

personal and national power relations. On the other hand, such pacifist ideals were never a preoccupation of the organization during the 1930s. The jazz internationalism of the IFHC was a pragmatic one – an internationalism by necessity – aiming to promote hot jazz. This explains why Panassié, who was ideologically close to the nationalist *Action française*, could simultaneously be a fervent promoter of jazz internationalism.

Jazz internationalism during the interwar years therefore had an intra-European dimension. By exchanging information between European groups – that is, without systematically involving their American counterparts – and organizing international concerts and tournaments without engaging American musicians, European hot clubs contributed to the development of a European jazz world which did not totally depend upon the US scene. The blossoming of European hot clubs and the fact that they could feel united by having to confront similar issues concerning their relationship with their American counterparts contributed to the emergence of a shared European consciousness. This would eventually lead to claims for a European identity of jazz in the late 1960s. This study of hot clubs during the interwar years, therefore, is the first step of a research project aiming to go beyond a history of jazz in European countries and propose a *European* history of jazz.

Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences

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Introduction – *Nachholbedarf* as corrective to anti-internationalism?

In October 1945, five months after the end of the Second World War in Europe, German critic Edmund Nick wrote the following in the American-sponsored Munich newspaper *Neue Zeitung*:

For we had, so to speak, been kicked and kicked on the ground for twelve years. Our concerts rarely had any value other than as an acoustic museum of older music. Now there is much with which to catch up. Our ears need tutoring to become open again for new music. We have to hold on, so that we can return to a better place among the leading musical nations.¹⁵⁵

Nick made these comments in a review of the second concert in a new series organized by Karl Amadeus Hartmann, which would later come to be called *Musica Viva*. It was an orchestral concert given by the Bayerisches Staatsorchester, conducted by Bertil Wetzelsberger, with soprano Maud Cunita, featuring Mahler's Fourth Symphony (1899–1900), Hartmann's violin concerto *Musik der Trauer* (1939), Stravinsky's Piano Sonata (1924) and Janáček's very early

¹⁵⁵ 'Denn wir waren ja sozusagen auch musikalisch zwölf Jahre lang auf der Stelle getreten und getreten worden. Nur selten waren unsere Konzerte über den Wert eines akustischen Museums älterer Musik hinausgeraten. Nun gilt es viel nachzuholen. Unsere Ohren bedürfen der Schulung, um wieder reifzu werden für die neue Musik. Wir müssen gleichsam nachsitzen, damit wir wieder auf einen besseren Platz unter den führenden Musiknationen kommen.' Edmund Nick, 'Über neue Musik', *Neue Zeitung*, 28 October 1945. All translations by author unless otherwise indicated.

Suite for string orchestra (1891). German audiences had had almost no exposure to the music of Mahler for the last 12 years (on account of his Jewish heritage), nor of that of Hartmann, who had been prominent in the later part of the Weimar Republic but then had essentially withdrawn from the musical life of Nazi Germany.

Nick's rhetoric was commonplace among critics and promoters immediately after the war's end, providing an ideology which came to be labelled *Nachholbedarf* (very loosely translatable as 'the need to catch up'). In a speech to mark the establishment of the Freie Gruppe of artists in Heidelberg in January 1946, artistic director Bernhard Klein stressed the need to catch up with the work of other countries, despite the fact that the most prominent new piece of music at the event was the 1945 Serenade for flute, oboe and bassoon by Wolfgang Fortner,¹⁵⁶ a former Nazi party (NSDAP) member who had conducted the city's Hitlerjugend-Kammerorchester.¹⁵⁷ A few months later, in the *Wiesbadener Kurier*, critic Ernst Krause (another former NSDAP member, though only from 1941)¹⁵⁸ wrote scathingly about the effect of Joseph Goebbels, the Reichsmusikkammer, the racial laws and the Entartete Musik exhibition on musical life, concluding, 'We have much with which to catch up!' ('Wir haben viel nachzuholen!').¹⁵⁹

In the programme for the Zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad Nauheim in July 1946, the first of a highly prominent series of festivals organized by Radio Frankfurt, which relocated to Frankfurt the following year and became known as the Woche für neue Musik, German-born US control officer and head of music for the radio station Holger E. Hagen wrote, 'For the first time since the armistice, an attempt is being made to present to the musical public the latest works of contemporary composers from all over the world in a united form.' Other prefaces by the artistic director Heinz Schröter and others expressed similar sentiments.¹⁶⁰ One critic wrote of how the newest works presented at the event would form a 'sonic bridge over the abysses of the last years'.¹⁶¹ There was some truth in this, as works of Hindemith and Schoenberg featured prominently,¹⁶² as well as those of the American composers William Schuman and Quincy Porter, practically unknown in Germany before 1945. However, although the festival featured

¹⁵⁶ S.W., "Die Freie Gruppe" (Heidelberg): Moderne Musik – Bildende Kunst – Dichter-Abend. Wolfgang Fortner – Dr. Hartlaub – Ernst Glaeser', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 19 January 1946; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945–1949* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), 81.

¹⁵⁷ On Fortner's activities during this period, see Ian Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music during the Early Allied Occupation (1945–46), and its roots in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich (1918–45)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Cardiff University, 2018), 70–6.

¹⁵⁸ Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933–1945* [CD-ROM] (Kiel: Prieberg, 2004), 3934.

¹⁵⁹ Ernst Krause, 'Wie darf komponiert werden?', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 19 June 1946.

¹⁶⁰ Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv Darmstadt O21 (Bergsträsser) No. 26/6. The copy of the full programme is kept in this file. I am very grateful to Eva Haberkorn for locating this for me.

¹⁶¹ 'Das neueste Schaffen der zeitgenössischen Komponisten aus aller Welt soll eine tönende Brücke bilden über die Abgründe der vergangenen Jahre.' M., 'Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 July 1946.

¹⁶² As is now well established, there were Nazi functionaries who sought to integrate Hindemith and his work into the life of the regime in its early days (especially following his retreat from some of his more radical work of the 1920s), and he took a position in the Reichsmusikkammer in February 1934. However, all of this came to an end with the furore which followed the premiere in Berlin on 12 March 1934 of the *Mathis-Symphonie* and the subsequent machinations by his enemies which ultimately led to the composer's emigration in 1937. See Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31–56.

the likes of Fortner, Ernst Pepping and Heinrich Sutermeister (all prominent in Nazi Germany), other music by Bartók, Malipiero or even Prokofiev was far from unknown, at least in pre-war Nazi Germany.¹⁶³ Wolfgang Steinecke's introductory text for the first Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik at Darmstadt in August–September 1946 was another prime example of *Nachholbedarf* rhetoric:

Behind us is a period during which almost all the vital forces of new music were cut off from German musical life. For twelve years, names such as those of Hindemith and Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Krenek, Milhaud and Honegger, Shostakovich and Prokofiev, Bartók, Weill and many others were disdained. For twelve years, a criminal cultural politics robbed German musical life of its leading personalities and its interconnections with the world.¹⁶⁴

In some, but not all, cases this could have been justified, but then (as in the case of Stravinsky) only for part of the duration of the Reich, as Steinecke would have known well.

The message was consistent and clear: Germany had been cut off from international and modernist developments in music for 12 years, creating an imperative to mount new festivals and concert series, and include new music in more mainstream programming. Yet, as I will show, this was at most only a partially true assumption, albeit one convenient for post-war promoters and advocates.

Myths of domination of Wagner and military music, and total prohibitions on jazz and atonal music, have been addressed elsewhere,¹⁶⁵ but less sustained attention has been paid to the profile of international music within Nazi Germany. A perspective which maintains that the ideology of Nazism isolated Germany from all other countries is echoed in various studies of culture in Nazi Germany which consider the process of 'Germanization' in terms of the pathological and fanatical exclusion, from the very beginning of the regime, of the work of Jewish artists. But the role of non-German, non-Jewish artists and art, especially from countries allied to the Third Reich, is not considered.¹⁶⁶ Fascism was and is an international

¹⁶³ Josef Linssen, in 'Die Frankfurter Woche für neue Musik. Ein Vorbericht', *Melos*, 14/7–8 (1947), 207, looked back on the Bad Nauheim festival as an attempt to reconnect with a 'musical world-spirit'. Similar sentiments could be found in reviews of Neue Musik Donaueschingen 1946; see Werner Zintgraf, *Neue Musik 1921–1950. Donaueschingen, Baden-Baden, Berlin, Pfullingen, Mannheim* (Horb am Neckar: Geiger-Verlag, 1987), 113, and Herbert Urban, 'Moderne Musik in Donaueschingen. Wieder internationales Musikfest – neue europäische Komponisten', *Die Welt*, 9 August 1946.

¹⁶⁴ The full text is reproduced in *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die internationalen Ferienkurse für neue Musik Darmstadt*, vol. 1, ed. Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997), 24–5; my modified translation is based on that in Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24 (I change Iddon's translation of *verpönt* as 'proscribed' to 'disdained', importantly).

¹⁶⁵ See for example Pamela M. Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of "Germanization"', *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), 86–90; and Werner Schmidt-Faber, 'Atonalität im Dritten Reich', *Herausforderung Schönberg. Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte*, ed. Ulrich Dibelius (Munich: Hanser, 1982), 110–36.

¹⁶⁶ Even the major book by Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2019), does not really engage with internationalism in Nazi culture. The most significant recent text which does is Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, though the focus here is primarily on German–Italian relations. Pamela M. Potter, in *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), while drawing upon a range of scholarship arguing that Nazi control of artistic life was less powerful than earlier imagined, and also drawing various comparisons between cultural life in Nazi Germany

phenomenon, whose origins have been argued to have begun in France, Italy or even the United States,¹⁶⁷ and various such movements with common ideological traits sprang up soon in Europe, the first to take power being Mussolini's Partito Nazionale Fascista in Italy in October 1922. The assumption of power by the NSDAP in Germany in January 1933 was followed by other regimes that have been considered fascist, in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Croatia and Japan,¹⁶⁸ not to mention collaborative movements in occupied countries, also helped by friendly if nominally 'neutral' regimes in Spain and Portugal. The international character of the fascist movement became clearest when a congress of delegates from far-right movements in 13 countries met in Montreux in December 1934.¹⁶⁹ It is possible to accept Stanley Payne's view of fascism as 'a form of revolutionary ultra-nationalism', and still recognize how multiple movements manifesting this quality in different nations can find, and have found, common purpose.¹⁷⁰

A comparative study of aesthetic ideologies and practical actions relating to music in multiple fascist countries is beyond the scope of this article, in which I will restrict myself to engagements within Nazi Germany with the music and musicians of other nations. Several prominent figures in Nazi musical life espoused an ideology which promoted 'strong' nationalism characterized by exclusivity – even purity – but respected the right of different nations each to espouse such a thing. This was reflected in a range of societies, organizations and exchange programmes which linked Nazi Germany to other 'friendly' nations, while three different festival organizations responded to this changed political climate in various ways, as I shall detail below. But in some ways the process went further, stressing cultural commonalities and interactions, not least with other 'Nordic' nations.

Nationalisms in multiple nations

The cosmopolitan musical culture of Weimar Germany had had its critics from the beginning, expressed most obviously in the polemics between Paul Bekker and Hans Pfitzner,¹⁷¹ which led

and other fascist countries, does not really consider other than in passing the role of non-German artists in Nazi Germany.

¹⁶⁷ The view of Action Française as the first fascist organization was first put forward by Ernst Nolte in *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française. Italian Fascism. National Socialism*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965); originally published as *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (Munich: Piper-Verlag, 1963) and has been influential, though Roger Eatwell, in *Fascism: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 24–5, sees it as a precursor rather than a fully fledged fascist movement. The possibility that fascism began with the Ku Klux Klan is entertained by Robert O. Paxton in his *Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 49.

¹⁶⁸ Beyond the example of Japan, which Stanley Payne is disinclined to link too closely to European fascism (see his *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 328–37), theorists of fascism have generally been sceptical about drawing too close links between European and extra-European movements; see Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 337–54, or Alistair Hennessy, 'Fascism and Populism in Latin America', *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, ed. Laqueur (London: Penguin, 1979), 248–99; for another view, see Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 147–8.

¹⁶⁹ Roger Griffin, 'Introduction', in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, ed. Roger Griffin (London: Arnold, 1998), 1.

¹⁷⁰ Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 3–19.

¹⁷¹ Paul Bekker, 'Neue Musik' (1919), in *Neue Musik. Gesammelte Schriften III* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923), 85–118; Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom?* (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1920).

to a plethora of writings on *neue Musik* in the first half of the 1920s.¹⁷² In *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz* (1920), Pfitzner associated Bekker with an ‘international Jewish tendency’, and attempts with ‘Russian-Jewish criminals’ at revolutionary cultural upheaval.¹⁷³ In the preface to the third edition published in 1926, he wrote of *völkerfeindliche Internationalismus* (‘anti-Volk internationalism’) in music, linked to related tendencies.¹⁷⁴

Such sentiments were echoed in traditional music journals such as the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, *Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*. Alfred Heuss, editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, wrote in 1921 that Franz Schreker’s opera *Der Schatzgräber* and its supporters, including Bekker (whom Heuss compared to Wagner’s Alberich) embodied a ‘crime against the German soul’.¹⁷⁵ Three years later Heuss wrote of the country ‘dealing with a test of strength between Germanness and – now let it be said openly – a specifically Jewish musical spirit’.¹⁷⁶ This type of view undoubtedly entailed a quite fanatical antisemitism and anti-communism,¹⁷⁷ and a wider hatred for a type of cultural miscegenation, but not necessarily a rejection of multiple national musics – nor even acceptance of non-German musics defined in fundamentally racial terms. In the years leading up to the Nazi takeover, musical ultra-nationalism reached its apex with the publication of Richard Eichenauer’s *Musik und Rasse*, which updated Wagner’s *Das Judenthum in der Musik* in light of new racial theories in order to criticize composers such as Mahler and Schoenberg for what were portrayed as their attempts to sound German and supposedly corrosive effect upon German music.¹⁷⁸ To the likes of Eichenauer, such composers’ actual nationality and upbringing was immaterial; the fact of their being Jewish placed them outside any national affiliation viewed as acceptable.

From early on during the Nazi regime, there were certainly xenophobic views on music expressed publicly,¹⁷⁹ but some other Nazi ideologues found ways of embracing multiple nationalisms. This relatively non-antagonistic attitude, difficult to imagine in a post-1945 world in which nationalism is frequently equated with extreme racial or tribal ideologies, does not look so strange if situated within a longer history going back at least as far as the Enlightenment. In early writings, Johann Gottfried Herder celebrated many nations (including

¹⁷² For an overview, see Pace, ‘The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music’, 17–20, and for more detail, Christoph von Blumröder, *Der Begriff “neue Musik” im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, 1981), 52–78.

¹⁷³ Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik*, 109, 123–4, 126–7.

¹⁷⁴ Hans Pfitzner, ‘Vorwort zur dritten Auflage’, in *Gesammelte Schriften, Band II* (Augsburg: Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926), 109–10.

¹⁷⁵ See Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker 1878–1934: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 144–8. This led to a response by rival Leipzig critic Adolf Aber (1893–1960) in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Der Fall Heuss*, to which Heuss replied at the end of the year questioning the qualifications and integrity of Aber, and drawing attention to Aber’s Jewishness (*ibid.*, 172–3). An imagined link between Jewish people and internationalism was of course a personal obsession of Hitler himself. See Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris* (London: Allen Lane, 1998), 104, 192, 289, 304–5, 330.

¹⁷⁶ Cited in Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 283.

¹⁷⁷ See Potter, ‘Music in the Third Reich’, 96–100, on the ‘Dejewification’ of musical life.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1932).

¹⁷⁹ See for example Hermann Unger, ‘Die Zerstörung der Deutschen Musik’, *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 21 March 1933, reproduced in *Die Musik*, 25/11 (1933), 870–1; or the view of Rolf Cunz in 1937 of how the *Deutsches Musikjahrbuch*, which he had founded in 1922, had published several special volumes in opposition to ‘Marxist internationalism’, finding that ‘true champions of German blood’ had successfully fought for ‘a clear and clean divorce from the music of world nations’. See Rolf Cunz, introduction to *Deutsches Musikjahrbuch 1937* (Berlin: Dorn-Verlag, 1937), 4, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 926.

those in Peru, the Caribbean or the North Pacific islands), defined separately above all in terms of their 'tribal language' and poetic and other cultural traditions emanating from that language, while recognizing the dangers of mutual enmity which could then follow.¹⁸⁰ While later also recognizing geographical factors,¹⁸¹ Herder's view was unequivocal: 'The most natural state is thus also a single people, with a single national character,' and to this end he found 'unnatural' the mixing of peoples and enlargement of states.¹⁸² While this can superficially be read as an argument against cosmopolitanism and miscegenation, equally it can be interpreted as being in opposition to imperialism and expansionism.¹⁸³ Immanuel Kant's cosmopolitan ideals and construction of patriotism in terms of a state – a political entity, not defined in cultural or ethnic terms nor representing a 'people'¹⁸⁴ – are sharply distinct from and in some ways fundamentally opposed to the ideas of Herder, but as Pheng Cheah argues cogently, Kant's opposition was to the principle of absolute statism rather than nations per se.¹⁸⁵ Cheah notes further how Kant's ideals were found to be adaptable in support of the early nationalistic writings of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and many of the nationalist movements (Greek, Belgian, Polish) which arose in early post-Napoleonic Europe,¹⁸⁶ while a 'nationalist cosmopolitics' can be traced through the course of the nineteenth century. Daniel S. Malachuk does so using examples such as Giuseppe Mazzini and Walt Whitman, who viewed nationalism and cosmopolitanism as allied ideologies in the name of a universalist vision.¹⁸⁷

The late nineteenth century of course saw a shift from 'civic', 'voluntarist' or simply 'territorial' nationalisms to their 'ethnic' variant,¹⁸⁸ while the series of European wars from the 1860s through to 1918 undoubtedly delivered a major blow to cosmopolitan ideals. The ultra-nationalism of Nazi Germany was clearly incompatible with any type of meaningful cosmopolitanism, but the regime was not *isolationist*, and actively sought allies and international influence. As such, extreme German nationalism had to be combined with some at least limited recognition of other cultures, while the general paranoia of post-1918 German nationalists regarding transnationalism (by which I mean a phenomenon perceived as standing

¹⁸⁰ Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Treatise on the Origin of Language' (1772), in *Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Michael N. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 146–54.

¹⁸¹ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in Herder, *Werke*, vol. vi, ed. Martin Bollacher (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989), 40–50.

¹⁸² 'Der natürlichste Staat ist also auch *Ein Volk*, mit Einem Nationalcharakter'. *Ibid.*, 369–70.

¹⁸³ See in particular Vicki A. Spencer, 'Kant and Herder on Colonialism, Indigenous Peoples, and Minority Nations', *International Theory*, 7/2 (2015), 360–92.

¹⁸⁴ Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20–2. Kleingeld also considers the ideas of Christoph Martin Wieland in a similar fashion.

¹⁸⁵ Pheng Cheah, 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical – Today', *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis, MN, and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 22–5.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 25–6. Cheah is keen to observe that 'nationalist politics is not necessarily a form of identity politics' (p. 26). For a wide-ranging exploration of multiple revisionist perspectives on cosmopolitanism and their consequences for music, see Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', *Musical Quarterly*, 99/2 (2016), 139–65.

¹⁸⁷ See Daniel S. Malachuk, 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, ed. Diane Morgan and Gary Banham (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139–62.

¹⁸⁸ See Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 42–6, for a good, brief overview of these categories which does not ignore the ways in which the older forms of nationalism could still produce 'illiberal, xenophobic policies' (p. 44).

outside or even subsuming national traditions), including in music, meant that this acceptance of multiple nationalism, tempered by strong inclinations towards German domination and supremacy, was the only meaningful way forward. A clear articulation of this position for music was provided by Nazi critic Hermann Killer (later an editor of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*)¹⁸⁹ in an article written in advance of the Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg in June 1935. This event was organized by the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (ADMV) in association with the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten (see Figure 2). In the article, Killer clearly distinguished ‘Marxist-inspired political internationalism’, which he claimed blurred all boundaries of nations and peoples, from international cultural exchange, which (naturally enough) ought in Killer’s view to take place in Germany as a ‘natural cultural centre of Europe’.¹⁹⁰ Killer was more ready than some to acknowledge the receptiveness of German culture to foreign influences, though he insisted nonetheless that art must be intimately bound together with race, nationality and nation. Killer’s anti-transnationalism was clear through his condemnation of ‘all-world-artistry’ (‘Allerweltsartistentum’), arguing that modern music had crowded out nationality, and for this reason Germany was in the process of eliminating foreign musical influences, thus abandoning the internationalism he had briefly entertained. At the Hamburg festival there would be a celebration of music of ‘all the countries of the world’, in a spirit of internationalism and friendly cooperation, but with national musics to the fore.¹⁹¹

On paper this did not look so different from the ideology of the ISCM (in terms of its development with no strong aesthetic agenda, as distinct from early desires on the part of German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian representatives for an avant-garde focus),¹⁹² or indeed of a good deal of international festivals and events in the first decades after 1945. But in reality, the programme featured a clear majority of German works, many more than from any other single nation, and contemporary works by a relatively conservative selection of composers such as Edward Elgar, Gustav Holst, Albert Roussel, Heinrich Kaminski, Manuel de Falla, Ture Rangström, Jean Sibelius, Yrjö Kilpinen, Zoltán Kodály and Ludomir Różycki (thus no composers from outside Europe), but no Maurice Ravel, Béla Bartók, Igor Stravinsky, Sergey Prokofiev, Edgard Varèse, Darius Milhaud, Alois Hába or Gian Francesco Malipiero.¹⁹³ Even this was not enough to satisfy Nazi critic Herbert Gerigk, who found the event ‘oppressive’ and indeed unrepresentative, blaming a lack of care over the programming, which was insufficiently open to younger figures and national socialist organizations.¹⁹⁴

If Killer espoused a mild internationalism, the complex figure of Peter Raabe went further in the direction of a moderate variety of the same. Raabe was a dedicated follower of Hitler who succeeded Richard Strauss in 1935 as president of the Reichsmusikkammer but whose wider aesthetic sympathies are evidenced in the fact that he had conducted works of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Erdmann, Tiessen, Scriabin and others who would now be categorized as modernist (and who were marginalized in the Reich) while Generalmusikdirektor in Aachen

¹⁸⁹ Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 3650.

¹⁹⁰ Hermann Killer, ‘Musik und Internationalität’, *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 642.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 642–3.

¹⁹² Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 56, 479–91; Anton Haefeli and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, ‘International Society for Contemporary Music’, *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13859>>.

¹⁹³ Full programme for ‘Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935’ in *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 644. See Figure 2.

¹⁹⁴ Herbert Gerigk, ‘Vergreisung oder “Fortschreitende Entwicklung”? Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Musikfest 1935’, *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 722–7.

Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg

vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935

65. Tonkünstlerfest des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, das gemeinsam mit dem Ständigen Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten durchgeführt wird.

1. TAG:
 Sonnabend, den 1. Juni, 19 Uhr, Musikhalle, gr. Saal.
I. ORCHESTERKONZERT
 Franz Liszt: Eine Symphonie zu Dantes Divina Commedia für großes Orchester, Sopran und Altchor. Solistin: Helene Fahrni (Sopran). Mitwirkend: Frauenchor der Hamburger Singakademie. Leitung: Siegmund v. Hausegger.
 Max Trapp: Ouvertüre aus dem „Concert für Orchester“
 Leitung: Der Komponist
 Ludomir v. Rozsycki: Konzert für Klavier und Orchester, op. 43. Solist: Rudolf Hauschild. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.
 Edward Elgar: Cockaigne.
 Ennio Porrino: Sardegna, Poema sinfonico. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.

2. TAG:
 Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.
I. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT
 Yriö Kilpinen: Lieder um den Tod. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.
 Georg Schumann: Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven für zwei Klaviere. Solisten: Der Komponist und Richard Laugs.
 Ture Rangström: Solistin: Henny Wolf (Sopran). Am Flügel: Richard Richter.
 Zoltan Kodály: Sonate, op. 4 für Violoncello und Klavier. Solisten: Caspar Cassado (Cello), Willi Hammer (Klavier).
 Georg Vollerthun: Vier Lieder aus Niederdeutschland. Nach Texten von Hermann Allmers. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.
 Vítoslav Novák: Streichquartett D-dur, op. 35. Ausführende: Peter-Quartett (Krefeld). Fritz Peter — Robert Haas — Gustav Peter — Karl Drebert.
 Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 20 Uhr.
Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper
 Stanislav Moniuszko:
HALKA
 Musikalische Leitung: Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Inszenierung: Heinrich K. Strohm. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking. Tanzleitung: Helga Swedlund. Chöre: Max Thurn.

3. TAG:
 Montag, den 3. Juni, 20 Uhr, Conventgarten, gr. Saal.
II. ORCHESTERKONZERT
 Jean Block: Triptyque. Symphonique. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.
 Gustave Samazeuilh: Nait... Poème pour Orchestre. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.
 Paul Graener: Vorspiel, Intermezzo und Arie, op. 84. Solisten: Helene Fahrni (Sopran), Rudolf Metzmacher (Gambe). Leitung: Der Komponist.
 Giulio Cesare Sonzogno: Tango per Orchestra.
 Jakov Gotovac: Kolo-Symphonie.
 Gustav Theodore Holst: Ballett aus „Perfect fool“. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.
 Eric Westberg: Symfoni Nr. 2. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

4. TAG:
 Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.
II. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT
 Ewald Strässer: Klavierquintett in fis-moll, op. 18. Ausführende: Meta Hagedorn-Chevalley (Klavier) und das Schmalmack-Quartett. Werner Schmalmack — Fritz Köhnen — Hans von Holt — Kurt Friedrich.
 Jon Leifs: Isländische Lieder. Aus den Kirchenliedern, op. 12a. Solistin: Adelheid Armhold (Sopran). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.
 Heinrich Kaminski: Musik für zwei Violinen und Cembalo. Ausführende: Wilfried Hanke und Rudolf Prick (Violinen), Eigel Kruttge (Cembalo).
 Othmar Schneck: Nottuns, op. 47. Ausführende: Felix Loeffel (Baß) und das Fehse-Quartett (Berlin). Richard Fehse — Fritz Laur — Heinz Herbert Scholz — Peter Herbert Lehmann.
 Gabriel Pierné: Sonata da camera für Flöte, Cello und Klavier, op. 48. Ausführende: Hans Brinckmann (Flöte), Rudolf Metzmacher (Cello), Werner Schröter (Klavier).
 Wilhelm Kienzl: Lieder. Solist: Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bariton). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.
 Paul Juon: Quintett für Flöte, Oboen, Klarinette, Horn und Fagott, op. 4. B. Ausführende: Bläservereinigung des Philharmonischen Staatsorchesters. Hans Brinckmann — Albert Reinhardt — Richard Gräfe — Albert Düscher — Christian Weber.

Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 20 Uhr.
Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper
 Hans Pfitzner:
DER ARME HEINRICH
 Musikalische Leitung: Der Komponist. Inszenierung: Rudolf Zindler. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking.

5. TAG:
 Mittwoch, den 5. Juni, 20 Uhr.
TANZABEND
in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper
 Musikalische Leitung: Richard Richter. Inszenierung und Choreographie: Helga Swedlund. Bühnenbild: Gerd Richter.
 Zoltan Kodály: Zigeunerweisen aus Ungarn (Tänze aus Galanta und Maroszecker-Tänze)
 Julius Weismann: Sommerliche Tänze (Tanz-Fantasia).
 Manuel de Falla: Der Dreispitz.

6. TAG:
 Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.
III. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT
 Jens Laurson Emborg: Fünftes Quartett, op. 53 für zwei Violinen, Viola, Violoncell. Ausführende: Hamanns-Quartett (Hamburg). Bernhard Hamann — Helmuth Vogt — Ernst Dohberitz — Arthur Troester.
 Gustave Samazeuilh: „Stundenkreis“ (Le Cercle des Heures).
 Albert Ch. Paul Roussel: Lieder. Solistin: Mme. Balguerie. Nationaloper Paris. Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.
 Joseph Marx: Trio-Phantasie für Klavier, Violine u. Violoncello. Ausführende: Max Strub (Violine), Paul Grümmner (Violoncello), Friedrich Wührer (Klavier).
 Edvard Verheyden: Lieder. Solistin: Adelheid Holz (Sopran). Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.
 Ernst von Dohnanyi: Humoresken, op. 17. Solist: Ferry Gebhardt (Klavier).
 M. de Jong: Streichquartett in vier alten Tonarten. Ausführende: Hanke-Quartett. Wilfried Hanke — Rudolf Prick — Kurt Forst — Rudolf Metzmacher.
 Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 17 Uhr, in der St. Michaelskirche
KIRCHENKONZERT
 Franz Schmidt: Toccata für die Orgel. Solist: Friedrich Brinkmann.
 Max Reger: Kantate: „O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden“. Solisten: Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Hamburger Lehrergesangsverein.
 Richard Wetz: Adagio aus der 3. Sinfonie B-dur, Werk 48.
 Josef Bohuslav Foerster: Mortuus fratribus (Den toten Brüdern). Solisten: Anne-Marie Sottmann (Sopran), Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bariton). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangsverein. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

7. TAG:
 Freitag, den 7. Juni, 20 Uhr, Conventgarten, gr. Saal.
III. ORCHESTERKONZERT
 Franco Alfano: Seconda Sinfonia. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.
 Friedrich Bayer: Konzert b-moll für Klavier mit Orchesterbegleitung. Solistin: Isolde Ahlgrimm (Wien).
 Louis Glass: Sinfonia svastica, op. 57.
 Jean Sibelius: Karelia-Suite für Orchester, op. 11.
 Max von Schillings: Das Erntefest aus „Moloch“. Mitwirkend: Der Chor der Hamburger Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangsverein. Leitung: Eugen o chum.

Das Festorchester wird gebildet aus dem Philharmonischen Staatsorchester und dem Sinfonie-Orchester des Reichs-senders Hamburg.
 Festdirigent: Hbg. Generalmusikdirektor Eugen Jochum.
 Gastdirigenten: Maestro Adriano Lualdi, Paul Graener, Siegmund von Hausegger, Max Trapp.

Figure 2 Full programme for the Internationales Musikfest, Hamburg, 1935.

From *Die Musik*, 27/19 (June 1935), 644.

from 1918 to 1929; Rabbe had also been impressed upon hearing Berg's *Wozzeck*.¹⁹⁵ In an article published in 1926, Raabe had advocated restrictions on 'internationalism', as this was causing a decline in German music, which needed protecting.¹⁹⁶ However, at a speech given nine years later at the Hamburg festival, Raabe denied that music need choose between nationalism and internationalism. He acknowledged the difficulty of rooting art in folk culture, and the complexities for composers and artists who were born to parents of multiple nationalities or who received nationally varied education or other cultural influences. Raabe came close to nationalist cosmopolitanism in a passage from this speech in which he argued that one could reconcile the Goethean idea of 'world-citizenship' ('Weltbürgertum') with national allegiances and roots; he cited Goethe, Schiller, Kleist and others in support of this argument. However, while these classic thinkers could reconcile their art with an interest in foreign *political* ideas, there was not an equivalent for composers. Music, by contrast to literature, dealt not with some 'universal language' which transcended boundaries, as many had claimed, but rather with feeling, which stood above political concerns.¹⁹⁷

Other Nazi writers found different ways of interpreting the relationship between German and other musics. Ernst Bücken attempted to write a history of plural musical developments starting from the 'Orient' and moving through the classical world via various interactions or even battles between different national styles during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, until – like a miracle (after a period of uncertainty and blurring of styles) – Germanic 'national taste' is represented through the Mannheim School and the First Viennese School. This point is reached less than halfway through the book and the remainder is heavily dominated by Germanic composers battling for supremacy with other traditions, which are recognized but placed in a decidedly secondary position.¹⁹⁸ In a much more explicitly racially focused book from 1944, Hans Engel attempted to sublimate the German–Italian opposition that features strongly in Bücken by claiming racial commonalities between southern Germany and northern Italy, then contrasting an underlying biological unity with different musical manifestations owing to the cultural properties of distinct regions – unsurprisingly favouring the Germanic, in which 'Nordic' qualities were said to remain more unsullied by encounters with other races.¹⁹⁹

Despite some internationalist leanings, for most Nazi writers, music involving or associated with Jewish people was wholly off-limits. Robert Pessenlehner attempted in 1937 to claim that in Schoenberg's work there is the beginning of 'a shift in music, *not towards internationalism*, but towards a non-European musical formation, in which non-Aryan linguistic rules find expression' (emphasis added).²⁰⁰ A different and more common antisemitic formation can be

¹⁹⁵ Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872–1945)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 92–4, 101. However, Raabe also viewed African American dance bands and American films as a major threat to German culture; see Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 22–3.

¹⁹⁶ Peter Raabe, 'Deutsches Musikwesen und deutsche Art', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 53 (1 October 1926), 737–8, cited in Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 106–7.

¹⁹⁷ Peter Raabe, 'Nationalism, Internationalismus und Musik', *Die Musik*, 27/11 (August 1935), 801–3.

¹⁹⁸ Ernst Bücken, *Der Musik der Nationen* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1937); the quotation regarding the miracle of German 'national taste' can be found on page 6.

¹⁹⁹ Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1944); for a summary, see Mauro Fosco Bertola, 'Beyond Germanness? Music's History as "Entangled History" in German Musicology from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War', *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45: Science, Culture and Politics*, ed. Fernando Clara and Cláudia Ninhos (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 32–4.

²⁰⁰ 'In ihm beginnt eine Wende der Musik, nicht zum Internationalismus, wohl aber zu einer außer-europäischen Musikgestaltung, in der nichtarische Sprachgesetze ihren Ausdruck finden.' Robert

found in the work of Walther Wünsch, who in a favourable 1938 article about south Slavic folk music portrayed the Balkans as a ‘mighty bridge from the Orient to the Occident’.²⁰¹ However, in a follow-up article, he claimed this tradition to have been undermined by Jewish city dwellers involved in commerce, and for this reason he celebrated its antisemitic songs.²⁰² Those who could celebrate a plural range of European musics had consistently to view Jewish traditions as alien to these.

Societies, organizations and exchange programmes²⁰³

In contrast to the view presented by the advocates of *Nachholbedarf*, there were many cultural and indeed musical interactions and exchanges between Nazi Germany and other countries. But this process was far from unlimited; in general, the other nations in question fell into one of three categories: (a) ‘racial’ allies, viewed as fellow ‘Aryans’, including the Scandinavian countries (including Iceland) and Finland, the Netherlands and, to some extent, Belgium; (b) political allies, most notably Italy and Hungary from an earlier stage, then Japan, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and even Russia during the period of the Nazi–Soviet Pact; (c) other European nations with which there were more mixed relations, notably Britain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union from 1933, the majority of which would later become hostile.²⁰⁴

I will first consider category (b). A range of exchange and friendship societies between Germany and other nations were created both before and during the Third Reich, which to varying degrees (some of them beginning as trading organizations) promoted academic, intellectual, cultural and some political relationships, organized cultural events and supported visiting foreign artists and scholars.²⁰⁵ Societies pairing Germany with Greece, Bulgaria, Finland, Sweden, France, Portugal,

Pessenlehner, *Vom Wesen der deutschen Musik* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1937), 176–7, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 6288.

²⁰¹ Walther Wünsch, ‘Südslawische Volksmusik als Ausdruck südslawischer Volksgeschichte’, *Die Musik*, 30/7 (April 1938), 450–5 (p. 450).

²⁰² Walther Wünsch, ‘Der Jude im balkanslawischen Volkstum und Volksliede’, *Die Musik*, 30/9 (June 1938), 595–8. There were three other related articles by Wünsch published soon afterwards in the same journal: ‘Südslawische Musikinstrumente und Lieder’, *Die Musik*, 30/12 (September 1938), 796–800; ‘Vorchristliche Restbestände im balkanischen Volkstum. Ihre Beziehung zur Volksmusik der Slawen in Südosteuropa’, *Die Musik*, 31/4 (January 1939), 242–6; ‘Goethe und das südslawische Volkslied’, *Die Musik*, 31/6 (March 1939), 363–5.

²⁰³ For reasons of space, I have assembled a highly detailed downloadable chronology of important international musical events between 1933 and 1945, together with overviews of various institutions which featured international music, and details of principal musical and cultural exchange programmes between Nazi Germany and Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Japan, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, multiple ‘Nordic’ countries, Belgium and the Netherlands. See Ian Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources for article on ‘Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences’* (hereafter *Timeline and Data Sources*) at <<https://ianpace.wordpress.com/2022/08/01/musical-internationalism-in-nazi-germany-table-of-events/>> (accessed 18 October 2022). I will summarize the findings here; most of the data sources (especially journals and newspapers from the time) are provided there.

²⁰⁴ See Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources*, section 3, for detailed consideration of German musical interactions with each of these countries, from which I draw summaries here.

²⁰⁵ Johannes Dafinger, ‘Treason? What Treason? German–Foreign Friendship Societies and Transnational Relations between Right-Wing Intellectuals during the Nazi Period’, *Intellectual Collaboration with the Third Reich: Treason or Reason?*, ed. Maria Björkman, Patrik Lundell and Sven Widmalm (ebook; London: Routledge, 2019), chapter 4.

Yugoslavia, Japan, Hungary, Spain, Italy (with the support of Mussolini) and Britain (Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft, Deutsch–Bulgarische Gesellschaft and so on) were formed between 1914 and 1932,²⁰⁶ and these became variously stronger or weaker after 1933 in a manner generally mirroring wider political allegiances or antagonisms between Germany and the other countries in question. Further such societies were formed after the Nazi assumption of power, usually with clearer ideological motivations: with Norway in 1934, with England in 1935 (founded directly by Joachim von Ribbentrop and used to try to cement better relations with England), with the Netherlands in 1936, somewhat more atypically with Poland in 1938, with Belgium in 1938, then with Slovakia in January 1939, around six weeks before the creation of the fascist Slovak Republic following the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. During the Second World War there followed societies with Hungary in April 1940, Denmark in autumn 1940 (following the occupation, on the model of the Norwegian society), Romania in 1943 (somewhat late considering Ion Antonescu’s signing of the Tripartite Pact in 1940 and participation of Romanian forces in Operation Barbarossa in 1941) and Croatia in 1944 (the last of its type, narrowing the earlier partnership with Yugoslavia in light of the redrawing of borders and subsequent installation of satellite fascist regimes).

While some of these organizations were based in multiple German cities (the Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft, for example, had branches in Munich, Hamburg and Berlin), they were nonetheless – as Johannes Dafinger has noted – were generally small and highly elite.²⁰⁷ By 1940, the largest in Berlin were those with Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Japan, but a further 26 organizations existed.²⁰⁸ Some fragmentary documents show that in the summer of that year Goebbels and von Ribbentrop even urged Albert Speer to construct a large building in Berlin to house all these types of associations to which they were sympathetic (representing nations allied to Greater Germany), and thus bring them into a type of centralized arrangement.²⁰⁹ While this never came to fruition (because of other priorities), it shows how importantly they viewed such activities.

All of this proceeded in parallel with concentrations of representation of composers and performers from these various other nations.²¹⁰ These began with concerts featuring music and musicians from Nazi Germany’s most obvious ally, fascist Italy, intensifying after the declaration of the Rome–Berlin Axis in November 1936 and leading to various events celebrating the friendship between the two nations. Hungary was also an early key ally, having moved to the political right from 1932 onwards under prime ministers Gyula Gömbös and Kálmán Darányi, and many music events followed the foundation of the Deutsch–Ungarisches Kulturabkommen in May 1936, at the behest of Goebbels and others. As other countries became more closely aligned with Germany, concerts and exchange concerts were sponsored or promoted by

²⁰⁶ See the section on ‘Societies Pairing Germany with Other Nations’, in Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources*, for full dates and references.

²⁰⁷ Dafinger, ‘Treason? What Treason?’

²⁰⁸ Bernd Söseman, ‘Philhellenen in der “Volksgemeinschaft”. Die “Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft” in Berlin als Mitglied der nationalsozialistischen “Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände”’, *Internationale Dilemmata und europäische Visionen*, ed. Martin Sieg and Heiner Timmermann (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 202–3.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 201–2.

²¹⁰ See section 1 of *Timeline and Data Sources* for plentiful evidence of this. Such events were mirrored in many concert tours by German musicians to occupied or ideologically allied nations. To detail these would be beyond the scope of this article, but see for example the numerous foreign trips of the Berlin Philharmonic, detailed in Peter Muck, *Ein hundred Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. 3 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), 256–314.



Figure 3 Advert for an Internationales Austauschkonzert: Rumänien, organized by the Singakademie Berlin, 6 February 1941. *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 21/20 (1941), 5.

the appropriate international societies, with considerable help from the German Foreign Ministry under the control of Hans Sellschopp from 1939.²¹¹ Spanish music became more prevalent in Germany from early in the civil war, and especially after Franco's victory; prominent events featuring Greek music followed the coming to power of the authoritarian regime of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece in August 1936, as did Bulgarian music after King Boris III took direct rule in 1935 and gradually moved towards alignment with the Axis (after which came a major Deutsch–Bulgarisches Konzert in Breslau in late 1941 to celebrate the two nations' friendship).

Following the outbreak of war, in December 1939 Killer argued that 'German art, and in particular music, is placed in the front line of the spiritual defence of the country', but that this was also a reason for the continuation of international musical exchange events.²¹² In 1940, a review in *Die Musik* on musical life in Munich pointed out how 'cultural exchange with friendly nations was very important', and went on to mention exchanges with Italy, Bulgaria and Japan.²¹³ Exchanges also increased with Romania (especially featuring conductor George Georgescu, who had appeared with the Berlin Philharmonic since 1935) after Ion Antonescu took power in September 1940 and the two nations signed both the Tripartite and Anti-Comintern Pacts (see Figure 3); and similarly with Croatia after Ante Pavelić and the Ustaše took power in April 1941. The Berlin Philharmonic presented a series of government-ordered concerts in 1940–1 with guest conductors from Spain, Italy, Japan and Croatia.²¹⁴ Many articles in the Nazi-controlled music press presented sympathetic views of the art and folk musics of these other nations.

²¹¹ Waldemar Rosen, 'Deutschland im europäischen Musikaustausch', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943*, ed. Hellmuth von Hase (Leipzig and Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel and Max Hesses Verlag, 1943), 65–6; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 6560.

²¹² 'So reiht sich auch die deutsche Kunst und im besonderen die Musik in die innere Front der geistigen Landesverteidigung.' Hermann Killer, 'Berliner Konzerte', *Die Musik*, 32/3 (December 1939), 100–1.

²¹³ Karl Blessinger, 'München', *Die Musik*, 32/10 (July 1940), 356.

²¹⁴ Misha Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra* (London: Souvenir Press, 2010), 124–5; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 298. The conductors were José Cubiles, Franco Ferrara, Hidermaro Konoye and Lovro von Matačić respectively.

Despite the obvious ethnic distances between central Europeans and East Asians, the Japanese were even referred to by Hitler as ‘honorary Aryans’,²¹⁵ and there was a wide range of German–Japanese musical interactions during the Reich. Japanese conductors Hidemaro Konoye and Kōichi Kishi conducted the Berlin Philharmonic from early in the regime (Konoye was described to Staatssekretär Hans Heinrich Lammers by Staatskommissar Hans Hinkel as ‘the Japanese Furtwängler’ as early as October 1933);²¹⁶ and after the signing of the Anti-Comintern pact in November 1936, the Deutsch–Japanische Gesellschaft increased its cultural activities for propagandistic reasons.²¹⁷ A concert Konoye conducted in Leipzig two days after the signing of the pact included some traditional Japanese court music; it was greatly admired by Kurt Herbst in *Die Musik*, not least for Konoye’s exactitude and sharp rhythms, from which he concluded that ‘the Japanese interpret the music of our cultural circles very well’.²¹⁸ A review by Fritz Stege of a concert by the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Konoye, featuring Kilpinen’s *Fjeld-Lieder*, suggested that Konoye’s more distant geographic origins were appropriate for conducting Finnish music, but also gave high praise to his interpretations of Schubert and Brahms.²¹⁹ Richard Ohlekopf portrayed Konoye as one ‘who has grasped the spirit of German music in such a way that he is able to be its authoritative advocate in his country’.²²⁰ Other articles from around this time also celebrated Japanese traditional music, comparing it to the culture of ancient Greece.²²¹ Konoye recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic, including one 78rpm release in 1938 comprising the German national anthem, the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* and the Japanese national anthem in Konoye’s own arrangement.²²² During the war, his press releases spoke of ‘comradeship with German artists’²²³ and he eventually gave concerts to boost the morale of soldiers and civilians (see Figure 4). After a successful concert in December 1942, violinist Nejiko Suwa was presented with a Stradivari violin by Goebbels in the presence of the Japanese ambassador Hiroshi Ōshima, whose speech claimed that this

²¹⁵ Ricky W. Law, *Transnational Nazism: Ideology and Culture in German–Japanese Relations, 1919–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 284.

²¹⁶ Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Rowohlt, 1963), 94. Hinkel also went on to describe Konoye as ‘the greatest non-German interpreter of Richard Strauss’ (*ibid.*). This followed a concert which Konoye conducted with the Berlin Philharmonic on 3 October, with works of Schubert (arranged by Konoye), Strauss, Reger and traditional Japanese music. See Muck, *Einbundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 257. This was reviewed extremely positively by Fritz Ohrmann in ‘Hidemaro Konoye, Philharm. Orch’, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 91/41 (1933), 681–2.

²¹⁷ Kyungboon Lee, ‘Japanese Musicians between Music and Politics during WWII: Japanese Propaganda in the Third Reich’, *Itinerario*, 38/2 (2014), 121–38 (p. 124).

²¹⁸ Kurt Herbst, ‘Funkmusikalische Auslese’, *Die Musik*, 29/4 (January 1937), 282. Konoye had conducted in Germany much earlier than this, making his debut with the Berlin Philharmonic back in 1924. See Eric Charles Black, *Wars, Dictators and the Gramophone, 1898–1945* (York: William Sessions, 2004), 117.

²¹⁹ Fritz Stege, ‘Berliner Musik’, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 104/2 (February 1937), 184.

²²⁰ ‘Hidemaro Konoye, der den Geist der deutschen Musik so erfaßt hat, daß er befähigt ist in seinem Lande der berufene Verkünder der deutschen Musik zu sein’. Richard Ohlekopf, ‘Hidemaro Konoye, Gerh. Hüsch’, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 95/1 (6 January 1937), 5.

²²¹ Albrecht Urach-Württemberg, ‘Aus 40 Jahren moderner japanischer Musikentwicklung. August Junker, der Pionier deutscher Musik in Japan’, *Die Musik*, 29/10 (July 1937), 675–7.

²²² All re-released as *Konoye: The Complete Berlin Philharmonic Recordings*, Pristine Audio PASC288 (2011). See also ‘Neuaufnahmen in Auslese’, *Die Musik*, 32/2 (November 1939), 66.

²²³ Karl Blessinger, ‘München’, *Die Musik*, 32/10 (July 1940), 356; Erwin Völsing, ‘Berliner Konzerte’, *Die Musik*, 33/5 (February 1941), 181.



Figure 4 Hidemaro Konoye conducting the Berlin Philharmonic, 1942. Stills from ‘Hidemaro Konoye conducts ...’, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d9MK9QA5s2c>> (accessed 29 July 2022).

symbolized the close cultural relationship between the two countries.²²⁴ Konoye’s score of *Etenraku* (1930), based on the traditional gagaku melody, was played widely throughout the Third Reich and its allies.²²⁵

Ideologies of pan-Germanic or pan-Nordic racial purity – the latter of which had informed the creation of the Richard Wagner Gesellschaft für germanische Kunst und Kultur back in

²²⁴ ‘Zeitgeschichte’, *Die Musik*, 35/6 (1943), 194.

²²⁵ Lee, ‘Japanese Musicians’, 126, 128–30.



Figure 5 Advert in *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins* for a Deutsch–Dänisches Konzert given by the Berlin Philharmonic, 5 April 1934, in association with the Nordische Gesellschaft.

1913 and were reflected in such books as Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse* (1932), constructing a 'Nordic' musical identity and incorporating canonical Germanic composers based on both a proclivity for polyphony and an aptitude for battle²²⁶ – underlay other musical events from early in the regime. A Nordische Gesellschaft, originally set up in Lübeck to promote trade and cultural exchange, became a vehicle for fanatical racial ideologies from 1934, counting Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg among its members.²²⁷ The society promoted a wide range of events (especially in Lübeck) celebrating Nordic music to the extent that it could be linked to that from Germany, albeit not in a relationship of equals. (For an example of a Nordische Gesellschaft concert see Figure 5.) In 1933, an article in *Die Musik* held up Grieg and Sibelius as shining examples of *Blut und Boden* in contrast to the 'worthless drivel' of atonality, the product of a 'Jewish-inclined clique'.²²⁸ Others who featured regularly in performances promoted by the Nordische Gesellschaft included Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg, whose opera *Fanal* was presented in Braunschweig in February 1934 then produced

²²⁶ See Albrecht Dümling, 'The Target of Racial Purity: The "Degenerate Music" Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938', *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, ed. Richard A. Etlin (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48–50; Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 157–81, 205–9.

²²⁷ Wolf Stegemann, 'Die Nordische Gesellschaft – eine ideologisch völkisch-rassische Organisation der NSDAP mit Rothenburgs bürgerlicher Hautevolee', *Rothenburg unterm Hakenkreuz*, 20 January 2014 <<http://www.rothenburg-unterm-hakenkreuz.de/die-nordische-gesellschaft-eine-ideologisch-voelkisch-rassische-organisation-der-nsdap-mit-rothenburgs-buergerlicher-hautevolee/>> (accessed 20 September 2019). For a thorough investigation of this organization, see Erika L. Briesacher, 'Cultural Currency: *Notgeld*, *Nordische Woche*, and the *Nordische Gesellschaft*, 1921–1945' (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 2012), 140–218. For an earlier study of these themes, see Hans-Jürgen Lützhöft, *Der nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920–1940* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1971).

²²⁸ Henning Rechnitzer-Möller, 'Nordische Musik', *Die Musik*, 26/1 (October 1933), 69–71; see also Helmut Schmidt-Garre, 'Der rassische Stil der nordischen Musik', *Volksparole*, 24 October 1934, reprinted in *Die Musik*, 27/2 (November 1934), 154–5.

in a range of other cities, and the Finnish composer Kilpinen, who was used by Nazi critic Stege as an example of the links between Finnish and German music.²²⁹

Dutch music appeared prominently at various points, especially as part of a Holländisches Musikfest in Wiesbaden in May 1935, while works of Henk Badings were performed in various contexts. But after the occupation of the Low Countries in 1940, more active attempts were made to propagandize for common Germanic musical roots. Franck was presented as an essentially Germanic composer,²³⁰ while an article in *Die Musik* paired together 'Jewish and Francophile interest groups' in opposition to Flemish music (in line with Hitler's instructions to the invaders of Belgium to 'favour the Flemish' over the Walloons and stoke antagonisms between the two primary groups).²³¹

There were events in the 1930s featuring music of nations that would turn hostile (Britain, France and Poland), sometimes involving their own exchange societies. The Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft in particular supported the 1938 Baden-Baden festival (see below) and presented some other events. But following a communiqué from Raabe on 1 October 1939, confirmed on 1 February 1940 and further on 4 November 1941, Polish, British and French music (with the specific exceptions of the music of Chopin and Bizet's *Carmen*) were essentially prohibited.²³² Russian music had continued to be heard in the 1930s, including a number of Stravinsky performances, but received a boost during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact between August 1939 and July 1941.²³³ Radio Munich cancelled a talk scheduled for 25 August 1939 entitled 'I Accuse Moscow – the Comintern Plan for World Dictatorship' and replaced it with 30 minutes of Russian music.²³⁴ Prominent concerts of Russian or Slavic music were heard in Berlin (including a number of Prokofiev performances by the Berlin Philharmonic), Cologne, Osnabrück, Kiel and Baden-Baden, while Walter Giesecking revised his repertoire to add Russian music.²³⁵ After the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Baden-Baden orchestra under Gotthold Ephraim Lessing still programmed works of Tchaikovsky and Borodin in two concerts,²³⁶ but then Raabe banned performances of all Russian music from 15 July 1941.²³⁷

²²⁹ Fritz Stege, 'Yrjö Kilpinen', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106/9 (September 1939), 921–30.

²³⁰ 'Caesar Franck – ein Deutscher! Zum 50. Todestag des Meisters am 9. November 1940', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 107/9 (September 1940), 517–29. But see also Reinhold Zimmermann, 'War Casar Franck ein "urfranzösischer" Musiker?', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/3 (March 1941), 187–9.

²³¹ Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium 1940–1944* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 127, 130–1. For further examples of such sentiments applied to music, see Nicholas Spanuth, 'Deutsche Musik im besetzten Gebiet. Erstaufführungen in Belgien', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/7 (July 1941), 459–60; and Walter Weyler, 'Zur Erneuerung der flämischen Musik. Vom Volkslied zur Polyphonie', *Die Musik*, 34/5 (February 1942), 162–5.

²³² Directive from Raabe, 4 November 1941, in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 5645. There were some exceptions, as when for example the Berlin Philharmonic and Clemens Krauss performed Ravel's *Boléro* on 19 and 20 November 1944 at the Staatsoper, demonstrating that the prohibition was not rigidly enforced. See Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 311 and 313.

²³³ Joan Evans, 'Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 525–94 (pp. 581–4).

²³⁴ Terry Charman, *Outbreak 1939: The World Goes to War* (London: Virgin, 2009), 57.

²³⁵ David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 157.

²³⁶ Advert in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/9 (1941), 621.

²³⁷ Directive from Raabe, 12 July 1941, reproduced in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 5644.

However, one should be wary of attributing too many developments to wider artistic policy. Much of the most internationally oriented programming, like that which continued to feature some more advanced forms of modernism, was as much the result of particular individuals' work as of any wider artistic policy: Gerhard Frommel and Hans Rosbaud in Frankfurt, Carl Schuricht in Wiesbaden, Fritz Zaun in Berlin, Fritz Büchtger and Adolf Mennerich in Munich, Johannes Schüler and Albert Bittner in Essen, Ewald Lindemann in Braunschweig, Adalbert Kalix in Nuremberg. Some other institutions did also play a crucial role, especially the Berliner Singakademie, under the directorship of Georg Schumann (which continued to organize many foreign exchanges, as it had done since the beginning of the century), and the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin (which organized many international exchange concerts from 1937 onwards). What is most significant is that all of these were able to proceed with these activities generally without interference and sometimes with encouragement.

Festival organizations with international programming: the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten

There was a range of one-off festivals or themed concert series in Nazi Germany showcasing international music, such as the Dresden Philharmonic's series of concerts of *Meistern des Auslands* in winter 1936–7, or the Internationales Orchester-Musikfest in Wiesbaden in May 1939, which brought together orchestras and musicians from France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. More central to musical life during this period were three principal recurrent festivals which each featured a degree of international music. The ADMV, founded by Franz Liszt and Franz Brendel in 1861,²³⁸ was at its outset dedicated to the promotion of the latest German music, though always featured a certain amount of music from elsewhere. For a period in the 1920s, the festival incorporated Germanic composers associated by conservatives with a type of internationalist modernism (including Schoenberg, Hindemith, Schulhoff and others) and also a few works by foreign composers such as Stravinsky and Bartók. However, the ADMV became much more conservative after Siegmund von Hausegger assumed the presidency in 1926, and continued in this vein until it was thoroughly Nazified by 1934.²³⁹ After Raabe took over the presidency in 1935, from which time dates the Hamburg festival mentioned earlier, there was included some slightly more advanced music (including *Elektromusik* in the 1936 Berlin festival), though generally by Germans; but after others schemed against Raabe,²⁴⁰ the ADMV was replaced by the Reichsmusikkammer in 1937. One event to note, which coincided with the Frankfurt/Darmstadt ADMV in 1937, was the exhibition *Schöpferes Musikleben des Auslands*, which featured composers from 17 European countries, including Ravel, Dallapiccola, Szymanowski, Hába and Bartók.²⁴¹

²³⁸ The most comprehensive resource on this remains the archived version of James Deaville, 'Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein', at <<https://web.archive.org/web/20050307085106/http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca:80/~adm/admv.htm>> (accessed 1 July 2019).

²³⁹ See Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Erstes Deutsches Tonkünstlerfest im Dritten Reich. Der Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein in Wiesbaden', *Die Musik*, 26/10 (July 1934), 748–54.

²⁴⁰ See Raabe, 'Rede zur Eröffnung der 67. Tonkünstlerversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins in Weimar am 13. Juni 1936', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/7 (July 1936), 813; and for Goebbels's distrust, having been briefed by Hans Severus Ziegler, see his diary entry of 16 June 1936 in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941. Band 2* (Munich: Saur, 1987), 108.

²⁴¹ Eva Hanau, *Musikinstitutionen in Frankfurt am Main 1933–1945* (Cologne: Studio, 1994), 141–2.

The second internationally oriented festival was the Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest, which ran in Baden-Baden from 1936 to 1939 and has been written about in detail by Joan Evans.²⁴² This featured music from 17 mostly western European countries and was described positively by Friedrich Herzog in *Die Musik* as an ‘international music festival with national emphasis’, entailing an ‘amicable cultural competition among nations’, in contrast with events that had taken place in Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden in the 1920s.²⁴³

But the example that best exemplifies an ideology promulgating multiple nationalisms, albeit with a clear German domination, was that embodied in the festivals organized by the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten, formed by Strauss during his time as president of the Reichsmusikkammer. This organization, originally designed to protect composers’ international rights and to organize exchange concerts between nations, was active from 1934 to 1939, with representatives from 20 other European countries and largely directed by Austrian-Czech composer Emil von Reznicek.²⁴⁴ It was nonetheless highly German-dominated, not least because most of the non-German representatives had studied in Germany.²⁴⁵ Seven festivals took place (see Figure 6),²⁴⁶ as well as a range of exchange concerts,²⁴⁷ while further festivals were planned but did not materialize.²⁴⁸

Much of the founding ideology of the organization came out of an extended and ranting article by Gerigk about the 1934 Venice Biennale. Interestingly, Gerigk actually blamed Italian fascism, with its avant-gardist elements, for severing Italian music’s connection with *Blut und Boden*, so that ‘helpless Dadaist and unequivocally bolshevist artistic trends’ were welcome, and what Gerigk recognized as true German music did not receive its due²⁴⁹ (thus pre-empting the aesthetic disjunction in this respect between the two nations which came to a head following

²⁴² Joan Evans, “‘International with National Emphasis’: The *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest* in Baden-Baden, 1936–1939”, *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933–1945* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), ed. Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller, 102–13.

²⁴³ ‘Ein internationales Musikfest mit nationalen Tendenzen’. Friedrich W. Herzog, ‘Musik der Völker in Baden-Baden’, *Die Musik*, 28/10 (July 1936), 781–4 (p. 781); also cited in Evans, “‘International with National Emphasis’”, 103. Herzog went on to talk about an ‘amicable cultural competition among nations’ (‘friedliche kulturelle Wettstreit der Nationen’) in place of the ‘routine Jewish-influenced concerts disguised as international’ (‘international getarnten Allerweltskonzerts unter jüdischem Einfluß’) of the Weimar era festivals. Herzog, ‘Musik der Völker’, 781. See also his similar comments in Herzog, ‘Europäische Musik in Bande. Das II. Internationale zeitgenössische Musikfest in Baden-Baden’, *Die Musik*, 29/7 (April 1937), 495.

²⁴⁴ ‘Amtliche Mitteilung über die Gründung des “Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten”’, *Die Musik*, 26/10 (July 1934), 765–6; Petra Garberding, ‘Strauss und der Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten’, *Richard Strauss Handbuch*, ed. Walter Werbeck (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 42–7 (p. 42).

²⁴⁵ Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 88.

²⁴⁶ These were in Hamburg (June 1935), Vichy (September 1935), Stockholm (February 1936), Dresden (May 1937), Stuttgart (May 1938), Brussels (November 1938) and Frankfurt (July 1939).

²⁴⁷ ‘Gesellschaften und Vereine’, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/4 (April 1936), 507; ‘Konzertpodium’, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/10 (October 1936), 1276.

²⁴⁸ These were to have taken place in Athens, Berlin, Copenhagen, Helsinki, London, Naples, Reykjavik and Vienna. See Garberding, ‘Strauss und der Ständige Rat’, 43–4; ‘Aus der Arbeit des “Ständigen Rates”’, *Die Musik*, 32/3 (December 1939), 106.

²⁴⁹ Herbert Gerigk, ‘Musikfestdämmerung. Das dritte internationale Musikfest in Venedig und die erste Arbeitstagung des “Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten”’, *Die Musik*, 27/1 (October 1934), 45–51.



Figure 6 Cover of the brochure for the Internationales Musikfest, Dresden, 1937, organized by the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten.

the Ausstellung Italienischer Kunst in Berlin in November–December 1937).²⁵⁰ On the validity of festivals in general, Gerigk wrote:

²⁵⁰ This was an exhibition of Italian art from 1800 to the present organized by the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin, whose organizing committee included both Goebbels and Hermann Goering. It included four rooms dedicated to twentieth-century art, including a reasonable amount of Futurist painting and other work associated with different varieties of modernism. Despite also including a wide range of relatively traditionalist twentieth-century Italian art, not to mention a range of nineteenth-century work, the exhibition was despised by Hitler, who attended on 10 December,

This question must be answered in the negative. There is no longer today any justification for renouncing the *Volk*. Here there are only alien [*volksfremde*] elements which have found their way from the intellect into the founding of new directions for art. This has continued as long as government agencies have been found which think in the same way. As long as funds have been available, such funds have been taken away from real art.²⁵¹

As such, the concerts of the Ständiger Rat stood in direct opposition to the perceived emphasis on transnational modernism thought to be represented by the ISCM.²⁵² The Hamburg festival was certainly of an international nature, including leading composers such as Holst, Falla, Kodály, Dohnányi, Sibelius and Kilpinen. The festival held in Vichy in September 1935 coincided exactly with the ISCM in Prague, and has been analysed in some detail by Anne Shreffler, who argues that the programme committee ‘had made little attempt to focus on

and was described as a ‘fiasco’ by Mussolini after he had read a report of the exhibition. It is likely that Hitler’s wrath was provoked by such featured artists (to take a selection in the order they appear in the catalogue) as Pieraccini Leonetta Cecchi, Ettore di Giorgio, Primo Sinopico, Mimi Quilici Buzzacchi, Francesco dal Pozzo, Pietro Marussig, Felice Casorati, Celestino Celestini, Lino S. Lipinsky, Luigi Bartolini, Carlo Alberto Petrucci, Giorgio Morandi, Ardengo Soffici, Domenico Valinotti, Mario Sironi, Achille Funi, Giuseppe Capogrossi, Gianfilippo Usellini, Giovanni Colacicchi, Antonio Donghi, Eugenio da Venezia, Mario Broglio, Michele Guerrisi, Romano Dazzi, Arturo Checchi, Ugo Ortona, Mirko Basaldella, Alessandro Cervellati, Orfeo Tamburi, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, Contardo Barbieri, Virgilio Guidi, Cagnaccio di San Pietro, Carlo Carrà, Gino Severini, Ugo Carà, Enrico Paulucci, Luigi Spazzapan, Guglielmo Sansoni Tato, Enrico Prampolini, Umberto Boccioni, Mino Rosso and Ernesto Thayaht, whose work embodied varying degrees of distortion of vision, caricature, abstraction, *faux naïveté*, sexuality and unsettling subject matter, and in some cases mirrored the work of Weimar era artists. See *Ausstellung italienischer Kunst von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart: November–Dezember 1937* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1937) and Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 76, 80–81. On the events leading up to the exhibition and its reception, see Benedetta Garzarelli, *Parleremo al mondo intero: La propaganda del fascismo all'estero* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2004), 209–24. In light of Hitler’s successive Nuremberg speeches denouncing a range of modernist tendencies in art – see Adolf Hitler’s speech at the NSDAP Congress on Culture (3 September 1933), in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 113–20 (pp. 116, 118); and his ‘Art and Its Commitment to Truth’ (September 1934), *ibid.*, 489–90; also Max Domarus, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932–1945. Volume Two: The Years 1935 to 1938*, trans. Chris Wilcox and Mary Fran Gilbert (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), 695–6; *Offizieller Bericht über den Verlauf des Reichsparteitages mit sämtlichen Kongressreden: Der Parteitag Grossdeutschlands, vom 5. bis 12. Sept. 1938* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1938), 85 – there was little chance of his arriving at any agreement with the more benevolent and appropriative view of particular modernist tendencies advocated by other Nazis, including Goebbels. See Joseph Goebbels, Lecture on ‘Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben’, given in Berlin, Großer Saal der Philharmonie, 15 November 1933, *Goebbels-Reden. Band 1: 1932–1939*, ed. Helmut Heiber (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), 137; Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, trans. Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (London: Vintage, 2015), 33–5; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 88. But the exhibition can be viewed as consolidating such a divide.

²⁵¹ Gerigk, ‘Musikfestdämmerung’, 50.

²⁵² The opposing festivals of the ISCM in Prague and the Ständiger Rat in Vichy, both in 1935, are contrasted by Anne C. Shreffler in ‘The International Society for Contemporary Music and Its Political Context (Prague, 1935)’, in *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 58–90. Shreffler presents especially interesting material on the debates between Ernst Krenek and Edward J. Dent. Krenek despised what he called the ‘Blubo-Internationale’ (‘Blubo’ being a contraction of *Blut und Boden*) (Austriacus [Ernst Krenek], ‘Die Blubo-Internationale’, in *23: Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift*, 17–19 (1934), pp. 19–25) and argued to Dent that the ISCM should directly oppose everything it represented, but that it was unable to do so because of too great an embracing of ‘entertainment music’ from the West and of ‘folklore’ from the East in place of international new music.

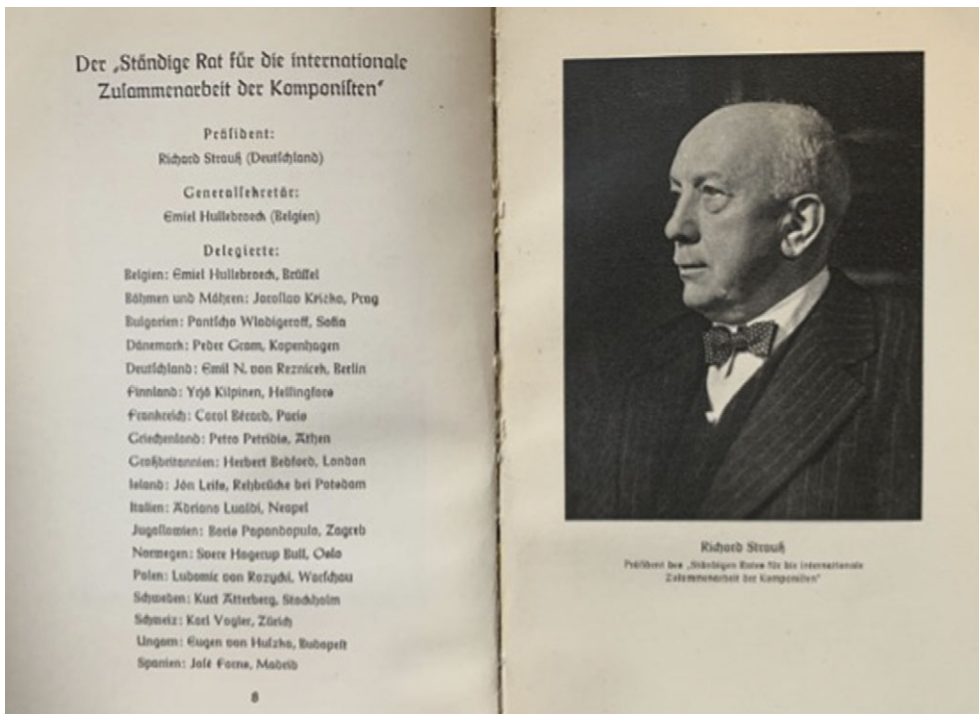


Figure 7 List of members of the council of the Ständiger Rat, from the programme booklet for its Frankfurt festival in 1939.

contemporary music', since all works were at least five years old.²⁵³ But this is a minor point, as five years was not that long a time in terms of new music history, and many works which would have been more shocking were written back in the 1920s. The festival was again strikingly multinational, if somewhat conservative in its choice of composers, a pattern which continued in subsequent years.

In February 1936, Reznicek oversaw the passing of a resolution affirming that a primary task of the council was 'the promotion of musical exchange among the Nations with particular consideration for the representative, national works of living composers, *without regard to any particular [stylistic] orientation or one-sided tendencies*' (emphasis original). This managed to portray the organization as open in nature in comparison to the ISCM. A further resolution said that works from a particular country could only be performed at the institution's concerts if they had been nominated or agreed by a delegate from the composer's country.²⁵⁴ After Reznicek developed links with and support from Hinkel and the Reichskulturkammer, Jewish composers were mostly removed. Gerigk made barbed comments at the 1938 festival about how the council was *judenfrei* (see Figure 7), while on the other hand Jewish people played a significant role in Belgian musical life.²⁵⁵ After 1942, the organization was renamed the

²⁵³ Shreffler, 'The International Society for Contemporary Music', 66–71.

²⁵⁴ Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 82–5.

²⁵⁵ Herbert Gerigk, 'Das Internationale Musikfest in Belgien', *Die Musik*, 31/3 (December 1938), 200–1.

Internationale Komponisten-Verband, affirming a 'supranational' (*übernational*), rather than an international, view of music.²⁵⁶

The three principal festivals present different models of nationalism and programming: the ADMV was national with an occasionally internationalist flavour; the Baden-Baden festival was indeed more truly multinational and cosmopolitical, without any strong domination of any one country; whereas the Ständiger Rat's festivals were ones of multiple, often aggressive nationalisms (combined with German domination) – in pointed opposition to, above all, transnational modernism – which were associated (through a very narrow reading) with the ISCM. None of the festivals, however, made any serious moves to extend internationalism beyond the boundaries of Europe.

Conclusion: post-war implications

Despite the large number of internationally focused musical events through the history of Nazi Germany, one should not overestimate the proportion of musical life in general which they represent. Events such as the Berliner Kunstwochen in April–June 1935, May–June 1936 and subsequently were almost exclusively dominated by German music,²⁵⁷ as was the programming of most orchestras, while the eight series of concerts presented by the Berliner Konzertgemeinde in 1938–9 included scarcely any non-German artists.²⁵⁸ Nineteenth- and some early twentieth-century Italian opera continued to be prominent in most German opera houses, but still no more so than German works. Surveys published in *Die Musik* and the *Zeitschrift für Musik* of various types of programming between 1940 and 1943 showed an overwhelming majority of German music despite a reasonable representation of that of other countries.²⁵⁹

Nonetheless, the data I have collated shows how the rhetoric of *Nachholbedarf* was in many ways misleading and one-sided. It is true that certain music was systematically excluded, most obviously that of Jewish composers, but not necessarily all other varieties of international or even modernist music. Without this ideology, though, a wide range of promoters might not have gained the traction required to secure support and sometimes funding for a whole range of new music festivals. This was certainly not the only factor, as one must also take into account the aims of the various occupying powers to promote the music from their own countries.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ 'Zeitgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 34/10 (July 1942), 342; Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 213–21. As Martin points out (*ibid.*, 89), this view was shared by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who argued in 1932 that 'the composer who tries to be cosmopolitan from the outset will fail, not only with the world at large, but with his own people as well'; Vaughan Williams, 'Should Music Be National?', in *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

²⁵⁷ *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 15/28 (May 1935), 2–3; 16/24 (April 1936), 2–3; 18/28 (April 1938), 1.

²⁵⁸ Advert for Berlin Konzertgemeinde, *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 19/1 (August 1938), 12.

²⁵⁹ Anton M. Topitz, 'Was brachte die Spielzeit 1940/41 im Konzertsaal?', *Die Musik*, 33/12 (September 1941), 423–6; Wilhelm Altmann, 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1941/42 stattfindenden Reihenkonzertere (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/2 (February 1942), 54–61; *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/3 (March 1942), 102–10; and 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1942/43 stattfindenden Reihenkonzertere (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 110/2 (February 1943), 59–68. See section 5 of *Timeline and Data Sources* for a breakdown of these.

²⁶⁰ See Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music', 103–310, for a detailed investigation of the policies of the three Western occupying powers and their implementation in terms of general concert life, the direction of radio stations and the creation of specialist new music events in Germany. Important earlier studies of post-war West German musical organization and

Post-war programming in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe in the 1940s and 1950s maintained a degree of internationalism at first focused upon distinct national traditions – mirroring the programming of the ISCM – then moving away from this. This allowed for forms of modernism which did not appear to have obvious or explicit national roots, as in the Weimar era, but these did not attain any type of prominence, let alone domination, until the 1960s at the earliest (and even then only in certain institutions). Many German concert series, festivals, radio programmes and critical writings continued for some time to group compositions by nation state, with internationalist modernism (represented in the 1950s by serialism and various forms of electronic music; and towards the end of the decade by the textural composition of Xenakis, Penderecki and Ligeti and the emergence of a new type of experimental music theatre) remaining on the relative periphery.²⁶¹ In many ways, the consolidation of an internationalist or transnationalist outlook was slower in the post-war era than it had been in Weimar Germany. Nonetheless, the ideological conditions that allowed this gradual trajectory to occur were firmly rooted in responses to an at least partially imaginary immediate past.

Reconstructing a ‘Special Relationship’ from Scattered Archives: America, Britain, Europe and the ISCM, 1922–45

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In an account of the early history of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) for a 1946 BBC broadcast, president of the ISCM Edward Dent recounted the ‘two main reasons’ why London was proposed as the society’s initial headquarters at that first meeting in 1922 in Salzburg. Firstly, he maintained, ‘it stood apart from all the quarrels and jealousies of the Continent’, and secondly, and most importantly for the purposes of this article, he outlined a triangulated relationship: ‘[London] was regarded as a link between Europe and America.’ ‘American music’, he continued, ‘really needed that link in those days; and the general feeling of

programming include Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, Brill & Biggleswade: Extenza Turpin, 2005), David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006); Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ferdinand Kösters, *Als Orpheus wieder sang ... Der Wiederbeginn des Opernlebens in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Münster: Edition Octopus, 2009); and Andreas Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Intentionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945–1949/50* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2010).

²⁶¹ A key transitional book in this respect is Ulrich Dibelius, *Moderne Musik 1945–1965* (Munich: Piper, 1966), which continues to include a substantial section on groups of composers from different nation states (270–332). For a critique of arguments asserting modernist/serialist dominance in Germany in the 1950s, see my paper ‘The Cold War in Germany as Ideological Weapon for Anti-Modernists’ (presented at the Radical Music History Conference, Helsinki, 8 December 2011), at <http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/6482/> (accessed 20 September 2019).