
**MUSIC AND CONFLICT: THE
POLITICS AND ESCAPISM
OF WARTIME CULTURE**
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

19-20 May 2023

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INTRODUCTION

In recent decades there has been an increasing interest in, and publications devoted to, addressing the relationship between music and politics. This has stimulated investigations into the relationship between music, politics and conflict. This conference, organized by Surrey's Institute of Austrian and German Music Research (IAGMR), and supported by the Institute of Advanced Studies and the Department of Music and Media, sets out to explore and stimulate further discussions about the various relationships between music and conflict across historical and contemporary Austrian and German contexts. In particular, the twin functions of music as either a product of war or a form of resistance against it are of interest. Music has and continues to figure as a form of escapism, lamentation, or satire in times and places of war. But it can also function as a representation of the politics, conflict, and unrest of its time through enforced top-down policies and propaganda or bottom-up experiences of wartime. It is hoped that this conference will stimulate further research and discussions into the delicate and sometimes murky relationships between music and conflict in Austrian and German history and contemporary society.

Angus Howie

The conference is generously supported by the Department of Music and Media and the Institute of Advanced Studies at the University of Surrey.

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Conference committee:

Angus Howie (Durham University), Anna Scott (Royal Conservatory of The Hague and University of Leiden), Erik Levi (Royal Holloway, University of London), Jeremy Barham and Manuel Cini (University of Surrey)

Administrative support:

Ms Mirela Domic and Ms Louise Jones (Institute of Advanced Studies), Ms Emma White (University of Surrey)

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PROGRAMME

DAY 1 – FRIDAY 19 MAY

PATS STUDIO 1 (PAPER SESSION 1 IN TB6)

(GMT)

- 09.00 – 09.45 Registration
- 09.45 – 10.00 Welcome
- 10.00 – 11.00 **Lecture-recital 1** - Manuel Cini, with Raffaele Feo: *"The Lost Music of the Holocaust: Leon Kaczmarek and the 'Dachau' Lieder"*
- 11.30 – 12.30 **Keynote 1** - Pamela Potter: *"Berlin in Two World Wars"*
- 12.30 – 14.00 Lunch
- 14.00 – 15.00 **Lecture-recital 2** - Jakob Fichert: *"Adolf Busch's Piano Works against the Backdrop of the two World Wars"*
- 15.30 – 17.00 **Paper session 1 - Sounding Violence** (TB6)
Alexandra Dreher: *"The Unsung Violence of a 'Völkisch' Hymnal"*
Linda Ianchis: *"Rethinking Piano Repertoire. Paul Wittgenstein's Experience of War and the Birth of Left-Hand Piano Concerto"*
Matthew Heathcote: *"'Beating Swords into Pousanen': the Expressive Transition of Military Music into Civil Music in the German Empire and Swiss Cantons (1815–1914)"*
- 17.30 – 19.00 **Keynote Lecture-recital 3** - Anna Scott, IAGMR/IAS Artist in Residence: *"NEKROMANTIK"*

DAY 2 – SATURDAY 20 MAY

TB6

(GMT)

- 09.00 – 10.30 **Paper session 2 - Music, Resistance, and Escapism**
Ana Rebrina: *"Escape Through Abstraction: The Cases of Serialism and Krautrock"*
Neil Gregor: *"Escapism? What Escapism? Music and the Mobilisation of the 'People's Community' in the Second World War"*
Tatjana Marković: *"Contested Music Settings of the Siege of Sziget (1566)"*
- 11.00 – 12.00 **Keynote 2** - Morag Josephine Grant: *"Ritual and Trauma: Towards a Theory of Music and War"*
- 12.00 – 13.30 Lunch
- 13.30 – 15.00 **Paper session 3 – Propaganda**
Friedemann Pestel: *"Mobile Propaganda and Musical Occupation: 'German' Orchestras Touring National Socialist Europe, 1938–1944"*
Peter Graff: *"Staging Patriotism and Propaganda: Cleveland's German-Language Theater and the Great War"*
Francesco Finocchiaro: *"The Other 'Pact of Steel': The Luce-Ufa Cinematic Axis"*
- 15.30 – 17.00 **Paper session 4 – National Socialism and World War 2**
Karen Painter: *"Carmina burana and Allied Air Raids"*
Samantha Heine: *"Engaged Withdrawal? The Dialectic Cycle of Ernst Krenek's Fünf Lieder nach Worten von Franz Kafka"*
Philip Decker: *"Russian Music in Wartime Germany, 1939–1941"*
- 17.30 – 19.00 **Paper session 5 - Re-writing Political Narratives**
Rachel Johnson: *"From Conflict to Comradeship: British Army Bands and the British Army of the Rhine"*
Golan Gur: *"The War after the War: Political Narratives and the Genre of Folk Music in Nazi Germany and the GDR"*
Matthew Werley: *"'Ein Durchbruch von sieghafterer Wirkung als alle Kriegsmanöver'. The International Society for Contemporary Music as Peace Project of the Salzburg Festival"*
- 19.00 **Closing remarks**

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

IAS/IAGMR Artist in Residence

Dr Anna Scott



Dr. Anna Scott specializes in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century performance practices, with a broader interest in untangling the historical, cultural, and political underpinnings of how we play, hear, and understand canonic classical music. An active pianist renowned for her startling performances of solo, chamber, lied, and orchestral repertoires from Schubert to Debussy, she is also Assistant Professor at Leiden University and The Royal Conservatory of The Hague. This is the third and final visit Anna will make to the University of Surrey as part of her 2022-2023 IAS Artist in Residence fellowship.

Lecture Recital 3 "NEKROMANTIK"

History frowns at the tiny circular segment that distinguishes neoromantic from necromantic. Both arts seek to conjure and commune with the dead via magical means; both are practiced at tombs, battlefields and in homes, with idols, oracles and relics; both have the power to stoke simmering conflicts, archaic desires, and violent impulses capable of destroying conjurer and conjured alike. Seemingly oblivious to the death-cultism of neoromance, young artists are once again reviving nineteenth-century German aesthetic ideals as critique and escape from the 'enshittification' of modern life. Few acknowledge neoromance as fuel for regressive, exclusionary, and even murderous socio-political currents. Even fewer attempt to harness neoromance's terrifying capacity for mobilizing the body politic towards progressive and inclusive ends. The music of Johannes Brahms makes for an interesting case study in this regard, as key moments in its performance and reception history repeatedly 'coincide' with periods of intense public disenchantment, discord and destruction. This performance weaves traces of this enmeshment into a 'protest aesthetic' of fragmentation, pastiche, allusion, and artifice. It asks what obligations neoromantics have to the pasts that we conjure, the presents that we critique, and the futures that—for better or worse—we create.

Professor Pamela Potter



Pamela M. Potter is Professor of German and Music at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is the author of *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (1998; translated into German and Portuguese) and *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (2016). She is co-editor of *Music and German National Identity* (2000) and *Music in World War II: Coping with Wartime in Europe and the United States* (2020). Her current project is a study of Berlin as music metropolis.

Abstract

"Berlin in Two World Wars"

The gap between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II lasted barely twenty years, yet in that time the nature of the war experience as well as the nature of musical experience transformed dramatically. By 1939, a nation still reeling from the death and destruction of the "war to end all wars" faced the prospects of a new conflict with more skepticism and less jingoistic fervor than in 1914, while radio, recording, and sound film had been exposing them to exciting new musical sounds originating with their enemies: France, Britain, and especially the United States. Perhaps no city better illustrates the vast differences between the two war experiences than Berlin, a city that began the era of world wars in 1914 as the capital of the German Empire and ended it in 1945 as the last bloody battleground of the Third Reich. Berlin's musical life illustrated how, already in World War I, the measures to ensure respect for the solemnity of the times and promote national pride had to give way to a desperate need for diversion as the conflict dragged on. Having learned from the recent past, Nazi administrators in 1939 recognized the importance of musical entertainment for securing the cooperation of a population expected to make unprecedented sacrifices. This lecture will survey the musical policies and practices in Berlin during the two world wars, highlighting the transformation of musical consumption, changes in musical tastes, and the shifting priorities in enforcing censorship, investing in musical activities, and exploiting music as a tool of both domestic and international war strategy.

SPEAKERS AND ABSTRACTS

Dr Morag Grant



M. J. Grant (Morag Josephine Grant) is a musicologist with particular interests in the sociology and historical anthropology of music. She is a Chancellor's Fellow in Music at the University of Edinburgh. Since 2008, her work has focused on the uses of music to promote, facilitate and negotiate collective and political violence, especially war, genocide, and torture. Other research interests include the theory and aesthetics of avantgarde and experimental composition since 1950, song studies, music in Scotland and music and human rights.

Abstract

"Ritual and trauma: Towards a Theory of Music and War"

Wars are mass producers of traumatic events; and, as anthropologists of war have long noted, this may help explain the surfeit of ritual practices that accompany war. Such rituals do not simply respond to war: they are integral to how war functions, a means of resistance to the horrors of war which, paradoxical as it may seem, enables the continuing recourse to war in martial cultures, including our own. Even in modern secularised societies, the military remains one of the most ritualised of all institutions — on a par with, or even exceeding, many religious institutions. And where there is ritual, there is so often music.

My case study for this lecture is older, however: the Thirty Years War. I have chosen to focus on this conflict given its importance in the historiography of modern warfare and its significance in German cultural memory, but also because of many gaps in our knowledge of musical practices of war in this period. Basing my discussion largely on existing secondary literature, supplemented by some primary sources, I will begin by exploring how we can map different areas of musical practice of war in terms of proximity to, or distance from, the moment of violence itself. Such a mapping has many benefits, including helping to clarify the ritual nature and function of many musical practices of war. Theories of trauma, in turn, can help us understand such rituals as a strategy to try and contain the traumatic encounters that lie at the heart of warfare.

FRIDAY 19 MAY

Lecture recital 1

Manuel Cini, with Raffaele Feo

"The Lost Music of the Holocaust: Leon Kaczmarek and the 'Dachau' Lieder"

The Alexander Kulisiewicz Collection represents a unique archival resource documenting musical compositions written by prisoners in Nazi concentration camps during the World War II. Today, its richness demonstrates the existence of a vast legacy of unknown and neglected composers who must be discovered and brought to light. One of them, Leon Kaczmarek, a Polish prisoner in Dachau from 1940 to 1945 and conductor of the camp choir from 1942 until his liberation, composed an impressive number of works, both vocal and instrumental, including original pieces for choir, piano, strings, as well as transcriptions and arrangements of pre-existing opera arias and popular melodies.

In this lecture-recital, I will present and perform for the first time since their creation the entire set of newly discovered Lieder composed by Kaczmarek in the concentration camp of Dachau between 1942 and 1944. Despite his Polish roots, Kaczmarek drew most of the song texts from the poems of 19th-century Austrian and German authors, such as Otto Roquette, Johann Georg Jacobi, Karl Busse, Ferdinand Freiligrath, but also from his own fellow prisoners in Dachau, including German

Communist prisoners Carl Molter and Georg Wilhelm. The performance will also feature one Lied with text set by SS Ministerial Official Wilfrid Bade. This lecture recital aims to offer musicologists and performers a more accurate perspective on the artistic and historical significance of these compositions in order to broaden the current knowledge this repertoire and strengthen its overall understanding.

Manuel Cini is a pianist and musicologist. He graduated Magna cum Laude from Conservatorio Luisa D'Annunzio in Pescara and then completed the Master of Music in Performance at the Royal College of Music (London). Deputy Director of the IAGMR, he is now attending the Ph.D. in Music at the University of Surrey.

Lecture recital 2

Jakob Fichert

"Adolf Busch's Piano Works against the Backdrop of the Two World Wars"

Adolf Busch (1891–1952) is mainly remembered as one of the greatest German violinists of the twentieth century. The fact that he was also a diverse and prolific composer is less known. A selection of Busch's piano works, the topic of my recently completed PhD (<https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/32236/>), will be performed in this lecture recital, here focussing on his wartime pieces. Appreciating the composer's difference in attitude towards World War I and II, possible references to war in his piano

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music and its tendency towards escapism will be discussed and contextualised with the attitudes of composers influential to Busch, primarily Reger and Busoni.

During World War I, at least at its beginning, Busch clearly associated himself with the Austro-German side and even wrote music in support of the war. However, his piano works written in 1916 and 1917 convey none of the initial patriotic heroism and therefore perhaps indicate early cracks in his nationalist beliefs. Busch's attitude in World War I is contrasted by his unequivocal opposition to the Nazis: as early as April 1933, by then a resident of Switzerland, he cancelled all his engagements in Germany and, as a result, lost his main audience and publishers — Busch's works had been regularly published, performed and reviewed in Weimar Germany. In 1939 he moved to America where he continued his career as a performer and composer. Whilst his piano works of that time are no obvious response to the dire global situation, subtle references to war can be found in his wider oeuvre.

Jakob Fichert is a pianist with an international profile. He has performed frequently in prestigious venues and festivals and has recorded for Naxos, Toccata Classics, Divine Arts and Resonus Classics. Jakob teaches piano at the Universities of York and Leeds and holds the position of Principal Lecturer at Leeds Conservatoire. As a researcher, he has worked as an editor for Breitkopf & Härtel and completed a PhD on the Piano Works of Adolf Busch at University of York in 2023.

Paper session 1

Sounding Violence

Alexandra Dreher

"The Unsung Violence of a 'Völkisch' Hymnal"

During the Nazi era, wide parts of society were subject to racial cleansing, and hymnody was not exempt from this project. The Nazi musicologist Arnold Schering discussed how an individual's proclivities for a musical style resulted from something "völkisch, racial, cultish, social" and that the individual would unconsciously serve this "sonic ideal." Schering was not alone in composing racial theories in music. However, when it came to revising the Protestant hymnal for the Nazi affiliated group called the German Christians, the focus was not on the melodies but rather on hymns' words. References to Judaism and Hebraisms (such as "Hallelujah") were eliminated and replaced with generic German terms. Published in 1941, *Großer Gott wir loben dich* was to serve as the official hymnbook of the German Christians. Scholarship in Christian music has not focused extensively on the idea of sonic absence in a hymnal. Analyzing hymns from *Großer Gott wir loben dich* alongside statements by Nazi theologians, I argue that the hymnal of the German Christians marked a sonic manifestation of eliminating and dehumanizing Jews—evidence of the Nazis' societal reconfiguration efforts to escape the presence and contributions of Jewish Germans. I develop the terminology of sonic absence as an analytical category that expresses a type

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of negative space where the person or object holding the potential for silence or sounding has been removed. Analyzing this sonic absence allows us to consider the violence accomplished through what does not sound and how it supports discriminatory practices and ideological frameworks.

Alexandra Dreher is a Ph.D. student in Yale's Department of Music. Her work focuses on the intersections of sound, political systems, the sacred, media, and historical acoustemology. In addition to her scholarly work, she is passionate about community engagement through song and musical diplomacy.

Linda Ianchis

"Rethinking the Piano Repertoire: Paul Wittgenstein, War, and the Birth of the Left-Hand Piano Concerto"

Music has played a significant role in human culture throughout history. As a universal language which constitutes an essential aspect of our lives, it has been an integral part of people's experiences, both in times of war and peace. Unfortunately, conflict has also played a significant role in the history of humanity, and the 20th century was one of the most violent periods in history. An unprecedented event, World War I, had a profound impact on shaping the course of 20th-century music. The war affected musicians in many ways both emotional and physical, including serious injuries, and death for some. While serving in WWI, Paul Wittgenstein, the older brother of philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, was wounded and eventually had his right arm amputated. The loss of his hand didn't diminish his

burning desire to become a concert pianist, but marked the start of a new chapter in the life of the recently disabled pianist leading to the birth of a new repertoire: left-hand piano music. The one-armed Austrian pianist was determined to achieve his dream, and to this end, he developed his left-hand technique while commissioning a large number of one-hand piano works (solo, chamber music, and concertos) from some of the most prolific 20th-century composers.

The present paper aims to provide a closer look at the evolution of left-hand piano concerto, a niche within the broader spectrum of keyboard music, a repertoire created in response to WWI with the significant contribution of the pianist Paul Wittgenstein.

Linda Ianchis is a third-year Musicology PhD student at "Gheorghe Dima" National Academy of Music (Romania). Her doctoral research explores the left-hand piano literature, focusing on piano concerts commissioned and performed by Paul Wittgenstein, the Austrian pianist who had lost his right arm in WWI and eventually became a one-armed soloist.

Matthew Heathcote

"'Beating Swords into Pousanen': the Expressive Transition of Military Music into Civil Music in the German Empire and Swiss Cantons (1815–1914)"

It is a commonly held view that the Swiss are a pacifistic people, divorced from military culture and conflict. Yet analysing the musical instruments and expressive relationship between military and civil musicians in Switzerland and the German

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Empire reveals a more nuanced image. The German Empire and the Swiss cantons shared a musical heritage, and in both communities, a similar instrumental music culture developed in two radically different societies and states. One saw its military music become an integral expression of its civil communities. The other saw military music evolve into an institutional and commercial force, reflecting the militarism at the heart of its society and culture.

This paper shall aim to map the rise of instrumental and expressive militarism in the German and Swiss states from the end of the Napoleonic Wars until the beginning of the First World War. By studying the martial influences behind the dominant musical genres in both states and how their performances promoted the hegemonic values of either community, historians can become aware of how military music can come to express values contradictory to or in full support of those founded on the battlefield.

The paper draws from a multidisciplinary framework. It shall begin with a historical-musicological reading of Swiss and German instruments—especially Blech- and Feldmusik—before delving into the theories of musical expressiveness defined by Peter Kivy, Susanne Langer and others. Through these theories, historians can understand the relationship between nation-states, civil communities and the militarism that defined their musical cultures.

Matthew Heathcote is in the last year of his PhD at the University of Manchester. There, under the supervision of Matthew Jefferies, he focused on military music in the German Empire and the role of said music in constructing the emotional communities across the Empire and beyond. He has previously studied the sexual class identity inherent in the Junker aristocrat class and the role of monarchical architecture in Imperial politics. He is now working on publishing his findings and entering the professional academic world.

SATURDAY 20 MAY

Paper session 2

Music, Resistance, and Escapism

Ana Rebrina

“Escape Through Abstraction: The Cases of Serialism and Krautrock”

In the aftermath of World War II, young composers gathered around the Darmstadt Summer Course sought ways to break connections with tradition, both musical and otherwise. This intention is embodied in the method of composition known as serialism, which is based on the precise determination of musical parameters. Serial music could be described as highly abstract, experimental, progressive, and ultimately mostly abandoned. Similar terms can be used to describe a musical stream that appeared almost 20 years later across Germany—Krautrock, a genre of experimental rock music. This new generation of musicians was motivated by the same idea of distancing itself from tradition because of the negative connotations that the tradition bears. These two musical streams emerged in

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different contexts and at different times: serialism in contemporary classical music in the early 1950s, and Krautrock in popular music in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Despite being introduced by two different generations and diverging in terms of musical structure and cultural context, these two streams are intertwined and share a similar idea of resistance and escapism achieved through abstraction and experimentation.

This paper explores the development of serialism and Krautrock as a reaction to the consequences of war. By analysing structural features, performance practice, and relationship with the audience, this paper aims to address the question of how resistance to cultural and social surroundings is expressed through music. The paper also looks at how this music was received in contemporary culture and how it influenced future generations of musicians.

Ana Rebrina is a PhD candidate at the University of Music and Performing Arts Graz. In 2018, she graduated from University of Zagreb, Academy of Music, with a Master's degree in Music Theory. Her research focuses on relationship between structure, performance, and perception in post-tonal music. In her doctoral project, she is exploring these aspects in the context of piano music from early serialism.

Neil Gregor

“Escapism? What Escapism? Music and the Mobilisation of the ‘People’s Community’ in the Second World War”

This paper takes examples drawn from across provincial musical life to complicate the idea that listening to art

music functioned primarily as a form of escapism for most ordinary Germans in the Second World War. Noting, first, that the ideal of retreat into interiority (musical or other) was entirely compatible with long-established tropes of cultural nationalism that were themselves fully consistent with National Socialism's capacious cultural politics, it argues that musical life functioned, rather, as a site of mobilisation for the war and as legitimisation of it. But it also argues for the limits of seeing musical life at war in terms of any stable or mutually exclusive binaries – collaboration vs resistance, complicity vs victimhood, etc. – and for a reading that interrogates musicking as a set of social practices on the ‘Home Front’ which reveal the complex dynamics of modern societies at war.

Neil Gregor is Professor of Modern European History at the University of Southampton. He has published widely on the social and cultural history of C20th Germany, including, most recently, the co-edited (with Thomas Irvine) Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor (New York, 2018), and is the author of a forthcoming study on the symphony concert in Nazi Germany.

Tatjana Marković

“Contested Music Settings of the Siege of Sziget (1566)”

The Siege of Sziget lasted from 5 August to 8 September, much longer than one would expect, bearing in mind the relation between the Ottoman army led by the sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and the troops of the Habsburg general Miklós Zrínyi/Nikola Šubić Zrinjski: between 90.000 and 150.000 Turkish soldiers versus only 2.500–3.000

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Habsburg soldiers. The importance of the battle was considered so great that Cardinal Richelieu stated “We needed a miracle that the Habsburg Empire would elude, and this miracle happened in Szigetvár”, since the Ottoman army was stopped on the way to Vienna and tried to conquer the Habsburg capital again only in 1683.

The emperor Maximilian II had assembled a great army to defend Vienna against Suleiman and made no effort to save Zrinyi; however, even in that situation Zrinyi remained loyal to him. This historical battle was set to music many times and was especially contested in Croatian/Slavic, Hungarian, and German histories: there are six operas, orchestra and piano works. I focus on the opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (1876) by Italian-Croatian composer Giovanni von Zaytz von Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) after a libretto by Hugo Badalić (1851–1900), set as a kind of historical chronicle since it presents the Battle for Sziget surprisingly consistently. The pre-national Croatian identity and the loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy were symbolised repeatedly by the quotation of Haydn’s *Kaiserhymne*. At the same time, the scenes depicting the Ottoman camp with harem dancers embody musical exoticism.

Tatjana Marković is a head of a project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and a Ph.D. supervisor at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna; a chair of the IMS SG Music and Cultural Studies, editor of the TheMA (Vienna), a member of advisory board of Studia Musicologica and other journals.

Paper session 3

Propaganda

Friedemann Pestel

“Mobile Propaganda and Musical Occupation: ‘German’ Orchestras Touring National Socialist Europe, 1938–1944”

The Second World War marked a peak of mobility for orchestras coming from the German Reich. Sponsored by the Ministry of Propaganda, the Berlin Philharmonic toured annexed, occupied, allied, and neutral European territories alike. As the “Third Reich’s” flagship musical institution, the orchestra, in the early 1940s, reached an international presence unmatched in the orchestra’s long history. The Vienna Philharmonic’s incorporation into Nazi cultural propaganda after the annexation of Austria in 1938 demonstrates to what extent experiences of annexation and occupation were “Germanised” for legitimising the Reich’s Eastern expansion but also left space for contesting German cultural hegemony in neutral countries. The German Philharmonic Orchestra in Prague, founded in 1940, illustrates how military occupation could be symbolically transformed into an invented tradition as the orchestra was to consolidate Bohemia’s historical “Germanness” against “Czech” culture both in the protectorate and on tour.

Covering tours to France, Scandinavia, the General Government of Poland, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Iberian dictatorships, this paper, first, studies Nazi propaganda and

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wartime musical mobility in a transnational perspective. Whereas most scholarship on cultural annexation or occupation policies has so far privileged single territories and bilateral relations, musical mobility allows for reconsidering musical propaganda within the Nazi framework of a “New Europe”, which was strongly marked by cultural hierarchies but also by connections and collaboration.

Second, this paper shifts the traditional sender-oriented focus on cultural propaganda to practices of coercion, cooperation, and contestation on the spot. It reevaluates the ideological imperatives stemming from propaganda against the interplay of the multiple musical actors involved. This broader panorama includes the orchestras with their musicians and conductors, German cultural authorities as well as audiences, journalists, and politicians in the destination countries. In fact, the meanings of musical practices across geographical, political, and ideological borders under wartime conditions were shaped by collaborationists, frequent concertgoers, and resistance activists alike. As similar performative patterns and established repertoires impacted different audiences and public spheres in different ways, they account for both the potentials and limits of political coercion through music under exceptional circumstances in international musical life.

Friedemann Pestel is Senior Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Freiburg. He has been a visiting fellow at the German

Historical Institutes in Paris and London, the Universities of Vienna, Bordeaux, and Berkeley, and the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies. His research interests and publications cover the French and Haitian Revolutions, political migration, the history of international classical musical life and musical mobility as well as memory studies. He is currently completing a global history of orchestral touring in the 20th century.

Peter Graff

“Staging Patriotism and Propaganda: Cleveland’s German-Language Theater and the Great War”

Throughout the First World War, German Americans were increasingly suspected of harboring foreign allegiances. As the war escalated, cities and states proposed bans on German cultural products, including music and theater. Programming for the German-American stage, therefore, became a political act that offers a unique lens through which to view the community’s response to the conflict. Cleveland’s only German language theater, the Deutsches Theater, staged works that spoke to the community’s divided loyalty to both the United States and the Fatherland. Although the only scholarly study on German theater in Cleveland suggests that productions vanished at the first signs of war, my findings demonstrate that the Deutsches Theater became more active during the war and increasingly programmed revisionist retellings of wartime events that verged on blatant propaganda.

In this paper, I analyze the Deutsches Theater’s programming from 1914 to

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1918 and examine the musical themes and dramatic narratives of four contemporary war-themed works. Drawing on production materials and firsthand accounts from English and German newspapers, I chart the evolving public image that Cleveland's German community projected in light of evolving global events. Productions and exhibition methods indicate a conflicted identity, caught between American patriotism and German cultural pride. The exhibition of Lieb' Vaterland, for example, displayed this duality as it encouraged audiences to sing along to both German and American anthems. Scrutiny of this four-year period reveals how Cleveland's German community used the theater to position itself and articulate a public identity during a time of heightened scrutiny and antagonism.

Peter Graff is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Denison University and holds a Ph.D. in musicology from Case Western Reserve University. His current book project, from which this paper derives, explores diasporic musical theater traditions in Cleveland and throughout the United States.

Francesco Finocchiaro

"The Other 'Pact of Steel': The Luce-Ufa Cinematic Axis"

At the end of the 1920s, the German film giant Universum Film A.-G. (Ufa) established an industrial alliance with the Italian Istituto Nazionale Luce: signed in 1928, the agreement provided for the exchange of footage from their respective newsreels, with the aim of consolidating political propaganda action in both countries. The 'pact of steel' between Luce and Ufa was reaffirmed in 1933.

In that year, Third Reich propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels went to Rome, where he met Luigi Freddi, then responsible for propaganda of the Fascist regime, and explained to him the functioning of the Reichsfilmkammer. Goebbels' criteria for the political reorganization of German cinematography were taken as a model by Fascist intellectuals, so much so as to be enthusiastically endorsed in the regime's cultural journals. The first result of the Luce-Ufa collaboration was the documentary *Lo stormo atlantico* (1931), dedicated to the transoceanic flight by a team of seaplanes headed by Italo Balbo. Shot by camera operator Mario Craveri, the film was sent to Germany to be synchronized with the Tobis-Klangfilm system. The soundtrack, upon which we well dwell for the purpose of this paper, was therefore edited independently in the Ufa studios.

The pact of steel between Fascist and Nazi cinematic industries was consolidated at the outbreak of the World War II. There were two main areas of collaboration: (1) the co-production of documentary films on the progress of the war, between 1940 and 1941, and (2) the establishment of a newsreel, *La Settimana Europea*, the Italian translation of the *Deutsche Wochenschau*, during the Republic of Salò.

Francesco Finocchiaro (Ph.D.) is Researcher in Musicology at the State University Milan and Adjunct Professor of Contemporary Music at the University of Padua. His research interests focus on the points of connection between composition, theory, and aesthetics in twentieth-century music. He has published extensively on film music, with a special focus on the relationship between musical Modernism and German Cinema (Palgrave MacMillan, 2017).

Paper session 4

National Socialism and World War II

Karen Painter

"Carmina burana in World War II"

Although music critics heard *Carmina Burana*, at its June 1936 premiere, as unabashedly Nazi, major venues didn't take up Orff's score until 1941. After air raids exposed psychological vulnerability, coinciding with fissures in German military success, *Carmina burana* became a staple. Brimming optimism suited the call to boost morale, while the framing fortuna chorus offered dark consolation amidst uncertainty and rubble; archaicism (Latin and middle German) imparted authenticity to Nazi leaders tired of hack political composition. Yet music directors initiated these performances: Nazi Germany was not a totalitarian regime in musical life but had many willing to execute its ideologies.

I focus on three performances, analyzing reviews (with Orff's annotations) found in the Orff Zentrum in Munich. Karajan conducted *Carmina burana* in a temporary venue following heavy damage to Berlin. The same occurred in Munich. Darmstadt's Nazified theater mounted a farm production immediately after the fall of Stalingrad. Forgoing the usual remembrance ceremony on the anniversary of a major air raid, Dortmund instead mounted *Carmina burana* (no less on Sunday morning). The same occurred in Cologne.

Limitations to the sources include Goebbels' ban on arts criticism, which

reduced reviews to reports shorn of aesthetic judgment. As well, wartime conditions and anti-Semitism led to a chiefly amateur cadre of journalists lacking the skills to carry out an aesthetic agenda. Consistently, as reviews testify, the music empowered and entertained, without impinging on the state-imposed culture against mourning and yet offering depth to the simple thrills offered through most of the one-long work.

Karen Painter is a musicology professor at the University of Minnesota. Her research focuses on music and politics, especially in Germany and Austria. Painter has studied the biography and reception of composers from Mozart to Carl Orff in the context of bourgeois musical culture, fin-de-siècle cultural debates, Jewish identity, socialism, Zionism, and Nazism. Painter received her BA in music and philosophy from Yale and PhD in music from Columbia. She is the author of Symphonic Aspirations: German Music and Politics, 1900–1945 and co-edited Late Thoughts: Reflections on Artists and Composers at Work and Mahler and His World. Past visiting scholar at Harvard's Center for European Studies and the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (2010), she has also held the Humboldt research fellowship and Berlin Prize.

Samantha Heinle

"Engaged Withdrawal? The Dialectic Cycle of Ernst Krenek's Fünf Lieder nach Worten von Franz Kafka"

Nur ein Wort. Nur eine Bitte. Nur ein Bewegen der Luft. Nur ein Beweis, daß du noch lebst und wartest [Just a word. Just a plea. Just a movement of air. Just a sign, that you still live and wait.] With this plea, Ernst Krenek begins his 1937–8 song cycle based on five aphoristic texts written by Franz Kafka, *Fünf Lieder nach*

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Worten von Franz Kafka. Composed while Krenek was touring the United States as Austria gradually fell to the Nazi Party, the cycle expresses his uncertainty about music's place amid the pressing political issues of his time. Since 1931, Krenek had questioned the use of music as a medium of communication; his doubt was only intensified as he was deemed a degenerate musician and forced into exile in the United States. Isolated in a country whose language he did not speak, his music silenced by the American aversion to serialism, Krenek turned to the words of another to voice his concerns regarding music's ability to communicate anything of importance.

In this paper, I consider Krenek's internal struggle as spun out in the dialectic cycle of *Fünf Lieder*: send music forth to engage with society, or withdraw with music into the ivory tower? I focus on Krenek's adoption of the twelve-tone technique, which he argued was a means of non-explicit resistance against totalitarianism. But did his turn to serialism resist the fascist cooption of his music, or did it preclude socio-political engagement entirely? The plea with which Krenek opens his cycle could just as easily be addressed to music: just one word, just one sign that you still live.

Samantha Heinle is a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at Cornell University. Her interdisciplinary research revolves around the intersection of music and literature in Austro-German works of the 19th and 20th centuries. She is currently writing her dissertation on questions of communicability in three musical adaptations of texts by Franz Kafka.

Philip Decker *"Russian Music in Wartime Germany, 1939–1941"*

On the evening of February 7, 1940, German concertgoers filed into the handsome theater of the Berlin State Opera for a performance of Mikhail Glinka's signature Russian nationalist work, *A Life for the Tsar*. Inside, ushers passed out concert programs featuring an essay by Julius Kapp, chief dramaturg of the opera company, who exulted about the composer's "undreamt-of triumph" and assured readers that "Russia rightly worships a national hero in Glinka." In the program's pages one found nestled a loose slip of yellow paper. Printed beneath a party eagle and swastika was the notice: "In the event of an air raid alarm, keep calm!" On the back of the leaflet was a miniature map of Unter den Linden instructing concertgoers to cross the street in an orderly fashion and shelter in the basement of Humboldt University as the British planes completed their raid.

This paper examines the wartime German concert experience in relation to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences. The pact, signed on August 23, 1939, precipitated a revitalization of German-Russian cultural dialogue which continued until the launch of Operation Barbarossa on June 22, 1941. This included a surge in the performance of Russian music and the lionization of that country's nineteenth century romantic masters in German popular media. The paper will argue that, in contrast to the total ban on the

performance of Russian composers after June 1941, German concertgoers of the pact era experienced the Russian musical patrimony as an intelligible, *völkisch* and "German-adjacent" heritage—a narrative underpinned by more than a little subtext about the Nazi-Soviet cooperation against English, French and Polish power.

Philip Decker is a PhD candidate in history at Princeton University. His research interests center on German and Russian cultural history in the twentieth century, particularly in the areas of music, cinema and theater. Philip's work has appeared in Problems of Post-Communism, Studies in Eastern European Cinema, German Studies Review, Oxford German Studies, Nationalities Papers and Foreign Policy.

Paper session 5

Re-writing Political Narratives

Rachel Johnson *"From Conflict to Comradeship: British Army Bands and the British Army of the Rhine"*

From 1945 until 2006 there were British Army Bands permanently stationed in Germany. This paper investigates the work of British Army musicians during their BAOR years. It considers the intent behind their deployment, drawing on military doctrine. It explores how Bands were used and received in practice, utilising evidence including military records, newspaper sources, and interviews with service personnel. Of particular interest is the rapidity of the shift from WW2 enemies to Cold War allies, further reinforced upon the

establishment of NATO, and the perceived utility of British Army Bands within strategies aimed at encouraging public acceptance (German and British, civilian and military) to catch up with the new political reality.

The work of British Army Bands in Germany is largely undocumented and widely unknown. Texts about the BAOR, including books specifically about music and the British military during the BAOR years, do not address military bands in any substance and frequently do not even mention them. The deliberate deployment of British Army Bands as tools of power and control within the BAOR has not been acknowledged or evaluated.

How Bands worked in the BAOR was rooted in the British Army doctrine of Mission Command: commanders shared their intent, then responsibility for how this intent was achieved devolved to their subordinates. Strategies adopted by Bandmasters and Directors of Music to fulfil the allotted intent were often received in very different ways by their audiences. This history captures tensions in perceptions concerning the function and reception of (military) music which remain relevant today.

Rachel currently lectures for the Royal Northern College of Music, the University of Sheffield and the Open University. Her PhD, 'Musical Networks in Early Victorian Manchester', was awarded in 2021. Rachel is also a Bombardier in the Army Reserve, serving as Principal Flute and Archivist with the Lancashire Artillery Band.

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Golan Gur

"The War after the War: Political Narratives and the Genre of Folk Music in Nazi Germany and the GDR"

As early as the 19th century, the concept of folk song was associated with nationalism and nation building projects. Following the Nazi's Machtergreifung, the genre became a central element of the regime's cultural politics and official German music culture. Yet, even during the Nazi period, the issue of the nature and meaning of folk songs continued to spark controversy, providing the backdrop for a new wave of exchange and reinterpretations after World War II. In this context, folk music, which figured as a symbol of the völkisch movement in the 1930s and early 1940s, came to be seen as a potential medium for spreading the values of democracy and anti-fascist resistance. Focusing on this area, my paper examines the reception of the concept of folk song before, during, and after WWII (in particular in the territories that came under Russian occupation). Central to my argument is the attempt to reassess the scope, function, and meaning of folk songs in relation to other genres, including political songs and contemporary art music. In examining this relationship, I will explore the role of folk songs in the ideological worldviews of National Socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Finally, I will discuss how Marxist perspectives contributed to the introduction of folk and political songs as an element of "realism" in orchestral works by East German composers such as Ottmar Gerster and Ernst Hermann Meyer.

Golan Gur completed his PhD in musicology at the Humboldt University of Berlin. He held research positions at the University of Cambridge, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Mainz, and the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna. He serves as a UKRI Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Matthew Werley

"Ein Durchbruch von sieghafterer Wirkung als alle Kriegsmanöver". The International Society for Contemporary Music as Peace Project of the Salzburg Festival"

In August 1922, Salzburg became the first European city after the First World War where composers and performers from over 15 nations gathered in the spirit of collaboration and goodwill to listen to recently written music that had been "banned" during the preceding conflict (1914–1918). This meeting proved to be an international sensation for the Mozartstadt and resulted in the founding of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) – the first peace project in music after 1918 and today the largest and most important organisation for dialogue, promotion and support of music of our time. The synergies among local and global institutions, especially the ISCM's connection with the nascent Salzburg Festival, have nevertheless been overlooked in the historiography of both organisations. In conjunction with centenary exhibitions in 2020 and 2022, however, a raft of newly uncovered archival documents have emerged that require a radical reappraisal of musical

activity in post-WWI Salzburg.

This talk re-examines the discourse surrounding the 1922–1924 ISCM Festivals in terms of an ethical overcoming of wartime divisions, rather than as a mere platform for avant-garde trends. Making a contrast with the first Donaueschingen Musiktage (1921), Paul Stefan argued for example that the 1922 International Chamber Music Performances in Salzburg reconnected Germans to the rest of Europe, effectively 'a "breakthrough" of more victorious effect than all war manoeuvres'. This talk then illuminates the connection between the ISCM and Salzburg Festival House Society, and traces a common ideology originating in wartime Habsburg visions of culture and internationalism.

Matthew Werley (DPhil Oxon) is a Senior Lecturer at the Universität Mozarteum Salzburg, where in 2022 he curated a centenary exhibition on Salzburg and the International Society for Contemporary Music, now currently on tour. He is editor of the Richard Strauss-Jahrbuch and Stefan Zweig und die musikalische Welt (Hollitzer Verlag).

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