Hans Werner Henze's Early Political Thought: Three Case Studies

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Abstract

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Hans Werner Henze's active engagement in socialist politics began in 1967 when he joined the Socialist League of German Students in Berlin. Most scholars who write about him as a political figure focus on his involvement after this time. They tend to overlook the earlier years, when Henze was far less involved in socialist politics and far more concerned with the resurgence of fascism — a term he associated with "hatred, deception, betrayal, racism, the loss of human dignity," not to mention "xenophobia, provincialism, and militarism." Like many artists and intellectuals in his generation, Henze felt the direct influence of fascism on his community as he watched his fellow countrymen succumb to National Socialist ideology. After the war, he was disappointed to see fascism continue to live on in society, as well as in Darmstadt's dogmatic control over the postwar music scene. In light of his strong antifascist convictions, Henze broke away from the Darmstadt elite, who wished to distance music from society, and instead advocated for the redemptive value of music as politically committed art.

Although the antifascist politics of his early career and how it plays out in his works have been given little focus in current scholarship, Henze's relationship to fascism is central to his identity as a composer in the postwar years and to understanding his later political journey. Taking that as its point of departure, this thesis explores some of Henze's earliest attempts to engage with his antifascist politics in his compositions. Looking specifically at the years 1960 to 1965, it is structured around case studies of three works: *Jüdische Chronik* (1960–61), a cantata that responds to acts of anti-Semitic vandalism; *Der Junge Lord* (1963–64), a comic opera that warns of a dark future for Germany; and *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* (1964–65), a double fugue for chamber ensemble written in honor of the Munich resistance movement. While the particularities of these works make it difficult to construct a precise representation of Henze's political development, they do project a general trajectory in his career from a state of political insecurity to a feeling of social responsibility. Furthermore, the three case studies — a statement of protest, a social critique, and a memorial — shed light on the composer's thoughts, as well as on the people and circumstances that shaped his outlook on the world. By revealing these early examples of politically committed works, this thesis demonstrates that Henze's turn to socialist activism in the late 1960s was not as precipitous as it is often portrayed.

Résumé

La pensée politique de Hans Werner Henze à ses débuts: Trois cas à l'étude

La participation active de Hans Werner Henze dans la politique socialiste débute en 1967 lorsqu'il se joint à l'Union socialiste allemande des étudiants à Berlin. La plupart des chercheurs qui se sont intéressés aux activités politiques de Henze se sont concentrés sur son implication après cette période. Peu d'attention a été accordée aux premières années, durant lesquelles Henze était moins préoccupé par le socialisme que par la résurgence du fascisme — un terme qu'il associait à d'autres comme « haine, déception, trahison, racisme, perte de la dignité humaine », sans mentionner « xénophobie, provincialisme et militarisme ». Comme plusieurs artistes et intellectuels de sa génération, Henze a pu observer l'effet direct du fascisme dans sa communauté, alors qu'il voyait ses compatriotes se tourner vers l'idéologie national-socialiste. Après la guerre, il est déçu de voir le fascisme toujours vivant au sein de la société, notamment à travers le contrôle dogmatique exercé par Darmstadt sur la scène musicale de l'après-guerre. À la lumière de ses fortes convictions anti fascistes, Henze s'éloigne de l'élite de Darmstadt, qui souhaite séparer la musique de la société, et choisit plutôt de prôner le caractère rédempteur de la musique en tant qu'art politique.

Malgré que la recherche actuelle ne se soit pas encore concentrée sur la pensée anti fasciste de Henze aux débuts de sa carrière et ses conséquences sur son œuvre, l'attitude de Henze vis-à-vis du fascisme fait partie intégrante de son identité de compositeur dans les années d'après-guerre, en plus d'être un aspect crucial dans la compréhension de ses activités politiques ultérieures. Partant de ce point, cette thèse examine certaines des premières œuvres de Henze reflétant sa pensée anti fasciste. Traitant particulièrement des années 1960 à 1965, le travail s'articule autour de trois études de cas: *Jüdische Chronik* (1960–61), une cantate écrite en réponse à des actes de vandalisme antisémites; *Der Junge Lord* (1963–64), un opéra comique qui prédit un avenir sombre pour l'Allemagne; et *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* (1964–65), une double fugue pour orchestre de chambre écrite en l'honneur du mouvement de résistance de Munich. Si les caractéristiques individuelles de ces œuvres rendent difficile toute représentation précise du développement politique de Henze, elles témoignent cependant d'une trajectoire générale qui le mènera d'un état d'insécurité politique à un sentiment de responsabilité sociale. De plus, les trois cas à l'étude — une déclaration de protestation, une critique sociale, et une commémoration — font la lumière sur la pensée du compositeur ainsi que sur les personnes et les circonstances qui ont façonné sa vision du monde. En révélant ces exemples précoces d'œuvres engagées politiquement, cette thèse démontre que Henze n'a pas embrassé l'activisme socialiste aussi précipitamment qu'il est généralement admis.

Translated by Julie Mireault

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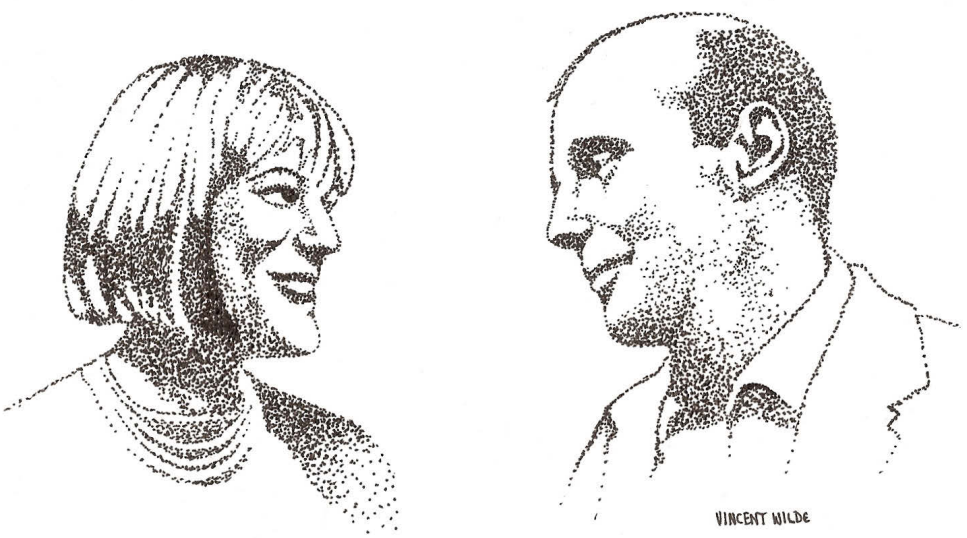
Perhaps I should also acknowledge my closest companion and most reliable distraction throughout the whole endeavor: a little rabbit named Hans.



"BACHMANN AND HENZE"

War is no longer declared,
but rather continued. The outrageous
has become the everyday. The hero
is absent from the battle. The weak
are moved into the firing zone.
The uniform of the day is patience,
the order of merit is the wretched star
of hope over the heart.

It is awarded
when nothing more happens,
when the bombardment is silenced,
when the enemy has become invisible
and the shadow of eternal armament
covers the sky.

It is awarded
for deserting the flag,
for bravery before a friend,
for the betrayal of shameful secrets,
and the disregard
of every command.

— "Alle Tage" (Every Day) by Ingeborg Bachmann

INTRODUCTION

A Political Composer

Most scholars who approach the composer Hans Werner Henze (1926–) with a political lens are impressed by his amazing transformation in the late 1960s. Here is a German composer, who, after building up his name and reputation from the relative seclusion of the Italian countryside in the decades after the Second World War, shocked audiences in 1967 with his entrance into socialist politics. He joined the Socialist League of German Students in Berlin, befriended its leader Rudi Dutschke as well as other prominent activists, helped plan the Vietnam Congress, and in December 1968 showcased his newest work, the oratorio *Der Floß der Medusa* (The Raft of Medusa) dedicated to Che Guevara, in a concert premiere that erupted in political riot before the first note of music could ever be heard.

Peter Petersen, who has largely dedicated his career to Henze, characterizes the years 1966–67 as the most important break in the composer's career since the end of the war.[1] Likewise, Beate Kutschke, who acknowledges Henze as the "best-known case of political engagement" among European composers in the decades after the war, notes his "political about-face in the mid-1960s."[2] Furthermore, other authors not only recognize the turning point but also credit Henze with defining the direction of political music from this point forth. Wolfgang Ruf, in his short overview of the development of committed music or *engagierte Musik* in the 1960s and 1970s, commends Henze as the "most prominent, most active, and most eloquent" figure in the movement. He highlights his compositions and writings from 1968 onwards and credits him with imbuing the term "committed music" with positive connotations.[3] Similarly, Ernst Flammer contends that it was the premiere of *Der Floß der Medusa* in the context of the 1968 revolutions that

[1] Peter Petersen, *Hans Werner Henze: Ein politischer Musiker: Zwölf Vorlesungen* (Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 1988), 13.

[2] Beate Kutschke, "Musicology and the Force of Political Friction: The Debate on Politically Engaged Music at the Beginning of the 1970s," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blazekovic and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), 583.

[3] Wolfgang Ruf, "Engagiertes Komponieren in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den 1960er und 70er Jahren," *Musicologica Brunensia* 52–54 (2003): 230.

initiated the postwar debate among musicologists and composers on the relationship of music and politics.[4]

However, Henze's seemingly newfound political engagement in the late 1960s was not, in fact, new. Rather it was the outgrowth of a political sentiment that had been present for a long time and was rooted in the experiences of his childhood and adolescent years. The composer explains,

> I came to the Left just like anybody else, I imagine. People of my generation, after all, are bound to have a very clear recollection of fascism. To have seen that Hitlerism lived on after the fall of Hitler, that fascism had put on a different mask, has left many people, including myself, with a fascism-trauma. To have seen that fascism lived on in people's mentalities was an enormous shock, especially as one could do virtually nothing against it after 1945. If one did react, one was usually not understood; anti-fascism was *passé*.[5]

Henze's antifascist convictions, like those of so many others in the postwar years, were a reaction to the socially destructive practices of the Nazi regime, from its ideological beginnings in the early 1930s to its operations of mass murder by the end of the decade. While it formed the foundation of his later socialist activism, Henze's humanistic belief in compassion, honesty, and geniality, played a formative, and often overlooked role in his development as a composer in the years leading up to his great transformation.

Henze & Fascism

Born on 1 July 1926 in the region of Westphalia, Henze remembers the first seven years of his life in the towns of Gütersloh and Bielefeld as peaceful days.[6] His father Franz was a primary school teacher, his mother Margarete had been a typist, and together they led a loving household. Henze's father, known for his accordion skills, was certainly a musical inspiration for the young Henze, and his mother read poems to him, assisted him with homework, and taught him compassion. There was no physical punishment;

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[4] Ernst H. Flammer, *Politisch Engagierte Musik als Kompositorisches Problem: dargestellt am Beispiel von Luigi Nono und Hans Werner Henze* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1981), 283–84.

[5] Hans Werner Henze, "Does Music Have to be Political?", in *Music and Politics: Collected Writings 1953–1981*, trans. Peter Labanyi (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 167. Essay adapted from a German interview published as "Musik is nolens volens politisch" in Henze, *Musik und Politik: Schriften und Gespräche 1955–1975* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1976), 136–43; here, 136.

[6] Hans Werner Henze, *Bohemian Fifths: An Autobiography*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 5. The original German was published as *Reiselieder mit böhmischen Quinten: autobiographische Mitteilungen 1926–1995* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1996). Further page citations will appear in the text.

"Instead, we were not allowed to go out or read and were deprived of our parents' love, a form of emotional torment that consisted of their refusal to speak to their refractory offspring for hours on end" (4). At the same time, however, there was a degree of "discipline, militarism, and a strict sense of duty" present in these Westphalians, which, for instance, made Henze's parents force their left-handed son to write with his right (5).

It was perhaps the deep-rootedness of these Westphalian values, descendants of the Prussians, that allowed for signs of National Socialism to impinge on Henze's life as early as 1933. This marked the beginning of a rapid change in the household that resulted in a complete breach in the relationship between Henze and his parents. The progressive school where his father Franz worked in Bielefeld was closed for teaching Marxist ideas; the headmaster was imprisoned and the teachers, who were looked upon with suspicion, were punished with salary cuts and reassignments in small towns. Henze's father was forced to move his family to the village of Dünne where he continued to face discrimination. "It was at this time," Henze recounts,

> that my father became more and more of a Nazi sympathizer, a change of heart undoubtedly due as much to fear for his livelihood as it was to intimidation. I observed the way in which, within a matter of years, he was persuaded — for the most part by his new colleagues, all of whom were Nazis — to abandon his existing attitudes and join the party (8).

The house was rid of books by Jewish and Christian writers, replaced by *Mein Kampf*, Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, Karl Schenzinger's *Hitler Youth Quex*, and other volumes of National Socialist interest. Henze remembers that one no longer bowed to adults, but rather clicked heels and saluted Hitler. Henze's mother had reservations about these changes, but would not say a thing. His paternal grandmother, however, who had moved in with the family, was decidedly against National Socialism, both for its inhumanity and for the effect it was having on the family: "A Pietist and a supporter of the anti-Fascist pastor, Martin Niemöller, she regarded developments within our household with feelings of deep dismay, shaking her head and expressing her concern and disapproval even in our presence" (11).

According to memories recorded in his autobiography, Henze took after his grandmother during these years and maintained a degree of skepticism towards racial injustice. This position distinguished him from the majority, and notably from his father.

On 9 November 1938, the morning after *Kristallnacht*, Henze was unsettled by the silence of his community in the face of the vandalism, a silence that even passed on to him with regret: "We all pretended that nothing had happened. And no one asked after the taciturn, dark-haired boy who never returned to the school from that day onwards. Not even I myself asked what had become of him" (20). In 1940, when French prisoners of war were quartered in his village, Henze developed a friendship with them; he stole cigarettes and cigars from his father for the men, practiced English with them, and taught them German. When Soviet prisoners of war marched through several years later, men who "look[ed] so deathly ill," and no one was permitted to even speak to them, Henze was disturbed by the complacency of his fellow Westphalians: "It was as though the conscience of the German nation had simply been switched off and disconnected" (28).

With this onset of Nazism, Henze's relationship with his father fell apart. The elder continued to guide his son's literary and musical interests, but without any warmth or communication. He forced Henze and his brother to join the Hitler Youth and grew ever more stern. On one occasion, when Henze was in his late-teenage years, Franz "summoned me into his presence and told me that 'people like me' belonged in concentration camps" (26–27). The youth never knew what triggered the incident or what his father had meant by it — presumably the remark was meant as condemnation of Henze's skepticism for the Nazi cause. Nevertheless, Henze never forgot "this mortifying insult" (27). Not long afterwards, Franz tried to send his son to a music school run by the *Waffen*-SS. Thankful that it never happened, Henze figures, "what must really have attracted [my father] to the idea, of course, was the thought that such studies would also involve square-bashing […] There my fancy ideas would soon be beaten out of me, he must have said to himself, and I would become a proper German before it was too late" (28). When Henze was ultimately drafted into the army in 1944, Franz was pleased that his son would have the honor of fighting, and perhaps dying, for his country. But the youth never saw it in this light, and when his father died in the war, Henze struggled to forgive him for abandoning the family in the name of a final victory that was destined to fail.

From late 1942 to early 1944, during the year and a half that Henze attended the Braunschweig (Brunswick) State School of Music, the local alternative to the SS school

Henze's father had intended, Henze's disgust for the war developed into a sense of rebelliousness. Already in Bielefeld, Henze had gotten access to the "Poison Cabinet" of banned books in the public library through a friend (26). Now in Braunschweig, he was surrounded by a general anti-Nazi sentiment that survived at the school in spite of its National Socialist director and teachers. Students neglected to perform the Hitler-salutation and subscribed to a position of defeatism, contentedly resigning themselves to the fact that Germany was losing the war. One friend of Henze's, a pianist at the school, had spent time in a Gestapo prison for suspected participation in a subversive organization. It was from students like this, as well as from wounded soldiers returning to school, that Henze learned the extent of Hitler's extermination program. He also witnessed the cruelty of the Nazis firsthand in Braunschweig when the local SS and police rounded up "young workers, craft-apprentices, shop assistants and music students who did not belong to Nazi organizations" and tried to force them to enlist. Henze, who was part of the group that was detained, managed to sneak out of police headquarters just in time, "[b]ut the memory of the brutality of these Nazis," he remembers, "has never left me. They punched anyone in the face who they thought seemed rebellious. One youth had been so savagely beaten up that he was lying bleeding and unconscious on the ground; it was forbidden to step out of line and go to his assistance."[7]

In January 1944, Henze was conscripted into the army, one year earlier than was expected for young men of his age. For several months he underwent strict and rigorous training in Poland, that, as if he did not already despise fascism, instilled a new dimension of disdain for the war. Afterwards, he worked as a radio operator sending encrypted messages, meanwhile taking advantage of his post to listen to the music of Stravinsky, Berg, and Schoenberg on forbidden Allied channels. Henze also participated in a secret antimilitarist club consisting of men from local units. Although discovered and punished with a special, intense training, they continued to meet. When news of D-Day reached them, "we found it difficult to show no reaction, still less not to throw down our weapons and dance for joy or weep for sheer delight — or both."[8] Hitler's ultimate suicide and the war's end were celebrated with cigarettes and alcohol.

[7] Hans Werner Henze, "German music in the 1940s and 1950s," in *Music and Politics*, 32.
[8] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 40.

For Henze, as well as for many others in his generation, fascism embodied much more than a particular system of authoritarian government. It was a way of thinking, an utterly destructive state of mind that corrupted society from within, and it poisoned relationships between people. Henze remembers the entirety of the war as "a time of utter lawlessness, terror, fear. The tragedy of fascism left its mark on every individual, either as a source of despair or of resistance and hope. And the Germans showed their worst side. One got to know hatred, deception, betrayal, racism, the loss of human dignity."[9] The German people became not only "a race of judges and executioners, but also of informers," freely pointing fingers to advance their own interests.[10] The fascism of the war fed off German tendencies towards "xenophobia, provincialism, and militarism," but convinced people to embrace these values in a charade that ultimately destroyed human freedom.[11]

With the end of the war and the dissolution of Nazi power and its infractions on individual freedom, Henze saw the promise of a new beginning for music and for German society. He could finally listen to and study the compositions formerly rejected by the regime as "degenerate," and his compatriots could use the lesson of the war as a starting ground for rebuilding a democratic country. However, a shadow of disappointment remained as he realized that, in spite of his own sense of guilt and partial responsibility for the atrocities of the war, life in Germany seemed to move on as though nothing had happened, "as if my father's generation had not been the active servants of this barbarism."[12] The conflict between Henze's hope for the future of music and his astonishment at societal insensitivity and indifference comes across in his description of the first concert performed by the Bielefeld symphony after the war's end:

> It went down with a discreet cultural *frisson* of 'We're permitted to, we're able to, we have the freedom to play Hindemith, we can listen to *Mathis der Maler*, even if we hadn't actually missed this music.' But there was also an undertone of 'Now that Hindemith can be played again, our guilt is removed, everything is right with the world again, isn't it?' Fascism had been no more than a bad dream.[13]

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[9] Henze, "German music," 32–33.
[10] Ibid., 35.
[11] Hans Werner Henze, "Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Musik", in *Musik und Politik*, 134.
[12] Henze, "German music," 34.
[13] Ibid., 36.

This disturbed Henze, for he found the sentiment irresponsible — incidentally, at the end of his opera *Der Junge Lord*, the young lover Wilhelm seals his fate with these same fatal words: "You've been dreaming, been dreaming something terrible."[14]

Henze feared that if his people never confronted fascism, then it would never properly disappear from society. Resurgent acts of anti-Semitic violence in the late 1950s justified his concern. Furthermore, the postwar music community also developed into what appeared to Henze to be a quasi-fascist state, ruled by leading composers at the Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music. They dictated the permissible aesthetics and ideologies of composition and ostracized dissidents like Henze. With horror, Henze recognized that Darmstadt, once conceived as a place for celebrating the future of music, had become a governing body whose control over musical aesthetics was not all that distinct from totalitarianism: "In Western Germany art had become a question of power, of influence, of contacts, of political and moral conformism. The personal taste of a department head and his wife determined the fate of works, the fate of their composers, and whether their products were going to reach the market or not."[15] Darmstadt wielded control like the fascist regime it was meant to confront.

The guilt of living in a country that refused to learn from its past, not to mention the impossibility of fitting into a culture so adamantly intolerant of his homosexuality, and the frustration of disagreeing with the direction of postwar music, all contributed to Henze's suicide attempt in 1950. Unable to continue living in his motherland, Henze immigrated to Italy in early 1953. He sought to escape from the various pressures that had driven him to the depths of depression and hoped to find refuge in the Italian culture:

> The Germans, who throughout my entire life thus far had broken me down — punishers, floggers, packs of agitators, informers, boot captains, incurable fascists — should not be able to reach me anymore. […] I'm no fighter, don't want to be a victor. If they would leave me alone, I would come to peace, would become an Italian, entrench myself in the ancient culture, which Germans only know about from books.[16]

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[14] Ingeborg Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," in *Werke,* ed. Christine Koschel, Inge von Weidenbaum and Clemens Münster, vol. 1 (Munich: Piper, 1993), 432. Wilhelm says, "Du hast geträumt, hast Schreckliches geträumt."

[15] Henze, "German music," 44.

[16] Henze, "Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Musik," 134. "Die Deutschen, die mich während meines ganzen bisherigen Lebens kaputtgemacht hatten, die Strafenden, Prügler, Hetzer in Rudeln, Denunzianten, Stiefelprinzipale, unheilbare Faschisten, sollten mich nicht mehr erreichen. Ich würde sowieso nichts gegen sie ausrichten, bin kein Kämpfer, will kein Sieger. Wenn sie mich in Ruhe ließen,

This move demonstrated an open degree of resignation. Henze was tired of fighting for his place in a world dominated by tyrants and made even more turbulent by the fact that music was now a political craft.

Politically Committed Music

Among German musicologists, the relationship of music and politics became a prevalent topic of discussion around 1970. In the aftermath of the 1968 revolutions, during which socialist composers like Henze joined the ranks of protest with their music as well as their voices, these scholars came together to discuss what it meant for music to be political — provided it could be at all.[17] Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt had, for the most part, initiated the debate in his 1969 volume *Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Twentieth Century Music) with a chapter devoted to "Engagierte Musik," translated as "The Music of Commitment."[18] Stuckenschmidt's chapter, which actually chronicled music with both political and religious inclinations, introduced many of the pertinent issues in the discourse on committed music. For example, one of the major topics of discussion for scholars was how music comes to achieve its political connotations and pungency. Stuckenschmidt argued, that, on account of its semantic weakness and non-representational character, music must rely on an external source of meaning. Once that meaning is established, usually through a text, music has full potential to "make it more emphatic and persuasive" (133). Consequently, since that meaning can be changed through a "simple exchange of texts," committed music "must be judged in accordance with aesthetic, not political, criteria" (144).

würde ich zur Ruhe kommen, würde Italiener werden, mich einigeln in diese alte Kultur, von der die Deutschen nur aus Lesebüchern wissen."

[17] These conferences included *Über Musik und Politik* at Darmstadt in 1969, *Musik zwischen Engagement und Kunst* in Graz in 1971, and *Erster Internationaler Kongreß für Musiktheorie* in Stuttgart, also in 1971. See Kutschke, "Musicology and the Force of Political Fiction" for an overview of the debate; also, Ruf, "Engagiertes Komponieren."

[18] Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Kindler Verlag, 1969), 133–49. Translated as *Twentieth Century Music*, trans. Richard Deveson (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969), 133–49. Further page citations will appear in the text.

Some musicologists agreed with these assertions, others did not. Carl Dahlhaus, for one, argued that things were much more complicated.[19] Beate Kutschke explains that, in spite of its persistence, the debate as a whole reached little consensus and should have been ended in 1972 when Dahlhaus declared that, regardless of how it is achieved, politics is far too serious to be conducted through music.[20] Their skepticism aside, neither Kutschke nor Dahlhaus could deny that music was, in fact, inextricably linked to politics. As early as 1918, atonal music was stigmatized for its apparent leftist leanings by conservative German music critics and musicologists, who called it "bolshevist" and regarded it as destructive as communism.[21] These critics equated the new musical language with "socialism, chaos, and anarchism," thus creating a direct tie between modern music and political belief (589). While some composers, like Schoenberg, maintained that music was apolitical, other leftist composers, notably Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, and to an extent, Paul Hindemith, embraced these derogatory interpretations in the late 1920s for their own purposes, utilizing them to infuse political meaning in their music. As Kutschke explains, they wrote "a sociocritical, politically revolutionary music that actively fought for the workers and for the socialist-communist movement" (590). Consequently, National Socialists, in their program of ridding culture of its "degenerate" art, agreed with right-wing conservatives in their denunciation of such music. Hans Severus Ziegler, who was in charge of the Düsseldorf exhibition *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate Music) in 1938, drew directly on earlier vocabulary when he described the collection: "The exhibition presents a picture of a veritable witches' Sabbath portraying the most frivolous intellectual-artistic Cultural Bolshevism, and the triumph of subhumanity, arrogant Jewish impudence, and complete mental gagaism" (590).

The debate in the late 1960s and early 1970s may not have reached any conclusions, but it still brought attention to central issues about the relationship of music and politics that extended beyond the context of the socialist movement. In particular, Dahlhaus's contribution to a 1969 panel at Darmstadt, titled "Thesen über engagierte

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[19] Carl Dahlhaus, "Thesen über engagierte Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 133 no. 1 (1972): 3–8.

[20] Kutschke, "Musicology and the Force of Political Fiction," 586–87. See Carl Dahlhaus, "Politische und ästhetische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik," in *Ferienkurse '72: 26. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*, ed. Ernst Thomas (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1973), 14–27; here, 15.

[21] Ibid., 589. Further page citations will appear in the text.

Musik" (Theses on Committed Music), is helpful — albeit at times confusing — in that it outlines various parameters involved in the discourse of the debate. Dahlhaus begins by acknowledging that the term "(politically) committed music" is used to refer to at least two different things:

> What is meant is either music that dedicates itself to the means of a political, social or moral purpose, i.e. *functional* music, whose basis of critique is its effect; or, exactly the opposite, the *subjective* moment of the political or social engagement to the expression of which a composer felt driven, independent from the function that the musical material fulfills and from the effect that comes from it.[22]

Either "committed music" refers to music with a political objective, or it implies music with a political topic. The difference becomes clearer through Dahlhaus's example: Schoenberg's *A Survivor of Warsaw*, Op. 46, in its antifascist commentary on events of the war, is "*subjectively* committed, but not politically *functional* music."[23] It expresses Schoenberg's political opinions, but wields no political agency. It is important to understand that a composer need not advocate for something like governmental policy reform in order for his music to be functional. As Dahlhaus articulates, any "political, social or moral purpose," from ideological humanitarianism to active political engagement, can be the subject of functionally committed music, provided the composer expects his composition to catalyze a transformation in personal or governmental politics.

The distinction between functionally and subjectively committed music takes place then within the realm of *intention*: what did the composer intend with his music? It is also necessary to ask *how* the composer chose to express his political message in his composition. Dahlhaus addresses this aspect of committed music somewhat problematically in another opposition that compares aesthetic *quality* with social *function*:

> Furthermore, in the discourse of committed music, it remains almost always unclear, if a *quality* or a *function* is meant, if the signs and traces of the political

[22] Dahlhaus, "Thesen über engagierte Musik," 3. "Gemeint ist entweder eine Musik, die sich zum Mittel eines politischen, sozialen oder moralischen Zwecks macht, also funktionale Musik, deren Kriterium die Wirkung ist, oder aber gerade umgekehrt das subjective Moment des politischen oder sozialen Engagements, zu dessen musikalischem Ausdruck sich ein Komponist gedrungen fühlt, unabhängig von der Funktion, die das musikalische Gebilde erfüllt, und von der Wirkung, die von ihm ausgeht." Translation based on Kutschke, "Musicology and the Force of Political Friction," 585. Italics added by the author.

[23] Ibid., 3. "Arnold Schönbergs 'Überlebender aus Warschau' ist subjektive engagierte, aber keine politisch funktionale Musik."

> commitment must be decipherable from the musical material, or if the commitment consists of nothing more than that the work subjects itself to a goal that could be exchanged for another, but that it appropriately fulfills as long as it remains tied to a specific text and maintains a connection that allows the purpose to be achieved.[24]

Dahlhaus's choice of the word *function* in this opposition implies that he understood it as directly related to *functional* intent. One might infer from this alignment Dahlhaus's belief that in order for a musical work to exert political influence, it requires a political text. However, not every functionally committed work has a political text, and not every work with a political text is functionally committed; Schoenberg's *Survivor* is a case in point. Consequently, it is useful to divorce Dahlhaus's second opposition from the parameters of intention, in order to allow for the full range of combinatorial possibilities. What is really at stake in this opposition is a matter of *signification*, i.e. whether the political charge of a musical composition is *internally* constructed or *externally* linked.[25] In the first case, a work has its political message built into its musical fabric. The works of Eisler and Weill from the 1920s that appropriated the interpretation of atonal music as leftist are examples of this category.[26] In the second case, a work relies on textual or contextual pairing for its political implications, like Schoenberg's Holocaust cantata.

Of course, these two approaches to political signification, *internal* and *external*, are not mutually exclusive. A composer could employ a musical style and a text such that they complement each other in their political intent; alternatively, the music might augment the text, as Stuckenschmidt asserted, or it might contradict it, as other critiques of committed music often argued. Therefore, it is appropriate to conceive of *internal* and *external* as the two extremes of an axis, where the mid-point represents their mutual

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[24] Dahlhaus, "Thesen über engagierte Musik," 3. "Außerdem bleibt es, wenn von engagierter Musik die Rede ist, fast immer unklar, ob eine Qualität oder eine Funktion gemeint ist, ob also von dem musikalischen Gebilde die Zeichen und Spuren eines bestimmten Engagements ablesbar sein müssen, oder ob das Engagement in nichts anderem besteht, als daß sich ein Stück Musik einem Zweck unterwirft, den es mit einem anderen vertauschen könnte, den es jedoch angemessen erfüllt, solange es mit einem bestimmten Text verbunden bleibt und in einem Zusammenhang steht, der die Funktion zur Geltung kommen läßt." Translation based on Kutschke, "Musicology and the Force of Political Friction," 585–86. Italics added by the author.

[25] To clarify, the subject of consideration is not the musical work as a whole, but just the musical material itself. The issue of signification asks whether the musical material operates alone in creating meaning, or whether it relies on text, theatrics, or context as a supplement.

[26] Even though the connotation of the musical style is determined externally, this meaning is manipulated within the composition through its musical fabric.

symbiosis. Similarly, the distinction between *functional* and *subjective* intention is not always so clear. For example, Schoenberg's first political work, the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, Op. 41 of 1942, which implicitly aligned Hitler and Mussolini with Napoleon as modern day dictators, most resembles a subjective work that depicts tyranny as a negative political force. However, in the context of 1942 America, where it was written and performed, the work's condemnation of Hitler and its closing appraisal of George Washington as a true hero had functional implications as well.[27] Consequently, it is helpful to imagine these parameters on an axis as well.

Thus, Dahlhaus's essay lays the groundwork for conceptualizing political music according to two axes: (1) political intention, ranging from subjective reflection to functional agency; and (2) political signification, ranging from internal musical quality to external semantic definition. However, in order to discuss the full spectrum of what may be considered politically committed music, it is useful to recognize that music can be political in more than just one way. Whereas Schoenberg's *Survivor* is directed at politics on the level of government or civic action — politics that pertains to real life — much of the music coming from Darmstadt, as we will see, was regarded as political within the self-contained world of aesthetics: a new style or sound was regarded by audiences as revolutionary, without having implications in the greater societal context. These two different realms of politics may be extracted to form a third axis for committed music that is dedicated to (3) political *scope*: on one end is the *aesthetic* realm, on the other is the *practical* realm.

All three axes are predisposed to the influence of temporality. What might constitute functionality or internal signification when a work is created or premiered might lose its political charge outside of that historical window. The wartime context of the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, for example, as well as the Weimar era context of Eisler's and Weill's compositions, are crucial to the political perception of those works. Consequently, their significance in the realm of music or in the realm of real life will change over time. This observation demonstrates that political music cannot be self-

[27] Incidentally, the Office of War Information solicited Schoenberg for a German translation of the work that they could broadcast on Allied radio channels in Europe as a means of cultural propaganda. See Judith Ryan, "Schoenberg's Byron: The *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, the Antimonies of Modernism, and the Problem of German Imperialism," in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity: Essays*, ed. Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 201–16.

contained. It cannot exist in a timeless bubble, and it therefore cannot be regarded outside the prevailing political attitudes of the audience to which it is directed. No matter what the composer intends, the success of a political work relies on the condition that it is perceived according to the same parameters with which it was conceived.

In the development of politically committed music in the twentieth century, this is nowhere more problematic than in the arguments over what constitutes the internal political quality of music. Already in 1928, Schoenberg asked skeptically, "In what chord can one recognize the Marxist credo, in what timbre the fascist [components] of an image?"[28] His cynicism, however, stemmed from trying to imagine musical meaning in the context of practical politics. Surely, a chord containing all twelve pitches or a major triad would have been significant for aesthetic politics in 1928. In the aftermath of World War II, once the Nazi stronghold on music had been released, composers were forced to consider the political implications of their musical styles, and the positions they took were dependent on where they placed themselves along the axis of political scope. Since most composers in the European avant-garde were only concerned with the aesthetic, the debate became largely one-sided. This had profound consequences for Henze's political development: although he initially allied himself with the postwar avant-garde, his understanding of music as societal agent and its application to real-world politics diverted him into the minority.

Henze versus Darmstadt

Once Germany fell, both the new government and the occupying Allied powers agreed to work together to create a democratic nation in the regions that would become West Germany. Part of the American-led plan for denazification, which was directed towards stripping National Socialist ideologies from the culture, had direct implications for the future of music. Alex Ross specifies, "[I]t meant the promotion of jazz, American composition, international contemporary music, and other sounds that could be used to

[28] Arnold Schoenberg, "Fehlt der Welt eine Friedenshymne?", *8–Uhr Abendblatt der Berliner National-Zeitung* (26 May 1928). "In welchem Akkord denn ließe sich das marxistische Glaubensbekenntnis eines Musikstücks erkennen, in welcher Farbe das faschistische eines Bildes?"

degrade the concept of Aryan cultural supremacy."[29] The Allied program equated these new styles of music with values of freedom and tolerance, and used them to drown out musical styles that had come to be associated with the Nazis. It was under these pretences that Wolfgang Steinecke, with support from the American forces, initiated the Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music in 1946. Gesa Kordes explains that this festival, as well as others, was meant "to enable composers to exchange information with international colleagues and familiarize themselves with compositional techniques and works that had been forbidden by the totalitarian regimes in their respective countries."[30] Initially it was Hindemith's neoclassicism that interested them most, but Schoenberg soon stole their fascination. The composers who attended, including Henze, openly embraced the music of the prewar period. Although these styles were associated with connotations of denazification, their real political significance was aesthetic, rather than practical.

For Henze, "dodecaphony and serialism were the only viable new techniques" that were "fresh, and able to generate new musical patterns."[31] Although he was one of the first to explore this style, his leadership at Darmstadt was quickly usurped. Within a few short years, Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen, neither of whom were present at the first few summers, took over control of the festival and changed its character completely. From Henze's perspective, what was once "a humanistic project" between "brothers, comrades, [and] allies," meant to celebrate freedom of expression, became a competitive environment with only one acceptable aesthetic doctrine: "music is abstract [and] not to be connected with everyday life."[32] Boulez and Stockhausen may have acknowledged the notions of personal liberty that were originally associated with dodecaphonic music, but, in what Kordes calls "an extreme counterreaction" to Nazi censorship, they chose to redefine the political interpretation[33]: "They […] hoped to promote the notion that their art would be free of political interference, as a way of

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[29] Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 346.

[30] Gesa Kordes, "Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity," in *Music & German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 209.

[31] Henze, "German music," 38.

[32] Ibid., 40.

[33] Kordes, "Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search," 215.

distancing themselves from the activities of composers who let themselves be exploited by the Nazis."[34] In other words, if music could be sufficiently distanced from society, it would be of no value to political groups who wished to appropriate it for propaganda. Composers were consequently directed to ignore the audience and popular musical tastes, and were forbidden to write any music that failed to demonstrate the proper degree of abstraction.[35] The only acceptable stylistic technique was serialism, though within a few years time, the Darmstadt credo had expanded to include aleatory and electronic means as well.

Thus, in West Germany, the prevailing interpretation of new music shifted from a representation of freedom and human rights to one of apolitical reclusion. At the same time, however, this technically progressive, apolitical music was still expected to have political implications. Theodor Adorno, who frequently attended and participated in the Darmstadt summers, championed a view that new music should provoke modern audiences. Henze remembers, "As Adorno decreed, the job of a composer was to write music that would repel, shock, and be the vehicle for 'unmitigated cruelty.'"[36] Within the context of Frankfurt School cultural criticism, Adorno's prescription for avant-garde music followed from the belief that the only way one can begin to construct a better society was to first escape from the hypnosis of the current one. The "culture industry," as he called the capitalist operation in control of popular culture, used the objects of popular taste to encourage complacency within the established system.[37] Included in these tools of manipulation was classical music. Thus, only new music that directly challenged the values of the classical traditions on account of its cultural autonomy could achieve the desired liberation.

Adorno also situated this perspective in opposition to traditional approaches to artistic commitment. In a radio talk entitled "Engagement oder künstlerische Autonomie" (Commitment or Artistic Autonomy), which he delivered in early 1962, Adorno

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[34] Kordes, "Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search," 207. On p. 212, Kordes uses a quotation from *Musik und Politik* to suggest that Henze agreed with this objective at Darmstadt. However, Henze's sentiment in his autobiography and in the essay "German music" in *Music and Politics* is decidedly against the depoliticization of music.

[35] Henze, "German music," 40–41.

[36] Ibid., 40–41.

[37] See Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Destruction," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York: Continuum, 1993), 94–136.

dismissed commitment in all forms of art in favor of aesthetic autonomy. He argued that that committed art was inherently weak because of its inability to portray truth; it was prone to becoming generic and trivializing reality. Therefore, it could not facilitate the awareness needed to break free from society. Schoenberg's *Survivor*, he admitted, comes close in its depiction of suffering, but its reliance on music as a medium of entertainment undermines the seriousness of its effect. Since committed art offered little hope, Adorno believed that "autonomous art" was the only answer. Autonomous art, like the novels of Franz Kafka, the plays of Samuel Beckett or the music of the Darmstadt avant-garde, assumed an antagonistic role in society that instigated change from within:

> Autonomous works of art […] firmly negate empirical reality. […] By dismantling appearance, they explode from within the art which committed proclamation subjugates from without, and hence only in appearance. The inescapability of their work compels the change of attitude which committed works merely demand.[38]

"Autonomous music" might then be characterized according to the political axes introduced earlier as functional music that relies on an internal musical character.[39] What makes it different from traditional committed music, however, is in the scope of its political impact: autonomous music operates within the realm of the aesthetic. It is important to recognize that, for Adorno, however, progressive innovation in the domain of music was a prerequisite for political change in society, so the aesthetic was not completely disconnected from the practical.

Adorno's social interpretation of new music strengthened the Darmstadt dogma that their autonomous music was the only acceptable direction for the future. The problem, however, was that for composers like Henze, who were concerned with immediate issues in society, Adorno's elitist expectations of new music did not seem viable. Henze was skeptical that writing music which took an antagonistic stance towards its audience could ever achieve political reform. Rather, he believed that music should have redemptive power. As early as the second Darmstadt festival, before Boulez or

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[38] Theodor W. Adorno, "Commitment," trans. Francis McDonagh, *New Left Review* I/87–88 (1974): 85–87. First delivered in a radio talk on Radio Bremen, 28 March 1962. First published as "Engagement," *Die Neue Rundschau* 73 no. 1 (1962).

[39] Although Adorno never defines autonomous art explicitly as a political agent, his student Herbert Marcuse, who took a central role in the SDS movement, definitely understood it as having revolutionary potential. See Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).

Stockhausen had assumed leadership, Henze had been inspired by Hermann Scherchen and Karl Amadeus Hartmann in the belief that music was "a specifically human means of expression that posited moral and political commitment."[40] One had to write music for the people, because "through music it would be possible to bring about intellectual and moral change, and democratic musical thinking."[41] On the axis of political scope, Henze was decidedly opposed to the idea that music should ever be directed only at itself; it needed to make an impact on the wider world. He subsequently distanced himself from Darmstadt for good in 1955.

Perhaps in response to Adorno's 1962 radio talk, Henze emerged from Italy in January 1963 to deliver a lecture of his own entitled "Musik als Resistenzverhalten" (Music as a Means of Resistance) at the Technische Universität in Berlin.[42] He used the opportunity to present his own understanding of committed music against the backdrop of his disillusionment in postwar Germany. The excitement of the end of the war, Henze related,

> was sustained for years until it seemed necessary to close oneself off again, against phenomena that one had indeed thought were dead, and that now — in remarkable variants of fascism — opposed the new picture of the world one had constructed. To see in my country how only a few years after dictatorship, impulses have been reawakened that indicate that the spirit of intolerance has not died — this provokes a disappointment that not only lasts, but grows and allies itself with anger and shame (123–24).

Consequently, he vowed to "swim even more consciously against the stream than hitherto, and with, in and through my work plead the cause of a life in which brutality, neglect of charity, and the withholding of intellectual and social freedom are unknown" (124).

Henze's pledge was a direct rejection of the Darmstadt doctrine of apolitical aesthetic isolation. In dedicating himself to reflect humanitarian values in his music, Henze was criticizing the musical avant-garde for its principle of "aesthetic puritanism." This outlook, he contended, "characterizes so much of our musical life, and makes it

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[40] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 64.

[41] Henze, "German music," 45.

[42] Hans Werner Henze, "Music as a Means of Resistance," in *Music and Politics*, 122–29. Published as "Musik als Resistenzverhalten," in *Musik und Politik*, 94–101; and with "Über Instrumentalkomposition" in *Essays* (New York: B. Schott's Söhne, 1964), 113–29. Further page citations will appear in the text.

seem so petty bourgeois by comparison with past ages, since it aims by mechanization and depersonalization to restrict the impact of music on provincial 'consumers'" (124). The means of "mechanization and depersonalization" included both mathematical approaches to serialism as well as chance-based aleatoric techniques — "reification" vs. "chaos," as Henze characterized it (125). Neither of these was sufficient in and of itself to create great music, he argued: "An awareness of urgent harmonized forms, formal ciphers and idioms is needed to master chaos, a chaos that would be as boring and just as ugly as a completely reified work. Infinitude, boundlessness, explosions and chaotic images are needed to resist oppression by the mathematical" (125).

As an alternative, Henze aspired to develop a new direction for composers that would give music the "opportunity for glorification and flooding people with illumination" (123). He proposed that inspiration for the future of music can be found in the forms and models of tradition: "Looking back to the past ages offers strength, stimulus, connection; here parallels and similarities to the present can be found, and the manifest presence of something crystal-like, in inner repose, which radiates a phosphorescent power — a power that reaches down to the present" (122). Henze took inspiration from neoclassicist composers like Stravinsky and Hindemith; but whereas they appropriated historical forms and styles in the interwar period as part of a satiric commentary on the state of society, he believed that tradition could now be used as cultural nourishment. Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, which was premiered in May 1962 for the reopening of the bombed-out Coventry Cathedral in England, is the perfect example of what Henze advocated in 1963, even if he only heard the work three years later. As he reflected in 1979, "The *War Requiem* seemed to me to be a work whose urgency had banished all stylization, and had drawn its expression from an intense capacity for suffering. Moreover the connection with the great requiems of the past seemed natural and unproblematic."[43] Henze praised Britten for having drawn on the masterpieces of Bach, Berlioz, and Verdi to define a new path for postwar composers.

Henze's aesthetic program, even before he articulated it in the 1963 lecture, drew considerable criticism from Adorno and other proponents of the Darmstadt school. Already in 1956, the philosopher criticized Henze as decidedly counter-progressive:

[43] Hans Werner Henze, "Benjamin Britten," in *Music and Politics*, 254–55.

"Many of the most talented German composers suffer in such a way from the determinism to try to break free. […] The bemoaning of constructivist pressure can only be a pretense for drawing back into the comfortable bondage [*Unfreiheit*] of convention."[44] Ironically, of course, Henze believed that in returning to convention he was actually celebrating freedom. The disagreement between Henze and Adorno hinged on two different political interpretations of the composer's musical idiom. For Adorno and others at Darmstadt, where the political scope was by and large restricted to the world of music, all of Henze's compositions could be seen as conservatively political on account of their controversial and "restorative" aesthetic. But as already established, Henze was not concerned about politics in this realm; he looked at politics in society at large. Thus, for Henze, musical styles and forms served as tropes that were directly linked to ideas and ideologies in the real world. By manipulating those tropes within the musical fabric, he believed that music could operate as a semantic language.[45]

It is important to recognize, though, that as much meaning as Henze accorded music, he still looked to external sources for inspiration in choosing his stylistic approach to a composition. For he believed that there should be a unique relationship between the musical aesthetic and the textual or dramatic substance of each individual work. This doctrine was one of his many reasons for refusing to adhere to any particular school of composition: a single style could not properly satisfy all possible content. In spring 1957, Henze was criticized for his varied choice of styles, for being "wavering and positionless" in the score to his ballet *Ondine*. In his response, he explained how with each new work, he searches for the musical style that best fits the project:

> I 'waver' and am 'positionless' in that when I start a work I never have a plan, a preconceived opinion or a theory to direct me. […] Thus with each new composition everything is difficult and problematical until I have found a way — call it, if you will, a technique — in which I can express myself clearly.[46]

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[44] Theodor W. Adorno, "Zum Stand des Komponierens in Deutschland (1960)," *Gesammelte Schriften* 18, 138. Also quoted in Deborah Hochgesang, *Die Opern von Hans Werner Henze im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen zeitgenössichen Musikkritik bis 1966* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1995), 25. "Manche der begabtesten deutschen Komponisten indessen leiden derart an dem Determinismus, daß sie auszubrechen versuchen. Unter ihnen steht an erster Stelle Hans Werner Henze. In Arbeiten wie der Oper *König Hirsch* jedoch hat der Ausbruchsversuch nicht ins ersehnte Reich der Freiheit […] geführt, sondern nach rückwärts, in den Kompromiß. Das Jammern über den konstruktivistischen Zwang kann zum bloßen Vorwand dafür werden, in die bequeme Unfreiheit der Konvention sich zurückzuziehen."

[45] Henze's use of musical tropes and signs is discussed further in Chapter 3.

[46] Hans Werner Henze, "'Wavering and Positionless,'" in *Music and Politics*, 83.

Henze's general ideas of musical meaning translate directly into his approach to politically committed music. This statement emphasizes that, in the context of the axis of political signification, it is not a question of either internal or external meaning. Rather, Henze uses the text or context of a composition as a determining factor in choosing the appropriately matched musical aesthetic. Political meaning exists both internally and externally, with priority given to the latter.

Case Studies

Although many of Henze's early compositions may be interpreted in terms of his antifascist convictions, it was not until 1960 that he first worked on a piece with an overtly political message: the cantata *Jüdische Chronik* (Jewish Chronicle, 1960–61), a collaboration between five East and West German composers that responded to an act of anti-Semitic vandalism. This thesis takes that work as its starting point and looks at two further examples of Henze's political commitment leading up to his transformation in 1966–67: the opera *Der Junge Lord* (The Young Lord, 1963–64) and the instrumental double fugue *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* (In memoriam: The White Rose, 1964–65). During this period from 1960 to 1965, Henze's approach to politically committed music can be summarized according to the three axes. Along the axis of political intention, Henze was rather fluid; as we will see, he composed both subjectively and functionally committed works. His position on the other two axes, however, was relatively fixed. With regard to political signification, Henze favored the external, but used the internal to support the work's intended message. His take on political scope leaned in the direction of the practical; the isolated politics of musical aesthetics was not a central concern.

In spite of his avid belief in the humanitarian purpose of music, Henze nevertheless suffered from great insecurity about his minority status as a composer in the postwar community. This insecurity may be understood to occur along the axis of political scope, where pressures from Darmstadt and from society at large simultaneously alienated the composer from both extremes as well as drew him towards them. At the aesthetic end, Henze believed that Darmstadt's state of political reclusion was irresponsible. But at the same time, he was easily burned or insulted by critics who

subscribed to the Adornian vision of progressive music and therefore regarded the ideas of his 1963 lecture as counterrevolutionary. At the practical end, Henze felt it was his duty to write music that concerned itself with a social and moral cause; to do otherwise only facilitated the fallout of fascism. However, Cold War politics made him uneasy about engaging with topics of current affairs. Furthermore, these two ends were culturally linked, as musical aesthetics had come to assume real political implications in the context of the division of Germany. Within the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Henze's interest in music accessible to the postwar public raised suspicions of affiliation with the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where the use of traditional forms was part of the official cultural policy of socialist realism. This doctrine, defined by Stalin in 1934 as the "creation of cultures national in form and socialist in content," opposed the formalism of modernist European art, distinguished by "a separation of form from content."[47] As Joy Calico explains, "Proponents of socialist realism saw modernism not as something new but as reactionary and clichéd, while the return to classical models in socialist realism was 'new' because the content was new."[48] From the perspective of a West German, Henze's compositional approach fit squarely within East German aesthetics and therefore raised questions of loyalty. For fear of both aesthetic critique and political repercussions, Henze proceeded cautiously with each of his committed works.

The three case studies in this thesis illustrate the various ways in which Henze's aesthetic and political insecurities had an impact on his degree of political commitment in the early 1960s. Building on preexisting scholarship and drawing on a variety of historical resources, including published writings and correspondence by Henze and others, the chapters address the extent of Henze's commitment within the historical and biographical context of each work. Additionally, the arguments turn to selective analyses of the musical scores in order to show how Henze expressed his political thoughts in the music itself.

The subject of the first chapter, the *Jüdische Chronik*, was a project initiated in 1960 by Henze's close friend, the East German composer Paul Dessau as a response to the defacement of a synagogue in Cologne, just one of many neo-fascist acts to plague the post-war era in Germany. Dessau brought together a team of five German composers — Rudolf

[47] Quoted in Joy Calico, "'Für eine neue deutsche Nationaloper': Opera in the Discourses of Unification and Legitimation in the German Democratic Republic," in *Music & German National Identity*, 192.

[48] Ibid., 193.

Wagner-Régeny and Dessau from the East, and Boris Blacher, Karl Amadeus Hartmann and Henze from the West — to collaborate on a shared statement of musical protest. But Henze's political anxiety at a time when the Berlin Wall was only months away led him to withdraw from the project without completing his movement of the cantata. At the same time, his lack of interest in the work when it was premiered in 1966 demonstrates that he was also disappointed in the project from an aesthetic point of view. The lack of musical cohesion that resulted from the collaboration of five distinct composers hindered the work's ability to convey its antifascist message.

In the second chapter, Henze's partnership with the Austrian poet and writer Ingeborg Bachmann on *Der Junge Lord* fostered the maturation of his political commitment. Beginning shortly after his 1963 speech, Henze was determined to create an entertaining opera in the tradition of eighteenth century *opera buffa*. Although the return to this genre was decidedly antagonistic to Darmstadt aesthetics, he embraced its conventions, including the use of tonality, in spite of harsh criticism. When it came to political commitment, however, Henze was initially uninterested in using his comedy to make any kind of social statement. However, Bachmann, who believed strongly that all artwork should aspire to a higher cause, crafted the libretto for *Der Junge Lord* with a potent social critique. Based loosely on an 1826 folk tale by Wilhelm Hauff, the opera follows the fate of a small German town, whose townspeople are taught a harsh lesson that exposes their small-town credulity and deflates their bloated German pride. Although set in 1830, the comic opera's themes were most pertinent to postwar society. In working with Bachmann's libretto, Henze came to understand the genre of *opera buffa* as ideal for expressing a political message.

Whereas the *Jüdische Chronik* and *Der Junge Lord* both try to convince their German audiences to change their ways and are therefore functionally committed, the third chapter turns to a work that serves principally as a subjective memorial to fallen heroes. *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* was written upon Luigi Nono's invitation for the 1965 Congress of Music for the Resistance in Bologna, and it honored the commitment of the students and professor who led the 1942 Nazi resistance movement, "The White Rose," in Munich. The Italian context of the work's premiere amidst celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the Italian Resistance circumvented Henze's concerns about German politics and gave the composer a supportive environment for showcasing his memorial. His decision to compose a double fugue for chamber ensemble, which was inspired by Johann Sebastian Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*, BWV 1079 (Musical Offering, 1747), may be understood, on one hand,

as a counter to aesthetic criticism from the Italian composer and critic Giacomo Manzoni, and on the other, as the basis of a musical trope. In the absence of a text, Henze relied on semantic interpretations of various compositional techniques in order to construct the internal, antifascist message of his work.

While the particularities of these works make it difficult to construct a precise representation of Henze's political development, they do project a general trajectory in his career from a state of political insecurity to a feeling of social responsibility. Furthermore, the three case studies — a statement of protest, a social critique, and a memorial — shed light on the composer's thoughts, as well as on the people and circumstances that shaped his outlook on the world. By revealing these early examples of politically committed works, this thesis demonstrates that Henze's turn to socialist activism in the late 1960s was not as precipitous as it is often portrayed.

Note on the Sources

One of the biggest difficulties in trying to understand Henze's political development in the early 1960s is navigating the available sources. Foremost among these are Henze's own essays about his aesthetics, development, and music. The first collection of his writings appeared in German in 1964 under the title *Essays*. It contained an introduction followed by twenty-one essays and eight interludes that chronicled his compositional career from his prewar studies through his 1963 speech at the Technische Universität in Berlin. In 1976, Henze reprinted *Essays*, along with an assortment of other writings, notes, and interviews that had since appeared, in a new collection entitled *Musik und Politik*. In 1982, Peter Labanyi, with oversight from the composer, translated a selection of that volume into English as *Music and Politics*, making Henze available to North American scholars for the first time. Two years later, a new expanded version of *Musik und Politik* appeared containing essays dated up to 1984. Over the next decade, Henze worked towards completing his autobiography, which was first published in German as *Reiselieder mit böhmischen Quinten* in 1996, and translated into English as *Bohemian Fifths* in 1999.

The abundance of Henze's writings gives substantial insight into his growth as a composer, but it also creates considerable problems for scholars who wish to hone in on a

particular period in his career. For as Henze progressed and matured as a composer, so did his ideas and interpretations. As he returned to particular pieces years later and reflected on them in interviews and writings, he often understood them quite differently than he had at the time of their creation. Since this study tries to understand his ideas and motives in the period between 1960 and 1965, Henze's statements from outside this timeframe cannot always be trusted as indicative of his earlier sentiments. In general, I have tried to make the source of quotations transparent to the reader, especially when its interpretation could be affected by circumstance.

For example, Henze's political participation in the socialist student movements in 1967–68 and his involvement with Cuba in 1969 significantly colored his interpretation of *Der Junge Lord*, when in 1973 he wrote a letter to the intendant of the Theater am Gärtnerplatz in Munich with advice on staging.[49] In 1964–65, the composer had worked closely with director Gustav Rudolf Sellner and set- and costume-designer Filippo Sanjust for the premiere of the opera at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin. Whereas their production presented a quaint and traditional Biedermeier community that, in their capitalist greed, tried to take advantage of the visiting Englishman Sir Edgar, Henze's directions in 1973 advise something quite different: "This Biedermeier is hungry, has fleas, TB; even the Baroness can offer only a dry biscuit and half a cup of weak tea. […] It is thus that the prosperity and sophistication and festive nature of Sir Edgar and his milieu come to seem socially inhumane, and that the piece acquires its dramatic pungency."[50] The composer's preoccupation with socioeconomic disparity in the early 1970s translates into his reading of the opera's social critique. Since this study is concerned with Henze's interpretations of *Der Junge Lord* in 1965, this later statement has been omitted from discussion.

Furthermore, Henze sometimes edited his essays from their original form when he published them in *Essays* or *Musik und Politik*, and such changes are not mentioned in the source listings provided for each entry. In the English volume *Music and Politics*, excisions from the original German are unfortunately frequent and well polished. As much as possible, I have tried to consult the original sources for Henze's essays, but they

[49] Hans Werner Henze, "*Der Junge Lord*: (3) Hints on Staging," in *Music and Politics*, 141–42.
[50] Ibid., 142.

are not always available. When quoting the English translation, I have cross-referenced the German. As an example, Henze's 1965 interview with Klaus Geitel on *Der Junge Lord*, which first appeared in *Musik und Politik* as "Der Einzelganger" (The Loner) and translated in *Music and Politics* as "*Der Junge Lord*: (1) The Making of an *Opera Buffa*," demonstrates both problems.[51] First, Henze edited the interview for the 1976 collection by changing and rearranging statements, as well as by excising several sentences altogether. Second, the translation in *Music and Politics* notably removes the question and answer structure of the German and paraphrases Geitel's questions as opening sentences to each paragraph. For this study, I have reviewed the original, published as "Opera buffa und die Tonalität" (*Opera buffa* and Tonality) in April 1965 in the magazine *Opernwelt*, and have tried to avoid putting Geitel's words in Henze's mouth.[52]

Henze's autobiography is an incredibly rich resource, but not devoid of its own problems. Although based on notes and diaries from his life, one must remember that all of the stories Henze includes in the work are filtered through the composer's seventy-year-old memory. On one hand the autobiography is distanced further from the insecurities of his early career and may therefore be regarded as more objective than his earlier writings. On the other hand, it must still be approached cautiously, and the composer's motives for how he portrays events need to be questioned. In the case of *Der Junge Lord*, the autobiography tends to match other accounts from 1965, so I feel justified in trusting it. For both the *Jüdische Chronik* and *In memoriam*, Henze's exclusion of the pieces from the volume is itself a statement. In the case of the former, I argue that the composer's disappointment with himself for having withdrawn from the project made him try to set aside the episode from his chronology; in the case of the latter, the exclusion may suggest that Henze found fault with its aesthetic construction.

Of all of Henze's writings, his correspondence is perhaps the most useful for understanding the composer's thoughts at any given point in time. The only published collection of Henze's letters is his correspondence with Ingeborg Bachmann.[53] I have used this volume considerably in this study, not just in the second chapter on the opera

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[51] Hans Werner Henze, "Der Einzelgaenger," in *Musik und Politik*, 111–14; "*Der Junge Lord*: (1) The Making of an *Opera Buffa*," in *Music and Politics*, 134–37.

[52] Hans Werner Henze, "Opera buffa und Tonalität," *Opernwelt* 5 no. 4 (1965): 28–30.

[53] Ingeborg Bachmann and Hans Werner Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, ed. Hans Höller (Munich: Piper, 2004).

collaboration between composer and poet, but also in the first chapter as means of understanding what Henze was thinking during the months surrounding his involvement with Paul Dessau and the *Jüdische Chronik*. The fact that Henze and Bachmann lived together or as neighbors for periods during the early 1960s, and that Bachmann was frequently too depressed to correspond, results in substantial gaps in the collection. The majority of the Henze's letters are located in the archives of the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland, where Henze has bequeathed his manuscripts, sketches, and documentary materials. However, because of research limitations for the present work, the contents of that collection were only available second-hand through references in published articles and compendiums. For example, I rely on Jürg Stenzl's description of the letter correspondence between Henze and Nono in fall 1964 that led to Henze's commission of *In memoriam* for its March 1965 premiere.[54] Amy Wlodarski's dissertation chapter on the *Jüdische Chronik* assembles relevant correspondence from various archives in Germany, some of which are published in the two anthologies of Paul Dessau's letters and documents edited by Daniela Reinhold.[55] Similarly, Thomas Beck, Petra Grell, and Christian Bielefeldt provide accounts of primary source documents pertaining to *Der Junge Lord* that can be found in archives in both Basel and Vienna.[56]

Naturally almost all of the source material for Henze's works, as well as the majority of literature about them, appear in the German language. For the present study, I have provided English translations for all quotations, preserving the original German in the footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

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[54] Jürg Stenzl, "Hans Werner Henze und Luigi Nono — eine besondere Freundschaft," in *Im Laufe der Zeit: Kontinuität und Veränderung bei Hans Werner Henze. Symposium, 8. und 9. September 2001, Alte Oper Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich (Frankfurt: Schott Music, 2002), 23–33.

[55] Amy Wlodarski, "The Sounds of Memory: German Musical Representations of the Holocaust, 1945–1965," Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, 2005; Reinhold, Daniela, ed., *Paul Dessau, 1894–1979: Dokumente zu Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Henschel Verlag, 1995) and *Paul Dessau: Let's Hope for the Best, Briefe und Notizbücher aus den Jahren 1948 bis 1978* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Henschel Verlag, 2000).

[56] Thomas Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens: die Libretti Ingeborg Bachmanns für Hans Werner Henze* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 1997); Petra Grell, *Ingeborg Bachmanns Libretti* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1995); Christian Bielefeldt, *Hans Werner Henze und Ingeborg Bachmann, die gemeinsamen Werke: Beobachtungen zur Intermedialität von Musik und Dichtung*, (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2003).

CHAPTER 1

Political Withdrawal: *Jüdische Chronik* (1960–61)

When Henze left his homeland for the Italian countryside in early 1953, he sought refuge from a culture that had never recovered from the damages of the war. He had felt the impact of lingering fascism on both personal and professional levels, and feeling helpless in the face of it — "anti-fascism was *passé*"[1] — he relinquished his own responsibility and looked to Italy for repose. It was a safe place where he could work through the personal insecurities that came from wading against the current of the mainstream.

However, attitudes were not improving in Germany. The relationship between the German Democratic Republic and the Free Republic of Germany had worsened in light of Cold War developments, and the fact that fascist attitudes were still manifest in society was only gaining in visibility. On Christmas Eve 1959, young members of the neo-Nazi German Reich Party broke into a newly refurbished synagogue in Cologne and grossly defaced it with swastikas and racial slurs. By the end of January 1960, the number of similar incidents had grown significantly. West German police records listed 685 anti-Semitic acts of violence and vandalism; 234 people had been arrested, among them largely youth.[2] The situation was an embarrassment, particularly in a land that had so recently been punished for its involvement in mass genocide. And it only helped fuel the growing chasm between the GDR and the FRG. The West German government tried to pass off the attacks as the products of communist instigation from the East. Meanwhile, East Germans interpreted the incidents as evidence of their own superiority; fascism only thrived in the West, they claimed. Furthermore, the events came at a time when the politics of West Germany were already under international scrutiny. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who had personally led the dedication at the reopening of the synagogue in Cologne weeks before the vandalism, was being politically attacked for his decision to appoint former Nazi officials to high positions in his government. In New York, London,

[1] Henze, "Does Music Have to be Political?", 167.

[2] Hans Werner Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit: Zur Kollektivkomposition *Jüdische Chronik*," in *Paul Dessau: Von Geschichte gezeichnet – Symposion P.D. Hamburg 1994*, ed. Klaus Angermann (Hofheim: Wolke, 1995), 171.

and several cities in Israel, protesters drew attention to the questionable stance of West Germany in the face of resurgent anti-Semitism.

It was under these circumstances, Henze recollected in his 1981 essay "A Letter to Young Artists," that he and four colleagues joined together in an act of musical protest:

> When in [1960] signs of anti-Semitism were once again writ large on church and synagogue walls, and anonymous vandals had begun to desecrate gravestones, four friends and myself quickly conceived and wrote a collective composition which we called [*Jüdische Chronik*]. Our idea was to compose a protest and a warning against the acute danger of sliding back into the dark and dreadful world of Nazi-fascism.[3]

The project was actually the brainchild of East German composer Paul Dessau (1894–1979), who had come to the idea upon the suggestion of his Polish friend Jan Senek Korngold in Paris.[4] Dessau, who had been trying for years to encourage artistic collaborations between East and West German musicians, believed this to be the opportunity to craft a united, pan-German statement. Hence, the team of composers he enlisted transcended the political boundary. From the East, in addition to himself, Dessau asked Rudolf Wagner-Régeny (1903–1969) to join in; from the West, he invited Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905–1963), Boris Blacher (1903–1975), and Henze. Dessau envisioned the work as a five-movement cantata, in which each composer would write a movement to a portion of a single text (Table 1.1). To write the words, he balanced out the six-person crew with the East German poet and lyricist Jens Gerlach (1926–1990).

TABLE 1.1 Composer Assignments for the Movements of *Jüdische Chronik*

Movement	Composer	Affiliation
I. Prolog I	Boris Blacher	West Germany
II. Prolog II	Rudolf Wagner-Régeny	East Germany
III. Ghetto	Karl Amadeus Hartmann	West Germany
IV. Aufstand	Hans Werner Henze (completed by Paul Dessau)	West Germany
V. Epilog	Paul Dessau	East Germany

[3] Hans Werner Henze, "A Letter to Young Artists," in *Music and Politics*, 274. The date printed in the 1982 edition of *Music and Politics* for the start of the collaboration is 1963, however, this is markedly wrong and presumably the error of the publishers. Additionally, Henze adds the name of his movement to the name of the work as a whole, calling it *Aufstand: A Jewish Chronicle*.

[4] Daniela Reinhold, ed., *Paul Dessau: Let's Hope for the Best, Briefe und Notizbücher aus den Jahren 1948 bis 1978* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Henschel Verlag, 2000), 73, fn. 42. On 6 April 1960 Dessau wrote to Luigi Nono that the *Jüdische Chronik* project began "at the idea of a friend in Paris" ("auf Anregung eines Freundes in Paris"). Korngold was Dessau's closest friend during his years in Paris in the 1930s. See also p. 28 fn. 50.

As Henze articulated, Dessau was concerned not just that anti-Semitic acts had occurred in Germany, but rather that they were repetitions of "the dark and dreadful world of Nazi-fascism." Gerlach emphasized the circularity of history in the text by linking the events of the present to events from the past. He aligned the most recent acts of desecration with an episode from the Nazi era, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. The first and fourth sections of his text, "Prolog" and "Epilog" serve as bookends for the historical uprising and emphasize the responsibility of people today to change the future course of history.[5] In "Prolog," Gerlach reminds his audience of the acts of vandalism that occurred in winter 1959–60 and draws parallels to the earlier offenses:

> The truth, however, is this:
> It happened once before and there were the same signs that preceded the chaos.
> The truth, however, is this:
> The innocent becomes guilty if he does not warn, lest others fall into guilt.
> The truth, however, is this:
> The past is indelible. The responsibility lies on those of today.[6]

"Epilog" reprises portions of "Prolog" before turning even more directly to the audience: "The image of the world of today and tomorrow bears your face. Be vigilant! Be vigilant!"[7]

The middle sections of the text are dedicated to the historical uprising. In "Ghetto," Gerlach depicts the pitiful way of life in Warsaw. Then, in "Aufstand" (Uprising), he brings the text to its climax. He tells of a lone Jew who rallies his people to rebellion. Upon the Jew's murder at the hands of his oppressors, the people try to strike out and liberate themselves. Gerlach's imagery of emboldened Jews fighting in the face of oppression was meant to arouse the complacent postwar generation to take a stand. As he wrote in the program note for the work's premiere, "For the millions of men who were

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[5] Dessau split Gerlach's first section into two parts: "Prolog I" and "Prolog II". Hence, the first and fourth sections of text correspond to the first ("Prolog I"), second ("Prolog II"), and fifth ("Epilog") movements of the cantata.

[6] "Wahr aber ist: / Es geschah einst, und es waren die gleichen Zeichen, die vorausgingen dem Chaos. / Wahr aber ist: / Schuldig wird der Unschuldige, wenn er nicht warnt vor dem Fall in die Schuld. / Wahr aber ist: Unlöschbar ist die Vergangenheit. Die Verantwortung ist den Heutigen auferlegt."

[7] "Das Bild der Erde von heute und morgen ist euer Antlitz. Seid wachsam! Seid wachsam!"

murdered, there is no means of compensation. For those who live today, however, the obligation falls upon them to prevent the recurrence of such horror."[8]

Dessau's four teammates certainly shared their leader's belief in the cause. For, as Henze recalls in the "Letter,"

> The five of us had all, each in his own way, been brought face to face with his own life in having experienced the gruesome events of the Nazi era. We all had personal experiences to bring to the work, the bitterness of emigration and emargination, the horrors of the war, and of the problems that come from belonging to any kind of minority.[9]

Dessau was a Jew and a communist and was forced to live out the war in exile. Hartmann remained in Germany but never consented to the National Socialist program; rather he engaged in an *innere Emigration* (internal emigration).[10] Both Blacher and Wagner-Régeny went along with the Nazis and had successful premieres under the early years of the regime, but they never believed in the doctrine. Henze, of course, struggled terribly as a youth with the influx of Nazi ideology, and, like Wagner-Régeny, was later drafted to serve in the army.[11] The congeniality of these composers was important to the project. As Hanns-Werner Heister summarizes, "Those who were part of and cooperating [in the collaboration] were not joined with each other only by more or less close friendships, but also by a humanistic commitment."[12] The extent of that commitment was called into question in 1961, however, when political tension between East and West Germany escalated. Upon the start of construction on the Berlin Wall in August, the West German contingent of the *Jüdische Chronik* project begged Dessau to postpone the dual East-

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[8] Quoted in Amy Wlodarski, "Chapter 4: A 'Collected' Chronicle: Paul Dessau's *Jüdische Chronik* (1960/61) as a Holocaust Postmemory," in "The Sounds of Memory: German Musical Representations of the Holocaust, 1945–1965" (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, 2005), 234.

[9] Henze, "Letter to Young Artists," 275.

[10] The term *innere Emigration* was coined by the German writer Frank Thiess and referred to the behavior of countless German writers, artists, and musicians who opposed the Nazi regime but were unable or unwilling to leave their homeland; instead, they directed their disapproval inwards.

[11] Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit," 172. Henze may also have been referring to intolerance towards homosexuality when he mentions "the problems that come from belonging to any kind of minority."

[12] Ibid., 172. "Die hier friedlich Koexisterienden und Kooperierenden waren nicht nur durch mehr oder minder enge freundschaftliche Beziehungen miteinander verbunden, sondern auch durch ein humanistisches Engagement."

West premiere of the cantata scheduled in October, for which rehearsals in Leipzig and Cologne were already under way.[13]

In particular, the strength of Henze's commitment to the *Jüdische Chronik* shifted considerably and unexpectedly throughout the period of its composition and reception. Initially, Henze was happy to join the team, and once on board, he was assigned the climactic fourth movement, "Aufstand," by far the most dramatically eventful of the cantata and well suited for an up-and-coming opera composer of international fame.[14] But Henze never finished his movement. He withdrew from the project in December 1960, claiming he needed to devote his time and energy to his most recent opera, *Elegy for Young Lovers* (1961). Henze handed over the 131 measures he had drafted, and Dessau was forced to complete the movement in great haste, adding another 85. With the construction of the Berlin Wall, Henze, along with compatriots Hartmann and Blacher, stepped further away from the collaboration. When Dessau finally arranged for the cantata's premiere in winter 1966 after several failed attempts, Henze stood up his teammates at the performances in both Cologne and Leipzig. Other than having his name on the program, Henze's dissociation from the *Chronik* was nearly complete. But then in 1981, for the first performance of the cantata in Berlin, he wrote the "Letter to Young Artists" in which he celebrated the cantata for its political objectives. He emphasized his solidarity with the other members of the team and affirmed his utmost commitment to the project.[15] But in yet another reversal, one finds no mention of the collaboration in Henze's five hundred page autobiography that he published in 1996.

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[13] The work was finally premiered in West Germany on 14 January 1966 in Cologne with the Cologne Radio Symphony Orchestra and Choir under Christoph von Dohnànyi and in East Germany on 16 February 1966 in Leipzig with the Leipzig Radio Orchestra and Choir under Herbert Kegel.

[14] Amy Wlodarski supposes this is why Dessau chose Henze for the movement. Hartmann got the melancholic "Ghetto," presumably after his reputation for composing "lyrical Holocaust laments." Blacher and Wagner-Regeny split the "Prolog" and Dessau took the "Epilog." In a 1974 interview, Blacher explained the rationale for these assignments: "[When] we parceled out the roles, I received the opening section because I wrote the softest music of [all the participants]. [Dessau] received the last section because he wrote the loudest music. The middle three movements were assigned to Wagner-Regeny, Henze, and Hartman." Quoted in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 213.

[15] Henze's "Letter" may have arisen circumstantially in response to two other reflections that Henze wrote on Dessau (1979) and Hartmann (1980). In the latter essay, Henze briefly reviewed the *Jüdische Chronik* project in a positive, humanitarian light that foreshadows the "Letter" in 1981. Additionally, the "Letter," first written in English, was translated to German for the first Berlin performance of the cantata on 9 May 1981. See Hans Werner Henze, "Erinnerungen an Paul Dessau," in *Musik und Politik*, 288–90; "Laudatio für Karl Amadeus Hartmann," in ibid., 332–43; and "Zur Berlin Erstaufführung der 'Jüdischen Chronik,'" in ibid., 344–46.

This chapter explores Henze's relationship to the *Jüdische Chronik* in his very first experience working on a politically committed composition. In general, the composer's dissociation from the work was motivated by both political insecurity and aesthetic dissatisfaction. First, as a functional work dedicated to exposing the remnants of fascism in society, the project fit squarely within Henze's political concerns circa 1960. But his withdrawal at a time when politics was a contentious discourse points to the fact that the political implications of the cantata's message pushed the composer beyond his comfort zone. Second, as a work that relied on an external text for its political meaning, the *Jüdische Chronik* was consistent with Henze's aesthetic approach. However, his later detachment from the work suggests that he was ultimately disappointed by the semantic inefficacy of the music, presumably the result of the cantata's aesthetic disunity. Since the later "Letter to Young Artists" is Henze's only commentary on the *Chronik*, this chapter relies largely on circumstantial evidence from the composer's teammates, as well as on selective analysis of the score.

Political Insecurity

The possibility that Henze's political insecurity might interfere with his commitment to the *Jüdische Chronik* project should have been a concern from the very beginning, when he made his participation conditional on the content of Gerlach's text.[16] The antifascist cause was one in which Henze believed strongly, and he was likely pleased to find in Dessau a fellow composer who was willing to use music for that purpose. However, Henze was generally reluctant to engage with Cold War politics. His preference for Italy, where he could easily ignore the situation in his homeland, is perhaps the most obvious testament to his attitude. In fact, the only reason that Henze later found the city of Berlin comfortable was that he realized he could live there in a similar state of political isolation:

> Never would I have thought that it could be so beautiful here [in Berlin] […] We are no longer in the Adenauer republic, rather in an exceptional place, euphoria

[16] Karl Amadeus Hartmann, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, ed. Renata Wagner (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1980), 202. Letter from Henze to Hartmann, dated 13 March 1960: "Ich habe es für mich vom Text abhängig gemacht." Quoted and translated in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 200.

> and hope of the first years after the downfall of the Nazis are here still alive and palpable. […] Here I can even be a German.[17]

When Henze expressed his delight for this discovery in October 1960, only two months before notifying Dessau of his decision to leave the *Chronik* project, he could never have realized how severely politics in the German *Hauptstadt* would change not even a year later. Nevertheless, relations between East and West Germany were already quite tense, sufficiently so to make the composer uneasy about the collaboration and its message. For, as Jeffrey Herf shows in his book *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, the topic of the Holocaust and Nazi fascism had become closely integrated into the political platforms of East and West Germany.[18] The platforms of the two states had much to do with how they went about rebuilding in the years after World War II. In the *Sowjetischen Besatzungszone* (SBZ, Soviet Occupied Zone), the precursor to the GDR, leadership passed to former communist leaders who lived out the war in exile in Moscow. Their adamant self-pronouncement as leaders of anti-fascist activity before and during the war made the SBZ the natural home for many Jews.[19] The SBZ recognized the crimes against the Jews and accepted the collective guilt. Jews received reparations, but their status as victims was downgraded below those persecuted on the basis of communist affiliation.[20]

In the West, Adenauer refused to accept responsibility for the events of the war. Many German citizens saw themselves as victims, rather than the Jews. The approach to rebuilding prioritized repairs to infrastructure and international relations over matters of

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[17] Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 240. Letter 148, Henze to Bachmann, dated Berlin, 24 October 1960: "Nie hätte ich gedacht, dass es hier so schön sein könnte, man wird geachtet, aber auch in Ruhe gelassen wenn man will, alles ist einfach und klar. Nun sind wir hier nicht in der Adenauerrepublik, sondern in einer besonderen Lage, Euphorie und Hoffnung der ersten Jahre nach dem Ende der Nazis sind hier noch wach und spürbar, und ich bin gern hier und mag es. Eine Grosstadt, stark und muskulös und frei und von einer atemberaubenden Frischluft erfüllt, je länger man hier ist, desto deuthlicher spurt man das. Also hier kann ich sogar Deutscher sein."

[18] See Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[19] Amy Wlodarski, "Chapter 5: National Identity after National Socialism: *Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial" (Unpublished manuscript made available by author, last modified 24 January 2011, Microsoft Word file), 8.

[20] Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 7–9. As politics changed with the establishment of the GDR, many Jews decided to leave for the FRG. The influx of Jews in the FRG, however, triggered negative reactions from the Westerners, and led to the acts of vandalism in 1959 that inspired Dessau to begin the *Jüdische Chronik*. See p. 13–16.

guilt and atonement.[21] To ensure a rapid recovery, Adenauer had controversially reappointed several officials who had served during Hitler's regime.[22] Most contentious of these appointments was Hans Globke, Adenauer's State Secretary, who had previously served as Director of the Office of Jewish Affairs under Hitler. The proximity of men like Globke to the Adenauer government instigated protest and generated disapproval all around the world, however, none so trenchant as those in East Germany. Since the founding of the GDR in 1949, political opposition to the FRG engendered a shift in the official program to what Dan Diner calls the "myth of antifascism."[23] According to this perspective, the socialist GDR held no share in the legacy of fascism in Germany; only in the FRG did the fragments of Hitler's regime still linger. That several former Nazi executives now served in the government of the FRG provided ready ammunition for the East German government to embarrass its neighboring state. Amy Wlodarski explains, "In this regard, the GDR considered itself the only legitimate postwar generation within Germany, as the FRG became characterized as nothing more than an extension of the Third Reich."[24] As the East threw accusations of fascism at the FRG, the West threw accusations of Stalinism back at the GDR. Cold War politics made the boundary between the two Germanys a dangerous line to cross.

From his distance in Italy, Henze may not have recognized the severity of the situation when he agreed to join the *Jüdische Chronik* project in spring 1960. By the time he relocated to Berlin in the fall, however, he was surely struck by the potential ramifications of collaborating with East Germans on an antifascist protest. Consequently, Henze's use of the opera *Elegy for Young Lovers* as his excuse for needing to withdraw from the *Jüdische Chronik* in December 1960 should also be understood as an act of political detachment.[25] From one perspective, acknowledging that Henze was, in fact,

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[21] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 195–97.

[22] According to Article 131 of the Basic Law, any public official or military personnel who were forced to resign as of 8 May 1945 because deemed "accessories" to the Nazis were granted reinstatement or retirement with full pension.

[23] Dan Diner, "On the Ideology of Antifascism," *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996): 123–32.

[24] Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 9.

[25] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 72. Dessau wrote in his diary on 10 January 1961, "Henze komponierte den 'Aufstand' nicht ganz. Seine Opernarbeit hinderte ihn daran." Concurrently with the start Dessau's project, Henze began the composition of a new opera, his *Elegy for Young Lovers*.

overburdened with work,[26] his prioritization of the opera over the cantata demonstrates that Henze had a greater degree of obligation to a work that promised financial gain and professional success than to one that merely expressed a humanitarian message.[27] Indeed, the *Elegy* was not the only project on his plate; however, the obligations that Henze put before the *Chronik* in 1960 were nearly all geared toward career advancement, rather than social awareness.[28] From another, more skeptical perspective, the opera project may have served as nothing more than the opportune excuse for distancing himself from political implications he was not ready to assume. After all, Henze was fully engaged with the *Elegy* and had known what was on his plate when he entered into Dessau's project in early 1960.[29] The fact that he was unable to complete the remainder of "Aufstand," what amounted to less than three minutes of music in Dessau's setting, suggests that rather than not having enough time, Henze simply did not want to finish his movement for the cantata. Whichever was the case (and perhaps it was a combination of both), Henze's prioritization of the *Elegy* over the *Jüdische Chronik* project indicates his preference for political abstention.

As the situation continued to escalate between the East and the West, Henze's Western compatriots Blacher and Hartmann also became uneasy about supporting the project. In addition to working with artists from the GDR, it was most likely the

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[26] Already then, in early 1960, Henze's workload was so significant that the stress was causing him physical illness. On 3 March, Henze wrote to his friend Ingeborg Bachmann: "Dear Inge, forgive me that I haven't written for so long, [I] had (and have still, just like you) too much work, and as a result I was chronically ill and had to once again stop working; even now I'm lying in a clinic." While Henze's health had presumably improved by the time he agreed to join Dessau's collaboration, the workload persisted. Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 233. See Letter 145, Henze to Bachmann, dated Naples, 3 March 1960: "Liebste Inge, verzeih mir dass ich so lange nicht geschrieben habe, hatte (und habe noch, genau wie Du) zuviel Arbeit, und dabei war ich dauernd krank und musste immer wieder unterbrechen, jetzt liege ich sogar in der Klinik."

[27] The *Elegy for Young Lovers* was commissioned by the Süddeutsche Rundfunk for the Schetzinger Festspiele in 1961.

[28] Beyond compositional work on the *Elegy* and finishing touches on the orchestral *Antifone*, subsequent letters to Bachmann reveal that in the summer of 1960 Henze attended the premiere of his opera *Der Prinz von Homburg* in Hamburg and conducted the work days later in Spoleto, taught a masterclass in composition at the Musikhochschule in Cologne, travelled to Salzburg, and took a short vacation in the mountains in Switzerland. See letters 144–48 in Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*. 230–41. On top of all this, the end of a long-term relationship with his student Giulio di Majo left Henze with "many wounds to the soul that must first heal before I can rightfully return to work." Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 238, 505. See Letter 147, Henze to Bachmann, dated Naples, 11 July 1960: "noch viele Verletzungen in der Seele, die erst ausheilen müssen, bevor ich richtig in die Arbeit komme"

By the fall, he was deep into the composition of the *Elegy* and faced with the added complication of needing to translate it for its German premiere. Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 239.

[29] Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 239.

implications of Gerlach's text that were the cause of their worry. Gerlach came from the East, and his text therefore reflected aspects of Eastern attitudes toward the West. Certainly, the three men believed in the *Chronik*'s statement, but they were likely wary of how the portrayal of events would strike audiences in the FRG. Gerlach's text could easily be read as critical of West German behavior in the decade and a half after the war. The acts of anti-Semitic desecration that triggered the project in late 1959 occurred in West Germany, and although Gerlach conscientiously omitted this detail from the script, his directives and warnings — "The image of the world of today and tomorrow bears your face. Be vigilant! Be vigilant!" — were nonetheless pointedly accusatory of the state of affairs in the FRG.[30] For the West German composers, association with such a critique could have had significant repercussions for their professional careers.

Meanwhile, Dessau believed that the *Chronik* was more relevant than ever before. After Henze withdrew from the project, Dessau was in a great hurry to complete the work and have it premiered, lest the December 1959 acts of vandalism that spurred the collaboration be forgotten. However, he recognized that the anti-Semitic and neo-fascist sentiments had yet to dissipate. "That [the *Chronik*] is still relevant [today]," he noted in his journal in January 1961, "attests to the shame on our civilization."[31] Dessau believed that the *Chronik*'s message would make the biggest impact if timed appropriately with major political events that were already drawing national and international attention. He hoped that these current events would give a fresh context to the cantata's message. They would exemplify the ongoing resurgence of fascist ideology in contemporary culture and make Gerlach's text even more relevant to the present day. However, Blacher and Hartmann were less enthralled by the political ramifications of a precipitously timed premiere. The three Westerners now stood together in their political insecurity.

Dessau's first idea for the premiere of the *Jüdische Chronik* was in alignment with the trial of the former Nazi leader Adolf Eichmann that began on 11 April 1961 in

[30] Dessau may have also tried to neutralize the East-West politics of the anti-Semitic events by choosing composers from both the East (Wagner-Regeny) and the West (Blacher) for the initial portrayal of the present-day state of Germany in the two halves of the "Prolog." See Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 18.

[31] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 72. Dated 10 January 1961: "Dass es immer noch aktuell ist, bedeutet einen Schandfleck auf unserer Zivilisation."

Jerusalem.[32] The trial received international attention as the first major demonstration of justice against the perpetrators of the Nazi Regime since the end of the war. More so than the Nuremberg trials in 1945, the Eichmann trial exposed the atrocities of the Holocaust on a human level. Adolf Eichmann was tried for "crimes against the Jewish people."[33] Not surprisingly, Dessau found the circumstances most appropriate for the message of the *Chronik*. As he began to solicit publishers in February 1961, he wanted to produce the score in time for a premiere that coincided with the trial: "With the Eichmann Trial underway, [the cantata] concerns every person who drifts off into complacency."[34] But the politics of the trial were not so unilateral. The fact that Israel was the site of the proceedings and that Israeli judges were leading them raised eyebrows around the world. In Germany, the GDR was generally anti-Israel, the FRG was ultimately pro. At the time of the trial, the GDR took advantage of the proceedings and used them as propaganda to malign the FRG for its continued employment of former Nazi officials like Globke.[35] In this context, Blacher, Hartmann, and Henze surely feared that the criticism in Gerlach's text would ignite hostility between East and West Germany. In turn, their affiliation with the *Chronik* would cast doubt on their political allegiance. Thus, Blacher asked Dessau to hold off on the premiere until the trial ended.[36]

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[32] During World War II, Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962) had served a leading role in the Nazi Gestapo as the director of the Jewish Department, from where he oversaw the transportation of millions of Jews, Gypsies, and other prisoners to death camps across Europe. In May 1960, Israeli security services captured Eichmann in Argentina after he escaped Germany at the end of the war. For more on the trial, see Leora Bilsky, "Eichmann Trial," in *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, ed. Dinah Shelton, vol. 1 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 278–81.

[33] Bilsky, "Eichmann Trial," 280.

[34] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 73. Dated 4 February 1961: "Das Stück muss spätestens im Mai heraus. Mit dem Eichmann-Prozess hat es alle Menschen zu treffen, die drohen, einzuschlummern in ihrem Saft." Dessau solicited the publisher Bote & Bock with the *Jüdische Chronik* but they declined him. When Schott also turned him down, he published the cantata on his own. In 1966, Bote & Bock finally agreed to take on the work.

[35] Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 27.

[36] On 6 June 1961 Dessau recorded in his diary, "Blacher is already shitting himself. Poor, western "democracy"! But: the collective work remains an accomplishment. Discretion, concession is now [the] first political request." ("Blacher scheisst sich jetzt schon in die Hosen. Armselige, westliche "democracy"! Aber: die Kollektivarbeit bleibt eine Errungenschaft. Klugheit, Nachgeben ist jetzt erstes politisches Gebot.") The remark was most probably in regards to his agreement to wait for the trial's conclusion. Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 75.

The proceedings came to a close on 14 August 1961 and Dessau scheduled the dual premiere in Cologne and Leipzig for October.[37] However, political relations between East and West Germany had taken a turn for the worse. On the day before the Eichmann trial ended, the GDR began work on the Berlin Wall. Hartmann, Blacher, and Henze were anxious about the fall premieres and wired Dessau on 28 August 1961: "Please abandon the premiere of the Jewish cantata for the time being; we will negotiate a later date in due course."[38] Dessau felt betrayed at their withdrawal. "Mental terror! Fear! A little civil courage and everything would be better," he recorded in his journal that evening.[39] In the correspondence that followed, it is clear that Dessau was the only person who believed that the *Jüdische Chronik* could be performed propitiously amidst the circumstances. He maintained that his political affiliations had nothing to do with the cantata and that they should not stand in the way of its premiere. "I always had the impression that we understood each other quite well in spite of [my communist beliefs]," he wrote to Blacher, his closest friend among the West German trio.

> I never made a big deal out of my worldview. We both set Brecht's texts to music. We both want to write good music. My situation is only different in that with every tone that I write, I hold a responsibility to the community in which I live and for which I work. And it was such a responsibility that you and the others displayed when you … agreed to collaborate [with me] on the *Jüdische Chronik*.[40]

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[37] The guilty verdict of the trial was not issued until 12 December; three days later Eichmann was sentenced to death. He was hung on 31 May 1962.

[38] Reinhold, *Dokumente zu Leben und Werk*, 110. Item 142: Telegram, Hartmann to Dessau, Munich, 28. August 1961: "Bitte von Uraufführung zur Jüdischen Kantate zur Zeit absehen zu wollen über spätere Daten werden wir zur gegebenen Zeit verhandeln stop erbitte Bestätigung unserer Wünsche stop telegrafiere im Namen von Boris Blacher Hans-Werner Henze und in meinem Namen stop / herzliche Grüße / Dein Karl Amadeus." Translation based on Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 231–232.

[39] Daniela Reinhold, ed., *Paul Dessau, 1894–1979: Dokumente zu Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Henschel Verlag, 1995), 77. Dated 28 August 1961: "Geistes-Terror! Angst! Ein bisschen Zivilcourage + alles wär besser."

[40] Quoted in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 232–33. Dessau to Boris Blacher, no date (probably late August 1961): "Ich kann mir nicht denken, dass Ihr ein Werk, dass sich gegen den Antisemitismus richtet und Greuel aus den Zwanziger Jahren anprangert, nur, weil ich im Osten Deutschlands lebe und Kommunist bin, jetzt nicht an die Öffentlichket gelangen lassen wollt! … Ich hatte immer den Eindruck, dass wir uns trotzdem sehr gut verstanden haben. Auch habe ich nie ein Mehl aus meiner Weltanschauung gemacht. Wir beide haben Texte von Brecht komponiert. Wir beide wollen gute Musik schreiben. Nur ist meine Position eine etwas andere, weil ich mit jedem Ton, den ich schreibe, der Gesellschaft, in dem ich lebe und für die ich arbeite, verantwortlich bin. Und solche eine grosse Verantwortung, lieber Blacher, bewiesen doch Sie und alle andern, als Sie sich…erklärten, an der JC mitzuarbeiten. Glauben Sie mir, Blacher, dass … durch diese Bereitschaft besonders meine Freundschaft und Bewunderung gesteigert wurde." Translation based on Wlodarski.

Blacher was direct in his reply: "We, Hartmann, Henze, and I, are convinced that this is not the best time for a performance of the *Chronik*. Let us wait for a more peaceful time and hope that this comes soon."[41] Dessau pleaded him once more to reconsider:

> When we last spoke about our *Jüdische Chronik*, I yielded to your wish that the premiere not occur during the Eichmann Trial. […] I understand if you perceive [the East's] measures on 13 August foremost as an intensification of the division of Germany. But, dear Blacher, what does our *Chronik* have to do with that! We Five [composers] stand by the statement that we crafted in this work. In no way was our statement denouncing anti-Semitism a statement promoting communism. […] The *Chronik* was not written in "peaceful times." We wrote it such that more peaceful times would come. Thus, we must let it be premiered.[42]

Dessau's letter demonstrates that he did understand the Westerners' insecurity to an extent.[43] Yet he was still frustrated to see their commitment wane. In all fairness, Dessau could never have predicted the extreme turn of the political situation in 1961, just as Henze would not have understood the full implications of Gerlach's text when he agreed to collaborate in 1960. Nevertheless, Dessau was certainly aware that the individual political leanings of his team members could impair their willingness to collaborate. He had taken considerable care when recruiting to ensure that the five composers of the team would stand side-by-side in affirmation of the project's political

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[41] Reinhold, *Dokumente zu Leben und Werk*, 111. Letter from Blacher to Dessau, dated 11 September 1961: "Wir, d h. Hartmann, Henze und ich, sind der Überzeugung, dass im Moment nicht die günstigste Zeit ist für eine Aufführung der 'Chronik.' Warten wir doch eine ruhigere Zeit ab und hoffen wir, dass diese baldigst kommt." Translation based on Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 233.

[42] Ibid., 111. Letter from Dessau to Blacher, dated Berlin, 30 September 1961: "Lieber Blacher! / [...] Als wir uns zuletzt über unsere „Jüdische Chronik" unterhielten, gab ich Ihrem Wunsch nach, die Aufführung nicht während des „Eichmann-Prozesses" ansetzen zu lassen. Wir waren uns einig, eine gemeinsame Aufführung im Herbst 61 in beiden Teilen Deutschlands zu organisieren. Ich organisierte eine Aufführung in Leipzig, während bei Euch Köln in Aussicht genommen wurde. / Die Vorproben für die Leipziger Aufführung waren im vollen Gange, als ich Hartmanns Telegramm erhielt. Sie können sich vorstellen, welche Schwierigkeiten ich zu bekämpfen hatte, um die geplante Aufführung nun abblasen lassen zu müssen. Ich verstehe, wenn Sie unsere Maßnahmen vom 13. August zunächst als eine Verschärfung der Teilung Deutschlands empfinden. Aber, lieber Blacher, was hat unsere „Chronik" damit zu tun! Wir Fünf stehen zu dem Bekenntnis, das wir in diesem Werk abgelegt haben. In keiner Weise ist dieses Bekenntnis gegen den Antisemitismus ein Bekenntnis für den Kommunismus. Weshalb, in Mozarts Namen, wollen Sie nicht, dass man die „Chronik" aufführt? / Lieber Blacher! Die „Chronik" wurde nicht in „ruhigen Zeiten" geschrieben. Wir haben sie geschrieben, damit ruhigere Zeiten kommen sollen. Also müssen wir sie aufführen lassen. Bitte tun Sie doch alles, dass eine baldige Aufführung in Westdeutschland stattfinden kann. Wir werden uns dann mit der Leipziger Aufführung nach Ihnen richten. [...] / Allerherzlichst bin ich stets / Ihr [ohne Unterschrift]". Translation based on Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 233–34. The use of the word "premiere" rather than simply "performance" is an interpolation on Dessau's choice of "Aufführung" in order to clarify that he is discussing the very first performance.

[43] His choice of closing words — "Allerherzlichst bin ich stets" ("Most cordial as always") — also show that he did not take Blacher's actions completely to heart.

message. For this reason, he chose to exclude Hanns Eisler, who was widely recognized as an actively political composer and father of the East German music scene. Dessau feared that Eisler's strong commitment to the GDR and his endorsement of Stalinism would have forced a divide between the united effort of the East and West German artists.[44] In his diary, he explained, "[I]t must be said, that it would have been very hard for me to assemble the collective with [E]isler. I know that one [composer] or the other would have refused to work with [him]."[45]

Although the three Western composers eventually united in opposition to Dessau's pan-German demonstration, Henze's decision to withdraw several months before his compatriots may be explained according to their varying degrees of professional maturity. Blacher and Hartmann were nearly twenty-five years Henze's senior and had already established themselves as composers within the accepted prewar musical scene. Hartmann, for example, had already embraced the political cause in the early 1930s with various compositions dedicated to the victims of the fascist regime.[46] In 1960–61, however, Henze's career, was still developing, and he had already suffered substantial criticism from the "authorities" of West German music. Thus, he was more vulnerable than his fellow Western collaborators and had more to lose.

Over the next several years, Dessau continued to look for an opportunity to premiere the cantata, whose relevance in the divided Germanys was slowly changing.[47] In

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[44] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 200.

[45] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 76. Dated 6 June 1961: "6.6.61 […] / Eisler schreibt seinem "Kl-Eckermann" Notenwitz ([Nathan] Notowicz), wie ihn meine Haltung enttäuscht habe, dass ich ihn nicht zur Komposition der "Jüdischen Chronik" hinzugezogen habe! 1) *war E. in Wien + sehr krank*. 2) aber ist dazu zu sagen, dass es mir schwer gefallen ware, das Kollektiv aufzustellen *mit* E. / Ich weiss, dass sich der eine oder andere geweigert hätte, mit E. zusammen zu arbeiten. Wie dem auch sei, er war gar nicht in der Lage, mitzuarbeiten + ich hoffe, das ser bald wieder wird komponieren können; denn das kann er." Translation based on Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 200–201.

[46] See Lauriejean Reinhardt, "Karl Amadeus Hartmann's *Miserae* (1933–1934)," in *Music History from Primary Sources: A Guide to the Moldenhauer Archives*, ed. Jon Newsom and Alfred Mann (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 2000), 239–48.

[47] After the premieres of the *Jüdische Chronik* in East and West Germany, the significance of Dessau's political message shifted considerably. Amy Wlodarksi explains, "In the years that followed, the Holocaust cantata lost cultural relevance in the FRG, where it was attacked by critics as an inadequate attempt at Holocaust representation and dismissed by western musicologists, who found its political engagement aesthetically compromising. In the GDR, however, it continued to accrue cultural significance as a home-grown Holocaust memorial, with musical credit given to its primary architect, East German composer Paul Dessau" (Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 3). Wlodarski exhaustively chronicles the cantata's afterlife in the GDR where it was incorporated into the educational

1962, he tried to arrange a performance in the East at the Warsaw Autumn Festival of Contemporary Music, though to no avail.[48] Dessau also tried to get the work on the program of the 1965 Congress of Music for the Resistance in Bologna, which would feature Henze's *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose*, but he was again unsuccessful. The *Jüdische Chronik* finally received its dual premiere in early 1966, but by this time Henze's interest in the project had faded completely. At the Cologne performance on 14 January, only Dessau and Blacher showed up to represent the team. Wagner-Régeny and Gerlach were sick and Hartmann had passed away in 1963. But Henze's absence was inexplicable, especially since he was residing in Germany at the time.[49] Similarly, at the Leipzig premiere on 16 February, Blacher joined Dessau as the sole representatives of their work and statement, and Henze, who was this time present in Leipzig, did not show up.[50] One might wonder if Henze's evasiveness was an attempt to further remove himself from the *Chronik* in light of his political insecurity. However, by this time in 1966 Henze's inclinations towards politics had greatly shifted. While living in Berlin he had already begun to frequent the circle of socialist intellectuals who would ultimately bring him to the Socialist League of German Students in 1967. Many of the issues that were now important to him went hand in hand with the message of the *Chronik*.

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curriculum in the late 1960s and showcased at the first national commemoration of *Kristallnacht* in the 1980s.

[48] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 234. Hartmann and Blacher were evidently supportive of this venue. Nevertheless, the festival's organizational committee required written permission from all composers involved, both from the East and from the West, and evidently they did not receive it in time. Henze's opinion on this performance is unknown, but the fact that Western permission was delayed might suggest that he was still ambivalent.

[49] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 105. Dated 14 January 1966: "Am 14. I. 66: Uraufführung der „Jüdischen Chronik" in Köln. Grosser Eindruck! / Aufführung, besonders Chor & Orchester (v. Dohnányi) sehr gut; Solisten weniger befriedigend. Blacher war anwesend; Henze, obgleich in Berlin zu der Zeit, kam *nicht*! (Kein Kommentar.) / Wagner-Regeny + Gerlach: Krank."

[50] Dessau recorded Henze's absence in a journal entry on the day of the Leipzig premiere (16 February 1966): "Die 'Chronik' unter Kegel in Leipzig. Weit plastischer, gestischer, deutlicher. Wieder war Blacher anwesend. *Henze drückt sich*." See Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 106. That Henze was nevertheless present in Leipzig can be deduced from his entry in another journal on the very same day: "'Jüdische Chronik' in Leipzig unter Kegel. Ausgezeichnete Aufführung (schwächer der Schumann, I.) / Wieder war Blacher da. / Treffe später Henze in der Philharmonie, wo Egk dirigiert. Kriegt einen rotten Kopf. Kein rotes Herz!" See Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 92.

Aesthetic Disunity

While undoubtedly motivated by political worry, Henze's initial concern for the nature of Gerlach's text may also be understood according to the composer's aesthetic tenets. As much as he believed that music could be employed as a semantic language, he recognized that a well-written text was central to creating a composition with a strong message. Therefore, the poetic cohesiveness of Gerlach's text was crucial to the effectiveness of Dessau's intended project. Presumably Henze was satisfied by what the Eastern lyricist produced — the political implications aside. Furthermore, only once the dramatic content of the work was established, so Henze had explained in his 1956 defense against being "wavering and positionless," could the composer — or in this case, the five composers — develop the suitable stylistic medium to illustrate it. The political potency of the cantata's message therefore relied on an alliance of the internal musical material with the external text.

Whatever Henze's reasons were for not attending the *Chronik* premieres, the fact that hearing the final composition was of little priority suggests that he was displeased or dissatisfied by its overall aesthetic. In his own movement, Henze decided upon a stylistic approach steeped in theatrical techniques that he used in his operas. One may assume that he was content with what he had chosen, at least enough so to feel comfortable handing it over to Dessau. However, by the nature of the collaboration, Henze remained unaware of how his teammates had opted to compose their movements; there had been little communication. If he had perused the final score of the *Jüdische Chronik* when it was published in 1961, he would have realized that the five composers had employed differing instrumental and vocal orchestration, as well as a selection of compositional styles ranging from modal to serial. As a whole, the work defied Henze's principle of aesthetic and dramatic unity. Since he believed that the efficacy of a work relied on its stylistic cohesion, the individualistic nature of the *Jüdische Chronik* compromised any hope of a successful performance. If the goal was to articulate a political message, the aesthetic disparity would interfere. Whereas Gerlach's text served as the primary unifying element of the *Jüdische Chronik*, the individual approaches taken by each composer weakened its political potential. Appropriately, Amy Wlodarski calls the composition "a hodgepodge of uncoordinated individual movements that undermined [its] potency as

engagierte Musik in that the musical disorder distracted from the work's 'unified' statement and political text."[51] Even reviews of the Cologne premiere in 1966 found the work problematic on account of its aesthetic disunity. Rudolf Heinemann, admittedly the "most scathing" critic, wrote in *Die Welt*, "How could anything else other than a rather disunited mixture of styles be expected of *Jüdische Chronik*, given the [stylistic] difference between the composers?" For Heinemann, this "musical defect […] is always inherent in collaborative works."[52]

The idea of collaborating with colleagues on a work was not foreign to Henze. Throughout his career, he participated in and led several group projects.[53] But the concern for achieving aesthetic unity was not always as fundamental to the success of a collaboration, as it was in the *Jüdische Chronik*. For example, in 1956 Henze took part in the collective *Divertimento für Mozart* that was intended to commemorate Mozart's 200th birthday. Heinrich Strobel, an avid critic and supporter of new music, contacted the leading names of the European postwar music scene and asked them to compose a short and personalized variation on the aria "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen wünscht Papageno sich" from *Die Zauberflöte*. The twelve composers he enlisted in the project, all children of the decade after the First World War, represented eight European countries and practiced a wide array of compositional techniques.[54] These varied backgrounds

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[51] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 218.

[52] Rudolf Heinemann, "Faßt Musik den Massenmord?: Experiment des Westdeutschen Rundfunks: Jüdische Chronik," *Die Welt*, 19 January 1966. Quoted in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 240.

[53] The collaborative works in which Henze was involved include *Divertimento für Mozart* (1956) for soli and orchestra; *Jüdische Chronik* (1960) for alto and baritone solo, chamber choir, two speakers and small orchestra; *Streik bei Mannesmann* (1973), scenic cantata; *Der heiße Ofen* (1975), comic opera; *12 Hommages à Paul Sacher* (1976) for cello; *Ödipus der Tyrann* (1983), a play by Hubert Hollmüller for four actors, tenor and four instrumentalists; and *Die Regentrude* (1986), an opera.

[54] The twelve composers, in order of their movements in the *Divertimento*, were Gottfried von Einem (Austria), Luciano Berio (Italy), Heimo Erbse (West Germany), Peter Racine Fricker (England), Niels Viggo Bentzon (Denmark), Roman Haubenstock-Ramati (Poland), Giselher Klebe (West Germany), Gerhard Wimberger (Austria), Maurice Le Roux (France), Jacques Wildberger (Switzerland), Maurice Jarre (France), and Hans Werner Henze (West Germany). Notable for their exclusion were the three compositional powerhouses, Pierre Boulez (France), Luigi Nono (Italy), and Karlheinz Stockhausen (West Germany). According to the scholar Gernot Gruber, Strobel had solicited these men for their participation, but they expressed no interest in taking part in any celebratory event, particularly if it meant working in collaboration. Even more, Boulez made his position on Mozart clear: "What Boulez and Mozart have in common, I'm afraid, is nothing more at the moment than the shared 'z' in our names." See Gernot Gruber, "Gottfried von Einems Beitrag zum 'Divertimento für Mozart. 12 Aspekte der Arie Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen' bei den Donaueschinger Musiktagen 1956," in *Gottfried von Einem-Kongress. Wien 1996: Kongreßbericht*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 2003), 349.

translated into a largely heterogeneous composition. On the basis of orchestration, for example, the twelve movements called for everything from a traditional Classical orchestra to an accompanied Lied for soprano voice to individual concertos for basset horns, piano, glockenspiel, brass, and percussion.[55] Like the *Jüdische Chronik*, the *Divertimento* lacked a sense of aesthetic cohesion. It is not surprising that critics at the premiere in Donauschingen chose to focus on individual movements rather than treating the twelve as a unified whole.[56] But unlike the *Chronik*, the *Divertimento* did not rely on a degree of unity to effectively celebrate Mozart's birthday. Although Gottfried von Einem's contribution was conceived as an introduction and Henze's as a finale, all of the movements could just as easily have been performed individually without detracting from the sense of homage.[57] Mozart's aria served to link the twelve movements, though nothing but the celebratory occasion of their creation required that they be played together as a single composition.

When Henze participated in a collaborative work for which the success of its message relied on a degree of aesthetic cohesion, he took a much more active role in coordinating the members of the team. In 1985–87, for instance, Henze led a group of his composition students at the Musikhochschule in Cologne in the composition of an operatic production to be performed by the community of the town Alsfeld in central West Germany.[58] Henze's team consisted of six talented young students, with whom he worked closely throughout the composition process.[59] To get things started, he presented the class with Theodor Storm's fairytale "Die Regentrude" (1864) as a storyline and proposed musical forms and ensembles for each of the scenes. He also assigned each

[55] A full performance of the *Divertimento* would require 2 flutes, oboes, and clarinets, 3 bassoons, horns, and trumpets, 1 trombone, 2 basset horns, timpani, a percussion kit including glockenspiel, piano, soprano, and strings.

[56] The premiere took place as part of a celebratory concert on 21 October 1956 in Donaueschingen with the Southwest Radio Orchestra conducted by Hans Rosbaud.

[57] Universal Edition, which publishes and licenses the work, offers the possibility to lease each individual movement, as well as the work in its entirety. Their records of the work's performance also indicate that it is most frequently performed in parts. See http://www.universaledition.com/-Diverse/composers-and-works/composer/173/work/2111, in addition to pages for the individual movements.

[58] See Oliver Trötschel, "'Die Regentrude': Ein Arbeitsbericht über das kommunale Opernprojekt der Kompositionsklasse Hans Werner Henze," in *Die Chiffren Musik und Sprache: Neue Aspekte der musikalischen Ästhetik IV*, ed. Hans Werner Henze (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), 61–70.

[59] The six students were Thomas Donecker, Richard Dünser, Detlev Glanert, Stefan Hakenberg, Dirk Lötfering, and Oliver Trötschel.

student a specific component of the opera's music: recitative; arias; duets and trios; a cappella choir; the introduction and interludes; and the opening choir and concluding dance. The group met every couple of months to touch base. In October 1986, for example, they discussed musical structures, instrumentation, and the general character of each musical number, coming up with keywords to describe the nature of the music and content. On another occasion, they agreed upon a compositional style and developed themes for the leading roles. In the final months of composition, the students met privately with one another, as well as with Henze. Even during the rehearsals for the premiere, which took place on 5 September 1987 in the Alsfeld Stadthalle, the members of the team were still working with each other to resolve issues of performability, as well as to smooth out awkward transitions.

As the *Regentrude* project demonstrates, Henze believed in a model of collaborative work that relied on constant communication to ensure aesthetic accord. Once the subject material had been chosen, the participant composers worked closely with each other. Instead of composing disjointed blocks, they each specialized in one aspect of the overall composition that would accommodate a sense of large-scale cohesion. The use of dramatic leitmotivs achieved similar ends. The degree of consensus and cooperation that Henze fostered in the creation of *Regentrude* far surpassed Dessau's efforts to establish cohesion in his five-movement cantata. There is no evidence that the five composers of the *Chronik* ever met in person to discuss their work. Their ability to travel in 1960 would have been complicated by tightened border restrictions, though even Dessau and Wagner-Régeny, both living in East Berlin, only corresponded by post.[60] Like the libretto of Henze's opera, Gerlach's text served as the backbone of the five movements. It established a consistent political message. As much as Dessau wanted to believe otherwise, though, the *Jüdische Chronik* suffered from stylistic disparity. Still, scholars have shown some relationships that give the work stability as a whole. They have pointed out, for example, that certain aspects of the instrumentation, vocal technique, and harmonic content do contribute to a degree of artistic cohesion. To give credit where it is due, the work may have been even more varied had Dessau not at least tried to dictate some guidelines for his colleagues.

[60] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 214.

The one aspect of the cantata for which Dessau gave explicit directions was the instrumentation of the ensemble. Amy Wlodarski draws attention to a letter Dessau wrote to Wagner-Régeny at the end of April 1960 in which he articulated the need to "keep his 'team' together" and included a list of advised instrumentation. He emphasized that "one should not significantly change [the ensemble]" to ensure a common ground between the movements.[61] For the most part, the five composers abided by Dessau's instructions, employing identical woodwind, brass, and low-string sections.[62] However, Hartmann reached beyond the prescribed list. He augmented his woodwinds with oboes and bassoons and added tuba and harp. This later bothered Dessau, but at Blacher's recommendation, he decided to leave the movement as it was.[63] Hartmann's deviation aside, the most varied aspect of instrumentation for the five composers was their choice of percussion. Dessau specified only the number of available percussionists in his letter to Wagner-Régeny; he had not indicated specific instruments. Consequently, the full cantata required six timpani, bass drum, snare drum, field drum, four tomtoms, three cymbals, three tamtams, triangle, tubular bells, two gongs, vibraphone, marimba, and bass xylophone. The use of these instruments and of percussion in general was not consistent throughout the score. The first three movements employed percussion rather conservatively, while the final two called for larger, stentorian forces. Dessau's "Epilog" required all but three percussion instruments on the list.

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[61] Quoted in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 214. Letter from Dessau to Wagner-Régeny, dated 30 April 1960. The instrumentation list included:

1 Flute; 2–3 Clarinets (including Bass Clarinet)
2 Trumpets, 2 Trombones
Piano, 4 Percussionists
Contrabasses
Chamber choir
Baritone and Alto Soloist
2 Speakers

[62] In particular, they all agreed to avoid the inclusion of horns and strings (other than basses). Heister suggest that this was a conscious decision on Dessau's part to avoid the timbres most frequently associated with Romanticism, and therefore Nazism. See Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit," 174.

[63] Dessau's diary entry on 10 January 1961 seems to suggest that Hartmann's movement was left how it was because the composers recognized that there just was not time to continue tweaking the composition. Dessau was already rushing to finish Henze's movement, and as he notes, a year had already passed. "Heute, dem 10.I.1961 endlich die 'Jüdische Chronik' abgeschlossen. […] Blacher rät, die Partitur vom Karl Amadeus Hartmann 'Ghetto' nicht zu ändern. Es ist das einzige Stück, das eine andere Instrumentation hat. Sollen sie es so spielen. Ein Jahr brauchten wir zur Fertigstellung des Stücks incl. Jens Gerlach's Gedicht. Dass es immer noch aktuell ist, bedeutet einen Schandfleck auf unserer Zivilisation." See Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 72.

TABLE 1.2 Durations, Compositional Styles & Vocal Ensembles of Movements[64]				
Movement	**Composer**	**Duration**[65]	**Compositional Style**	**Vocal Ensemble**
I. Prolog I	Blacher	2:57	Atonal	Baritone solo; Alto solo; Speaker
II. Prolog II	Wagner-Régeny	3:41	Serial	Baritone solo; Alto solo; 2 Speakers; SATB choir
III. Ghetto	Hartmann	6:37	Modal/Tonal	Baritone solo; Alto solo
IV. Aufstand I	Henze	6:11	Atonal/Tonal	SATB choir; Speaker; Baritone solo; Alto solo
IV. Aufstand II	Dessau	2:27	Serial	SATB choir; Speaker
V. Epilog	Dessau	3:43	Serial	SATB choir; Speaker

Dessau's outline for the ensemble also prescribed specific vocal forces. He listed the availability of two soloists, baritone and alto, two speakers, and a chamber choir. The composers of the *Chronik* team, however, did not employ these vocalists uniformly either. All of the composers, other than Dessau himself, chose to use both soloists in their movements; Dessau used neither. All of them other than Hartmann used a speaker; only Wagner-Régeny called for two — though his movement could easily be performed by just one person. When it came to the four-voice choir, Wagner-Régeny, Henze, and Dessau used it, while Blacher and Hartmann did not (Table 1.2).

Beyond listing the possibilities, Dessau's instructions for stylistically scoring the vocal parts were only a shade less ambiguous than his directions for percussion. In this case, by including both speakers and soloists as distinct entries on his list, he implicitly suggested the use of both spoken and sung voice in the cantata. As it turned out, four of the five composers chose to foreground accompanied speech or melodrama in their movements, which musicologists Hanns-Werner Heister and Joy Calico both identify as a unifying characteristic of the cantata.[66] Blacher introduces the listener to spoken word in "Prolog I" with the speakers' two interjections, "Deutschland erwache!" ("Germany, awake!") and "Juda verrecke!" ("Die, Jews!"). Wagner-Régeny's continuation of the prologue expands the use of melodrama and showcases it at the end of his movement

[64] Based on Figure 1 in Wlodarksi, "'Collected' Chronicle," 218.

[65] Based on Boris Blacher, Paul Dessau, Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Hans Werner Henze, and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, *Jüdische Chronik*, cond. Herbert Kegel (Berlin Classics, 0090162BC, 1995).

[66] See Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit," 174–75; Calico, "Third Space of Commemoration," 103–7.

where Gerlach's text states the responsibilities of society. Dessau's "Epilog" employs accompanied speech even more prominently. Above all, Henze exploited melodrama most dramatically in the fourth movement, prompting Calico to call it the "definitive sonic feature" of "Aufstand."[67] As he would an operatic scene, he scored the vocal parts according to their semantic associations with the characters in Gerlach's text. The speaker plays the Jewish protagonist who speaks freely; the soloists and choir sing the narration; and when the choir assumes the role of the Nazis, it speaks in strict rhythm. While these four movements all employ melodrama, Hartmann's somber third movement again breaks the rule. He avoids accompanied speech altogether. Melodrama may be a common stylistic element throughout much of the *Jüdische Chronik*, but it is hardly a unifying force. If anything, all five movements are more closely related by their use of traditional singing, which at times verges on speech through a recitational, almost monotonous scoring.

By distributing the instrumentation list, Dessau managed to achieve a degree of cohesion between the five movements of the cantata. However, in spite of having similar instrumental and vocal ensembles, the movements evoke very different sound worlds. This was due to the fact that each of the five composers had his own preferred compositional style (see Table 1.2). Although several practiced twelve-tone composition, expertise in the serial technique was not uniform across the group. Blacher had little familiarity with dodecaphony and tended to compose with tonal fragments. Hartmann also preferred tonal or modal composition, but had studied with Anton von Webern and had begun to use serial techniques in the 1940s. In 1965, Wagner-Régeny had only just come to use dodecaphony in composition, while Dessau had been using it extensively for years. Henze, who was well versed in the method, tended to opt for a broad mixture of compositional styles.

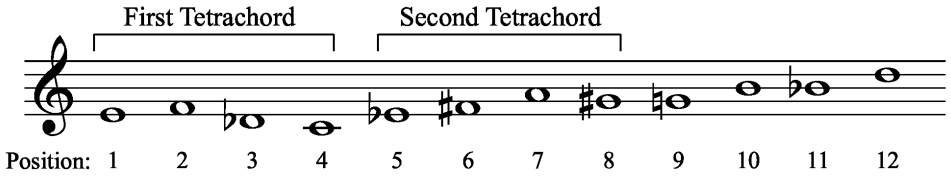
Dessau was surely aware of the diverse talents and tendencies of his team, which fueled his concern for the aesthetic unity of the project. Hanns-Werner Heister has suggested that, in an effort to mitigate the differences between the composers, Dessau actually distributed a twelve-tone row to his colleagues in addition to the instrumentation

[67] Calico, "Third Space of Commemoration," 103.

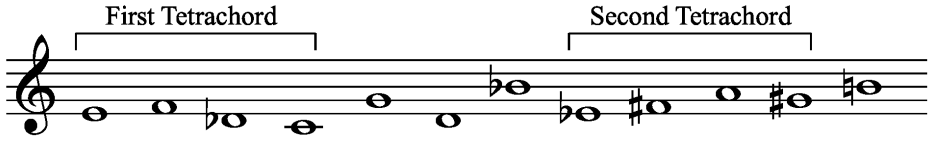
list (Figure 1.1a).[68] The row Heister proposes is closely related to the row Dessau used in his opera *Puntila* (1957/59); specifically, it is the untransposed retrograde inversion.[69] This row features prominently in Dessau's "Epilog," as well as in his continuation of Henze's "Aufstand." For example, the piano ostinato Dessau introduces in m. 180 of "Aufstand" uses the first hexachord of I_3 in the right hand and the complementary first hexachord of RI_3 in the left (Example 1.1a).[70] Wagner-Régeny uses a row in his movement based closely on Dessau's: it begins with the same tetrachord as Dessau's row; and shifts Dessau's second tetrachord to the position of notes 8–11 (Figure 1.1b). Henze, Hartmann, and Blacher make more fragmentary use of Dessau's row. For example, the piano ostinato that Henze uses beginning in m. 16 of "Aufstand" uses the last tetrachord of R_2 (Example 1.1b), and the opening melody of Hartmann's "Ghetto" uses the pitches of the first tetrachord of the original row, although permuted to resemble the last tetrachord of RI_1 (Example 1.1c). Blacher, meanwhile, relies on the intervallic relationships of the row, principally minor seconds and major and minor thirds.

FIGURE 1.1 Twelve-tone Rows in *Jüdische Chronik*

(a) Twelve-tone Row in Dessau's "Epilog" and "Aufstand (II)"



(b) Twelve-tone Row in Wagner-Régeny's "Prolog II"



While the row also helped to link the five movements, it was still not sufficient for establishing the aesthetic cohesion of the work as a whole. As the varied uses of the

[68] Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit," 175–177.

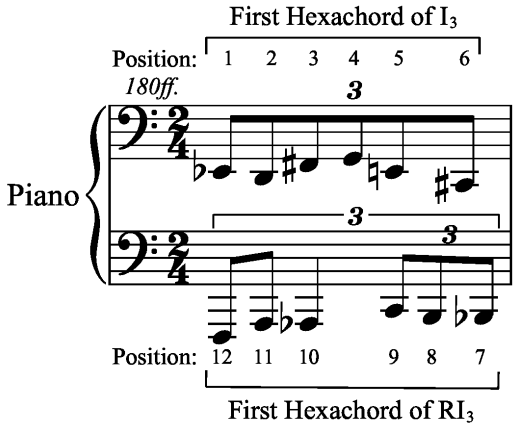
[69] Dessau also used the Puntila row in his 1959 *Hymne auf den Beginn einer neuen Geschichte der Menschheit* transposed down a minor second.

[70] When describing particular twelve-tone rows, the letters P, I, R, and RI will follow convention to designate Prime, Inversion, Retrograde, and Retrograde Inversion. The subscript number that follows refers to the pitch class that begins the row, and in the case of R and RI, the pitch class that ends it.

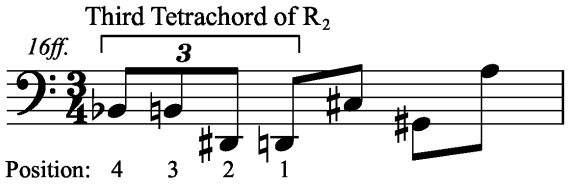
row demonstrate, each member of the team fell back on his preferred style of composition. The differences between the composers are most perceptible in the often startling succession of movements. In any collaborative work, there is always the danger that the shift from music composed by one person to music composed by another will stand out as a point of aesthetic conflict. Regardless of whether the two passages are connected continuously or separated by a movement break, such moments magnify the differences between adjacent material. It is worth noting that even in Henze's *Regentrude* project, during which the composers met and communicated regularly, they still struggled with the problem of transitions in the final dress rehearsals before the premiere.

EXAMPLE 1.1 Occurrences of Twelve-tone Rows in *Jüdische Chronik*

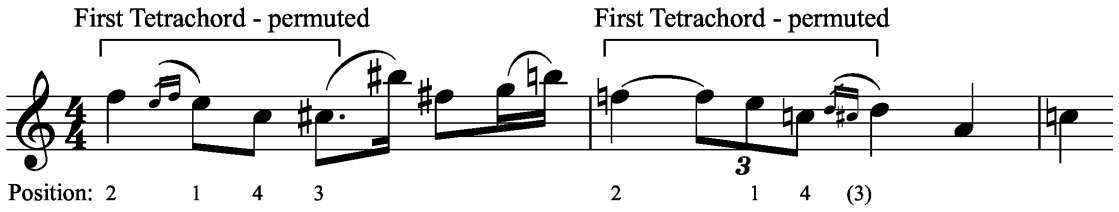
(a) Dessau, "Aufstand (II)," mm. 180ff.



(b) Henze, "Aufstand (I)," mm. 16ff.



(c) Permutation of First Tetrachord in Hartmann's "Ghetto" (mm. 1–3)



A striking example of musical discontinuity in the *Jüdische Chronik* occurs between Blacher's and Wagner-Régeny's prologues. In the original draft of Gerlach's text, these two movements had been one; however, Dessau decided to split the text topically: "Prolog I" describes the present-day atrocities while "Prolog II" bridges those

events to their precedents under the Nazi Regime. On account of their compositional differences, the onset of Wagner-Régeny's "Prolog II" contrasts stylistically with the end of Blacher's "Prolog I" and sounds wholly disjointed. Blacher ends his movement with a percussive passage, which, in its three earlier iterations, has come to link the movement together as a whole: a dry, march-like rhythm played on the snare drum in alternation with field drum, cymbals, and triangle. However, at the outset of Wagner-Régeny's movement, the salient instrumental timbres are decidedly foreign to the sonic environment that Blacher established: a brass fanfare, punctuated by piano, tamtam, and bass drum opens "Prolog II" and serves throughout as the motivic underlay of many vocal passages. The fanfare, which uses the tetrachords of Wagner-Régeny's twelve-tone row and its retrograde as the six harmonies, contrasts so starkly with Blacher's percussive pulse that it sounds as though an entirely different ensemble is now performing the cantata.

The juxtaposition of Wagner-Régeny's "Prolog II" and Hartmann's "Ghetto" in the next movement break is one instance where the use of a common row and similar orchestration alleviates the stylistic discontinuity. Wagner-Régeny ends his movement with a reprise of the brass fanfare punctuated by piano. In fact, he actually scores the final seven measures as the near exact retrograde of the opening four, except that he augments the note values of m. 1 when the pitches return in mm. 103–6, and underscores the final fanfare by adding a string bass line (mm. 100–104). Since the original fanfare was itself a harmonic palindrome of tetrachords from the rows P_4 and R_4, the retrograde of the entire fanfare at the end maintains the same harmonic progression. Consequently, the final four measures of the movement (mm. 103–6) emphasize a harmony built out of the pitches of *e*, *f*, *d-flat*, and *c*. Additionally, the string bass melody enunciates the pitch *f* moving to *e* in mm. 103–4. It is with this very motion and the same collection of pitches that Hartmann's "Ghetto" begins: the clarinet solo plays *f e c c-sharp* in m. 1 and repeats it again in m. 2. Furthermore, when the ensemble enters in m. 3, the bright timbre of the mildly dissonant brass and woodwind chord recollects the sonority of Wagner-Régeny's fanfare. Nevertheless, beyond this point, "Ghetto" diverges significantly from "Prolog II" on account of Hartmann's largely modal and tonal approach.

The most jarring stylistic conflict of the entire cantata is the abrupt transition from Henze's to Dessau's portions of the fourth movement "Aufstand." Henze began the movement with a short four-voice chorale that serves as an epigraph: "O, Earth, do not cover up my blood! And do not silence my cries!" Henze then treats Gerlach's text dramatically, setting it as he would an opera libretto. The drama unfolds in four escalating scenes: First, the Jew calls out to his people and asks them to stand up to their oppressors; in response, the Nazis nail his tongue to a plank of wood (mm. 6–31). Then the Jew manages to draw his message into the sand with his shoe; so the Nazis drag him to the marketplace where there is no sand (mm. 32–61). Next the Jew scratches his message onto the stone pavement with the metal tip of his shoe; the Nazis take away his boots (mm. 62–99). In a final act, the Jew writes the words of his cry in blood, and the Nazis strike him dead (mm. 100–113). Henze composes each episode in a varied strophic form that ends each time with a grand pause, and he employs vocal method as a means of dramatic characterization: the Jew speaks freely, the Nazis speak in strict time, and the narration is sung.

Although Gerlach's text for the second half of "Aufstand" was not organized into scenes like the first, Dessau made no visible effort to continue Henze's dramatic employment of vocal ensembles and timbres. His entire section features the four-voice choir in a percussive and tension-building drive to the end. Its first entrance in the second measure of Dessau's continuation (mm. 133ff.) is completely inconsistent with the vocal timbres that Henze had previously established. Later, in the more exposed passage when the speaker joins in with narration, Dessau's awkward rhythmic scoring of the speech distorts the words to the point that they sound artificial and unconvincing (mm. 155–72). Hanns-Werner Heister has suggested that Dessau latched onto the scansion of the phrase "Hier ist Gideons Schwert!" (Here is Gideon's sword!, mm. 125–26) from the final measures of Henze's part as the basis of his approach.[71] Certainly, Henze had reduced this final segment to a homophonic texture with block chord accompaniment, an abrupt

[71] Heister, "Aktuelle Vergangenheit," 179–86.

stylistic change that is also guilty of disturbing the flow.[72] Dessau might have felt that he would adopt this textural idea as a motivic one for his continuation.

Although Henze relies heavily on chromatic passages and uses a twelve-tone chord to signify the blow of death (m. 113), his movement does not demonstrate any strict application of serialist composition. Dessau, however, departs from Henze's mixture of tonal and atonal language and forges ahead with dodecaphony. In the very first measures of his continuation, Dessau distributes the pitches of the row vertically in both the instrumental and vocal ensembles, the timpani leading in with the opening pitches *e* and *f*. The three missing pitches, *g*, *a*, and *f-sharp*, are scored subsequently in the tenor line in mm. 134, 135, and 136, respectively. The fact that Dessau used the row to score even the spoken vocal parts shows how important it was to his technique. At the end of his section, Dessau decided to use Henze's opening chorale as a musical bookend. However, the quasi-tonal nature of the passage now sounds completely alien. As Amy Wlodarski characterizes it, "After such vocal agitation [in Dessau's continuation] Henze's (now *pianissimo*) chorale seems out of place and provides an unsatisfactory *dénouement* for the listener."[73]

In general, Wlodarski believes that Dessau's completion of "Aufstand" weakened its potential to have been the "*Jüdische Chronik*'s most satisfying movement."[74] However, such aesthetic inconsistency is present throughout the entire cantata, and its prominence distracts from the important message that Dessau wanted his audiences to hear. Although he had tried to improve the cohesion of the work by encouraging his teammates to use a common ensemble and shared musical material, he was unable to control all of the stylistic parameters necessary for creating a successful and convincing collaboration. At the same time, however, Dessau's organizational decisions from the start betrayed the inherent organization of Gerlach's text. For example, since the "Epilog" of the libretto recapitulates the texts of the two prologues, the cantata seems to warrant the same, or at least similar, musical scoring of these passages to reinforce the textual framework. However, Dessau jeopardized the strength of Gerlach's structure by

[72] Perhaps this texture is an allusion to the opening cantata. The simpler nature of the setting may also be a sign that Henze was rushing to bring his section to a point where he felt comfortable stopping.

[73] Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 229.

[74] Ibid., 228.

assigning the passages to three different composers who knew nothing of each other's work.

The aesthetic flaws of the *Jüdische Chronik* did little to assuage Henze's concerns that the work's premiere in the tense Cold War climate would only have negative ramifications. Not only was the text accusatory of the FRG, but the strength of its humanitarian message was directly undermined by musical incoherence. Had the five movements held together more convincingly, perhaps Henze would have been less averse to its premiere. Furthermore, Henze's reaction to the work's mismatched quality may have also reflected his aesthetic insecurity at this time. Already under scrutiny from Western music critics, he may have feared that associating himself with a work that was so stylistically disjointed would only encourage his adversaries to point fingers. Whether the criticism was directed at the *Jüdische Chronik*'s politics or at its aesthetics, Henze did not want to be present for the repercussions.

Conclusion

Henze's relationship to the *Jüdische Chronik* from its initial conception to its postponed premiere exemplifies the composer's problematic engagement with politically committed music circa 1960. In spite of his belief in the antifascist cause, his resolve to make a political statement was not strong enough to overcome his professional fears in the climate of Cold War Germany, and his expectations of the *Chronik*'s aesthetic weaknesses did not bolster his confidence that the work would be received well. Henze allowed himself to be swayed by his political and aesthetic insecurity, such that in hindsight, the composer was embarrassed by the weakness of his commitment. In 1981, Henze returned to the cantata in his "Letter to Young Artists" and praised it as a truly commendable project — all in spite of his earlier dissociation from it. Wlodarski views Henze's "Letter" as testament to the "revision of memory" made possible by a shift in political program: "[A]s East German rhetoric became more accommodating to the West, Henze revised his stance, ultimately resurrecting the *Chronik* as a significant moment in his artistic life."[75] It is important to note that Henze's revised appraisal of the work did not include changing his opinion about its aesthetic value. Rather the "Letter" was

[75] Wlodarksi, "*Jüdische Chronik* as GDR Postmemorial," 56.

concerned only with the act of creating a politically committed work. More than just a recollection of the *Jüdische Chronik*, though, the "Letter to Young Artists" is a statement of Henze's views on the role of the artist in society. It is an assertion of the composer's political objectives for the young generation of artists. By considering the role of the *Jüdische Chronik* in the context of this larger message, one gains insight into what the project actually meant to Henze in the 1960s.

After summarizing the mission of the *Chronik* team, Henze turned in the "Letter" to the political situation in 1981. He explained that the resurgence of fascist thought continued to go largely unnoticed "in capitalist countries, and not only in the Federal Republic":

> The swastikas on walls all over the place are only the backdrop to a horror show whose acts include sado-masochistic sexual behaviour, paramilitary activities, terrorism, and even the 'uniform' styles of certain fashion designers. Art has shown itself by no means immune to these developments, often reflecting or reacting to neo-fascist influence, consciously or unconsciously, in an altogether sinister way.[76]

Since many of these acts were committed by the hands of the younger generation, Henze feared that youth had lost hope in the society around them[77]:

> For many young people it seems to have become too difficult to go on believing in progress, to work hard on the positive side of life where the primitive and barbaric instincts of racism would disappear through the acceptance of an enlightened humanism, and where fraternity would win through and peace be possible at last (275–76).

As a concerned mentor, Henze begged young artists to rise to the occasion and use art as a weapon against neo-fascism. He empowered them to be "torch-bearers of humanism," to "[f]ight the inarticulate and comfortable philistine complacency", to "touch the sensibility of the masses", to "take the side of the repressed, the humiliated, the offended" (276–77). He emphasized too that this was not just the work of composers and musicians; this was the objective of all artists:

> Every verse you write, every painting you paint, every lesson you give, every bar of music you write or play, can be a move against those who want to reverse the

[76] Henze, "Letter to Young Artists," 275. Further page citations will appear in the text.

[77] Henze's reading of youth sentiment in 1981 concurred with many of the issues presented by Helmut Schelsky in his 1957 book *The Skeptical Generation*.

> wheel of history, to use the power of the police and of blackmail to drag you back into their own sullenness. Don't lose heart (276).

By using the *Jüdische Chronik* as the entry point for this essay, Henze posited the work as a laudable model of politically committed art. In its initiative, the cantata exemplified the functionality that Henze encouraged young artists to adopt in their work. Although he admitted that art alone cannot change the politics of society, he called on the *Chronik* to demonstrate a first-hand attempt by five composers to take a stand against fascism at a time when its resurgence was being naively ignored.

> The composers who contributed to the [*Chronik*] knew well enough that their protest could not of itself prevent the rise of neo-fascism. But it would have been impossible for us to have kept silent and done nothing. We remembered how too often in the past artists had kept their own counsel, and how disastrous their silence had often been in the Third Reich. We all believed that any kind of warning would be preferable to the kind of non-political evasiveness that indicates only indifference and insensitivity (274–75).

At the same time, however, Henze's actions in 1960, his detachment from the *Jüdische Chronik* project and its premiere, contradict this very statement. Thus, his decision to use the *Chronik* as the example in the "Letter," instead of any number of works from his political period in the late 1960s and early 1970s, establishes a degree of parallelism between him and his audience of young artists: Henze's behavior in 1960–61 demonstrated the very "non-political evasiveness" for which the composer then criticized his 1981 audience. There is a direct similarity between his political resignation and that of the young artists, both oppressed to a state of indifference by the hand of "too many intolerant, racist and disdainful people" (276).

Since the goal of Henze's "Letter" was to inspire and galvanize contemporary artists to rise from their political and social apathy, his use of the *Jüdische Chronik* transforms his own mistakes into a lesson for his young audience. In many ways, the "Letter to Young Artists" might then be understood as the letter that Henze would have liked to receive during his years of self-doubt after the war. His priorities at that time had less to do with making an impact on politicians and German society than they did with establishing himself aesthetically and financially as a postwar composer. His commitment to the *Elegy for Young Lovers*, rather than to the *Jüdische Chronik*, reflected his belief that the opera could enhance his career more than the politically volatile

cantata. Consequently, the reappraisal of the *Chronik* in the "Letter" suggests that Henze felt a sense of shame for not having embraced his social responsibility when it was most needed of him. This sentiment only reinforces the degree of political detachment that was visible in his acts of dissociation.

Furthermore, the "Letter" also points to the fact that Henze was still unsure in 1960 if music was truly capable of raising a voice to the concerns of politics. In the musical atmosphere dominated by Darmstadt, Dessau's approach to committed music, in which the political spirit relied on a political text and not on the radicalness of the musical medium, was more closely tied to East German socialist realism. Western critics considered the approach shallow and unsophisticated. In his article in *Die Zeit*, Heinemann questioned the team's expectations:

> Did they seriously believe that the monstrosity of Nazi crimes was approximately representable in the sublime sphere of music? Did they really accept that [actions such as] torture and the murder of millions could find a sonic equivalent in finely channeled structures (Blacher) and melodramatic gestures (Wagner-Régeny), in the sorrowful melody of an oboe (Hartmann), in skilled operatic theatrics (Henze), and in expressionistic passion (Dessau)?[78]

Although Henze was definitely convinced that autonomous music was no better option, he had yet to properly formulate how music could convey a political spirit. The 1963 speech was not far off.

The *Jüdische Chronik* may not figure in Henze's autobiography as a major event — maybe because Henze was still too embarrassed by how he had acted or perhaps due to the work's aesthetic flaws — but it was undoubtedly an important learning experience. And Dessau was a formative mentor for the young composer. In 1979, only months before Dessau's death on 28 June, Henze expressed his admiration for the elder's unremitting commitment to his music and to society: "For [Dessau] the task of the composer consisted and consists in a constant dialectical rapport with everyday life, in interrelationships, and in an altogether feverishly combative existence."[79] In what followed, Henze paused to reflect on his own position as a composer since meeting Dessau in 1948:

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[78] Heinemann, quoted in Wlodarski, "'Collected' Chronicle," 240.
[79] Henze, "Paul Dessau," 258.

> I was perhaps too young then, and still too caught up in the Cold War climate of the West, fully to understand everything that Paul said about political things. For this reason he tried to open my eyes and enlarge my view of the world, and I did in fact learn, and attained a better understanding of certain things; Paul made them concrete and tangible.[80]

Dessau evidently demanded a lot from his pupils. Perhaps it was because of his ardent desire to see Henze mature into a socially engaged composer that he grew so frustrated with the younger composer's lack of commitment to the *Jüdische Chronik*. Dessau recognized the mind of an ambitious and talented artist, but he also felt Henze was too preoccupied with gaining prosperity and recognition. "Henze stood us up. A real disappointment!" Dessau commented after the premiere of the *Jüdische Chronik* in Cologne. "[He is] already carried away in the music of *Der Junge Lord*."[81]

[80] Henze, "Paul Dessau," 258.

[81] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 92. Dated 14 January 1966: "Jüdische Chronik" in Köln uraufgeführt. Blacher ist da. Henze lässt uns im Stich. Eine arge Enttäuschung! In der Musik zum "Jungen Lord" schon vorweggenommen!"

CHAPTER 2

Politics of a Team: *Der Junge Lord* (1963–64)

Henze's affinity for opera in the decades after World War II was born from the composer's fundamental belief that music should be able to express meaning. The textual dimension of opera gave him a platform from which to develop the potential of this idea. In October 1952, Henze befriended the Austrian poet and writer Ingeborg Bachmann (1926–73) at a session of the Gruppe 47 in the German town of Berlepsch near Göttingen.[1] Their immediate bond had much to do with their mutual conviction that music was capable of expressing something that words could not. Thus, song, as an alignment of both verbal and musical languages, was the most powerful means of expression. During their more than two-decade-long friendship, which ended in the poet's tragic death in October 1973, Henze and Bachmann collaborated on six published works: the chamber ballet *Der Idiot* (The Idiot, 1952); the radio play *Die Zikaden* (The Cicadas, 1955); two sets of orchestral songs, *Nachtstücken und Arien* (Nocturnes and Arias, 1957) and *Lieder von einer Insel* (Songs from an Island, 1964); and two full-scale operas, *Der Prinz von Homburg* (The Prince of Homburg, 1958–59) and *Der Junge Lord* (The Young Lord, 1963–64).[2]

Bachmann was an important role model for the young composer. By the time the two met, she was already an established and respected member of the circle of postwar writers in Europe. Henze's immediate admiration for Bachmann's intellect is evident in his autobiography when he writes, "She was six days older than I, but her knowledge of the world, of people and of art so far exceeded my own that she could have been my elder by two thousand years or more. I leant on her for support, her spirit helped sustain me in

[1] The Gruppe 47 was a German literary collective that first formed in 1947 and included such well-known poets and writers as Ilse Aichinger, Ingeborg Bachmann, Heinrich Böll, Paul Celan, Günter Eich, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Günter Grass, Wolfgang Hildesheimer, Hans Werner Richter, and Peter Weiss, among others.

[2] In addition to these completed works, Bachmann had also attempted to draft a libretto in the years before *Der Prinz von Homburg* that bore the title "Belinda." Henze also spoke about writing a third opera after *Der Junge Lord* for the occasion of the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, but nothing came of it. See Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens*, 136, 143–54.

my infirmity."[3] During the many periods that they lived together, and even during many that they did not, Bachmann served Henze as a comforting friend and a guiding mentor. He relied on her "integrity and imperturbability", her "certainty, reliability and a very real sense of authority."[4]

Through the years, Bachmann also came to influence Henze politically — at first through their conversations and later much more directly. Considering their common background — born one week apart in 1926, raised in small towns in Germany and Austria, confronted by the Second World War in their adolescence — Henze and Bachmann shared a very similar outlook on the world in the postwar years. They were pacifists and they were antifascists. But whereas Bachmann quickly found an outlet for her social concerns in writing, Henze struggled to work out the relationship of politics and art in his own output. The *Jüdische Chronik* marked one attempt, but his insecurities interfered. With the support of his writer friend, however, Henze took another step in January 1963 with his speech "Musik als Resistenzverhalten" (Music as a Means of Resistance) at the Technische Universität in Berlin. He drew directly on Bachmann's ideas — and in particular her poem "Alle Tage" (Every Day) — to define music as a means of resisting fascism in society.

Only a short while after delivering the speech, Henze approached Bachmann with a proposal to collaborate on a second opera. Premiering two years later in April 1965, *Der Junge Lord* exemplifies the ways in which Bachmann facilitated the growth of Henze's political consciousness in the years 1963–64. At the start, Henze was only committed to reviving the eighteenth century genre of *opera buffa* in order to create an entertaining and potentially lucrative stage work. This artistic decision demonstrated his resolve as in the 1963 speech, in which he defined an aesthetic program of looking backwards to traditions from the past, and consequently it marked an important step in overcoming his aesthetic insecurity. It was Bachmann, however, who made the composer understand that part of composing a comic opera meant subscribing to the historical convention of imbedding a social critique into the work. Motivated by her own sense of moral responsibility, she crafted a libretto inspired by Wilhelm Hauff's 1826 parable

[3] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 104–5. Bachmann was born in Klagenfurt, Austria on 25 June 1926; Henze was born six days later on 1 July.

[4] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 124.

"Der Affe als Mensch" (The Ape as Man) that issued an urgent critique of *Kleinstadt*-mentality and extreme nationalism, attitudes that she believed were the lasting form of fascism in postwar Germany. In working with Bachmann's text, Henze ultimately embraced the political message and used his music to enhance the salience of the critique in the opera's plot.

Bachmann & the Social Critique

After the political turmoil of 1961, Henze returned to the shelter of his art and shied away from politics. But in 1963 he emerged to deliver the lecture "Musik als Resistenzverhalten" at the Technische Universität in Berlin. The main purpose of the lecture was to define a new aesthetic direction for music, but he used the opportunity to speak out publicly about the state of society. He drew attention to the "remarkable variants of fascism" that he believed still plagued the postwar era and dedicated himself to creating music that "plead[s] the cause of a life in which brutality, neglect of charity, and the withholding of intellectual and social freedom are unknown."[5] Although Henze's stance against fascism was the result of his experience during the war, his general political consciousness in the late 1950s and early 1960s was shaped by his close friend Ingeborg Bachmann. Bachmann initially regarded the composer as "silly, old-fashioned and still immaturely obsessed with petty-bourgeois mentality," but she went on to nurture his understanding of the world — as well as art — in a crucial way.[6] As we shall see, Bachmann's own ideas of art and politics were largely responsible for the view of committed music that Henze presented in his Berlin speech as well as for the political dimension of *Der Junge Lord*.

The same debate between committed and autonomous music that pitted Henze against Adorno also extended to postwar literature.[7] Some argued that poems, short stories, and novels should employ language and imagery that issued a humanitarian message by traditional means; others that they should shock readers through avant-garde progressivism. Not surprisingly, Bachmann tended to the side of the former, the same side of the debate that Henze chose for himself. Bachmann believed that it was the artist's

[5] Henze, "Music as a Means of Resistance," 123, 124.
[6] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 105.
[7] See Adorno, "Commitment."

utmost responsibility to integrate social criticism into his or her work. It was a central tenet of her literary aesthetic that art must make people aware of the truth of their existence. In her acceptance speech of the Radio Play Prize of the War Blind in 1959, she explains,

> Thus it should not be the task of the writer to deny pain, to erase its traces or to belie its existence. On the contrary, he must acknowledge it and make it real once again, so that we can see it — for we all want to be able to see. And only that secret pain sensitizes us to perceive, particularly to perceive the truth. […] And that is what art should bring about: that our eyes, in this way, are opened.[8]

Bachmann approached her writing as a platform for helping her readers recognize the corrupted reality of society.

What concerned Bachmann most were the lasting and pervasive threads of fascism. Karen Achberger clarifies that Bachmann was "[n]ot antifascist in the narrow sense of a Bertolt Brecht or of the socialist writer and East German party functionary Johannes R. Becher" — both of whom targeted the tyrannical powers of the 1930s — but rather "her writings deal with fascism in its less overtly political forms, […] the subtle, everyday fascism that has become so commonplace as to be almost undetectable."[9] In the foreword to her unfinished novel *Das Buch Franza* (The Book of Franza, 1965–66), Bachmann explains, "I've often wondered and perhaps it has passed through your minds as well, just where the virus of crime escaped to — it cannot have simply disappeared from our world twenty years ago just because murder is no longer praised, desired, decorated with medals, and promoted."[10] The remnants of wartime fascism take on a

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[8] Ingeborg Bachmann, "'Die Wahrheit ist dem Menschen zumutbar': Rede zur Verleihung des Hörspielpreises der Kriegsblinden," in *Werke*, vol. 1, ed. Christine Koschel, Inge von Weidenbaum and Clemens Münster (Munich: Piper, 1993), 275. "So kann es auch nicht die Aufgabe des Schriftstellers sein, den Schmerz zu leugnen, seine Spuren zu verwischen, über ihn hinwegzutäuschen. Er muß ihn, im Gegenteil, wahrhaben und noch einmal, damit wir sehen können, wahrmachen. Denn wir wollen alle sehend werden. Und jener geheime Schmerz macht uns erst für die Erfahrung empfindlich und insbesondere für die der Wahrheit. […] Und das sollte die Kunst zuwege bringen: daß uns, in diesem Sinne, die Augen aufgehen."

[9] Karen Achberger, *Understanding Ingeborg Bachmann* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 1.

[10] Ingeborg Bachmann, "Foreword to *The Book of Franza*," in *The Book of Franza & Requiem for Fanny Goldmann*, trans. Peter Filkins (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 3–4. *Das Buch Franza* was intended to be part of the five-novel cycle that Bachmann refered to as the *"Todesarten"-Projekt* and upon which she worked during the final years of her life. Both *Franza* and *Requiem für Fanny Goldmann*, intended as volumes two and three of the cycle, were written in incomplete draft form before Bachmann began work on the first and only completed volume *Malina*. All three texts feature

new, more dangerous face, Bachmann argues, "[f]or today it is indefinitely more difficult to commit crimes, and thus these crimes are so subtle that we can hardly perceive or comprehend them, though all around us, in our neighborhoods, they are committed daily." These are "[c]rimes that require a sharp mind, that tap our minds and less our senses, those that most deeply affect us — there no blood flows, but rather the slaughter is granted a place within the morals and customs of a society whose fragile nerves quake in the face of any such beastliness."[11]

As early as her first collection of poetry in 1953, Bachmann engaged with this theme and began to shape her ideas about how one should combat fascist resurgence. Achberger explains that the poet embraced "self-reliance and [the] redemptive value of courageous individual response" as a means of saving mankind.[12] For example, in her well known poem titled "Alle Tage," Bachmann emphasizes the importance of the individual to resist the ill-directed path of society. The poem famously begins with the same premise as *Das Buch Franza*:

> War is no longer declared,
> but rather continued. The outrageous
> has become the everyday. The hero
> is absent from the battle. The weak
> are moved into the firing zone.[13]

In the lines that follow, Bachmann insists that the individual must be rewarded for breaking down the system and preventing the continued spread of war — war that is just as dangerous during times of peace as during times of armament. She advocates "deserting the flag," "bravery before a friend," "the betrayal of shameful secrets," and "the disregard / of every command." Every person must maintain a state of "eternal armament" in order to fight in the name of humanity.[14]

Bachmann's outlook on postwar politics is principally concerned with this threat of fascism to the future of society. She cautions against complacency, ignorance, and a lack of individuality, and issues an urgent plea for Germans to take responsibility and

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manifestations of that "subtle, everyday fascism" characteristic of Bachmann's entire oeuvre. See Peter Filkins' introduction to Bachmann, *Book of Franza*.

[11] Bachmann, "Foreword to *The Book of Franza*," 4.

[12] Achberger, *Understanding Ingeborg Bachmann*, 13.

[13] Ingeborg Bachmann, *Darkness Spoken: The Collected Poems*, trans. Peter Filkins (Brookline, Mass.: Zephyr Press, 2006), 39.

[14] Bachmann, *Darkness Spoken*, 39.

stand up in resistance. These ideas were formative for Henze's political views as well, and they contribute to key points in Henze's 1963 lecture. This is not only apparent in his opening description of a society plagued by resurgent fascism, but also in the idea of music as a resistant force. Just as Bachmann advocates "deserting the flag" or "the disregard of every command" as a means of resisting the destructive path of society, Henze suggests that the music of the past might have that same potential. He regards the tunnel vision of the Darmstadt avant-garde with skepticism and favors tradition as the foundation of the world without "brutality, neglect of charity, and the withholding of intellectual and social freedom."[15]

Although Henze dedicated himself to helping to build that world "with, in and through" his music, he showed no immediate signs in 1963 of engaging with politics head-on in his work. Unlike Bachmann, who stood by the conviction that politics was an active responsibility, Henze subscribed to politics only passively through embracing the spirit of tradition. His works from 1963, including the cantatas *Being Beauteous* and *Cantata della fiaba estrema*, the vocal *Ariosi*, and the *Lucy Escott Variations* for piano, exemplified conventions from the past, but did not offer any direct political commentary of practical scope. Similarly, when Henze approached Bachmann about collaborating on a second opera in spring 1963, he had no evident intentions of making a critique of postwar society. His priority at the time was the creation of a successful *opera buffa* in the style of Mozart and the eighteenth-century Italians. In fact, one of his primary motivating factors in choosing *opera buffa* was the prospect of earning money from a genre that he hoped would entertain his audience through comedy.

Somewhat surprising is the fact that Bachmann also shared this financial motive. Henze recounts that she wanted "to actually make something, on which we both can live the next twenty years and that will play in all the theaters."[16] This materialist sentiment might appear to conflict with her sense of social and moral duty, but she still remained faithful to her political commitment. When Henze proposed a subject for the libretto,

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[15] Henze, "Music as a Means of Resistance," 124.

[16] Quoted in Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens*, 212. Henze is quoted as saying that Bachmann "[möchte] doch wohl sicher etwas machen, wovon wir beide in den nächsten zwanzig Jahren leben könnten, und was alle Theater spielen würden." Henze requested an honorarium of 10,000 German Marks for Bachmann upon the completion of the libretto, plus a stake in the royalties. See Christian Bielefeldt, *Gemeinsamen Werke*, 217; also Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 195.

Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, a flamboyant story of superficial love, Bachmann dismissed it outright. To Henze, Shakespeare's play was an entertaining farce of chivalry and romance; to Bachmann, the story bore little relevance to times beyond the days of knighthood. The tale that Bachmann suggested as an alternative, Wilhelm Hauff's "Der Affe als Mensch," to which Henze ultimately agreed, offered far more relevance to postwar society. Although set in the early nineteenth century, this was a story by a German about Germans. The nationalistic concerns of Biedermeier Germany, punctuated by the defeat of Napoleon in 1814 and the Revolutions of 1848, offered direct parallels to issues of rebuilding Germany after World War II. Consequently, Hauff's work had particular "didactic" potential, something the Shakespeare play lacked.[17]

Hauff's parable tells the story of a small German town, where an alienated foreign gentleman teaches the townspeople a lesson in character. After living there for many years, bombarded by social invitations that he always turns down and regarded with glaring suspicion for his absence in the community, the gentleman decides to take advantage of the townspeople's provincialism by duping them into believing that a simple circus monkey dressed in human clothing is his learned English nephew. The townspeople fall in love with the young Englishman and remodel their community after his eccentric manners and customs. However, when he loses control at a social gathering and reveals his true identity as an ape, the elder gentleman explains the ploy in a letter: "Take the joke […] as a good lesson not to force a foreigner into your community [if he] wants to live alone. I myself feel too good to take part in your perpetual gossip, your terrible manners, and your foolish character. […] Live well and use this lesson to the best of your ability."[18] And, in fact, the townspeople do. In their humiliation, they mend their ways, revise their behavior, and apparently live happily ever after.

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[17] Ingeborg Bachmann, "Notizen zum Libretto," in *Werke*, vol. 1, 435. Whether Bachmann had additional reasons for dismissing Henze's suggestion is not certain. Katja Schmidt-Wistoff wonders if her motivations were at all influenced by the desire to actually write her own original libretto, rather than merely adapt a previous work as she had done with Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*. See Schmidt-Wistoff, *Dichtung und Musik*, 176–78. *Der Junge Lord* was based on Hauff's "Der Affe als Mensch," but Bachmann's rendering only used the parable as a source of inspiration for the plot. Bachmann made the libretto her own by, among other things, adding the secondary plot line between Luise and Wilhelm.

[18] Wilhelm Hauff, "Der Affe als Mensch," in *Werke*, vol. 1, ed. Hermann Engelhard (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1961), 752–53. "Nehmet den Scherz […] als eine gute Lhre auf, einen Fremden, der für sich leben will, nicht in Eure Gesellschaft zu nötigen! Ich selbst fühle mich zu gut, um euer ewiges Klatchen,

For her adaptation, Bachmann made many alterations to the original tale, but she honored the basic narrative.[19] In the two-act opera, which was structured in six scenes, the first half focused on the foreigner's arrival in the town, while the second half chronicled the experiment with the ape. Nevertheless, Bachmann was far less interested in the comedic charade, than she was in the negative character traits that it exposed in the people of the town. For example, the townspeople are disturbed that the foreigner uses a whip on his nephew. However, they dismiss their concern immediately when they learn that this is evidently the only means of instructing the young Englishman in the German language; anything is permissible if it is for the German good. Or, as another example, when the young Englishman first emerges in the community, the townspeople become thoroughly enamored by his unique etiquette, so much that they freely write off his occasionally crude behavior as part of his English heritage. However, the readiness of the adults to excuse him for his odd education and decorum gives the young generation the impression that these values are no longer important. In blindly revering the Englishman, the adults neglect the future of their own children.

From the perspective of these ancillary episodes, Bachmann came to realize that the comedic story of the disguised ape, who she named Lord Barrat, was only a pretense for something much darker. She decided to make these negative traits the focal point of her libretto. In addition to the xenophobia that initially provokes the foreigner — Sir Edgar in Bachmann's rendition — the social experiment that ensues reveals a disposition for destructive attitudes: excessive nationalism, bloated German pride, small-town naiveté, blind faith, cultural hypnosis, and overt greed. For Bachmann, these traits were indicative of her conception of fascism as a force that threatens everyday society, and they became the subject of her social critique. Consequently, the two major changes she made to Hauff's parable, the addition of an ill-fated pair of lovers, Luise and Wilhelm, and the revision of the "happy ending," were both intended to enhance the impact of the townspeople's fascist inclinations on a personal level. Wilhelm, a student whose strong intellect makes him the only individual to see through the destructive nature of the town,

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um eure schlechten Sitten und euer lächerliches Wesen zu teilen. […] Lebet wohl und benützt diese Lehre nach Kräften."

[19] For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Bachmann's libretto and Hauff's parable, see Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens*; Grell, *Ingeborg Bachmanns Libretti*; and Schmidt-Wistoff, *Dichtung und Musik*.

tries to rescue his love from the prevailing ignorance. Luise, however, is sucked into Sir Edgar's charade; she is pressured by the town elders to court Lord Barrat in spite of her true love for Wilhelm. In the final scene, as we will see, it becomes clear that neither Wilhelm and Luise nor their fellow townspeople are able to escape the fate they have inflicted on themselves.

Drawing inspiration from the vignette in "Der Affe als Mensch," Bachmann exposes how young men and women are no longer able to engage in free thought or exhibit compassion for their fellow man on account of the fascist tendencies in their parents' generation. Aside from the primary narrative of the lover's demise, one of the most vivid examples of generational oppression in Bachmann's libretto is her depiction of the town's children. Through a series of episodes, she presents them as the victims of their parents' closed-mindedness and inherent cruelty.[20] The first episode comes in the opening scene of the opera, as the whole of the town Hülsdorf-Gotha waits anxiously on the central square for the arrival of Sir Edgar. While the mayor practices his welcome speech and the fine men and women of the town gossip in anticipation, a children's choir rehearses a salutatory song in round led by their teacher:

Zu uns kommt ein Edelmann	To us comes a nobleman,
der uns vieles geben kann.	who can give us many things.
Vieles soll er geben,	A lot shall he give,
lang soll er leben	long shall he live,
Himmels Freude ernten.[21]	[and] harvest heaven's joy.

Several children lose their place and repeat the third and fourth lines by mistake: "A lot shall he give, long shall he live" — Bachmann's subtle way of emphasizing the townspeople's financial interest in what Sir Edgar might bring them. Such language already makes it clear that the children are parroting their elders, delivering a message of their parents' capitalistic greed through what they understand to be an innocent, welcoming gesture. The true nature of the children, their open-mindedness and curiosity

[20] This side plot extends directly from Bachmann's concern for the fascist tendencies of relationships between people. The case of the relationship between parents and their children is a prominent one in Bachmann's oeuvre, notably in the collection of short stories *Das dreißigste Jahr* (The Thirtieth Year, 1961), published only two years before she began working on *Der Junge Lord*. In the first story, for example, "Youth in an Austrian Town" (Jugend in einer österreichischen Stadt), Bachmann offers a semi-autobiographical account of the oppressive nature of her childhood both before and after the outbreak of war.

[21] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 382.

for all things new, shows through later in the scene when they are delighted by Sir Edgar's marvelous pets and possessions.

In the third scene of the opera, however, the conflict between children and adults comes into plain sight. Here, Sir Edgar's nurturing hand is taken as an affront by the haughty and strict parents. Sir Edgar, who has already insulted the people of Hülsdorf-Gotha by declining their invitations, emerges from his house for the first time to watch a wandering circus group, which naturally angers the people further. The open-minded children, however, find Sir Edgar kind. In the stage directions, Bachmann writes,

> Before Sir Edgar sits down to watch the circus, he is friendly to the children, who clearly like him. He strokes the hair of one child, gives him a piece of candy. The child is pulled away by his father, carried off and boxed on the ears. Other parents angrily carry their children off as well. The children are scared and agitated.[22]

Although it is the parents who have frightened the children, it is Sir Edgar who is blamed. The adults call him a foreigner and godless heathen, and accuse him of corrupting morals, inflicting shame, and, above all, scaring children.[23] When Sir Edgar comes to the circus's rescue by paying the street performance fee that the mayor chooses to inflict out of spite, the children, oblivious to their elder's growing contempt towards the foreigner, praise him by rehashing the song from the first scene:

Das ist ein guter Mann,	That is a good man,
der uns gutes antun kann.	who can do good things for us.

But the parents box them over the ears and make the children change the words:

Das ist ein böser Mann,	That is an evil man,
der uns Böses antun kann.[24]	who can [only] do us wrong.

After the adults scold their sons and daughters once more, the children condemn Sir Edgar with another song:

Hu, der böse Edelmann	Hoo, the evil nobleman,
der uns gar nichts geben kann.	who can't give us anything.

But midway through the children revert back to their original sentiment:

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[22] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 397. "Ehe Sir Edgar sich setzt, um den Zirkusleuten zuzuschauen, ist er freundlich zu den Kindern, die ihn offenbar gerne mögen. Er streicht einem Kind übers Haar, gibt ihm eine Süßigkeit. Das Kind wird von seinem Vater zurückgerissen, weggezerrt und geohrfeigt. Andere Eltern holen ebenfalls aufgebracht ihre Kinder fort. Die Kinder sind erschreckt und verstört."

[23] Ibid., 397. "Sittenverderber. Schamverletzer. Kinderschreck. Ausländer. Gottloser Heide."

[24] Ibid., 401–2.

Nichts kann er geben.	Nothing can he give,
Hoch soll er leben.	noble shall he live.

The adults react immediately and box them on the ears again. The children finish off the song on a macabre note that can only be a reflection of their parents' anger:

Pfui, der soll nicht leben.[25]	Phooey, he should not be allowed to live.

The full impact of the parents' castigation is made apparent in the beginning of the fourth scene when the children reach the height of their corruption. While the children earlier celebrated the unusual animals, objects, and people that Sir Edgar brought with him to their town, they now view him and his caravan with their parents' hostility. On this snowy evening they maliciously turn against Sir Edgar's servant, the terrified Moor Jeremy, as he returns home with packages. They chase after him, pelt snowballs at him, and taunt him:

Hu, der böse Mohr,	Hoo, the evil Moor,
der so Schwarz wie Sünde ist.	who is as black as sin.
Haut den bösen Mohren,	Hit the evil Moor,
trefft ihn auf die Ohren.[26]	get him on the ears.

Bachmann uses an actual children's rhyme that Karl Kraus recorded in Vienna for those final two lines.[27] The imagery of 'hitting on the ears' is a direct allusion to the ear-boxing from the previous scene. The children have adopted the same form of violent punishment that their parents had used on them. Furthermore, the final lines that the children chant use the words of a popular game — a German variant on Red Rover — as a malicious sneer:

Wer fürchtet sich	Who's afraid
vorm schwarzen Mann,	of the black man [the boogieman]
der uns alle fressen kann?	who can eat us all up?
Niemand. Niemand.[28]	No one. No one.

[25] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 402.
[26] Ibid., 404.
[27] Achberger, *Literatur als Libretto: Das deutsche Opernbuch seit 1945: Mit einem Verzeichnis der neuen Opern* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1980): 183. See also Henze, "Spectre of Mendacity," 140; and Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 191.
[28] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 404.

Bachmann's portrayal of the victimization of the children in the first half of the opera quite literally sets the stage for the tragic ruination of the lovers. As the children run offstage at the beginning of Scene 4, Wilhelm and Luise enter to sing a love duet, punctuated by the first shrill screams of Lord Barrat that sound from Sir Edgar's home. We will return to the fate of the lovers in the final section of this chapter where we will consider how Henze's music contributes to the critical narrative of Bachmann's libretto. Before moving on, however, it is worth recognizing that the image of childhood Bachmann presents here is crucial to understanding the outcome of Wilhelm and Luise — for they too grew up in the same environment. The destructive provincialism of Hülsdorf-Gotha's citizens is perpetuated in their upbringing, and as long as children continue to be taught and indoctrinated as the town leaders dictate, nothing will change. Schmidt-Wistoff explains, "In this way the next generation is forced, trained, and drilled to conform, lie, live without freedom."[29] Thus, Wilhelm, Luise, and the children are all victims of a crime where, to reprise Bachmann's words in *Das Buch Franza*, "no blood flows, but rather the slaughter is granted a place within the morals and customs of a society whose fragile nerves quake in the face of any such beastliness."[30]

Henze & Opera buffa

While Henze's political commitment to *Der Junge Lord* was initially limited to the use of the *buffo* genre, he never objected to the potency of Bachmann's libretto. In fact, he defied warnings from his publisher Ludwig Strecker when he decided to set the text to music. Strecker, who had earlier agreed with Bachmann that a libretto based on Shakespeare would be "Love's and Music's Labour's Lost," was equally dismissive of the Hauff parable.[31] "'The little Lord' is an old [and] weak Hauff fairytale," he argued, "It is persiflage of the German habit to ape foreign people and their customs."[32] Strecker

[29] Schmidt-Wistoff, *Dichtung und Musik*, 210. "So wird die nächste Generation zu Anpassung, Lüge und Unfreiheit herangezogen, abgerichtet und dressiert."

[30] Bachmann, "Foreword to *The Book of Franza*," 4.

[31] Quoted in Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens*, 210. Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Henze, dated 28 November 1963.

[32] Quoted in Ibid., 211. Letter from Henze to Ludwig Strecker, dated 16 March 1964: "'Der kleine Lord' ist ein altes schwächeres HAUFF-Märchen, das aus der meisten Gesamtausgaben weggelassen wird. Es ist eine Persiflage auf die deutsche Sucht, ausländische Menschen und Bräuche nachzuäffen; in diesem Fall in der 19. Jahrhundert-Atmosphäre. Erzählt mag's hingehen: wem's heute mißfällt, der wird es überblättern! Aber auf der Bühne ist das Überblättern für die Beteiligten zu kostspielig! Die Pointe reicht

was afraid that the black humor of the plot might hit too close to home, whereas a parody of Americanism, like Ernst Krenek's prewar opera *Johnny spielt auf*, would be more welcome. As a cautious publisher trying to look out for his client's professional interests, he believed that carrying through with Bachmann's libretto would jeopardize all possibility of financial success. The idea that music should serve a political role was evidently irrelevant.

The fact that Henze, however, remained faithful to Bachmann's libretto against Strecker's advice demonstrates that he had grown comfortable with the idea of using his opera to issue a social critique. Of course, Henze's decision to pursue the *Junge Lord* libretto may have originally been an act of loyalty to Bachmann as a friend. Nevertheless, by the time of the work's premiere in April 1965, he had fully embraced the critical nature of the work. In an interview published the week before the performance, Klaus Geitel asked the composer if he was concerned that the Biedermeier subject would be criticized as "reactionary" by modern audiences. Henze responded in the negative by pointing out "a strongly critical and satirical [*zeitsatirisch*] trait" in the opera that made it completely relevant to the present: "Here, in Biedermeier Hülsdorf-Gotha, English eccentricity is cheered and imitated just as the Beatles are today, or to turn to another field, the artistic gimmicks with which the cultural scene now likes to intoxicate itself."[33] Henze implies a link between the townspeople of Bachmann's tale and the youth of postwar Europe, in that their fanaticism gets in the way of their ability to think as individuals. Furthermore, he explains, "[a] lack of individuality always aims at extremes. To direct one's attacks at such extremism, in whatever guise it appears, is perhaps a fruitful and timely task — above all in an *opera buffa*."[34]

Henze went on in later writing to highlight other aspects of Bachmann's critique. In a 1972 program note for a Frankfurt production, he wrote of the "deathly […] *Gemütlichkeit* (cosiness)" of society and the poison of "mendacity […] born of unsatisfied curiosity, frustrated material hopes, provincial pretentiousness and wounded

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im übrigen bestenfalls für einen Einakter aus. An sich wäre eine Satire auf die deutsche Schwäche wiedermal fällig."

[33] Henze, "Making of an *Opera Buffa*," 137.

[34] Ibid., 137.

vanity."[35] But there is something revealing about his earlier statement from 1965. Henze's concluding remark, that the genre of *opera buffa* is particularly suitable for making a political statement, demonstrates that he no longer regarded comic opera purely as a form of entertainment. Bachmann's libretto, in its masterful balance of comedy and critique, reminded the composer of a longstanding convention of the *buffo* genre: to expose the flaws of society through the medium of comedy. Piero Weiss documents that "from the very beginning [in the early eighteenth century] Neapolitan *opera buffa* reflect[ed] a new perception of everyday life."[36] By the late nineteenth century, he continues, "[t]he sly observation of human foibles within the context of contemporary society was and remained its main business." Thus, for Henze in the twentieth century, reviving the *buffo* genre ultimately meant embracing its social critique.

But reviving *opera buffa* also meant subscribing to an assortment of aesthetic traditions as well. Norbert Miller confirms that "[t]he potential of *buffo*-opera as a means of expressing a critical worldview on a stage can only be assessed when the conventions that have developed since the eighteenth century remain recognizable [in spite of their] distance and modification."[37] For Henze, these conventions included the assignment of vocal parts, the distribution of music between the pit and stage, the employment of varied ensemble settings, and most importantly, a return to tonality. First, Henze set the leading characters of the opera according to the conventional rubric for voice parts: Luise as the leading soprano, Wilhelm as the romantic tenor, and the secretary, who speaks for the mute Sir Edgar, as the lyrical baritone.[38] It is worth noting that Bachmann's libretto provided the foundation for these characterizations, and, in general, exhibited the variety of everyday characters typically found in an *opera buffa*: serious characters, like Sir

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[35] Henze, "Spectre of Mendacity," 139–40.

[36] Piero Weiss and Julian Budden, "Opera buffa." in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed 8 May 2011).

[37] Norbert Miller, "'Geborgte Tonfälle aus der Zeit': Ingeborg Bachmann's 'Der Junge Lord' oder Keine Schwierigkeiten mit der komischen Oper," in *Für und Wider die Literaturoper: Zur Situation nach 1945*, ed. Sigried Wiesmann, (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1982), 88. "Die Tragfähigkeit der Buffo-Oper als Ausdrucksmedium einer kritischer Welterfassung durch die Bühne läßt sich nur überprüfen, wo in Distanz und Abwandlung die seit dem 18. Jahrhundert entwickelten Konventionen noch erkennbar bleiben."

[38] Julian Budden characterizes the four main roles in Rossini's nineteenth century *opera buffa* as: a prima donna soubrette (soprano or mezzo); a light, amorous tenor; a *basso cantante* or baritone capable of lyrical, mostly ironical expression; and a *basso buffo* whose vocal skills, largely confined to clear articulation and the ability to 'patter', must also extend to the baritone for the purposes of comic duets." See Weiss/Budden, "Opera buffa." The most logical candidate for the *basso buffo* in *Der Junge Lord* would be Lord Barrat, but Henze chose to cast him as a high character tenor.

Edgar, the secretary, Wilhelm, and Luise; comedic characters, like Lord Barrat, the servant Begonia, and the circus director Amintore La Rocca; and ironic characters who appear comical on account of their seriousness, such as the baroness Grünweisel and the mayor.

Second, Henze integrated music directly into the action of the opera by supplementing his offstage orchestra with musicians positioned onstage. He was influenced by Rossini's use of stage music in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia,* and he integrated the practice throughout *Der Junge Lord*. A garrison band welcomes Sir Edgar to the town in the first scene; Luise plays a Chopinesque *romanza* on the piano at the start of the second scene; a percussion ensemble and trumpet accompany the street circus in the third scene; and a chamber orchestra performs at the great ball in the final scene. For the main orchestra, Henze took after Mozart. A Berlin performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which the composer attended the day before commencing work on the *Junge Lord* score, inspired him to cut back his ensemble to eighteenth-century standards.[39]

Third, Henze fashioned his opera with a variety of vocal settings derived from traditional *buffo* practices. To start, his vocal forces include soloists, two adult choruses (representing the town's bourgeoisie and folk), and a children's choir. Although arias were historically a staple of the genre, Henze was more interested in large ensemble numbers, and he consequently scored only one aria and one duet, Luise's soul-searching solo at the start of the sixth scene and her earlier exchange with Wilhelm on the nature of their love in the fourth scene. Everything else takes its inspiration from the finales and ensemble passages of Rossini's *Barbiere* and Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte*. The sixth scene of *Der Junge Lord*, for example, begins with Luise's aria, but quickly expands as one by one Lord Barrat, Wilhelm, the baroness, Luise's confidante Ida, and the ball guests join in. After an interlude of recitative and dancing — the latter representing the folk tradition of early comic operas — the final passage of the scene, to which we will shortly return, builds again to the colossal full ensemble.

Finally, Henze was convinced that the revival of *opera buffa* relied on a stylistic return to tonal language. This association of style and genre went back to the composer's

[39] Henze, "Making of an *Opera Buffa*," 135. Henze also expanded his Mozartian orchestra with two trombones, tuba, harp, celesta, piano, guitar, mandolin, and extensive percussion.

mandate that the internal musical material of a work be closely correlated to the external framework of its composition. For *Der Junge Lord*, his rationale for tonality was as follows: Henze believed that "the decline of comic opera [could] be traced back to the turning away from traditional tonality."[40] Other than the works of Stravinsky and occasional moments in Berg's *Wozzeck* — "moments of heavy comedy and persiflage […] but not gaiety" — attempts to create humor in music have been foiled by the pressure to embrace modernist musical language. Henze implies that only tonality has the "robustly human appeal" that allows for a genuine *opera buffa*. But Henze's application of tonality in *Der Junge Lord* is not restorative in the sense of employing eighteenth century functional harmony.[41] That is not to say that there are no passages where the composer does this; the children's choir and the onstage chamber orchestra, both part of the diegesis of the opera, are two examples. On the whole, however, Henze's integration of tonal sounds comes across as neoclassical, angular, and often ironic. As he explains it, the musical language of the opera is in a "state of tension" between "the abandonment of traditional tonality and the return to it. Rather like tensing a bow, it is here a kind of 'tensing the ear.'"[42]

Regardless of how Henze used tonality, the very fact that he did was the most political aspect of *Der Junge Lord* in the eyes of most postwar composers and critics, particularly those associated with Darmstadt, who saw the act as conservative and regressive. We must remember, however, that to these men and women, the political scope of music was restricted to the aesthetic domain. For Henze, however, the use of tonal language did not carry this connotation. Rather, tonality was merely a model from the past that offered, so the 1963 speech, "strength, stimulus, [and] connection" to the present.[43] As a token of tradition, it contributed to the groundwork of what Henze regarded as committed music, just as the historical genre of *opera buffa* now facilitated the social critique of *Der Junge Lord*. When it comes to the question of how Henze's music itself conveys that critique, the truth is that it primarily caters to the libretto — on the axis of political signification, the internal corresponds to the external. This does not

[40] Henze, "Making of an *Opera Buffa*," 136.
[41] Mustak Zafer Özgen, "Tonality and Chromaticism in Hans Werner Henze's Early Operas" (Ph.D. Diss., City University of New York, 2009), 10, 93.
[42] Henze, "Making of an *Opera Buffa*," 136.
[43] Henze, "Music as Means of Resistance," 122.

mean that Henze's score adds nothing to Bachmann's text or that it is inconsequential in comparison. In fact, Henze's contribution is crucial to the outgoing message of the opera, as we will see. But for the most part, the music of *Der Junge Lord* predominantly serves to support and, at times, enhance the dramatic action.

Henze uses a combination of stylistic characterization, instrumental assignments, and leitmotifs to mirror the theatrics of the libretto in the music. To start on the largest scale, the composer assigns a specific musical style to each set of characters. The critic Andrew Porter describes this best when he cites four distinguishable "sound worlds" within the opera. He writes,

> The townspeople are given neoclassical music, often C major with Stravinskian added-notes, scored for the classical orchestra. Then Sir Edgar arrives; he speaks only through his secretary, and his secretary speaks in a kind of Straussian arioso, shapely, courteous, a little artificial. The circus, and particularly the ape's dance, provide a new element, a wilder, more erratic, more extravagantly scored sound. And fourthly there is the heroine's love-music, in Henze's familiar lyric vein.[44]

After each "sound world" is established, Henze implements them dramatically. For example, Lord Barrat is born in the third world that Porter describes, the jagged and often dissonant sound of the circus. As he becomes part of the community, his vocal parts transition from shriek-like melismas to the more stable neoclassical style of the townspeople. Consequently, in the sixth scene, when during the dance at the ball Barrat loses control and shows his true simian nature, Henze shows the split in his character musically by juxtaposing the two styles between the onstage chamber orchestra and the offstage pit. At first, Barrat joins the community youth in a stately waltz that the onstage orchestra plays in a neoclassical *b-flat* major (mm. 6/218ff.).[45] At a certain point, however, he abandons the beat of the waltz and takes off in faster and more irregular movements. The pit orchestra, which initially complements the onstage ensemble when it enters in m. 233, disengages from the stable triple meter of the waltz and obscures the pattern. Henze illustrates the loosening of Barrat's behavior mimetically through the rhythmic and harmonic dissonance created by the two ensembles.

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[44] Andrew Porter, "Henze's 'Young Lord'," *The Musical Times* 110 no. 1520 (1969): 1029–30.

[45] Throughout this chapter, measures in the score are notated as "Scene-Number/Measure-Number(s)". For example, "mm. 6/218ff." refers to the measures beginning in m. 218 of Scene 6.

If the acoustic clash here is not enough to recognize Barrat's dramatic association with the pit orchestra, Henze reinforces the connection with an instrumental cue: a four-measure chromatic descent, repeated three times by the tuba. Throughout the opera, Henze reserves specific instruments for the characterization of particular characters. The two most notable pairings are Sir Edgar with the French horn and Lord Barrat with the tuba. In the case of the latter, Henze added the tuba to his traditional eighteenth century orchestra specifically for this purpose, and his use of the instrument in the dance is surely meant as a character signal.

In general, Henze's use of instruments throughout the opera is also linked to his practice of defining characters with leitmotifs. For example, the tuba first creeps into the ensemble during the action of the fourth scene when the townsmen are confronting Sir Edgar at his doorstep on account of the screams they hear coming from his house (mm. 4/552–67). The melodic motive that the tuba plays in this passage actually refers back to the music in Scene 3 that first accompanied the circus dance of Adam the Ape (mm. 3/12–24). Moreover, the tuba motive also returns in the sixth scene when Lord Barrat starts to rip the clothing from his body. It takes the form of a four-measure ostinato that begins in m. 6/560 with the tuba and is subsequently passed throughout the orchestra. Shortly thereafter, as Barrat is escorted off the stage, the tuba reprises part of the ostinato before carrying on with a lyrical accompaniment to the action (mm. 6/585–98). The first three notes of the ostinato, *c f-sharp g-sharp*, define the intervals of a tritone and major-second, which corresponds to the opening interval series of the tuba in Scene 4 (mm. 4/552–53) and the ape's dance in Scene 3 (mm. 3/14–15). By scoring the motive in the final scene, Henze is quite literally saying that all that was left of Lord Barrat was a monkey.

Scoring the Critique

The excerpts described thus far demonstrate how Henze musically illustrates the actions of the libretto, but they have yet to show how his music functions to help enhance the social critique of the text. One transparent example of this is his scoring of the children's songs. By deriving each song from the melodic, intervallic, and rhythmic material of the previous ones, Henze's music itself acts out the children's transformation

from curious and kind-spirited to prejudiced and malicious. More significant to the large-scale critique, though, is Henze's treatment of the final moments of the opera. To appreciate the full impact of this conclusion, however, we must first step back to understand how the composer and librettist interpreted this final scene.

Both Henze and Bachmann knew that their *opera buffa* could not merely duplicate eighteenth century tradition; they had to revive the genre within the artistic atmosphere of the twentieth century. For Bachmann, this meant that her comic opera had to go beyond humor, that there could be no happy ending. In the eighteenth century, Luise, Wilhelm, Sir Edgar, and the townspeople would have turned to the audience in the work's final moments to recite as a choir the lesson they had learned.[46] Hauff took a similarly edifying approach in his original tale, in which the townspeople's shock after the ape is revealed is quickly dispelled by the foreigner's note. In the twentieth century, however, a trite ending like this would cheapen the gravity of the message that Bachmann wanted most to express. She wanted the audience to have to reflect on what happened, to reason through the episodes of the opera, and not to have the moral delivered on a silver platter. Bachmann understood the comedic element of *Der Junge Lord* as a means of opening people's eyes to the reality of the world around them. Thus, she wanted people to recognize that there was something much darker in the work. "The relationship of Luise and Lord Barrat goes beyond the limits of comedy," she wrote, "The opera must succeed at showing this. It must allow the viewer for a moment to go a step further, so that he realizes what isn't funny here, what follows the truth of comedy as the next truth."[47]

It is unlikely that this was Henze's initial expectation of his opera, but he definitely grew into the interpretation. Henze recognized that "the *allegria* of *Der Junge Lord* has a more serious and sad quality than the melancholies of earlier operas" and he

[46] For example, in Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, the characters recite: "Happy is the man who looks / At everything on the right side / And through trials and tribulations / Makes reason his guide. / What always makes another weep / Will be for him a cause of mirth / And amid the tempests of this world / He will find sweet peace."

[47] Quoted in Grell, *Ingeborg Bachmanns Libretti*, 163. Page No. 5199 in Bachmann's sketches to the "Notizen zum Libretto": "Die Beziehung Luise und Lord Barrat weicht über die Grenze des Komischen aus. Dies zu zeigen, sollte der Oper gelingen. Sie muß den Zuschauer, einen Augenblick lang, einen Gefühlsschritt weiter gehen lassen, damit er begreift, was hier nicht komisch ist, was der Wahrheit, die von Komik befördert wird, als nächste Wahrheit folgt."

wondered "how much darkness and fear is necessary in life to stop one from joking."[48] The end of the opera must reach this degree of bleakness, he indicated. In his interview with Klaus Geitel, Henze described the opera as a bridge from the comedic to the serious: "The *buffa* comes to a close, the *seria* begins — but only after the end of the opera."[49] Henze's description of the end echoes Bachmann's own objective. After watching the comedic come to a close, the audience should come to recognize the truly serious nature of what they had just witnessed. Henze intended his music to help elicit this response: "The second act of *Lord* is a bit 'the other side of the coin' [*il rovescio della medaglia*] of the first, as I see it. The comic element now becomes a *staccato*-machine, things hold on tight, one suspects that not everything is deathly funny."[50]

Thus, the final scene of *Der Junge Lord* must function as a catharsis for both the comedic and the tragic. It must demonstrate that, even after Lord Barrat is exposed as the ape and the people are duped, the very societal values that allowed the dreadful charade to happen still live on. And this narrative plays out in the fate of the lovers. Throughout the entire opera, the romance between Wilhelm and Luise is clichéd and idealistic, but it is still the only beacon of hope for breaking out of the confines of this closed-minded society. The lovers' brief moments of dialogue in the first act, as well as their romantic duet in the second, distinguish them from the townspeople, in that their discourse is unconcerned with the greed and ego of the town. Wilhelm and Luise sing about their feelings for one another. In the fourth scene, the two lovers are completely oblivious to the wild screams coming from Sir Edgar's house as they declare their love for one other. And Henze consistently scores their passages with a texture and accompaniment that breaks away from the rest of the drama.

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[48] Henze, "In einem einzigen Satz," *Melos*, 74. Translated in "Spectre of Mendacity," 138–39.

[49] Henze, "Opera buffa und die Tonalität," 30. Schmidt-Wistoff believes that this statement contradicts Henze's other interpretations of the opera because it implies that the work *itself* is not serious. What is serious only begins after the curtain closes, and therefore the opera itself is purely comedic. I find Schmidt-Wistoff's reading too strict, especially considering Bachmann's objective that the audience would come to terms with the events of the opera only after the fact. Interestingly, Henze cut this sentence from the interview when it was republished in *Musik und Politik* (see "Der Einzelgänger," in *Musik und Politik*, 111–14). Although Schmidt-Wistoff uses this act to strengthen her argument that Henze had conflicting interpretations, perhaps he was only trying to avoid misunderstandings.

[50] Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 249. Letter 153, from Henze to Bachmann, dated Castel Gandolfo, 19 July 1964: "Der 2. Akt 'Lord' ist ein bisschen il rovescio della medaglia des ersten, wie ich feststelle. Das komische Element wird nun zur staccato-Maschine, Sachen beissen sich fest, man ahnt, dass das alles nicht zum Totlachen ist."

Nevertheless, both Luise and Wilhelm, as children of this town, are vulnerable to the same corrupt values. Wilhelm, who has placed his faith in the hands of the most advanced scientific thought, appears to hold his distance. However, Luise as the pupil of the baroness, is still vulnerable and fickle. In the duet with Wilhelm, she continues to sing past him, unable to really understand the deeper meaning in his words. She requires others to tell her what to think, and it is the baroness who convinces her that love is all about material wealth. Thus when Luise first meets Lord Barrat in Scene 5 — "That suit, that exquisite glove. Those golden spectacles. Those Parisian breeches."[51] — she is immediately carried away in excitement. Wilhelm remains the only person to see through the charade. At the end of the scene, he vows, "I will go, but I will not give up. I can still measure up to a lord who is a lummox and behaves like — an animal."[52]

As already discussed, Lord Barrat's bestial identity is depicted musically with the tuba motive first heard in Scene 4. But there is an even more important leitmotif that Henze uses to show the hypnotizing influence of Barrat on the townspeople: the ape's scream that is first heard during Luise and Wilhelm's duet (Example 2.1a). The composer explains,

> The lovers embrace for the first time to the cry of pain of a tortured animal which later will destroy their lives. The melismata and chords that symbolize torture are subsequently associated with quotations from Goethe. Luise sings her confession of infidelity (in the fifth scene) on these very melismata.[53]

Henze's use of the motive is meant to show how Sir Edgar's experiment pervades every corner of life in this small town. The motive itself, as it is heard originally in Scene 4, consists of a chromatic descent ending with a tritone (m. 4/138). More than this concluding interval, its key feature in later statements is the descending chromaticism set to a triplet, or triplet-like rhythm.[54] Since Lord Barrat is the catalyst for the townspeople's self-destruction, the recurrence of his scream in the vocal parts of other characters represents the spread of his corruptive influence. For example, in the fifth scene, Lord

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[51] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 415. "Dieser Aufzug, dieser erlesene Handschuh. Diese goldene Brille. Das Pariser Beinkleid."

[52] Ibid., 423. "Ich gehe. Aber ich gebe nicht auf. Ich kann mich noch messen mit einem Lord, der ein Lümmel ist und sich benimmt wie — ein Tier."

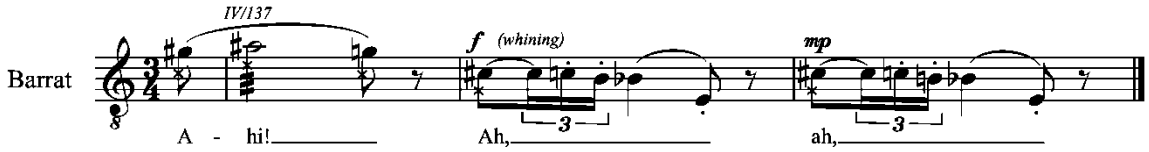
[53] Henze, "Spectre of Mendacity," 139.

[54] Like the tuba motive, this figure can also be traced back to the speech of the circus director Amintore La Rocca in Scene 3. When he introduces Adam the Ape, he steps down chromatically from *d* to *b-flat* (mm. 3/70–72).

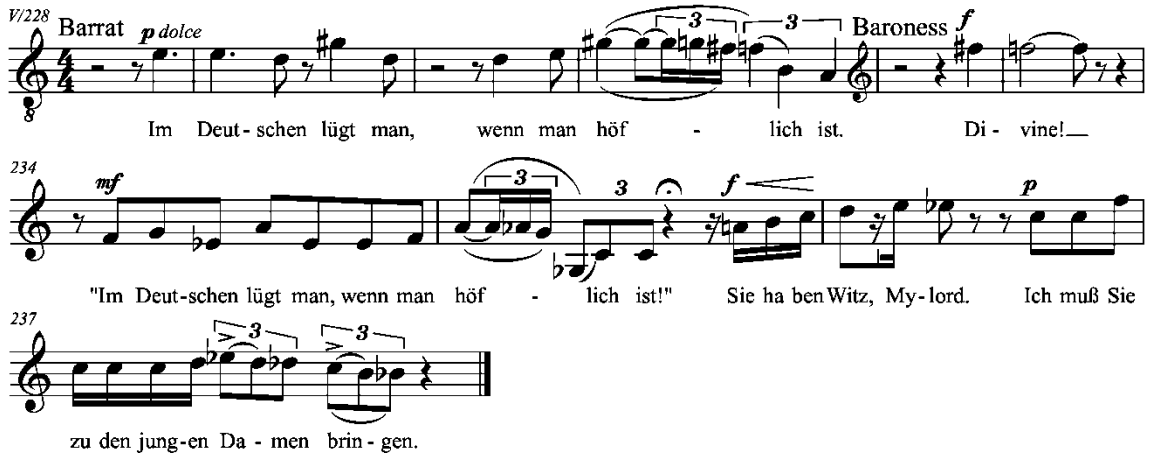
Barrat uses the motive in his first words to the townspeople: "A German is always lying when he is polite."[55] In this highly ironic statement, Barrat literally mocks the men and women of Hülsdorf-Gotha with sophisticated rhetoric poorly memorized from Goethe.[56] The townspeople, however, remain completely deaf to his critique, just as they fail to hear the scream motive on which he sings it. Instead of recognizing this motive as a sign of his true bestial nature, the baroness immediately appropriates it into her own speech (mm. 5/228–37; Example 2.1b). She is instantly won over by the young man's eloquence, in spite of the searing mockery of his words. Henze's alignment of the figure with her words, "I must bring you to the young women," only foreshadows the relationship that evolves between Barrat and Luise (mm. 236–37).

EXAMPLE 2.1 Scream Motive in *Der Junge Lord*

(a) Scream Motive, Scene 4, mm. 137–39



(b) Scream Motive sung by the Baroness, Scene 5, mm. 228–37



In the concluding scene of the opera, Henze scores the scream motive in a place that indicates the ultimate loss of hope for this small town — in Wilhelm's final words.

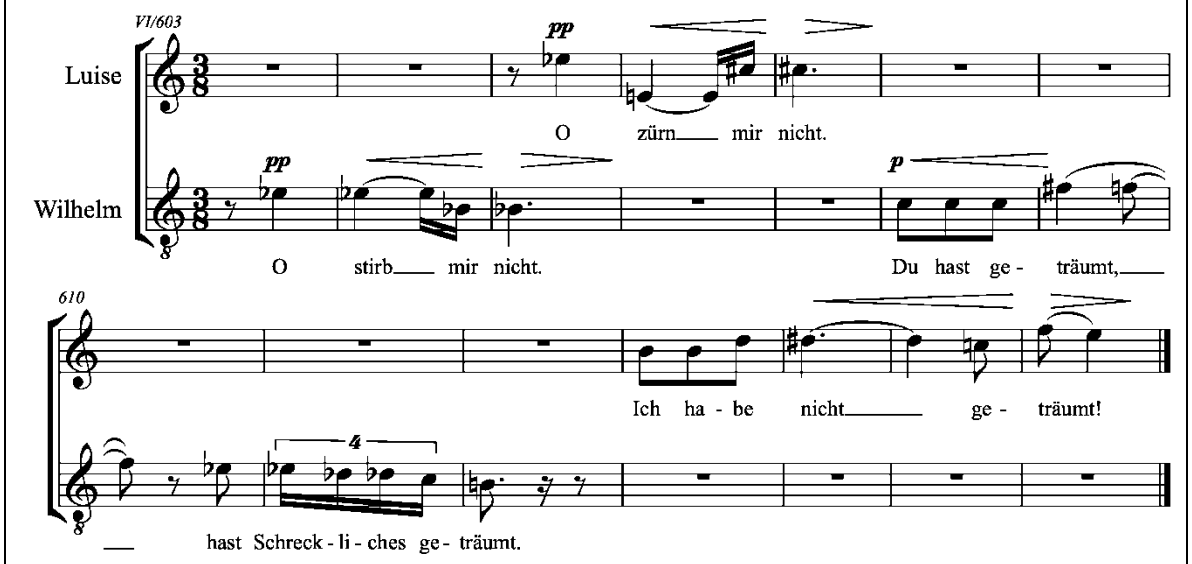
[55] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 414. "Im Deutschen lügt man, wenn man höflich ist."
[56] See Beck, *Bedingungen librettistischen Schreibens*, 272.

In the build up to this moment, Lord Barrat loses control in a frenzied dance, throws Luise against the wall, where she collapses, and proceeds to pull off his human disguise. The townspeople cannot believe what they see: "Heavens, stand by me. It's an ape. It's the ape," they realize.[57] As Sir Edgar escorts Barrat from the room and the townspeople continue to wonder if their god has abandoned them, Wilhelm and Luise have their final exchange:

WILHELM O stirb mir nicht.	Oh, don't die on me.
LUISE O zürn mir nicht.	Oh, don't be angry with me.
WILHELM Du hast geträumt, hast Schreckliches geträumt.	You've been dreaming, been dreaming something terrible.
LUISE Ich habe nicht geträumt.[58]	I haven't been dreaming.

In these last moments, when the townspeople fail to take responsibility for their actions and instead look to a seemingly absent god for support, the conversation between Wilhelm and Luise fails to offer a sign of hope. In spite of all they have undergone, the two lovers still cannot communicate, and Wilhelm shows his own vulnerability for the first time. He offers Luise a way out that requires no guilt and no responsibility: It was all a dream.

EXAMPLE 2.2 Wilhelm & Luise, Scene 6, mm. 603–16



[57] Bachmann, "Der Junge Lord," 432. "Himmel, steh mir bei. Ein Aff ist's. Der Aff ist's."
[58] Ibid., 432.

It is on these words that Wilhelm sings the scream motive (mm. 6/608–12; Example 2.2). His line descends first a minor-second from *f-sharp* to *f*, and then, on "Schreckliches geträumt," it continues *d-flat c b*, the very pitches Henze used in Barrat's first utterance of the motive. The rhythmic notation of this descent, a quartuplet over 3/8– meter, further echoes the quick subdivisions of the original. The tritone with which the first scream ended is also adopted into Wilhelm's statement in its opening leap of *c* to *f-sharp*. By using the scream motive in this instance, Henze makes it clear that Wilhelm has succumbed to the influence of Lord Barrat. This moment succeeds in showing how the social values of Hülsdorf-Gotha ultimately destroy all traces of love and reason. Wilhelm's downfall reveals that even individuality cannot triumph in the face of corrupt morals. His suggestion to Luise is equally as destructive as the townspeople's ignorance. It forces no one to learn from Sir Edgar's lesson; it evades the only means of confronting the fascist nature of this German community. By repressing the truth, Wilhelm internalizes the violence and bestiality, as the music implies, rather than confronting it.

Henze's interpretation of the opera's conclusion makes it clear that there has been no growth: "At the close, as soon as the foreigners have left the scene, the whole work falls back into that conventionality and pedantry with which the opera had begun. Nothing has been learned, so it seems; nothing has changed."[59] Instead of hanging their heads in shame and acknowledging their own fault, the townspeople allow their anger to flare. As they repeat "An ape!" over and over, the entire ensemble swells and accelerates in one final ascent that climaxes in a wild fury with the fall of the curtain. However, while Bachmann's libretto is now over, Henze's music, in its last few bars, offers a final commentary. The fury comes to an end in m. 6/648, and after two eighth rests, the score launches into a descending *d-flat* Dorian scale that is followed by the opera's final chord (mm. 6/649–50). This scale is in fact a motivic reference back to material at the beginning of the opera. On five occasions in the first scene, Henze interjects passages of descending scales at moments when the townspeople's behavior falls apart: when the children lose their place in their song (mm. 1/269–71), when the commotion in the square cuts off in awe of the arriving carriages (mm. 1/295–98), when the people are flabbergasted to see animals descend from the carriages instead of Sir Edgar (mm. 1/347–

[59] Henze, "Spectre of Mendacity," 140.

50), and twice more when the townspeople are taken aback by the servant Begonia (mm. 1/384–92 and 428–34). In each instance, the descent curtails the dramatic chaos of the moment and forces the characters to resume control and start over from a state of repose. The Dorian scale at the conclusion of the opera is a direct derivative of these passages, featuring the same steady sixteenth note rhythm and a closely related melodic structure.[60] Thus, whereas the five instances in the first scene depict the act of falling apart and starting over on a small-scale cycle, Henze's use of the motive at the end of the opera suggests that everything will now start over. He links the end back to the beginning, effectively sealing the fate of the townspeople — nothing will change. This is perhaps the opera's the most serious critique.

Conclusion

The premiere of *Der Junge Lord* on 7 April 1965 was a huge success. Henze and Bachmann's *opera buffa* brought thunderous applause from Berlin audiences, who found the work, above all, truly entertaining. Bernd Müllmann of the *Hessische Allgemeine Zeitung* characterized the general sentiment when he reported, "Without a scandal this time and without the boos that almost always accompany Henze's premieres in Berlin, [*Der Junge Lord*] was embraced by the audience with unanimous approval."[61] Henze and Bachmann succeeded at creating a hit that not only earned its place in opera repertoire, with more than fifty stagings around the world over the next three decades, but also grossed a significant fortune.[62] Bachmann was able to achieve financial independence with her royalties, and Henze purchased a new home in the hills of Marino outside Rome.[63]

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[60] The passages in Scene 1 are constructed as layers of whole-tone scale fragments that periodically shift by half step. For example, in mm. 1/295–98, the first violin begins with *c-sharp* and then descends from *c-natural* to *b-flat* by whole steps, before stepping down to *a* and continuing by whole step, etc. The *d-flat* Dorian scale in the penultimate measure of the opera, may be understood as an excerpt from this earlier construction: a descent by three whole steps, *b-flat a-flat g-flat f-flat*, a step down to *e-flat*, and then another whole step down to *d-flat*.

[61] Bernd Müllmann, "Henzes erste komische Oper," *Hessische Allgemeine Zeitung* (Kassel), 9 April 1965. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 350. "Ohne Skandal dieses Mal und ohne Gebuhe, das sonst fast immer Henze-Premieren in Berlin zu begleiten pflegten, wurde das Stück einhellig zustimmend vom Publikum angenommen."

[62] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 195. See also Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 439.

[63] Ibid., 195–96.

Although the work was enjoyed largely for its comedic dimension, the social critique did not go unnoticed. Rudolf Bauer of the *Berliner Morgenpost* recognized the libretto's critique on the basis of Hauff's original "attack on eradicable human stupidity […] hidden under a veil of irony and humor."[64] Hellmut Kotschenreuther of the *Mannheimer Morgen* hit the nail on the head when he wrote, "Irony and poetry come to be synthesized [in the opera's text], [which] draws its modern-day relevance from the critique that Ingeborg Bachmann — more out of love than hate — makes of the society and people of Restoration Germany circa 1830, since which time not much has really changed."[65] At the same time, however, others argued that the very fact that audiences laughed was a sign that the critique was not at all effective.

More than anything else, however, reviews of the work targeted Henze's controversial use of eighteenth century aesthetic. Within the context of the postwar sentiment that only the most avant-garde music could be political, these critics attacked the composer on the basis of choosing *opera buffa* and employing tonal language amidst the twentieth century. In a review titled "Henze turns back the clock," Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt famously called the opera "a masterwork of compositional restoration," comparing the composer's use of tonality to Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*, Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, and Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth*, but giving it no place in the postwar avant-garde.[66] In one of the most silver-tongued critiques to hit the press, Heinz Josef Herbort asked in *Die Zeit*,

> Is the brilliance of such a performance, the beauty and uniqueness perhaps rather a dangerous escape into the ivory tower, hoping to ignore the fact that on the day of the premiere, fighter jets streaked through the air less than two hundred meters over the Kurfürstendamm [in Berlin]? — and whether they flew from East to

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[64] Rudolf Bauer, "Henzes Sieg war unbestritten — ein Triumph der Melodie," *Berliner Morgenpost*, 9 April 1965. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 340. "Attacke gegen die unausrottbare menschliche Dummheit […] unter der Schale von Ironie und Komik versteckt."

[65] Hellmut Kotschenreuther, "Hans Werner Henzes Rückkehr zur Tonalität," *Mannheimer Morgen*, 8 April 1965. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 341. "Ironie und Poesie finden [im Operntext] zur Synthese, seine Aktualität bezieht er aus der Kritik, die Ingeborg Bachman mehr liebend als hassend an der Gesellschaft und den Menschen der Restaurationszeit um 1830 übt, die sich seit damals gar nicht so sehr verändert haben."

[66] Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, "Henze stellte die Uhr zurück," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 April 1965; and idem., *Opernwelt* 5 no. 5 (1965): 26–28. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 347. In Hochgesang's transcription, she records Stuckenschmidt as having compared Henze's opera to those noted by Strauss and Hindemith, and to "den Schostakowitsch von 1936." Shostakovich, however, did not write premiere an opera in that year. *Lady Macbeth*, the closest opera by date, was first performed in 1934, and was likely the work intended for comparison by Stuckenschmidt.

> West or the other way around is virtually insignificant. Hasn't Henze created a dangerous impression for his public, for whom there is more at stake in the retrospective than in a confrontation with reality?[67]

Herbort's accusation of "escap[ing] into the ivory tower" instead of engaging with the very real politics of Cold War Europe demonstrates that he, like many other critics, never saw past the aesthetic dimension of *Der Junge Lord*.

These critics, however, were beating a dead horse as they continued to harp on what everyone already knew: that Henze did not subscribe to the notion that politically committed music had to be stylistically chaotic. This was the central message of his 1963 speech in Berlin, which, when published the following year in the composer's collection of writings, *Essays*, was widely read as a manifesto of his aesthetic and compositional tenets.[68] Henze's frustration, and his lingering aesthetic insecurity, comes across in the autobiography when he recounts,

> In the hearts of so many people at this time there still existed this *espirit de corps* that demanded that every deviation from the officially prescribed rules and regulations that were dictated by curiously structuralist progressive thinking and that were applied to both life and art with equal rigour had to be denounced and punished without a moment's delay. […] But why, in heaven's name, did people not slowly get used to seeing and accepting artistic objects for what they are, namely, as independent creatures with lives of their own?[69]

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[67] Heinz Josef Herbort, "Zwei nicht ganz heitere Opern," *Die Zeit* (Hamburg), 16 April 1965. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 351. "Ist die Brillianz einer solchen Aufführung, die Schoenheit und Einmaligkeit vielleicht eine eher gefährliche Flucht in den elfenbeinernen Turm, die ignorieren möchte, daß am Tage der Uraufführung Düsenjäger in weniger als zweihundert Meter Höhe über den Kurfürstendamm hinwegrasen — wobei es im Grunde unwesentlich ist, ob sie von Osten nach Westen oder umgekehrt fliegen? Hat Henze nicht einen gefährlichen Blick auf das Publikum getan, dem an der Retrospektive mehr liegt als an einer Auseinandersetzung mit der Realität?"

Henze explains the political situation in his autobiography: "On the day after the final dress rehearsal, the Federal Bundestag was due to meet in West Berlin, a session designed as an act of provocation on the part of the West or, to be more precise, on the part of Ludwig Erhard's government. (In this context I remember bumping into the liberal politician, Erich Mende, in the lift at the Kempinski Hotel and almost speaking my mind on the subject.) The day before, fighter-bombers of the GDR's air force had flown low over the city, their supersonic booms clearly audible at the rehearsal of *Der Junge Lord* at the Deutsche Oper. It was a political crisis that led several foreign friends of ours to cancel their visits to Berlin" (Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 193).

[68] In the days leading up to the Berlin premiere, Henze evidently read selections from *Essays* aloud at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin on three separate occasions. Since the 1963 speech was already crafted to be presented to an audience, it is probably fair to assume that it was included in one of these readings. See Henze, "Opera buffa und Tonalität," 28.

[69] Henze, Bohemian Fifths, 194

It seems that Heinz Joachim of Berlin's *Die Welt* was one of the few critics to recognize that the question of "Regress or progress?" for Henze "is the wrong question."[70] The others continued to regard the composer's *opera buffa* as politically irresponsible. For these men, Bachmann's social critique was eclipsed by Henze's revival of tonality.

And yet for Henze, it was in some ways the integration of Bachmann's critique that was the bigger triumph of *Der Junge Lord*. In adhering to the aesthetic tenets of the 1963 speech, Henze was able to honor his political objective as well. He composed an opera in which his music helped convey the necessity to fight against the spread of fascism. Granted, Bachmann's critique was not as transparent as the message of the *Jüdische Chronik*, yet Henze's readiness to stand by the project still marked an important step forward. And in the months between completing *Der Junge Lord* and its Berlin premiere, the composer went on to write another work that took him one step closer to the political commitment of his later career.

[70] Heinz Joachim, "*Der Junge Lord*," *Die Welt* (Berlin Edition), 8 April 1965. Quoted in Hochgesang, *Opern von Hans Werner Henze*, 344–45. "Henze ist mit diesem neuen Werk nichts Geringeres gelungen als die Wiedergeburt der Opera buffa im Geiste einer neuen, geläuterten Tonsprache. Freilich: weiter als man es […] für möglich gehalten hätte, stößt diese Musik zur Tonalität vor. Rückzug oder Fortschritt? Die Frage wäre falsch gestellt. […] Nur ist sein Stil jetzt ganz klargeworden: hell, prägnant, geschmeidig und zugleich innerlich gefestigt."

CHAPTER 3

Joining the Resistance: *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* (1964–65)

Ingeborg Bachmann was not the only person in the first years of the 1960s to stimulate the growth of Henze's political consciousness. In Italy, the composer had long since befriended several influential socialist and communist intellectuals and artists, from whom Henze developed an appreciation for Italian political concerns. Two of the most important figures were the novelist Else Morante and the poet, writer, and film director Pier Paolo Pasolini.[1] These two, along with the poet Sandro Penna, were greatly troubled with the politics of class in Italy. They rejected "the brutalistic and Fascist *borghesía*" and shared "the agitated concern that Italy's industrial revolution was on the point of destroying all the old cultural values that were rooted in the common people."[2] It was their responses to this deterioration that most influenced Henze. "[E]ach in his or her own way," he explains, "sought to draw their audiences' attention to the common, simple people and their culture and to remind the common people of their own distinctive features."[3]

In the world of music, two other Italian friends, the composer Luigi Nono and the stage director Luchino Visconti, were already demonstrating ways that new music and opera could communicate political ideology. It is perhaps no surprise then that Italy became the site of Henze's next work with a political subject. In mid-November 1964, Nono invited Henze to compose a work for a Congress of Music for the Resistance in Bologna that he was helping to organize for the following spring.[4] On 26 March 1965 at the Teatro Comunale, Bruno Maderna conducted the premiere of Henze's *In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose*, a double fugue for twelve instruments composed largely according to

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[1] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 197–99.

[2] Ibid., 199.

[3] Ibid., 199.

[4] There is little agreement across the sources on the official name of the Congress. Henze calls it the "Rassegna della Resistenza Europea," translated as "Congress of European Anti-Fascist Resistance"; Nono calls it concerts on the theme of "Resistenza und ihre wahre Kontinuität"; Goffredo Petrassi calls it the "Prima Rassenga di Musiche per la Resistenza"; Dessau calls it the "Fest der Musik des Widerstandes." Furthermore, an article in the Italian newspaper *Il Corriere della Sera* calls it a "convegno sul tema *Musica e Resistenza*" (17 March 1965), and another article in the newspaper *La Stampa* calls it the "rassegna di musiche della Resistenza" (19 March 1965). Since Henze's account does not mention that the Congress was specific to music, I have elected to draw on the other sources in calling the event the "Congress of Music for the Resistance."

traditional twelve-tone techniques.[5] Henze dedicated his composition to the wartime resistance movement in Munich known as "The White Rose." He describes the commemorative nature of his piece in a short program note:

> Winter 1964–65, while at work with the composition of [the opera] "The Bassarids", I wrote this work as a contribution to the Congress of the European Antifascist Resistance, held in Bologna in March 1965. I chose the occasion to remind audiences of one of the groups who attempted open resistance to the Nazi regime inside Germany. This movement was called "The White Rose" and the same name appeared on the numerous antifascist leaflets composed by their founders, the students Hans and Sophie Scholl, Christoph Probst, Alexander Schmorell, Willy Graf, and the Munich University professor, Kurt Huber. The movement began its activities in 1942 in Munich, but quickly spread to other important cities and gained a membership number of more than a hundred. A year later the founders were arrested, tried, condemned, executed. They defended themselves with great courage and died proudly for their ideas.
>
> My work in their honor is a double fugue, and obviously inspired by and composed in the sense of Bach's "Musikalisches Opfer" [Musical Offering, BWV 1079] structures.[6]

The Congress itself was part of ongoing celebrations for the twentieth anniversary of the Italian Resistance,[7] and the accompanying concert series featured works by twelve other European composers: Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), Alban Berg (1885–1935), Bohuslav Martinu (1890–1959), Giorgio Federico Ghedini (1892–1965), Goffredo Petrassi (1904–2003), Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905–63), Riccardo Nielsen (1908–82), Valentino Bucchi (1916–76), Mario Zafred (1922–87), Luigi Nono (1924–90), Serge Nigg (1924–2008), and Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–). They represented three generations, six national heritages, and a variety of different compositional styles. Most important, however, they were united by the antifascist commitment of their music. Quite

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[5] The work is scored for twelve instruments: flute, English horn, bass clarinet in *b-flat*, bassoon, horn in *f*, trumpet in *c*, trombone, 2 violins, viola, cello, and double bass. Henze began composition of the work in late fall 1964 and completed the score on 5 February 1965. The composer's record of the work's premiere, as it is recorded in the Schott score, incorrectly indicates the date as 16 March. A report of the Teatro Comunale in Bologna, which is corroborated by announcements in the Italian newspapers, points to 26 March as the actual premiere. See Sergio Paganelli, "Repertorio critico degli spettacoli e delle esecuzioni musicali dal 1763 al 1966," in *Due secoli di vita musicale: Storia del Teatro Comunale di Bologna*, vol. 2, ed. Lamberto Trezzini (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1966), 267–68.

[6] Hans Werner Henze, *Kammermusik*, perf. London Sinfonietta, cond. Hans Werner Henze, (Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, Decca Record Company Limited, DSLO 5).

[7] The Italian Resistance consisted of a network of partisan groups who fought in favor of the Allies against German occupation from 8 September 1943 until 25 April 1945, when they successfully liberated the Italian north from fascist rule. See Gustavo Corni, "Italy," in *Resistance in Western Europe*, ed. Bob Moore (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 157–87.

appropriately, the Bologna Congress was one venue where Paul Dessau had hoped to arrange the premiere of the *Jüdische Chronik*, as the cantata's denunciation of fascism and its portrayal of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising were particularly germane to the event's themes.[8] Between the concerts and an accompanying set of lectures, the Congress was designed to give composers a venue for discussing the merits and means of creating politically committed music in the 1960s.

Five years after the *Jüdische Chronik* project and in the months leading up to the premiere of *Der Junge Lord*, *In memoriam* is a testament to Henze's growing ease with political themes. A major reason for his withdrawal from the *Jüdische Chronik* in late 1960 was political insecurity related to both the political theme of the work's content and the political context of the Cold War. *In memoriam*, however, profited from having both the widely celebrated subject of the White Rose and the supportive environment of the Italian Congress for its premiere. Similarly, the work also demonstrates an important development in Henze's level of aesthetic comfort. After advocating the importance of adopting models from the past in his 1963 speech in Berlin, Henze explored *opera buffa* in *Der Junge Lord* as a means of issuing a social critique. In *In memoriam*, in the face of criticism from the Italian composer Giacomo Manzoni, he turned to the Baroque and employed a double fugue modeled after Johann Sebastian Bach. Although he did use serial composition, his methods were much more traditional in the style of Schoenberg or Berg, than in the later avant-garde practices of Darmstadt.

The first part of this chapter looks closely at the historical circumstances surrounding the composition of *In memoriam* that both allowed and provoked Henze to overcome his political and aesthetic insecurities. The second part then returns to the longstanding issue of musical meaning and signification. Unlike the *Jüdische Chronik* and *Der Junge Lord*, *In memoriam* lacks a text to direct the memorial. Henze instead relies on two compositional approaches to craft the work's message within the score itself: musical signs and theatrics. After an analytical excursus into the formal and

[8] Reinhold, *Let's Hope for the Best*, 89. In a diary entry from 1964, Dessau describes having discussed this plan with Elisabeth Hartmann on a visit sometime after Karl's death on 5 December 1963: "In München besuchte Elisabeth Hartmann. Wir sprachen viel über Karl's Krankheit + das viel zu frühe Ende. […] Dann verabschiedeten wir uns, in der Hoffnung, uns im März 1965 in Bologna beim Fest der Musik des Widerstandes ("Jüdische Chronik") wiederzustehen." Why the *Jüdische Chronik* was not performed in Bologna in 1965 is uncertain.

harmonic construction of the twelve-tone fugue, the chapter offers an interpretation of *In memoriam* according to these two compositional techniques.

Politics of Resistance

Henze's *In memoriam* subscribes to popular ideas of resistance in society, as well as to popular musical approaches to resistance among postwar composers. To start, the White Rose was celebrated in the decades after 1945 as one of the most valiant resistance movements of the war. Although its influence was relatively short-lived and it left few signs of lasting change, the movement exemplified the individual heroism of German men and women who were willing to face death in order to combat the spread of Nazi fascism. In June 1942, under the name "Die Weiße Rose," student activists came together secretly at the Ludwig Maximilian Universität (LMU) in Munich. The group's leading members included the siblings Hans and Sophie Scholl, as well as Christoph Probst, Alexander Schmorell, Willi Graf, and the professor Kurt Huber, who taught philosophy and musicology at the LMU. Over the next seven months, the group printed and distributed a series of six political leaflets decrying National Socialism as an immoral and destructive force. Taking a non-violent and intellectual approach, they urged the German people to awaken from complacency and confront the reality of fascism. Their message created a substantial stir as membership increased across Germany, and the Nazi Gestapo consequently made it a priority to put an end to the defamatory leaflets. On 18 February 1943, in a tragic slip of discretion when distributing the sixth flyer, the Scholl siblings were apprehended. Just days later they were sentenced to death and immediately beheaded.[9]

Following the execution, support for the White Rose was silenced. However, once the war was over, Germans were quick to recognize the resistance movement and, in particular, the Scholl siblings — the "Geschwister Scholl" — as national icons.[10]

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[9] Christoph Probst was also tried and executed in the same trial as the Scholl siblings. In the months that followed, other members of the White Rose, including Schmorell, Graf, and Huber, were similarly convicted. For a more detailed history of the movement, see Inge Scholl, *Students Against Tyranny: The Resistance of the White Rose, Munich, 1942–1943*, trans. Arthur R. Schultz (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970).

[10] Benzenberg explains that the execution of Hans and Sophie Scholl drew immediate attention to the two youths as martyrs for a new Germany. At the same time, however, the quick hand of the Nazis in punishing the members of the White Rose scared political dissenters into submission. As time passed

Beginning in 1945, the LMU hosted annual memorial ceremonies on the anniversary of their deaths.[11] Already in 1946 the university asked Professor Theodor Georgii to design a commemorative plaque to be hung in the main building of the university where Hans and Sophie were caught. Two further memorials were installed at the LMU over the next decades: first, a relief by Lothar Dietz in 1958 and later a series of collage-like plaques by Robert Schmidt-Matt in 1988.[12] Countless articles and books on the movement appeared in the decades after the war, with a considerable surge in the late 1960s and again in the 1980s. This later period also witnessed the production of several films: Percy Adlon's *Fünf letzte Tage* (The Last Five Days), Werner Stratenschulte's *Dem Bösen widersagt. Willi Grafs Weg in die Todeszelle* (Renouncing All Evil: Willi Graf's Way to the Death Cell), and Michael Verhoeven and Mario Krebs's *Die Weiße Rose* all premiered in 1982.[13] Three years later the famous German singer-songwriter Konstantin Wecker wrote a pop single in honor of the movement.[14]

In the realm of classical music, Udo Zimmermann was the only composer, other than Henze, to engage with the story of the Munich resistance.[15] His opera *Die Weiße Rose* enjoyed widespread success when it was premiered in 1986. This was actually the composer's second opera by that title. He created the first work in the years 1966–67 while a student at the Dresden Conservatory, where it was premiered on 17 April 1967.[16] In this earlier composition, Zimmermann treated the history of the Scholl siblings

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people grew critical of the decisions and mistakes made by the leaders of the White Rose that ultimately led to their capture. "Nevertheless," Benzenberg clarifies, "[these critics] could not deny the courage and steadfastness [of the members of the movement]." See Christiane Benzenberg, "Denkmäler für die Widerstandsgruppe 'Weiße Rose' in München und Hamburg" (Magisterarbeit, Friedrich Wilhelm Universität, 1993), 26; see also Tatjana Blaha, *Willi Graf und die Weiße Rose: Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Munich: K. G. Sauer, 2003), 95–101.

[11] Benzenberg, "Denkmäler für die Widerstandsgruppe," 26.

[12] Ibid., 31–47.

[13] Ibid., 28. Other movies, including *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* (2005), were produced in the following decades.

[14] Ibid., 28.

[15] Prior to Henze, no other composer had visibly appropriated the White Rose narrative for a musical work. Wolfgang Fortner, Henze's composition teacher during his studies in Heidelberg in 1946, wrote a ballet in 1950 under the name *Die weisse Rose*, but it was based on Oscar Wilde's fairytale "The Birthday of the Infanta" (1888). Joy Calico hypothesizes that Fortner may have made this choice of title to feed off the popularity of the White Rose as a heroic national icon in the years after the war. Joy Calico, e-mail message to author, 5 December 2010.

[16] The proximity of the beginning of this composition to the premiere of Henze's *In memoriam*, in addition to Zimmermann's known fascination for the music of Henze in the 1960s, suggests the possibility that Zimmermann was actually influenced by Henze's choice of subject.

directly. The opera took place in the jail cell where Hans and Sophie waited on the eve of their execution and retold their story of resistance through a series of flashbacks. The libretto was written by Zimmermann's brother Ingo and wove together fragments of documentary testimony from the 1943 trial. Zimmermann's later opera in the mid-1980s was a complete overhaul of the 1967 work. The librettist Wolfgang Willaschek provided a new text, which similarly combined quotations from the Scholl siblings, as well as from the bible and from the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer and writers Franz Fühmann and Tadeusz Rózewicz. While still set in a jail cell, the opera no longer recounted the history of the White Rose, but rather focused on the inner thoughts of the Scholl siblings in their final hours. This psychodrama was premiered on 27 February 1986 for the opening of "Opera stabile" at the Hamburg State Opera, and within two years, the work was produced over twenty-four times in more than thirty cities around the world.[17] While both Zimmermann and Willaschek hoped that audiences would appreciate their opera for more than its historical relevance, the work definitely owed its success, at least in part, to the "political attractiveness" of the subject.[18] It can hardly be coincidence that Zimmermann's two operas coincided with the periods in the late 1960s and early 1980s when interest in the White Rose spiked.

The variety of engagement with the White Rose in these decades after the war attests to the widespread celebration of the group as a symbol of antifascist resistance. In fact, authorities in both East and West Germany commemorated the Scholl siblings and their colleagues through acts of public legislation. On both sides of the border, local governments named streets, plazas, youth centers, and schools in their honor. For example, in East Berlin, a central road through Humboldt Universität was given the name Geschwister-Scholl-Straße. In Munich in the West, the square in front of the main building of the LMU was christened the Geschwister-Scholl-Platz; the one directly across from it became Professor-Huber-Platz. Additionally, the Institute of Political Science at the LMU was also renamed after the Scholls.[19] In the DDR, a postage stamp appeared in 1961 with the brother-sister duo. The FRG produced their own set of eight resistance-

[17] Gottfried Kraus, CD Notes, trans. Roger Clément, in Udo Zimmermann, *Die Weisse Rose*, perf. Gabriele Fontana, Lutz-Michael Harder, and Bayrischer Rundfunk, cond. Udo Zimmermann (Orfeo C 162 871 A, 1987), 5–6.

[18] Ibid., 5.

[19] Benzenberg, "Denkmäler für die Widerstandsgruppe," 29.

themed stamps in 1964, including one that featured Sophie as the sole female member of the White Rose movement.[20]

For the politically wary Henze, the decision to embrace the movement in 1965 matched popular attitudes in the whole of Germany. Unlike the subject matter of Dessau's *Jüdische Chronik*, which criticized fascist resurgence in the FRG, the use of the White Rose in *In memoriam* seemed to preclude any threat of political controversy. In truth, however, the Munich resistance had become an issue of East-West conflict in a series of two minor incidents in 1959 and 1960. At the 1959 White Rose memorial service held at the LMU, a group of East German students from the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena laid a wreath with a ribbon bearing the words "Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl — To the Warriors Against Fascism and War." The act was meant as a subtle jab at West Germany, which, according to the East's "myth of fascism," was solely responsible for the totalitarian Nazi regime. When a more provocative demonstration was made the following year, the Munich university decided to make future ceremonies closed to the public.[21] Interestingly, these incidents coincided with the same politically tense climate that curbed the *Jüdische Chronik* project and contributed to Henze's political withdrawal in 1960–61. By 1964, however, the intensity of East-West relations had begun to subside, and Henze had also condemned fascism publically in his 1963 speech. If the East still begrudged the West for honoring the White Rose, the issue would not have affected the composer. Whereas the subject of the *Jüdische Chronik* risked alienating his homeland, this time Henze had the full support of West Germany.

Furthermore, the Italian venue for the premiere of *In memoriam* circumvented the East-West dynamic altogether and situated the work comfortably within a theme of political resistance. The Congress of Music for the Resistance, which took place in March 1965 at the Teatro Comunale in downtown Bologna, was an early celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Italian Resistance. The major festivities for the national event took place in late April, when Italian newspapers such as *Il Corriere della Sera* ran headlines like "Vent'anni dalla liberazione" (Twenty Years Since Liberation) in large bold letters, and prominent politicians delivered speeches at ceremonies up and down the

[20] Benzenberg, "Denkmäler für die Widerstandsgruppe," 29.
[21] Ibid., 26.

country.[22] In Bologna, a major art exhibit, "Arte e Resistenza" (Art and Resistance), opened its doors on 26 April at the Museo Civico.[23] The show, dedicated to revealing how artists chose to resist fascist oppression, brought together several hundred works by prominent painters and sculptors from fifteen European nations, as well as the United States and Soviet Union. The collection of works demonstrated not only the immense variety of approaches these artists took, but also celebrated their shared humanitarian efforts in the face of the twentieth century's ongoing atrocities. In the spirit of this later exhibition, the Congress of Music at the Teatro Comunale was intended to highlight the relationship between art and the Resistance in the musical output of over a dozen European composers. Although it did not receive as much attention as the exhibition — probably due to its scheduling in early March — it provided a forum for both musicians and audiences to engage with music dedicated to a political cause.[24]

One major component of the Congress was a series of concerts dedicated to "Le Musiche della Resistenza" (Music of the Resistance), which was performed by the orchestra and choir of the Teatro Comunale from early March to early April 1965. The series consisted of four concerts with works by thirteen major European composers (Table 3.1). The first concert on 10 March featured Riccardo Nielsen's *Variations* for Orchestra (1956), Karl Amadeus Hartmann's *Concerto funebre* (1939/59), Krysztof Penderecki's *Threnody 'To the victims of Hiroshima'* (1960), and Mario Zafred's

[22] "Vent'anni della Liberazione," *Il Corriere della Sera*, 25 April 1965: 5. Celebrations occurred on this date in Milan, Rome, Torin and many other European cities. Bologna, which was liberated on 17 April 1945, hosted its major ceremony on the evening of 26 April 1965. See "Il ventennio della Liberazione celebrato a Bologna e a Genova," *Il Corriere della Sera*, 27 April 1965: 2.

[23] The exhibit remained in Bologna until the end of May, when it relocated on 8 June to the Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna in Turin, where it stayed until 18 July. The show was made possible by the auspices of the President of the Italian Republic, Giuseppe Saragat, whose administration oversaw the nationwide events of the anniversary.

[24] The Congress received only marginal notice in national papers like the *Corriere* and *La Stampa*. The *Corriere* printed only two short announcements of the event. The first, which outlined the four concerts of the Congress, appeared on 9 March 1965 (p. 12) without headline and was appended below an announcement for the XV. National Festival of Drama, as in Bologna. The second, "Domani a Bologna: 'Musica e Resistenza,'" appeared on 17 March 1965 (p. 13). The *Stampa* published only one such announcement on 19 March 1965 (p. 5) under the heading "Musiche per la Resistenza alla rassegna bolognese." In contrast, substantial articles on the "Arte e Resistenza" exhibition appeared in the *Stampa* on 27 April 1965 (p. 5) for the Bologna opening and on 8 June 1965 (p. 7) for the Turin opening. The evening version of the same paper, the *Stampa Sera*, also printed significant articles on the show on the same dates (p. 5 and p. 2, respectively). Interestingly, the *Corriere* granted more space to the fifteenth annual National Festival of Drama (13 March–28 April), running concurrently in the Teatro Comunale in Bologna, and awarded even more attention to the seventh annual *Zecchino d'Oro* children's singing competition (19–21 March), which was broadcast nationwide on television from the Antoniano Institute in Bologna.

Symphony No. 4 *'In onore della Resistenza'* (1950). The second concert on 18 March included Bohuslav Martinu's *Memorial to Lidice* (1943), the premiere of Goffredo Petrassi's Seventh Concerto for Orchestra (1964), Valentino Bucchi's *Cori della pietà morta* (1949–50), and Serge Nigg's *Pour une poète captive* (1951). The third concert on 26 March, which was repeated in the cities of Emilia and Modena on subsequent days, presented Alban Berg's Suite from *Wozzeck* (1924), Luigi Nono's *Canti di vita e d'amore: Sul ponte di Hiroshima* (1962), Giorgio Federico Ghedini's *Concerto funebre per Duccio Galimberti* (1948), and Schoenberg's *Survivor of Warsaw*, op. 46 (1947), as well as the premiere of Henze's *In memoriam*. The final concert on 7 and 8 April distinguished itself from the preceding three by showcasing real songs from resistance movements around the world, which the ethnomusicologist Sergio Liberovici collected and assembled into the *Canzoniere internationale dei ribelli* (International Songbook of Revolutionary Songs, 1965).

TABLE 3.1 Concerts of the Congress for Music of the Resistance

Date (1965)	Composer	Composition	Type
10 March conducted by Andrea Markovski	Nielsen	*Variations* for Orchestra (1956)	Orchestral
	Hartmann	*Concerto funebre* (1939/59)	Orchestral
	Penderecki	*Threnody 'To the victims of Hiroshima'* (1960)	Orchestral
	Zafred	Symphony No. 4 *'In onore della Resistenza'* (1950)	Orchestral
18 March conducted by Piero Bellugi	Martinu	*Memorial to Lidice* (1943)	Orchestral
	Petrassi	Seventh Concerto for Orchestra (1964)*	Orchestral
	Bucchi	*Cori della pietà morta* (1949–50)	Vocal
	Nigg	*Pour une poète captive* (1951)	Vocal
26 March conducted by Bruno Maderna	Berg	Suite from *Wozzeck* (1924)	Orchestral
	Nono	*Canti di vita e d'amore: Sul ponte di Hiroshima* (1962)	Vocal
	Henze	*In memoriam: Die Weiße Rose* (1964–65)*	Orchestral
	Ghedini	*Concerto funebre per Duccio Galimberti* (1948)	Vocal
	Schoenberg	*Survivor of Warsaw*, op. 46 (1947)	Vocal
7, 8 April	Sergio Liberovici	*Il Canzoniere internationale dei ribelli* (1965)	Vocal

* Works written for and premiered at the Congress.
° The concert was repeated on 27 and 28 March in the cities of Emilia and Modena, respectively.

The compositions of the first three concerts exhibited a variety of different approaches to the theme of resistance. While several of the works bore little connection

to the topic, notably Nielsen's *Variations* and Berg's Suite, the majority drew directly on historical subjects from the war.[25] Appropriately, the works by the Italian composers Ghedini, Bucchi, Zafred, and Petrassi were the most relevant to the occasion of the Congress honoring the Italian Resistance in 1965. Ghedini's *Concerto funebre* saluted the Italian partisan and Resistance leader Duccio Galimberti, who was awarded two gold medals and proclaimed a national hero by the National Liberation Committee. Similarly, Bucchi's choral work paid tribute to the poet and partisan fighter Franco Fortini by using excerpts from one of his texts titled "Foglio di via" (Expulsion Order). Both Zafred's symphony and Petrassi's concerto — the latter of which was written explicitly for the Congress[26] — were more general in their dedications to the *Resistanza* as a whole. Unlike the works of his compatriots, Nono's contribution represented another approach to the theme of resistance: *Canti di vita e d'amore* honored the victims of the war against fascism. Like Penderecki's *Threnody*, it commemorated the men, women, and children who were killed in Hiroshima by the atomic bomb. Martinu's *Lidice* and Schoenberg's *Survivor* similarly eulogized the victims of the Nazi regime; the former took as its subject the massacre of the Czech town of Lidice in early summer 1942, and the latter portrayed the atrocities of the Warsaw Ghetto from the perspective of a scarred survivor. With less explicit narratives, Nigg's choral work portrayed a captured prisoner of war, and Hartmann's violin concerto expressed sorrow for the destruction of society in 1939.

In general, the works performed in the concert series either honored members of a Resistance movement or commemorated the victims of fascism. Henze's *In memoriam* fit squarely within these categories. In fact, his composition, thanks to its choice of subject, actually joined both thematic approaches. The White Rose played an active role in the German resistance and was ultimately stopped when its members were executed by the National Socialist regime. By introducing an example from German history, Henze defined a wider conception of resistance than that depicted by the Italian composers. Furthermore, *In memoriam* also agreed with the general approaches taken toward

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[25] Berg's place among the concert series may have been justified by the fact that the opera *Wozzeck* had been denounced by the Nazis as "degenerate." After the war, it served as one model for composers who looked for means to forge ahead.

[26] Petrassi's Concerto was a reworked version of his earlier *Prologo e cinque inventioni* (1962) that now bore a dedication "to the First Congress of Music for the Resistance, Bologna, March 1965." See Goffredo Petrassi, *Settimo Concerto per Orchestra*, study score (New York: Edition Eulenburg, 1965).

politically committed music along both axes of intent and signification. Nearly all of the works demonstrated understandings of music as relevant to real-world, practical politics, and all of the composers were unified in their political commitment by a subjective, rather than functional approach. For once, Henze's conception of committed music was not the minority opinion.

The other component of the 1965 Congress, a series of lectures delivered by prominent members of the Italian music community on the relationship of music and political resistance, reinforced the social objective of music as demonstrated by many of the works performed in the concerts.[27] Although the full details of this part of the Congress are not entirely clear, an announcement in the *Corriere della Sera* indicates that the lectures began on 18 March and featured that evening the ethnomusicologist Diego Carpitella, the conductor and music critic Piero Santi, and the musicologist and music critic Luigi Pestalozza.[28] All three speakers had first hand experiences growing up and working during the recent fascist regimes, and they each offered a unique perspective into the theme of the conference. Carpitella was an expert in the folk music and dances of central and southern Italy; Santi was an active member on the executive committee for the Italian Society of Contemporary Music (1960–1967) and a critic for the socialist newspaper *Avanti!* (1961–67); and Pestalozza wrote for various socialist periodicals from 1951 onwards and became the head of the music division of the Italian Communist Party in 1967.

During the 1960s, Pestalozza, in particular, was a highly influential figure in Italian music, and his ideas about the political significance of music surely held significant weight at the conference. Pestalozza's understanding of music as a social medium was cultivated early in his life by his father. In a 2003 interview, he remembers,

> I was engaged with music [as a child] and felt already that I was creating it "for everyone" — primarily because my father, a violin player, raised me and my brother (later a pianist) in the spirit of the idea that everything that sounds like

[27] It is uncertain which composers actually attended these lectures at the Congress. Of course, several of the composers represented on the program were already deceased. Ghedini actually passed away on 25 March 1965, the day before the concert with his work took place. Considering Nono's involvement in planning the event, he was presumably in attendance. Henze's presence is unconfirmed. A letter sent to Bachmann on 19 February 1965 implies that he was travelling to Berlin in mid-March, which would have prevented him from attending the lectures on 18 March as well as the premiere of *In memoriam* on 26 March. See Letter 159 in Bachmann/Henze, *Briefe einer Freundschaft*, 255–56.

[28] "Domani a Bologna: 'Musica e Resistenza,'" *Il Corriere della Sera*, 17 March 1965: 13.

> music has a precise meaning, conveys thoughts and behaviors, and concerns life in the present and future.[29]

Motivated by the ideas of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Marx, Pestalozza joined the ranks of the Italian partisan militia at the age of sixteen to take part in the "war of liberation."[30] When he returned to music in 1945 after the partisan victory, he believed deeply "that music has a responsibility and a principal obligation to truth, to demystification, to the construction of genuine consciousness."[31] Although we can only hypothesize about the content of Pestalozza's speech at the Congress in 1965, the conviction with which he supports his political interpretation of music in 2003 suggests that these ideas must have been present four decades earlier — especially since the compositions of the concert series generally subscribed to the same understanding of music as a means of social and political expression.

Aesthetic Debates in Italy

Whereas *In memoriam* fit easily within the political outlook of the Congress, Henze's aesthetic approach was still discordant with general postwar sentiments on how a composer should compose a politically committed work. Yet he did find some degree of solidarity. None of the thirteen composers were closely tied to Darmstadt or its dogmatic aesthetic. Nono, once a prominent figure at the summer courses, had rejected the direction of the festival and defected in 1958. The only composer of the group even engaging with the ideas of integral serialism in the mid-1960s was the lesser-known Nielsen. The others represented a mixture of composers who practiced serialist techniques only loosely and composers who avoided serialism completely. Many of these composers felt no need to define their compositional approach under a categorical style.

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[29] Luigi Pestalozza and Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf, "Resistenza und die Frage des 'Ungehorsams': Gespräch mit Luigi Pestalozza," trans. Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf and Ludwig Holtmeier, *Musik & Ästhetik* 7 no. 26 (April 2003): 92. The second part of this interview appeared in *Musik & Ästhetik* 7 no. 27 (July 2003): 91–101. "Ich beschäftigte mich mit Musik und spürte bereits, daß ich das 'für alle' machte, vor allem weil mein Vater (Geiger) mich und meinen Bruder (später Pianist) im Geiste der Idee erzog, daß alles, was musikalisch klingt, einen präzisen Sinn hat, Gedanken und Verhaltensweisen mitteilt und das gegenwärtige und zukünftige Leben betrifft."

[30] Pestalozza and Mahnkopf, "Gespräch mit Luigi Pestalozza," 91.

[31] Ibid., 94. "In diesem Sinne dachte ich immer, daß Musik eine Verantwortung und eine prinzipielle Pflicht zur Wahrheit hat, zur Entmystifizierung, zur Bildung eines wahren Bewußtseins, was Verdi so ausdrückte: 'Das Wahre kopieren mag eine gute Sche sein, aber das Wahre erfinden ist besser, viel besser."

In particular, the fact that Bruno Maderna was leading the premiere of *In memoriam* was surely a comfort for Henze, who saw eye-to-eye with this former Darmstadt affiliate. Maderna first attended the summer festival in 1949 after having taught himself twelve-tone composition from studying scores in the 1940s. But like Henze, Maderna grew weary of the festival's closed-minded condescension towards non-serial compositional styles. Henze reports that in 1955, when "young composers who preferred to express themselves in a musical language that dated back to the days before Webern were simply refused admittance[,] Maderna and I had to comfort and calm the students."[32] In a 1973 interview, Maderna articulated his stance towards orthodox dodecaphony in the most dismissive language: "I believe that famous serial consistency has been one of the worst diseases."[33] His suspicion of consistency, which he avoided in his own compositions by approaching serialism with "considerable freedom and fantasy," was concordant with Henze's skepticism.[34]

Nevertheless, while the dogmatism of Darmstadt aesthetics exercised little control over the musicians in Bologna, the Adornian conception of music as a medium that provokes its audiences through progressive technical innovation was present in the discourse on politically committed music. Pestalozza, for one, subscribed to this notion as a leader of new music in Italy. Immediately after the end of the war, he spoke out against the "neotonal formalism" that he considered characteristic of Soviet socialist realism. Instead, he backed leftist and particularly communist musicians who believed in a wider conception of new music than that prescribed by Soviet doctrine.[35] Pestalozza still maintained that music had to fulfill a moral and social responsibility. He favored the practical over the aesthetic and therefore did not agree with Adorno's exclusive preference for autonomous music. But he did see potential in the philosopher's ideas about how progressive music could foster the awakening of public consciousness. He defined political commitment according to this perspective:

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[32] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 133.

[33] Bruno Maderna and Christoph Bitter, "Conversation about *Tempo Libero*. Bruno Maderna and Christoph Bitter, Saarländischer Rundfunk 7.5.1973," in Raymond Fearn, *Bruno Maderna* (New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1990), 323.

[34] Rossana Dalmonte, "Maderna, Bruno," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, ed. Deanne Root, et al., accessed 15 March 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/.

[35] Pestalozza and Mahnkopf, "Gespräch mit Luigi Pestalozza," 97–98.

> For my principal duty of developing communist policies for music, as for the entirety of new music, "political commitment" refers to the theoretical and practical construction of a musical language that speaks to the general antagonism [of society], incorporates the contradictions and new paths of contemporary history, and takes hold of an active, cultural, and finally, political opposition to the through and through privatized organization of music culture (which the musical activities of the upper classes of society […] support).[36]

Consequently, the "partisan" composer must break away from the conventions of popular musical taste. He must engage in "a means of composing that announces the exploding sense of disorder as a rupture from the 'substantive' order."[37]

For Pestalozza, committed music had to be progressive in both its aesthetic and its practical message. He commended Luigi Nono for exemplifying these qualities in his music. In fact, Nono shared the musicologist's understanding of commitment. In 1963, on the twentieth anniversary of the *beginning* of the Italian Resistance, Nono joined Pestalozza for a conversation on the topic of "Musik und *Resistenza.*"[38] Acknowledging Nono's commitment to antifascism in many of his political works, Pestalozza asked the composer to clarify not only what "Resistenza" meant to him, but more specifically, how music could be called upon to engage with it. Nono first explained that resistance requires an "ongoing fight and [a] new consciousness."[39] The musician can make his contribution "through his studies, his pursuits, his experiments, his creative fantasy, to the extent that he dialectically joins the ideal moment with the technical and grammatical."[40] Just as Adorno argued, Nono believed that the musical language itself had to challenge the listener to expand his mind in order to achieve a new state of awareness. "The theme

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[36] Pestalozza and Mahnkopf, "Gespräch mit Luigi Pestalozza," 98. "Für meine neue Hauptaufgabe der Leitung der kommunistischen Musikpolitik ebenso wie für die ganze neue Musik hieß 'politisches Engagements' die theoretische und praktische Errichtung einer musikalischen Sprache, die vom allgemeinen 'Gegenkampf' (*antagonismo*) spricht, die in sich die Widersprüche und die neuen Wege gegenwärtiger Geschichte aufnimmt und eine active, kulturelle, letztlich politische Opposition ergreift gegen die durch und durch privatische Organisation des Musiklebens (die die musikalischen Aktivitäten der höheren Klassen der Gesellschaft oder jener geographischen Zonen fördert, die dieser Logik entsprechen)."

[37] Pestalozza and Mahnkopf, "Gespräch mit Luigi Pestalozza II," 94. "Aber der Komponist, der nicht dienen will, kann 'Partisane' werden. Für ihn ist Beethoven nicht bloß in Details ein 'Ungehorsamer', der den Regeln des herrschenden Ganzen aber gefügig bleibt. Sondern es geht um ein Komponieren, das den sprengenden Sinn der Unordnung als Ruptur jener 'substantiellen' Ordnung kundgibt."

[38] Nono, "Musik und *Resistenza*," 101–3. The date of the beginning of the Italian Resistance is universally recognized as 8 September 1943.

[39] Ibid., 101.

[40] Ibid., 101–2.

of Resistance must therefore not only be tied to music through the use of texts and situations from the partisan wars," Nono continued,

> [r]ather it can potentially be found in every statement in which the truth and innovation of the pursuit, the creation, and the realization expand and develop the powers of imagination, the responsive intelligence, and the consciousness of people, who [in turn] try to abolish the *garrote* of late-capitalist society and strive for socialist liberation.[41]

Allegiance to Adorno's prescription for new music remained part of Nono's aesthetic in spite of his 1958 dissociation from Darmstadt. As a prominent leader of the Italian music scene, as well as an organizer of the 1965 Congress, his views on politically committed music were definitely on the table.

While Henze notably shared the Italians' commitment to crafting music as a means of resistance, he disagreed outright with both Pestalozza and Nono in regards to aesthetics. Henze made it clear in his 1963 speech in Berlin that technical innovation was not a necessary ingredient in the recipe for politically committed music — or for any music, in fact. Such "progressive" music, according to Henze, threatened to forget historical traditions and failed to prosper from the strength of the past. The position that Henze adamantly carved out in his speech was meant to counter the criticism he had received over the previous decade. In fact, Nono himself had even spearheaded some of these critiques. In 1957, for example, at the premiere of Henze's *Nachtstücke und Arien* at the Donaueschingen Festival, Nono, along with Boulez and Stockhausen, conspicuously walked out of the performance in protest of Henze's neo-romantic setting of Ingeborg Bachmann's poetry. In 1961, Nono similarly professed his disapproval of the opera *Elegy for Young Lovers* by leaving the premiere in Schwetzingen midway through the first act. These incidents contributed to Henze's feeling of aesthetic insecurity. The defiance expressed in the 1963 speech, however, suggested that he no longer took offense.

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[41] Nono, "Musik und *Resistenza*," 102. "Das Thema der *Resistenza* muß infolgedessen in der Musik nicht nur mit der Verwendung von Texten und Situationen des Partisanenkrieges verbunden werden, sondern es ist potentiell in jeder Aussage enthalten, in der die Wahrheit und die Neuheit der Suche, des Schaffens und der Verwirklichung die Vorstellungskraft, die rezeptive Intelligenz und das Bewußtsein des Menschen erweitern und entwickeln, der die *garrote* [Würgschrauben] der spätkapitalistischen Gesellschaft zu beseitigen versucht, der also die sozialistische Befreiung anstrebt."

Nevertheless, Henze's insecurity remained an immediate issue in late 1964 when Nono first approached him to compose a work for the Bologna Congress. At first, Henze agreed, but he was quick to qualify that he would only go through with it if the composer Giacomo Manzoni (1932–) were not involved. The reason, he explained in a follow-up letter, was that Manzoni had published a rather scathing review of his cantata *Novae de Infinito Laudes* (1962) in the Italian communist newspaper *L'Unità*. Manzoni called the work "not pleasant" and criticized Henze for his lack of originality and musicality:

> This time Henze has left behind the talent of invention and fantasy that we see in previous works, [instead] indulging in a style of writing that is undifferentiated, generic and full of all sorts of regurgitation, [and] missing the personal underscoring that would have been able to save the proclaimed eclecticism. In short a work gone wrong, in which the noise cannot conceal the lack of poetry, and the particular craft of managing the instruments and the voices seldom reveals an authentic capacity for expression.[42]

Although Manzoni's critique focused only on the *Novae*, Henze's rendition of the article, as he reported it to Nono, exaggerated the critique into a broader domain. Henze interpreted it as criticism of his general aesthetic opposition to Darmstadt. Manzoni called the cantata "cheap Baroque-ism," he wrote to Nono, "with which I once again demonstrated my by now complete renunciation of the musical pursuits of our time, and with which I have [evidently] succeeded in integrating myself into the official musical life of West Germany."[43] According to Henze, Manzoni was apparently accusing him of belonging to the blasé bourgeoisie that concerned itself only with the restoration of old art.

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[42] Giacomo Manzoni, "Un festival in sordina nonostante gli strepiti," *L'Unita*, 26 April 1963: 7. "Henze è un musicista ancor oggi imprevedibile: da una composizione all'altro egli è capace di procurarci le più strane sorprese, ma questa volta in verità la sorpresa non è stata gradevole. Mettendo in musica un ostico testo in prosa di Giordano Bruno, significativamente scelto peraltro tra le pagine meno nuove ed avanzate del grande filosofo, Henze questa volta ha lasciato da parte le doti di invenzione e di fantasia che gli avevamo riconosciuto in lavori precedenti, abbandonandosi a una scrittura indifferenziata, generica, piena di rigurgiti di ogni sorta, ma mancante di quella sottolineatura personale che avrebbe potuto salvarne il dichiarato eclettismo. Insomma un lavoro sbagliato, dove il chiasso non riesce a celare la mancanza di poesia e dove una certa abilità nel maneggiare gli strumenti e le voci assai di rado scopre anche un'autentica capacità di espressione."

[43] Jürg Stenzl, "Hans Werner Henze und Luigi Nono — eine besondere Freundschaft," in *Im Laufe der Zeit: Kontinuität und Veränderung bei Hans Werner Henze. Symposium, 8. und 9. September 2001, Alte Oper Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich (Frankfurt: Schott Music, 2002), 29. Henze writes about the "billigen Barockismus […] mit dem ich erneut meinen mittlerweile vollstandigen Verzicht auf das musikalisches Suchen unserer Zeit erweise und womit es mir geglückt sei, mich ins offizielle Musikleben von Westdeutschland zu integrieren." See pp. 29–30 for a full description of the correspondence between Henze and Nono from November 1964 to February 1965.

The fact that Henze took such umbrage at Manzoni's critique is hardly surprising considering Manzoni's altogether negative evaluation.[44] However, it seems that Henze was more upset by something that he was actually projecting onto the critique. What Manzoni had written was not nearly as detrimental as Henze's own feeling of insecurity. He mailed a defensive letter to the Italian critic, and when a reply arrived, he had it returned to sender without caring to read it. When Nono then confronted him about his refusal to engage Manzoni in conversation, Henze accused Nono of failing to stick up for him as a friend. Henze felt abandoned against the entirety of the postwar music world. Meanwhile, Nono, in spite of his frustration, maintained an unexpected degree of patience. He understood Henze's distress, and as the elder of two years, decided to play the "better man." He tried to reassure Henze that his reputation as a composer was really quite positive. "Regarding Manzoni's critique," he wrote, "I believe [I] can say the following: [It is] objectively [the case] that the German musical situation is strongly in your hands — from the opera houses to the concert halls, and I even see it today in the third program of the North German Radio. I see nothing negative or insulting about that."[45]

Nono's consolation must have had a significant impact on Henze. For not only did he move ahead with composing a work for the Bologna Congress, but he also seems to have defiantly embraced the very "cheap Baroque-ism" that Manzoni had criticized: *In memoriam* was openly billed as a double fugue modeled after Johann Sebastian Bach. This characteristic of the work would have only solicited attacks from Darmstadt hard-liners against Henze's "restorative" tendencies. Yet the decision to return to this early genre fit neatly within the aesthetic directive of his 1963 speech, and it therefore demonstrated his renewed commitment to defining his own compositional path. Henze and Nono might not have agreed with each other on aesthetic grounds — and their friendship was always a little rocky — but their shared outlook on the world was evidently enough for Nono to reach out to his struggling friend. With that encouragement and support, Henze was able to set his insecurity aside and move ahead with the commission.

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[44] Manzoni also criticized Henze for doing an injustice to Karl Amadeus Hartmann's Symphony No. 8, which Henze conducted in the same concert.

[45] Stenzl, "Hans Werner Henze und Luigi Nono," 30.

***Excursus: Analysis of Form & Pitch in* In memoriam**

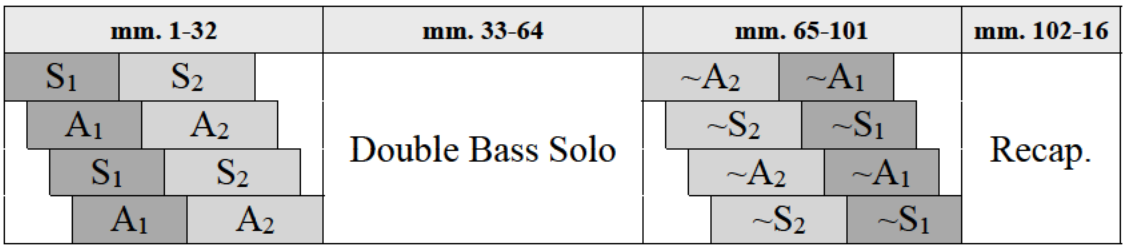
In his program note for the work, Henze identifies that *In memoriam* is "obviously inspired by and composed in the sense of Bach's 'Musikalisches Opfer' structures." As we will see, the significance of Bach extends to several dimensions of the work's composition, as well as to its interpretation. On the most fundamental level, however, Henze's decision to compose *In memoriam* as a fugue is a direct nod to the Baroque master. Bach's counterpoint had an immeasurable effect on Henze's musical education. It was Bach's music that the childhood Henze performed on the piano at home; it was Bach's music that the young Henze studied after the war; it was Bach's music that the mature Henze played (and plays) each day to warm up before beginning to compose.[46] In his studies in Heidelberg with Wolfgang Fortner, Henze came to rely on the ideas of Fuxian counterpoint in his approach to composing, and he later made all of his own composition students learn it under his tutelage.[47]

As a twentieth century composer, however, Henze approached the genre of the fugue not with tonal language, but rather with twelve-tone techniques. The difficulty in employing Bachian counterpoint in serialist writing is that none of the tonal relationships that make Bach's own compositions so brilliant are realizable — at least to the same extent. Nevertheless, Henze believed it possible to interpret Baroque grammar within a modernist musical language. His approach to the fugue in *In memoriam* exemplifies the composer's attempts. It is still important to note that *In memoriam* deviates from traditional Baroque practices in two significant ways. First, in a traditional fugue, one would expect the subject to be presented in full before the answer or a countersubject followed. In Henze's work, the subject, answer, second subject, and second answer enter at short intervals after one another and sound simultaneously. This organization is reminiscent of a *stretto* fugue, such as those found in Bach's *Mass in b-minor*, BWV 232. Second, the fugue subjects in *In memoriam* do not unravel horizontally in a single, distinguishable voice. Rather, each entry skips from instrument to instrument creating a

[46] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 16.
[47] Ibid., 33.

quintessential *Klangfarbenmelodie* ("sound color melody").[48] In spite of these differences, the analysis that follows shows the ways that Henze adopts the large-scale formal conventions and the general structure of alternating entries of subjects and answers, attempts to preserve the spirit of fifth relationships between entries, and constructs vertical relationships between the subjects. Furthermore, the discussion will draw attention to salient aspects of each of the four major sections.

FIGURE 3.1 Schematic Diagram of *In memoriam*



S and A stand for Subject and Answer. Subscript 1 and 2 designate which row is used. "~" indicates the passage in retrograde. Not drawn to scale.

To start with form, *In memoriam* adheres to the structural conventions or expectations of a Baroque fugue. The work as a whole divides into four parts: the exposition of the double fugue (mm. 1–32), an accompanied double bass solo (mm. 33–64), a second fugal section (mm. 65–101), and a partial recapitulation of the opening (mm. 102–16) (Figure 3.1). As a "double fugue," it features the exposition of two fugal subjects one after another.[49] According to tradition, the work should consequently enter into a series of episodes and developmental passages that ultimately bring the two subjects together in counterpoint. Although Henze's composition does not ever fuse the two fugal subjects, other than by using fragments of the first to accompany the exposition of the second, the double bass solo and the second fugal section may be characterized as an episode and a developmental section, respectively. The melodic and harmonic material of the bass solo is substantially removed from the fugal subjects, and the second fugal

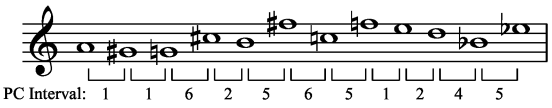
[48] Henze's use of *Klangfarbenmelodie* is remarkably similar to Webern's use of the technique in his orchestration of the "Ricercare a 6" from Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*. One may wonder if Henze visited Webern's arrangement while exploring Bach's work and was influenced by it.

[49] Scholars identify two different formal realizations of a double fugue: one in which the two fugue subjects are presented simultaneously and the other in which they are presented in succession. Henze opts for the latter construction.

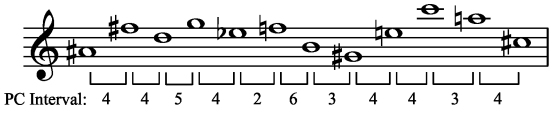
section is closely related to the first, even if it is not audibly apparent. Only the final recapitulation deviates substantially from Baroque practice, in which a return to the initial exposition was not a common formal feature.

FIGURE 3.2 Twelve-tone Rows in *In memoriam*

Row 1 (First statement appears as P9)



Row 2 (First statement appears as P10)



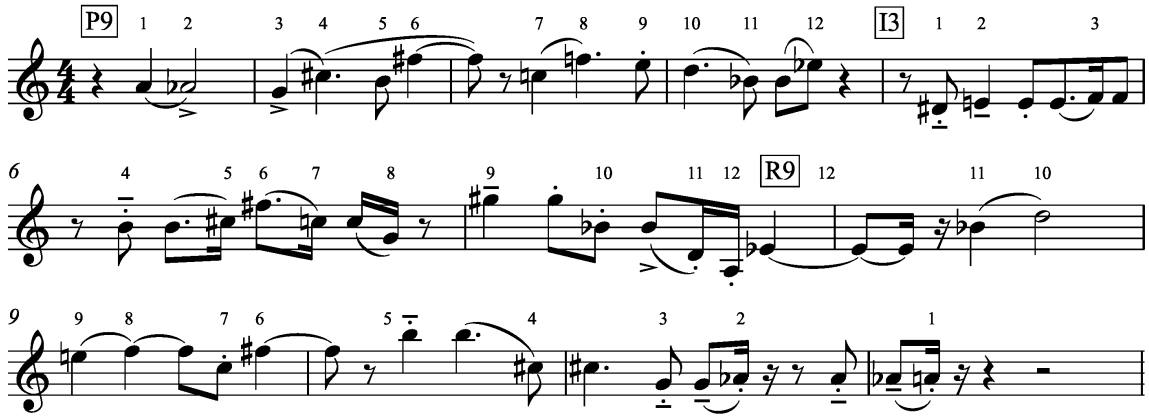
In the fugal exposition, the two subjects of the double fugue are each based on a distinct twelve tone row. These two rows are distinguishable from one another by unique interval content particularly at their ends (Figure 3.2). Row 1 begins with two descending steps of interval class (ic) 1, while row 2 begins two steps of ic 4. Row 2, which is devoid of ic 1, is marked by subsequent occurrences of ic 3 and 4, which figure in the ascent of its closing intervals: *c* to *a* to *c-sharp*. Row 1, on the other hand, has no intervals of ic 3 or 4, other than one occurrence of ic 4 in its penultimate interval *d* to *b-flat*. The contour of row 1 is by and large defined by ic 1 and 5, such as the closing descent *b-flat* to *e-flat*.[50] Furthermore, an interesting characteristic of both rows is their tonal resemblance. Henze crafted row 1 such that each hexachord is suggestive of a diatonic pitch collection centered on the outermost pitches of the row, *a* and *e-flat*.[51] Excluding *g-natural*, the first hexachord defines *a* major; excluding *e-natural*, the second hexachord defines *e-flat* major. Row 2 is similarly divided. The first hexachord forms a *b-flat* (*a-sharp*) major scale and the second forms an *e* major scale, each with one foreign pitch. The strength of the latter scale, however, is weakened by the fact that the tonic pitch is not distinctly position at the end.

[50] Although the intervals described here and illustrated in Figure 3.1 correspond to the initial statements of rows 1 and 2 in mm. 1–4 and 12–14, respectively, subsequent statements abandon the original contour and treat the rows as pitch classes rather than stable melodies. Nevertheless, the differentiation between ic 1 and 5 in row 1 and ic 3 and 4 in row 2 allow for some degree of aural distinction. On another note, the fugal subject of Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer* may have served as source material for Henze's two serial rows. The preponderance of ic 3 and 4 in row 2 may be inspired by the initial stacking of a minor and major third in Bach's theme. The two semitone intervals that begin row 1 may quote the descending chromatic scale that characterizes the middle portion of Bach's subject.

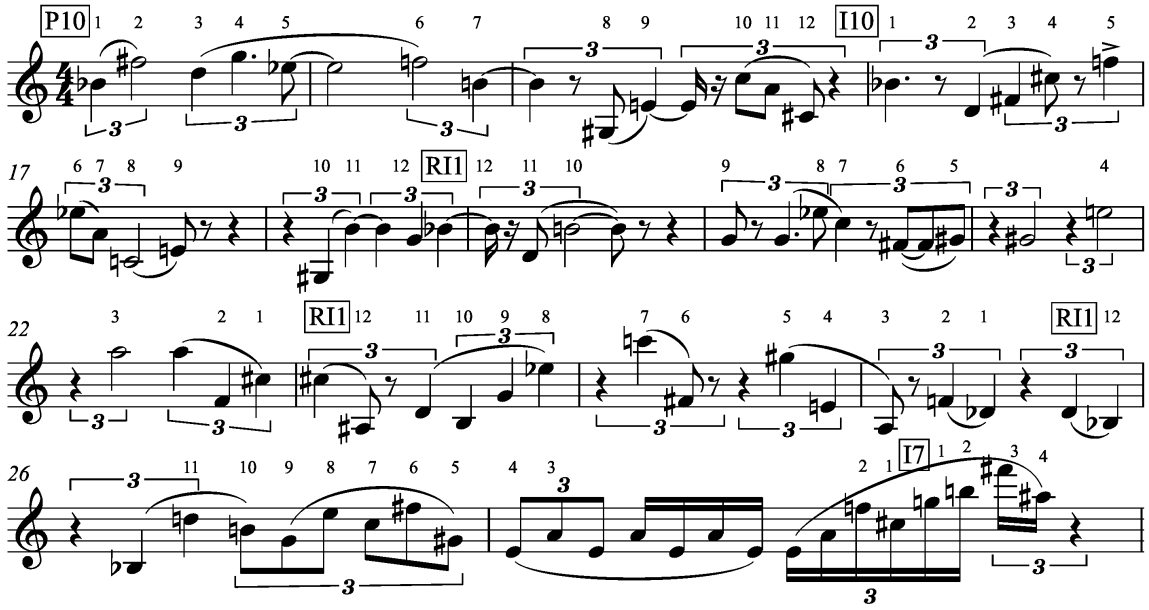
[51] Because the first and last pitches, *a* and *e-flat*, are a tritone apart, their respective scales are distinct in all but two pitches, *g-sharp*/*a-flat*, which occurs in the first hexachord, and *d*, which falls in the second hexachord

EXAMPLE 3.1 Fugal Subjects in *In memoriam*

(a) Subject 1 (mm. 1–12)



(b) Subject 2 (mm. 12–26)



Each of the two subjects is formed from the concatenation of several row statements drawn from its respective twelve-tone series: subject 1 uses row 1, subject 2 uses row 2. In terms of rhythm, each is set to its own rhythmic passage, which is altered only slightly in subsequent entries.[52] Henze's construction of the two fugal subjects takes advantage of the tonal resemblance of the rows to create a sense of "keys" within the

[52] Interestingly, the two subjects are actually related in their opening rhythms. The durational values of the first four notes in each subject are proportional to one other; subject 2 is diminished in rhythmic values.

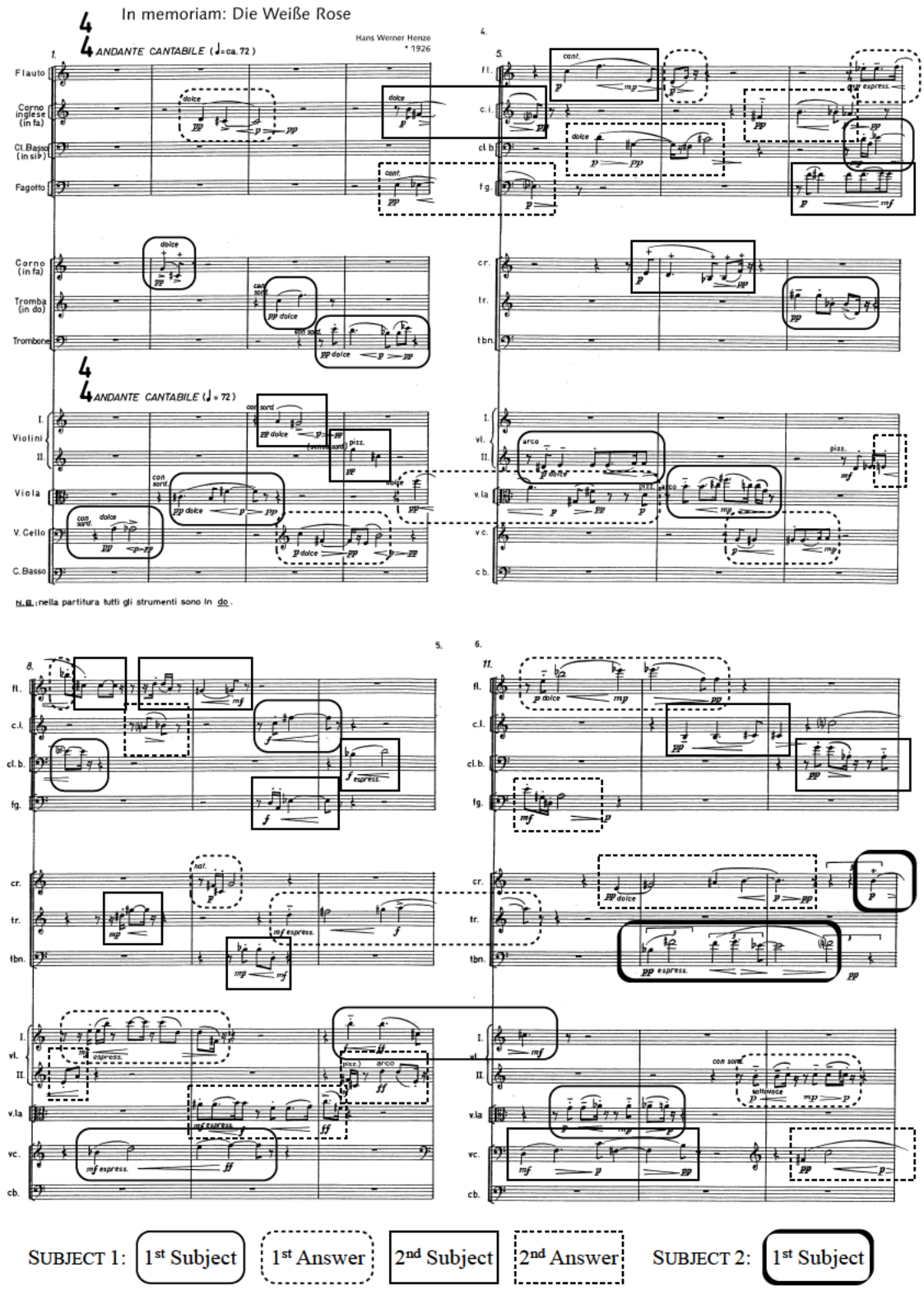
twelve-tone framework. These row statements are methodically chosen, and occasionally altered, such that subsequent statements reinforce a particular pitch as the basis of the localized "key." The first statement of subject 1 begins with $P_1$9, then pivots on pitch class 3 to $I_1$3, and concludes symmetrically with $R_1$9 (mm. 1–12; Example 3.1a).[53] The emphasis given to the pitches *a* and *e-flat* at the start and end of each row statement projects the idea of a tonal modulation from *a* to *e-flat* and then back to *a*. This motion is reminiscent of motion from tonic to dominant, though the fifth relationship is here altered into a tritone. Likewise, the construction of subject 2 also emphasizes a particular pitch center and suggests a structural modulation. The first entry of subject 2 begins with $P_2$10, continues with $I_2$10 and three statements of $RI_2$1, and ends with the first tetrachord of $I_2$7 (Example 3.1b).[54] All five complete row statements begin with the pitch *b-flat*, and the concluding tetrachord ends on the same note. Henze's construction of the subjects in this way may be understood as an act of bridging eighteenth century tonal practice with twentieth century dodecaphony.

In the exposition of the fugal subjects, Henze similarly recalls the tonal conventions of Baroque fugues in the intervallic relationships between subjects and answers. The subject of the first fugue begins in m. 1 with the first tetrachord of the $P_1$9: *a a-flat g c-sharp*. The answer enters in m. 2 with $P_1$2: *d c-sharp c f-sharp*. The ordered pitch class interval from the subject to the answer is 5, equivalent here to a descending fifth in tonal parlance (Example 3.2). The second subject, when it begins in m. 3, sounds an octave above the original with $P_1$9. The second answer then joins in m. 4 with $P_1$4: *e e-flat d g-sharp*. The ordered interval between these two entries is 7, or a fifth higher. Thus, the intervallic progression of subjects and answers entries — down a fifth, at the octave, up a fifth — refers to the conventions of tonal counterpoint while modifying them in light of new aesthetics. The exposition of the second fugal subject, beginning in m. 12, maintains the same basic ordering — interval down, at the octave, interval up — however the traditional tonal fifths are replaced with altered fifths: a descending diminished fifth

[53] The subscript number (1 or 2) placed between the letter and number in a row name designates whether it refers to row 1 or row 2.

[54] The notes in the score do not always align perfectly with the 'theoretical' progression of rows. Sometimes these discrepancies appear to be editorial errors in the published score. However, without access to Henze's sketches, it is impossible to determine with any certainty whether these are actually aesthetic choices made by the composer.

EXAMPLE 3.2 Exposition of Fugal Subject 1, mm. 1–13



(ordered interval 6) and an ascending augmented fifth (ordered interval 8). The subject begins with $P_2$10, the answer enters with $P_2$4, the second subject restates $P_2$10, and the second answer follows with $P_2$6. This use of altered fifth relationships between subjects and answers as chromatic variants of the traditional perfect fifth relationships demonstrates an interpretation of eighteenth century tonality while maintaining the freedom of twentieth century aesthetics.

In spite of Henze's allusions to tonal practice, the density of the stretto entries and the timbral dispersal of the subjects obscure the aural perception of both the "key"-projections and the ongoing intervallic relations. The listener is never even given the opportunity here to internalize a linear statement of the row. By and large, only the outsets of the first four entries, paired in two subject-answer groupings, are distinctly perceivable, while the subsequent melodic lines quickly merge into a mass of instrumental voices.[55] One melodic motive in subject 1 that does sound through is the three-note chromatic progression that results from the opening intervals of row 1: in the first subject, $P_1$9 begins with *a a-flat g*, $I_1$3 begins with *d-sharp e f*, and $R_1$9 ends *g a-flat a* — one descending and two ascending. Throughout the work, Henze scores the ascending form of the motive to several closely related rhythms that may be heard as variations of one another. This similarity in rhythmic definition makes the ascending melodic motive particularly audible to the listener, and, for example, the iteration at the end of subject 1 serves to punctuate the first fugal exposition. Henze's talented use of counterpoint comes across in the way he links the first iterations of the ascending motive between the four subject/answer entries: *d-sharp e f* in the first subject (m. 5, violin II), *g g-sharp a* in the first answer (mm. 6–7, cello), *f f-sharp g* in the second subject (m. 7, bassoon), and *a a-sharp b* in the second answer (m. 8–9, English horn & viola). These four iterations form two contrapuntal pairs (mm. 5–7 and 7–9) that frame a tritone with the central pitch missing: *d-sharp e f* [*f-sharp*] *g g-sharp a* and *f f-sharp g* [*g-sharp*] *a a-sharp b*. The first and second subject entries are thereby linked to their respective answers. Henze creates these relationships by manipulating the rows of his entries as

[55] Within each pair of entries, the answer begins five beats after the subject. The rhythmic interval between the two subject-answer entries is only three beats. Throughout the fugal exposition, the rhythmic spacing in and between subject/answer statements remains fairly fixed, with only occasional flexibility and variation.

early as the fourth measure. He transposes the second hexachord of the prime row in both answer entries, as well as the first hexachord of the inverse row in the second subject entry, but in a clever way that preserves the opening intervals of a fifth and the common-tone pitch class relationships between prime and inversion and between inversion and retrograde.

The exposition of the second fugal subject is even more dense and indeterminate, as the subject/answer entries overlap with the end of the first stretto fugue. These entries begin at regular two measure intervals and lack the sense of pairing found in the first exposition. Furthermore, Henze accompanies the exposition of subject 2 with fragmented figurations derived from the tail end of subject 1. He uses the chromatic ascending melodic motive in conjunction with a permutated set of four notes from the row 1 matrix.[56] In the final two measures of the exposition, Henze uses fragments of row 2 as well. He scores the last tetrachord of $I_2$7 in m. 31 and the incomplete last tetrachord of $RI_2$7 in m. 32. Perhaps the most notable element of this second exposition, however, is the composition's first complete, linear statement of a row: in mm. 26–32 the first violin plays $R_1$8 in a lyrical passage that primarily sounds in the octave above the treble staff. This is one of three full statements of row 1 that accompany the subject 2 exposition, but it is the only one where the row is treated melodically.[57] Unfortunately, the contrapuntal activity at the start of this statement obscures the violin's entry, and it only gains audible prominence in the closing measures.

The double bass solo that follows distinguishes itself considerably from the initial exposition on account of its compositional freedom, and it may therefore be characterized as a fugal episode. Along with a tempo reduction, what is most significant about this section is the sudden textural change. Whereas the first part of the piece was overwhelmingly contrapuntal, this passage is distinctly homophonic. The double bass — which Henze has hereto reserved — plays a contiguous, lyrical melody, while various configurations of instruments from the ensemble play accompanimental figures.

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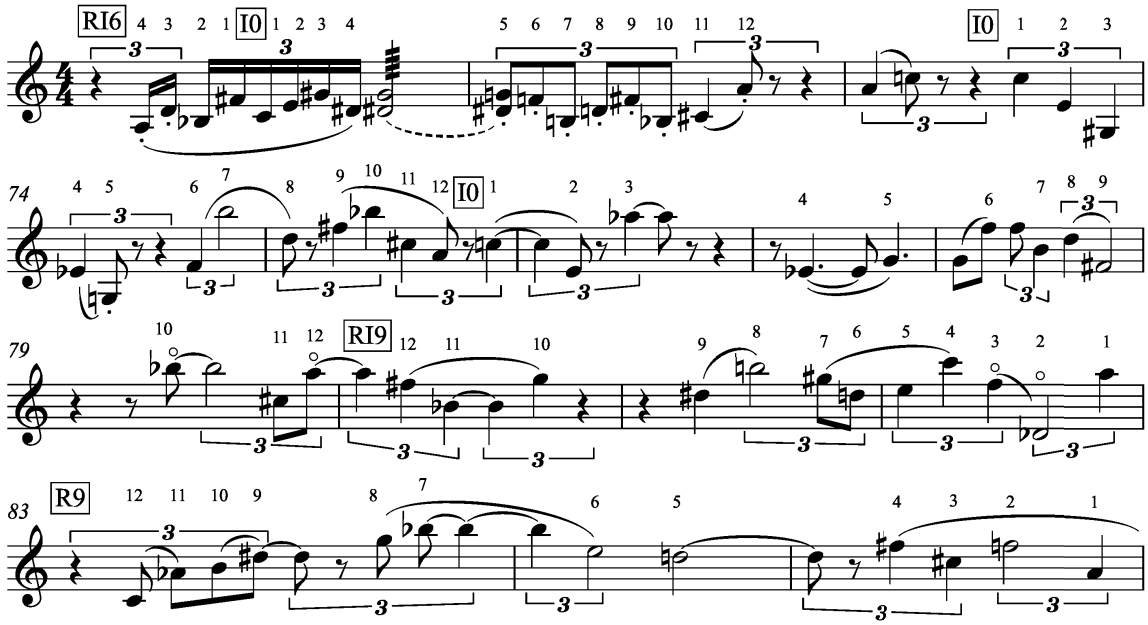
[56] The first instance of this draws on the end of the second subject, the ascending chromatic notes *g g-sharp a* from $I_1$7 (mm. 13–14). To this, Henze adds a segment of four pitches from $RI_1$1 taken from row positions 8 9 11 10: *b a d d-sharp* (bassoon and bass clarinet, m. 14). Further occurrences of this figuration appear in mm. 15–16, 16–18, 18–19, and 19–20, but there is no noticeable link between Henze's choice of inversion and retrograde inversion rows.

[57] The other two statements are $I_1$11 in m. 15–23 and $P_1$4 in mm. 23–25.

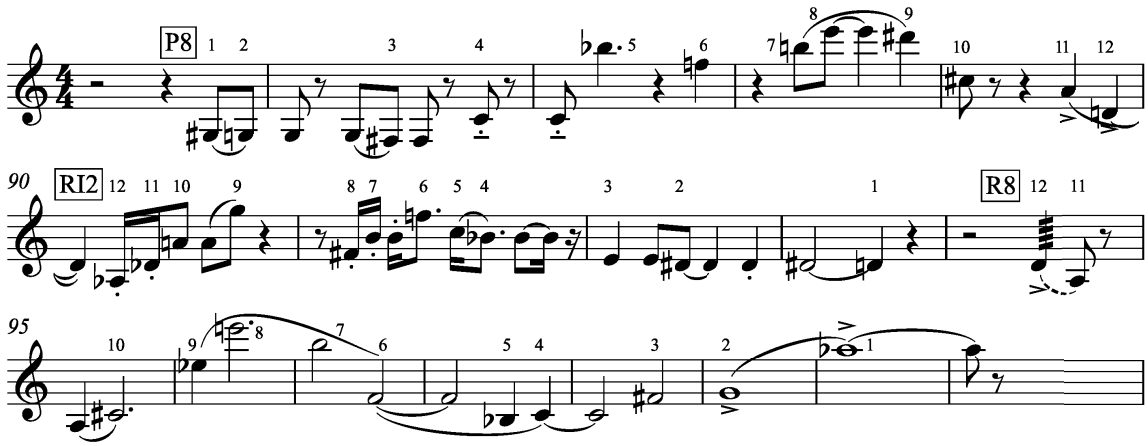
Incidentally, neither the bass nor the ensemble plays distinct row statements. Instead, both solo and accompaniment are constructed from melodic trichord cells. The trichord 012 features prominently in the solo line, which is a derivative of the opening notes of row 1; the accompaniment uses frequent configurations of 015 and 027.[58] Only in the final six measures of the section (mm. 58–63) do we hear a complete row: the bass plays

EXAMPLE 3.3 Fugal Subjects of Second Fugal Section

(a) Subject 2 in Retrograde (mm. 71–86)



(b) Subject 1 in Retrograde (mm. 85–102)



[58] 015 is present in row 1, but 027 does not appear in either row 1 or row 2. This suggests that for this interlude, Henze either set aside the rows altogether or used a cookie-cutter approach to deriving material from them. Without seeing the sketches, it is not readily apparent which was the case.

two rhythmically varied statements of $P_1$9, the very row that began the work in m. 1. In comparison to the retrograde row played by the violin at the end of the exposition, these statements are far more exposed on account of timbre, rhythm, and dynamics. Between the significance of the row and the audibility of the statements, this moment in *In memoriam* is pivotal for the listener.

The second fugal section of the work (mm. 65–101) at first sounds like a completely new double fugue using two new subjects. Upon closer inspection, however, it turns out to be a near-perfect melodic and rhythmic palindrome of the exposition in mm. 1–32, with the following changes: the instrumental allocation of the subjects and answers is altered, rhythms are occasionally respelled in minor variations, and the entire passage is transposed down one semitone. What this means structurally, is that the melodies of subjects 1 and 2 reverse direction (Example 3.3a & b), answers now come before subjects, and the fugue on backwards subject 2 now precedes the fugue on backwards subject 1 (Figures 3.1 & 3.3). The only major deviation from the strict melodic palindrome is in the final backwards row statement of subject 1. Henze augments the durational values of the original subject by two, which accounts for the extra measures in this second fugal section. The general symmetry of this compositional organization is likely what Henze was referring to when he noted the influence of Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*. No. 3a "Canones diversi: Canon a 2" in Bach's work is a well

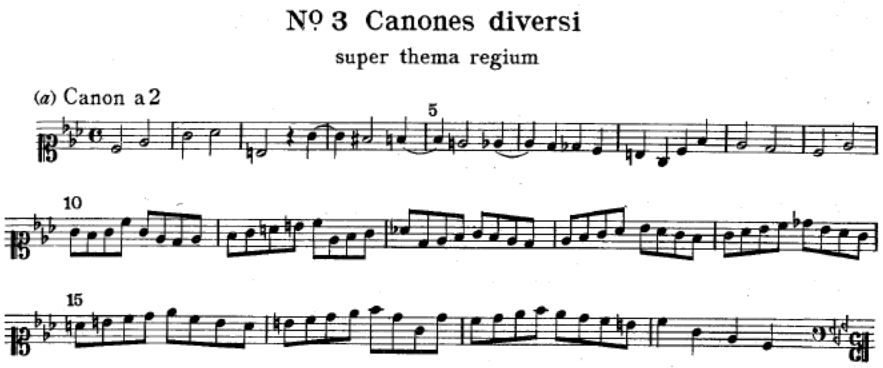
FIGURE 3.3 Row Statements in First & Second Fugal Sections

mm. 1–32	Subject 1			Subject 2					
Subject	$P_1$9	$I_1$3	$R_1$9	$P_2$10	$I_2$10	$RI_2$1	$RI_2$1	$RI_2$1	$I_2$7*
Answer	$P_1$2+$P_1$1	$I_1$7	$R_1$1	$P_2$4	$I_2$4	$RI_2$7	$RI_2$7	$RI_2$7	$I_2$1*
Subject	$P_1$9	$I_1$5+$I_1$3	$R_1$9	$P_2$10	$I_2$11	$RI_2$2	$RI_2$2	$RI_2$2	$I_2$8*
Answer	$P_1$4+$P_1$3	$I_1$9	$R_1$3	$P_2$6	$I_2$6	$RI_2$9	$RI_2$9	$RI_2$9	$I_2$3*

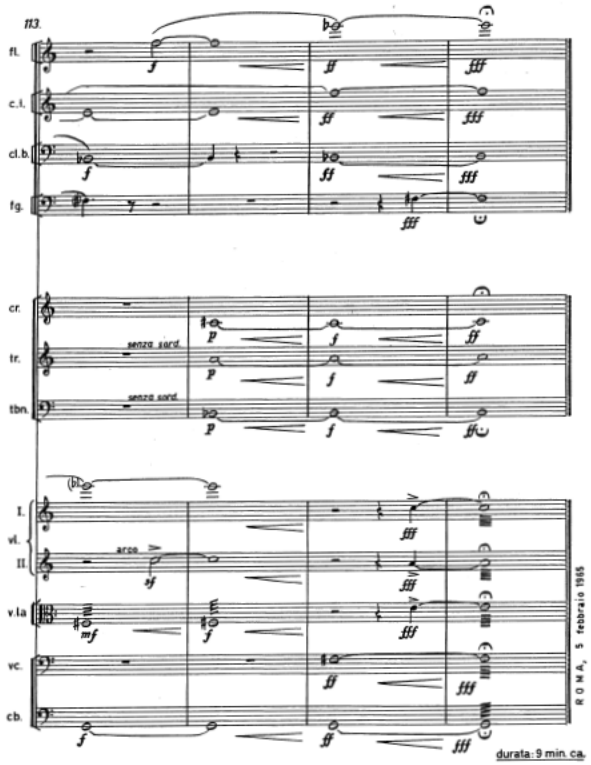
mm. 65–101	~Subject 2						~Subject 1		
~Answer	$RI_2$2	$I_2$8	$I_2$8	$I_2$8	$RI_2$5	$R_2$5	$P_1$2	$RI_1$8	$R_1$2+ $R_1$3
~Subject	[$RI_2$7]	$I_2$1	$I_2$1	$I_2$1	$RI_2$10	$R_2$10+$R_2$9	$P_1$8	$RI_1$2+ $RI_1$4	$R_1$8
~Answer	$RI_2$0	$I_2$6	$I_2$6	$I_2$6	$RI_2$3	$R_2$3	$P_1$0	$RI_1$6	$R_1$1
~Subject	$RI_2$6	$I_2$0	$I_2$0	$I_2$0	$RI_2$10	$R_2$9	$P_1$8	$RI_1$2	$R_1$8

* indicates notes 1–4 (first tetrachord) of the row. ° indicates notes 9–12 (last tetrachord) of the row. A plus sign (+) between two row names indicates the concatenation of the first hexachord from the first row and the second hexachord from the second row. "~" indicates the passage in retrograde. Brackets [] indicate that the printed score deviates from the theoretical transposition schema of the rows, which is shown here.

EXAMPLE 3.4 Bach's "Crab Canon" from *Musikalisches Opfer*, BWV 1079[59]



EXAMPLE 3.5 Final Measures of *In memoriam*, mm. 113–16



[59] Reprinted from Johann Sebastian Bach, *Musikalisches Opfer*, edited by Hans Gal (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1952): 8.

known example of a "crab canon" (or "cancrizans"), a canon formed by one musical line that is simultaneously played forwards and upside-down-and-backwards (Example 3.4). In serialist lingo, these might be thought of as prime form and retrograde inversion. The two fugal sections of *In memoriam* are closely related to this idea, although there is neither an actual "canon" nor a process of inversion involved.

The end of this fugal section is uniquely marked in mm. 100–102 by nearly three full measures of unison *g*'s played by the strings and woodwinds, before the English horn leads in the recapitulation. This final section (mm. 102–16) is a near exact reprise of the opening of *In memoriam*, except for new orchestration of the *Klangfarbenmelodien*. At the end of m. 112, however, the fugal subjects are abandoned, and in the final four measures, Henze stacks sustained notes in all voices of the ensemble, which build to the final triple-*forte* chord (Example 3.5). Like the double bass solo, this passage bears no close resemblance to either twelve-tone row and is likely constructed from disjoint segments. The final chord, which consists of eight of the twelve chromatic pitches excluding *d*, *e*, *g-sharp*, and *b*, might be derived from the two outer tetrachords of $I_2 9$.

Musical Signs & Theatrics

Henze's application of fugal counterpoint situates *In memoriam* in a long lineage of music history. From Bach to Berg, the fugue belongs to a great German tradition. We know that Henze's conception of committed music prescribed the use of models from the past, and it is appropriate then to ask why Henze chose the fugue for his memorial to the White Rose. This question, however, is just part of a larger one: how should we interpret *In memoriam* as a political statement? For constructing the social critique of *Der Junge Lord*, Henze relied on the text of the libretto to guide his composition. This approach was consistent with the composer's belief that external signification must dictate the internal. In the case of *In memoriam*, however, there is no text. The only external meaning that Henze makes explicit for the piece was its dedication to the White Rose resistance. Consequently, interpreting the work requires understanding how Henze imbeds meaning in his instrumental compositions.

To start, Henze believes that music is not abstract; rather, it is a language, capable of expressing thoughts and emotions in much the same way as literature.[60] Just as words are steeped with meaning through their historical use, musical "words" — or "signs," as Henze refers to them — also assume explicit definition over time. Once defined, these signs can be manipulated in the musical material to create meaning without the need of literary texts. Henze explains his theory most concisely in a 1971 interview, however the foundations of these beliefs appeared already in the mid-1950s[61]:

> I believe that it should be possible to do something new with these signs, whose strength rests on the fact that they have deeply impressed themselves on human consciousness: to place them in new contexts and arrange them in such a way that one arrives at unequivocal results; perhaps less effective and direct than with the help of texts, but nevertheless.[62]

While tropes like horn calls and brass fanfares are commonly accepted as musical signs, Henze believes that any aspect of a musical work, including a rhythm, an interval, a compositional style, or even a form, can act as a musical sign, provided that it has come to be understood with a standard semiotic connotation. Furthermore, musical quotations or allusions are closely related to signs, in that they similarly convey specific meaning that is related to their place of origin. Taken together, signs, tropes, quotations, and allusions form the basis of Henze's musical language.

Consequently, the use of serialism in *In memoriam*, as well as his employment of fugal counterpoint and the double bass solo, may all be understood accordingly as musical signs. First, given the World War II theme of the work, Henze's use of serialism should be interpreted according to the style's meaning in the immediate years after the war. Because the Nazis had deemed dodecaphony "degenerate," its revival in 1945 was closely tied to the general celebration of the Nazi defeat. On account of its former suppression, serialism embodied everything that the Nazis were not; it stood for aesthetic and political freedom. Second, the significance of fugal counterpoint is rooted in the music of Bach. Henze's faith in the musical foundations of counterpoint goes hand in

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[60] Hans Werner Henze, "Signs," in *Music and Politics*, 206.

[61] See the essays "Signs" (1955) and "The Message of Music" (1959; in *Music and Politics*, 84–92), both of which originally appeared in the 1964 *Essays*.

[62] Hans Werner Henze, "Art and the Revolution," *Music and Politics*, 182.

hand with his belief that Bach's music embodies the foundations of human compassion and empowerment:

> This music, like its creator, stands on the side of the people, of the humiliated and the violated, and speaks their language. All martyrs of the world can recognize and find themselves again in these calls of distress and songs of sorrow. The fear of the persecuted is here intercepted. The music unites with them, grants them courage, gives them the necessary strength to accept that there is something greater than all fear, namely a higher meaning, for which one can live and die.[63]

Bach's music represents the struggle of the individual to break free of its oppressors. It allies itself with the common man on his path towards freedom. Finally, Henze's employment of the double bass as solo instrument is an allusion to one of the most prominent bass solos in the classical repertoire, the solo at the start of the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.[64] Although Henze's solo has no direct melodic connection to Beethoven's, it nevertheless bears resemblance in its lyrical and tranquil scoring that is offset from accented passages played by the ensemble. The finale of Beethoven's symphony is a celebration of peace, brotherhood, and equality, and it is the resolve of the double basses in this initial solo that ultimately ushers in the famous "Ode to Joy" melody. Thus, the bass solo in Henze's composition represents being on the brink of humanity.

These signs can be strung together into a narrative, but only by first understanding how Henze thought of form. In the second part of the 1963 lecture in Berlin titled "Über Instrumentalkomposition" (Instrumental Composition), Henze explains his conception of form in terms of theatrics. He juxtaposes contrasting sections of music such that their "resulting frictions" create a "dramatic effect" in the work.[65] This approach, by which "[e]verything tends towards theatre, and returns again from it," owes itself to Henze's

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[63] Hans Werner Henze, "Johann Sebastian Bach und die Musik unserer Zeit," in *Musik und Politik*, 367. "Diese Musik steht, wie ihr Verfasser, auf der Seite des Volks, des erniedrigten und beleidigten, und spricht dessen Sprache. Alle Märtyrer der Welt können in diesen Notrufen und Klagegesängen sich erkennen und wiederfinden. Die Furcht der Verfolgten wird hier aufgefangen, die Musik weiß sich eins mit ihnen, macht ihnen Mut, gibt ihnen die nötige Festigkeit für die Annahme, dass es etwas gibt, das größer ist als alle Furcht, nämlich eine übergeordnete Idee, für die man leben und sterben kann."

[64] Although Henze does not acknowledge this connection in his program note, he did include a "lengthy and direct quotation from Beethoven" in the third movement of his choral concerto *Musen Siziliens*, which premiered the following year. See Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 212–13. The proximity of this work to *In memoriam* suggests that he was already engaged with Beethoven in 1964–65. On a further note, Henze's attention to the double bass as a solo instrument may also have inspired his Concerto per contrabbasso ed orchestra (1966).

[65] Hans Werner Henze, "Instrumental Composition," in *Music and Politics*, 131.

propensity for the stage.[66] We already saw how Henze drew on his operatic techniques in the movement "Aufstand" in the *Jüdische Chronik*. He assigned specific dramatic characterizations to the vocal ensembles and aligned these forces with the text of the libretto. For instrumental works, Henze similarly advocates the juxtaposition of contrasting musical passages, only now on a larger scale. He describes how in his works, for example, he tends to alternate between textures, between polyphony and homophony, or in his words, between "counterpoint, and *cantabilità* supported by chords."[67] Henze explains this alternation "as an artistic means of clarifying tension and resolution, rigour and effortlessness, brightness and darkness; as something theatrical, perhaps even as the intention to interweave things that are irreconcilable."[68]

In *In memoriam*, tension is created by the juxtaposition of the fugal passages and the double bass solo. The dynamic contrast between these two ensemble textures is precisely the conflict of counterpoint and lyricism that Henze discusses. The complexity of the fugal exposition, in which one struggles to perceive a distinct melody as the themes are passed between instruments, fades out to the clarity of a single instrument. This new tranquility bestows the double bass with a sense of richness and warmth, a feeling of inner strength that remains untouched by the intermittent entrances of the ensemble. But this moment of repose is cut off abruptly by the return of the fugal texture, whose entrance sounds much more violent than before. The drama of these confrontations suggests the existence of a musical narrative in *In memoriam*. First, in the fugal exposition, there is a sense of action, a struggle between obscurity and clarity. It is a rigorous process through which something dense and complicated is build from two fundamental ideas. This opens up finally into a contemplative moment during the bass solo. Then a destructive force — literally the reverse of the opening — breaks things apart, and in the end, everything must start over anew.

With this dramatic framework, one can now connect the musical signs and achieve a full interpretation of *In memoriam*. First, in the fugal exposition, Henze's exclusive use of twelve-tone techniques and contrapuntal textures imbues this opening section with a sense of humanitarian drive. Since this was precisely the mission of the

[66] Henze, "Instrumental Composition," 131.
[67] Ibid., 130.
[68] Ibid., 131.

White Rose, it makes sense to align the resistance movement with the double fugue itself — perhaps Henze even intended this connection literally as two fugues for the two Scholl siblings. Consequently, the major dramatic action in *In memoriam* — the "doing" of the initial fugal section and the "undoing" of the second fugal section — reflects the historical narrative of the White Rose. The resistance group worked painstakingly to build opposition to the fascist regime, only to be thwarted and destroyed by the Nazis. Thus, the bass solo that emerges out of the initial fugue symbolizes the promise of the resistance. However, instead of heralding freedom like in the Ninth Symphony, it is swallowed up by the destructive, backward-moving force.

These three sections together portray the historical rise and fall of the White Rose. The final section, however, the recapitulation at the end of *In memoriam*, is the key to the work's political message. Even though the White Rose did not succeed, Henze's "starting over" demonstrates that the spirit of resistance must continue onwards with the same valiance as these fallen heroes displayed. It symbolizes the rebirth of the German nation in 1945 and defines a direction for the future. However, Henze's message does not stop there. In a work meant to commemorate the valor of the White Rose, the final measures (mm. 113–16) and the final chord, in particular, are anything but celebratory. The intensity and dissonance of this conclusion come across instead as a somewhat disturbing cry of distress. It seems to beg the listener to wake up from a state of sleep and submission, much like the slogans in the finale of the *Jüdische Chronik* — "Germany, awaken!" and "Be vigilant!" — or the final scene of Zimmermann's 1986 opera *Die Weiße Rose*: Hans and Sophie Scholl turn to the audience and cry out, "Don't be silent, don't be silent any longer. […] Wake up, wake up from this helplessness!" In this last moment, Henze seems to remind us that we are all responsible for the future. Unless we rise from our idleness to continue the fight that the White Rose began, our world may lapse back into a dark history of fascism.

Conclusion

In memoriam does not rank among Henze's best or most memorable compositions. In fact, it finds no place in the composer's autobiography for the year 1965. Among the discussions of the premiere of *Der Junge Lord* and the composition of

the opera *Die Bassariden*, there is no mention of the Italian Congress at all. It is unlikely that Henze's dissociation from *In memoriam* had anything to do with the politics of the work; compared to the later political speech, the double fugue was truly benign. The more probable explanation for Henze's behavior has to do with his impression of the work's aesthetic flaws. The complexity of the fugal counterpoint, further obscured by the use of *Klangfarbenmelodien*, makes the meaning of *In memoriam* nearly impenetrable to anyone who has not studied the score in detail. Even for someone who has, the various fugal entries, especially the beginning of the second fugal exposition, are still easily missed. In 1975, after composing fugues in *In memoriam*, *Die Bassariden* (1966), and *Sinfonia* No. 6 (1969), Henze came to realize that fugues could no longer be written. Why? "Because the tonal system, from which a fugue derives its tension, no longer works. There are also twelve-tone fugues, which are truly formalistic, an old form is reproduced, without the tension of the material that once made such a fugue dramatically effective and alive."[69]

In 1965, *In memoriam* was still an important step in Henze's development as a composer, both politically and aesthetically. First, it marked the composer's readiness to associate himself publically with political ideas. Although the topic of the White Rose was by no means controversial, it still connected Henze's work to the antifascist sentiment of postwar politics. Nono's invitation to compose a work for the Congress of Music for the Resistance in Bologna gave Henze the opportunity to use music as a means of expressing his societal concerns in a safe environment. Second, in spite of criticism from contemporaries like Giacomo Manzoni, Henze ultimately remained true to his aesthetic tenets. Whereas other composers and musicologists believed that politically committed music should feature avant-garde techniques of composition, he continued to compose with models from the past.

On the eve of her execution, Sophie Scholl reassured her parents that her death would not be in vain. Although the White Rose had failed, she was confident that the spirit of rebellion would spread. "This will make waves," she told them.[70] For the Munich resistance, the waves sadly did not come; however, for Henze, the White Rose was an

[69] Hans Werner Henze, "*The Bassarids*: (3) Symphony in One Act," in *Music and Politics*, 155.
[70] Benzenberg, "Denkmäler für die Widerstandsgruppe," 17. "Das wird Wellen schlagen."

inspiration. *In memoriam* was the last of Henze's political works before he joined the socialist movement in Berlin, and as such, it helped usher in a new wave in Henze's career. With *In memoriam*, Henze not only paid tribute to the resistance, but he also joined it.

EPILOGUE

Political Waves

The three case studies explored in this thesis, *Jüdische Chronik*, *Der Junge Lord*, and *In memoriam*, differ from one another in many ways. In terms of the aesthetic work, they focus on three different compositional genres: a cantata, an opera, and an instrumental fugue. In terms of the compositional process, they involve three different degrees of collaboration: a team of five composers and one poet, a duo of composer and librettist, and a solo venture. In terms of their reception, they aim at three different segments of the public: the citizens of East and West Germany, the opera-goers of West Berlin, and the attendees of an Italian conference in Bologna. And in terms of their political content, they take three different approaches: a political statement based in historical events, a social commentary built into a nineteenth century folk tale, and a wordless memorial to a World War II resistance movement. Yet, in spite of their differences, these three works, when taken together, demonstrate the beginnings of an important trajectory in the career of their common composer. From the *Jüdische Chronik* in 1960–61 to *Der Junge Lord* in 1963–64 to *In memoriam* in 1964–65, Henze displays true signs of both aesthetic and political maturation.

To recall the three axes of political commitment presented in the introduction to this thesis — axes of intent, signification, and scope — the development in the composer's output occurred primarily along the third, for Henze's position on the first two was relatively fixed. With regard to intent, he had no notable preference for favoring the functional over the subjective or the subjective over the functional, and the three works represent both approaches[1]. His opinion on signification was more explicit, as he had articulated in the mid-1950s, and he consistently prioritized external sources of meaning over internal ones. But the axis of political scope, stretching from politics in the aesthetic sphere to politics in the practical sphere, was the cause of Henze's ongoing political and aesthetic insecurity. On one hand, he believed strongly that the politics of aesthetics was artificial and that only the politics of the real world should have any bearing on his career. On the other hand, criticism from the aesthetic end made him lose

[1] See Introduction, p. 20–23.

confidence in his artistic vision, and hostility on the practical end made him wary of detrimental repercussions. The tug of war that ensued greatly shaped the composer's professional development up into the early 1960s.

The three works studied here show how Henze reacted to and gradually overcame his insecurity. In the case of the *Jüdische Chronik*, the composer's political fear of the Cold War relationship between East and West Germany got the better of him and made him abandon the project altogether. Although he believed in the cantata's antifascist statement, he could not face the potential ramifications for his career from attaching himself to such a message at a time when political relations were more sensitive than ever. By the time Henze embarked on the *Junge Lord* project, he had grown more comfortable with his political and aesthetic agendas. In the 1963 lecture in Berlin, he verbalized his hatred for the fascist tendencies of society and defined his minority approach to musical aesthetics as groundwork for political commitment. Nevertheless, it was the composer's financial interest that fueled the new opera, until his librettist stepped in to produce a text crafted with a social critique. With Bachmann's leading hand, Henze ultimately embraced political responsibility as part of his *opera buffa*. In the months leading up to the premiere of *Der Junge Lord*, he then reclaimed this practice of political commitment in *In memoriam*. Any feeling of political insecurity that remained was allayed by the work's celebrated thematic and the Italian context of its premiere.

It is interesting to see how Henze's development from political insecurity to a feeling of political responsibility was guided through the three experiences by his mentors. Paul Dessau first introduced Henze to the composition of a politically committed work; Ingeborg Bachmann then set an example for Henze in welcoming the political dimension into his art; and Luigi Nono entrusted Henze with the commission for the Bologna conference dedicated to political resistance. Of the three, Bachmann was perhaps the most influential in preparing the composer for his future as an active socialist. In his autobiography, Henze acknowledges his indebtedness to the poet, among others, for opening his eyes to political consciousness and activism:

> It was thanks to Ingeborg's political concerns and to the political resolve of my new friends in Rome that I now began to take a greater and more regular interest in all that was going on in the outside world and to read the newspapers, even if

only to have a vague understanding of what people were discussing in the trattoria in the evenings.[2]

The turning point for Henze, however, was not his collaboration with Bachmann on *Der Junge Lord*. Rather it was an important experience in the fall of 1965 that, admittedly, may never have come about had that collaboration not succeeded. With Bachmann's encouragement and support, Henze joined the writer Günter Grass on 4 September 1965 on the stage of the Bayreuth Stadthalle to speak out in favor of a new political direction for Germany and to back chancellery candidate Willy Brandt of the Social Democratic Party. Henze was understandably wary about agreeing to the event, since his only public statement on politics had been the 1963 lecture in Berlin. Bachmann recognized that engaging the composer in such an affair would take him out of his comfort zone, but she vowed to assist him in preparing the speech. Henze began his address by emphasizing the important role artists play in conveying political ideas, and he consequently built upon the theme of resurgent fascism that he first presented in 1963 and that Bachmann made omnipresent in her work. He even used the opportunity to share Bachmann's poem "Alle Tage" with his audience, a work that had greatly shaped his political outlook. For the purposes of raising awareness in the upcoming election, Henze then drew attention to specific incidents of the fascist legacy: "the anti-Semitism in secondary schools and government departments, the old Nazis in the judiciary, the daubed swastikas, the embarrassing eloquence of Hans-Christoph Seebohm, the claims to power of Franz Josef Strauß, the Spiegel Affair, Erhard's condemnation of 'degenerate art', and so on."[3] Finally, in perhaps the boldest and most passionate part of the speech, Henze offered a vision of a new German nation:

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[2] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 203.

[3] Ibid., 202. By "old Nazis in the judiciary," Henze was likely referring to the concerns about other political figures, like Hans Globke, who had served during Hitler's regime but were later re-appointed to the postwar government. The "daubed swastikas" and "anti-Semitism" surely referred to resurgent acts of violence against Jews, such as those in Cologne in 1959 that had inspired Paul Dessau's *Jüdische Chronik* project. Hans-Christoph Seebohm (1903–1967) was an active member of the Deutsche Partei and CDU in the years after WWII, serving as Federal Minister for Transport from 1949 to 1966 and briefly as Vice-Chancellor under Ludwig Erhard. Franz Josef Strauß (1915–1988) was an active member of the Christian Social Union, who, while serving as Federal Minister of Defense under Adenauer in 1962 was brought to trial and subsequently fired for his involvement in the *Spiegel* Affair. He was responsible for having falsely arrested Rudolf Augstein, owner and editor-in-chief of the magazine, on account of treason and for having in turn lied to parliament.

> How am I to continue to fulfill the conditions enshrined in our country's constitution, conditions that I will not allow to be violated? This is the constitution of every democratically thinking, modern German who takes upon himself the burden of the past but who wishes to balance that burden with his sense of pride, a sense of national pride that can appeal to a new Germany, a Germany with an anti-militaristic younger generation not yet born at the time of Auschwitz, a Germany that has no desire to demand back regions that she lost through her historical guilt and which can be regained only by incurring yet further guilt, a Germany that could show the world how national intelligence and the capacity for work may be directed upwards, not downwards again, where vindictiveness lurks with one of the most risible, absurd and offensive of all emotions: the racial arrogance that has enriched the German language with the word "degenerate."[4]

Although Henze credited Bachmann as the "ghost writer" of his speech, the confidence and resolve that he displayed in delivering such a statement heralded the full awakening of his political consciousness. The experience made Henze realize that "[t]here were things in the world […] which were far more important than I myself."[5] It cultivated a desire to understand society and politics. At Bachmann's suggestion, he immediately dove into Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* and Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. In turn, he began to read Adorno's non-musical writings; Marx came later in spring 1968, along with Lenin and Brecht.[6]

But in exposing himself to these worldly ideas, Henze underwent a personal and aesthetic crisis. While working on *Die Bassariden*, the opera based in Greek mythology that followed *Der Junge Lord*, he realized in late 1965 that

> [his] music was becoming more and more private, that its motivations were private ones, that it contained private communications, that it addressed itself to individuals, to private beings. […] All at once I felt that I did not understand anything any more, that I had nothing, that I was cut off; I realized that I was living in a desert where one stops thinking, and concerns oneself only with feelings, with cultivating feelings.[7]

He even reflected on the two political speeches from 1963 and 1965 with a "feeling of impotence and uselessness."[8] After wrestling with the crisis to the point of illness, a new hope came in the form of the socialist movement. During his residence as a visiting

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[4] Henze, *Bohemian Fifths*, 202–3.
[5] Ibid., 203.
[6] Ibid., 203, 238; Henze, "German music," 55.
[7] Henze, "Art and the Revolution," 179.
[8] Ibid., 179.

professor at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire in 1967, Henze found a calling in the anti-Vietnam protests and civil rights campaigns that he witnessed first-hand on the university campus. On returning to Europe, he relocated to Berlin, where similar demonstrations were gaining prominence under the leadership of socialist Rudi Dutschke. The solidarity of the Socialist League of German Students, which Henze soon joined, gave the composer a sense of new purpose. Its humanitarian mission provided the higher meaning he needed in his life and art.

The crisis and redirection of 1966–67 were the basis of the "political about-face" that scholars so frequently discuss when dealing with Henze as a politically committed composer. There is no denying that this moment in his life marked an important and significant shift in the progression of his career. From this point onwards, socialist politics became the dominating hallmark of the composer's social and artistic mission. What the three case studies of this thesis have shown, however, is that this shift was not as blindingly new as it is often portrayed. Henze's entire life was shaped by political issues — from Hitler's rise to power to the brutality of World War II, from the corruption of Restoration to the animosity of the Cold War. In the first half of the 1960s, Henze began to negotiate a response to fascism within the context of his music. As he gradually built up confidence in the domain of politics, he became more and more aware of the state of society and the world. The crisis was spawned by a feeling of regret at not having acted sooner, and the socialist movement now offered a way forward.

To identify as socialist was undoubtedly a more controversial move than identifying as antifascist — and of course, they were not mutually exclusive. But Henze does distinguish the two. He recognizes the antifascist politics of his pre-1966/67 career as "psychologically" motivated — the result of having lived through the Nazi regime — whereas the post-crisis socialist politics were "politically" motivated, i.e. they dealt with the day-to-day activity of the government.[9] In spite of the distinction that Henze makes, however, he attests to the fact that his interest in socialism was an outgrowth of his earlier beliefs. Thus, there was a degree of continuity between psychological antifascism and political socialism. Henze's faith in the socialist value of equality surely harked back to experiences from his adolescence, such as his interactions with prisoners of war, just as

[9] Henze, "Art and the Revolution," 178.

he often gave his fascist concerns direct political relevance, as in the Bayreuth speech. The later politics were therefore only a more focused and directed form of earlier ideas.

As Henze learned more about what it meant to be socialist, his ideas on committed music naturally progressed. Incidentally, the techniques he came to employ also developed out of his earlier compositional approach, a fact that he did not deny: "Just as the process whereby I attained political consciousness is linked with my earlier life, just as this has been and still is something conscious, so the music that I write today derives from my previous music."[10] Thus, the works explored in this thesis served as early experiments in the kind of composition that would later figure prominently in Henze's committed works. He continued to embrace aspects of tradition, to rely on dramatic texts, and to believe in the idea that music could function as a language through the employment of musical signs. All three approaches are present in the first major political work that Henze produced after joining the socialist movement, the oratorio *Das Floß der Medusa* (The Raft of Medusa, 1968).

To start, the work took the form of an *oratorio volgare*, a genre attributed to Italy in the mid-seventeenth century, and, as in *In memoriam*, Henze drew directly on the contrapuntal mastery of Bach. Furthermore, the plotline of the work, which recounted a moral blunder from European history, was intended to convey a specific worldview. In 1816, the French frigate *Medusa* capsized off the coast of West Africa; the wealthy escaped by lifeboat, but the remaining 154 men, women, and children were forced to fend for themselves on a raft at sea. When rescued two weeks later, only 15 remained alive. Henze intended this story to be an allegory for society: "[I]t sings of the heroic struggle against death, against the temptation to give up, against the comfortable surrender to despair. Names of freedom fighters of the Third World have been incorporated into the text."[11] These complemented the work's dedication to Che Guevara, perhaps the most direct link to the immediate world.

Most interesting, however, is the way that Henze employed a musical sign at the end of the piece to force listeners to draw a connection between the historical plot and the present day. The final 36 measures of the oratorio prominently featured repetitions of the

[10] Henze, "Art and the Revolution," 180–81.
[11] Hans Werner Henze, "The Raft of the Medusa," in *Music & Politics*, 162.

revolutionary cry "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!" in its rhythmic pulse. The rhythm — long, long, long short long — was a popular chant on European soccer fields, but had been appropriated in the 1960s to show support for the North Vietnam Liberation Movement. As part of his effort to make his music less private, Henze decided to incorporate this readily identifiable and politically charged chant into the musical fabric of the work. He wanted more than anything to draw people's attention to the parallels between the oratorio's story of injustice and the anti-colonialist struggles of the 1960s. He explains, "The ending of the work is structured in a way that leads directly from music into reality. Musicians and audiences can carry on from there and continue the evening singing, discussing, taking action."[12] Henze's intention of crafting the end of *Das Floß der Medusa* in this way is directly related to how he and Bachmann conceived the end of *Der Junge Lord*. In fact, it is also similar to the cautionary chord that ends *In memoriam*, as well as the final lines of Gerlach's libretto in the *Jüdische Chronik*. All four works end with a call to action, an awakening of responsibility.

The idea that committed music should be functional, that it should inspire its audience — and its performers — to think and act independently, now became central to Henze's musical-political stance. In works like the Second Piano Concerto (1967), the viola piece *Compases para preguntas ensimismadas* (1969–70), and the *Sinfonia* No. 6 (1969), he broke down the hierarchy of the traditional orchestra and scored the ensemble as a collective of individuals. In works like the *Sinfonia* and the theatrical piece *El Cimarrón* (1969–70), he integrated indeterminate notation to force performers to make their own decisions, and in turn, he hoped, to inspire the audience to do so too. Henze believed that hearing and making music could empower new generations with the strength necessary to curb the corrupted path of society. He consequently promoted music education in schools and composed operas, like *Pollicino* (1979–80), specifically for children. Henze's concern for youth is yet another thematic link between these later works and those of the composer's early political period.

In 1963, Henze closed the first part of his speech in Berlin with the observation that "[t]he work of every composer, however discontinuous it may seem on superficial investigation or when sustained study is impossible, contains a continuous development,

[12] Henze, "Does Music have to be Political?," 168.

a growth which is enriched and transformed by ever new influences from outside and ever new discoveries from within."[13] Although he could never have predicted the future path of his career, it seems only appropriate that his first political speech ends with such an accurate description of the political trajectory that followed. Aesthetically and ideologically, Henze's dedication to politically committed composition matured in a "continuous development." It hatched in the first half of the 1960s with works like *Jüdische Chronik*, *Der Junge Lord*, and *In memoriam*, and it took flight only a half-decade later.

[13] Henze, "Music as a Means of Resistance," 129.

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