

Dorothea Redepenning

Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz

Music against violence and war

Luigi Nono's title for the electronic piece he compiled from his stage music for Peter Weiss's *Ermittlung*¹ offers a suitable motif for this contribution. The word "Auschwitz" has become a formula for the inconceivable. It stands for the death and suffering of the individual and, in equal measure, for the death and suffering of millions of people. It highlights the policy of racial discrimination and annihilation of the National Socialists, and stands for holocaust and genocide. In a broader sense, it encompasses the horrors of the Second World War.

The works by European composers that deal with this topic range from large-scale, representative works that were completed as a musical contribution to collective remembrance rituals on specific memorial occasions, such as Yuri Levitin's *Rekviem pamiati pavshykh geroev* (Requiem to commemorate the fallen heroes, 1946),² through works that unsettle the listener with their highly dissonant, almost painful sound, with the aim of keeping alive our memory of the suffering, such as Luigi Nono's commemorative works, to instrumental works in which the topic is reflected solely by the period in which they were composed and the attitudes known to be held by their author,

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such as Karl Amadeus Hartmann's almost entirely instrumental oeuvre, or Dmitrii Shostakovich's eighth string quartet (1960), which is dedicated to the memory of the victims of Fascism and war. The use of literary references³ or the combination of texts of different origin provide a vehicle for expressing the theme of remembrance in a manner that transcends time and is of general validity, such as in Rudolf Mauersberger's *Dresdener Requiem* (1947-1948), which takes as its text the Catholic liturgy of the dead in the German translation, combined with Protestant funeral chorales, making it an ecumenical work.

Songs, traditional folk songs, popular hits and above all film music also help to keep memories alive, as does earlier music, which is used to accompany memorial ceremonies and remembrance rituals in general, and which is functionalised for this purpose. The subject of this paper is music that was published after 1945, the "serious" music⁴ which deals with themes of grievance and accusation, admonition and remembrance in two phases: the years immediately after the war and again in the early 1960s. The artistic treatment of the policy of aggression and annihilation, of the crimes committed by the dictatorships, of war and its consequences depends on external criteria that may have influenced the conception of these works. It makes a difference whether an artist comes from a "victorious country" or a "vanquished country", an aggressor country or a "victimised" country; whether a nation commemorates the end of the war with a memorial ceremony or a victory celebration has consequences for the creative process. Another factor is the degree to which the respective current political system controls the culture of remembrance, in other words, whether it strives to glorify certain events in the collective memory, while pushing others into the background. It can also matter to

the work of art whether an artist accepted or even embraced National Socialism, Fascism, or Stalinism, whether he emigrated or went into “internal exile”.⁵

When considering inner-musical criteria, it should be remembered that there is a consensus in European culture as to how grief and sorrow are to be expressed. These specific musical topoi have become established since around the time of the French Revolution. They can be comprehended at a general level and are used in equal measure in vocal and instrumental works, in large-scale representative forms, as well as in chamber music and song. They include – ideally – a preferred use of the minor key, slow tempi, a low register, dark timbres, funeral march rhythms and a melody in which small intervals that frequently fall chromatically provide semantically loaded expressiveness and emphasis. These tools were used until well into the Second World War – one only has to think of poignant and sorrowful compositions such as Bohuslav Martinů’s orchestral funeral music *Památník Lidicím* (a memorial for Lidice), which was completed in 1943 to commemorate the destruction of the Czech town by the National Socialists in the same year.

In the light of the millions of deaths and horrific global destruction, a second compositional method favoured by composers from the western world stands out both during and after the war. They tend towards a musical language that they regard as having moral integrity because it was condemned by the National Socialists as being “degenerate”: atonality in general, and serialism in particular. This is the technique adopted by Arnold Schönberg, Luigi Dallapiccola, Luigi Nono and Karl Amadeus Hartmann. Works of this type follow Theodor W. Adorno’s much-quoted dictum: “writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric.”⁶

The opposing faction decided to make use of “poetry”, in other words, to use a musical language that makes a conscious return to a tradition which was prevalent before the barbarity occurred, with the argument that it is necessary to offset the horror with something that is beautiful, noble, and morally “better”. This position is taken up by the Soviet aesthetic principle of Socialist Realism, which was proclaimed in 1934 and which – although often circumvented – was never essentially called into question right up to the end of the Soviet Union. The alternative, which fell between two levels of musical language, and which was recognised by western European composers, was not an option in the official artistic debate of the Soviet Union. According to their aesthetic principle, approaches such as atonality and serialism were “decadent” and a sign of cultural decline, rather than being a morally integral artistic language.⁷

The decision as to which idiom a composer chooses does not just depend on the composer themselves, but on their cultural and political context. To put it simply: After 1945, a Soviet composer would not conceive of writing an atonal piece in memory of the victims of Fascism, while a German or an Italian composer would have considered a “beautiful sound” to be an aestheticisation of horror, a playing down of the crimes committed and a derision of the victims. That such an aesthetic principle, which was above all propagated at the international Darmstadt festival, should lead to the incrimination of the triad and of consonance, and thus to a limitation of modes of expression, has only been grasped by western European composers with great effort, and not until the late 1960s.⁸

A memento mori – Dallapiccola's triptych

Luigi Dallapiccola's triptych, which consists of the *Canti di Prigionia*, the opera *Il Prigioniero* and the *Canti di Liberazione*, is rightly regarded as being a work of great artistic achievement, which accompanied Italian art throughout the Fascist period like an admonishing counterpoint. The life of the composer, who was born in Istria, and who was interned in Graz together with his family who were regarded as being politically unreliable, had in his own words already sharpened his awareness of injustice and political violence at an early stage, and had become immune to Fascist influences.⁹

In 1938, the year Mussolini announced the racial laws, Dallapiccola married a Jewish woman and began work on the *Canti di Prigionia* for choir and instrumental ensemble, consisting of the *Preghiera di Maria Stuarda* (after Stefan Zweig), the *Invocazione di Boezio* (after four verses from Boethius's script *De consolatione philosophiae*) and the *Congedo di Girolamo Savonarola* (after his meditations on the psalm *In te Domine speravi*). It was possible to stage the première of the cycle on 11.12.1941 in the Teatro delle Arti in Rome.¹⁰ On the same day, Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the United States of America.

The single act opera *Il Prigioniero* is based on the story *La torture par l'espérance* from the volume of novellas *Nouveaux contes cruels* by Philippe-Auguste Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (1838–1889). The libretto was completed in 1943, and the composition between 1944 and 1948. The story is set during the Spanish Inquisition. The nameless hero is given the opportunity to flee by the chief jailor, but is prevented from doing so by the Grand Inquisitor, who it transpires bears the same identity as the chief jailor. The

final word in the opera is the bitter question asked by the prisoner: “La libertà?” The *Canti di Liberazione* for choir and large orchestra, which were composed between 1951 and 1955, are based on texts written by the reformist theologian Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563), who called for religious tolerance, on the second Book of Moses (Chapter 15, verses 3 – 5) and on the tenth book of *Confessiones* by Aurelius Augustinus. The opera was premiered in 1949, with the choral cycle following in 1955 in Cologne.

The *Canti di Prigionia*, the *Prigioniero* and the *Canti di Liberazione*, which were composed over a period of almost thirty years, are rightly referred to as a triptych, since they form a whole unit. In all three works, twelve-note serialism is employed. Dallapiccola has arranged the basic series in such a way that they can also be used to represent the melody of the sequence from the Middle Ages, *Dies irae, dies illa*¹¹, which can be heard in all three works. By incorporating this melody, which even untrained listeners can easily recognise in schematic form, into all three works, Dallapiccola imbues them with a shared theme that acts as a pointer to the shared European cultural history of remembrance of the dead and is highly popular as a melody. In the context of the subject and of the period, the melody sounds like a memento mori, and is also intended to be one.

Maria Stuart, Boethius and Savonarola were executed for their convictions; in *Prigioniero*, a doomed man is tortured with the false hope of freedom; in *Canti di Liberazione*, hope really is implied by other protagonists from three different contexts. On the basis of the liturgical *Dies irae* melody, and of other semantically loaded, interlinked twelve-note series, Dallapiccola compiles the texts to be set to music in such a way that the current theme of violent

death is transferred to a historical context. Technical and aesthetic considerations aside, the decision to use serialism represents an acknowledgement of the method for which composers were imprisoned and, in the worst case scenario, murdered, under the European dictatorships.

“Victory” – the motto for the years to come?

The most significant Soviet work to mark the end of the war is not one of the cantatas or oratoria¹² that were produced in the late 1940s and early 1950s, partly as a result of the cultural policy decrees issued under Andrei Zhdanov¹³ and commemorate Stalin and the glorious Red Army, but Dmitrii Shostakovich's Ninth Symphony. His Seventh Symphony was celebrated worldwide as a musical symbol in the fight against Fascism¹⁴; the Eighth Symphony was regarded as a serious work in the Soviet Union, notwithstanding a large number of critical voices, and supporters such as Boris Asafiev were inspired to compare him with Dante and Michelangelo.¹⁵ For Soviet contemporaries, both symphonies were commemorative compositions that related to the war, and it is therefore no surprise that Shostakovich's colleagues Aram Khachaturian and Yuri Shaporin, as early as April 1944, debated in public whether the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies were part of a still unfinished trilogy.¹⁶ It was therefore expected that Shostakovich would produce a triumphant Ninth Symphony, which would complete this trilogy and at the same time set the “Soviet crown” onto the tradition of the number “nine” established by Beethoven, Bruckner and Mahler. Shostakovich fed such hopes when he announced in *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* on 7 November 1944:

Now that the Great Patriotic War is nearing its end, its historical significance will become more clearly recognisable. It is a war of culture and light against darkness and obscurantism, a war of truth and humanism against the barbaric moral of murderers [...]. What do I dream of today, when I reflect on the future of our creative art? As with doubtless every Soviet artist, I cherish the bold dream of a large-scale work, in which the overpowering feelings that dominate us today can find an expression. I think that the motto for our work in the coming years is one word: "victory".¹⁷

Shostakovich did in fact start work on a major symphonic ode, and had played excerpts from it to friends on the piano. Isaac Glikman remembers a first movement, "sublime in its force, its pathos and its breathtaking development".¹⁸ However, the music that was performed at the ceremonial première on 3 November 1945, to mark the 28th anniversary of the October Revolution, was worlds apart: an almost neoclassical symphony, lasting less than half an hour; a symphony that ignored the great tradition of the genre as well as Shostakovich's own previous symphonies; a symphony which, with its E-flat major key, is clearly consciously set a semi-tone above D major, the key of the great ninth symphonies, or which may have been a parody of the heroic habitus associated with the E-flat major key since Beethoven's *Eroica*. The refusal, the rejection which is made clear in the outward arrangement, did not hinder the spontaneous enthusiasm of its reception; the last three movements were repeated at the request of the audience, and the press also reacted positively.¹⁹ Even if this symphony failed to live up to official expectations,

there must have been a broad faction of influential musicians who ensured that a favourable climate was provided for the work and the composer. This climate collapsed at the latest with the first of the Zhdanov tribunals. The extracts from the *Memoirs* published by Solomon Volkov refer to this later reception period, which suggest that Stalin regarded the symphony as a personal insult.²⁰

In the Soviet music history annals, epithets such as buoyant, light and fun have become the established way of describing the symphony²¹. They gloss over the fact that the E-flat major key is shrilly dissonant from the D-minor/D-major keys of the ninth symphonies, and that the symphony offers a completely different reading: It can equally be interpreted as an “anti-ninth”, an announcement that Beethoven’s humanistic message, together with the tradition of formulating it in musical terms, is dead. This is underlined in the first movement by the instable harmony in the first theme, and the instrumentation of the second theme with an exposed upbeat in the first trombone, tambourine rattles, tympani and triangle, as well as a piccolo; an instrumentation that sounds like a parody of marching band or military music and is just a touch vulgar when the piccolo theme is taken up by the brass section. The slow movement is not just plain, but austere and bleak, with almost entirely unaccompanied, plaintive cantilenas of individual woodwind instruments. The scherzo is a bizarre dance; the largo is formed from a declarative gesture that is made twice by the three trombones with the tuba, which in each case follows on from a recitative played by the bassoon. The association of a human voice, which evokes a nasal timbre – specifically, the words “Oh friends, not these tones! Rather let us sing more cheerful and more joyful ones” from the baritone solo in the finale of Beethoven’s Ninth – is certainly consciously intended.

Fagott-Solo

Bariton-Solo

O - - - - - de, nicht die - se Tö-ner! son-derm laßt uns

an - ge - neh-me-re an - stim-men

Example 1: Bassoon solo from the Largo of Shostakovich's 9th Symphony, and the baritone solo from the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony

The Rondo finale – with the aid of the old counterpoint technique of diminution – breaks out of this chain of musical associations. The solo bassoon, just before the bearer of a human statement, intones a dance melody, of which one cannot say with certainty whether it belongs to the circus or to Jacques Offenbach's can-cans. Here, the impertinent, demanding tone of the early Shostakovich works is surpassed when the composer makes use of a celebratory instrumentation at the end that is worthy of an apotheosis and conforms to the tone of the victory parades held at the time. This tone is itself only surpassed by the circus and can-can melody that finally ends in a stretto twice as fast. From the apotheosis, a parody is created; it becomes a farce, and the symphony itself a recognition that the human optimism of Beethoven and Schiller, the "Joy, thou glorious spark of heaven", and "Be embraced, you millions!" have lost their validity in the face of this war.

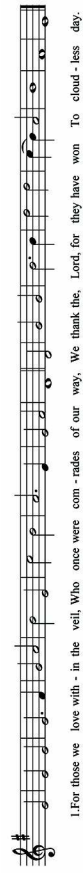
"A Requiem for those we love"

Paul Hindemith's *Requiem*, which was completed immediately after the end of the war, and which was premièred on 14 May 1946 in New York, is based on Walt Whitman's elegy *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd*.²² The collection of poems is a hymn to the wide expanse of nature, and combines a patriotic and a pacifist approach. The outer parallelism of events, the Second World War and the (natural) death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (on 12 April 1945), as well as the fact that Hindemith was granted American citizenship on 17 January 1946 form the background to the selection of the text, as well as to the original title *An American Requiem*.²³ Hindemith set the cycle in the original language, and congenially translated

the text for the performance in German. The full title is: *When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd – A requiem “for those we love” – Als Flieder jüngst mir im Garten blüht' – ein Requiem „für die, die wir lieben“.*

His Requiem has eleven movements, as is common in a full liturgical requiem (with *In Paradisum* and *Libera me*). However, he emphasises that his work “does not take the form of an ecclesiastical requiem”.²⁴ Due to its second section in the double title – *A Requiem “for those we love”* – Hindemith's work deserves particular attention. In the middle section of the eighth movement, *Sing on, you gray-brown bird*, Hindemith deviates from the words written by Whitman, whom he otherwise loyally follows (with the exception of the structuring into eleven movements). After the verse “Appear'd the cloud, appear'd the long black trail”, in Hindemith's translation: “die schwarze Wolke, der bedrückte Zug”, he again adds the subtitle of his composition above the music.

Hindemith quotes note for note a traditional Jewish melody – a song of valediction, and of valediction for ever.²⁵ With the motif of the black or dark trail, he veers away from the Whitman context and allows the first violins to play a Jewish song. In this way, he extends his work beyond the war to encompass the persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich. For Hindemith, “the long black trail” is no longer just Whitman's funeral procession, but the procession of Jews who were driven to their deaths. In his comments, Hindemith gives nothing away in his comments about the work; the interim title, which has been inserted, and which is set in quotation marks above an instrumental section, should alone catch our attention: Hindemith calls his work *When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd – A Requiem “for those we love”*.



1. For those we love with - in the veil, Who once were com -rades of our way, We thank thee, Lord, for they have won To cloud - less day.

VI. 1 Hymn, "For those we love"



Example 2: Traditional Jewish melody quoted from G. Schubert and Hindemith, Requiem, 8th movement, section 52ff.

The title and the text originate from Whitman; the subtitle is a quote of the first words of the song. The subtitle not only sets the current reference, but also names the people to whom the work is in fact dedicated. Hindemith remembers – with the words of Whitman whom he so highly regarded – the Jews murdered by the National Socialists, and in so doing, makes an acknowledgement without having to announce it verbally.

Arnold Schönberg and Karl Amadeus Hartmann also used song as a vehicle. Schönberg, who as an adult was baptised as an evangelical Christian in 1898 and who in 1933, when he had already emigrated to Paris, returned to the Jewish faith, composed the commemorative work *A Survivor from Warsaw* at the request of the *Koussevitzky Music Foundation* in 1947, which was premièred on 4 November 1948. The scoring – for a narrator, a male choir and large orchestra – characterises the work as a cantata. The text was written by Schönberg on the basis of reports that he had received “directly or indirectly”.²⁶ A narrator speaks as a victim and observer, to talk of the inconceivable barbarity in the concentration camp. As a chance survivor among the dead, he hears how the prisoners are forced to count themselves for the transportation to the gas chambers, and how, in the face of death, they chant the *Shema’ Yisro’el* (Hear, Israel), which in the Jewish liturgy precedes the main prayer said by the rabbi. Schönberg stages the concurrence of a neutral report and the painful memory that arises by having the narrator speak English as though he were reporting to an international tribunal by having him quote a “field marshal” in a broad Berlin accent, and representing the oppressed prisoners who are condemned to die as the male choir singing in unison. This climax, which is reached when the speed of the counting increases and when the basic tempo accelerates, draws its

shocking effect from the male voices that sing powerfully in unison, as well as from the Hebrew language. Both rise up almost monolithically as something noble, above the context presented; the Jewish faith and the victims of the holocaust are made noble as a result.



Example 3: Schönberg: *A Survivor from Warsaw*, section 80-84 (Hear, Israel, singing voices only)

A Survivor from Warsaw is written using twelve-note serialism. Schönberg very consciously ensures that the “Hear, Israel” stands out as an allusion to the liturgical intonation and as a prominent melody, which can already clearly be heard from the horn at the beginning to the words: “... the old prayer they had neglected for so many years, the forgotten creed!” It is then easy to recognise later as the melody sung by the male choir. Furthermore, dodecaphony was considered “degenerate” by the National Socialist regime, and supported by the pseudo-scientific arguments of Max Nordau²⁷ and Alfred Rosenberg, the technique used was transferred to the artist, who was also considered to be “degenerate”. In this way, the technique attained a particular nobility: the composer who made use of it made himself “degenerate”, and thus expressed his solidarity with the victims. With this subject, Schönberg had no choice but to use dodecaphony.

From 1933 onwards, Karl Amadeus Hartmann wrote works that he consciously conceived as resistance in music by making his intention clear through the use of subtitles, commentary texts and dedications and musical associations that draw on Jewish melodies and songs from the

Socialist context. The title of a work such a *Piano Sonata 27 April 1945* is clearly intended to signify a date in a diary, since Hartmann adds, as a kind of diary entry:

On 27 and 28 April, a stream of 20,000 “prisoners in protective custody” from Dachau trailed past us – the stream was endless – the suffering was endless – the suffering was endless.

The work thus becomes a resonant warning. The date does not refer to the period in which the piece was written (the actual date of completion is unclear), but is a part of the title and to the identification of the situation: Shortly before the Allies arrived, the National Socialists attempted to clear the concentration camps. They drove the inmates into the hinterland with force, and Hartmann evokes these death marches by entering the date. The Allies arrived at Dachau on 29 April 1945, one day after the date entered by Hartmann on the Sonata. At the same time, Hartmann, who at that time sympathised with Communism, allows a hopeful prospect to enter by alluding to the *Internationale* in the Scherzo and, in the Finale, quotes the Soviet partisan song *Po dolinam i po vzhgoriam* (through valleys and hills).

Hartmann’s First Symphony with alto solo (1955) bears the subtitle *Versuch eines Requiems* (“Attempt at a Requiem”).²⁸ The text is based on extracts from Walt Whitman’s elegy *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d*, which Hartmann set to music in five movements. Unlike Hindemith, Hartmann uses a German translation, and makes changes to the text. In the movement entitled “Frühling”, Hartmann writes, in contrast to Whitman:

So oft du, Frühling, wie- Ever-returning spring, trinity
 derkehrst, Dreiheit immer sure to me you bring,
 wirst du uns bringen:

*(As often as you, spring, return,
 you will always bring us trinity:)*

Flieder blühend jedes Jahr, Lilac blooming perennial
 Elend, ach, gibst du uns all. and drooping star in the
*(Lilac blooming perennial,
 suffering, ach, you bring us all.)*

Und Gedanken an den Tod, And thought of him I love.
 der uns nah.

(And thoughts of death, close to us.)

Hartmann turns Whitman's motif of loving remembrance into "suffering" and "death". In the free, atonal context, the singing voice intones a type of chorale, which is clearly characterised by a minor key, and which alludes to two kinds of tradition with its specific intervals: The step-by-step melody was used in the chorales of the 17th century, including those written during the Thirty Years' War; the exposed leading note (here e) and the close second notes belong in equal measure to Yiddish songs, which Hartmann consciously incorporated into his work from 1933 onwards. The similarities are slight, but this is precisely what is intended. A precise quote would be a clear definition; however, what Hartmann is striving for is obviously a historical and cultural-historical, even a confessional openness, which he creates through the ambiguity of the musical allusion. He is thus making a declaration: The work of art speaks for humanity in the all-encompassing sense. This can be achieved to a particularly high degree of success through the use of musical means, since it is not so much the text, but the melody and the orchestral accompaniment, with its definable polysemantic, which transform the statement into a humanistic approach that transcends time and space.

Flie-der bli-hend je-des Jahr, E- hend ach, gibst du uns all'. Und Ge- dan-ken an den Tod, der uns mah-'

Tief in fel- de- le steigt a bei-me- le um die zwi- ge- lech bli- - - en.

Ach wie fluch- - tig, ach wie mich- - tig ist der Men- - schen Le- - ben.

Example 4: Hartmann: 1st Symphony, Frühling, final bars (singing voice only) Ewrejskaja narodnaja pesnja, pub. by M.D. Goldin, St. Petersburg 1994, no.122 (transposed) Evangelical songbook, no.528 (transposed)

“I am the enemy you killed, my friend” –
Remembrance in the 1960s

If one looks in European musical history after 1945 at compositions completed specifically in remembrance of the victims of the Second World War, it becomes clear that works of this nature increase significantly in number in the first half of the 1960s – in tandem with the internationalisation of new western European music in Darmstadt and Donaueschingen, as well as the establishment of institutions such as the *Warschauer Herbst* festival, which was set up in 1956, and also notwithstanding the eagerness of numerous young composers to embrace a *musique engagée*, who consciously set themselves apart from the older generation by opting for dodecaphony and its extension in the form of serialism, as well as by choosing to adopt political themes. The increase in commemorative compositions during this period is equally evident in the Soviet Union, where the aesthetic discourse, regardless of the *thaw*, continued to be determined by Socialist Realism. It is probably an accurate assumption that very different, independent factors stimulated artistic commemoration and conviction, such as the Cuban crisis, which in 1962 triggered a collective and global sense of shock, even panic, the Auschwitz Trial, which took place in Frankfurt between 1963 and 1965, the Algerian War, which Mediterranean intellectuals in particular were against, the Vietnam War, of which Europeans became more aware after 1964-1965, and anti-Semitism, which again flared up in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1961, the joint composition *Jüdische Chronik* was completed, which was based on a text by Jens Gerlach, and in which Boris Blacher, Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Hans Werner Henze and Paul Dessau took part from both sides of the German-German border, and regardless of their different aesthetic positions, in the

conviction that “there can be no reparation for the murder of millions of people, but those who are alive today have a duty to prevent such horrors from occurring again”.²⁹ The specific background to their commitment to the project was anti-Semitic sentiments against which they wished to protest through their art; the cultural policies of both German states were in agreement regarding the moral values that underpinned the piece. As was the case with Peter Weiss’s *Ermittlung*, the *Jewish Chronicle* was premiered in parallel in the FRG and the GDR, on 14 January 1966 in Cologne and 15 February 1966 in Leipzig.

Krzysztof Penderecki’s *Tren ofiarom Hiroszimy* (Threnos for the victims of Hiroshima, 1960) for 52 solo string instruments, which originally bore as its title the time – 8’37’’ – which it took to drop the atomic bomb, is impressive for its degree of conviction, as is Penderecki’s large-scale choral work *Dies irae* (1967), which is dedicated to the memory of the victims of Auschwitz. Herbert Eimert’s *Epithaph für Akichi Kuboyama* for narrator, narrative sounds and audio tape (1962), is dedicated in its title to the fisherman who died as a result of radioactive contamination in 1954. Karlheinz Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955/56) – the title refers to the three young men who were thrown into the furnace by Nebukadnezar in the Book of Daniel (Dan 3) – is a commemorative composition that electronically processes the voices of boys.

In 1962, Benjamin Britten’s War Requiem was premiered as part of the celebrations to mark the re-inauguration of Coventry Cathedral, that had been destroyed by the Luftwaffe in 1940. Britten updated the liturgical text by composing it with poems written by Wilfred Owen, who was killed in the First World War. When Owen’s words “*I am the enemy you killed, my friend*” follow on from the liturgical *Dona nobis pacem*, and when Britten allows this to flow into a conciliatory duet with the text *Let us sleep*

now, this conclusion – performed jointly by Peter Pears and Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, two outstanding soloists from the former enemy nations – is designed to deeply move the listener, and to heighten the emotional aspect of the pacifist message.

Instrumentalised Commemoration – Remembrance in the Soviet Union

In the Soviet context, commemoration of the Second World War was incorporated into the official culture of remembrance.³⁰ It was converted into heroism, the Soviet myth of ongoing progress, and the “fight for freedom”, which was bloodily enforced in Hungary and, later, in Czechoslovakia. By contrast, commemoration of the victims of Stalinism was officially taboo, as is reflected in the suppression over many years of Anna Akhmatova’s *Requiem* and its setting to music by Boris Tishchenko.³¹ Alfred Schnittke’s early works, the Oratorium *Nagasaki*, which he submitted in 1958 as an examination piece, and the *Pesni voiny i mira* (Songs of War and Peace) for soprano, choir and orchestra, conform to the Soviet concept of humanism insofar as in the *Pesni*, Schnittke complies with the requirement to use folklore and thus to present the folk culture that was officially being promoted, while in the Oratorium, the criticism of the dropping of the atomic bomb over Nagasaki is of a piece with the anti-Americanism of the Cold War.³² The call for peace in Yuri Levitin’s *Hiroshima ne dolzhna povtorits’a!* (Hiroshima must not be repeated! 1967), can also be interpreted as anti-American propaganda.

A classic example of the official Soviet culture of remembrance is Dmitrii Kabalevskii’s monumental Requiem, which was written in 1962/63 on the basis of Robert

Rozhdestvenskii's poems, which received equal acclaim³³, and which Kabalevskii "dedicated to the memory of those who were killed in the fight against Fascism". The opulent scoring with choir, children's choir, large orchestra, mezzo-soprano and baritone solo, together with the length of the performance of 90 minutes, reflect his ambition to create a representative work. There are points of contact with the church funeral liturgy insofar as the Soviet Union usurped church rituals for its own purposes, and in that the idea of the afterlife in Paradise and the resurrection on the third day has been transposed to the Soviet era. Rozhdestvenskii's text draws on old Russian folk tales, heathen images of nature, and on a vocabulary that has disappeared from the modern language. He links this with typical Soviet visions of a future characterised by progress – specifically, industrial progress – and of planets and stars, clearly a reference to the Soviet ventures into space. This internal structure allows a universal message to be conveyed on the one hand – a message that stretches back to an ancient tradition and to which, therefore, the future belongs first and foremost, while on the other hand, the lament for the dead fades into the background, and is overlaid by a vision of the future. The result is an image without fractures, without contradictions, which is presented by "sweet" children's voices; a rosy, kitschy image. This is framed by values that are as empty as they are august: heroism, a hero's death, eternal commemoration, eternal glory. This verbose text, which offers little in terms of content and deeper thought, is not designed to promote reflection, but to evoke a shared emotional reaction that includes each individual, offers them a feeling of security and also encourages them to perceive a hero's death as something that has a purpose. The closing words, the call to destroy war ("ubeit'e voinu!"), is an established topos in Soviet vocal works in the post-war era. It is a formula for

the officially proclaimed love for peace. The memory of the dead in the Requiem therefore serves the propaganda that glorifies the Soviet ideals, and Kabalevskii is skilled in expressing this. His music underlines the patriotic and lofty tone of the poetry by repeating key words again and again and inserting new ones, so that refrains, mottos and phrases result: “remember – eternal glory to the heroes – homeland – fate – victory – future – sun – hear – be worthy!”. The exclamations of the choir: “*vechnaia slava geroiam*” alternate with an instrumental beat that, according to the score, should sound “like artillery funeral salvos”. The large choir, the dominance of the brass section in the orchestra, the prominence of the tam-tam, which since the French Revolution has been the instrument for the musical lamentation of the dead heroes - *Helden-Totenklagen*, together with the dark minor key, create a ceremonial sound and invoke the Dies-irae sequence of the liturgical requiem with their austerity and seriousness. Like a camera panning, the rhetorical question sung by the mezzo soprano: “no zachem ona im, eta slava mertvym?” (“but why do the dead deserve this glory?”) swings across to follow the male voices, which have effectively been suppressed to a pianissimo level; an excited passage then flows into a fugue movement, and is finally followed by the broadly escalating repetition of “*vechnaia slava geroiam*”. All this is a theatrical death, a theatrical remembrance, which is designed to promote illustrious feelings. The sixth movement, *serdtse materi* (the heart of the mother), which forms the core of the composition, is equally stage-managed. The text sung by the mezzo soprano, which is over-imbued with folkloric language, is combined with the refrain “*vechnaia slava geroiam*” sung by the male voices, both as a kind of solace, which is set as a contrast and which is joined by a vocalisation of the female voices, and as a choir of lamenting mothers.

Mezzosopran

Maine reitor *ppp*

Vech-nia - ja
Sia - va ge - ro - jani!

p Ot - zo - vis'i...

pp Ot - zo - vis'i...

Mezzosopran

Frauechor *ppp*

Ne cho - tchu ja
ni-tche - go - shen-ti, lot-ko
A - - - -

sy - na
mi - lo - go
A - - - -

f

Example 5: Kabalevsky: Requiem, 6th movement, section 28-35 and section 70-76

An artistic technique of this nature presents the most extreme form of individual suffering as a pretty folklore scene, in which the voices of the choir in the background sound out like angels in the Socialist heaven. The kitsch, literary and musical, is done professionally, and it can certainly be assumed that a public performance would indeed have produced a cathartic effect among many parents who had lost their children.

The culture of remembrance is presented in a completely different way in Dmitri Shostakovich's 13th Symphony for bass, male choir and orchestra, which uses texts by Evgeny Evtushenko, and which was completed in 1962 and premièred in Moscow on 18 December of the same year. The unofficial title, *Babi Yar*, is taken from the first movement, which is based on the poem of the same name. Both poet and composer remember the mass murder of thousands of Ukrainian Jews committed by the National Socialists in a ravine in Kiev. Shostakovich scored the text as a spartan lament in a minor key. It is used as the introduction and *memento mori* for the following four movements, which reflect the present Soviet reality. With the *Babi Yar* poem, Evtushenko was also turning his back to anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. This was viewed by the authorities as a slight to official cultural policy; the premièrè was almost entirely ignored in the press, and Evtushenko felt compelled to make changes to the text.³⁴ Of the 14 stanzas, the second and the twelfth were modified.³⁵

Мне кажется сейчас – я и удеи.
Вот я бреду по древнему Египту.
А вот я, как на кресте распятый, гибну,
и до сих пор на мне следы гвоздей.

Я тут стою, как будто у криницы,
дающей веру в наше братство мне.
Здесь русские лежат и украинцы,
лежат в одной земле.

It appears to me now that I myself am a Jew.
Here I wander through ancient Egypt.
Here I die, nailed to the cross,
and since that time I bear the marks of the nails.

And I myself am a voiceless scream,
Over thousands of thousands of dead.
I am every old man who has been shot.
I am every child who has been shot.

И сам я как сплошной беззвучный крик,
над тысячами тысяч погребенных.
Я каждый здесь расстрелянный старик.
Я каждый здесь расстрелянный ребенок.

Я думаю о подвиге России,
фашизму преградившей путь собой,
до самой наикрохотной росинки
мне близкой всею сутью и судьбой.

Here I stand, as though I were a Ukrainian,
Who gives me faith in our fraternity.
Here lie Russians and Ukrainians,
They lie beneath the same earth.

I think of the heroic deeds of Russia,
Which blocked the path of Fascism,
Down to the smallest dewdrop.
All destiny and fate are near at hand.

The modifications replace the word “Jew” with “Ukrainian”, and thus strictly speaking comply here with the official anti-Semitic stance. They also replace the remembrance of suffering with phrases that express remembrance of Soviet heroism. A heroic and patriotic tone is in general not alien to the poem; all further passages that denounce anti-Semitism over the centuries up to the present time have remained in the modified version. In other words, the interventions have the appearance of being retouches here and there, while the original statement remains intact. Shostakovich’s music remains the same, independently of the text, and its angry pathos sounds genuine because the composer, unlike Kabalevsky, is not writing music to accompany an imaginary film, and because he does not allow himself to revert to sentimentality, for example during the Anne Frank episode. It was clearly an entirely conscious aesthetic decision to refrain from using Jewish intonations in this movement. Since the late 1940s, Shostakovich had time and again incorporated discreet musical phrases such as the characteristic augmented seconds and dance rhythms that could have been understood to be Jewish, and therefore, an admonition.

Musique engagée – Luigi Nono

The most prominent figure in western European music is Luigi Nono³⁶, who articulated his Communist beliefs in his works, both as a humanistic and as an agitational message. He was significantly influenced by Hermann Scherchen, under whom he studied together with Bruno Maderna, and who introduced the two young composers to one another, as well as by Karl Amadeus Hartmann. When the young

Nono speaks emphatically of his “family” and the “Scherchen group”³⁷, he is referring to the international circle which was joined in solidarity by a resistance against National Socialism and by the Resistenza, and which regarded composition as being an ethical obligation, a circle that was joined by composers who took entirely different artistic approaches, such as Hans Werner Henze, Iannis Xenakis and Rolf Liebermann.

Nono had already openly given his support to the tradition of the Resistenza with his early work, *Epitaffio per Federico García Lorca*, which was premièred in 1952 in Darmstadt. His *Canto sospeso*, which is a key composition in the history of new European music after 1945, is based on extracts from the letters of young resistance fighters who were condemned to death.³⁸ By using art to celebrate a political conviction, Nono remains true to a tradition that goes back to the chamber cantata *Quattro lettere*³⁹ written by his friend Maderna on Dallapiccola’s triptych on captivity and freedom. His *Canti di vita e d’amore*, a three-part cycle for two solo singers and orchestra, followed in 1962, and in 1965, the electronically reproduced stage music to Peter Weiss’s *Ermittlung*, from which the separate piece *Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz* emerged.

The first movement of the *Canti di vita e d’amore*⁴⁰, *Sul ponte di Hiroshima*, uses the foreword from Günther Anders’s Hiroshima and Nagasaki diary, *Der Mann auf der Brücke*.⁴¹ The middle movement, which is based on the poem *Esta noche* by Jesús López Pacheco, bears in its title the name of the heroine of the poem, Djamila Boupachà, the Algerian girl who was brutally tortured by the French occupiers, and who had become a symbol of the Algerian fight for independence.⁴² The finale is based on Cesare Pavese’s poem *Passero di Piazza di Spagna*, which Nono entitles simply *Tu*, and which denotes “the tremb-

ling of the heart as a rare expression of joy⁴³. Günther Anders's text reads as follows:

A man is standing on one of the bridges in Hiroshima, singing and plucking the strings. Take a look at him. Where you expect to see his face, you will find none, but rather, a curtain: He no longer has a face. And where you expect to see his hand, you will no longer find a hand, but a steel claw: He no longer has a hand.

As long as we fail [to achieve what we have gathered here to achieve⁴⁴], to allay the danger which, when it broke out for the first time took two hundred thousand with it, this robot will stand and sing on the bridge. And as long as he stands on this bridge, he will stand on all bridges that lead into our shared future. As a stain. And as a messenger.

Let us release the man from his obligation. Let us do what is needed in order to be able to say to him: "You have become superfluous, you can step down now."

Nono has prepended an additional short motto: "They may not rest in peace, and that is final. Their death is not a common one, but an admonition, a warning" (*essi non devono giacere e basta. la loro non è una morte abituale. ma un monito, un avvertimento*). These few words are the only ones that he allows the two soloists to sing together. Anders's text remains without a musical accompaniment; Nono has entered it into the score, and the words are in no way intended to be set to "primitive programme music"⁴⁵.

To a far greater extent, the text is designed to guide the ideas of the conductor and the musicians in a specific direction, and to influence the interpretation in the spirit of the message that it contains. Equally, the attention of the listeners, who understand Nono's motto, is guided in a certain direction. The decision not to have the text sung is made by the subject itself: One cannot sing about Hiroshima, or according to Adorno: "writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric".

The electronic composition *Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz* is also divided into three sections, in which the fusion of the fate of the masses and of the individual, and the prospect of a life afterwards in which the memory remains acknowledged, is expressed in the sections named "Song of the camp", "Song of the end of Lili Tofler" and "Song of the possibilities of survival" by Nono (and Weiss). Nono speaks specifically of memory "promoted by political awareness in the ongoing fight for the removal of all concentration camps and racial ghettos".⁴⁶ The electronic rendering uses choral and orchestral material alongside the children's choir and the solo voices, as well as electronically produced sounds that aim to dissolve the text into phonemes, so that the human sound remains recognisable without a context being created. The combinations of sound from which individual voices and voice groups stand out in profile result in a metatext that goes beyond any verbal communication. Nono hopes to achieve through this "a force of expression of a different, perhaps greater, significance and precision to a composition that is anchored in an already existing text".⁴⁷

Nono's two works related to the Second World War show in an exemplary fashion a *musique engagée*, which – with an admonishing and a warning tone – extends our memory into the present. These works, like Nono's entire oeuvre,

express his conviction that the memory of the horrors of the Second World War is a means to creating a critical awareness of the wars of the present, and of crimes against humanity in general. This music assumes, in line with the tradition of enlightenment, that art is a form of education. For such an effect to be achieved, a sound that defies all conciliation is required. This in turn requires a musical language which is essentially different from that used by the oppressors, and which has a shocking effect, in order – metaphorically speaking – to keep the wound of memory open. A work of art that takes on this task cannot in the general sense be “beautiful”. The artist who suffers from the injustice of the world, and who creates a work of art from this suffering for the good of the world, has as a western European composer in the second half of the 20th century no option but to use atonality and dodecaphony, or their further development in the form of serialism; in other words, to use the techniques that were condemned by a criminal regime.

Conclusion and Outlook

The commemorative compositions written in the years immediately after the Second World War are memorials to the victims; they generalise or over-extend their theme by projecting it into the past. These works formulate their message regardless of their nationality and the context of their authors by referring to an outside element – a Jewish song of valediction, allusions to chorales from the Thirty Years' War and Jewish folk songs, the *Dies irae* from the Catholic and the *Shema' Yisro'el* from the Hebrew liturgy, the humanistic idea in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony – the significance of which can be understood spontaneously and

beyond national contexts. In addition, regardless of the composition technique used, comes the recourse to the European tradition of pathos and apotheosis. Here, it is of no consequence, either to the integrity of the message or to its artistic merit, whether a work is composed using the twelve-note serialism (Schönberg and Dallapiccola), is in E-flat major (Shostakovich), or whether it moves between extended tonality (Hindemith) or free atonality (Hartmann). In this way, “art becomes a memory bank”⁴⁸, a space for individual, collective and transnational remembrance.

The commemorative compositions of the 1960s occasionally incorporate specific recent events, and link their theme almost seamlessly to the present. In summary, in the Soviet Union, the memory of the war of aggression and annihilation pursued by the National Socialists is remodelled into propaganda for the political system in that country, which is declared to have higher moral values, and therefore to be better. This is why the Socialist dream is so prominent in the works of Rozhdestvensky and Kabalevsky; for this reason, the Soviet present-day reality features so much more than the “Great Patriotic War” in representational Soviet works, cantatas, oratoria and operas from the mid-1950s onwards.

To summarise, in the Darmstadt school circle, of which Nono is one of the leading members, “Auschwitz” and “Hiroshima”, the systematic genocide and the dropping of the atomic bomb, are treated as historical themes and are set to music as a protest against present-day wars and the violation of human rights, and even as propaganda for western-style Communism. This can be clearly seen in Nono’s oratorial work *Ein Gespenst geht um die Welt*, which is based in part on extracts from Karl Marx’ *Communist Manifesto*. Typically, it can be said that while these commemorative works certainly express shared ideals –

the prevention of war, respect for human rights, criticism of racism and anti-Semitism – the Soviet composers are at the same time bound to comply with the worldview of their regime (and in so doing, to ascribe to them a desire for peace that they do not possess), while western European composers generally turn against the policies of their countries. A composer such as Nono writes, emphatically speaking, from out of the suffering of oppressed humanity; a composer such as Kabalevskii, by contrast, writes in order to confirm the authority of a political power. From a moral perspective, there is a difference between them. The techniques used and the aesthetic value that results offer themselves for debate when they are used to serve a discourse that is unrelated to the aesthetic product, and in so doing, deny their own merit.

At the same time, the theoretical debate regarding the compositional methods used has come to a head to the extent that it can undeniably be referred to as an extension of the “Cold War” in the field of aesthetic discussion. It is no longer an issue for composers whether they should handle the theme of remembrance: The techniques used in doing so are of far greater importance. The composition skill, the decision whether to use triads or the twelve-note series, whether to opt for a dramatic apotheosis or cutting dissonance, is so loaded ideologically that the theme being treated - commemoration of the dead and a subsequent admonition to the world – is considered, in each case in the scope of the other context, to be beyond the bounds of discussion from an artistic standpoint, and is presented as being morally objectionable due to the compositional technique alone.⁴⁹

A discussion that was so ideologically loaded and filled with malice on both sides was difficult for composers to avoid. The techniques used – the forms of the 19th century

versus dodecaphony – were polarised and accordingly became taboo. The beginnings of a crossover came in 1969 in Grigory Frid's scoring of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, which in 1960 had appeared in Russian translation. This mono opera⁵⁰ and commemorative composition, which it was possible to première in a concert performance in 1972, stands out for the complexity of its structures, the variety and careful arrangement of the timbres, and clean work with the motifs, which do not simply draw on standard ideas, but on cluster formations and on the instrumentation. In addition, a generally free atonal movement is included – something that was unthinkable in Soviet music since 1934, which in several pieces permits the use of triads, as is a rudimentary work with twelve-note series, i.e. a sound with which Frid celebrates the heroine of the title.

Conversely, Henryk Górecki, one of the early representatives of the Polish avant-garde, and who also enjoyed great respect in Western Europe, decided in his Third Symphony, the *Symphony of Sorrowful Songs* (*Symfonia pieśni żałobnych*, 1976) to use a movement with gentle instrumentation saturated with triads. The centrepiece is a prayer to Maria, mother of God, which was scratched onto the wall of a Gestapo prison cell in Zakopane by the 18-year-old Helena Wanda Blazusiakówna. The soprano voice, which hangs like an aureole over the orchestral movement, here makes it evident that behind the cruel, hopeless reality of the context, the music, and with it, the Catholic faith, shines through even more clearly.

Due to the fact that they transgress compositional techniques that have been made taboo, works such as these have played a part in gradually breaking through ideological barriers. However, Górecki's symphony came top of the international charts⁵¹ – as light music or soft pop – after it

was used as the closing music to Maurice Pialat's film *Police* (1985). The tender sound of the strings, the beautiful soprano melisms that bring a sense of unreality to the text, in short, the compositional skill used to express the external aspect of the aesthetic concept, makes it possible to listen to the work while at the same time ignoring the synthetically produced commemoration that it also contains. When, as it does here through the text, art turns against forgetting while at the same time permitting such a reception, the commemorative aspect is submerged.

Translated by Anna Güttel, Berlin

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- ¹ *Die Ermittlung. Oratorium in elf Gesängen*, premièred simultaneously in several cities in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic on 10 October 1965.
- ² Oratorium based on a text by propaganda poet Vasilii Lebedev-Kumach.
- ³ Paul Celan's *Todesfuge* has been set to music by numerous composers, including Peter Ruzicka (1968), Paul-Heinz Dittrich (1985), Violeta Dinescu (1993), Felicitas Kukuck (1993-1994) and the rock group *Tau* (1982).
- ⁴ An interdisciplinary explanation with a pedagogical focus is given in *Polyaisthesis. V: Wagnis der Bildung – Klänge, Texte, Bilder, Szenen – 50 Jahre nach Kriegsende und Holocaust*, Wolfgang Mastnak (ed.) (Munich 1996).
- ⁵ The term was coined with reference to Karl Amadeus Hartmann, who withdrew to Munich, put up passive resistance, and later noted in this respect: "Then came 1933, with all its misery and hopelessness and with it that which consequently had to develop out of the idea of despotism, the most dreadful of all crimes – war. That year, I recognised that it was necessary to make a commitment, not out of despair and fear of that power, but as a counter-reaction." See Andrew D. McCredie, "Zur Biographie Karl Amadeus Hartmanns", in *Komponisten in Bayern*, vol. 27 Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Ulrich Dibelius et al. (eds.) (Tutzing 1995), p. 32. Since that time, Hartmann and Luigi Dallapiccola were bound by a close friendship.

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- ⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, "Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft", in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Frankfurt and Darmstadt 1997), vol. 10,1, Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft I, p. 30. Adorno retracted this statement in the *Negative Dialektik*. ("The perennial suffering has as much right to expression as those who are tortured have to screaming; for this reason, it may have been wrong to state that no poetry can be written after Auschwitz" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 6, p. 355.)
- ⁷ Cf. Grigory Shneerson, *O muzyke zhivoi i mertvoi* (Moscow 1960, 21964). Critical review by Dorothea Redepenning, "Die 'böse' Technik. Zur Funktion von Atonalität und Dodekaphonie in der sowjetischen Musik und Musikpolitik", in *Das Böse in der russischen Kultur, Kongressbericht* (Cologne forthcoming).
- ⁸ The "Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik", or summer courses in international music were established in the summer of 1946 in Schloss Kranichstein near Darmstadt with the specific aim of counteracting the evil of Fascism from the outset by means of international networking; documented in the digest: R. Stephan et al (eds.) at the request of the Internationale Musikinstitut Darmstadt: 1946-1996. *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart. 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse* (Darmstadt 1996).
- ⁹ *Genesi dei Canti di Prigionia e del Prigioniero* (1950-1953) (frammento autobiografico), in L. Dallapiccola, *Parole e Musica. A cura di Fiamma Nicolodi* (Milan 1980), pp. 399-420, available in English: "Notes for an analysis of the Canti di liberazione", in *Perspectives of New Music*, 1, 2000, pp. 5-24. Cf. also Dietrich Kämper, *Gefangenschaft und Freiheit. Leben und Werk des Komponisten Luigi Dallapiccola* (Cologne 1984), and Jürg Stenzl, *Von Giacomo Puccini zu Luigi Nono. Italienische Musik 1922-1952: Faschismus – Resistenza – Republik* (Buren 1990), pp. 151-162.
- ¹⁰ This première testifies to an astonishing level of tolerance or indifference on the part of the Fascist regime. It would certainly not have been permissible either in Germany or the Soviet Union to perform this or any other comparable work which so clearly contradicted the selection of texts and the composition technique of the official aesthetic standards. The modern idiom of composition may not have met with resistance from the outset insofar as the *Achse Avantgarde – Faschismus*, according to the title of a book by Eva Hesse (Zurich 1991), operated differently than in the Soviet Union and in National Socialist Germany.
- ¹¹ The text has been part of the funeral liturgy since the Tridentinum, and has again been excluded from the liturgy since the Second Vatican Konzil (1962-1965). The images of horror in the *Dies irae* have been set to music in a particularly impressive way since the 18th century; the

- melody of the *Dies irae* has (without its text) been introduced into instrumental music as a symbol of downfall and death.
- ¹² Such as Levitin's *Rekviem pamiati pavshich geroev*, Evgeny Golubev's *Geroi bessmertnye*, 1946, Vasily Dechterelev's *Russkaia zemlia*, 1950, Sergei Prokofiev's *Na strazhe mira*. Affirmative: Anna Khokhlovkina, *Sovetskaia oratoria* (Moscow 1955).
- ¹³ On 14 August 1946 regarding the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, on 26 August 1946 regarding the repertoire of the dramatic theatre and measures for its improvement, on 4 September 1946 regarding the film *Bolshaia zhizn'*, on 10 February 1948 regarding Vanno Muradeli's opera *Velikaia družhba*.
- ¹⁴ Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford 2000), provides reliable data and facts.
- ¹⁵ Sofia Khentova, *Shostakovich*, vol. 2 (Leningrad 1985), p. 19.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 207.
- ¹⁷ Dmitri Shostakovich, "Pod znakom pobedy", in *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*, 7 November 1944, p. 3, quoted in Fay, *Shostakovich*, p. 145f.
- ¹⁸ I.D. Glikman (ed.), *Pisma k drugu: Pisma D.D. Shostakovicha k I.D. Glikmanu* (Saint Petersburg 1993), p. 70, note 3, quoted in Reimar Westendorf, Dmitri Schostakowitsch. *Chaos statt Musik? Briefe an einen Freund* (Berlin 1995), p. 76, note 3.
- ¹⁹ Daniel Zhitomirskii recorded a positive discussion for *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* (30 November 1945), and Nikolai Timofeyev for *Sovetskaia Muzyka*, 1, 1946; cf. Fay, *Shostakovich*, p. 147f. The symphony was nominated for the Stalin prize, but without success.
- ²⁰ Solomon Volkov (ed.), *Zeugenaussage. Die Memoiren des Dmitrij Schostakowitsch* (Frankfurt am Main 1981), p. 186f., first edition, *Testimony. The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich* (New York 1979).
- ²¹ Cf. e.g. Akademia nauk SSSR. Institut istorii iskusstv (ed.), *Istoriia russkoi sovetskoi muzyki*, vol. 3, 1941-1945 (Moscow 1959), p. 352.
- ²² Cycle of 16 poems of different lengths, dated 1865/66, edited in 1888, in *Leaves of Grass*, Final Edition, 1891-1892. On Hindemith's composition: Kathy Rugoff and Philip Coleman-Hull in the collected works: *Walt Whitman and Modern Music: War, Desire, and the Trials of Nationhood*, Lawrence Kramer (ed.) (New York 2000).
- ²³ Paul Hindemith, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. VII.2, Charles Jacobs (ed.) (Mainz 1986), p. IX. Hindemith accentuates the American aspect in letters and statements on the period, and noticeably avoids reference to the Second World War (*ibid.* p. IXf.).
- ²⁴ Hindemith. *Sämtliche Werke*, p. IX.

- ²⁵ Kim H. Kowalke has highlighted this: For those we love: “Hindemith, Whitman, and *An American Requiem*”, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1, 1997, p. 133-174. Giselher Schubert has summarised Kowalkes essay: “Paul Hindemiths musikalische Reaktion auf den Holocaust: Das Zitat einer jüdischen Weise im Flieder-Requiem”, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 3, 1998, pp. 44-48.
- ²⁶ Arnold Schönberg, “Chorwerke II: Kritischer Bericht, Skizzen, Fragmente”, in *Sämtliche Werke*, Abteilung V, Reihe B, vol. 18 (Mainz 1977), p. 61.
- ²⁷ Max Nordau, *Entartung*, vol. 2, Berlin 1892-1893. Nordau was quoted extensively under the National Socialist regime, but his name was not given because he was Jewish. He was also quoted in the USSR. Cf. Hans Günther, *Der sozialistische Übermensch. M. Gor’kij und der sowjetische Heldenmythos* (Stuttgart, Weimar 1993). Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1930).
- ²⁸ Conceived in 1935/36 as a symphonic fragment in five movements, re-worked in 1948 and premièred in Frankfurt with the subtitle *Versuch eines Requiems*, re-worked again between 1950 and 1955 and classified as the first symphony. The second to sixth symphonies are dated earlier.
- ²⁹ Herbert Eimert, “Ein Bekenntniswerk von fünf Komponisten”, in *Melos*, 33/1966, pp. 56-57, here p. 56.
- ³⁰ With regard to the culture of remembrance in the Soviet Union and the former Eastern Bloc countries, cf. the publication which emerged from the Heidelberg Congress of November 2003, *Die nationalsozialistische Rassen- und Vernichtungspolitik – Formen künstlerischer Erinnerung in Osteuropa: Literatur, Film, Kunst und Musik* by publishers Frank Grüner, Urs Heftrich, Heinz-Dietrich Löwe and OSTEUROPA, 4-6, 2005.
- ³¹ The poems, which were written between 1935 and 1940, were not published until 1989 as part of the celebrations in Leningrad to mark the 100th birthday of Akhmatova. Tishchenko’s composition, which was premièred at the event, had been completed in 1966; ref. Dorothea Redepenning, “Requiem von Boris Tschtschenko auf Worte von Anna Achmatova”, in Hermann Danuser et al (eds.), *Sowjetische Musik im Lichte der Perestroika* (Laaber 1990), pp. 155-170.
- ³² The *Pesni voiny i mira* have been praised in the Soviet press, while the Oratorium was severely criticised due to the heavy use of dissonance in its musical language (cf. G.L. Golovinsky, *Istoria muzyki narodov SSSR*, vol. 5 (Moscow 1974), pp. 139-143). Schnittke clearly later regarded both works as being confessions, since they no longer appear in the directory of works which is appended to mark his 60th birthday (Jürgen Köchel et al. [eds.] [Hamburg 1994]).

- ³³ It was written in 1960 and appeared as an individual piece with illustrations in 1970 from the publisher Khudozhestvennaia Literatura; in 1961, it was re-worked for Kabalevskii. With regard to Soviet remembrance, cf. also Dorothea Redepenning, *Musikalische Kommentare zur nationalsozialistischen Aggressionspolitik am Beispiel ausgewählter Werke sowjetischer Komponisten*, which appears in Grüner, *Kongreßbericht*.
- ³⁴ The *Babi Yar* poem had appeared on 19 September 1961 in the *Literaturnaia gazeta* and triggered a violent debate; the modifications to the text were demanded in connection with its setting to music, see Fay, *Shostakovich*, pp. 228-237.
- ³⁵ Original Russian text, quoted from the Sikorsky edition 2207 (Hamburg 1971). Modified Russian text, quoted from the Soviet Shostakovich edition, vol. 9 (Moscow 1984).
- ³⁶ Nono was a member of the Italian Communist Party, and had been married to Arnold Schönberg's daughter Nura since 1955.
- ³⁷ Quoted from Stenzl, *Von Giacomo Puccini*, p. 200.
- ³⁸ The basis is the digest: *Lettere di condannati a morte della resistenza europea*. (Turin 1954); the German edition: *Und die Flamme soll euch nicht versengen*. Zurich 1955, included an empathetic preface by Thomas Mann.
- ³⁹ Premiered in 1953 at Schloss Kranichstein, Darmstadt.
- ⁴⁰ For more detailed information, see Luigi Nono, *Canti di vita e d'amore: Sul ponte di Hiroshima*, in *Luigi Nono. Texte, Studien zu seiner Musik*, Jürg Stenzl (ed.) (Zürich 1975).
- ⁴¹ Munich 11959; reprinted in the collected works: Günther Anders, *Hiroshima ist überall*. (Munich 1982), combined with the exchange of letters between Anders and the Hiroshima pilot Claude Eatherly and the essay "Die Toten. Rede über die drei Weltkriege" (1964).
- ⁴² Cf. Simone de Beauvoir, Gisèle Halami (eds.), *Djamila Boupacha* (Paris 1962).
- ⁴³ Nono, *Canti*, p. 128.
- ⁴⁴ The text is the concluding speech by Günther Anders at the "IV International Congress against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and for Disarmament". Tokyo, 20 August 1958; Nono's abbreviations are given in square brackets.
- ⁴⁵ Nono, *Canti*, p. 128.
- ⁴⁶ Luigi Nono, *Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz*, in Nono, p. 130.
- ⁴⁷ Nono, *Canti*, p. 129.
- ⁴⁸ This phrase was formulated by Christoph Khittl, "Holocaustis non delectaberis" – "An Brandopfern hast du kein Gefallen", in *Polyaisthesis* V., pp. 219-228, here p. 224.

- ⁴⁹ For the Soviet perspective, ref. the approbrium directed against the Darmstadt school by the musicologist Izrail' Nest'ev, "Neskol'ko myslei o tvorcheskikh techeniach," in *Sovetskaia Muzyka*, 5, 1956. In German as I. Nestjew, "Einige Gedanken über Kunstströmungen in der Musik" in *Sowjetwissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur*, 9, 1956, pp. 824-833, here p. 825. For the western European perspective, ref. the attack by composer and musical sociologist Konrad Boehmer, not against Soviet music itself, which he did not consider worthy of discussion, but against the international musical establishment as personified by Luigi Nono, Konrad Boehmer on Luigi Nono, booklet accompanying the CD, Wergo 286038-2, © 1968, p. 16f. This is an extract from a longer essay on Nono, which Boehmer declined to include in his collected works. See *Das böse Ohr. Texte zur Musik 1961-1991*, Burkhardt Söll (ed.) (Cologne 1993). He does not even appear in the directory of works. Shostakovich is referred to as a "mediocrity" in the text on Nono; even in the much later essay "Die Zukunft der (Kunst-)Musik" (1991), Boehmer still states: "Ein Schostakowitsch hat mit einem Webern, ein Boulez mit einem Phil Glass nicht mehr gemein als Dallas mit einem Film von Godard" (*Das böse Ohr*, p. 267). This says little about the composers, and much about a narrow and outdated aesthetic stance.
- ⁵⁰ "Mono opera" refers in the Soviet context to short operas which were written during the 1960s, which generally had just one protagonist, which were sparsely cast and decidedly non-melodramatic, which occasionally included the officially vilified twelve-note series, and which were based on the works of Gogol and above all Dostoevskii. The mono operas are a protest against the principles of Socialist Realism, both in terms of their concept and their performance.
- ⁵¹ Verstörte Kaste, "Ein Nobody der Klassikbranche stürmt mit einer Sinfonie die britischen Pop-Charts", in *Der Spiegel*, 10, 1993, p. 234.