to the past and the present

and, like Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* and Wagner-Régeny's *Hexameron*, to plot future action.

Like Kaminski, Pepping developed a theory of musical symbology. However, where Kaminski believed music was symbolic of eternal laws of existence ('holy symbology' (1986b, p. 79)), Pepping was more sociologically minded, in a sense Adornian, developing a belief that musical aesthetics were cultural symbols that lived and died according to their currency in wider society (Pepping, 1934, p. 120; see also 'Oehlmann, 1971 – 'Music as an agent of faith'). But moreover, for Pepping, these symbols, the technical aspects of musical aesthetics, were outcomes of the human spirit (*menschler Geist*). Pepping believed the human spirit gave rise to the materials of music affording a unity of material and spirit as humanity itself changes over time (p. 40). Pepping came to believe that individualism as appropriated by the decadence of past decades was no longer reflective of contemporary society therefore artists must re-appropriate the linear polyphonic pillar which was emblematic of a society where the community is superordinate to the individual (pp. 88-91).

Pepping, through interpretive work done to music, came to situate himself based on his understanding of history (emblematised in musical poles of verticality and linearity) and drew the future into the present to plan future action based on this reflexive work. In *Stilwende der Musik* he presented these beliefs coming to understand himself and his music as important in the changing times. Through complex interpretive work, belief and writing he gave to his music power and importance. He came to understand himself through his music as reflecting and shaping the spirit of the times where aesthetic values and societal values were linked, if not synonymous. At the same time he reflexively understood the spirit of the times through constructing a relationship to music.

Pepping's thoughts mirror a history of understanding music as having affordances for individuals and groups going back at least to the Greek theories of *ethos* and *harmonia*. Recent music sociological studies have considered music's affordances for group space (Malbon, 1999), communal self-worth (Beadle, 1993), inter-group interactions (Lipsitz, 1994), identity work (Bennett, 2004), etc. all pointing to an unlocking of music's affordances by putting music into action. What Pepping's work in *Stilwende der Musik*

highlights – and when combined with previous arguments regarding the thinking and believing in powers of musical affordances from the situated to the existential in the previous studies on Hindemith (change agent for re-presentation of self) and Kaminski (existential resource) – is the requirement of interpretive work to music to prepare it for getting into action. What is missed when considering music as having intrinsic or *a priori* affordances (such as the Greeks) or in recent socio-musical studies when uncovering how pre-extant music is put into action by individuals and groups, is the necessary belief that music has affordances in the first place. Pepping’s thoughts on melody and the “authentic” use of it in polyphonic settings to afford *gemeinschaftswerk*, Hindemith’s fervent belief in *Mathis der Maler* to arm him in his fight for professional re-presentation, Kaminski’s understanding of music transcending bodily existence, representative of eternal laws of existence, and therapeutic resource for personal/emotional fulfilment all lead me to argue that musical affordance begins with actors first doing something *to* music, to think and believe – though I concede not necessarily consciously in the moment – what it will/can afford.

In its broadest and most instrumental sense *Stilwende der Musik* not only afforded Pepping space to develop his beliefs in musical affordances, serve as resource for his reflexive project of self and personal empowerment of himself as participating in creating a new Germany, it afforded him the presentation of that self within the early Third Reich.

*Stilwende der Musik* capped Pepping’s movement away from modernist associations towards “safe” space afforded through contemporary sacred choral compositions – functional liturgical music. *Stilwende* also coincided with his physical movement into this space. In 1934 he was appointed to a full time teaching post at the newly renamed (under the Nazi regime) *Evangelischen Schule für Volksmusik* (Evangelical School for Folk Music) formerly the Berlin-Spandau *Kirchenmusikschule* where he worked until after WWII<sup>160</sup>. Both the publication of *Stilwende der Musik* and his acceptance of the *Kirchenmusikschule* appointment enabled a positive presentation of self during the first full year of the Third Reich. Both were elements that presented Pepping as acceptable within

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<sup>160</sup> Notably he became the school’s Principal in 1943-1945 when the former head was called into active Wehrmacht service. Activities at the school continued into 1945 as the building generally escaped damage during the allied bombing campaign ([www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/Biografie.htm](http://www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/Biografie.htm)).

the Nazi state – as a composer interested in and involved with creating a new German society through music. This positive presentation of self, and particularly his academic appointment, afforded him professional security a safe place to be at a time when many of his colleagues – such as Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski – were anything but secure. While Kaminski followed a strategy of retreat to a rural musical sanctuary Pepping followed a strategy of retreat into a safe space within a regime supported music institution.

In the following section I consider the path Pepping followed to reach *Stilwende der Musik* and his appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule* via his aesthetic agency – what he chose to compose and not to compose as he negotiated the turbulent cultural climate of the late Weimar Republic and the early Third Reich. Central to this is a vacillation between instrumental music and sacred choral music and the networks he was involved with. The section begins before he codified his aesthetic philosophy in *Stilwende der Musik* and progresses through the Third Reich as he acted out the philosophy found in this book.

#### *From Weimar to Third Reich: Aesthetic negotiations*

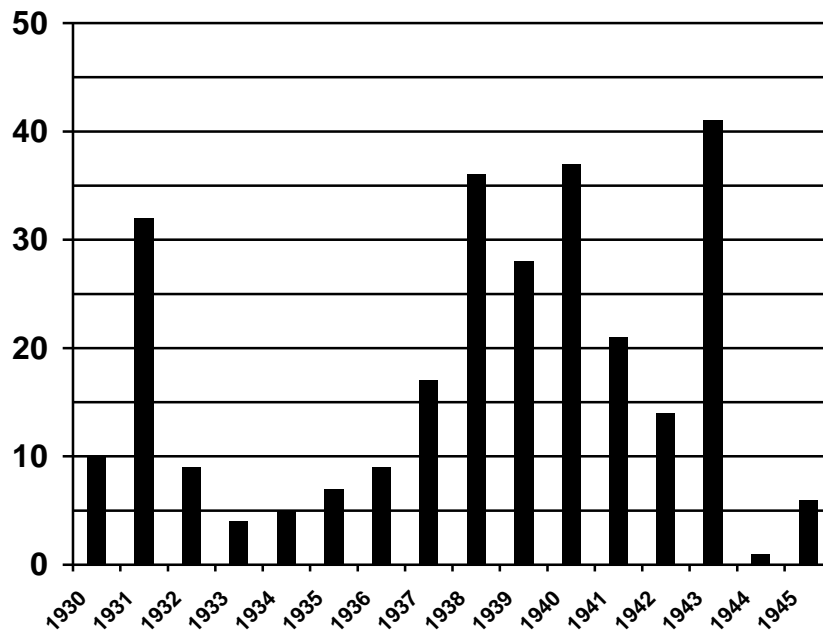
As noted above, Pepping's early compositional career was centred round modernist circles and works (e.g. participation in the Donaueschingen and ISCM festivals). However, in the latter years of the Weimar Republic his output and cooperative networks shifted, a change that was to prove beneficial for his career in the Third Reich. Unlike Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski and countless other cultural producers Pepping experienced no discernible difficulty with the National Socialist regime – nor is there any evidence that he voiced concern over the regime's policies. During the Third Reich Pepping – with collaborative support – forged a successful career. By 1942 Pepping was recognized as one of Germany's leading young musicians (Adrio, 1942) and eventually appeared on a 'most-favoured' artist list (Kater, 1997, p. 164). Here I contextualise this success as stemming from the conversion to positive periodist sacred works and church music circles. While this movement in the first instance followed the success of sacred choral works such as *Choral Suite* (1928 – published by Schott), by 1934 it was opportunistic with his acceptance of the *Kirchenmusikschule* post and publication of his self-presenting *Stilwende der Musik*.

After showing the change in Pepping's compositional outputs from instrumental to sacred choral music of this period I establish the aesthetics of the shift using one of his exemplary modernist works, the *Sonatine* for piano (1931) and one of his exemplary positive periodist works *Spandauer Chorbuch* (20 volumes of sacred motets composed 1934-1939) in which the project he outlined in *Stilwende der Musik* was put into action. This begins to uncover how Pepping's Third Reich output is constituted by his understandings of the wider socio-cultural climate but also how he constitutes such engagement with wider concerns through musical projects. I then indicate how Pepping's output followed the resources available to him through sacred music circles, first through the support of Friedrich Blume – whose review of the *Sonatine* indicates how supporters were able to do interpretive work to music to frame it positively – and then the performing resources afforded through the safe space of the *Kirchenmusikschule* and sacred music performers in wider circles (e.g. the Dresden Kreuzchor and organist Fritz Heitmann).

*From Instrumental composition to Choral:*

In *Stilwende der Musik* Pepping recognized the turbulent cultural times in which he lived. The timing of the writing and publishing of this book corresponded exactly with the solidification of his focus on sacred choral works. This book also appears at a turning point in his quantitative output.

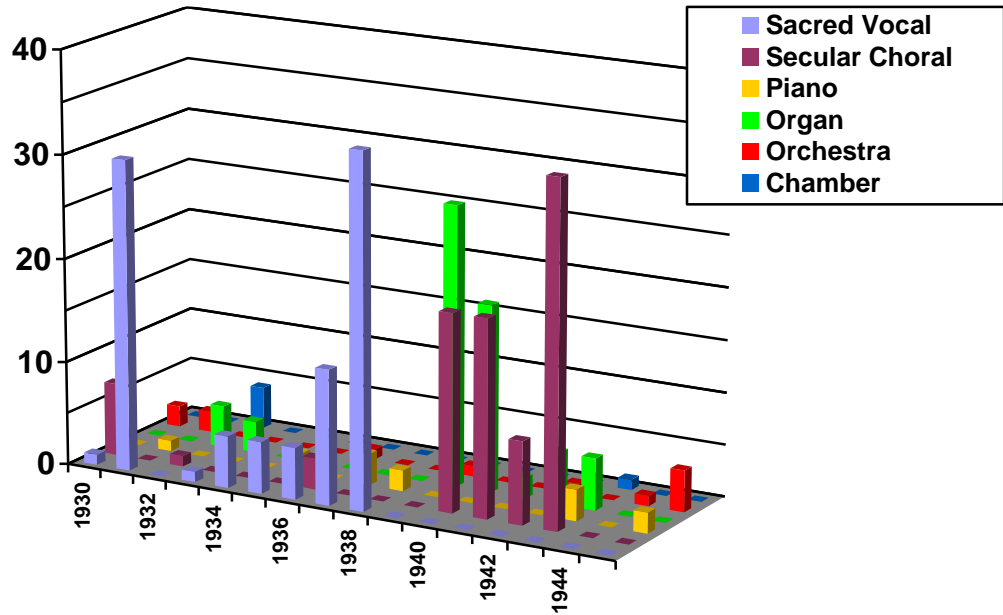
Mirroring the relative outputs of previous cases studies coming into the Third Reich (1931-1933) Pepping's compositional output drastically decreased (see figure 1 below). In the cases of Kaminski and Wagner-Régeny it was concluded that this was the result of difficult financial times when composers had to engage in other means of financial support. Though there is little evidence surrounding Pepping's work life in the latter Weimar Republic – other than his work as a film score arranger/composer – it is likely the decrease can be explained on the same grounds. However, from 1933 with establishment of the Third Reich Pepping's output steadily increased (see figure 1 below).



**Figure 1: Ernst Pepping Compositional Output 1930-1945**

The increase in compositional activity early in the Third Reich also reflects other case studies. Particularly with regards to Wagner-Régeny this increase was considered part of a process of presentation of the composer in the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*, the proliferation of works early in the Third Reich to substantiate a compositional career. However, Pepping's case differs in what he was writing, and the rate of the quantitative increase. With Wagner-Régeny the increased activity was more dramatic and was the result of a strategy of musical diversity. In Pepping's case the increased activity is virtually mono-directional focused on sacred choral works. Pepping was gradually redefining himself, from the beginning of the Third Reich, as a sacred music composer. As figure 2 (below) indicates this presentation grew in prominence from 1934 when he published *Stilwende der Musik* and began his *Kirchenmusikschule* appointment:





**Figure 2: Ernst Pepping Compositional Output by Genre 1930-1945**

Following this graph between 1930 and 1933 Pepping wrote sacred vocal works (choral), secular vocal works, a piano work, organ works, orchestral works, and a chamber work – a relatively diverse output. However, from 1933-1938 he wrote almost exclusively sacred choral works. During the early years of the Third Reich Pepping was invested in identifying himself as a sacred music composer. While this focus changed after 1938 (a move back to secular works, discussed below), it indicates Pepping presented himself not as the modernist instrumental composer he had initially set out to be early in his career, but as a composer devoted to the church music tradition. In what follows I interrogate how this was not just an alteration in media but a shift in aesthetics employed as well as a capitalising of the resources afforded Pepping through his involvement in church music circles.

*From Sonatine for Piano (1931) to Spandauer Chorbuch (1934-1939)*

In the late Weimar Republic and early Third Reich Pepping made significant aesthetic changes eventually abandoning his efforts in instrumental music in favour of sacred choral works. He came to engage in a strategy of positive periodicity, looking back to the Renaissance and Baroque styles to develop an aesthetic he believed imbued with socio-cultural importance (as derived from *Stilwende der Musik*), one devoid of connection to the

experimentation of modernism. This was a movement away from an aesthetic and instrumental focus seen in his 1931 *Sonatine* for piano.

In this work his overriding interest in polyphonic linear composition is at the fore, but so is his employment of modernist aesthetics. Written during the transitory period between instrumental and choral works *Sonatine* demonstrates Pepping's use of chromatic/atonal linearity, a stark contrast to the aesthetics of the choral music he was writing at the time and to virtually all the music he composed after 1933 regardless of media used (e.g. his three piano sonatas written in 1935 and discussed below, are radically different from the 1931 *Sonatine* for the same instrument). The third movement of this work (Track 14) substantiates the aesthetic distance travelled by Pepping from the Weimar Republic to the aesthetic beliefs codified in *Stilwende der Musik* and evident in works such as *Spandauer Chorbuch* (discussed below). Here Pepping exploited the piano's affordances of chromaticism and rapid figuration mixing elements of pentatonicism with whole tone scales and pure atonal chromaticism as well as significant rhythmic complexity; elements absent in works over the next fifteen years.



Track 14: Ernst Pepping *Sonatine for Piano*, Movement 3

As concluded also by Gebauer, Pepping's aesthetic changes represent decisions made reflexively in relation to the wider socio-cultural climates he was experiencing: '...it is true that Pepping had to make some choices about style and technique from among the many possibilities offered in the 1920s and that the choices were fraught with serious consequences for his development and success as a composer' (1977, p. 23). Pepping implicitly recognized these 'serious consequences' in *Stilwende* and in the following years the more experimental style of *Sonatine* disappears – compositional decisions influenced by his reflexive project during the transition period to the Third Reich as he aesthetically negotiated the changing times in development of his compositional career.

The transformation in Pepping's aesthetic direction solidified in 1934 but was a gradual movement from 1928 onwards when he became increasingly engaged with sacred choral

music and the circle of church music enthusiasts around Blume. His last documented association with bespoke modernist institutions was the performance of his *Präludium für Orchester* at the 1930 ISCM festival in Brussels.

Pepping's contact with Blume afforded significant career advancement. Though Pepping would not have been aware of it prior to the Third Reich, Blume was an opportune ally to have during the Nazi regime as he became one of the most respected musicologists of the era (Gerhard, 2001)<sup>161</sup>. Blume encouraged the Kallmeyer firm to publish Pepping in 1929 and he influenced Pepping's appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule* in 1934 (where Blume had previously taught) (Gebauer, 1977). Blume's support of Pepping is evident in a 1932 review of Pepping's *Sonatine* (Blume, 1932/1971) which demonstrates the interpretive work done to music to positively frame it and includes in it the basis of what Pepping was to outline in his own book. In this case the review reads as an apologetic justification of the work's existence in spite of its modernist elements. In a veiled admission that Pepping's work falls into the avant garde Blume begins his review writing: 'This small work belongs in the line of attempts to write new works, whose natural place is not in the concert hall but in the house'<sup>162</sup> (p. 46). Blume contextualizes this work as an 'attempt' at new music (subtly different from saying it *is* new music). Moreover, it is an attempt not suited to public consumption in the concert hall but one appropriate to the private home – as if to keep it hidden from the critical public eye. Though admitting *Sonatine* is obscure and non-traditional Blume declared it 'not foreign'<sup>163</sup> (p. 46) and goes on to construct a positive reception of the dissonant linear writing which tends to, '...stretch again, get entangled, increase, settle down, again coil and, in the end, find a final solution'<sup>164</sup> (p. 46). Presupposing what Pepping was to write in *Stilwende*, Blume concluded that the form and essence of the work was in the ebbing and flowing of tension in the linear writing: 'Therein

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<sup>161</sup> Though some, like Kater (1997) consider Blume as at least an opportunist if not a collaborator, other's, like Gerhard, argue for a more balanced interpretation.

Though never having joined the NSDAP like so many of his colleagues, 'he was...something of a virtuoso when it came to the art of balancing spoken collaboration, cautious disagreement, more or less hidden distancing, and power-conscious implementation of his own views' (Gerhard, 2001, p. 525). Perhaps more damaging to Blume's post-Nazi reputation, but indicative of his currency at the time, is his contribution to a 1939 *Festschrift* for Hitler's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday.

<sup>162</sup> 'Das kleine Werk gehört in die Linie der Versuche, neue Musik zu schreiben, deren natürlicher Platz nicht der Konzertsaal, sondern das Haus ist.' (p.46)

<sup>163</sup> 'Die Formsprache dieser Sonatine ist im Grunde nicht fremd.' (p. 46)

<sup>164</sup> 'die sich wiederum spannen, sich verstricken, steigern, zur Ruhe kommen, wieder aufschliessen und schliesslich eine Lösung im Ausklang finden.' (p. 46)

lies the form and contents of the movement: in the balanced relations between waves of tension and resolution of the linear energy'<sup>165</sup> (p.46).

Yet it is not just through explication and valuing of the linear style that Pepping's work is valued. Blume engaged in a strategy of associating the work to valued German musical culture favorably comparing it to Bach's '*Linienzüge*' (voice leading), Haydn's quartets, and with the atonal third movement (figure 3 above) to Beethoven's late works (p.47). He constructed a nascent positive periodist project by placing value and importance on polyphonic writing by substantiating it in reference to German canonic cultural icons. Blume also used this review to advertise Pepping's new choral works but refrained from referring to any of Pepping's earlier, more challenging, instrumental works. The interpretive work done here by Blume through webs of cultural references and positive aesthetic assertions parallels the interpretive work done to Wagner-Régeny's *Der Günstling* by Göhler (1935) following the opera's Dresden premiere. Both Pepping and Wagner-Régeny benefited from such critical reception by supporters of their work. For Wagner-Régeny this led to his initial success in the Third Reich, for Pepping such support was part of the groundwork that afforded him an easier transition into the Third Reich and employment at the *Kirchenmusikschule*.

The importance of Pepping's appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule* cannot be underestimated. At exactly the time that the mortification of modernism was at its heights Pepping moved into the safe, secure halls of the church music school, a reliable musical community into which he integrated. The cultural institutions of Germany, including the institutions of musical education, were important for the success of the Nazi Kulturpolitik; purged of political and racial undesirables they became vehicles for National Socialism. As Kater has asserted: 'From the moment it came to power in 1933, the Nazi regime was bent on reviving and coordinating musical practice in conventional institutions such as schools and even the churches...' (1997, p. 130). The very institution that Pepping now worked for had undergone, at least in name, coordination in light of National Socialism re-styled as the *Evangelischen Schule für Volksmusik* (Evangelical School for Folk Music). Pepping's move from the spaces of modernism to a church music school, re-stylised with nationalist

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<sup>165</sup> '*Darin liegt Form und Inhalt des Satzes: in den Gleichgewichtsverhältnissen zwischen den Wellenzügen von Spannung und Lösung der linearen Energie.*' (p. 46)

sentiments, placed him in a safe professional harbour. This was a strategy of retreat to cultivate safe workspace within the Third Reich. Pepping was active virtually exclusively within the cloistered space of the *Kirchenmusikschule* and church music circles until 1937. It was at the *Kirchenmusikschule* that over a period of five years (1934-1939) Pepping wrote his *Spandauer Chorbuch* a work that embodied much of the philosophical content of *Stilwende der Musik* and one that belies Pepping's choice to alter his aesthetic approach towards the strategy of positive periodicity. The collection is an artefact which illumines Pepping's personal appropriation of the "new" Zeitgeist and indicates how he reflexively oriented to this musically and acted according to this re-orientation.

*Spandauer Chorbuch* was Pepping's lengthiest compositional project. This large collection of 249 sacred motets in twenty volumes (grouped according to the liturgical calendar) written between 1934 and 1939 (and revised in 1962) demonstrates his commitment to sacred liturgical music and the fruition of his aesthetic reform towards the older polyphonic stylistic practices. It is the putting into practise what he wrote in *Stilwende der Musik*. These works are first and foremost liturgical motets, short polyphonic compositions for use in Christian, and specifically Lutheran, liturgical settings. They range from simple two voice settings to complex six voice settings and offer church musicians of varying performing resources a wealth of material for use throughout the liturgical year. In the following discussion Pepping's *Spandauer Chorbuch* project is considered via the webs of cultural associations and meanings contained in its aesthetic materials drawing on the philosophical beliefs in polyphonic music as a social change agent developed by Pepping in *Stilwende der Musik*.

### *Spandauer Chorbuch*

The centrality of melody and authentic polyphony argued by Pepping in *Stilwende* is given real form in *Spandauer Chorbuch*; it is the basis for all 249 individual motets of this collection. Throughout *Chorbuch* Pepping employed uncomplicated melodies, many pre-extant familiar tunes by German icons like Martin Luther, in uncomplicated tonal (or modal) settings virtually devoid of chromaticism. From an aesthetic standpoint they are an apotheosis to the polyphony employed in works like *Sonatine* and are readily accessible to performer and listener alike. As general example of the works in this collection number 189

*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin* (With peace and joy I now depart; Track 15) is used to focus this discussion.



Track 15 *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*: #189 *Spandauer Chorbuch*

This motet is a simple three voice polyphonic setting using a familiar Lutheran tune. The work avoids chromaticism, is rhythmically uncomplicated and is strophic (each verse is set to the same music), avoiding the complexity of through composed works. Many amateur church choirs could have learned and performed this piece; it is in this sense *Gebrauchsmusik*. Through its uncomplicated polyphony it not only exemplifies positive periodicity and a denial of modernist practices, but as utility music it maintains and furthers the German Lutheran music tradition and, if one follows Pepping's beliefs in *Stilwende*, it is a resource for group activity both through the choir and the interaction of a congregation with the liturgical music – a potential resource for *gemeinschaftswerk*, music as a change agent.

Interrogating the aesthetic material further illumines a complex web of associations beyond the connections to Pepping's ideological work on authentic polyphony. As with cultural associations made in Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* (or his Mozart cadenzas) or Wagner-Régeny's *Liederbüchlein*, Pepping was also engaging in a strategy of positive cultural associations. Like many of the motets contained in *Spandauer Chorbuch*, the tune and words used by Pepping are by Martin Luther. This particular tune first appeared in print in the *Wittembergisch Geistlich Gesangbuch* of 1524 (Walter, 1524), is found in modified form in the important Gotha hymn book of 1715 (Witt, 1715) and was in the Lutheran hymnal of Pepping's day (and still is today). It also appears in no less than five of Bach's cantatas including BWV 125 (1725) which shares the title *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*<sup>166</sup>. The text itself is Luther's translation of the passage from the Gospel of Luke 2: 27-32, the *Nunc Dimittis*, a text traditionally used in every Lutheran celebration of Holy Communion as the post communion canticle. As Pepping composed *Mit Fried und Freud*

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<sup>166</sup> Luther's melody is found in cantatas BWV 83 (*Erfreute Zeit im neuen Bunde*, 1724 – Movement 5), BWV 95 (*Christus, der ist mein Leben*, 1723 – Movement 1) and BWV 106 (*Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, 1707 – Movement 3b)

*ich fahr dahin* he consciously chose the Luther tune and text associating this motet (and in the larger sense the entire *Spandauer Chorbuch*) to a history and tradition of not only polyphonic music but of German hymnody and sacred music that stretched back over 400 years through important musical documents and figures. Pepping's aesthetic choices encapsulate generations of German musical practise and specifically, centuries of Lutheran practise and familiarity.

While his reflexive project of self led him to develop a music-philosophical stance in *Stilwende der Musik*, *Spandauer Chorbuch* afforded a realisation of that project. His work in prose focused his understandings of his self in relation to historical developments, the present time and to the future. *Spandauer Chorbuch* afforded him the acting of this future. *Spandauer Chorbuch* confirms the aesthetic path Pepping outlined in *Stilwende der Musik*, it presented Pepping as a serious church music composer in the *Gebrauchsmusik* sense. Constituting some of the first composed and published works by Pepping after the writing of *Stilwende* it is evidence of the reflexive work he put into that book. However, *Spandauer Chorbuch* was also a very practical work for his career development. As a faculty member of the Berlin-Spandau *Kirchenmusikschule* it presented him as actively engaged in church music, it substantiated his position there but it was also one of a vein of sacred choral works that could capitalise on the performing resources (e.g. choirs) to which he readily had access through the *Kirchenmusikschule* and church music circles in general.

In his conversion to sacred choral composition Pepping was well placed to have his works performed by forces associated with the *neue Kirchenmusik* movement. Pepping was engaged in writing works he knew would be performed by his contacts. The importance of these resources to the furtherance of Pepping's career and his aesthetic projects is evident in the premieres of his works from this period, performers and groups all having connection to the *Kirchenmusikschule* or church music circles in general. Gottfried Grote, Director of the *Kirchenmusikschule* (Pepping's boss) and conductor of the school's principle choir, the *Chor der Spandauer Kirchenmusikschule*, premiered seven of Pepping's major choral works from 1936-1941<sup>167</sup> and in 1934 with the *Bachverein Bremen* Grote premiered

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<sup>167</sup> These works included: *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* (1936) premiered Berlin, December 16<sup>th</sup> 1936; *Ein jegliches hat seine Zeit* (1937) premiered at the Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest* October 9, 1937; *Gleichnis vom Unkraut*, 'Das himmelreich gleicht einem Menschen' premiered Berlin October 26<sup>th</sup> 1938; *Gleichnis von der*

Pepping's *Psalm 90* (composed 1933). Activities surrounding the revival of contemporary sacred music in general also facilitated his career advancement, particularly the 1937 Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest* where Grote conducted the premiere of Pepping's *Ein jegliches hat seine Zeit* with the *Chor der Spandauer Kirchenmusikschule* while his *Jesus und Nikodemus 'Es war aber ein Mensch'* was premiered by the *Bremen Domchor*. Outside of Berlin his choral works were premiered by the acclaimed *Dresdner Kreuzchor* (choir of the Dresden Kreuzkirche)<sup>168</sup>, who also commissioned *Der Morgen, Fünf Volkslieder* in 1942, and by the Leipzig University Choir<sup>169</sup>. From 1939 to 1943 Pepping focused on organ works and found a performer ally in lauded German organist and church musician Fritz Heitmann<sup>170</sup>. Heitmann worked to disseminate the German organ tradition especially works of contemporary German church music composers like Ernst Pepping (Voge, 1963). Between 1941 and 1942 Heitmann premiered three of Pepping's organ works, two of which were large scale concerti for the instrument.<sup>171</sup>

From the earliest Third Reich Pepping developed himself into a successful composer of sacred music afforded by his teaching post and performance opportunities through the *Kirchenmusik* circles. Pepping's performance success was paralleled by publication success. After 1933, partially as a result of the mortification of modernism, Pepping (as will also be shown regarding Fortner) became a valued commodity of the Schott und Söhne firm who also published Hindemith's works. Schott had published Pepping's *Choral Suite* in 1928 and now in the Third Reich Pepping, along with a select few others (particularly Hindemith and Fortner), became part of the backbone of Schott's new music line-up (Levi, 1994).

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*königlichen hochzeit 'Saget den Gästen'* premiered Berlin October 26, 1938; *Deutsche Messe, 'Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit'* premiered Berlin October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1938; *Lob der Träne* (1940) premiered May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1942; *Das Jahr* (1940) premiered Berlin May 30<sup>th</sup> 1942

<sup>168</sup> *Der Wagen* (1940-1941) premiered Dresden, June 16<sup>th</sup> 1942 under direction of Rudolf Mauersberger.

<sup>169</sup> *Bei Tag und Nacht: Drei Volkslieder* (1942) premiered Leipzig March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1943 under direction of Friedrich Rabenschlag.

<sup>170</sup> Heitmann had held several prominent positions in church music circles including: organist of the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtnis-Kirche*, professor at the *Akademie für Kirchen und Schulmusik* and from 1930 as organist of the Berliner Dom (Berlin Cathedral).

<sup>171</sup> Details on the premieres of Pepping's compositions have been compiled from the entry on Pepping in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, the *Ernst Pepping Festschrift* (Poos, 1971) and from the Pepping-Gesellschaft's *Werkverzeichnis* web page available at [www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/Werkverzeichnis.htm](http://www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/Werkverzeichnis.htm).



Centred round his career development Pepping's choices indicate a calculative agency based upon his reflexive understandings of the cultural climate of the early Third Reich. By the end of 1934 Pepping had positioned himself within the church music movement having gradually denied his modernist past. Helped by colleagues such as Blume, Pepping appropriated the safety of a positive periodist strategy through sacred music. His acceptance of the post at the *Kirchenmusikschule* provided a firm professional foundation. He presented his musical philosophy, one that reflexively engaged positively Nazi *Kulturpolitik*, with *Stilwende der Musik* presenting himself as a German musician who agreed with the need for change sweeping Germany at the time. He declared himself a participant in the changing *Zeitgeist* through his musical activity. In works like *Spandauer Chorbuch* he clearly tailored his compositional approach in response to how he understood that changing *Zeitgeist*. These works also opportunistically capitalised on the performing resources accessible to him. While other composers, such as Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski, felt themselves amidst the mortification of modernism, Pepping's actions insulated him from the process. Yet, like them Pepping came to understand his situation by thinking with and through music. By relating wider socio-cultural contexts to his activity as a composer – his reflexive project of self – Pepping came to an understanding that the times had changed and that the way forward was through positive periodist, polyphonic sacred works. Much in the same way as Hindemith decided not to compose *Etienne und Luise* based on his understandings of the times, Pepping came to deny his modernist roots and focus on more traditional sacred choral works. In terms of career development within the Third Reich this strategy served him well. However, it seems Pepping was not satisfied with sacred music alone.

In the following section I pick up on Pepping's re-commitment to secular instrumental work. By 1938, after establishing himself as one of the most important young sacred music composers Pepping actively re-engaged with secular works. By the end of the Third Reich Pepping had brought himself full circle from a composer initially engaged with modernist secular instrumental works, to sacred music and back to secular instrumental works. However, as contended below, Pepping's return to the secular was vastly different from his earlier 'attempts to write new music'; it was, like the activity of Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny in the first years of the Third Reich, a re-presentation of his professional self as a non-controversial composer.

## *Return to the secular*

During the transition years to the Third Reich Pepping narrowed the media of his output becoming a successful sacred music composer by focusing activity to sacred choral music. Following the successful presentation of himself as a sacred music composer in Nazi Germany – through *Stilwende der Musik*, his appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule*, and through his large output of sacred works – Pepping began to re-present himself as a secular composer of instrumental works. In this section I look at how Pepping did this gradually beginning with piano works and eventually moving to large scale symphonies; a movement from works designed for domestic consumption to works designed for public consumption.

Pepping's movement from a narrow output to a diverse one after successfully establishing himself in the "new" Germany is a reversal of the process followed, for example, by Wagner-Régeny. Wagner-Régeny moved from a diverse output (opera, lieder, solo keyboard, orchestral) in his early Third Reich career to a narrow focus on staged works and when he became *persona non grata* he focused his activity on keyboard works. Pepping first established himself as a successful composer in the safe space of church music before branching out again to secular instrumental works. To focus this discussion I first consider how Pepping engaged with small scale secular works with a brief look at *Zwei Romanzen* for piano (1935). I then move to more public works by considering his neo-classical *Drei Sonaten* (1937) for piano before coming to consider his appropriation of public space through orchestral works with his *Senfl Variationen* (1937) and his three large scale symphonies (1939, 1942, 1944).

### *Zwei Romanzen (1935): Cautious re-introduction to secular music*

Ernst Pepping's first engagement with a secular work during the Third Reich came in 1935 with two short piano pieces entitled *Zwei Romanzen*, the first of seven piano works over the next ten years which differ significantly from Pepping's previously discussed 1931 *Sonatine*. *Zwei Romanzen*, like all his works from the Nazi period, further demonstrate Pepping's aesthetic changes – his engagement with the polyphonic style (and correlation to the ideology of *Stilwende der Musik*) but through considerably more conservative means. With *Zwei Romanzen* Pepping also chose to re-engage with secular instrumental works

initially with short pieces suited to a domestic market. By producing these short piano works Pepping appropriated the domestic space with works ‘whose natural place is not in the concert hall but in the house’ as Blume said of *Sonatine* (1932, p. 46). However, *Zwei Romanzen* (published by Schott) are far more accessible than the 1931 *Sonatine* and would not have offended listeners in a public setting in the way Blume’s apologetic review of *Sonatine* implied. These two pieces are a cautious step back into secular music.

*Zwei Romanzen* exemplifies many of the aspects of the sacred choral works Pepping was producing at the time: polyphonic, tonal/modal, uncomplicated rhythm. For example the first of these pieces (Track 16) begins with a simple two voice texture in C major. While Pepping does employ some chromaticism he never moves into the chromatic dissonance, pentatonicism and rhythmic complexity employed in *Sonatina*.



Track 16: Ernst Pepping *Zwei Romanzen, I*

These pieces continued the revisionary aesthetics the composer outlined in his book, first heard in his early Third Reich sacred choral works, a project understood by the composer as responsive to the spirit of the times. As short conventional pieces appropriate for the domestic market they are a cautious re-presentation of the composer to secular instrumental composition and reflect his aesthetic orientation to the times in which he was living – what he anticipated was right for the times and therefore what he anticipated would be successful. Pepping’s next piano works, the *Drei Sonaten* of 1937 bring him back into secular instrumental music in a much more public way.

*Drei Sonaten (1937): Re-emergence to public secular music*

Piano sonatas are appropriate to multiple performance spaces. They are routinely learned by amateur and professional pianists alike, performed in homes, intimate public gatherings of salon nature, and form the backbone of the concert repertoire of professional concert artists. However, *Drei Sonaten* were intended for the latter – the public repertoire of professional concert pianists. Where *Zwei Romanzen* were short domestic works *Drei*

*Sonaten* are substantial works conceived for public performance. The premiere of *Sonate I* took place in October 1937 at the Berlin *Deutschen Kirchenmusikfest* by Adrian Aeschbacher and the premiere of *Sonate III* was given in Berlin in April 1938 by Georg Kuhlmann ([www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/werkverzeichnis](http://www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/werkverzeichnis)). Though more public than *Zwei Romanzen*, their presentation still emanated from a cautious stance with the first premiered during a sacred music festival, a “safe” space in which Pepping was already well regarded. In scope and style the neo-classical *Drei Sonaten*, even more than *Zwei Romanzen*, are conventional and accessible paying homage to the classical forms that dominated the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They are artefacts of Pepping’s strategy of positive periodicity.

*Drei Sonaten* have been studied by music theorists – see Hamm (1955) and Scheideler (1996) – who have interrogated the neo-classical structure of these works finding that all three creatively depend on the traditional forms and procedures of the classical piano sonata. For example Hamm’s analysis concluded that of the ten movements across the three sonatas<sup>172</sup> eight rely upon a clearly articulated ABA structure. Pepping was composing public works through familiar and recognizable musical forms. In this discussion I use traditional concepts of the multi-movement sonata and refer to the opening movements of the first two sonatas to highlight how Pepping constructed these works with familiar forms, pianistic gestures/figurations and conventional tonality and rhythmic structures.

In terms of the overarching form of the multi-movement sonata, relationships of the keys of each movement have traditionally been important. Conventionally the first and final movements of a sonata are in the tonic key of the work while the inner movements are in contrasting but closely related keys. *Sonate I* (in D major) is a text book example of this: movement one is in the tonic (D major), movement two is in the dominant (closely related) key of A major and movement three returns to D major. This strict harmonic design is absent from *Sonatine* and other works from Pepping’s Weimar Republic oeuvre, but is in play in all of his multi-movement works of the Third Reich (including the symphonies discussed below). Additionally this type of construction corresponds to Pepping’s belief of the eternal movement between tension and relaxation he saw in authentic music. It is a well

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<sup>172</sup> Sonate I = 3 movements, Sonate II = 3 movements, Sonate III = 4 movements.

documented line of thinking (see for example Rosen, 1988; 1997; 2002; Schenker, 1906; 1925; Smith, 2002; Schulte-Bunert, 1963) that Classical music (particularly the masterworks of the classical canon) follows a pattern from relaxation (tonic key) to harmonic tension (dominant, or other related key) with a return to relaxation (tonic key) in the end – a narrative form of introduction, conflict and resolution. With his sonatas Pepping employed this conventional design, directly relating his work to the history of the genre while accessing what he considered to be authentic music for his time.

This macro level conventional design also filters into the individual movements. The first movement of *Sonate I* is in a clear AA<sup>i</sup> form, is tuneful and tonal. When the movement deviates from the tonic (the creation of harmonic tension) it does so to conventionally related keys (relative b minor, dominant A major, parallel d minor). Pepping also employed conventional pianistic writing. The opening theme (Track 17) is based on an elaboration of the D major scale and leads to other traditional pianistic gestures such as the alternating figurations in the treble voice with octaves and block chords in the left hand.



Track 17: Ernst Pepping *Sonate I*, Movement I

The conventionality of these sonatas is further evident in *Sonate II* written in C major. Again using traditional forms the first movement of this work is a theme and variations based on the canzona, a form developed in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, clearly appealing to Pepping's melodic and early polyphonic interests. Pepping based his *Canzone con variazioni* (Track 18) in C, alternating between major and minor modes. The writing is very direct and explicitly tonal. Rhythmically none of the complex patterns found in works like *Sonatine* are present. Pepping employed a straight forward common time pattern with clear beats and conventional rhythmic cells.



Track 18: Ernst Pepping *Sonate II*, Movement I

My analysis, and those of the aforementioned musical theorists (Hamm, 1955; Scheideler, 1996), reveals the very basic conventional aesthetics chosen by Pepping for *Drei Sonaten*. These works, which presented him as a public composer of secular instrumental music, were engineered to be imminently accessible to performers and audiences. They are safe, uncontroversial works much like Wagner-Régeny's *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*. Linked to Pepping's interests in earlier polyphonic styles, forms and practices they are works he was comfortable with using to re-engage with secular instrumental writing. As such these works were vehicles both for his presentation of self and in the process of composition – writing works appropriate for the time – are products of his understandings of this time. Following on from *Zwei Romanzen* they afforded him a further step back to secular instrumental composition in the public eye. At the time Pepping composed *Drei Sonaten* he also worked on a composition that necessitates public performance an orchestral work entitled *Senfl Variationen*.

#### *Senfl Variationen: Pepping's new orchestral style*

While piano works appropriate domestic and public space, orchestral works such as Pepping's *Senfl Variations* are by definition public works – they require larger performing forces and spaces. With *Senfl Variationen* Pepping made a further cautious step towards publicly re-presenting himself as a secular instrumental composer through strategies of positive periodicity and safe associations to German cultural history.

With *Zwei Romanzen* (1935) Pepping cautiously re-engaged with instrumental composition through short piano pieces for domestic use. With the neo-classical *Drei Sonaten* he wrote works for public performance but first introduced in the safe space of the 1937 *Kirchenmusikfest*. *Senfl Variationen*, premiered in 1937 at the *Bad Pyrmont Musiktag* festival, moved him back into secular orchestral work with a composition tied to a celebrated German Renaissance composer Ludwig Senfl.

By 1937 Pepping had spent five years away from orchestral composition. This focus away from orchestral music is an anomaly in his career. Prior to the Nazi regime Pepping exerted considerable effort to establish himself as an orchestral composer within modernist circles. Between 1926 and 1927 he wrote three instrumental concerti inspired by Hindemith's

*Kammermusik* works. In 1929 he wrote a prelude for orchestra along with a lost work *La Marche des Machines*. In 1930 he composed a piano concerto and an orchestral invention and between 1931 and 1932 he produced both a suite and a partita for orchestra. Then for five years he was orchestrally silent. As aforementioned these earlier orchestral works were not well received by the general public; building on the success of his choral works Pepping had abandoned his poorly received orchestral pursuits to develop his sacred music career. Then, as an established composer, Pepping returned to the orchestral field but with a work, like *Zwei Romanzen* and *Drei Sonaten*, that avoided the modernist style of his earlier attempts.

Pepping's *Senfl Variationen* are variations on the tune 'Lust hab ich g'habt zur Musika' by Ludwig Senfl (1486-1543). Written as homage to the celebrated renaissance, and more importantly reformation era composer Senfl, it is a positive periodist work with strong connections to the German historical narrative. Ludwig Senfl, born in Switzerland in 1486, moved permanently to Germany when he joined the choir of the *Hofkapelle* of Emperor Maximilian I at Augsburg in 1496. Eventually coming to work at Munich Senfl is known to have been present at the Diet of Worms and to have had extensive correspondence with Martin Luther. Musically he was central to the development of Renaissance polyphonic practices (of Franco-Flemish origins) in Germany (Benter and Gottwald, 2001). Senfl, as an historic polyphonic forefather, offered Pepping connection to his own personal narrative, his devotion to the polyphonic art which Senfl pioneered in Germany, and via connection to the reformation and Martin Luther the appropriated collective history of Germany itself. Like Hindemith's development of association to Mozart through concerto cadenzas and the reformation era opera *Mathis der Maler*, and Wagner-Régeny's associations through stage works to the cultural icons Schiller and Shakespeare, so too Pepping constructed for his music and his self presentation a positive cultural association.

This strategy of positive cultural associations was supported by a work of clear positive periodicity. As found by Heinemann (1996), this tonal work with a clear theme and variation form (like the first movement of *Sonate II* for piano) is vastly different from Pepping's pre-Third Reich orchestral works. It is not like his Hindemith inspired concerti or the chromatic *Sonatine*. Instead *Senfl-Variationen* is a neo-classical setting of a work based on a laudable German historical figure. Based on his understandings of the current

cultural climate Pepping constructed a work that he believed would be well received, a work that would present him in a positive light as an orchestral composer. *Senfl Variationen* was successful and with *Zwei Romanzen* and *Drei Sonaten* also under his belt by 1939 Pepping had moved into the symphonic repertoire with the first of his three symphonies composed during the latter Third Reich.

### *Three Symphonies: Pepping on the big stage*

Continuing a return to secular instrumental composition in 1939 the first of Pepping's three symphonies, all written between 1939 and 1944, was completed. Since his *Zwei Romanzen* of 1935 Pepping had progressed from domestic secular instrumental works to the more public *Drei Sonaten* the first of which was premiered in the safe space of the Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest*. *Senfl Variationen* based on a historically important cultural figure brought him back to the orchestral repertoire through participation in the summer Bad Pyrmont festival. Then in 1939 Pepping reached the big orchestral stage with his first symphony premiered by the *Dresden Staatskapelle* on December 8, 1939 (<http://www.pepping-gesellschaft.de/Werkverzeichnis.htm>). Like *Drei Sonaten* and *Senfl Variationen* the symphony is positive periodicity in action. A tonal work in C major, a key Pepping chose time and again for his works in the Third Reich, it follows the traditional four movement format preserving many of the internal movement structures found in classical symphonies. For example, the first movement is in sonata form with clear tonal theme groups (Track 19). Though not followed by a conventional development section the exposition is followed by a contrasting slow section before bursting back into the bright opening material in the recapitulation (on symphonies see also Freytag, 1948).



Track 19: Ernst Pepping *Symphony No.1 in C Major*, Movement 1 (piano reduction)

By the time Pepping composed this work he had come to understand the climate of music reception in Nazi Germany and had constructed a work that was very well received. Indicative of its reception Laux described it as the ““occupation of a progressive mind with



a form that has already found its historical fulfilment. By permeating it with the design principles of pre-classical music, he furthers it creatively” (quoted from Eber, 2006, pp. 17-18). Within the cultural climate of Nazi Germany Pepping was by then received as a ‘progressive mind’ – one who melded historical form with ‘principles of pre-classical music’. Pepping’s strategy of positive periodicity, to use principles and practices of the past – to collect the dispersed parts – to form new music led to his positive reception as an orchestral composer within Nazi Germany.

The calculative method by which Pepping achieved this success has not gone without criticism. Speaking directly about the *Symphony No. 1*, Pepping’s acquaintance Adolf Brunner, writing in 1997, alluded to Pepping’s calculative aesthetic negotiation during the Third Reich. While Brunner understood changes in Pepping’s compositional practise as part of the ‘general tendencies of the time [Third Reich]’ he recognized that Pepping had ‘from one day to the next’ broken ‘with all that he had previously composed and disowned earlier works’. Brunner highlights the stark changes Pepping made in his compositional activity from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich. In 1934 when Pepping wrote *Stilwende der Musik* he himself recognized the socio-cultural changes around him and vowed to orient himself to them through his musical aesthetic agency. In this reflexive project of the self he came to understand how to write successful works in the Third Reich. After legitimizing himself within the relatively safe arena of church music he cautiously moved back towards secular instrumental works writing works of positive periodicity, positive extra-musical associations and finally now a successful symphony in C major. Pepping’s successful compositional decisions recall the words of Bertholdt Goldschmidt, a Jewish musician who fled the Nazi regime in 1935, who when asked what the Nazi regime expected of its composers replied, ‘Music in C major’ (Goldschmidt, 1990, p. 4; see also Goldschmidt, 1991; Matthews, 1983).

Writing in the *Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1942 Adrio recognized Pepping as one of Germany’s leading young musicians. Substantiating Pepping’s success in 1942 he completed his second symphony, commissioned by the Essen opera house for their 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations. A heavier and larger work than the first symphony it again draws upon conventions of the symphonic repertoire though fused with ‘design principles of pre-classical music’. Written between February and August of 1942 it was premiered in Essen

on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1943 under Albert Bittner; later Wilhelm Furtwängler conducted it in Berlin with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (Riemer, 1951; Eber, 2006).

Pepping's return to the secular instrumental realm had come full circle, he had learned the winning combination – how to write successfully received music for his times. By now Pepping had ceased composing sacred choral works and turned completely to the secular. Along with organ concerti, secular choral works on *völkisch* themes, a string quartet, etc. Pepping's last Third Reich works include one final grand symphony *Die Tageszeiten*. The composer had to wait four years before it could be performed. Premiered in August 1948 the spirit of the times had once again changed Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt writing in the *Neue Zeitung*: “...increasingly conservative results: the return to pure tonality and traditional forms is further developed here. With this work Pepping has attained an old-masterliness that keeps its stylistic circle deliberately narrow” (Eber, 2006, p. 20). Stuckenschmidt's review, though diplomatic, receives this work not as from a ‘progressive mind’ as Laux had received the first symphony, but as a conservative work of ‘old-masterliness’ that is ‘deliberately narrow’ in scope. It was a deliberately narrow work based in conventional tonality and forms – that is how Pepping had come to understand the times he was living during the Nazi regime.

### *Summary*

Ernst Pepping provided my fourth case for understanding the activity of a Third Reich cultural producer. His musical education began within circles of Weimar modernism. A student of the liberal minded Gmeindl at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* Pepping developed connections to important modernist figures and events in his early professional career. His earliest professional compositional activity was focused on developing into a modernist composer of secular instrumental music. While he was successful in having these early instrumental works performed at modernist festivals (Donaueschingen, ISCM) these modernist works were considered ‘difficult’ and with ‘little public appeal’. By the late Weimar Republic, influenced by the resurgence in early music and the *neue Kirchenmusik* movement – and with the support of individuals such as Friedrich Blume – Pepping began to develop himself into a sacred music composer.

By 1934 with his appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule* Pepping's movement away from secular modernism had become a calculative move for his professional future as he appropriated the safe space of sacred music composition through a strategy of positive periodicity. Through essentially a strategy of retreat, Pepping cultivated a safe workspace in which to compose. Based on the reflexive work he did in and through *Stilwende der Musik* his compositional decisions – his agency – were part and parcel of his reflexive engagement with the world around him, harnessing music as a tool to consider his situation in the wider context, the *Zeitgeist*. The understandings he developed from this reflexive thinking were used to develop beliefs in music's affordances and to compose works he felt appropriate and authentic to the spirit of the times, constituted by and constitutive of the changing socio-cultural dynamics of Germany. Through extensive interpretive work Pepping developed the belief that his "authentic" polyphonic music was able to act as a social change agent.

As with Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski a central part of this process was writing about music. For Pepping *Stilwende der Musik* was a space and resource for him to both engage in the reflexive project of self – to think through music about the socio-cultural changes around him and to situate himself *vis á vis* the past and present and to plan for the future – and to present himself as a reflexive social agent aware of the changing times and eager to participate in these changes through music interpreted to be a change agent. Through thinking with and through music Pepping came to understand historical socio-cultural changes through the musical concepts of linear versus vertical construction. Using this interpretive work Pepping understood linear composition as constituted by and constitutive of historical periods believed to be objective and communally focused. Vertically conceived music was for Pepping the exact opposite, constituted by and constitutive of subjective, decadent periods of society where the focus was individualistic. Having come to these understandings he believed the spirit of his times was desirably moving towards objectivity and communal focus. Thus he concluded the music appropriate for the contemporary *Zeitgeist*, the type of music that could be an agent to continue the objective communal development of that *Zeitgeist*, was linear, polyphonic, based on styles and practices of early music.

By thinking with and through music he engaged in the reflexive project of self coming to situate himself in relation to historical developments and the present times. Based on this reflexive thinking he was able to plan his future musical activity – to continue to cultivate the polyphonic style principally within the safe space of sacred music. Additionally, he presented himself as an artist positively engaged (from the viewpoint of National Socialist Germany) in working towards a new community and makes the argument for the validity of his aesthetic projects to this work. While Pepping declared himself against many of the aesthetic trends of the previous decades he maintained an essentially *Gebrauchsmusik* stance derived from his Weimar Republic experiences but tailored to the National Socialist project of transforming Germany into the Third Reich thereby situating himself through music as active in that process. This placement of self as responsive to and active in social change was founded on Pepping's belief in the musical affordances of authentic polyphonic music to engage individuals in *gemeinschaftswerk* – community building. It is central to the argument here to recognize that the musical affordance of *gemeinschaftswerk*, whether realized or not in action, existed because Pepping believed it existed. Whatever music might afford in action, individuals or groups have to do something to music first, to think and believe its affordances. Pepping – like Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski – accomplished this through interpretive work done to music; they harnessed music in the abstract as a resource in the reflexive project of self and to inform agency – to plan how to act in the future, to draw the future into the present.

Pepping's agency – his musical actions – is discernible in his movement away from modernist instrumental music towards positive periodist sacred choral music. While this change began prior to the Third Reich it became a calculated conversion relative to his reflexive thinking by 1934 when he accepted appointment to the *Kirchenmusikschule* and published *Stilwende der Musik*. This shift afforded Pepping the forging – with collaborative support – of a successful career during the Third Reich where success is defined by fulltime employment, performance and publication of his compositions. This career was first based on his self presentation as a sacred music composer of functional (in the liturgical sense) positive periodist music as evidenced in his *Spandauer Chorbuch*. The aesthetic move away from modernist instrumental music is evident in the above comparison of the materials of works like *Sonatine* (1931) with works composed during the Third Reich such as *Spandauer Chorbuch* (1934-1939) or *Drei Sonaten für Klavier* (1937). In this

comparison his compositional actions disown the chromatic/atonal works as he made ‘choices about style and technique from among the many possibilities offered in the 1920s’ (Gebauer, 1977, p. 23). His choices led him to works that drew upon conventional and familiar music cultural symbols such as tonality while also making connections to extra-musical symbols and icons such as Martin Luther (*Spandauer Chorbuch*) and Ludwig Senfl (*Senfl Variationen*). Pepping engaged in strategies of positive periodicity and positive associations to German cultural history.

Through Pepping’s sacred choral works he capitalised on performing forces he had connection or access to. Throughout the Third Reich his choral works were performed by his *Kirchenmusikschule* boss Director Gottfried Grote. Other performing ensembles such as the *Dresden Kreuzchor* and the Leipzig University choir also engaged with Pepping’s music as did organist Fritz Heitmann. Pepping’s works were focused on media and genres he knew were readily performable. His music was designed to be presented through a strategy of relying on cooperative networks available to him. In this activity he was able to efficiently present himself publicly as a sacred music composer, substantiate and legitimize his position at the *Kirchenmusikschule* and become a successful composer in Nazi Germany in general.

Once Pepping was firmly established as a composer in the Third Reich he returned to his initial compositional interests, that of secular instrumental writing. His earlier secular instrumental works such as *Sonatine* were designed for Weimar modernist circles. However, Pepping the reflexive agent by then “knew” this type of aesthetic would no longer reflect the *Zeitgeist* – that they would be unsuccessful. Therefore, his re-engagement with secular instrumental music followed the style of music he cultivated with positive periodist sacred works: polyphonic, tonal/modal, uncomplicated rhythm. His secular instrumental activity is likewise oriented to his understandings of the spirit of the times – what he anticipated was right for the times and therefore what he anticipated would be successful.

Pepping’s re-presentation as a secular instrumental composer was cautious. He first began with the short, conventional domestic oriented *Zwei Romanzen* in 1935. In 1937, along with his orchestral work *Senfl Variationen*, Pepping produced *Drei Sonaten* which brought the

composer further into the public instrumental light. However, this was again a cautious representation; the first of these sonatas premiered within a professional circle in which Pepping was already a legitimate actor – the 1937 Berlin *Kirchenmusikfest. Drei Sonaten* also followed the conservative aesthetic Pepping had appropriated. They are neo-classical in design depending on creative approaches to traditional forms and procedures. Pepping continued to write in a way he reasoned appropriate to the spirit of the times and works he anticipated would be successful by his use of familiar and recognizable musical forms, the strategy of positive periodicity.

Along with *Drei Sonaten* in 1937 Pepping's *Senfl Variationen* were also premiered. *Senfl Variationen* was another cautious step towards his public presentation of self as a secular instrumental composer. Based on renaissance composer Ludwig Senfl's lied '*Lust hab ich g'habt zur Musika*', the orchestral work is an homage to Senfl a recognized figure in German music history, one connected to the Lutheran Reformation and to the development of the polyphonic art in Germany that Pepping so earnestly believed in. With this neo-classical work Pepping not only drew on music-cultural symbols of familiar and recognizable forms but connections to his own personal narrative as a polyphonic composer through a musical icon connected to the larger German historical narrative. Paralleling the developed connections of Hindemith to Mozart and Wagner-Régeny to Schiller and Shakespeare, Pepping too constructed for his music and his self presentation associations to valued German cultural history.

Having cautiously re-presented himself as a secular instrumental composer through domestic means with *Zwei Romanzen*, and increasingly public means with *Drei Sonaten* and *Senfl Variationen*, from 1939 to 1944 Pepping engaged with the big orchestral stage with three large scale symphonies. His first symphony (*Symphony in C Major*) was, like all his symphonies, a strategy of positive periodicity; it is tonal and follows a traditional four movement design. Premiered in Dresden by the *Staatskapelle* the symphony's success confirmed Pepping as a successful composer – not just a successful composer of sacred music. Received as the product of 'a progressive mind' the C major symphony was critically interpreted as part of a 'historical fulfilment' permeated with 'the design principles of pre-classical music' (Laux, 1939 quoted from Eber, 2006, pp. 17-18).

Pepping, who had ‘from one day to the next’ broken ‘with all that he had previous composed and disowned earlier work’ (Brunner, 1997 quoted from Eber, 2006, p. 18) was ultimately successful through his reflexive project of the self in enabling his compositional agency to develop a successful career in the Third Reich. Pepping had come to understand the climate of music and its reception in Nazi Germany and was successful in that he composed works that were received well. In 1942 he was declared by Adrio in the *Zeitschrift für Musik* as one of Germany’s leading composers. His *Symphony No. 2*, a commission from the opera house in Essen, was performed in Berlin with the Berlin Philharmonic, Wilhelm Furtwängler conducting. Pepping had by then come full circle from failed attempts at instrumental works in the 1920s to a successful career as a sacred music composer and now finally a successful career in secular instrumental composition.

Contrasting Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski, Ernst Pepping was able to act successfully throughout the Third Reich as a composer. He accomplished this through calculative decisions of what and how to compose. Growing out of a gradual transformation to sacred music prior to the Third Reich he capitalized on this through acceptance of the *Kirchenmusikschule* appointment and devoting himself for a time to sacred choral works. Early in the Third Reich Pepping reflexively took stock of the wider socio-cultural changes to develop understandings of his current situation of self. He used music to think about and understand historical changes and developments related to his understanding of the spirit of the times. The abstract musical concepts of linear versus vertical music became emblems for his understanding of past socio-cultural developments as well as those of his own time. Believing that his own time was one of objectivity and communal concerns (as opposed to subjective individualism) he believed in his polyphonic style as constitutive of and constituting these wider socio-cultural changes. Acting instrumentally he then composed music that acted upon this reflexive engagement with the world around him creating works that capitalised on performing forces available to him and works he anticipated as authentic to his times – works he anticipated would be successful and further his compositional career. Once legitimized in the safe space of sacred music Pepping turned again to secular instrumental works and developed himself into a composer of both becoming recognized as a leading figure of music within Nazi Germany.

**Wolfgang Fortner**



# *Wolfgang Fortner*

## *Introduction*

In this final case study I explore the musical activity of composer Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987). At only twenty-five years of age in January 1933 Fortner's case, even more than Pepping's (who was seven years Fortner's senior), affords consideration of a young composer whose earliest career development coincided with the end of the Weimar Republic and the early Third Reich. Fortner, as discussed in the chapter 'Mortification of Modernism', was labelled a "cultural bolshevist" by conservative Nazi oriented critics in 1931. As such, this case study focuses primarily on how Fortner mobilized music in his representation of self to overcome this dangerous reception. Since the negative press (which surrounded a social activist themed work *Chor der Fräuleins* from 1930) had presented Fortner negatively prior to the Third Reich I investigate not just how music publicly represents the composer but how, like Hindemith, Fortner attempted (and unlike Hindemith was successful at) re-presenting himself early in the Third Reich as an acceptable and valuable German composer.

Fortner's case also provides another unique perspective. While previous case studies, particularly Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny, afforded consideration of how cultural producers were at least tangentially connected to Nazi organizations, events and supporters, Fortner's case is one of a *Parteigenossen*. Fortner joined the NSDAP in 1940.

While there is no valid excuse for an individual joining such an abhorrent socio-political organization as the Nazi party, here I consider this and other more tangential associations Fortner developed as evidence of his agency oriented towards first redressing the negative presentation of self he endured prior to 1933 and then positively presenting himself within the National Socialist state to afford his professional career. Like Hindemith and Wagner-Régeny, Fortner engaged in a strategy of associating himself with Nazi organizations, though neither of the previous composers went as far as Fortner in this respect. While early connections to party affiliated organizations and events (and eventual party membership) were part of his actions to develop and positively present his professional musical self, they

are only one part of this project. Interrogating Fortner's compositional activity I show how he mobilized music to present himself as a valuable and uncontroversial artist during the Third Reich. Fortner – like Wagner-Régeny and Pepping – did this through the strategies of positive periodicity and associations to positively valued German culture. I ground these conclusions by showing how the critical press, through reviews, identified and supported these projects for the composer.

I begin, as always, with a brief biographical sketch before moving to the section 'Modernism vs. Traditionalism: Fortner's (re)conciliation' to situate Fortner's early career as between two divergent approaches to new music. Both emanating from the same anti-romantic sentiments of the day, Fortner was caught between the neo-classical, traditionalist views of his teachers at the Leipzig conservatory (1927-1931) – from which he ultimately developed the strategy of positive periodicity used during the Third Reich – and his personal interests in modernism, particularly the work of Hindemith.

Next I turn to Fortner's personal experience of the mortification of modernism ("Mortification of Modernism and *Chor der Fräuleins*") and his degradation in the press regarding his acappella choral work *Chor der Fräuleins*. This work, based on the poetry of socialist Erich Kästner, challenged the traditional family value sensibilities of right-wing activists and placed Fortner in a precarious position *vis á vis* Nazi ideology. I contend, as have others (Colpa, 2002), that this was a turning point for Fortner, coming to understand it as a central factor in his reflexive project of self in understanding the wider socio-cultural climate and conditions of reception for his music and consequently himself through experiences of fear and intimidation. In this section I also highlight how Fortner, like Hindemith, engaged in this reflexive project collaboratively through dialogue with his publishers at the Schott und Söhne firm.

In the section "Fortner the Third Reich composer: Re-presenting self through music" how the composer developed and presented himself as an acceptable cultural producer in the Third Reich is demonstrated. Through discussions of works including – *Konzert für Streicher* (1933), *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin* (1933), *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* (1934), *Sonatina für Klavier* (1934) – an argument for how Fortner connected these works aesthetically (in regards to the instrumental compositions) and textually (in regards to the

texted compositions) to valued German icons and traditions is developed. I discuss how Fortner came to rely on the essentially neo-classical positive periodist strategy (rather than the modernist) from his Leipzig education. With reference to contemporary reviews how such design was positively interpreted, appropriated and disseminated is explored. Though most of what is presented here deals with the early Third Reich and Fortner's initial representation of self, later works are briefly discussed to show how Fortner continued this project throughout the Nazi regime.

Finally, in a brief discussion of Fortner's post WWII activity ("Abandoning the past, representing for the future") I further substantiate the claim that Fortner consciously used music to develop and present his professional self through music. In the post-WWII era Fortner again converted his aesthetic direction enthusiastically adopting and teaching the latest modernist/avant garde trends. Additionally he took steps to cover up some of his most successful Third Reich works realizing they no longer positively presented him publicly.

#### *Fortner: A brief overview*

Wolfgang Fortner was born October 12, 1907 in Leipzig and is the youngest composer considered within my research; he was only twenty-five at the beginning of the Third Reich. Growing up in the "city of Bach" (J.S. Bach was *Thomaskantor* at Leipzig from 1723-1750), Fortner was steeped in the heritage of Leipzig's musical history and Baroque lineage. However, as discussed below, Fortner navigated between poles of traditionalism (as influenced from his Leipzig education) and his personal penchant for modernism influenced by Hindemith's works (Fortner, 1963). Unlike Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Pepping, Fortner spent little time in Berlin, developing his career in Heidelberg where he secured a professional appointment in 1931. By the latter Third Reich Fortner was considered one of Germany's best composers by Nazi ideologues (Kater, 1997). Following WWII Fortner re-presented himself as an influential force in modernism particularly as a compositional pedagogue within avant garde circles (Dibelius, 1984).

Like Hindemith, Fortner's musical skills developed from a young age. Coming from a musical family Fortner learned the European art tradition from infancy. As a youth he studied piano and organ and made his first compositional attempts by the age of nine

(Weber, 1995; 2001). During these early years Fortner also began to foster an interest in contemporary music often attending events of the *Leipzig Konzertverein*, one of the regional modernist music support structures of the 1920s. It may have been through these concerts that he first heard works by Hindemith, experiences which came to have a deep impact on the developing composer. In his book *Die Weltsprache* (1963) Fortner is explicit about Hindemith's influence on him, but also his interest in early music – particularly that of the Baroque – and an interest in combining the new and the old, a struggle between poles of modernism and traditionalism:

‘Then in the mean time from the age of sixteen [1923] I discovered new music. The works which most strongly influenced me were from the early and middle periods of Hindemith... There was someone [Hindemith] who infused counterpoint, Baroque forms in short the tradition that at the time for me had the character of absolute value, with new life. I felt: “That’s how Bach would have performed and composed in our time”’.<sup>173</sup> (Fortner, 1963, p. 390)

In 1927 Fortner began four years of study at the Leipzig Conservatory where he learned traditional musical craft from teachers including: Hermann Grabner, composition; Karl Straube, organ; Theodor Kroyer (Heidelberg University), musicology. Grabner, Straube and Kroyer were strong exponents of polyphonic forms inspired by the Renaissance and Baroque, a conservatively neo-classical outlook. Like modernists these individuals reacted against the perceived decadence of late romanticism but did so by revising earlier musical forms and procedures rather than inventing new ones; theirs was a path based in conservative neo-classicism (in contrast to Stravinsky's neo-classicism for example). All three individuals disavowed much of the experimentation that took place during the interregnum particularly that of the atonalists and serialists (Dibelius, 1984; Laaff, 1955; Weber, 1995; 2001). As Fortner's fellow student Hugo Distler wrote in reference to their shared composition teacher: ‘Grabner completely rejects the moderns’ (Quoted from Colpa, 2002, p. 34).

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<sup>173</sup> „Denn inzwischen war ich – sechzehn Jahre alt – auf die neue Musik gestossen. Und es waren die Werke aus der frühen und mittleren Schaffensperiode Hindemiths, die den stärksten Einfluss auf mich ausubten... Und da war jemand, der den Kontrapunkt, die barocken Formen, diese Tradition, die für mich damals noch den Charakter absoluter Werte hatte, mit neuem Leben erfüllte. Ich hatte das Gefühl: „So könnte Bach in unserer Zeit musiziert und komponiert haben““. (Fortner 1963, p. 390).

Fortner was encouraged by his organ teacher Straube to pursue a career in church music. However, the student chose a different path graduating from the conservatory in 1931 with qualifications in theory and composition writing his thesis on Hindemith's chamber works in exploration of how older contrapuntal/polyphonic practices could be melded with modernism (Colpa, 2002; Fortner, 1963). The young composer was using the neo-classical approach to new music to reconcile the old with the contemporary a project very much like that of Busoni's *Neue Klassizität* (Levitz, 1996).

Outside the conservatory Fortner was developing a successful career as a professional composer. In 1929, while still a student, he was (like Hindemith and Pepping) signed to the Schott und Söhne firm which published his works throughout his career. The first work they published was *Die Vier marianisches Antiphonen* (a sacred work for soloist, choir and orchestra) whose premiere was described as '...more than a "sensation", it was heartfelt, that here was a meaningful work by a living composer'<sup>174</sup> (Krieger, 1931, p. 171). As discussed below, Fortner's association with this firm was a key resource for advice used in his reflexive project and presentation of self. As the Schott firm became the pre-eminent publisher of contemporary music in the Third Reich (Levi, 1996, p.160) this was also an association that afforded Fortner means to positively present himself during that period. In 1930 Fortner's *String Quartet, No. 1* was well received when performed at the Königsberg AdMV festival (Leichtentritt, 1930d, p. 940) and when in September 1931 his *Schulspiel* (school play) *Cress ertrinkt* (Cress Drowning) was performed at the ISCM festival in Pyrmont critic Leichtentritt remarked that the young composer was gaining notoriety (1931, 846-847). In this same year Fortner completed his formal studies and secured a position, not unlike Pepping's in Berlin, at the Heidelberg *Evangelisches Kirchenmusikalische Institut* teaching theory and composition. In Heidelberg he eventually became director of the *Collegium Musicum* and founded the Heidelberg Chamber Orchestra (Kater, 1997).

Before turning to consider Fortner's musical agency during the Third Reich it is necessary to briefly explore the position of Fortner's neo-classical approach towards new music under National Socialism. While Fortner's neo-classical blending of old and new was heavily influenced by his traditional education his earliest professional activities suggest a

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<sup>174</sup> 'Die Uraufführung war mehr als „Sensation“, war Herzenserfolg, denn hier war ein bedeutsames Werk eines Lebenden' (Krieger 1931, p. 171)

composer trying to develop himself as a modernist secular music composer with socialist leanings, aspects of his presentation of self that became highly problematic by 1933.

*Modernism vs. Traditionalism: Fortner's (re)conciliation*

In the final years of the Weimar Republic, Fortner's earliest years of professional activity, he found himself trying to balance old and new to reconcile his modernist interests – which as shown below involved left-wing socialist interests – with the 'absolute value' he had learned in Baroque forms and traditions (Fortner, 1963, p. 390). In essence these divergent branches (modernist vs. traditionalist) issued from the same negative reaction against what came to be understood as the overly indulgent and grandiose nature of romanticism. Where the modernists reacted against hyper-romanticism by breaking down aesthetic tradition (e.g. tonality) to develop new approaches and systems (e.g. serialism) some traditionalists operated through a conservative approach to neo-classicism using practices from the Baroque and pre-Baroque periods. The central difference was modernists like Schoenberg broke from romantic tradition by inventing radically new ways of musicking while the more traditional approach of individuals such as Fortner's Leipzig teachers sought to revive earlier traditions. For example Ernst Kurth's *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts* (Basics of linear counterpoint, 1917) reacted against romanticism by arguing for the spiritual importance and contemporary relevance of Bach. Similarly Fortner's composition teacher Hermann Grabner's 1930 book *Der Lineare Satz: Ein neues Lehrbuch des Kontrapunktes* (The linear way: a new text on counterpoint) highlights the polyphonic, contrapuntal approach based in tonality and modality Fortner was taught, as does the work of the *Orgelbewegung* (Organ movement), lead by individuals such as Fortner's organ instructor Karl Straube, which canonized not just Bach but lesser known Baroque composers (Scheidt, Schütz, Buxtehude, etc.) as archetypes for new music (Williams, 1994).

Fortner struggled between these two different approaches to the same anti-romantic project. His activities and works up to 1933 show a composer acting to reconcile these viewpoints and develop principally into a composer of secular instrumental music.

Fortner's earliest compositional efforts and professional activity, in addition to his formal research on Hindemith, focused on developing a secular career cultivating links with modernist figures, institutions and events. Fortner's successful submissions of his *String Quartet, No. 1* to the 1930 AdMV festival (Leichtentritt, 1930d) and his school play *Cress ertrinkt* at the 1931 ISCM festival (Leichtentritt, 1931d) are actions of a composer appropriating modernist secular space. As late as 1932 his *Konzert für Orgel* (Organ Concerto) was premiered by modernist supporter Hans Rosbaud (recognized as the pre-eminent German conductor of Schoenberg's works) with the Frankfurt *Rundfunkorchester* and then in Berlin by Hermann Scherchen (Kater, 1997; Colpa, 2002, p. 527). To the very end of the Weimar Republic Fortner was courting modernism.

However, Fortner's work maintained a middle ground between dissonant modernist procedures and conservative ones. Some works, such as his *Suite für Orchester nach Musik des Jan Pieters Sweelinck* (1930) – faithful arrangements of music by Renaissance/Baroque composer Sweelinck – are historicist and conservative; others such as the above mentioned organ concerto are not. In a comparison of Fortner's *Konzert für Orgel und Streichorchester* (1932) and Hindemith's *Kammermusik No.7: Konzert für Orgel und Kammerorchester* (Op. 46 No. 2, 1928) Colpa (2002, pp. 50-75) demonstrates convincingly how Fortner's modernist interests, inspired by Hindemith, are interpreted through strict practices of Baroque concepts. Through detailed musical analysis Colpa identifies 'dichotomies between modernism and conservatism' (p. 70), that Fortner struggled to balance the two. In the press Fortner's early reception was along these neo-classical lines; he was becoming 'reasonably successful' (Leichtentritt, 1931d, p. 846) through combining old and new (Krieger, 1931, p. 171); one of a growing number of composers recognized in this vein of activity (see Groepple, 1928; Hasse, 1931; Laux, 1929; *Meloskritik*, 1928).

At this time Fortner was also active in supporting and exploring other aspects of modernism. As mentioned in Brigitta Weber's (1995) monograph on Fortner's operatic works (works from the post WWII period) Fortner wrote for the social democratic newspaper the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. His articles for this paper supported contemporary modernist art, and not just music, proclaiming individuals such as visual artist Emil Nolde. Considering this work along with two secular choral works reveals Fortner's interests in modernist literature and left-wing socialist sentiments.

In 1930 Fortner composed a secular acapella work for female chorus, *Chor der Fräuleins*, for a new anthology of choral music to be published by Schott (Colpa, 2002). The text (Chorus of the young women) was by Erich Kästner, a well known politically left-wing author (Monk 1981; Small, D. 1998; Winkelman, 1953), and engages issues of inequality and the sexual liberation of women. In the same year Fortner submitted a work for male chorus, *Arbeiterlied*, by the Jewish communist author Alfred Döblin (Colpa and Riley, 1994). While the resulting scandal around *Chor der Fräuleins* is discussed below in relation to Fortner's reforming presentation of self, I mention it and *Arbeiterlied* here to highlight Fortner's growing connections not just with aesthetic modernism but with left-wing politics at the end of the Weimar Republic. Fortner was, in a sense, caught between two worlds a left-leaning modernism and a right-leaning traditionalism.

With the failure of the Weimar Republic and the mortification of modernism Fortner was forced to choose between these two poles. In what follows I discuss the negative reception of Fortner in the conservative, Nazi oriented press regarding *Chor der Fräuleins*. Somewhat unanticipated, *Chor der Fräuleins*, through interpretive work done to it by the conservative musical press, negatively presented Fortner at the end of the Weimar Republic as a cultural bolshevist and forced the young composer to act to redress this presentation of self if he wished to be an active professional composer in the Third Reich.

#### *Mortification of Modernism and Chor der Fräuleins*

The Third Reich began in early 1933 but as previously discussed, the power, influence and fear spread by the National Socialist party was increasingly felt in the years leading up to the seizure of power. Particularly important in this was the party's development of publishing mechanisms such as the widely disseminated *Völkische Beobachter*, regional propaganda vehicles like the *Heidelberger Beobachter* (Grill, 1982; Layton, 1970) and domain specific periodicals like the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (Sachs, 1970) to disseminate their socio-cultural ideology. Articles, reviews and editorials in such periodicals were directly involved in the mortification of modernism and as previously discussed caused composers such as Hindemith to foresee a war around contemporary music as early as 1925 (Hindemith, 1995, p. 38). While individuals like Hindemith did not recognize that 'all the key jobs' would be 'occupied by rigidly national types' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 66) until



1933, the influence exerted by National Socialist supporters was cause for concern among cultural producers such as Fortner much earlier.

These concerns were particularly prescient in the years immediately preceding and following the seizure of power in 1933. As Fortner navigated the turbulent waters he relied on dialogue with his publishers – the Schott und Söhne firm – for information on the current cultural climate and what compositional projects would be, to borrow a phrase from Pepping and Hindemith, “right for the times”. While this dialogue served to keep Fortner salient with his publishers (and likewise for his publishers to maintain connection with one of their promising young artists) this correspondence indicates, like the counterfactual reasoning of Hindemith, the composer engaged in reflexive work developing understandings about conditions of reception and wider socio-political concerns through music.

In 1929 the composer sought advice from the directors of the Schott firm, the brothers Ludwig and Willy Strecker who figure so prominently in Hindemith’s correspondence. Specifically Fortner sought advice on secular projects, advice which led to secular choral works including *Chor der Fräuleins*. Fortner followed some of this advice but his own interpretations of what was right for the times led to a scandal around his *Chor der Fräuleins* publicized in the *Heidelberger Beobachter* and the *Zeitschrift für Musik* which gave the young composer a personal taste of the growing mortification of modernism, an experience he appropriated reflexively and which informed his compositional agency in the years to come.

Like Hindemith, Fortner had been signed by Schott early in his career and developed a close relationship with the Strecker brothers who ran the firm. This reciprocal relationship is clearly played out in correspondence from November 1929 (shortly after the relationship began) where the Streckers replied to Fortner’s inquiry about what type of works might be successful publications. The response from Schott’s directors indicates not only the close relationship between composer and publisher but also the publisher’s close reading of current trends and the composer’s desire to have such information. The Streckers were very specific in their suggestions advising:

‘...men’s choruses with a contemporaneous text, that means above all, those that express feelings of community and foremost those which avoid the “personal sentimentality” which was so cherished in the past. By the way, these choruses have to be kept as simple as possible so that they can be sung by all’.<sup>175</sup> (Quoted from Colpa, 2002, p. 84)

The Streckers go on to suggest large choral works (cantatas) and light orchestral works. What this correspondence illuminates is the *in situ* operation of composers in reflexive engagement with the world around them. This reflexive work was, as in previous case studies, focused on counterfactual reasoning regarding the future reception of unwritten work by a putative other. The Streckers suggestion of men’s choruses highlights this type of reflexive engagement. At this time the *Männerchor* tradition in Germany was growing and there was an increasing literature on men’s choruses in the German music journals, readily available, and likely read, by at least the Streckers (see Tischer, 1926; Gröppler, 1927; Laux, 1929). The Streckers suggest Fortner capitalise on this growing market (which in turn would benefit them). They also provide specific suggestions for such a composition that these works be essentially accessible with contemporary texts (presumably in the vernacular) which express feelings of community and ‘foremost’ avoid the subjective individualism understood to be part of what became labelled decadent music of the romantic tradition; they were picking up on the overall anti-romantic turn in the arts. As early as 1929 the Streckers were aware of the changing dynamics of the cultural climate and Fortner was learning this through them.

In 1930 Fortner did indeed write two secular acapella choral works not dissimilar from what might be gleaned from the Streckers’ advice. Both *Chor der Fräuleins* and *Arbeiterlied* were based on contemporary vernacular texts which focus on community (young women’s solidarity and worker’s solidarity), the latter following exactly the Strecker’s advice for a *Männerchor* work<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> „Da wären zunächst Männerchöre zu erwähnen mit zeitentsprechenden Text, d.h. also vor allen Dingen solche, die Gemeinschaftsgefühle ausdrücken und vorallem die früher so beliebten ‚Ich – Empfindungen‘ vermeiden. Im übrigen die Chöre so leicht wie möglich gehalten, damit sie von allen gesungen werden können.“ (Quoted from Colpa 2002, p. 84)

<sup>176</sup> Additionally, in 1931 Fortner composed two other choral works of similar design but on politically neutral texts: *Drei Chöre für Männerchor* (*Die Entschlafenden, Glaubenslied, Lied der Welt*); *Grenzen der Menschheit* (cantata).

While Fortner's choice of Kästner's text followed his publisher's advice for 'contemporary texts' to the letter it was a choice that resulted in significant rebuke from the conservative Nazi supporting press. Kästner (1899-1974) had become one of Germany's most important contemporary writers. Between 1923 and 1933 he authored over three hundred articles for German dailies, four collections of poetry, five children's books and a novel. As an intellectual, Kästner was central to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement in the literary arts, his *Gebrauchslyrik* work paralleling the *Gebrauchsmusik* work of Hindemith and others (Small, D., 1998; Winkelman, 1953). In the eyes of National Socialism Kästner and his work were dangers to Germany; Kästner was appropriated as a left-wing activist and a cultural bolshevist. During the Third Reich he was interrogated several times by the Gestapo, was imprisoned twice (1934 and 1937), saw his books burned and was denied membership (and thereby official permission to write) to the *Reichsschriftumskammer* the literary field's corresponding chamber to the *Reichsmusikkammer* (Monk, 1981). Kästner's *Chor der Fräuleins* focuses on the sexual liberation of women in the work force (in this case office clerks/secretaries), Kästner criticising a double standard where it is acceptable for men to engage in extramarital sex but not for women. This type of subject matter that challenged traditional family values was always fodder for Nazi ideologues.

Fortner's *Chor der Fräuleins* was published in 1930 as part of Schott's new choral anthology *Das neue Chorbuch*. While it took until late summer of 1931 for Fortner to experience firsthand the rage of the conservative press, when it happened it was vengeful. Just as Fortner was to take up his position at the Heidelberg *Evangelisches Kirchenmusikalische Institut* the *Heidelberger Beobachter* published a front page article entitled "*Kunstbolschewismus am kirchenmusikalischen Institut in Heidelberg*" ("Artistic Bolshevism at the Heidelberg Institute for Church Music", *Heidelberger Beobachter* August 5, 1931) which, based on *Chor der Fräuleins*, questioned why a cultural bolshevist such as Fortner had been appointed to the institution (John, 1994, p. 332). This article highlights the danger composers (and cultural producers in general) could find themselves in through the interpretive work done to their products by the critical press. By linking one piece by Fortner to left-wing politics Fortner *himself* (not just the work in question) was labelled a bolshevist; the composer's self was understood through his works, his works were resources for his presentation of self (here unintentionally negative). If that were not enough the editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, the previously quoted Alfred Heuss, penned

a similar article in the *ZfM* entitled ‘Das Lied der Fräulein’ (1931, pp. 693-694) in the very same issue which announced Fortner’s new appointment at Heidelberg (see *ZfM* issue 98, p.816). With this single chorus Fortner had unintentionally presented himself as a cultural bolshevist and potentially endangered his job.

Interestingly, Colpa’s (2002) archival research has suggested Fortner felt the need to fight back against such reviews. In a letter from Willi Strecker to Fortner the publisher warned the young composer against proclaiming support for modernism that such a ‘proclamation can only damage your position in Heidelberg; especially in the reactionary party [NSDAP] there are unfortunately enough people who will reproach the local authorities for having appointed a music-bolshevist to that position’ (Letter from Willi Strecker to Fortner: Mainz, May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1931; quoted from Colpa, 2002, p. 98). Again Willi Strecker was acutely aware of the changing cultural dynamics and imparted these concerns directly to Fortner telling the young composer how *not* to publicly present himself. Strecker’s concerns were likely well founded as by 1931 Heidelberg was becoming a National Socialist stronghold (Gatens, 2001; Kater, 2003; Remy, 2002; for general discussion on National Socialism in Heidelberg see Wagner, 1983).

This episode and the concern of the Streckers (though certainly not completely altruistic, they stood to lose a valuable commodity) for Fortner illustrates the danger for creative artists *vis á vis* the mortification of modernism, even before the Nazis came to power, in the exercising of their profession and voicing of their opinions. Highlighting the collaborative work behind composition, the dialogue between Fortner and his publishers brings to the fore the centrality of the reflexive project as constituted by music. Fortner and his publishers understood music as a resource for self presentation and in this situation the presentation of self afforded by *Chor der Fräuleins* lead to the undesirable label of “cultural bolshevism”. Fortner is advised to essentially distance himself from this association (the publication was withdrawn in 1931) and to not speak about it publicly. Fortner heeded this advice appropriating the danger to his self as a creative artist in the late Weimar Republic and refraining from defending himself in the press.

Through the reception of his own music Fortner’s reflexive project was informed, he learned much about the contemporary times through others’ appropriation of his works and

the ramifications that could have for him and his future. Here more than a year before Hitler's ascension to the chancellery the influence and fear of the Nazi party is palpable and is having direct influence on the agency of individuals in the moment. While Fortner was not as deeply rooted in modernist circles as individuals such as Hindemith or Kaminski he too felt the direct influence of the growing mortification of modernism even before the establishment of the Third Reich. As noted by Colpa the changing socio-cultural climate of Germany was felt directly by Fortner and a 'growing sense of anxiety, even paranoia manifests itself in Fortner's letters during 1932' (2002, p.101).

By the end of the Weimar Republic, while Fortner had enjoyed some professional success, he had learned that a composer had to be exceedingly careful in the polarising climate of conservative politics in Germany. In addition to the negative appropriation of himself through *Chor der Fräuleins*, other authors (Colpa, 2002; Kater, 1997) have noted, without grounded evidence, that Fortner may have also feared discovery of his homosexuality, which he seems to have kept sufficiently hidden during the Third Reich. However, it seems reasonable to assume hiding his sexuality during this time was stressful.

In the following section I discuss Fortner's activity as focused on re-presenting himself from 1933 onwards as an acceptable musician in the Third Reich. While the scandal of *Chor der Fräuleins* lay behind him, its waves were still felt and in 1933 he was denounced in Karl Grunsky's *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik* (The Struggle for German Music) (Levi, 1994). Like Hindemith, Fortner had a self presentation problem and below I describe how he mobilized music as a resource to mitigate that difficulty.

#### *Fortner the Third Reich composer: Re-presenting self through music*

Fortner's Third Reich musical activity, similar to Pepping's, affords a discussion of how a composer *successfully* used music as a resource for his public presentation of professional self. In this section I begin by asserting the difficult position Fortner was in at the beginning of the Third Reich and briefly overview how other scholars have contextualized how he dealt with this. I then consider his compositional output to highlight two features of his Third Reich work. Firstly, compared to his activity before and after the Third Reich, periods when he was freer (especially following WWII) to follow his modernist interests,

his Third Reich output is relatively low; he was not a composer whose productivity thrived under National Socialism, he was cautious. Secondly, though employed at a church music school, Fortner (unlike Pepping) focused not on sacred works but on secular instrumental music most regularly orchestral works; he was not, in contradistinction to conclusions of others (Kater, 1997; Prieberg, 1982), a predominantly Protestant church musician. By focusing on largely positive periodist absolute music Fortner was able to avoid the kind of negative interpretive work done to texted works like *Chor der Fräuleins*. I then focus on Fortner's activity in the first two years of the Third Reich (1933-1934), his most compositionally productive during the Nazi regime, to consider how Fortner's agency was focused on presenting works that counteracted the negative presentation of self afforded by *Chor der Fräuleins*. Fortner did this through the strategies of positive periodicity and associations to German cultural history. Through reference to contemporaneous reviews I show that Fortner was successful in this project early in the Third Reich and that through coming to understand the conditions of musical reception during this time he was able to maintain this success.

#### *Fortner's self-presentation problem*

Fortner's position at the beginning of the Third Reich was volatile. Fritz Stege, reviewing a Hamburg radio concert from the summer of 1933 for the *ZfM* questioned the wisdom of including a work by Fortner in that concert. Stege, well known for polemics against modernism (see Sachs, 1970), mentions in this article the earlier scandal of *Chor der Fräuleins* as evidence of Fortner's political unreliability (1933, p. 414). Fortner was also likely aware that Erich Katz, the editor of the withdrawn *Neues Chorbuch* which had contained *Chor der Fräuleins*, had been dismissed from his position as lecturer in theory and composition at Freiburg (John, 1994). Moreover, Fortner was directly criticized for association with Jews and Weimar socialist projects within music in Karl Grunsky's 1933 book *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik* (The struggle for German music) (Levi, 1994; see also Prieberg, 1982, p. 82 on *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik*).

Fortner had significant problems to overcome if he was to remain an active professional musician under the new political system. Even his enviable position of full time employment added pressure to this young composer as it is clear National Socialist

supporters were implying he should be dismissed from the Heidelberg *Kirchenmusikalische Institut* (e.g. previously discussed warnings from his publishers; review in *Heidelberger Beobachter*; review in ZfM). The central problem for Fortner, like it was for Hindemith, was a problem of self presentation. Fortner had to navigate a path between his interests in traditionalist and modernist anti-romantic projects of new music to counter his perceived political unreliability – he had to re-present himself publicly as an acceptable professional musician. Fortner’s actions early in the Third Reich did overcome his self-presentation problem and he came to be recognized as an important young German composer. Before I explore how music was mobilized in this agency I present the contextualization of other scholars of Fortner’s Third Reich activity.

Like many artists active within National Socialist Germany Fortner’s actions have been interrogated by scholars in an attempt to discern his level of compliance with the regime and its policies. Kater’s (1997) contextualization of Fortner’s Third Reich activity, like that of Prieberg (1982), is that of a composer closely aligned with National Socialism; that Fortner was one of a group of ‘calculating composers’ of Protestant church music, a group including, among others, Ernst Pepping (p. 160). Certainly Fortner’s decisions were calculated and included activities and associations that in hindsight are considered to be morally and ethically wrong (e.g. joining the NSDAP). Kater based his conclusions on Fortner’s involvement with the Lutheran *Kirchenmusik* movement and its association to the *Hitlerjunge* contributing ‘to the body of hymn music that was especially designed to be internalized on a day-to-day basis by every Hitler boy and girl in the land’ (Kater, 1997, p. 167). Fortner’s involvement with the *Hitlerjunge* included conducting Heidelberg’s local Hitler youth orchestra (Fortner also conducted the respected *Collegium Musicum* and founded the Heidelberg chamber orchestra). It is also true, as Kater points out, that Fortner was among individuals who joined the Nazi party in 1940 when the party publicly opened the doors to membership and that the composer served for a short time in the *Wehrmacht*. Based on these facts Kater interprets everything Fortner did from 1931 to 1945 as aligned with National Socialist ideology. Kater’s interpretive work finds the ‘austerity of Fortner’s music’ (his neo-classical style) as ‘naturally’ matching ‘the authoritarianism of the political rulers and the Protestant church elders alike’ (pp. 170-171). Kater even evaluates Fortner’s 1931 *Cress ertrinkt* as upholding Nazi ideology because of its central theme of sacrifice of the individual for the community. He also berates Fortner for having collaborated in 1932

with the anti-Semitic harpsichordist Li Stadelmann and that the 1933 premiere of his *Konzert für Streicher* was sponsored by the KfdK. The other facts Kater brings forward include: Fortner guest conducting for a Nazi labour union ensemble (*Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation*), that he wrote a German mass setting (*Eine deutsche Liedmesse*) in 1934, that a work of his was included in a 1937 Nazi celebration at Göttingen University and that ‘Nazi musicologist’ Friedrich Welter called Fortner a master of “uncompromising archaic polyphonic styling” (1997, pp. 170-171).

While Kater does not take into consideration Fortner’s young age, the trouble surrounding *Chor der Fräuleins* or Fortner’s inclusion in *Der Kampf für deutsche Kultur* (he does consider his homosexuality, ‘his one, carefully hidden blemish’ p. 171), other scholars do and take a more measured approach to Fortner’s Third Reich activity. While Levi (1994) is relatively silent on Fortner he does point out the negative position of the composer’s denunciation in *Der Kampf*. Other authors (Dibelius, 1984; Laaff, 1955; Weber, 1995; 2001) are more understanding of Fortner’s situation recognizing that some of his actions – particularly association with the *Hitlerjunge* and joining the NSDAP in 1940 – were wrong but that the composer did what he thought best for himself during these times. They, unlike Kater or Prieberg, make an effort to understanding Fortner as a situated actor in difficult times.

It will never be known if Fortner entertained notions of emigration or subversion, but his experience through *Chor der Fräuleins* had taught him the benefits of avoiding controversy, to go about his business, hide his homosexuality and refrain from ties to modernism or left-wing politics. Colpa (2002) contextualized Fortner’s activities during the Third Reich as contributing to a ‘...false sense of normality that characterized the cultural life...’ of the Third Reich (p. 4). Colpa’s evaluation recognized the culpability of some of Fortner’s decisions but in the context of the difficult situations cultural producers found themselves in especially during the turmoil of the early years of the Third Reich when many – such as Hindemith – had to re-present themselves within the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*.

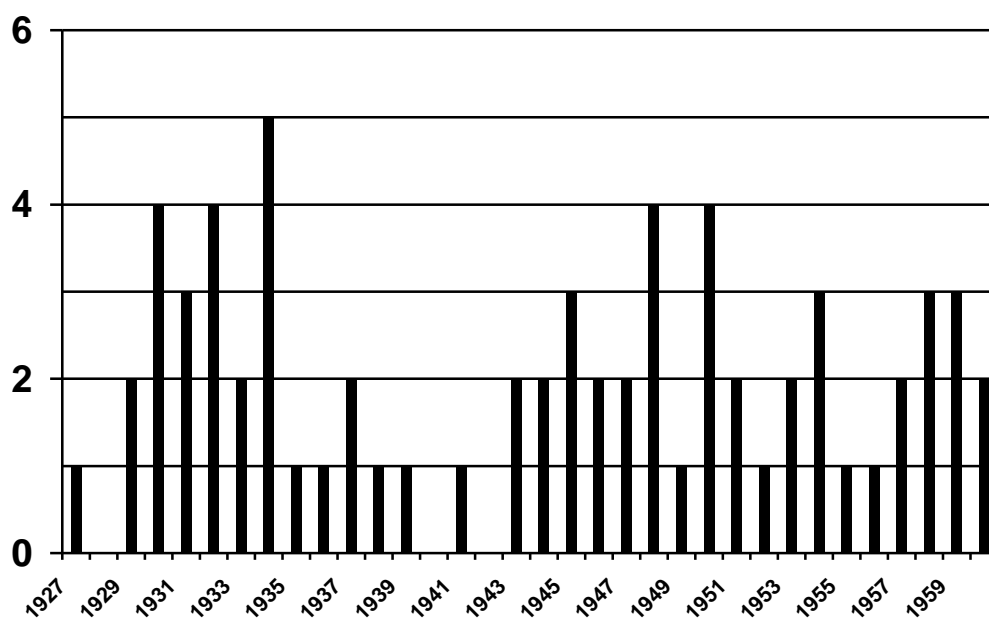
While I find certain activities of Fortner during the Third Reich repugnant (particularly membership in the NSDAP and association with the *Hitlerjunge*) I understand them as part of a strategy of action to mitigate situational incongruity by associating with Nazi



organizations, and unfortunately in Fortner's case the party itself. In what follows I present a consideration of his agency, how he mobilized music to rectify the negative presentation of self that had occurred through *Chor der Fräuleins*, how music afforded him a positive presentation of self in light of National Socialist Germany.

### *Fortner's cautious output*

Fortner's compositional output from 1933-1945, when compared to the years immediately preceding and after the Third Reich, was relatively low; he published only twenty full works over this period. In 1940 and 1942 Fortner completed no works and in 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939 and 1941 he completed only one work each year (see figure 1). Fortner was very selective and cautious of what and how he chose to compose.



**Figure 2: Wolfgang Fortner compositional output**

Considering the genre and media Fortner chose to be active through during the Third Reich (see figure 2 below) shows that in the first two years (1933-1934), during which I argue he was reforming his professional identity, he was active in several different genre (orchestral, vocal, choral, chamber, piano). As with Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski, Fortner employed a strategy of musical diversity. From 1935 onwards he remained active primarily as a secular instrumental composer (primarily orchestral) and not a Protestant church music composer

as concluded by others. Unlike Pepping, who had a very similar professional appointment at a church music institute, Fortner chose not to focus on sacred works at all. Fortner actually chose to focus on non-texted/non-programmatic absolute music up until the very end of the regime. This afforded Fortner avoidance of connections to the present reflecting Levi's (1996) understandings of opera under fascism in which composer's avoid connections to the present through use of historical themes and settings. Fortner goes one step further and from 1935 avoided composing texted, programmatic or staged music virtually altogether<sup>177</sup>. I view this as a result of Fortner's understandings (essentially his fear) of the difficulties surrounding the reception of *Chor der Fräuleins*.

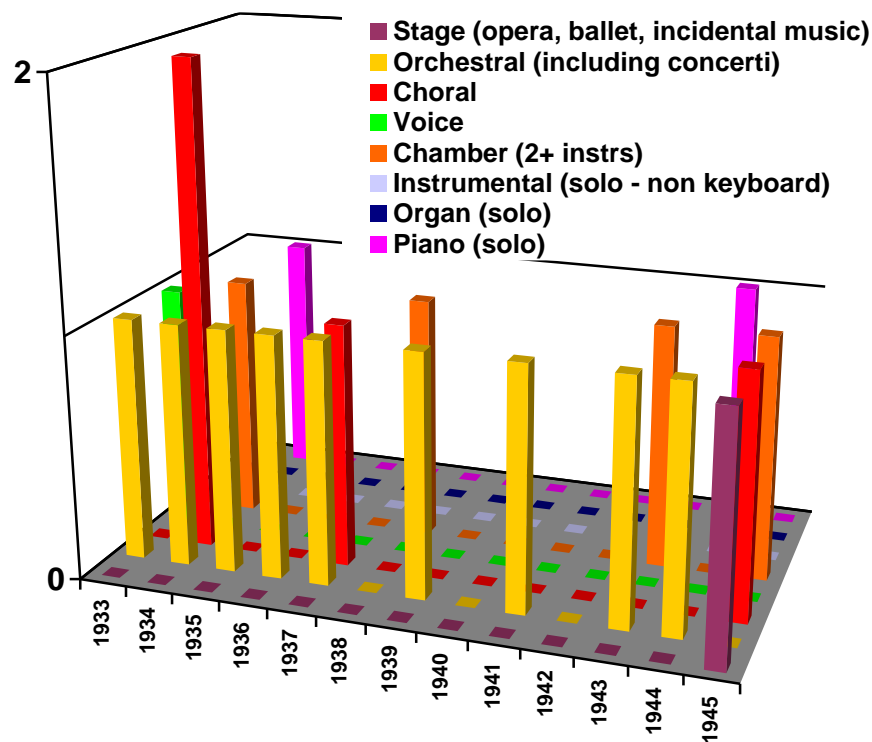


Figure 3: Wolfgang Fortner compositional output 1927-1949 by genre

In the following section I consider how Fortner mobilized his compositional agency to redress the negative perception of him by the musical press. Fortner accomplished this by avoiding connections to modernism or socialist ideology (e.g. he followed his publisher's

<sup>177</sup> The one choral work from 1937 is the secular cantata *Nuptiae Catulli* based on the life of Roman poet Catallus (active first century BCE). This work, like the absolute instrumental works, avoids connection with the present and is thematically congruous with Nazi ideology much the same as Levi's (1996) arguments regarding opera under fascism and composers' usage of historical themes and settings.

advice and did not defend himself against attacks surrounding *Chor der Fräuleins*).

Through works like *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlins* (1933), *Konzert für Streicher* (1933), *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* (1934) and *Sonatine für Klavier* (1934) Fortner altered his presentation of self through connections to canonical German literary icons and through positive periodicity (relying on his neo-classically oriented traditional training). He then came to develop himself as a secular instrumental composer avoiding textual or programmatic connections to the present but providing at times subtle cues towards nationalism. Finally, Fortner did operate opportunistically through occasional appearances within Nazi party events or affiliated organizations before joining the NSDAP party in 1940. Throughout this discussion I refer to select reviews from the musical press of the time to show how his compositional agency was positively appropriated within National Socialist Germany.

#### *Reforming self-presentation through early texted works*

Following the negative reception of *Chor der Fräuleins* Fortner avoided politically or socially controversial literary connections. In 1933 Fortner composed his *Vier Gesänge nach Worten von Hölderlins* (Four songs after words of Hölderlin) making possible for the composer, like Wagner-Régeny's *Liederbüchlein*, association to a lauded national cultural icon and one positively appropriated by National Socialism, Friedrich Hölderlin (on Hölderlin's posthumous reception in Nazi Germany see Nielinger-Vakil, 2000).

In *Vier Gesänge* Fortner set four well known odes (*An die Parzen* [To the Fates]; *Hyperions Schicksalslied* [Hyperion's Song of Fate]; *Abbitte* [Plea for Forgiveness]; *Geh unter, schöne Sonne* [Go Down, then, Beautiful Sun]) by one of Germany's recognized literary icons. As mentioned in relation to Hindemith's consideration of writing works with texts by Novalis or Hölderlin and Wagner-Régeny's theatrical music, National Socialism co-opted many German cultural icons and works in support of their nationalist ideology claiming for their cause figures such as: Goethe, Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist and of course Friedrich Hölderlin (Atkins, 1941). Through this re-orientation 'Hölderlin came to serve as an idol of Germanicism during the Third Reich' and in particular his *Vaterländische Gesänge* (Songs of the Fatherland) were upheld as emblems of National Socialism (Nielinger-Vakil, 2000, p. 245) as the Nazis legitimated their views of national and cultural

identity ‘by identifying ideological forebears and... by appropriating canonical authors’ (Elliot, 2003, p. 908). As a composer previously associated with Erich Kästner, an author whose books were banned and burned by the Nazis (Ritchie, 1988), Fortner’s next choice of secular texts was not taken from contemporary fare (as had been suggested by his publishers a few years previously) but from the safe German literary canon appropriated by National Socialism.

Fortner, however, did not choose texts that were inherently nationalistic; the four odes he chose do not follow the explicit patriotism emergent from *Vaterländische Gesänge*, they are dark works that address fate, despair, forgiveness and hope. The first, *An die Parzen*, addresses the ‘powerful fates’ pleading for one more autumn or summer to enjoy music before death finally comes. In *Hyperions Schicksalslied* (famously set to music by another canonical German – Johannes Brahms) Hölderlin describes the difference between heavenly and earthly existence where those on earth are oppressed by fate that ‘suffering mortals dwindle and fall...downward for years to the vague abyss’. *Abbitte* is literally a ‘Plea for Forgiveness’ that addresses the ‘Holy being’ asking ‘O forgive me, forget!’. Finally *Geh unter, schöne Sonne* grants a ray of hope that though the sun sets it will rise again (translations from Hamburger, 1980).

These choices are not the choices of a composer seeking to glorify National Socialism or tow the *Blut und Boden* line. These are choices that imply (at least in my interpretation) struggle, discontent and disquiet. Fortner invoked a national icon but in a way poetically unconnected to nationalism. If Fortner wished to express explicit nationalism he could have chosen Hölderlin’s *Der Rhein* (The Rhine), *Rückkehr in die Heimat* (Return to the Homeland) or *deutscher Gesang* (German Song). What *Vier Gesänge nach Worten von Hölderlin* afforded Fortner was a work with positive literary associations that could go some way to repairing (or at least covering up) his earlier association with Kästner. One of Fortner’s few sacred works from the period, *Ein deutsche Liedmesse*, can be understood in the same manner.

This short acappella mass setting in German is one of only three sacred works this *Kirchenmusicalische Institut* instructor wrote between 1933 and 1945. *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* and *Psalm XLVI* were both written in 1934 (the third was written in 1945 –

*Herr, bleibe mit uns*) and appropriate, as was the case with Pepping, the safe space of Lutheran liturgical music. These works would have substantiated his position at the Heidelberg church music school and, particularly the mass, presented him in nationalistic terms but again without engaging in overtly nationalistic texts. Fortner did not interpolate other texts (sacred or secular) onto the mass, sticking with the German words for the traditional Latin rite. Fortner's choices in compositional projects are careful and calculated. They present him in a safe, uncontroversial way but do not explicitly embrace National Socialist doctrine.

*Absolute music: reforming the presentation of self through positive periodicity and Volksmusik*

In the overall context of Fortner's Third Reich works the texted works discussed above are not the norm, it was to secular instrumental music that Fortner was to focus his compositional industry. Along with *Vier Gesänge* Fortner also wrote *Konzert für Streicher* in 1933. This *Concerto for Strings* highlights three key characteristics of Fortner's musical agency during the Third Reich: it avoids textual/programmatic content (it is absolute music); it is an accessible work neo-classically derived exemplary of the strategy of positive periodicity; it was presented in Germany through a Nazi affiliated organization, the KfdK.

As a work of positive periodicity *Konzert für Streicher* is a concerto grosso in the traditional line of works by composers such as Bach or Handel. Fortner scored it for a concertino – a group of soloists (here two violins and a cello) – and a ripieno – the larger orchestral group (here a standard five section string orchestra familiar during the Baroque period). The forms of the individual movements are likewise familiar such as the ritornello form (alternating between tutti – full orchestra – and solo sections) of the first movement. Throughout Fortner relied on polyphonic writing in a largely diatonic language (though non-diatonic elements serve as interesting contrasts such as the quartal harmonies of the second movement). While the work was first premiered in Switzerland its German premiere was given in Mannheim at a January 1934 concert sponsored by the KfdK. These elements, the positive periodist aesthetics and the KfdK affiliation, were identified and reported by the musical press in a positive presentation of Fortner and his work.

A review by Karl Laux (1934) is exemplary of the kind of positive presentation Fortner's music elicited for him after 1933. Laux began by stating Fortner's *Konzert für Streicher* was presented through the KfdK (this is also contained in the title of the review which is of the KfdK sponsored concert). The review is highly complementary, Laux introduced Fortner as '...one of the strongest talents of new German music...' <sup>178</sup>. The review positively appropriated Fortner's clear forms and diatonic language as accessible supporting the positive periodist aesthetic constructed by the composer: 'In this clear construction, the contrapuntal elaborations form easily intelligible nuances which are comprehensible to every listener' <sup>179</sup>. Laux also noted another subtle connection Fortner had made to German national music traditions, that the title of the second movement is *Lied* (German art song): 'The crown, also in the area of absolute inspiration, is carried by the second movement, which is called *Lied*, and which exemplifies the uniqueness of the German Lied' <sup>180</sup>. Fortner was coming to understand the conditions of reception in Germany at this time and even subtle cues towards German traditions are interpreted in light of German nationalism by the press.

As Fortner's reflexive engagement with the wider socio-cultural context through the reception of his works led him to redress the negative literary presentation of his self through *Chor der Fräuleins* with *Vier Gesänge* so too his absolute music exerted his agency to create a positive presentation of self through the strategy of positive periodicity and subtle connections to valued German cultural traditions. Laux's review indicates how from the earliest Third Reich period Fortner's decisions to reforming his presentation of self were effective. The review praised the composer's adherence to older styles, subtle connections to German culture and the accessibility of the work's nuances to 'every listener'. Fortner's assessment of what would be contemporaneously appropriate was accurate and *Konzert für Streicher* garnered the positive response he wanted.

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<sup>178</sup> '...eines der stärksten Talente der neuen deutschen Musik ist...'

<sup>179</sup> 'In diesem klaren Aufbau sind die Kontrapunktischen Abwandlungen gut faßbare Nuancen, die jedem Hörer verständlich sind'

<sup>180</sup> 'Die Krone gebührt, auch in der Wertung des absoluten Einfalls, dem zweiten Satz, der "Lied" überschreiben ist und die Einzigartigkeit des deutschen Liedes.'

In 1934 Fortner continued his developments in secular instrumental music with a similarly styled *Concertino for Viola and Chamber Orchestra*. Like *Konzert für Streicher* this work is Baroque in construction. Fortner also composed a pedagogical collection of Baroque inspired chamber works for recorder with *Blockflötenwerk*. While the concertino and the string concerto appropriated public space, *Blockflötenwerk* and his *Sonatina für Klavier*, also from 1934 appropriated the amateur domestic market. As in other case studies Fortner was appropriating, through diverse genre, different spaces as he re-introduced himself early in the Third Reich. *Sonatina für Klavier*, like *Blockflötenwerk*, furthers the argument that he was doing this through positive periodist means, writing accessible works, but also highlights subtle nationalist cues in his works from this period. The *Sonatina* follows a standard classical three movement form beginning with a fast first movement, then a slow second movement and finishing with a fast finale. The first movement (Track 20) employs the traditional sonata-allegro form with an exposition of two theme groups which are varied in the following development section before a short recapitulation of the initial thematic material at the end. The movement avoids chromaticism and follows an overall dorian mode, though the second thematic section is in C major.



Track 20: Wolfgang Fortner *Sonatina für Klavier*, Movement 1

The second movement (Track 21) again follows tradition in that it is a short song like movement (it is entitled *Aria*). Fortner marked this movement to be played as a ‘Siciliano’ in reference to the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century dance form cast in a slow 6/8 metre with two bar phrases, a simple melody and uncomplicated harmonic progressions. Fortner’s work follows the traditional model exactly.



Track 21: Wolfgang Fortner *Sonatina für Klavier*, Movement 2

In the final movement of this sonatine another subtle cue to nationalism is found. As with the connection developed to the German literary canon through Hölderlin here Fortner

makes a connection to folk music. Entitled ‘Rondo nach schwäbischen Volkstänzen’ (Rondo after Swabian Folk Dances) for the first time in his oeuvre Fortner aligns himself with folk music traditions. Swabia, today a part of the German state of Baden-Württemberg, refers to both a geographic region and a linguistic group with a history going back at least two millennia. The region was closely tied to National Socialism as it was an early stronghold of the party (Stachura, 1980). Additionally the folk traditions, largely to do with the idyllic regional setting and the historic importance of the Swabian dialect, were upheld in Nazi propaganda before and after 1933 (von Saldern, 2004). The inclusion of such material, which has a later parallel in Fortner’s *Schwäbischen Volkstänze für Orchester* (1937), was certainly not innocent and provides another example of how Fortner made associations to prevalent cultural values in National Socialist Germany.



Track 22: Wolfgang Fortner *Sonatina für Klavier*, Movement 3

Fortner’s compositional activity in the early Third Reich was directed towards positively presenting himself within National Socialist Germany. This positive presentation of self required Fortner’s reflexive engagement with wider social contexts to develop understandings of conditions of reception. These understandings were used to inform his agency to present his public professional self appropriately. Fortner was clearly active in this type of reflexive activity when he had earlier sought advice from his publisher regarding what type of music would be successful and when he discussed with them his reaction to the *Chor der Fräuleins* scandal. In the first year of the Third Reich Fortner must have been aware of his denouncement in Grunsky’s *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik* and the questioning of his political reliability by Stege in the *ZfM*. Understanding the negative consequences of how the musical press had appropriated his musical self Fortner made steps to redress this. The first manoeuvre was to align his work with positive literary associations, such as in *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin*, and produce positive periodist instrumental works, such as *Konzert für Streicher*. His *Psalm XLVI* was a work that would have legitimated him in his teaching position at Heidelberg as would have *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* which had in title nationalist connections. Fortner also sought to appropriate amateur domestic space through his *Blockflötenwerk* and *Sonatina für Klavier*,



both accessible works that engendered positive associations, one aimed at educating Germany's young musicians, the other with a connection to folk music.

Beyond the first years of the Third Reich Fortner exerted his compositional agency in the manner of the works described above; writing accessible works, primarily secular instrumental ones, which maintained his anti-romantic stance but did so not through modernist techniques but through the strategy of positive periodicity. The kind of positive reception seen in the above review by Laux continued to be the fare of Fortner's reviews throughout the Third Reich, positively supporting his presentation of self. In 1936 Fortner's only completed work – *Sinfonia Concertante für Orchester* – finally won over Stege who had in 1933 publicly questioned Fortner's political loyalty. Stege's review (1936) upholds Fortner's links to the Baroque, particularly Bach, and his ability to write accessible music: '...his links to Bach and to elements of Baroque style harmoniously converge with the present'<sup>181</sup>. Now in 1936 Fortner's rejection of the modernist approach to new music in favour of the positive periodist approach gleaned from the traditional neo-classicism of his Leipzig studies had gained him legitimacy convincing even earlier detractors (something Hindemith was never able to do).

Fortner continued to maintain his musical work along these lines, and as a last consideration and support for these conclusions I turn to his *Konzert für Klavier und Orchester* (piano concerto) of 1943. This work was one of his most successful during the Third Reich and one which garnered him a positive review in one of Germany's most famous newspapers, the internationally distributed *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Here I rely on the translations of Colpa (2002 pp. 187-189). Fortner's piano concerto was reviewed by Walter Dirks (1943) who immediately highlighted the work's accessibility. 'It [*Konzert für Klavier*] is comprehensible; after the performance a few of its themes were heard on the street'<sup>182</sup> (Translation Colpa 2002, p. 187). Dirks also positively identified and valued Fortner's use of diatonic tonality, though with some diversions: '...nevertheless here also the simplest cadences stand next to uncommon and daring harmonizations. The fundamental character

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<sup>181</sup> '...seine Anknüpfung an Bach und barocke Stilelemente in harmonischer Annäherung an die Gegenwart.'

<sup>182</sup> 'Es ist eingängig, man hörte einige seiner Themen nach der Aufführung auf der Straße'

remains diatonically tonal.’ (Translation Colpa 2002, p. 187)<sup>183</sup>. As with *Sonatina für Klavier* Fortner included subtle illusions to German nationalism by quoting an old German love song “All mein Gedanken, die ich hab” (All the thoughts that I have) taken from the historically important *Lochamer Liederbuch* first published sometime between 1452 and 1460 (Ameld (ed.) 1972). Dirks noticed this quotation and presented this in his review. This work was also critiqued in the Düsseldorf paper *Der Mittag*, this time by Wolfgang Steinecke (again I rely on Colpa, 2002). Like Dirks, Steinecke identified and upheld the value of Fortner’s inclusion of the folksong going on to draw positive periodist connections similar to Stege’s review of the 1936 orchestral sinfonia noting Fortner’s Baroque style and use of classical sonata form and the overall accessibility of the work: ‘It goes for the entire work that it is both characteristic for the will of new music and that it speaks with immediacy to the open minded listener’ (Translation Colpa, 2002, p. 184)<sup>184</sup>.

From the very earliest Third Reich period Fortner used music to reform his presentation of self, to be received as an acceptable and eventually celebrated German composer in Nazi Germany. He did this by avoiding controversy, employing positive periodist aesthetics, composing primarily secular instrumental works and in creating positive associations to German icons and traditions. Unfortunately Fortner was also willing to go further than towing a conservative musical line having developed associations with Nazi organizations, events and eventually becoming a *Parteigenossen*.

Further evidence that supports these conclusions, that Fortner reflexively mobilized music in his presentation of self, comes from the period following WWII. After the fall of the Third Reich Fortner re-presented himself again, this time as an overt modernist and embraced aesthetic practices considered degenerate under the Nazi regime. In the last section I briefly discuss the relevance of Fortner’s post-WWII professional self to understanding his presentation of self through music under National Socialism.

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<sup>183</sup> ‘...auch hier stehen die einfachsten Kadenzten neben aparten und kühnen Harmonisierungen, und der Grundcharacter bleibt diatonisch tonal.’

<sup>184</sup> ‘Es gilt überhaupt für das ganze Werk, daß es sowohl charakteristisch ist für das wollen der neuen Musik, aber auch den aufgeschlossenen Hörer ganz unmittelbar anspricht’

*Abandoning the past, re-presenting for the future*

To speak of Fortner's aesthetic choices post WWII is to speak of an enormous conversion from those of the Nazi period. The change had begun by 1945 and is audible in his *Sonate für Violin und Klavier* of that year. However, in the years to follow Fortner virtually abandoned the traditional neo-classical projects discussed above. His positive periodist Third Reich style was, in comparison to developments in contemporary music outside the Third Reich, *negative* periodicity. As discussed earlier in relation to the mortification of modernism, during the Third Reich the German musical world was in degrees shut off from the international musical world. Ironically the developments during and after the Nazi regime that took place outside Germany, those that were to feature prominently in musical developments in the second half of the twentieth century (including those in Germany), were partially led by exiled Germans (see Brinkmann and Wolff (eds), 1999; Heister et al., (eds) 1993). When German musicians (referring primarily to then West Germans) emerged in 1945 from the Third Reich and were again free to converse with the international musical world, they had to contend with the changes in musical aesthetics that had occurred over the previous decade and a half, particularly if they wished to assert themselves on the international stage. Fortner was very keen to do so – keen to re-present himself as a modernist. Not only was he a co-founder of the internationally influential Darmstadt summer courses in contemporary music (and a long time teacher there) most of Fortner's post-WWII work explores atonality and a rigorous but personal working of serial techniques (Dibelius, 1984; Laaff, 1955; Weber, 2001) all aesthetics that would have labelled him a degenerate cultural bolshevist under National Socialism.

In addition to Fortner's drastic aesthetic transformation there is one final piece of evidence that supports the conclusions regarding Fortner's reflexive engagement with conditions of reception in musically presenting himself publicly – an attempt to cover-up some of his Third Reich compositions. The Schott catalogue of Fortner's works no longer includes a number of Fortner's Third Reich works. A letter, quoted by Colpa (2002, pp. 158-159) from the Schott firm to the composer in 1957 shows that Fortner requested several of his Third Reich works to be withdrawn from their catalogue. These works, including the above discussed *Sinfonia Concertante für Orchester* (1936) and *Konzert für Klavier und Orchester* (1943), comprise his most successful and publicized works during the Third

Reich. Fortner no longer wanted these available to the public; they no longer represented his professional self appropriately. Though copies of these works exist at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich they remain unavailable from Schott.

### *Summary*

Fortner's position as a young professional composer at the beginning of the Third Reich was fraught with difficulties. In the years leading up to 1933 Fortner was already caught between poles of traditionalism (as influenced from his Leipzig education) and modernism and had been criticized and labelled a "cultural bolshevist" in the musical press. While others (e.g. Kater, 1997; Prieberg, 1982) have harshly criticized the more odious elements of his Third Reich activities I have attempted to understand these activities in terms of his agency in the situation in which he found himself.

As a young emerging composer at the beginning of the Nazi regime Fortner had none of the resources that afforded others (Schoenberg, Weill, Scherchen, Hindemith, etc.) subversive activities or emigration. Fortner was a young professional German who had just embarked on his career. While hindsight gives contemporary scholars a vantage point from which to make moral and ethical judgments on social actors' during the Third Reich here, in dealing with a subject who did become a *Parteigenossen*, I have attempted to understand Fortner's agency as part of his day to day decisions not knowing the full picture of what National Socialism was or where it was taking Germany and its people. That of course does not excuse an individual's choices to join the NSDAP or participate in the *Hitlerjunge*, but it is an attempt to understand why they did so.

Fortner's formal education took place under traditional/conservative lines at the Leipzig conservatory. Here his teachers taught him the crafts of – and an absolute value in – polyphony, counterpoint and the practices of early music. This neo-classical approach to new music in ways complimented and in other ways contradicted the modernist projects with which Fortner was also interested (which dominated his post-WWII compositional work). In pre-Third Reich works such as *Konzert für Orgel und Streichorchester* (1932) Fortner sought to reconcile these approaches largely through the influence of Hindemith. At this time he was also actively engaged in developing reflexive understandings of the

cultural climate and conditions of reception for new music at least through dialogue with his publishers. Resultant works such as *Chor der Fräuleins* (1930) and *Arbeiterlied* (1930) indicate his engagement of the advice he had received from his publishers but also his interest with left-wing socialist commentary. With *Chor der Fräuleins* he personally experienced the mortification of modernism through the rise of the conservative Nazi oriented press as they reacted to the textual content of this work. Through interpretive work done to *Chor der Fräuleins* the press labelled Fortner a “cultural bolshevist”. As a young musician who in 1931 had a career and job to worry about such bad press was a problem of self presentation and appropriation. While *Chor der Fräuleins*, and the entire *Neues Chorbuch* collection, was withdrawn by the Schott firm Fortner heeded the advice of his publishers not to engage the conservative press in proclaiming his support for modernist projects. The young Fortner was learning how to present himself as an artist and at that time he learned avoiding controversy was a viable and successful option.

In 1933, though the withdrawn *Chor der Fräuleins* was almost two years behind him, the repercussions of the 1931 scandal were still being felt (Stege’s 1933 review for the *ZfM*; Grunsky’s *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik*). Entering the Third Reich Fortner, as with the other case studies here, had to re-introduce himself within National Socialist Germany. Fortner did this primarily by avoiding controversy. Choosing to devote himself to the strategy of positive periodicity (implicitly divorcing himself from modernist approaches). This approach allowed him, as it did other individuals like Pepping, connection to positively valued cultural practices from Germany’s past. In the early Third Reich, the crucial time for his re-presentation of self, Fortner composed works like *Konzert für Streicher* that were designed to creatively bring back styles and practices particularly of the Baroque period. As reviews such as Laux’s (1934) indicate Fortner was successful in this project critics even highlighting subtle connections to nationalistically interpreted German cultural traditions such as the *Lied* (the title of the second movement of *Konzert für Streicher*). Fortner’s positive periodist approach, again like that of others, also afforded music that was ‘comprehensible to every listener’ (Laux 1934). Fortner carried this type of positive periodist aesthetic forwards in other works such as *Sonatina für Klavier* (1934) and *Sinfonia Concertante* (1936) a work which won over to Fortner’s cause Fritz Stege who had in 1933 questioned the composer’s political reliability.

*Sonatina für Klavier* also highlights how Fortner used a strategy of connecting his works with valued German culture, specifically in this case German folk traditions. The final movement of this domestically oriented work is based on Swabian folk dances. Fortner again drew on these folk dances in his 1937 *Schwäbischen Volkstänze für Orchester* this time in a work designed for the public stage. Similarly for the public stage his *Konzert für Klavier und Orchester* (1943) includes an old folksong from the historically important *Lochamer Liederbuch*. As seen in reviews by Laux (1943) and Dirks (1943) these connections to German folk narratives and histories were recognized and praised in the critical press; they afforded a positive presentation of self for Fortner.

However, early in the Third Reich Fortner did not just rely on positive periodist aesthetics and subtle cues towards German culture in absolute works of secular instrumental compositions. Within the first two years of Nazi Germany Fortner, a composer who at this time focused on secular instrumental works, wrote both secular and sacred texted works. While *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* and *Psalm XLVI* are understood as legitimizing his position at the Heidelberg church music institute, and capitalizing on available performance forces (as discussed regarding Pepping) *Ein deutsche Liedmesse* is a work with implicit nationalist overtones. Likewise, *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin* afforded Fortner positive connection with the German cultural canon by appropriating the historical literary icon Friedrich Hölderlin. Composed in 1933, this collection of songs is understood as redressing the scandal caused by *Chor der Fräuleins* and the composer's earlier association to Erich Kästner.

Yet Fortner did not just present himself through accessible positive periodist aesthetics, connections to valued German musical traditions or cultural icons. Fortner did, at times, actively court association with Nazi affiliated organizations and events evident as early as 1934 when his *Konzert für Streicher* was premiered at a concert sponsored by the KfdK (association presented positively in the press by Laux's review of the same year). Fortner allowed his music to be presented in these politically official means which afforded his positive presentation in National Socialist Germany. Fortner certainly went steps too far by participating musically with the *Hitlerjunge* and non-musically by joining the NSDAP in 1940.

However abominable these last associations were they, along with his other activities, comprised his agency during the Third Reich. As I have argued, through these actions Fortner used music to positively develop and present his professional self within the Nazi state. He did this by avoiding controversy and making positive extra-musical associations through texted and absolute music that afforded positive reception of his works, and thereby him, in the musical press. The compositional actions that led to his ability to do this were calculative and emanated from his reflexive engagement with wider socio-cultural contexts to develop viable understandings of the conditions of reception for his works. Fortner was engaged in this type of reflexive activity from his earliest professional compositional projects as seen in the dialogue with his publishers. He used the understandings he developed through the *Chor der Fräuleins* scandal and later his first Third Reich positive reviews, to develop and present his public professional self positively within the context of the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*. Highlighting his conscious awareness of this activity, and his continued reflexive project and presentation of self, in the post WWII period he withdrew his most successful Third Reich works realizing that they no longer afforded a positive presentation of self.

## **Conclusions**



## *Conclusion*

Through my research on composers and their musical activity in the Third Reich I have sought to interrogate the dynamic role of music and musical creativity in social agency. I have studied how five western art music composers, as social actors, actively used music – by doing things with, through and to it – to deal with, manage and act within situational incongruities. In the widest sense this has been a study of how individuals use music, in this case through composing, as strategies of action to adapt to changing socio-cultural and political events. While my research has detailed the experiences of Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner under National Socialism, experiences that were often extremely difficult, it is in recognition that in relation to the millions of victims of Nazi persecution and genocide these five individuals were extremely fortunate. Though each of these individuals had to tread carefully *vis á vis* Nazi ideologies, laws and policies, and in instances fell victim to professional denunciations and proscriptions, none were tortured or murdered by their own government.

Coming out of this research I have developed arguments that music is a resource to reflexive projects of the self (Giddens, 1991), especially through self presentation (Goffman, 1956), and as strategies of action meaningfully oriented to a putative other. The key theme that emerges from all five case studies is the use of music by individuals to reflexively connect ‘personal and social change’ (Giddens, 1991, p. 33) in ‘attempts to produce their social situations and themselves *as selves*’ as they ‘manage perspectival and circumstantial incongruity’ (DeNora, 2000, pp. 6 & 52). Unique to this key theme in my work is the focus on musical creativity, creation or what is simply referred to as composition. I have not focused solely on how individuals use extant musical products (recordings, scores, performances, etc.) for self reflexivity, presentation or social action, I have focused on the social nature of creativity; the creation of new music as a dynamic resource to social agency. As a significant contribution to the literatures of musicology and music sociology I have developed arguments round the performative character of *in situ* composition, i.e. how creative processes frame and structure social life and serve as workspaces for the self within those contexts.

Having an abiding interest in twentieth century music history (particularly the early periods and styles of modernism), music's role in social action, and generally what it is that composers do, I designed this study to focus on the activity of composers and the relations of their creativity to social agency in periods of significant socio-cultural change. By focusing my research on historical case studies of composers during the nascent period of modernism, and the implications of National Socialism on it, I found a wealth of data that allowed me to get at the heart of musical creativity in action, composition as a resource for social agency.

The extant historical studies on music in the Third Reich (Kater, 1992; 1997; 2000; Kater and Riethmüller, 2003; Levi, 1991; 1994; Meyer, 1993; Prieberg, 1982; Wulf, 1963) provided considerable background data and, particularly in the case of Kater's research, immaculate archival research that historically contextualized much of the structural and systematic aspects of the musical world and cultural policies of National Socialism. Implicitly, this extensive research details the changes in musical art worlds from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich. However, this literature has neglected the sociological gaze of situated actors. This is the first study that focuses on the social agency of composers, or musicians – one that embraces the messiness of their activity. The first significant finding in this research was the development of the theoretical concept of the mortification of modernism.

### *Mortification of Modernism*

Through the broad changes in the musical worlds of Germany between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich I discerned processes of conservative Nazi ideologues developing structures and systems, and removing or reforming others, to erase Germany's connection to modernism.

In the early twentieth century, and particularly in 1920s Germany, modernism developed through processes of art world building. As a lasting movement (or more accurately a collection of movements and styles) modernism, as Becker (1982) illumined for all successful art worlds, 'won organizational victories' and succeeded in creating 'the apparatus of an art world, mobilizing enough people to cooperate in regular ways that

sustained and furthered' it (p. 301). Early modernist actors – Kestenberg, Scherchen, Busoni, Schoenberg, Hindemith, Kaminski and countless others – succeeded in 'capturing existing cooperative networks' and in 'developing new ones' (p.301). What I found in relation to the activity of conservative cultural ideologues, even from the earliest Weimar period in publications such as the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, was a determination to combat the products and activities of modernist composers and to debase their cooperative, collaborative networks. When the activity of many of these ideologues became wedded with and legitimized through the racist, xenophobic policies of National Socialism it was clear there was an overall project of destroying modernist art worlds by removing modernist practitioners from existing networks and institutions and developing new ones to re-substantiate traditional musical worlds as the only viable and "true" musical activity for Germany. As discussed above, this process sought to destroy connections to the developments of modernism during the Weimar Republic, the modernist homeland.

In relation to modernist musicians, and particularly composers, the experiences of these changes were experiences of significant situational incongruities in their ability to work and act musically. The data collected through the aforementioned extant studies and my own personal research into my five case studies suggested that for composers the changing situations required prescient, urgent and deliberate strategies of action largely carried out through music, to situate themselves reflexively. It was evident that these musicians were using music to develop understandings of what was happening in wider socio-cultural contexts, and to learn how to deal with, manage and act as their freedoms to exercise their profession were vastly changed and curtailed. It was as if composers were being oppressed and imprisoned by the cultural bureaucracy and policies of National Socialism which were redefining the shared rules and regulations (or freedom to break those) that had come to constitute the modernist homeland, their knowledge of how to act. However, as outlined in other studies, not the least of which is Goffman's *Asylums*, social actors who are oppressed, imprisoned or find themselves in situations of subjugating external control (that is to say beyond the coercive powers of general social norms and conventions) find creative ways to mitigate this situational incongruity and adapt their agency.

Developing from Goffman's work in *Asylums*, I came to see the experience of the Nazi totalitarian state by *in situ* actors as analogous to the mortification of self experienced by

the inmates and patients of the total institutions, and their activity within the National Socialist state as adaptive, reflexive modes of action. This process was experienced at the individual level by modernist composers. Their actions in relation to these experiences, as they differed subtly or drastically from their activity in the modernist homeworld, were evidence of adaptive strategies of agency using creative repertoires of action.

As evidence to this conclusion I first detailed the development of cooperative networks around key actors in modernism's establishment including: Busoni, Schoenberg, Schreker, Scherchen, Kaminski, and Hindemith. Using Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) delineation of the socio-cultural contexts of artistic production into domains and fields to contextualize the development of modernism I outlined how these and other individuals (e.g. Kestenberg) were engaged in a process of moving key figures into field positions by installing them in existing organizations from where they had influence over the musical domain (particularly the education of young composers and musicians). I also outlined significant modernist support structures including: national/international societies (*Melos*, *Allgemeiner deutsche Musikverein*, International Society for Contemporary Music); regional societies (*Neue Musikgesellschaft Bremen*, *Konzerte zeitgenössischer Musik Bochum*, *Hamburg Neue Musik*, *Leipzig Konzertverein*); associated festivals (Donaueschingen, ISCM, AdMV) and journals (*Melos*, *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, *Die Musik*). These structures were either established institutions infiltrated by modernists or bespoke modernist institutions created to support and substantiate a modernist homeworld in the Weimar Republic. In the chapter 'Mortification of Modernism', and at the beginning of each subsequent case study, I showed how all five composers were either active as field members in the establishment of modernism (Hindemith, Kaminski) or were, during the Weimar Republic, developing composers who sought out careers as modernist composers (Wagner-Régeny, Pepping, Fortner). During the Weimar Republic each of these composers developed their musical selves in relation to the freedom of action afforded by what Peukert called the 'classical era of modernity' (Peukert, 1991, p. 164). In the Goffmanian sense, they developed their knowledge of how to act, their presenting culture, largely within the Weimar modernist homeworld. However, with the establishment of the Third Reich came drastic changes to musical fields and domains, the removal of available connections to the Weimar modernist homeworld, and redefinitions of how to act musically.

Substantiating my argument that modernism and its composers underwent a process of mortification I provided evidence of degradations, humiliations and abasements of individual modernist composers by conservative cultural ideologues such as: the characterization of Schoenberg as ‘... a creature, whose *seelenleben* has nothing in common with ours’ (Heuss and Niemann, 1923, p. 9); the declaration of Fortner as a cultural bolshevist (“Artistic Bolshevism at the Heidelberg Institute for Church Music”, *Heidelberger Beobachter* August 5, 1931); Goebbels’ description of Hindemith’s music as indecent, common and kitschy, ‘surrounded with the discordant dissonances of a musical nonsense’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247) and his relegation to ‘*den letzten vierzehn Jahren*’ (Bullerian, 1933, p. 656) the ‘years of the most dreadful German decay’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247). Likewise modernism in general was traditionally declared by these ideologues as ‘international-bolshevistic-futurist’ music that was ‘artistic impotence...sick and perverse’ (Göhler, 1921, p. 403).

From the very beginning of the Third Reich this ideology, now backed by laws and policies, eroded connections to the modernist homeworld. First were the mass dismissals and/or emigrations of key modernist figures such as Schoenberg, Schreker, Weill, Kaminski, etc., which continued throughout the regime and included Hindemith’s 1938 emigration. Through these dismissals and emigrations vast segments of the cooperative networks of the modernist homeworld became inaccessible. Next, the support structures of modernism that had proliferated the musical domains of the modernist homeworld were reformed in the image of National Socialism or were completely disbanded. Finally, the process of modernist mortification included the establishment of bureaucratic systems to regulate the music profession and the cultural sector in general. The *Reichsmusikkammer*, as a subsidiary to the *Reichskulturkammer* itself a subsidiary to Goebbels’ Ministry of Propaganda (Meyer, 1993), was established by the Nazi regime to oversee all aspects of the music profession and to enforce the regime’s desire for Germany’s musicians to orient their activity towards nationalist means and goals. As Goebbels said in 1933 and quoted in my introductory remarks:

“German art of the next decades will be heroic, hard as steel, and romantic, sentimental and factual, national with great pathos, and it will be binding and demanding – or it will not be” (*Die Musik*, June 1933 “Personalien” p. 641; translation from Meyer 1993, p. 34).

Through the process of mortification modernist composers and musicians were cut off from their Weimar homeworld, just as Goffman's inmates and patients were purposely cut off from theirs. Organized into 'whole blocks of people' (Goffman, 1968, p. 6) through the RMK, the removal of cooperative networks and support structures, and the depriving of links to the outside world through organizations like the ISCM, modernism as an abstracted movement, and the individuals active within it, was debased.

Throughout this research I did not use Goffman's *Asylums* for abstract theorization to apply to case studies. The experiences of mortification, and the resultant adaptive strategies, emerged from the data, subjects describing experiences and actions more than coincidentally similar to Goffman's subjects. Hindemith recognized the process when he wrote 'Here there was such chaos... To judge by what I now see happening in musical and theatrical affairs, I believe all the key jobs will shortly be occupied by rigidly national types' (Hindemith, 1995, pp. 66-67) and indicated his personal experience of it writing: 'If I continue to experience the kind of difficulties I have had until now, and if the efforts to wring my neck by slow degrees are successful, I shall probably be forced to look for some occupation abroad' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 83). As a result of the dismissals and emigrations Wagner-Régeny wrote 'Life developed conservatively with what had remained in Berlin' (1968, p. 76) eventually reflecting:

'Life in Berlin had become agonizing... The "Reichsmusikkammer" and the "Propaganda Ministry" dictated without limit. It was ordered what was to be written, and how it must be taken from German blood, soil and heritage.' (1968, p. 81)

Kaminski lost his position at the *Akademie der Kunst* and understood the rise of National Socialism as a 'nightmare' (Hartog, 1986, p. 46) writing that 'serious decisions' were necessary that it was 'about life or death' (Quoted from Hartog, 1986, p. 47). Fortner was warned by his publishers not to retaliate against charges of musical bolshevism. Even Pepping, who experienced no discernible difficulty with Nazi ideologues during the regime, very clearly recognized the severity of the changes in his *Stilwende der Musik*: 'There has hardly ever been a time when the objectives of the past have been opposed as ruthlessly as today' (Translation from Kater, 1997, p. 165).

In each case study these experiences had direct effects on actions. Each of these composers had to re-orient themselves and their agency to manage and act the situational incongruities that arose to carry on their musical selves and work within the Third Reich; they had to develop modes and repertoires of adaptive agency.

As each case study was developed it emerged that they used musical creativity in two recursively related reflexive projects. The first was the use of music as a reflexive resource to situate themselves as selves within the Third Reich, as they had done in the Weimar modernist homeworld. In a sense musical creativity was used to map cultural terrain. The second (which recursively informs the first) was the use of compositional activity to re-present themselves in the early Third Reich through various overlapping and interrelated modes of action. Though most of these strategies were used for the presentation of self (and recursively informed the reflexive project of self), as discussed below there were strategies that were more instrumentally used to mitigate the effects of modernism's mortification in a therapeutic sense (e.g. strategy of retreat).

In the remainder of this final chapter I collect together the above arguments regarding musical creativity – composition – as a resource for the reflexive project of the self, self presentation and the subsequent strategies of action.

### *Composing and reflexive agency*

Composers use their creative activity to do far more than compose music. In this study composers were found to be using composition as a resource to situate themselves – to appropriate wider social, cultural and political contexts and concepts – and to plan for the future, putting compositional activity into social action.

In each case the core of subject's understandings of who they were and how they related to the other and what they would do in the future was related in some way to their musical activity. This musically illumines one of Giddens' themes: 'The reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self...the self becomes a *reflexive project*' (1991, p. 32).

Implicit in Giddens' study was the use of various materials and artifacts as resources for reflexive projects, for example the use of self-help or therapy books. Related to past and current debates within the sociology of the arts (including sociology of music) this line of reasoning relates to the use of artifacts (paintings, sculptures, recordings, scores, etc.) as objects which afford reflexivity and agency. As Willis (1978) put it, engagement with objects or artifacts ('cultural items') may activate or bring out 'particular meanings' (p. 193) from the user. As I and my colleague Sophia Krzys-Acord have argued (2007), social actors can think with the artifacts of art (e.g. when considering the "meaning" of a piece/instance of performance art). DeNora (2000) has discerned how music is used not just in reflexive thinking but in thinking that leads to actions of self-regulation and modulation, that social actors use musical properties of musical products:

'...as referents or representations of where they wish to be or go... Respondents make, in other words, articulations between musical works, styles and materials on the one hand and modes of agency on the other...' (p. 53)

What these and other studies (e.g. Bryson, 1996; Bull, 2005; Cohen, 1995; Hibbett, 2005; Witkin, 1995; Witkin and DeNora, 1997) have developed is the convincing argument that aesthetic products such as music afford sites of reflexive work; they can be utilized in the reflexive project of self, and through reflexive engagement can inform or structure agency. The process discerned is: an engagement with an aesthetic product/event may (though not necessarily will) afford reflexive thinking about the self and its situation in wider contexts, leading to using that reflexive engagement to inform/plan and carry out action. This is the process I determine in the activity of Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner – they reflexively think with and through music and then act based on this engagement – but they were not primarily using aesthetic artifacts, they were using aesthetic processes, composing to afford their reflexive projects of self and consequently their social agency. The composers I studied used musical creativity to construct and situate the self in a 'reflexive process of connecting personal and social change' (Giddens, 1991, p. 33) admittedly heightened in my research by the focus on times of turbulent social change.

This is a unique point in my research: it is not just engagement with musical products that affords reflexivity or agency – engagement with creative processes, the creation of music, composing – affords reflexivity and agency too. The sociology of music has long privileged



the study of actor-music interactions from the viewpoint of active listening (which admittedly has an element of composing; active listeners typically work to make sense of sounds, to compose meanings from what they hear) and to a lesser degree performing (which also has an aspect of composing as performers interpret instructions in musical scripts given them by composers) but the sociology of music has largely ignored the relationship between composing – i.e. creating new, never before heard music – and reflexive social agency. My study has sought to rectify this oversight and in the following paragraphs I collate the above discussed uses of composing by my case studies as they used these musical processes as resources to their reflexive projects of self.

### *Composing as a reflexive resource for self situation*

This thesis began with a case study on Paul Hindemith. Within this discussion I developed views that through his composing he situated himself within localized art worlds (specifically his early situation within his conservatory education) and in wider social, cultural, political contexts (e.g. his appropriation of prescient political concepts at the end of WWI and of the implications of National Socialism on his activities as a composer). Early in his career, as evidenced in his tempestuous letters to his friend Emmy Ronnenfeldt and to the Lübbeckes, he produced his social situation and his musical self within it by thinking reflexively with and through his musical creativity and products. While Hindemith used written language (also a process of composition), it was the use of music that formed this thinking. In his letter to Emmy Ronnefeldt he employed his actions, his compositional decisions, and the initial and projected reception of these decisions by his teacher and others, to understand his art world. Specifically he developed concepts of what was old and what was new, mapping the old as patterns of ‘song and sonata forms’. Hindemith was not interested in such tradition; his desire to create was based in making compositional decisions outside the traditional, wanting to shake himself ‘free of all this conservatory nonsense’.

What was really going on here was the use of compositional activity to understand the past by comparison to present activity (making decisions that broke with tradition) to plan for the future (to move beyond tradition and ‘conservatory nonsense’). Hindemith was

engaging in his reflexive project of self – situating himself against the past, within the present, and planning his trajectory of self – through compositional decisions.

This is another key point, that compositional activity affords reflexivity because it requires creative decisions, ones not necessarily following (or often intentionally made in contradistinction to) coercive norms or conventions<sup>185</sup>. As Giddens pointed out: ‘The reflexive project of self... takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems’ (1991, p. 5). Music, as all artistic mediums do, serves as an abstract system (or collection of systems) with malleable rules and regulations (e.g. tonality, form, rhythm, metre, etc.) enforced by various gatekeeping systems (e.g. teachers, critics, scholars, etc.) usually based on varying degrees of historic precedence. Composers must make choices within these abstract systems, what Becker described as instances of the ‘editorial moment’ (1982, pp. 198-209), but these choices do not just bring immediate aspects of an art world to bear on an artist (Becker, H., 1982, p. 201) but can afford that artist to reflexively situate beyond the present into the past and future and to concepts and contexts not always directly related to the art world. It is through processes of creative decision making, the very heart of what composing is, that the reflexive project is afforded.

The evidence from my research on Hindemith and other case studies indicates that the reflexivity enabled through the creative decisions inherent in composing are used for the appropriation of concepts and contexts that may not appear immediately connected to artistic production. In Hindemith’s case his compositional decisions were used to appropriate, through reflection on the conditions of reception of his works, concepts of left-wing and right-wing politics at the end of WWI, that in reaction to his non-traditional compositional decisions ‘the whole right-wing’ would cry ‘shame’.

While the political situation of Germany at the end of WWI was somewhat tangible, my research on Heinrich Kaminski emerged the use of music for less tangible existential work, the situation of the self in metaphysical terms. Kaminski accomplished this by doing interpretive work to his compositional process, understanding his decisions in creating

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<sup>185</sup> In the realm of modernism or the avant garde of any age/artistic medium, I would however argue that the actions of breaking norms and conventions become themselves norms and conventions. Rule breaking, however unconventional, is convention.

polyphonic music as creating authentic music. He then developed three key existential beliefs about authentic music linked to his *weltanschauung*. Authentic composition for Kaminski was a way of transcending bodily existence, of mitigating the finality of physical death, to ‘dive headlong into the light of eternity’. He also believed music representative of laws of existence, what he considered a cooperation of cosmic forces that binds the universe together, emblemized in the relationship of polyphonic lines in true composition. Finally, he found music to be a therapeutic resource for personal fulfilment and emotional release. Through a dedication to and beliefs in polyphonic composition Kaminski situated himself historically as in a linear progression from the ‘forefathers’ to his situation as a contemporary composer whose self was fulfilled through his compositional activity.

Using similar interpretive work done to the compositional process Ernst Pepping thought through his compositional activity to create relationships between styles of composition and historical changes in social order and structure. He constructed a theory of musical composition appropriate and authentic for the *Zeitgeist*. By thinking through his compositional activity in the book *Stilwende der Musik* (itself an example of composing) he situated himself as active in a time of community building (as opposed to subjective individualism) emblemized by polyphonic composition. Pepping then appropriated his compositional practice as oriented to a process of creating community believing music afforded *gemeinschaftswerk*. Through his compositional process he understood the past as decadent individualism, the present as returning to communalism, and himself as active in developing an idealized German nation. As his compositional decisions broke ‘with all that he had previously composed’ (quoted from Eber, 2006, p. 18 originally from Brunner, 1997) he situated himself in the present as acting through composing to construct a new Germany in the future.

While Pepping seems to have enthusiastically embraced the socio-cultural changes around the rise of National Socialism, as I have discussed, the connection of these social changes to my other case studies was (or became) more difficult and problematic. Before the Third Reich began Fortner came to understand, through his denouncement as a ‘musical bolshevist’ in the critical reception of his *Chor der Fräuleins*, the dangers of the political climate through his musical actions. Rudolph Wagner-Régeny’s experienced these difficulties through the decision to abandon the operatic project *Die Fabel vom Seligen*

*Schlächtermeister*, similar to Hindemith's abandonment of *Etienne und Luise*, as a result of 'Mr. Hitler and the whole wailing...' (Wagner-Régeny, 1964, p. vi). He continued to appropriate for himself the situation of the Third Reich cultural climate in his stage work (especially the successful *Der Günstling*) which he composed using 'carefully selected' styles set 'not to be felt as a flame blazing on the theatre, not as disagreeable and inartistic'. For him to decide what was not disagreeable and inartistic he first had to situate what would have been disagreeable and inartistic and then act to avoid that. By anticipating the conditions of reception in the Third Reich by to limit the endless musical possibilities composers are always faced with, he situated himself and his ability to act within the socio-cultural climate.

The process of making these decisions is a project of making composing a process of counterfactual reasoning. This was explicit in the discussion of Hindemith's abandonment of *Etienne und Luise*. When Hindemith was engaged with this project (along with librettist Penzoldt) he turned his work into counterfactual reasoning to situate himself amid social change by anticipating how changes in the conditions of reception would affect his professional situation. By deciding to stop work on this compositional project he developed an understanding that the conditions of early Nazi Germany were conservative, volatile and xenophobic. This compositional counterfactual reasoning not only helped develop his present understandings of self situation but also directly informed his actions, never returning to compose *Etienne und Luise*.

#### *Composing the reflexive presentation of self*

The use of counterfactual reasoning to anticipate conditions of reception brings me to a final point of conclusion under the concept of composing as a resource for the reflexive project of the self – the use of music as resource to self presentation. My argument is based on the premise that to successfully present a self, one has to continuously develop and know that self. In this dynamic process aesthetic materials and processes are central resources and tools.

The concept of self presentation naturally returns to the work of Goffman in *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956). Goffman, working from the notion that 'life itself is a

dramatically acted thing' (p. 72) determined that social actors present themselves through performances which: 'define the situation for those who observe the performance' (p. 22). The observers come to understandings of what the performer is trying to convey (to present) by interpreting the myriad of cues the performer uses. However, Goffman points out a significant 'inconvenient application' in this system: 'the audience may misunderstand the meaning that a cue was designed to convey, or may read an embarrassing meaning into gestures or events...' (p. 51). Presentation of self is a risky business. In relation to professional musical activity this is especially true, even more so during a period of extreme cultural ideologies and criticism such as the Third Reich.

Within the professional western art music world, field members such as critics (in the case of the Third Reich Nazi cultural ideologues) work from a standpoint of critiquing the presentations of self put forward by musicians by evaluating their performances and publicizing their opinions of these performances. The key to understanding this in relation to at least western art music is to understand that when a performance or musical composition is evaluated it is rarely an objectified evaluation of just a performance, the review is not just applied to "the music", it is applied to the artist(s) him/herself(selves). The tradition of western art music has a history of encapsulating the composer with and through "the music" in the belief that an understanding of the creative artist is attainable through the appropriation of his/her products alone. This is clear even in a cursory glance through Slonimsky's anthology *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers since Beethoven's Time* (2000), which includes a number of examples of attacks on modernist composers in Germany during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich (see entries on Berg, Schoenberg and Webern).

For composers, and most musicians, their musical activity forms the 'items of expressive equipment' (Goffman, 1956, p. 23) intimately identified with them as persons. Music becomes a musician's front: 'that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance.' (Goffman, 1956, p. 22). When critics, cultural ideologues, scholars, etc. evaluate the music they experience they have traditionally not evaluated the music only, they use the music to define and interpret the situation and the value of that artist to contexts as wide as societies in general. This is illumined in a forthcoming article by Pino

in the journal *Music and Arts in Action* (2009) who uses concepts from the sociology of deviance to explain how composers themselves are often understood as individuals who threaten culture and/or politics and may be appropriated as evil or criminal by the musical press.

Throughout my discussions on the mortification of modernism this type of reception, the result of interpretive work done to music by cultural ideologues, has been clear. When Schoenberg was considered ‘...a creature, whose *seelenleben* [soul] has nothing in common with ours’ by Heuss and Niemann (1923, p. 9) it had nothing to do with their personal interactions with Schoenberg, it was based solely on their interpretations of his music and ethnicity. Likewise when Fortner was judged a bolshevist (*Heidelberger Beobachter* August 5, 1931) it was based on the reception of his *Chor der Fräuleins*. With Goebbels’ (1935) denouncement of Hindemith and his relegation to the ‘years of the most dreadful German decay’ (Goebbels, 1935, p.247) it had nothing to do with Goebbels’ personal interaction with Hindemith, he never had any. It was based largely on his and Hitler’s negative opinion of the opera *Neues vom Tage*.

Within the context of the mortification of modernism what these composers had was a problem of self presentation. Particularly in the cases of Hindemith, Kaminski, Fortner and Wagner-Régeny the products of their compositional activity (expressive equipment that publicly presented them) either before the Third Reich and/or during it, led to evaluations of them as dangerous to the goals of National Socialism.

I have argued these composers recognized this problem either explicitly in writing or implicitly by their actions. In Fortner’s case his publishers withdrew *Chor der Fräuleins* and warned him against activity that would present him as a cultural bolshevist. In the Third Reich he turned to a strategy of positive periodicity that avoided unconventional composing. After the Third Reich he requested his publishers withdraw many of his conventional Third Reich works. In Hindemith’s case he sought an official introduction to the Nazi regime through co-presence with ‘ancient tootlers’, and sought to redress negative opinions of himself by composing and presenting *Mathis der Maler*. Wagner-Régeny, like Fortner, engaged in a mode of musical diversity presenting himself in many musical markets with compositions such as *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* designed as uncontroversial

and accessible. Wagner-Régeny later recognized how compositional activity presents self when he declared he and Neher had become unpopular *by* their operas. Even the reclusive Kaminski re-styled his compositions along positive periodist lines with works like *Dorische Musik*. Pepping was so desperate to present himself as an acceptable, valuable artist in the Third Reich that he quickly published a book which oriented not just his compositional workings to a project of building a new Germany but his whole aesthetic philosophy.

All of these actions point to the same conclusion, composers know that when their music is presented publicly it is used by others to come to understandings about them as individuals. Through their composing they do not just present music, they present themselves. Whether beneficial or not, composing for composers is one of the most central activities for self presentation and in the Third Reich presentation of self meant self preservation.

I believe this illumines a missing link in the theories of self presentation and in reflexive projects of the self. One cannot present a self without pre-conceived notions (though these may be developed/refined in process) of what self it is one wants to present. That is to say self presentation is an emergent, recurrent process, fed by exigencies over time. To present a self one must engage in a reflexive project of developing/knowing that self either (or both) before public presentation activities and during. As one gains new information during the presentation of self garnered from the reactions (such as from the critical musical press) of observers, the presentation of self becomes linked to the reflexive project of self as actions may be tailored in response to reactions from observers (such as negative reviews).

Therefore, a key motivator to the reflexive project of the self is a desire to control the presentation of self being developed. The composers I studied were engaged in reflexive projects of the self, but these reflexive projects of self were not oriented only for self maintenance or growth, they were motivated by a desire to positively present themselves as valuable, acceptable composers *vis á vis* National Socialist cultural policies and ideologies. That is not to say that these composers believed in the more odious activities of National Socialism, I do not think that was the case with either of them, what it means is they engaged in reflexive projects of the self to understand what was happening within Germany so as to be able to compose works that would secure their ability to remain professionally active in Nazi Germany. Their reflexive projects of self were oriented towards self

preservation particularly professional preservation. As they presented themselves through music, the past and present reactions received were brought to bear on their agency.

The musical presentation of self – or as I have argued in reference to Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Fortner the re-presentation of self – was accomplished through various strategies of action, some unique to individual case studies, most evidenced in several case studies. In this final section I revisit the strategies of musical action beginning with one of the central strategies of action used in the musical presentation/re-presentation of self – music as a change agent.

### *Composing as a Resource for Agency – Strategies of Action*

#### *Strategy of music as a change agent*

Researchers working from sociological and psychological perspectives on music (e.g. Bull, 2005; DeNora, 2000; Sloboda, 1992) have discussed the use of recorded music as a change agent in people's lives. How, for example, an iPod user '...struggles to achieve a level of autonomy over time and space' (Bull, 2005, p. 344) by changing aesthetic environments through the creation of personal soundscapes. Using my research on the agency of composers I have elaborated on these findings to show how actors not only use extant music to afford change but also design new music to do the changing for them. Important in my conclusions here, as discussed in previous chapters, is the idea that music affords what we think/believe it will afford.

Emerging from my research on Hindemith I found that early in his career he developed beliefs in being able to design or engineer music to alter social situations to his purposes. This came out of Hindemith's involvement in *Gebrauchsmusik* that he believed he could design music to bridge a widening gap between modern music and its public consumption while thereby fighting attacks against modernism in the latent stages of its mortification. *Gebrauchsmusik* composition, as a strategy of action, was a concept of music designed towards more everyday life experiences and skills as opposed to elitist forms of music consumed passively in sacralised venues. Also linked to Hindemith's reflexive project of self and self presentation, the composer sought to connect himself and his music to broad



social strata by designing music accessible to amateur musicians and the musical laity. Hindemith and others believed that music could be a change agent for them, that it would increase interest in, as well as consumption and understanding of, modern music.

Composers like Hindemith believe music has affordances recognizing, albeit often implicitly, that music is about more than music. Hindemith's statement 'I believe firmly in it [modern music]' underscores a principle feature of musical affordances, for music to have affordances actors must first believe in its ability to have them. Works such as Hindemith's *Plöner Musiktag* are not inherently change agents. They are only change agents because individuals such as Hindemith first believed, designed and then presented them as such. This is also particularly evident in my research on Pepping and Kaminski and indicates that the belief in music, or thinking of music, as affording action emanates from interpretive work done to it by actors. Pepping's thoughts on "authentic" polyphonic music affording community building work (*Stilwende der Musik* 1934), Hindemith's belief in being able to design *Gebrauchsmusik* for social change or Kaminski's understandings of music transcending bodily existence, representative of eternal laws, and as a therapeutic resource for personal/emotional fulfilment highlight that musical affordance begins with actors first doing something to music.

However, just because an actor thinks music has affordances does not mean these affordances will necessarily emerge. For example, music's ability to be a change agent is also dependent on social interaction with "the music", that it be put into action. This was poignantly clear regarding Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*. There was no other example in my research where a composer believed so strongly in the affordance of music to effect change. Hindemith references his composing of *Mathis der Maler* numerous times in his correspondence from the period and firmly believed it would 'do a lot to put things right' that with *Mathis der Maler* 'firmly on its feet, all the better armed' would he be to mitigate situational incongruity. Hindemith, as discussed above, was facing a significant presentation of self problem, he needed to re-present himself as a viable German artist. Through *Mathis der Maler* – designed with uncontroversial aesthetics and connections to German cultural history (compositional decisions resulting from the strategy of musical counterfactual reasoning as part of his self situation in the Third Reich) Hindemith was convinced the opera would alter his reception in Nazi Germany. Hindemith even tailored

other compositions to prepare the future conditions of reception for *Mathis der Maler*. His Mozart cadenzas and especially his *Mathis* symphony were intended to influence his reception in Nazi Germany to seed the ground positively for the reception of the then incomplete opera. While he was somewhat successful in this, particularly through the successful Berlin Philharmonic performance of the *Mathis* symphony, the opera never became the change agent Hindemith believed it would be. *Mathis der Maler* was ultimately a failed attempt at designing music as a change agent for Hindemith's re-presentation of self because it was never publicly performed in Nazi Germany.

Three other key strategies of action, inherently interrelated, discussed throughout the case studies were also oriented towards changing, or at least influencing, the reception situations of these five composers. Oriented towards positively presenting/re-presenting the composers in the Third Reich, the strategies of musical diversity; associations to "safe" German cultural history, symbols and icons; and the strategy of positive periodicity were all strategies of composing that afforded agency directed at presenting themselves as valuable composers in the Third Reich.

#### *Strategy of Musical Diversity*

Within the studies on Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski and Fortner a strategy of musical diversity emerged. In each of these case studies I found that in the years immediately prior to the Third Reich their compositional activity fell substantially. I have contextualized this decrease in activity as resulting from the extensive social, political and importantly financial difficulties experienced in Germany between 1929 and 1933. However, in the early Third Reich (1933-1936) the compositional activity of each of these composers increased substantially. Moreover, these composers engaged with diverse musical genres and media directed towards diverse markets of consumption. Each cast a wide musical net, presenting themselves musically in diverse spaces within the musical world not only through diverse media and genre but through the strategies of designing association to safe German cultural history and positive periodicity. With the cases of Wagner-Régeny and Fortner this ended when they came to focus on the niches they had been most successful in; for Wagner-Régeny it was staged music, for Fortner it was orchestral music.

During the first three years of the Third Reich Wagner-Régeny composed works as diverse as *Spinettmusik* (1934), *Liederbüchlein* (published 1935), *Der Günstling* (1935) and *Orchestermusik mit Klavier* (1936). *Spinettmusik*, as an artifact of the strategy of positive periodicity, was a domestic oriented collection of keyboard music heavily influenced by the tradition of Baroque keyboard suites. *Liederbüchlein*, as an artifact of the strategy of safe cultural associations, was an anthology of Wagner-Régeny's engagement with folksongs from his earliest works to the present also suited primarily to the domestic market. *Der Günstling*, Wagner-Régeny's first operatic success and the work that led to his focus on stage music, was also a positive periodist work but one that appropriated the grand public stage for the composer. *Orchestermusik mit Klavier*, also designed for public spectacle, was his only purely orchestral work during the Third Reich and was designed to present him not just as composer but as pianist, front and centre with prominent orchestras in Germany and Austria.

Concurrently Heinrich Kaminski was writing for diverse genres and media. In 1934 he composed three positive periodist works including: the four volume *Klavierbuch* (also inspired by Baroque keyboard suites), the publicly successful *Dorische Musik für Orchester* and *Canon für Violin und Orgel*. At this time he also engaged with the private choral work *Die Messe deutsch*. In 1935 he wrote the pedagogical work *Zehn kleine Übungen für das polyphone Klavierspiel*, also an artifact of positive periodicity, as well as the choral work *O Seele, denke deiner Heimat*. Like Wagner-Régeny he was writing diverse works for diverse markets of consumption from the domestic and pedagogic to the public orchestral hall. Over the course of the Third Reich Kaminski's compositional output gradually decreased to the one final work he finished days before he died – *Das Spiel vom König Aphelios*.

In these same early years of the Nazi regime Wolfgang Fortner was active in orchestral works, vocal works, choral works, chamber works and piano works. In 1933 he composed his instrumental *Concerto for Strings* and his *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin*, which I have argued was part of a strategy of association to German cultural history to overcome charges of cultural bolshevism. In 1934 he continued his orchestral work with *Concertino for Viola and Chamber Orchestra* but also wrote the choral work *Ein deutsche Liedmesse*, one of the few sacred works he composed during the Third Reich despite his employment

at the Heidelberg Church Music Institute. In 1934 Fortner also wrote *Sonatina for Piano* and the pedagogical *Blockflötenwerk*. Each of these compositions, with the exception of *Vier Gesänge nach Worten Hölderlin*, were works of positive periodicity which presented him, like Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski, in diverse markets of consumption. While Fortner's Third Reich output is relatively low, he did maintain compositional activity throughout the regime, an output that increased in quantity towards the end, but decreased in diversity. Fortner came to focus primarily on orchestral works.

The strategy of musical diversity was not a mode of action that stood on its own. Like all the strategies of action I have discerned, it was used in combination with others. The strategy of composing through "safe" associations to German cultural history, symbols and icons was another key strategy in the presentation of self of these composers, especially for Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny, Pepping and Fortner.

#### *Strategy of associations to German cultural history, symbols and icons*

In the Third Reich composers created works with strong associations to either canonical German culture, or elements of contemporary German culture or ideology, appropriated by National Socialism as valued aspects of national identity. This strategy of action first appeared in Hindemith's musings on composing 'just the thing for now' (Hindemith, 1995, p. 70), music appropriate for the times, when he considered setting texts by canonical German authors Hölderlin and Novalis. Hindemith did not follow these considerations, but in his *Mathis der Maler* he constructed clear historical connections to what Kater (1997) has called halcyon years for Nazi ideologues. *Mathis der Maler* was set during the period of the reformation and included iconic German cultural figures including Mathis Grünewald, Cardinal Albrecht and even mentions Martin Luther. Hindemith was also interested in associations to more contemporary cultural icons, whom he sarcastically called 'ancient tootlers' and 'the old guard', through performance activity made possible through the aforementioned RMK sponsored Berlin Philharmonic concert in early 1934.

Wagner-Régeny's *Liederbüchlein* likewise made connections to more contemporary German icons setting folksongs whose texts came from authors such as Arno Holz and Hermann Löns. Both were authors of works that praised the German people and homeland.

Particularly with Löns these compositional decisions linked him to a salient recent cultural icon. Löns died in active military service during WWI and in 1934, the year before the publication of *Liederbüchlein*, Hitler ordered Löns' body exhumed and re-interred in northern Germany. The whole collection in *Liederbüchlein* was also a savvy move on Wagner-Régeny's part serving as an anthology of his folksongs going back as far as 1920. With this work Wagner-Régeny could point to ideologically congruent compositional activity even in the Weimar Republic. Wagner-Régeny's compositions for theatrical productions and the ballet *Der Zerbrochene Krug* also brought him into association with historic German literary icons such as Heinrich von Kleist, Schiller, and ironically Shakespeare.

Ernst Pepping too cultivated safe associations to contemporary and historical German culture. One of the defining principles behind his *Stilwende der Musik* was an argument that polyphonic composition, the style he was most active in, was the authentic way to compose and one that afforded *gemeinschaftswerk*, community building work. Arguing that the 'rudder of the spirit' had been turned around Pepping developed a theory of compositional agency aligned with National Socialist ideology that he, like the National Socialist movement, was working to form a new community. *Spandauerchorbuch*, as a positive periodist work that puts into musical action the philosophy developed in *Stilwende*, connected the composer to centuries of Lutheran musical tradition and to Martin Luther as Pepping set texts and tunes by that most German of cultural icons.

Finally, Wolfgang Fortner, as a composer who had found himself denounced as a cultural bolshevist because of association to the *Chor der Fräuleins* of liberal socialist Erich Kästner, chose for his only solo vocal works during the Third Reich odes by Hölderlin. In a move I believe was to counter the association with Kästner that had proved so problematic, he went to the "safe" canon of German literature. However, to highlight how composers were not just following blindly the hyper-nationalism and xenophobia of Nazism, Fortner did not choose available prose particularly associated with nationalism. Avoiding works such as the *Vaterländische Gesänge*, Fortner set odes (*An die Parzen*; *Hyperions Schicksalslied*; *Abbitte*; *Geh unter, schöne Sonne*) that imply struggle, discontent and disquiet. Yet, Fortner did calculatingly incorporate connections to *völkisch* ideology in his instrumental works such as the song quotation in his *Concerto for Strings*, evaluated by

Laux (1934) as exemplifying ‘the uniqueness of the German Lied’, his *Schwäbischen Volkstänze für Orchester* (1937), and the quotation of the ancient German love song ‘*All mein Gedanken, die ich hab*’ in his 1943 piano concerto, subtle cues identified by reviewers of the time (Dirks, 1943; Steinecke, 1943).

In each of these cases composers made adaptive compositional decisions that were in line with the cultural sentiments and social ideologies of the Third Reich. As such they were decisions they reached reflexively, understanding the conditions of the time and the type of new works that would fit those conditions. Particularly in the reviews of Fortner’s work these cues to nationalism (or *völkisch* ideology) were discerned by the critical press and disseminated as positive characteristics of the music and the composers. Importantly, this kind of work in each of these composers oeuvre is confined to the Third Reich. Hindemith never engaged with another historical German opera, Wagner-Régeny never again set texts by Holz or Löns, nor did Fortner ever again write instrumental music with folk tunes.

Many of these works not only utilized the strategy of associations to cultural icons or National Socialist ideology, but made association to historic “German” musical culture via polyphonic aesthetics derived from earlier times. Developing out of neo-classical work from the 1920s, one very successful adaptive strategy for composers was positive periodicity.

#### *Strategy of Positive Periodicity*

The strategy of positive periodicity as I have defined it was one of using uncontroversial, or safe, aesthetic practices from historic periods of music history practiced by, though certainly not limited to, German composers. Developing out of movements active during the Weimar Republic (such as the *Neue Kirchenmusik* or the *Orgelbewegung*), composers like Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner developed compositional skills and presentation using modal, linear polyphonic methods of composition.

While Wagner-Régeny’s positive periodist strategy was altered towards the end of the Third Reich towards experimental aesthetics, early in the Third Reich works such as *Spinettmusik* were directly influenced by Baroque styles of composition. *Spinettmusik*

(1934) and to a lesser extent *Klavierbüchlein* are essentially Baroque keyboard suites. This type of aesthetic was also used, and importantly recognised in the musical press, in his *Der Günstling*. In his first operatic success Wagner-Régeny ‘carefully selected’ music that ‘covered something familiar’. The familiar elements employed by Wagner-Régeny were polyphonic techniques from the Baroque period, cues recognised and publicized in reviews. Evaluating the 1935 opera Göhler wrote: ‘the fusion of the style elements was carried out and proved impressively that an amalgamation of Baroque contours and impressionistic moods can show very well an artistic unity’ (p.326). Compositional work that incorporated ‘Baroque contours’ was a safe and acceptable way of writing new music. For Wagner-Régeny this was also a way to continue connection with modernist projects as he saw them drawn from the *Neue Klassizität* philosophy of Busoni.

Kaminski, long a composer recognized for his polyphonic compositions, reformed his more modernist polyphonic style (as evident the 1922 *Concerto Grosso*) in works like *Dorischer Musik für Orchester*, *Klavierbuch*, and his pedagogical *Zehn kleine Übungen für das Polyphone Klavierspiel*. Moving away from the dense dissonant textures of many of his 1920s works he engaged in clearer, more tonal/modal writing more accessible to the average listener. He did however, maintain a project of experimenting with temporal parameters of music which he had begun in the 1920s.

The entire aesthetic design of Pepping’s *Spandauerchorbuch* is one of uncomplicated accessible polyphonic writing. Drawing directly on extant hymn tunes and writing practical works for use in church liturgies all the motets contained in this extensive multi-volume work are of a positive periodist nature. However, Pepping applied the strategy of positive periodicity not just to his practical sacred works, but to the secular instrumental works he returned to after establishing himself as a church music composer. For example, my brief analysis of his *Drei Sonaten* (1937) for piano, bolstered by the exhaustive work of music theorists (Hamm, 1955; Scheideler, 1996), illumined how these works were designed to represent him as a public composer of secular instrumental music that was imminently accessible to performers and audiences. The three symphonies from the latter Third Reich by Pepping are likewise accessible works of positive periodicity. Like the *Drei Sonaten* they use conventional forms and functional tonality to present the composer positively to audiences as a successful orchestral composer. With historical hindsight these works have

led to the appropriation of Pepping as a composer who ‘from one day to the next’ opportunistically broke ‘with all that he had previously composed and disowned earlier work’ (Brunner, 1997 quoted from Eber 2006, p. 18).

In Fortner’s Third Reich compositional activity I also discerned the strategy of positive periodicity and again showed evidence that they were appropriated as such by cultural ideologues. For example Fortner’s 1936 *Sinfonia Concertante für Orchester* presented him as a composer whose ‘links to Bach and to elements of Baroque style harmoniously converge with the present’ (Stege, 1936). Similarly in 1943 his piano concerto was considered by Dirks as ‘comprehensible’ that ‘after the performance a few of its themes were heard on the street’ (Translation from Colpa, 2002, p. 187).

Within Nazi Germany cultural ideologues highly valued associations to musical history understood as quintessentially German. As such composers like Wagner-Régeny, Kaminski, Pepping and Fortner reflexively designed works that appropriated such history for themselves. Using musical cues through polyphonic styles and practices they designed works that they anticipated would be positively received, works that would positively present themselves as musicians in the Third Reich. When they did not make sufficient effort to make such connections, to write works that were comprehensible and accessible they often fell afoul of Nazi cultural ideologues.

The final strategy of action emerged from my research oriented towards positively presenting or re-presenting composers within the Third Reich is one not directly connected to composition. Within the case studies on Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Fortner I identified these composers as having sought to present themselves through a strategy of associating with Nazi organizations.

#### *Strategy of Association with Nazi organizations*

It was in the letters of Hindemith that I first came to develop the theory of music affording self presentation. Even before I began to understand the harnessing of composing to design works associated to valued German cultural history, ideology or musical styles I noticed Hindemith’s desire to seek associations to the new Nazi cultural organizations to present



works. Like the activity of composers during the Weimar Republic seeking to have their works performed through modernist institutions like the Donaueschingen festival or the ISCM festivals, in the Third Reich composers, to varying degrees, sought to have their works performed by organizations affiliated with National Socialism. The first instance of this came in a letter from Hindemith to his publisher Willy Strecker in April of 1933 when he wrote ‘One of these days I shall of course have to get the Kampfbund to support my things officially’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 69). As a Nazi affiliated organization the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (which became the National Socialist party’s cultural organization when reformed as the NSKG), afforded a positive connection and platform from which to present a composer’s works.

Hindemith was not alone in recognising the opportunity inherent in association with such organisations. In 1935 Wagner-Régeny became one of several composers who accepted commission from the NSKG to write a score for Shakespeare’s *Ein Sommernachtstraum* to replace that of Mendelssohn’s. This work was not only performed and published under the auspices of the NSKG, Wagner-Régeny received 2000DM for the work and sent a signed copy of it to a British colleague. Though Wagner-Régeny argued he felt the commission to be an order, a claim which along with Kater (1997) I feel to be disingenuous, he still recognized it as an important action on his behalf and one that he used personally to present himself to an international colleague.

Fortner likewise was presented through the KfdK when in 1934 his *Konzert für Streicher* was performed through their patronage. Karl Laux’s (1934) review of this performance, subtitled *Neue Musik im Kampfbund Konzert*, made direct reference to the work being presented by the organization.

As a final example I refer back to Hindemith’s desire to have his *Concert Music for String Orchestra and Brass* performed through the 1934 RMK sponsored concert with the Berlin Philharmonic. At a period in his Third Reich experiences when Hindemith was focusing on re-presenting himself as a valuable German artist he considered this an opportunity not to be missed. He believed that presentation through the patronage of the RMK and alongside the ‘ancient tootlers’ he ‘could not ask for more in the way of an official introduction’ (Hindemith, 1995, p. 77).

Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Fortner were calculatingly deciding to have their works premiered by Nazi affiliated organizations, seeking the rewards of this in public presentation of self. In each of these instances they actively sought and participated in having their works “officially” performed through association to Nazi organizations.

Within these previous sections I have collated several key strategies of action that show how music, primarily focusing on its composition, is a resource to social agency. While I began by making conclusions regarding the use of music to afford general social change, for example Hindemith’s belief in being able to compose *Gebrauchsmusik* as a change agent for the situation of modernism *vis á vis* the general public and its detractors, I have primarily contextualized these strategies of action as being oriented to and motivated by a perceived need by composers to positively present or re-present themselves during the Nazi regime.

While each of these adaptive strategies highlights the use of music and composition in agency, they are also indicative of the use of music to construct the self. Through these strategies these composers sought to present themselves as important German artists, but to do so they first had to situate themselves against what they considered a viable German artist was against the policies and ideologies of National Socialism.

In these final sections I return to the strategies of action discussed throughout the case studies that were not primarily oriented to self presentation. While the strategies of action relating to the presentation of self were adaptive strategies to present the composers as worthy and valuable to the new regime these final strategies were more closely linked to the personal mitigation of the experiences of the mortification of modernism. The strategies of cooperative networks, retreat and private musical sanctuary were all strategies that were used by these composers – primarily those who experienced the highest degrees of situational incongruities (Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski) – to maintain and regulate their careers and selves.

### *Strategy of Cooperative Networks*

As discussed in relation to the development and institutionalization of a Weimar modernist homeland, the mortification of modernism and the Nazi regime's attempts to subjugate the musical profession, the activity of these five composers within the Third Reich did rely upon a strategy of cooperative, collaborative networks. Substantiating the production of culture approach within the sociology of the arts, while these individuals found their connections to a modernist homeland purposely destroyed by Nazi cultural ideologues they did rely upon what aspects of those connections they could maintain, in addition to making new connections with Nazi cultural organizations such as the KfDK/NSKG (as discussed above).

As arguably Germany's, and the case can be made for Europe in general, most famous contemporary composer Hindemith was best positioned to maintain cooperative networks. Significant in this was his relationship to his publisher, Schott und Söhne, particularly to the firm's directors Ludwig and Willy Strecker. Much of the correspondence referred to in my research was correspondence with these individuals with whom he sought advice on compositional works and on whom he relied for publicity and of course the publication of his works. Connection to the Schott und Söhne firm as part of a cooperative network was also central to Fortner's activity in the Third Reich. As with Hindemith, the firm maintained a close relationship with the composer as one of their best sources for new music. Also important in Hindemith's cooperative networks were colleagues, such as Furtwängler, that worked on his behalf to rebuke attacks made on the composer by Nazi cultural ideologues. This was particularly present in the lead-up to *der Fall Hindemith* and the meetings held through the RMK and with Walther Funk of the Propaganda ministry. In this account, quoted from Hindemith's correspondence with Willy Strecker (Hindemith, 1995, p. 84) and discussed in detail above, Hindemith revealed a network of individuals (Furtwängler, Gustav Havemann, other RMK members) that were working with Funk, Göring and hoping to meet with Hitler, to change the opinions of him and his work. Ironically, the activity of this network, culminating in Furtwängler's famous letter, ultimately led to his emigration.

Other composers benefitted more from the maintenance of cooperative networks. Wagner-Régeny in particular benefitted from being able to maintain a working relationship with Neher with whom he scored his first big success in *Der Günstling*. Again, ultimately these cooperative networks led to disaster with the scandal around *Johanna Balk*. However, this cooperative network, which also included the *Deutsches Theater* director Heinz Hilpert, not only served the production and dissemination of works but was linked to Wagner-Régeny's self therapy. In relation to the strategy of retreat and musical sanctuary, the composer understood the work with such individuals as having 'saved' them during the Nazi regime.

Kaminski too was able to maintain aspects of his cooperative networks from the Weimar Republic. Though both his patron Werner Reinhart and the conductor Hermann Scherchen were in Switzerland he was able to stay in contact with both (due in part to the proximity of Ried to Switzerland) and benefitted from Reinhart's financial support and Scherchen's willingness to premiere works such as *Dorische Musik*. Kaminski's instigation of the *Order of those that love* also indicates how individuals caught within Nazi Germany engaged in activity to create subversive groups.

Pepping was able to capitalize on church music networks he had developed late in the Weimar Republic. With his 1934 appointment to the Berlin-Spandau *Kirchenmusikschule* he became exclusively dependent on these networks until his re-emergence as a secular instrumental composer around 1937. Pepping not only benefitted through the employment/financial means (as did Fortner at the Heidelberg *Kirchenmusikalische Institut*) he also benefitted from the performance opportunities afforded by groups such as the school's choir and the conducting activity of his boss Gottfried Grote who premiered a number of his works during the Third Reich. Pepping even came to rely on *Kirchenmusik* networks for his re-presentation as a secular instrumental composer when his first piano sonata (from *Drei Sonaten*, 1937) was premiered at the 1937 Berlin *Kirchenmusik* festival.

It should also be noted that, in relation to the above discussion regarding the strategy of association to Nazi cultural organizations (principally the KfDK/NSKG) individuals such as Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Fortner did engage with National Socialist cultural institutions for commission, publication and performance opportunities.

While these cooperative networks were largely mobilized for the creation and performance of music or to facilitate financial support/employment, in the public sense of continuing and developing professional compositional careers, the strategies of retreat and musical sanctuary ran in the opposite direction. As elements of physical and musical privacy, these strategies afforded composers distance from the events of National Socialist Germany.

### *Strategy of Retreat and Musical Sanctuary*

The strategy of retreat identified in the cases of Hindemith, Wagner-Régeny and Kaminski contained two operative, but interrelated, strands of action. The first and most obvious was the mitigation of situational incongruity by the physical removal of the individual from the experience of that incongruity. The second is less obvious and involves the mobilization of compositional activity to provide private musical sanctuary through composition hidden from the eyes of National Socialism.

Kaminski's case is the clearest use of the strategy of retreat in its physical sense. From approximately 1920 Kaminski engaged in a general strategy of retreat that seems to have been necessary for his compositional activity. He spent much of his active time composing at his rural Ried retreat at the foot of the Bavarian alps. Kaminski, unlike his colleague Hindemith who could compose at the drop of a hat (e.g. the composition of *Trauermusik* on the death of King George the V), required seclusion for his creative processes. However, Kaminski also repeatedly engaged in a strategy of retreat during situational incongruity. Even before the Third Reich he moved temporarily to the Chateau de Muzot in Switzerland following the failure of his 1929 opera *Jürg Jenatsch*. In 1934, amidst the loss of his *Akademie der Künste* position and his resignation at Bielefeld he returned permanently to Ried. Back at his rural retreat his compositional activity again increased; his physical seclusion mitigated the stresses of the mortification of modernism and he became compositionally productive again. When in 1939 Kaminski found himself racially proscribed even Ried was not far enough from the stress and he escaped to Ascona, Switzerland.

The strategy of retreat is not constituted simply by physical distance from situational incongruity. It is also constituted by the compositional activity it affords. Kaminski did not

go to the Chateau de Muzot in 1929 merely to rest, while there he wrote *Die Erde* and *Hohem Lied der Liebe*. When he returned to Ried in 1934, in addition to publicly oriented works (e.g. *Dorische Musik*) he also wrote private works such as *Die Messe Deutsch*. This sacred choral work was not intended for publication or performance, nor even completion. What *Die Messe Deutsch* afforded was the strategy of musical sanctuary. This work, kept from the public eye, was a private musical workspace for Kaminski to express feelings of a 'disfigured world', one 'caught in the darkness' and the living of a life of 'secret anxieties'. Understood amidst Kaminski's general feelings of National Socialism as a 'nightmare', *Die Messe Deutsch* afforded private musical space, in his private Ried workshop in his own language to therapy his self and to express his reflexive misgivings of a world transformed and disfigured by those that inhabit it. *Die Messe Deutsch* was a musical sanctuary within the strategy of retreat.

Wagner-Régeny too engaged in a strategy of retreat, and like Kaminski one that also created musical sanctuary. During Wagner-Régeny's favourable period in the Third Reich, after the success of *Der Günstling* and before the failure of *Johanna Balk*, he and Neher worked on *Die Bürger von Calais*. Wagner-Régeny's reflections on this period, that he and Neher saved themselves through work, indicate their work within Wagner-Régeny's studio created a musical sanctuary. Referring to Georg Kaiser, on whose work *Die Bürger von Calais* was based, Wagner-Régeny stated that 'The man of the people entered' his studio (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a, p. 77). This reference indicates a form of private subversion, the use of an author anathema to National socialism, a way of invoking ideology incongruent with National Socialism to therapy the self in private space existing only between the composer and the librettist.

In relation to physical retreat Wagner-Régeny and Neher left Berlin for Vienna to find a more amenable *Gauleiter* (Baldur von Schirach) and venue (Vienna Staatsoper) for *Johanna Balk*. In the fallout of the scandal around Johanna Balk and Wagner-Régeny's increasing difficulties with the regime he declared 'There remained to us only hope for Vienna' (Wagner-Régeny, 1968a, p. 77). In 1942 he and Léli were able to return there leaving the 'scanty, shaking Berlin' (Wagner-Régeny, p. 87). Vienna was for the composer and his wife a retreat, a place to escape the difficulties in Berlin. Though, like Kaminski, Wagner-Régeny's strategy of retreat also involved musical sanctuary. When Wagner-

Régeny finally declared ‘In reality I am alone’ (1968b, p. 102) he found a resigned sense of happiness, peace and beauty within himself, focusing on the private workspace of piano compositions planning his future musical activity through the technical exercises of *Hexameron*. Poignantly, at the very end of the Third Reich Wagner-Régeny waited out the arrival of the Russian army and tended to his dying wife while sitting ‘incessantly for eight days’ at his clavichord (Medek, 1968, p. 221); private musical activity, musical sanctuary, made self therapy possible.

Finally in relation to the strategy of retreat is the case of Hindemith. Shortly after Furtwängler’s letter *der Fall Hindemith* appeared in newspapers and Hindemith found ‘an unearthly amount of muck’ emptied upon his head, he left for Lenzkirch, a small town in the Black Forest, to work on orchestrating the opera *Mathis der Maler* (1995, p. 86). Amid the denunciations he faced in Berlin he retreated to the very south-western part of Germany, retreating to work musically. While, like Kaminski’s retreat to Ried and Wagner-Régeny’s to Vienna, he mitigated the everyday contact with situational incongruity by physically removing himself from it, he, like the others, did so musically.

As Hindemith’s situation within the regime continued to deteriorate he spent increasing time outside of Germany. Hindemith was fortunate his international fame enabled him to travel abroad. Particularly through the invitation of the Turkish government to establish a conservatory at Ankara and his engagement by Sir Adrian Boult to perform in London, Hindemith availed of his celebrity status to further his strategy of retreat through musical activity. Yet, even within this strategy of retreat Hindemith was able to find one last way of re-presenting himself in the Third Reich, the strategy of musical export. By passing along report of his activities in Ankara to the Propaganda ministry and publicizing the success of his *Trauermusik* in London on the death of George V, Hindemith made final effort to presenting himself as a viable German artist, a valuable German export. Ultimately even this failed and he engaged in the final action of retreat, emigration.

### *Final Summary and Concluding Thoughts*

Focusing on the activity of Paul Hindemith, Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, Heinrich Kaminski, Ernst Pepping and Wolfgang Fortner, I have explored music and its composition as a resource for social agency. Using Goffman's (1968) theory of mortification of self as an interpretive tool I have come to understand the Weimar Republic as constituting a modernist homeworld. Contained within the cultural ideologies and policies of National Socialism and its cultural ideologues, legitimized by the establishment of the Third Reich, I have identified the project of modernist mortification; the systematic removal of connections to that modernist homeworld. As with the subjects of Goffman's study on total institutions, each of these composers engaged in adaptive strategies of action, doing so with available and salient means of action, music and their compositional activity. While I have used this conceptual framework to contextualize a study on musical activity in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, I believe that it would be a useful framework to conceptualize the impingement of oppression upon any artistic tradition at any time.

As a useful model for future empirical studies my research has illuminated the richness of data that can be gleaned by comparing the musical activity (here limited primarily to composing) of individuals before, during and after periods of significant social change. Additionally, I have shown how such data must be grounded in relation to the articulated purposes and meanings of those doing the activity. As researchers further interdisciplinary projects of socio-musical analysis to explore how the social is brought into musical activity, and how musical activity may structure and order social activity, it must be – as I have done here – carried out through practical, grounded examples where links are made only through identifiable intermediaries.

By focusing on the musical activity and products of these five case studies, specifically the similarities and differences in their activities between the Third Reich and the Weimar Republic, I developed arguments for a repertoire of musical actions employed to adapt to the social, cultural and political changes in the establishment of the Third Reich. Specifically these strategies included: strategy of music as a change agent (believing music's affordances, through compositional design, to act to change social situations); strategy of musical diversity (composing in diverse genre/media for diverse markets of



consumption); designing associations to valued German culture (incorporating subtle cues to nationalism or *völkisch* ideology); positive periodicity (composing using polyphonic styles neo-classically derived from valued earlier music traditions); associations to Nazi organizations (presentation of works through patronage of regime affiliated organizations); cooperative networks (maintenance of available remnants of modernist networks for collaborative compositional work or for performance of new works); musical export (Hindemith's presentation of himself as a valuable German cultural export).

Moreover, I found that these adaptive strategies, as social agency, were linked primarily to two recursively oriented projects: the reflexive project of self (as developed by Giddens, 1991) and the presentation of self (as developed by Goffman, 1956). These composers used music as part of their reflexive projects of the self to situate themselves amid the situational incongruities of the Third Reich – they used music to connect personal and social change. By detailing how musical creativity can be used as a resource to inform the reflexive project of the self I have furthered the understanding of how music gets into action, and particularly have developed a line of inquiry into the role of composition in social agency. It is not just engagement with musical products that affords reflexive agency, processes of creating also enable agency.

Within my understanding of composition as a resource to self construction I found that compositional activity is used in situating in various contexts and to appropriate for the self salient social, cultural and political concepts. It is my view that this occurs through interpretive work done with, through and to music, using musical materials to emblemize concepts of the past and present – situating present musical activity in relation to understandings of past and present musical activity – and to plan future activity (the trajectory of the self). As one of the key mechanisms to achieve interpretive work that leads to the reflexive project of the self I have identified the process of musical counterfactual reasoning where compositional decisions are used as counterfactual contingents. These counterfactual contingents are used to reflect on past musical activity, contemporary musical activity and most especially to anticipate reactions to future musical activity to inform agency. While I am convinced of my conclusion that compositional activity is a resource in this manner accomplished through interpretive work, I believe counterfactual reasoning to be only one of a myriad of ways this is accomplished. The mechanisms of how

interpretive work is accomplished by situated actors by using cultural artifacts or processes as resources to the reflexive project of self requires further grounded research.

In future empirical studies we need to further investigate the use of musical activity (composing, listening, performing, etc.) for reflexivity. This study has identified a basic process through which this occurs: a) engagement with musical processes/products/events may afford space for reflexive self work and b) individuals may use this reflexive self work to inform future actions. Given this basic framework new research can examine how and why engagement with musical/aesthetic processes/products/events affords space for reflexive self work and identifies other mechanisms by which this work is related to social agency via future actions of situated actors.

In addition to situating the self through compositional activity, my case studies indicated the use of musically oriented adaptive strategies of action to therapy the self. The strategies of retreat and musical sanctuary were used to mitigate the experiences of situational incongruity. While the strategy of retreat in the sense of physical removal of the self from sites of intense situational incongruity (e.g. Berlin) is not a purely musical strategy, in each instance of its use the physical distance was used to make compositional work possible. The desire or need to engage in composing motivated extra-musical actions. This compositional work also provided a retreat, the strategy of musical sanctuary. When compositional activity was undertaken privately, music as private workspace to create sanctuary, it afforded the expression and release of fears and anxieties hidden from the view of cultural ideologues, and in some instances the planning of future activity free from the restraints of the Nazi *Kulturpolitik*. In a wider sense, artistic processes afford workspace that can be mobilized by individual actors for private self-work, or when released publicly, can afford the presentation of self.

As the composers that constituted my study mobilized music and its composition to reflexively situate themselves they also used their musical activity for self presentation. This was accomplished through the calculated and interrelated modes of adaptive action. In each case these social actors did this through musical composition or related activities believing in music's affordances for social action, particularly in music's ability through design to effect social change.

Finally I wish to offer a last speculation on music in action, to address an overriding question of music sociology going back to the work of Adorno. Adorno believed music was emblematic of social structure; that in its interwoven lines, harmonies and structures one could divine the social. Adorno was committed to the idea that music itself, its internal structures were simulacrums of social structures and social consciousness. Unfortunately he never attempted to substantiate his conclusions – his “hunch” – through grounded research (Adorno, 1967; 1973; 1976; 1999; DeNora, 2003)

It is my stance that considering musical processes (not only products) as constitutive of and constituting social agency through implications to the reflexive project of the self and self presentation provides a useful framework for further grounding Adorno’s hypothesis. This stance provides a framework for studying not just the use of musical processes and projects in social agency but a framework for considering aesthetic agency generally by recognizing the importance of aesthetic materials and processes to ontological concerns.

By this I mean that, as aesthetic agents composers use their compositional activity (their musical decisions informed by processes such as musical counterfactual reasoning) to situate themselves within concepts of the past, present and future. They are bringing social considerations into music by developing understandings of their social situations – salient norms and conventions, concepts and dynamic events – through musical creativity. This activity leads to the production of aesthetic products (musical texts such as scores, recordings, performances). Recognizing that these musical products present them, that they are understood by others as simulacrums of themselves as selves, the ‘items of expressive equipment’ (Goffman, 1956, p. 23) most closely identified with them as individuals, they are carefully crafted in relation to salient social norms and conventions to present composers in desired ways and situate them in their social situations.

As quoted by DeNora (2000, pp. 2-3), Lenneberg (1988, p. 419) said ‘one cannot say a *Zeitgeist* reached a composer or other artist unless one can show the means by which it did’. I believe the concept of the musical reflexive project of the self as informing musical self presentation, and the recursive informing of the musical reflexive project of the self through musical self presentation, is key to music’s affordances for social agency and the

primary mechanism of how “the social”, as it were, gets into “the music”. It is not that social structure is in “the music” (as in a score, or a recording, or a performance). Rather, both are coproduced through the ways in which they are mediated through, but also provide resources for, agency. In reflexive musical activity we can identify what DeNora refers to as the ‘music and society nexus’ (2000, pp. 1-20). The ‘Zeitgeist’, in other words, is performed through this connection. It ‘gets into’ the composer through the musical reflexive project of the self and is acted and shaped by the composer through the reflexive musical presentation of the self.

For composers music is a primary mediator of social life, a resource to connect non-musical things to themselves. Music as dynamic processes enables composers to do, think and feel socially, to shape their social worlds. As an exploration of doing things with, through and to music, this thesis has explored musical agency in two ways. First, this thesis has focused on musical processes and products as sites for thinking about oneself and ones situation in wider social structures. Secondly, this thesis has shown how creating music affords social action. By creating/making music, social actors can “get things done”.

It is this activity that music sociology must now engage, a sociology of not only how actors orient with, through and to musical products but how social worlds are shaped and acted through musical creation, a sociology of creativity.

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