

Partituren der Erinnerung

Der Holocaust in der Musik

Scores of Commemoration

The Holocaust in Music



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Herausgegeben von
Béla Rásky und Verena Pawlowsky

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Einleitung

Gemeinsam mit dem Institut für Analyse, Theorie und Geschichte der Musik der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien (mdw) veranstaltete das Wiener Wiesenthal Institut für Holocaust-Studien (VWI) vom 4. bis zum 6. Oktober 2011 seine erste Simon Wiesenthal Conference und begründete damit ein Format, das von da an alljährlich am Ende jedes Kalenderjahres zu einem spezifischen Thema der Holocaustforschung die wichtigsten Forschungsergebnisse zusammenfasst und zur Diskussion stellt: Die Beiträge dieser ersten, zweisprachigen Simon Wiesenthal Conference, *Partituren der Erinnerung. Der Holocaust in der Musik – Scores of Commemoration. The Holocaust in Music*, werden nun im vorliegenden Sammelband veröffentlicht.

Die vom VWI entwickelte Tagungsidee, die ersten Versuche, die frühen Tendenzen, die weiteren Entwicklungen und Schulen, die unterschiedlichen kompositorischen wie inhaltlichen Herangehensweisen in der Aufarbeitung der Shoah in der Musik nach 1945 zusammenzufassen, zu dokumentieren und zu analysieren, erwies sich als fruchtbar: Die Thematisierung des nationalsozialistischen Massenmordes im musikalisch-kompositorischen Bereich hatte ja schon während des Holocausts eingesetzt, in den 1950er- und 1960er Jahren erreichte sie dann einen ersten Höhepunkt. Dabei wurden einzelne Orte wie Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager, Ghettos und andere Tatorte, aber auch Personen, Ereignisse oder konkrete Aspekte sowie allgemeinere Themen wie Erinnerung, Trauer und Leid angesprochen.

Im Rahmen der Konferenz sollte nun am Beispiel dieser Kompositionen und ihrer jeweiligen Interpretationen Musik als ein Medium der Erinnerung, Auseinandersetzung und Aufarbeitung herausgestellt werden, wobei die musikalischen Werke als Teil der kulturwissenschaftlichen Gedächtnisforschung, auch in deren Wandel von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart, verstanden wurden. Im Zentrum stand die Frage, in welchen Formen der Holocaust selbst, die Aufarbeitung, der Umgang mit ihm und die Erinnerung an die Shoah in Kompositionen zeitgenössischer Musik Eingang gefunden haben bzw. wie das Faktum Holocaust die musikästhetische Diskussion beeinflusst hat.

Der Simon Wiesenthal Conference 2011 war ein mit fachlicher Unterstützung von Christian Glanz und Manfred Permoser, Professoren am kooperierenden Institut der mdw, formulierter Call for Papers vorausgegangen. Die schließlich gemeinsam von den

beiden Veranstaltern und dem wissenschaftlichen Beirat des VWI ausgewählten Proposals wurden danach in mehreren thematischen Panels zusammengefasst. Der Veröffentlichung folgt dieser Strukturierung.

Traditionen und Stränge: Eine Übersicht versucht einen ersten Einstieg in die Thematik zu bieten und die unterschiedlichen Tendenzen in einer chronologisch strukturierten Abfolge zu umreißen. Tina Frühauf, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Music an der Columbia University, erklärt in ihrem Beitrag *After the Holocaust. ‚Jewish Music‘ and the Canon in German Intellectual History* die zentrale Bedeutung des Holocaust in ‚Jewish musicology‘ im Lichte der Definition bzw. des Bedeutungswandels der Begrifflichkeit von ‚Jewish Music‘ und setzt damit in der Thematik gleich zu Beginn einen Kontrapunkt. Jeroen van Gessel von der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen positioniert mit *Holocaust-compositions from the Last Decades between the Search for Redemption and the Quest for Being ‚Virtually Jewish‘* die Holocaust-Kompositionen seit 1945 als Versuche, eine europäische jüdische Kultur neu zu definieren, während Anna G. Piotrowska von der Jagiellonen-Universität in Krakau mit ihrem Beitrag *On Music in Auschwitz. The Nineteenth Century Tradition of Musical Life* ergründet, welche Funktion und Bedeutung Musik in Auschwitz für die Häftlinge, sowohl als Angehörige des ‚Publikums‘ als auch als Musikerinnen und Musiker hatte.

Fallstudien bis 1960 beschäftigt sich in seinem ersten Teil unter dem Titel *Pathos der Auseinandersetzung* mit der mit der frühen Aufarbeitung des Massenmordes an den europäischen Jüdinnen und Juden bis Ende der 1950er-Jahre die häufig auf Stilmittel der Ergriffenheit zurückgriff. Zwei Autorinnen – Friederike Gremliza von der Universität Hamburg mit *Musik und das verlorene Zeugnis. Bedeutung des Musikalischen für die Poetik des Postmemory* und Kerstin Sicking, Osnabrück, mit *Die Rezeption von Holocaustkompositionen als Ausdruck erinnerungsmedialer Wirksamkeit* – nähern sich der Thematik von der theoretischen Seite her, während Inesa Dvuzhlnaya von der weißrussischen Musikuniversität in Grodno mit *The Holocaust in Music by Composers from the Former Soviet Union* bzw. Katrin Gerlach von der Stiftung Händel-Haus in Halle mit *Das „Politische Oratorium“ – eine Gattung der „Vergangenheitsbewältigung“* anhand konkreter Fallbeispiele vorgehen.

Im Rahmen des zweiten Teils von *Fallstudien bis 1960*, der *Musikalische Bewältigungsversuche* zu thematisieren sucht, setzen Sophie Fetthauer von der Universität Hamburg mit *„Sami Feders Zamlung fun katset un geto lider und Reuben Lipschitz‘ Lebedik amkho ...“*. *Zwei Liederbücher aus dem DP-Camp Bergen-Belsen*, Julia Hinterberger vom Salzburger Mozarteum mit *„I Never Saw Another Butterfly“: Aspekte der musikalischen Rezeption von Kindergedichten aus Theresienstadt* und der Musikwissenschaftler der Masaryk-Universität Brno, Jiří Vysloužil, mit *Ermordete und Überlebende des Holocaust. Zur Bedeutung von Komponisten jüdischer Abstammung aus den böhmischen Ländern in der tschechischen Moderne* mit den konkreten Fallbeispielen fort.

Holocaust-Rezeption nach 1960 war auf der Konferenz das umfangreichste Panel. Der erste Teil – *Verklingende Erinnerungen* – beleuchtet die sich nach 1960 herauskristallisierenden neuen Tendenzen der Aufarbeitung des Holocaust in der Musik, die aber – wie sich im Widerspruch zu der im Call for Papers formulierten These herausstellte – nur zum Teil, ja sogar nur in Ausnahmen von der Avantgarde geprägt wurden. Hier beschäftigt sich Matthias Kontarsky vom Musikum Salzburg in seinem Beitrag *Im Zeichen des Holocaust* mit dem *Einsatz musikalischer Metaebenen bei Karl Amadeus Hartmann und Paul Dessau*. Beate Kutschke von der Universität Leipzig widmet sich unter dem Titel *Rzewskis The Triumph of Death* diversen Aspekten der Aufarbeitung des Holocaust in der Avantgardemusik sowie im historiografischen Diskurs der 1980er-Jahre. Rachel Kollender von der Bar-Ilan Universität in Ramat Gan befasst sich in ihrem Beitrag *Singing the Memory* mit israelischen Liedern der Nach-Holocaustära und die Musikwissenschaftlerin Věra Vysloužilová in *Der Holocaust in den Volksliedern der Roma in Mähren* mit der Geschichte einer Romafamilie.

Der zweite Teil des Panels *Holocaust-Rezeption nach 1960* bündelte unter der Überschrift Erinnerungsmotive insgesamt sechs Beiträge, die alle auch hier versammelt sind: Florian Scheduling von der Universität Southampton beschäftigt sich in seinem Beitrag *Ein Fall von Verspätung?* mit dem Spätwerk des ungarisch-kanadischen Komponisten István Anhalt *Traces (Tikkun)*, Golan Gur von der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in *Composing Trauma* mit der Avantgarde-Oper der israelischen Komponistin Chaya Czernowin *Pnima ... ins Innere*. Heike Frey von der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg beleuchtet Groteskes in der *Bestmannoper* von Alex Nowitz und Ralph Hammerthaler (*Nahaufnahme und Groteske: „Die Bestmannoper“*), Maryann Mccloughlin vom Stockton College in Pomona New Jersey untersucht *Contemporary Musical Holocaust Memorials*. Sabine Feisst von der Arizona State University in Tempe arbeitet anhand der kompositorischen Arbeiten von Georg Katzer, Aribert Reimann, Boris Hegenbart und Volker Straebel die musikalische Erinnerung an den Holocaust beispielhaft heraus, während sich Sonja Neumann vom NS-Dokumentationszentrum in München mit der populären Musik im Erinnerungsdiskurs an den Holocaust auseinandersetzt (Holocaust und populäre Musik im Erinnerungsdiskurs).

Der letzte Abschnitt – *Die Musik des Holocaust und ihre Vermittlung* – vereint schließlich drei Beiträge: „*Different than Anything*“. *Filmmusik und Holocaust* von Stefan Schmidl von der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Die Unbeachtete: Filmmusik als Medium der Erinnerung* von Johannes Hofinger (Universität Salzburg) und Yvonne Schürmann-Zehetners *Versäumnisse, Unterlassungen und andauernde Stigmata. Publikmachung der Werke von im Holocaust verfolgten Komponisten*.

Nicht im Konferenzband wiedergegeben werden kann das künstlerische Begleitprogramm der Tagung, das im Rahmen eines Konzerts des *Ensembles Kreativ* im Wiener Arnold Schönberg Center im ersten Teil Gideon Kleins *Fantasie und Fuge für Streich-*

quartett, Arnold Schönbergs *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, Michael Dulitskys *Quartett für Streicher*, Fritz Kreislers *Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen*, Ruth Schonthals *Streichquartett Nr. 3* und John Cages *In the Name of the Holocaust* zur Aufführung brachte. Im zweiten Teil spielte Ferenc Snétberger aus seiner Komposition *For my People* in Erinnerung an den Porajmos, den Roma-Holocaust, die Teile *Hallgató* und *Empathy*.

Béla Rásky
Verena Pawlowsky

Wien, im Juli 2015

**Traditionen und Stränge:
Eine Übersicht**

**Traditions and Strands:
An Overview**

Tina Frühauf

After the Holocaust

'Jewish Music' and the Canon in German Intellectual History

In the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century, topics on Jewish studies and music had little presence in the intellectual history constructed by historical musicologists and ethnomusicologists in and for Germany; this is also true for other national traditions of musicology in and beyond the shores of Europe. The neglect is especially noticeable during the first decades of the twentieth century, when musicology broadened to embrace a more diversified area of scholarly inquiry. Its hybrid nature, among other issues, made it difficult for Jewish studies and music to find a space in the canons of musicology. Hence, Jewish music had not played much of a role in German-language publications. Such marginalisation, for sure, was initially related to the discipline's establishment as an independent area of study.¹ It thus relates to the issues research fields have been coping with since musicology's inception, especially those of definition and identity, as well as canonic discourses.

With the energetic sponsorship of musicology during the Nazi era, a number of scholars decided to shift their gaze toward Jewish subjects to condemn, smear, and discriminate against musicians and repertoire, in line with the then current policy and zeitgeist. In the first years after the war, German-speaking scholars unsurprisingly avoided Jewish music as a research topic due to the continuity in personnel still working in German universities and continuing patterns prevalent in the discipline of musicology. Earlier publications devoted to discrimination against and persecution of Jewish musicians began to be purged beginning in spring 1946 by order of the Allies. In the decades to follow, German publications on Jewish music in relative terms began to

¹ The same is true for Jewish studies, which shows similar neglect of 'Jewish music' as a subject. Both Jewish studies and musicology are rather young disciplines that originated in nineteenth century Germany, and their initial focus was on established or 'reputable' subjects such as rabbinical scripture in Jewish studies and renowned German composers in musicology as a remnant of nineteenth century urban nationalism that privileged a composer-centred approach.

surge, ranking third in numbers after Israel and the United States (most other countries did not make 'Jewish music' a subject area, possibly because of the practical and ideological force of the German canon).² In the later twentieth century, research began with the pioneering work of survivors and remigrants such as Inge Lammel and Joseph Wulf (both outsiders in the discipline of musicology). They headed a slow but steady engagement with music during Nazism and the Holocaust, which evolved in parallel to historical musicology's shift from its long-time engagement with individual composers, performers, and repertoires toward increasingly broader contexts of a geographic, cultural, religious, national, and political nature.³ It is in this context that research on Jewish music slowly began to take shape as a subject area that gradually assumed an identity of its own.

In this chapter, I qualitatively and quantitatively examine the writings of German-speaking scholars who during the Cold War era made Jewish music their research objective. I have identified these writings through the *Bibliography of Music Literature (BMS)*, the *Index of Articles on Jewish Studies (RAMBI)*, and *Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale (RILM)*. Although all three have some gaps in their coverage, these gaps do not overlap and thus do not impact my argument. As evidenced in these publications, musicologists approached Jewish music through a number of topics or even subjects, such as the music history of Israel (both the modern state and in antiquity), traditional and folk music, and religious music. Scholars gave considerable attention to the Jewish heritage and identity of composers, musicologists, and musicians, and to artists in exile. The largest number of studies, however, considered Jewish culture in the context of Nazi Germany and even more specifically the Holocaust, or more broadly with regard to antisemitism. While such publications steadily increased, musicologists only wrote a very few historical surveys of Jewish music; the same is true for the coverage of Jewish music in general overviews and encyclopaedia entries. Reprints of older publications and reviews were more common.⁴ These widely differing publications represent a broad spectrum of topics circulating in German musicology between 1945 and 1989; they also reflect the different facets of the

2 For a history of 'Jewish music' research in relation to parallel developments in both ethnomusicology and Jewish studies in the American academy world during the twentieth century, see Judah M. Cohen, 'Whither 'Jewish music'? Jewish Studies, Music Scholarship, and the Tilt between Seminary and University,' in: *AJS Review* (2008) 32, 29-48.

3 See Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music,' in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2011) 2, 353.

4 For a partially annotated select bibliography of writings involving 'Jewish music' after 1945 – original studies, reprints, translations of earlier research, and reviews, see Tina Frühauf, 'A Historiography of Postwar Writings on 'Jewish music' during the 1930s and 1940s,' in: Tina Frühauf/Lily Hirsch (eds.), *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, New York 2014, 23-26.

highly debated term 'Jewish music'.⁵ As these writings evolved and shifted during the period in question, inquiries into the changes of musicology's canon and identity prove to be especially pertinent.

Post-war research on Jewish music, even if tangentially addressed in publications, provides unique insight into the German academy after the Holocaust. Following Aleida Assmann's elaborations on the canon, memory, and identity in her seminal article *Canon and Archive*, I position the intellectual presence of Jewish music as the perceived Other within German intellectual history of the Cold War period. Given that canons as authoritative concepts of cultural formation stand for "the active working memory of a society that defines and supports the cultural identity of a group,"⁶ the change of Jewish studies in the musicological canon after 1945, as we shall see, raises a variety of questions, among them the construction of canons, German musicology's identity as a discipline, and its relation to the Jews.⁷ With this in mind, I propose that the Nazi era and the Holocaust ultimately changed and formed post-war musicology and its canons, as evident in its inclusion and treatment of Jewish topics after 1945.

Post-war Continuities and the Musicological Canon

The end of the Second World War, specifically Victory Day on May 8, 1945, is deemed the end of an era, often coined as *Stunde Null* or 'zero hour'. Historically, the date marks somewhat of a caesura in German history, a major turning point between the two halves of the century. Yet, this rupture does not necessarily imply radical transformation. Rather, the post-war years negotiated two seemingly dichotomous processes: continuity

5 Throughout, I will continue to use the widely disputed term and notoriously indefinable term 'Jewish music' in all the cultural and geographical plurality it encompasses, as an umbrella term when referring to the broader subject area. As scholars Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp have put it, Jewishness must be analysed "as contingent and contextual rather than definitive and presumptive". (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett/Jonathan Karp, *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, Philadelphia 2008, 3. Acknowledging that there are multiple meanings and multiple understandings, I am not entering into its possible definitions, but do not minimize express criticism. A name or term can only indicate a conceptual description, one that must be filled with content – and the content of this term will be present throughout, in the various publications and topics discussed. While academic objectivity should not distinguish insiders from outsiders, but apply only to scholarly criteria, I will still occasionally refer to scholars of Jewish and non-Jewish descent as it will be difficult to ignore the religious or ethnic affiliation and identity of those who became involved in the research of 'Jewish music', especially in the aftermath of the Holocaust. In a similar vein, I will use the concept of 'German musicology', which includes the work of German émigrés and German-speaking people from other parts of Europe are included as well, if their work is tied to musicology in occupied Germany, the divided and reunified Germany.

6 Aleida Assmann, *Canon and Archive*, in: Astrid Erll/Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, Berlin 2010, 106.

7 Lydia Goehr's essay is worth mentioning as it investigates Germany's anxiety toward its own status as a nation and its canon of works, see *In the Shadow of the Canon*, in: *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2000) 2, 307-328.

and change. This is especially evident in the cultural mainstream of the pan-German cultural landscape during the later 1940s.⁸ Hermann Glaser, one of the leading experts on German post-war culture, suggests that “discontinuity and continuity were contradictory elements of the same structure, often hardly to be separated from each other”;⁹ and he asserts that there were more continuities. This applies to the discipline of musicology as well, where changes took place quite late in a rather slow process. In the young Federal Republic changes began to unfold more visibly during the 1970s, in response to student protests and chancellor Willy Brandt’s policies, which allowed for a new openness to ideas critical of the social and political agendas and ultimately to the Nazi past. In East Germany the situation was ever more complex as the Democratic Republic (GDR) distanced itself from Nazism while adopting an antifascist policy. Still, purges took place during the anti-Zionist campaign of 1952–1953 with repressive policies toward Jews. These only eased slowly in the course of the 1960s, and more so when Erich Honecker began serving as head of state in 1971. At the same time, international politics began to take new importance, after the *Grundvertrag* came into effect in June 1973, and thus both Germanys moved toward an unprecedented openness to the Nazi past, which unfolded in 1978 and reached its peak in 1988.¹⁰ Musicology responded to these developments during the Cold War era with comparable openness.

The dichotomy of continuity and change is perhaps most visible in musicologists’ stance toward Jewish topics, especially in the decades after 1945. Discontinuity is evident in that publications devoted to the discrimination and persecution of composers of Jewish descent largely ceased. Composers banned under the Nazis received new attention. As early as 1956, *Die großen Deutschen* featured Mendelssohn, and later editions in 1957 and 1971 also included chapters on Schoenberg and Mahler, thus indicating a change in the reception of these composers. Yet, some of the prejudices and negative propaganda against composers of Jewish descent continued well into the 1960s, with Meyerbeer’s music described as assimilating national and stylistic characteristics,¹¹ and Mendelssohn labelled as “slick” and “soft”,¹² questioning whether his music’s absence

8 See Hermann Glaser, 1945 – Cultural Beginnings: Continuity and Discontinuity, in: Reiner Pommerin (ed.), *Culture in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945–1995*, Oxford/Washington, D.C. 1996, 26; on the notion of continuity and change in Germany’s musical life see also 24–25, and 27.

9 *Ibid.*, 19.

10 Earlier, the Nazi atrocities were first ignored and later universalized via a complex myth of anti-Fascism by interpreting them as an outgrowth of the socio-economic factors of capitalism carried out to their logical extreme; thus the GDR bestowed on itself an anti-Fascist foundation myth, see Thomas C. Fox, *Stated Memory: East Germany and the Holocaust*, Rochester 1999, 133.

11 See Rudolf Kloiber, *Handbuch der Oper*, Regensburg 1961, 279.

12 Hans Engel, *Musik der Zeiten und Völker. Eine Geschichte der Musik von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Wiesbaden 1968, 363.

from concert programmes during the ‘Third Reich’ was truly an aggrieved stigma.¹³ Direct antisemitic invectiveness and offensive labels of “the Jew in music” were rare, probably because they were essentially deemed unacceptable.¹⁴

As perhaps to be expected, during the immediate post-war period musicologists did not display much interest in Jewish music as a research topic. In historical musicology, this absence may be a result of the adherence to the established musicological canon with its idols (one may think of Beethoven and Wagner), reinforced by the previous defamation of compositions by Jewish composers during the ‘Third Reich’, and latent antisemitism. That between 1933 and 1945 the label ‘Jewish’ had been used to condemn certain types of compositions affected the post-war era and its exclusive focus on specific repertoires. Germanness in music remained in the foreground,¹⁵ a development that went hand in hand with a collective suppression of the antisemitic past. It is important to keep in mind that even during the ‘Third Reich’ the musicological involvement with Jewish topics had not drawn overwhelming interest either, in spite of the possible benefits (e.g. promotions) that could have come with it if in accordance with Nazi policy. Exceptions to this were bureaucratic and mediocre works by Herbert Gerigk, Theophil Stengel, and Karl Blessinger. Blessinger’s notorious tract was the only attempt by a German musicologist during the 1930s to develop a ‘methodology’ for ‘detecting’ Jewishness in music.¹⁶ After 1945, he sank into obscurity; he never had to face de-Nazification procedures and retired in 1951.

Continuity is not only apparent with regard to content, but also in methodologies used.¹⁷ Musicologists in both the East and West continued with ideologically safe work-

13 For a summary of such publications, see Annkatrin Dahm, *Der Topos der Juden: Studien zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus im deutschsprachigen Musikschritftum. Jüdische Religion, Geschichte und Kultur* 7, Göttingen 2007, 353-355.

14 Ernest Ansermet’s analysis of Jewish elements in the music of Schoenberg and Mahler could be seen here as an exception, see *Die Grundlagen der Musik im menschlichen Bewußtsein*, München 1965, 408-412. However, Ansermet was Swiss and biased against Schoenberg.

15 See Eckhard John, *Deutsche Musikwissenschaft: Musikforschung im ‘Dritten Reich’*, in: Gerhard Anselm (ed.), *Musikwissenschaft: Eine verspätete Disziplin? Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung*, Stuttgart 2000, 255-279, here 259.

16 See Theophil Stengel/Herbert Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik; mit einem Titelverzeichnis jüdischer Werke, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts der NSDAP zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*, Berlin 1941; and Karl Blessinger, *Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Mahler: Drei Kapitel Judentum in der Musik als Schlüssel zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1939; see also Pamela M. Potter’s description of its content in *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich*, New Haven 1998, 189-190. For a detailed analysis of Blessinger’s tract, see Oliver Hilmes, *Im Fadenkreuz: Politische Gustav-Mahler-Rezeption 1919–1945: Eine Studie über den Zusammenhang von Antisemitismus und Kritik an der Moderne*, Frankfurt a.M. 2003, 134-140.

17 Michael Walter claims that the post-war developments are the reason for the institutional and epistemological situation of German musicology today, see Christoph Hust/Isolde von Foerster/Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Hg.), *Thesen zur Auswirkung der dreißiger Jahre auf die bundesdeutsche Nachkriegsmusikwissenschaft, ‚Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloß Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000), Mainz 2001, 489-509.*

ing methods, focussing on editions and music analysis, as well as source studies, style criticism, and performance practice, instead of embracing sociology and cultural history. Indeed, positivism, with its total separation of the scholar from the research object, served as an evasive tactic to avoid ideological issues.¹⁸

The lack of a true caesura or zero-hour is perhaps most evident in the personalities who continued to define and form the discipline during and after the ‘Third Reich’, among them Josef Müller-Blattau and Friedrich Blume in the West, and Heinrich Bessler and Willibald Gurlitt in the East. As conductor and musicologist Gottwald remarked in 1971:

“To date German musicology has failed to examine which of its untenable products from the fascist period need to be overcome. Instead, it has even enthroned Bessler to be a monument, making him a taboo with the irrational epitheton of ‘exceptionally gifted scholar’. Alone a hint to his past leads to a small musicological palace coup.”¹⁹

Gottwald launched a major attack against Heinrich Bessler at the 1970 Congress of the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung.²⁰ In response, eleven musicologists released a public statement to distance themselves from Gottwald’s accusation, deeming it untrue and unscholarly.²¹ Among them was Bessler’s former student Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1908–1992), who after her emigration to Israel laid the foundation for ethnomusicological studies there. In the heated discussion that followed, Gottwald insisted on his opinion.²²

The divergent post-war reception of Bessler attests to the complexity of musicologists’ entanglements in Nazism. Bessler had been a member of the Nazi party and was known for having marked the Heidelberg Seminarbibliothek’s holdings authored by Jews with the stamp ‘Jew’. But he had also supported his Jewish students, most notably Edith Gerson-Kiwi, Ernst Hermann Beyer, and Edward Lowinsky. His ambivalent posi-

18 See *ibid.*; for East Germany, see also Laura Silverberg, *Monopol der Diskussion? Alternative Voices in the Verband Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler*, in: Elaine Kelly/Amy Wlodarski (eds.), *Art Outside the Lines: New Perspectives on GDR Art Culture*, Amsterdam 2011, 197.

19 “Hat die deutsche Musikwissenschaft es bisher unterlassen zu untersuchen, was von ihren Produkten der faschistischen Phase als unhaltbar überwunden werden müßte. Statt dessen hat sie gerade Bessler zum Denkmal hinaufstilisiert und ihn mit dem irrationalen Epitheton vom ‘Begnadeten Wissenschaftler’ in einer Weise tabuisiert, daß schon der Hinweis auf seine Vergangenheit zu einer kleinen Palastrevolution führte.” Clytus Gottwald, *Deutsche Musikwissenschaft*, in: Ulrich Dibelius (Hg.), *Verwaltete Musik: Analyse und Kritik eines Zustandes*, München 1971, 68–81, 73.

20 See Clytus Gottwald, *Musikwissenschaft und Kirchenmusik*, in: Carl Dahlhaus/Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Hg.), *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, London 1971, 665–666.

21 On Heinrich Bessler’s involvements during the Nazi period, see Thomas Schipperges, *Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den Akten Heinrich Bessler*, in: Christoph Hust/Isolde von Foerster/Christoph-Hellmut Mahling *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus: Referate der Tagung Schloß Engers* (8. bis 11. März 2000), Mainz 2001, 395–404; Peter Gülke, *Die Nazis und der Fauxbourdon: Anfragen an nicht vergehende Vergangenheit: Heinrich Bessler*, in: Hust/Foerster/Mahling *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus*, 373–394.

22 See Gottwald, *Musikwissenschaft und Kirchenmusik*, 666.

tion did not remain without consequences. He was subjected to de-Nazification after the war and although cleared, the procedure compromised his career.²³

Around 1965, a new generation of full professors had taken over, with Carl Dahlhaus, Rudolf Stephan, and Ludwig Finscher at the forefront. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht could be included here as well, but as of recently his career is shrouded in controversy due to findings on his involvement in Nazi atrocities as a young man. Indeed, fascist ideas continued to be present, especially in West German musicology,²⁴ a problem that Clytus Gottwald ascribed to the lack of new scholarly categories. Musicologists began to identify this problem in the early 1970s and as we shall see, studies on the Nazi era slowly picked up around the same time. But many of these studies were inadequate because they lacked methodology, facing the dilemmas of subjectivity versus objectivity. The stance of Jewish music in German intellectual thought still remained somewhat limited as musicologists focused on their own past, not on that of the Jewish Other or even self. Rather, important contributions stemmed from scholars outside of musicology such as historian Joseph Wulf and Karl Erich Grözinger, a Professor of Comparative Religion and Jewish Studies at Potsdam University who published one of the few book-length studies on music and song in the theology of early rabbinical literature.²⁵

In East Germany the case was more complex with Austrian-born musicologist Georg Knepler, and returnees Ernst Hermann Meyer and Nathan Notowicz constituting a Jewish presence in musicology, though without much consequence as they neither engaged nor inspired Jewish music research.²⁶ Culturally they stemmed from the bourgeois-liberal assimilated Jewry of Weimar Germany that had valued participation in German culture. After the war they continued to identify with East German socialism. As part of the “mighty handful” (a group of five musicologists responsible for establish-

23 On Bessler's political ambivalence which led to open controversy between apology and accusation beginning in the 1960s, see Thomas Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Bessler: Musikwissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1924 bis 1949*, München 2005. Any discussion of the Bessler case, however, requires that the Bessler files be opened, which has not been the case.

24 For further details see Pamela M. Potter, 'Jewish Music' and German Science, in: Philip Bohlman (ed.), *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, Chicago 2008, 94-99. The essays in Albrecht Riethmüller's essay collection *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust*, Stuttgart 2006, neglect links to the Holocaust or present them one-dimensionally. Most essays focus on the echoes of National Socialism, de-Nazification, and the reconstruction of a 'German' musical life in the zones of Occupation after 1945 and later in the divided Germanys. None of the essays explicitly addresses the role of 'Jewish music' except for marginal remarks, especially within contexts such as music and exile.

25 See Karl Erich Grözinger, *Musik und Gesang in der Theologie der frühen jüdischen Literatur: Talmud, Midrash, Mystik*, Tübingen 1982.

26 After 1945 the ideological stance of Meyer, a pre-war communist, became more and more nebulous, as perhaps most evident in his introduction to Heinrich Bessler's *Festschrift* in 1961. Meyer's writings included subjects such as the Baroque and Classical masters, music in primitive society and in early class societies, problems of music for workers in the class struggle, questions of intonation and classification in the German folk song, and questions of periodization in music history. His daughter Marion Kant, a musicologist and dance historian, has focused on music banned by the Nazis in 1930s Germany and written on modern dance during the 'Third Reich'.

ing an East German musical culture) they were rather concerned with developing a distinctive aesthetic that engaged with socialist ideology, Western modernism, and Germany's growing division.²⁷

The continuities that pervaded the intellectual life of both the young Federal Republic and the GDR are clearly visible in the discipline of musicology with its fossilised content, methodology, and personnel. The post-war state of musicology also relates to Aleida Assmann's assertion that the canon is "independent of historical change".²⁸ While the years after 1945 did not bring much change to the still young discipline of musicology, its evolution was imminent, and this evolution ties into the subject of Jewish music as well. The initial absence of Jewish music research and its belated evolution is certainly tied to canon formation as "a conscious repudiation of the past".²⁹ In the case of Germany, such repudiation clearly relates to the immediate past of the Nazi era.

Making Jewish Music a Subject – Treating It as Other

In their approaches, musicologists followed the prevailing essentialist assumptions of Jewish music as being religious, traditional, and/or tied to Israel. In this vain their scholarly activities began (or to some extent resumed) in the 1950s. In West Germany scholars used Jewish sacred music as a point of reference or comparison in relationship to the repertoire of other religions, reasserting the Jewish origins of much of Christian chant. Franz Tack, for example, an expert in plainchant, in his research on early church music affirmed that correct performance of chant requires the ability to sort out features of a Jewish origin, based on the gradual combination of the Eucharist with synagogue worship in the first and second centuries.³⁰ In East Germany such publications were non-existent, relating to the fact that the ideology of *Realsozialismus* (socialist realism), which was first adopted in the 1950s, did not support religious beliefs or institutions.

27 See Silverberg, *Monopol der Diskussion*, 193-211.

28 Assmann, *Canon and Archive*, 100.

29 Philip V. Bohlman, *Epilogue: Music and Canons*, in: Katherine Bergeron/Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*, Chicago 1992, 204.

30 See Franz Tack, *Die musikgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der christlichen Kultmusik und ihre Bedeutung für den gregorianischen Vortragsstil*, in: Erich Schenk (Hg.), *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien Mozartjahr 1956*, Graz 1985, 633-636. Further examples are Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Orientalische Einflüsse in den Improvisationen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Gerald Abraham (Hg.), *Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Kassel 1959*, 308-315; Gerhard Krause, *Sch'ma Israel – Pater noster: Glaubensbekenntnisse in klingenden Äußerungen*, in: *Musica sacra*, (1964), 266-274; Markus Jenny, *Kyrieleis und Hosianna*, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* (1970) 14, 117-120; Karl Ferdinand Müller, *Literaturbericht zur Liturgik*, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* (1970) 15, 205-241; Wolfgang Suppan, *Gedanken des europäischen Musikethnologen zur Aufführungspraxis, vor allem des Gregorianischen Chorals*, in: *Musica Sacra* (1971) 91, 5, 173-183; Frieder Schulz, *Die jüdischen Wurzeln des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 28 (1985), 39-55.

Overall, music in Jewish liturgy as an *independent* research topic initially remained on the periphery. While this might suggest that musicologists who did not grow up Jewish wanted to escape direct encounter with the sacred music of the Other, even Jewish scholars, in an assimilationist tendency, treated their liturgical music in relation to Christian culture. These constant reminders of the music's importance as a basis for understanding Christian-influenced culture and society legitimised Judaism within musicology, history, and theology at large. Indeed, studies comparing Jewish and Christian practices also continued outside musicology, a trend that is most evident in Judaistik (Jewish studies), which upon being institutionally established as an academic discipline in West Germany during the 1960s and 1970s was taught mainly in the context of Christian ideology.

Still, the comparative approach represents a stark reversal from the strict separation of Judaism and Christianity under Nazism and was thus a response, in part, to the segregation during the 'Third Reich'. Over time this response evolved and a new mind-set slowly began to take hold. In the course of the 1980s, a new generation of musicologists born in post-war Germany took interest in Jewish culture and turned away from the relationship between Jewish and Christian music, shifting from the religious music of the self to that of the "Other". Comparative musicologist Reinhard Flender studied Hebrew psalmody, biblical cantillation, and liturgical recitations; and Peter Zacher, a trained musicologist who became involved in Jewish musical practices through his contacts with the Leipzig Synagogalchor, focussed on synagogue music within the context of European music, particularly Salomon Sulzer, Samuel Naumbourg, and Louis Lewandowski.³¹

A direr development, although for different reasons, is evident in research on Jewish song traditions. In the post-war period, the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg published in its journal *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* about half a dozen articles on Jewish traditional music, though most of the contributions were by musicologists outside of Central Europe such as Philip V. Bohlman, Joachim Braun, Israel J. Katz, and Salcia Landmann.³² The Volksliedarchiv, in spite of its German focus, also included Yiddish

31 Reinhard Flender, Neue Aspekte zum strukturellen Zusammenhang zwischen Ta'amé Emet und hebräisch-orientalischer Psalmodie, in: Yuval: Studies of the 'Jewish music' Research Center (The Abraham Zvi Idelsohn Memorial Volume), (1986) 5, 318-355. Reinhard Flender, Der biblische Sprechgesang und seine mündliche Überlieferung in Synagoge und griechischer Kirche, Wilhelmshaven 1988; Peter Zacher, Traditionsbewusstsein und Assimilationsstreben: Zu Entwicklung und Umfeld der Musik in der ost- und mitteleuropäischen Synagoge, in: Musik und Gesellschaft 38 (1988) 11, 573-577.

32 See Israel J. Katz, Judeo-Spanish Traditional Ballads from Jerusalem, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 18 (1973), 175-177; Salcia Landmann, Das Volkslied der Juden, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 30 (1985), 93-98; Joachim Braun, Mosche Beregovski: Zum Schicksal eines sowjetischen Ethnomusikologen, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 33 (1988), 70-80; Philip V. Bohlman, Die Volksmusik und die Verstärkung der deutsch-jüdischen Gemeinde in den Jahrzehnten vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 34 (1989), 25-40. There are only a few exceptions: Wilhelm Heiske, who had been involved in the activities of the Volksliedarchiv from 1928 through 1950, and became its director in

songs in some projects. Other ethnographic journals ignored Jewish-related subjects altogether, such as the *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde*, first issued in West Berlin in 1963 with the goal to close “a gap in publications covering folkloristic and ethnographic musicology”.³³ Just a year earlier the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients* appeared as well, but an essay on Jewish music had to wait until 1973.³⁴ Thus rather isolated studies on song tradition appeared in forums outside of musicology such as Peter Gradenwitz’s article on the origin, character, and dissemination of Yiddish songs and Ilona Tahir-Ul-Haq’s thorough analysis on eastern European Jewish songs, both published in German studies publications.³⁵ In East Germany the situation was surprisingly similar, albeit the fact that the SED’s, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, cultural policies considered genres such as Yiddish song ‘folklore’ and supported its performance. Research and publications on such song traditions, however, were nearly absent in GDR musicology.

While this might suggest avoidance at first, a deeper look into the discipline of comparative musicology corrects this impression.³⁶ When German folk song research in the

1963, examined Yiddish song texts and their relation to German folk song. Among these texts were mediaeval German ballads and epic sagas translated into Yiddish, see Wilhelm Heiske, *Deutsche Volkslieder in jiddischem Sprachgewand: Eine Betrachtung zu ‘Verklingenden Weisen’*, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 9 (1964), 31-44. Heiske’s analysis is based on Elsbeth Janda/Max M. Sprecher, *Lieder aus dem Ghetto: 50 Lieder jiddisch und deutsch mit Noten*, München 1962. Otto Holzapfel, director of the archive from 1970 until 1996, gave a report on Yiddish folk song documents held in the archive, which was published in the Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Holzapfel’s report suggests that the rather small publishing activities on Yiddish song are in stark contrast to the actual interest in collecting and preserving Jewish folk songs. While the archive had been particularly concerned with German folk song, Holzapfel realised that “there are many areas of Yiddish folksong which have characteristics close to German folksong tradition”. For example, the archive bought Yiddish broadsides from Vienna. He also proposed an annotated Yiddish-German folk song anthology, a project that was realised fifteen years later in collaboration with Philip V. Bohlman, published in the United States as *The Folk Songs of Ashkenaz*. When Holzapfel claimed that “a lot has been done” in the area of Yiddish song, he referred to comparably few editions and articles.

33 Fritz Bose, Vorwort, in: *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde* 1 (1963), 5.

34 See Chaim Storosum/Hede Haenchen, *Über die Eigenart und die Bedeutung des hebräischen Wüstenliedes*, in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients* (1973), 40-65.

35 Peter Gradenwitz, *Zur Herkunft, Charakter und Verbreitung der jiddischen Volkslieder*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (1981), 232-253; Ilona Tahir-Ul-Haq, *Das Lied der Juden im osteuropäischen Raum: Seine Funktionen im Prozess der Erhaltung und Veränderung des sozialen und kulturellen Normensystems und in der Bewältigung aktueller Lebenssituationen*, in: *Europäische Hochschulschriften I: Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik*, Frankfurt a.M. 1978, 238.

36 While this appears to be an obvious explanation for its marginalisation if not near absence in German scholarship, the enthusiasm for Yiddish folk song of the younger generation of German folk singers, in the course of the folk song revival of the late 1970s, reveals the opposite. If musicologists in both Germanys refrained from scholarly involvement, performers embraced Yiddish song, a development that ultimately culminated in the Klezmer revival, which later took hold of reunited Germany. Evidently the scholarly canon and the performing canon as an authority of musical taste responded differently to ‘Jewish music’. With regard to Klezmer, the interdependency between the canons is most evident in the many scholarly publications that analysed the Klezmer phenomenon.

1960s tried to pick up where it left off in the 1920s and 1930s,³⁷ there was obvious difficulty in breaking with the trends of the 1930s, thus research continued to focus on established topics.³⁸ And to make matters worse, while in an increasing number of countries research on traditional music began to expand as a systematic branch during the 1960s (most notably in the U.S.), in the two Germanys it had already begun to decline. Indeed, the most contributing factor responsible for the poor attention Jewish traditional music received might have been the general deterioration of comparative musicology in the two Germanys after 1945, which Potter has ascribed to the emigration of a large number of younger scholars.³⁹

Studies on music in Israel (both the modern state and in antiquity) reveal another facet of musicologists' dealing with Jewish music. In the Federal Republic studies on music in the modern state emerged soon after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948, primarily by émigré musicologists who had left Germany in the 1930s but retained an adherence to their mother tongue, bridging the two worlds they belonged to: their European heritage and their new home.⁴⁰ Among the few non-Jewish contributors who wrote on music in Israel were mainly critics, such as the director of Deutsche Grammophon's Archive series, Hans Rutz (born 1909), who reported on the music festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music; and in the 1960s Ulrich Seelmann-Eggebert (1919–1991), who reviewed contemporary musical life in Israel.⁴¹ Fewer scholars devoted themselves to the study of music in ancient Israel and such contributions came,

37 See Oskár Elschek, *Entwicklungswege und Forschungsziele der europäischen Volkslied- und Volksmusikforschung*, in: Ruth Seibert/Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Hg.), *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 90. Geburtstag* (30. Dezember 1996), Tutzing 1997, 44–60.

38 For a detailed account on Volksmusik between 1933 and 1945, see Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 50, 114, 166, and 174–175, 215–220.

39 Eckhard John, 'Deutsche Musikwissenschaft': Musikforschung im 'Dritten Reich', in: Anselm Gerhard (Hg.), *Musikwissenschaft: Eine verspätete Disziplin*, 266.

40 Among them were Edith Gerson-Kiwi and Peter Gradenwitz. Peter Gradenwitz, *Neue Musik im neuen Israel*, in: *Melos* 22 (1955), 170–172; Peter Gradenwitz, *Israels Musikleben im Schatten der Politik*, in: *Melos* 24 (1957), 269; Peter Gradenwitz, *Musikland Israel*, in: *Musica* 12 (1958), 721–724. See also Michael Taube, *Musikleben in Israel*, in: *Musica* 11 (1957), 386–388; Taube (1890–1972) was of German-Russian origin and had been Bruno Walter's assistant at the Municipal Opera in Berlin before acting as conductor of the Kulturbund's small orchestra; at the end of 1934, he immigrated to the British Mandate of Palestine. Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *Kult- und Volksmusik in Israel: Wege ihrer Erforschung*, in: *Musik und Altar* 12 (1959), 10–14. Max Brod, *Theater und Musik in Israel*, in: *Neue literarische Welt* (1952) 3, 6; Max Brod, *Die Musik Israels*, in: *Eckart* 21 (1951), 229–235; Max Brod, *Musik in Israel: Quellen und Erscheinungsformen der jüdischen Musik*, in: *Deutsche Universitäts-Zeitung* 8 (1953) 24, 12–14. Gerhard Pinthus (1907–1955), a trained musicologist and composer of the first *Dachau-Lied* (from 1933 to 1939 he was interned in Dachau for communist activities and because of his Jewish heritage) who moved to Palestine in 1939, approached Israeli music through the sociological study of workers' choruses, see *Die Arbeiterchöre in Israel*, in: *Der Chor* 7 (1955), 70–72; Gerhard Pinthus, *Musikleben Israels*, in: *Musica* 8 (1954), 386–389. Other German-language journals covered Israel's musical life as well, for instance, Marcelle Hermann who wrote about the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, see *Musik in Israel*, in: *Zeitschrift für Musik* 116 (1955), 137–138.

41 Hans Rutz, *Musikfest des offenen Herzens (Musikfest der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik 1954 in Tel Aviv, Israel)*, in: *Musica* 8 (1954), 342–343; Ulrich Seelmann-Eggebert, *Musikalische Begeg-*

again, predominantly from Israeli scholars who were born in German-speaking Central Europe. West German musicologists largely refrained from researching Israeli music culture, a trend that continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s; it reflects the German-Israel diplomatic relations which began in 1965 but only developed under Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the 1980s (Kohl's visit to Israel in 1984, although deemed a failure, was the first official visit since Willy Brandt's journey a decade before).

In East Germany publications were altogether absent due to the state's problematic stance toward Israel. During the forty years of its existence the GDR had no diplomatic relations with Israel, did not recognise it, and maintained a pro-Arab stance. Reasons for this position are less of an antisemitic nature, but can be sought in the general communist ideology of anti-Zionism, the tone set by the Soviet Union in line with the whole Eastern bloc siding with the Arab world, and the wish to distance itself further from the Federal Republic.⁴²

Besides exploring religious, ethnic, and geographic terrains, German musicologists began to acknowledge the Jewish identity of composers and musicians in the realm of Western art music. With the late 1950s musicologists widened their scope, focusing on composers banned during the 1930s and 1940s – most notably Mahler, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Schoenberg. During the 1970s recognition of their Jewish identity became more frequent. Michael Mäckelmann (1958–1992), for instance, devoted himself to studying Schoenberg's life and works in the context of the composer's Jewish identity. However, such approaches remained rather isolated and initially did not constitute a larger trend in German musicology. While this could be interpreted as a sign of discomfort, it may be a result of musicology's positivistic and empiristic focus in the post-war period. Still, that Jews have been left out of German musical histories because of an adherence to the canon and positivist methodology only begs the question of why so few Jews were a part of the canon to begin with, and why this positivistic zeal could not have been directed to a different topic.

Another facet of this can be observed in the East and West German *Exilforschung*, which in musicology belatedly began in the mid-1970s and began evolving in the course of the 1980s.⁴³ The rather positivistic studies that emerged during that time focussed on the biographies of exiled composers and musicians. Given the scope of the field, empha-

nungen in Israel, in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 124 (1963), 140-142; Ulrich Seelmann-Eggebert, *Musikalische Begegnungen in Israel*, in: *Das Orchester* 11 (1963), 225-228.

42 While many scholars understand the GDR as inherently antisemitic, Angelika Timm, for instance, distinguishes between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, arguing that the latter better describes the East-German situation, see *Jewish Claims against East Germany: Moral Obligations and Pragmatic Policy*, Budapest 1997.

43 For a detailed study, see Florian Scheduling, *The Splinter in Your Eye: Uncomfortable Legacies and German Exile Studies*, in: Erik Levi/Florian Scheduling (eds.), *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (=Europe: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities 10), Lanham 2010, 119-134.

sis was placed on their acculturation or resistance, and less on their Jewish identity (if it was applicable). Florian Scheduling has differentiated between East and West German musicologists' approaches, maintaining that in the East scholars denied classifying Jewish émigrés as "exiles" as they had not been politically, but ethnically persecuted, while the West precisely emphasised the Jewish victims of the 'Third Reich'; still, also in the West, the fact that the Jewish descent of many émigrés fell into the background is most evident in the collection of articles edited by Jürgen Habakuk Traber and Elmar Weingarten on Berlin composers in exile.⁴⁴ The volume appeared in conjunction with the Berliner Festwochen in 1987, which quite broadly addressed music in exile. In their preface, the editors awkwardly stress, without giving specific reason, that they consciously distance themselves from labelling composers as Jewish (hence the subtitle, *Berliner Komponisten*), but nonetheless acknowledge the Jewish contribution to the arts especially in exile – perhaps an example of German musicologists' careful approach to labelling subjects as Jewish? To embrace these composers as the self, as Berlin composers? With the exception of Peter Gradenwitz's article on the contribution of Jews from Germany to the development of musical life in Israel, not *one* article considered the Jewish identity of the émigrés, neither in the portraits of Bertold Goldschmidt, Arnold Schoenberg, Ernst Toch, and Wladimir Vogel, nor in the sections on film music, exile in California, and songs in U.S. exile. This collection of essays is paradigmatic for other publications in *Exilforschung*, a field that with its emergence has exhibited interesting manoeuvres: the subjects of exile and emigration are broad enough to include non-Jewish composers (the self) and even allow for the avoidance of the largest group of those who left: Jewish émigrés. Still the establishment of this field contributed to an important widening of the German musicological canon.

Perhaps the most representative for Jewish music's complex and evolving position in the German musicological canon is the entry in the authoritative German-language music reference work, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG)*. Potter already analysed the bibliography of the entry on Jewish music in the 1996 edition, written collaboratively by Israeli musicologists Judith R. Cohen and Joachim Braun. She came to the conclusion that most of the publications between 1900 and 1962, though with some notable exceptions, are those denigrating the Jews.⁴⁵ While this picture seems grossly distorted (of the few hundred items, four are of an antisemitic nature), it triggers questions about the first edition. Indeed, the 1958 edition under Friedrich Blume provides a differentiated and yet distorted situation. The *MGG* as a whole left out a good number of important composers and musicians who survived the camps (especially musicians interned in Terezín), émigrés, opponents of National Socialism, and Jewish musicians in

⁴⁴ See Jürgen Habakuk Traber/Elmar Weingarten (Hg.), *Verdrängte Musik: Berliner Komponisten im Exil*, Berlin 1987.

⁴⁵ See Potter, 'Jewish music' and *German Science*, 92.

general – one might think of the celebrated cellist Emanuel Feuermann or the prominent conductor Fritz Reiner; atrocities towards Jewish musicians were largely white-washed.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the entry on Jewish music is surprisingly comprehensive, in spite of Blume's initial concerns about its inclusion (for sure the *MGG* had to measure up to *The New Grove*, which in its 1954 edition included Eric Werner's *Jewish Music* entry). It is threefold with a contribution on the history of Jewish music by Hanoeh Avenary (he made a similar contribution to the 1971 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*), on Jewish traditional music by Edith Gerson-Kiwi, and a section on music in modern Israel by Gerd Benjamin (Gerhard) Pinthus. All three authors received their training in Germany and emigrated to Palestine to escape Nazism. With these important and highly visible contributions they intellectually re-presented themselves in Germany while creating an intellectual presence for Jewish music. Hardly surprising, the four antisemitic bibliographic entries of the 1996 edition (Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse*, Ziegler's *Entartete Musik* und Stengel's und Gerigk's *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*) are not part of the 1958 edition.

The *MGG* represents the struggle the editors had with finding a new position for Jewish music that showed a clear departure from the Nazi past, but perpetuates the prevailing essentialist assumption of Jewish music. In some ways (and because of its authors) the Jewish music entry is an exception, as in both Germanys Jewish music research was not quite conducted for its own sake, but as a proxy for asserting and (re)constructing German identity. With this comes the problematic tendency of much of this literature to construct Jewish music as the Other. Jewish music as a tool to grapple with German identity and particularly the Nazi past is perhaps most evident in the peculiar role it holds in writings on the music of the 1930s to 1940s.

Approaching Jewish Music through the 'Third Reich' and the Holocaust

That German musicology's relation to Jewish music is ever so polyvalent is perhaps most evident in its distance and proximity to the Holocaust. When German-speaking musicologists wrote about Jewish music, it was by and large in connection to the 'Third Reich', the Holocaust, and antisemitism, yet in a problematic and overwhelming tendency to construct Jewish music as the Other. In so doing, this literature, while empowering the field of research, disempowered Jewish music at the same time. Publications considering music during the 'Third Reich' only began to emerge around 1960 – quite late when com-

46 For concrete examples, see Roman Brotbeck, *Verdrängung und Abwehr: Die verpaßte Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Friedrich Blumes Enzyklopädie 'Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart'*, in: Anselm Gerhard (Hg.), *Musikwissenschaft: Eine verspätete Disziplin*, Stuttgart 2000, 355-357.

pared, for example, to publications on the visual arts under Nazism, where the first thorough study had already appeared in 1949.⁴⁷ Following Clytus Gottwald and Mendelssohn scholar Hans-Günter Klein, this lag may have been due to older colleagues who admonished their students not to investigate this dark period of history, insisting that those who had not personally experienced the times lacked the necessary qualifications.⁴⁸ And, of course, these older colleagues themselves did not address the subject in their writings and lectures, perhaps to conceal their own entanglements in Nazi ideology. Initially scholars prioritised research on perpetrators and non-Jewish victims, and focussed on the question of why and how Nazi music policies could influence and infiltrate all areas of musical life in Germany.⁴⁹ Thus Jewish topics remained secondary at first.

One of the early contributions that, at least tangentially, touched upon Jewish culture during the 'Third Reich' was by composer and music critic Erwin Kroll (1886–1976). In his article on forbidden music published by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich in 1959, he described the situation of various musicians between 1933 and 1945, particularly Paul Hindemith and Wilhelm Furtwängler.⁵⁰ But he also scrutinised the concept of what the Nazis had termed 'Entartete Musik' and how the Nazis had established cultural policies to exclude performances of modern works and jazz by arguing that they had come out of the 'Jewish spirit'. The persecution of Jewish musicians is mentioned in this context, though it is by no means the focal point.

In East Germany, Meyer's student Inge Lammell, who in 1939 escaped on a Kindertransport to England and returned to her native Berlin in 1947, began important and pioneering work on music in concentration camps, following the example of the Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes. This political organisation, founded in 1947 and largely shaped by communists, had published and reissued a collection of songs by former concentration camp inmates in 1947, first titled *Heimliches Deutschland*, during a time when the group maintained the distinction between political and Jewish victims of fascism.⁵¹ In Lammell's function as director of the Arbeiterliedarchiv,⁵² which she helmed

47 See Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg 1949.

48 See Clytus Gottwald, *Deutsche Musikwissenschaft*, in: Ulrich Dibelius (Hg.), *Verwaltete Musik: Analyse und Kritik eines Zustandes*, München 1971, 68–81, 73; and Hans-Günter Klein, *Vorwort: Verdrängung und Aufarbeitung*, in: Hanns-Werner Heiste/Hans-Günter Klein (Hg.), *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, Frankfurt a.M. 1984, 9.

49 See Dahm, *Der Topos der Juden*, 13. The results of those studies did not provide sufficient answers.

50 See Erwin Kroll, *Verbotene Musik*, in: *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 7 (1959) 3, 310–317.

51 A later edition, containing concentration camp songs, appeared under the title *Lieder des anderen Deutschland*, Berlin/Potsdam 1949. The Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes was dissolved in 1953.

52 Founded by musicologist Ernst Hermann Meyer and anthropologist Wolfgang Steinitz (both had been involved in the antifascist resistance movement) as a division of the East German Akademie der Künste, the archive was more or less closed down in 1990, despite the fact that at the time it was the centre of vigorous research activities, not just in the GDR, but also in the Federal Republic. Its holdings became part of the Akademie der Künste after the reunification of its East and West branches in 1992. For an evaluation of Lammell's research, see Günter Benser's preface to Inge Lammell, *Arbeiterlied, Arbeiter-*

from its founding in June 1954 until her retirement in 1985, she collected a considerable number of volumes of printed and unprinted material, scores, songbooks, drawings, memoirs from Nazi concentration camps, and – long before oral history had been recognized an important source – gramophone records and tapes. Beginning in 1957, she published a large number of songbooks with documentation.⁵³ Although her work was more that of an editor and compiler, the prefaces to her collections show scholarly engagement. Some of these collections include concentration camp songs written by political prisoners and Jewish inmates. Lammel's endeavours in this seemingly explosive area were tolerated by the East German government, perhaps for several reasons. In its early days, the GDR's discriminatory and repressive policies toward Jews, labelled at the time by the Ministry for State Security as capitalists and criminals, were largely determined by the Soviet Union. By the mid-1950s and after Stalin's death, the state introduced a policy of tolerance toward the severely shrunken Jewish community and secular Jewish practice. State-prescribed anti-Fascist policy became central to the legitimisation of the SED so that the party officials could deny any connection between the GDR and the Nazi era and draw a distinction between them and the "backward-looking and fascist" Federal Republic.⁵⁴ The concentration camp songs Lammel collected fit into East Germany's ideology of the late-1960s and 1970s, since their texts often reflect the inmates' socialist and communist sympathies instead of Jewish suffering. In addition, Lammel's work on concentration camp songs took place within the larger framework of working-class music. She hardly distinguished between anti-Fascist resistance songs and concentration camp songs. In her work, it seems that communist resistance somewhat took precedence over the Jews and the Holocaust. Lammel herself was a convinced socialist and was loyal to the ideals propagated by the government, and thus enjoyed certain freedoms in her research.

While Lammel's work in East Germany remained unique for some time, in the West, after Kroll's publication, musicological journals began publishing a number of similar studies in the 1960s – parallel to the emerging cultural memory of the Holocaust in the West and perhaps also triggered by increasing discussion about the Holocaust worldwide around the same time. In 1963, musicologist and critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901–1988) wrote a very short article on music under Hitler, and a few years later, he addressed the misuse of Wagner's ideas under Hitler and their misinterpretation by Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's chief ideologist.⁵⁵ Because of Stuckenschmidt's

gesang: Hundert Jahre Arbeitermusikultur in Deutschland – Aufsätze und Vorträge aus 40 Jahren, 1959–1998, Teetz 2002, 6-11.

53 For a bibliography, see Frühauf, *A Historiography of Postwar Writings*, 23-25.

54 See Ulrike Offenberg, *Seid vorsichtig gegen die Machthaber: Die jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ und der DDR, 1945–1990*, Berlin 1998, 180.

55 See Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Musik unter Hitler*, in: *Forum* (December 1962), 5101; and (January 1963), 44; Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Nachruhm als Missverständnis: Richard Wagner*, in: *Musica* 23 (May-June 1969) 3, 227-231.

pro-Jewish attitude and his interest in modern composers (especially Arnold Schoenberg), the Nazis had imposed a *Schreibverbot* (writing ban) on him in 1934 and at the end of the 1930s a *Berufsverbot* (employment ban). Immediately after the war, Stuckenschmidt became the director of the *Neue Musik* programme at the RIAS (the American-run Berlin radio station ‘Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor’); he also worked as music critic, and later assumed a post at the Technische Universität in Berlin. Stuckenschmidt was thus able to pursue his earlier interest in modernism in music – work hindered by the Nazis.

In 1963 Holocaust survivor Joseph Wulf (1912–1974), who had settled in West Germany in 1952, published a milestone in research on music during the Nazi era: the compendium on music during the ‘Third Reich’.⁵⁶ A historian with a fair knowledge of music, Wulf had spent 1939 through 1941 in the Kraków Ghetto and in 1943 was sent to Auschwitz. After surviving the death march, he dedicated his work to documenting Nazi atrocities. His work culminated in a series devoted to the publication of primary sources of art and culture during the ‘Third Reich’, which extended to visual arts, literature and poetry, theatre, film, press, and radio. Despite Wulf’s deep personal involvement in the subject, he vacillated somewhat between emotionality and sobriety, distancing himself from a position of revulsion versus total impartiality by means of a rather documentary style. Though his work certainly served a therapeutic function, he committed suicide in 1974.⁵⁷

Wulf did not aim to offer an in-depth analysis of music history and culture; he sought to hold the perpetrators accountable by documenting their activities, thus making their actions public. At the time, his work filled a void, as West German musicologists rarely, if at all, broached the concept of the Holocaust. Although the title of his compendium does not explicitly indicate his focus on Jewish culture, the volume did approach the topic of the (cultural) extermination of the Jews very directly, with great detail, and in a differentiated manner.⁵⁸ He reproduced documents related to the Jüdischer Kulturbund; and in the section ‘Artfremde Musik’, he included sources that attest to the discrimination of Jewish composers, musicians, and pedagogues, the de-Jewification of musical repertoire and programming, and the exhibition ‘Entartete Musik’. He also broke the silent taboo of the Nazi past by providing specific dates, places, and names to the horrors of the Holocaust.⁵⁹

56 See Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt a.M. 1963.

57 See also Nicolas Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker: Erforschung und Erinnerung* (=Moderne Zeit 3), Göttingen 2003, 365 and 450. His suicide was motivated by a number of issues, including feeling of social deficiency, the loss of his wife, and professional setbacks.

58 The same is valid for the other volumes in the series, see Berg, *Der Holocaust*, 339.

59 According to Berg, actual Jewish authorship during that time was generally considered a taboo, one that Wulf broke as well, see Berg, *Der Holocaust*, 363.

His compendium was an exception in the musicological literature of the early 1960s (and opposed historical trends in some ways as well), and accordingly musicologists' reception varied, from denunciation as a forgery,⁶⁰ acceptance as necessary despite imprecision,⁶¹ to unconditional praise.⁶² Wulf's study appeared during a period when, curiously, West German historians, overestimating their scholarly achievements, had viewed the 'Third Reich' as fully explored.⁶³ In musicology, however, the case was even more severe – research had barely begun. Indeed, the awareness of and need for *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (literally, coming to terms with the past, a political and moral term that signifies the debate German people have with their own history) arrived much later in musicology, perhaps due to its nature as an appendage to and on the fringes of a good number of established parent disciplines.

One of Wulf's greatest admirer's was musicologist Fred K. Prieberg. He continued Wulf's mission, but also had additional concerns. For example, he was convinced that Nazi musicology had not ended on May 8, 1945, and believed that falsification in historical research endured well into the post-Holocaust period.⁶⁴ His research on music during the 'Third Reich' began, like Wulf's, in the 1960s, with articles on state control of art as well as on Werner Egk, who was a composer subjected to de-Nazification in 1947.⁶⁵ In 1982 he wrote his seminal work on music in the Nazi State, the first systematic music history on the Nazi era, and dedicated to Wulf. Although the focus was on the perpetrators, the Nazis' impact on Jewish music was not ignored. Prieberg included chapters on the Jüdischer Kulturbund and on synagogue concerts.⁶⁶

Other studies on the 'Third Reich' to appear in West Germany during the 1960s concentrated on the perpetrators and pedagogy under Nazism,⁶⁷ nurturing tropes of

60 In his foreword to *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, Hans-Günter Klein mentioned that an unnamed Ordinarius for historical musicology denounced Joseph Wulf's book as forgery, see Hans-Günter Klein, *Vorwort: Verdrängung und Aufarbeitung*, in: Heister/Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik*, 9. Hans-Günter Klein confirmed that the Ordinarius was the Bach scholar Georg von Dadelson and that the denunciation was part of a conversation with no written trail. Klein, e-mail to the author, 10 November 2010.

61 See Heinz Joachim, *Die Musik in Hitlers Herrschaft*, in: *Die Welt*, 10.10.1963.

62 See Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Gegängelte Musik*, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19.10.1963.

63 See Berg, *Der Holocaust*, 372.

64 See Fred K. Prieberg, *Nach dem 'Endsieg' oder Musiker-Mimikry*, in: Heister/Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik*, 297-305.

65 See Fred K. Prieberg, *Kunst und staatliche Kontrolle: Beitrag zu einer Diskussion*, in: *Deutsche Rundschau*, 88, 11 (November 1962): 997; Fred K. Prieberg, *Der Fall Werner Egk: Ein trauriges Beispiel für eine traurig kompromittierte Generation*, in: *Die Zeit*, 25.4.1969.

66 See Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt a.M. 1982.

67 Pedagogy during the Nazi era became an especially popular topic among academics beginning in the 1960s with Ulrich Günther on the forefront. A Professor for Music Pedagogy at the Pädagogische Hochschule in Oldenburg, he made important contributions to the subject, particularly on music education in the Hitler Youth, a topic that occupied him well into the 1990s. Later, more scholars followed, such as Reinhard Dithmar who edited the essay collection *Schule und Unterricht im Dritten Reich*, Neuwied 1989.