

**“ ‘Grey C’, Acceptable” :  
Carl Orff’s Professional and Artistic Responses  
to the Third Reich**

**by**

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of the requirements for the degree of  
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Wir alle stehen ja unter der Macht des Schicksals.

*We all stand, after all, under the power of fate.*

—Carl Orff (1895–1982), libretto to *Gisei: Das Opfer*, Opus 20 (“The Sacrifice,” 1913)

ἐλεύτερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός.

*For no one is free except Zeus.*

Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης (*Prometheus Bound*), Line 50  
attributed to Aeschylus (ca. 525–456 BCE)

Es ist gut, daß dem Menschen die Gabe des Vergessens verliehen wurde. Vieles muß man vergessen, um weiterleben zu können, doch manches darf man nicht vergessen, um vor sich bestehen zu können, und wiederum anderes kann man nicht vergessen.

*It is good that the gift of forgetting was given to man. One must forget much, so that one can continue living; even so, there is much one must not forget, so that one can live with oneself; and in turn, other things one cannot forget.*

—Carl Orff, obituary for Winfried Zillig (1905–1963)  
“Nachruf für Winfried Zillig,” in *Musica*, 18. Jahrgang, Heft 2, März-April 1964:66–67, 67



*to my family – Ted, Hope, and Laura –*  
*and to Andrew McManus*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### Archival Abbreviations

- AK: Allgemeine Korrespondenz (General correspondence) at the Orff-Zentrum München (materials owned by Carl Orff-Stiftung)  
BA: Bundersarchiv (German state archive, branches in Koblenz and Berlin)  
BSB HSL: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
BSB ML: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiklesesaal  
COS: Carl Orff-Stiftung (Carl Orff Foundation)  
OZM: Orff-Zentrum München (Orff Center Munich)  
OZM AK: Orff-Zentrum München, Allgemeine Korrespondenz (General correspondence)  
SK: Schott Korrespondenz (correspondence with Schott Music) at the Orff-Zentrum München (materials owned by Carl Orff-Stiftung)

Please note that the materials in the OZM are part of the *Nachlass* (that is, the estate and unpublished papers) of Carl Orff and are property of the Carl Orff-Stiftung (COS). The *Nachlass* is housed at the Orff-Zentrum München (OZM, Orff Center, Munich), state institute for research and documentation. The materials are owned by the Carl Orff-Stiftung (COS, Carl Orff Foundation), which grants permission for researchers to use the materials. Over the course of my research, I was not able to obtain full access to examine the *Nachlass* personally, due to concurrent commissioned work involving the same time period. The COS did, however, grant permission for the OZM to answer my inquiries with substantial information from the *Nachlass*, including quotations from unpublished documents. I am very grateful to OZM for their generous and thorough responses to my many detailed inquiries, which have greatly enhanced my work.

### Institutional Abbreviations

- HJ: Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth)  
ICD: Information Control Division  
KfdK: Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Battle League for German Culture)  
NSDAP: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Worker's Party), i.e. the Nazi Party  
RKK: Reichskulturkammer  
RM: Reichsmarks  
RMK: Reichsmusikkammer  
RSK: Reichsschriftumkammer  
SA: Sturmabteilung (original paramilitary branch of the NSDAP)  
SS: Schutzstaffel (literally "protection squadron"; another paramilitary branch of the NSDAP)

## ABSTRACT

### **“ ‘Grey C’, Acceptable”: Carl Orff’s Professional and Artistic Responses to the Third Reich**

During the Third Reich, the composer Carl Orff (1895–1982) experienced a complicated relationship with the National Socialist government as he, ultimately successfully, attempted to advance his career in a perilous landscape in which even the eminent Richard Strauss (1864–1949) experienced difficulties. Orff has been criticized for being an opportunist both during the Third Reich and in the following period of denazification.

In the literature to date, the content of Orff’s compositions for the stage have been given relatively little examination in the context of totalitarianism. The works of Carl Orff evince a darkly fatalistic worldview and negative portrayal of authority. This is the case with the works he wrote before his traumatic experiences in World War I, the works he wrote while accepting financial and other benefits from the Third Reich’s cultural apparatus, and the works he wrote after the fall of National Socialism, as he struggled to come to terms with his society’s morally compromised state. In the aftermath of the Third Reich, he engaged through his art with the difficult issues facing German society, such as societal failure and collective guilt, as well as his own struggles of conscience.

In the spring of 1946, Orff was rated as “ ‘Grey C’, acceptable” by the Office of Military Government of the United States during the American occupation of Bavaria, as his evaluators found that he had a genuinely anti-Nazi attitude but nevertheless had benefited under National Socialist rule. Orff was one of the many German citizens who inhabited this grey zone, and following the Third Reich he sought to come to terms with his past through his artistic expression. My study of these previously unexamined aspects of Carl Orff’s art contributes to our understanding of life and art in the context of totalitarian conditions.

## INTRODUCTION

The name of Carl Orff (1895–1982) is indelibly imprinted upon modern culture thanks to the popularity of his scenic cantata *Carmina Burana: Cationes profanæ cantoribus et choris cantandæ comitantibus instrumentis atque imaginibus magicis* (*Songs of Benediktbeuern: Profane songs to be sung by singers and chorus, accompanied by instruments and magical images*).<sup>1</sup> This work, composed from 1934 to 1936 and first performed 8 June 1937 in Frankfurt-am-Main, soon became one of the most popular works of concert music from the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Orff is famous for his work in musical pedagogy, the Orff *Schulwerk* (“Schoolwork”), which he developed with several colleagues in the 1920s and 1930s. The *Schulwerk* has had worldwide influence in music education and music therapy.<sup>3</sup> Yet many facets of this highly complicated person’s life and art remain unexplored.

This dissertation is a study of Orff as an artist who lived under totalitarian conditions. I examine the effects on Orff of living in Germany throughout the period of the Third Reich (1933–1945) and consider how his case study informs our understanding

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations are by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Score: Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, Edition Eulenburg No. 8000, 1937/1965. Despite the frequency of performances, *Carmina Burana* is heard more often in concert performance than staged with dance and “magical” scenery as intended. For statistics about performances of *Carmina Burana*, see *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff: Entstehung, Wirkung, Text*, ed. Franz Willnauer, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Mainz: Schott Music, 2007, 267–273; Werner Thomas, “»Trionfo« oder Konsum? Carl Orffs *Carmina Burana* – Idee und Wirklichkeit (1991/95),” in *ibid.* (17–57), 37. For a partial listing of performances, see the Schott Music webpage at [http://www.schott-music.com/shop/hire\\_material/1000163/1/show,154469,s.html?showOldPerformances=true#top](http://www.schott-music.com/shop/hire_material/1000163/1/show,154469,s.html?showOldPerformances=true#top), accessed 17 July 2014. See also Bernd Edelmann, “Carl Orff (1895–1982),” in *Große Gestalten der bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. Katharina Weigand, München: Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH, 2012:461–479, 461.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the *Schulwerk*, see Carl Orff, *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976, especially 285–295 (*Schulwerk* materials) and 296–297 (further bibliography, including the publications of various *Orff-Schulwerk* institutions); Michael Kugler, ed., *Elementarer Tanz – Elementare Musik: Die Günther-Schule München 1924 bis 1944*, Mainz: Schott Musik International (ED 9502), 2002. See also footage of Orff *Schulwerk* classes in different parts of the world in Tony Palmer, *O Fortuna!*, Isolde Films, 2008, originally released in 1995. I thank Tony Palmer for providing me with an advance copy of his documentary.



of how artists function under conditions of domination, specifically examining their available choices in these circumstances. Because the 12 years of National Socialism occurred in the middle of Orff's 86-year life, one can examine his art and his professional decisions from the Third Reich in contrast to the decades of his life from both before and after that period. Similar comparison is not possible for such composers as the Soviet Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975), who never lived in a democratic society, or Hugo Distler (1908–1942), who joined the Nazi Party in 1933 but tragically took his own life in 1942.<sup>4</sup>

After the fall of the Third Reich, Orff was classified as “Grey C”, acceptable” by a team of American officers based in Germany who evaluated him as part of the so-called denazification process, as they sought to determine who was suitable to participate in the new German society. Orff's rating as a “grey” figure, someone who was neither a Nazi nor a resistor, is a fitting characterization of how he handled himself during the Third Reich. An examination of his work, however, reveals that he was considerably more engaged with the issues of his society than one would think from the apolitical persona he cultivated. While Orff's musical style changed dramatically during his formative years, his fundamental artistic philosophy remained basically the same, as did his choice of subject matter. There are salient themes, heretofore not addressed in the scholarly literature, that run throughout Carl Orff's oeuvre. A study of his works from his juvenilia through the end of his career reveals a consistently negative view of authority, a lifelong fixation on fatalism, and deep concern for those who struggle under cruel, capricious forces beyond their control. These elements in Orff's work trace back to his teenage years, before either of the cataclysmic wars through which he lived. It is thus little wonder that, following the Third Reich, his statements against authoritarian injustice became even stronger—a facet of his work that largely has been overlooked to date.

There has not yet been a comprehensive study addressing how Orff's music was shaped by the composer's cultural and political contexts, or what his works reveal about

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<sup>4</sup> Shostakovich was born a year after the 1905 Revolution. The Soviet Union was formed in 1922, near the beginning of his adult life, and lasted until 1991, after his death. Distler's Party Membership (Nr. 2.806.768) was conferred 1 May 1933 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1261). For more information on Distler, see *ibid.*, 1261–1271; Stefan Hanheide, ed., *Hugo Distler im Dritten Reich: Vorträge des Symposions in der Stadtbibliothek Lübeck am 29. September 1995*, Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 202 and 300.

the impact of totalitarianism on artistic creation. The purpose of this dissertation is to combine an analysis of Orff's art with an examination of its cultural, political, and historical contexts, and to extrapolate new insight into the experience of artists living under totalitarianism. The crucial element of social commentary in Orff's work has been noted only fleetingly in print: there is a telling disparity between the messages encoded in his works and what the composer and his contemporary advocates seem to have been willing to acknowledge in public.<sup>5</sup> By examining this often overlooked facet of Orff's works, I hope to enrich our understanding of a significant musical figure of the mid-twentieth century. In addition, I hope through this case study to contribute to our understanding of the experience of those citizens of Nazi Germany who, like Orff, inhabited a grey zone.

My thesis is informed by the theoretical frameworks of totalitarianism and domination as developed in the latter part of the twentieth century by such intellectuals as Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), and Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937).<sup>6</sup> These writers have focused on the experience of the individual within a totalitarian or otherwise dominating system and how the individual maintains his or her subjectivity in those difficult circumstances. How Carl Orff faced these challenges, and how they affected him as an artist, are the questions I seek to elucidate.

Outside of *Carmina Burana* and the *Schulwerk*, many facets of Orff's life and

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<sup>5</sup> For exceptions, see Richard Manley DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff: From 'Unerwünscht' to Postmodernity*, dissertation, University of Iowa, 1995, 195–196, 218–221, 235–237, 246–247, and 250–251; John Rockwell, "Orff: Two Second Thoughts" (recording review), *The New York Times*, 6 June 1993, H34; Udo Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs* (Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR, Band 14), Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982, 18. See also Erik Levi, "Der Mond," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Vol. 3 (Lon–Rod), ed. Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan Publisher Limited, 1992:428–429, 429: "Although the work enjoyed considerable success during the Nazi era, its message could be interpreted as a veiled attack upon Fascism since it argues that everyone has the right to share the benefits of nature and that they are not simply for the privileged few." One observation about social allegory in Orff's work comes not from scholarship but the public domain on Orff's English-language Wikipedia entry: "The story of *Antigone* has a haunting similarity to the history of Sophie Scholl, heroine of the White Rose, and Orff may have been memorializing her in his opera" ("Carl Orff," *Wikipedia*, various authors, not credited, accessed at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl\\_orff](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_orff), 24 April 2009 and 11 June 2014). Regarding Sophie Scholl and the White Rose, see Chapter 3; regarding *Antigone*, see Chapter 5. See also the section on *Die Kluge* in Chapter 2 and the section on *Astutuli* in Chapter 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Schocken Books, 2004; Pierre Bourdieu, trans. Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977; Antonio Gramsci, ed. Frank Rosengarten and trans. Ray Rosenthal, *Letters from Prison*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. See also Roderick Stackelberg, *The Routledge Companion to Nazi Germany*, New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2007, 30–32.

work remain relatively obscure. The German-Canadian historian Michael H. Kater has written of Orff: “There is probably no modern German composer whose life and career, especially after the Nazi takeover, have been as shrouded in mystery or confusion as his.”<sup>7</sup> Aside from *Carmina Burana* and his work as an educator, the most widely known fact about Carl Orff is that he remained in his native Bavaria throughout the Third Reich (1933–1945) and ultimately achieved a comfortable and, at least to some degree, favored position with that government, the merest association with which is understandably a source of opprobrium. This fact has long cast a shadow over Orff’s reputation,<sup>8</sup> and he and those close to him often have attempted to remove the composer and his works as far as possible from their cultural, political, and historical contexts.

The discourse on Orff and the Third Reich to date has primarily focused on evaluating his actions from a moral standpoint and discussing his music in the narrow and problematic construct of fascist aesthetics, as will be analyzed later on. Because Orff sought to maintain an apolitical persona, he is often regarded as an opportunist who had little regard for others and little concern for what was happening around him. Throughout his life, Orff was highly dedicated to his work. He often was motivated by self-preservation and self-advancement in the pursuit of his artistic goals and of popular success. Due to his pronounced dislike and fear of authority, he rarely demonstrated what in Germany is called *Zivilcourage* (“civic courage”). There are, however, signs that Orff had antipathy for the Third Reich, and his participation was considerably more reserved than that of many of his colleagues.<sup>9</sup> At this time, Orff was caught between his desire for success and his conscience. The composer very rarely talked about the Third Reich after

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<sup>7</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 111.

<sup>8</sup> As the British critic Martin Kettle aptly has noted: “...Orff’s music has always been fated to be judged in the light of his severely compromised public life...It is hard to believe that either the enduring critical iciness towards Orff or the lack of establishment interest in performing any of his works other than *Carmina Burana* – and that only with a clothes-peg clamped ostentatiously over the managerial nose – are unrelated to Orff’s chequered history” (Martin Kettle, “Secret of the White Rose,” *The Guardian*, 1 January 2009, Music section, accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2009/jan/02/classical-music-film-carmina-burana/print>, 13 September 2009).

<sup>9</sup> See Chapters 1 and 2 for a detailed examination of this matter. There is a similar assessment in Thomas Rösch, “Carl Orff,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil Vol. 12, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004:1397–1409, 1400.

1945,<sup>10</sup> but he continued to grapple with the trauma of this period in his works. My dissertation examines how Orff's strikingly anti-authoritarian worldview, which made him especially sensitive to the conditions of totalitarianism, was formed in the first part of his life, how he responded as a person and as an artist to the Third Reich, and how the period of National Socialism affected him and his art.

The following chapters constitute a chronological examination of Carl Orff's career as it relates to the artist's experience in a totalitarian state. The first chapter traces the composer's early aesthetic, literary, and dramaturgic influences up through the creation of *Carmina Burana*. My examination reveals that Orff's most famous work is a continuation of the style that he had begun cultivating before the Third Reich. In this chapter, I demonstrate that several prevalent themes in Orff's mature compositions, specifically fatalism and the oppressiveness of authority, were present also in his juvenilia. The first chapter also examines Orff's precarious situation in the early years of the Third Reich. While the composer was associated with progressive artistic circles during the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) and had many friends and associates who were forced to leave Germany, others of his associates either were sympathetic to National Socialism or willing to make the compromise of working with the Third Reich. Orff, who avoided political affiliation, was able to negotiate keeping both groups in his life.

The second chapter concerns the creation of *Carmina Burana* and Orff's rise to prominence within the context of the Third Reich. Orff was in a difficult position at the beginning of the National Socialist era due to his progressive associations. He and his publishers initially were concerned that the use of obscure Latin texts in *Carmina Burana* would anger National Socialist critics. While Orff did have to overcome the hostility of the more conservative critics and cultural officers of the Third Reich, he worked hard to ensure that his work would be accepted. Orff preferred to avoid contact with those in authority throughout his life, but he was willing to ingratiate himself to National Socialists when his success depended on it. By the fall of 1940, the popularity of *Carmina Burana* largely had drowned out the voices of his opponents, and Orff achieved

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<sup>10</sup> For exceptions, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 203; Martin Konz, "Auf den Mond zu fliegen ist elementar. Rückbesinnung auf die Ursprünge: Interview mit dem Komponisten Carl Orff," in *Neue Musikzeitung*, 24. Jahrgang, Heft 2, April/May 1975, S. 3; Bert Wassener, "Keine Parolen gegen Dämonen! Carl Orff: „Jeder muß seinen eigenen Weg gehen,“" Dortmund: *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 8 October 1960, Carl Orff-Stiftung/Orff-Zentrum München (hereafter COS/OZM), Pressearchiv.

a highly comfortable position by the end of Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) dictatorship.

The third chapter is an analysis of the American denazification process, the most bitterly controversial episode in Orff's career. At this time he attempted to distance himself from his successes in the Third Reich. In March 1946, Orff was given a psychological evaluation by Major Bertram Schaffner (1912–2010) of the Information Control Division of the Office of the Military Government, United States. Orff was classified as “Grey C”, acceptable” because, despite his clearly anti-Nazi worldview, he had received financial benefits from the Third Reich and exemption from service during World War II. My examination of the American officers' criteria, which involved psychological profiling, demonstrates that Orff's early rebellious attitude had a critical role in determining his political classification.

The fourth chapter's focus is *Die Bernauerin* (*The Lady Bernauer*, composed 1942–1946, first performed 1947), which I argue to be Orff's strongest statement against unjust authority due to the parallels between the authoritarian state it portrays and the Third Reich. This work, primarily written around the fall of the Third Reich in 1945, is about a woman who is unjustly executed by a tyrannical state. After the atrocity, the chorus (called the *Volk* in the libretto) attempts to come to terms with its societal failure and collective guilt, mirroring the German people's burning questions of complicity around the fall of the Third Reich. *Die Bernauerin* features Orff's most intimate music and most emotionally charged libretto. The work had significant personal meaning for Orff: the title role was written for his daughter, Godela Orff-Büchtemann (1921–2013),<sup>11</sup> and the score is dedicated to the memory of his close friend Professor Kurt Huber (1893–1943), who on 13 July 1943 had been beheaded for his involvement in the student-led resistance group the White Rose (*Die weiße Rose*).

The subject of the final chapter is Orff's post-Third Reich work, with a special focus on his final composition for the theater, the apocalyptic *De temporum fine comoedia* (*Play for the End of Times*, 1969–1971, first performed 1973). This highly

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<sup>11</sup> As quoted in Chapter 4, Godela Orff's widower, Dr. Gerhard Büchtemann, has testified: “My wife found *Die Bernauerin* as her father's most heartfelt [and] most intimate. He wrote it for his daughter” (personal written communication with Dr. Gerhard Büchtemann, 5 November 2014, quoted with kind permission; original language: *Meine Frau fand “Die Bernauerin” als die innigste, intimste Musik ihres Vaters. Er hat sie für seine Tochter geschrieben*).

personal composition is the culmination of Orff's stage works. In *De temporum fine comoedia*, Orff delved more deeply into the questions of guilt that he had raised in *Die Bernauerin*. In Orff's individualistic philosophical statement, which is outside the traditional Christian paradigm of redemption through Jesus Christ, forgiveness is unattainable in this world and guilt is only erased at the end of time. The composer's use of obscure texts and abstract presentation serves to veil the painful issues at the work's core; this was perhaps the only way in which the highly guarded Orff could bring himself to address these matters.<sup>12</sup>

### **An Overview of the Scholarly Discourse and Research on Carl Orff**

Although Orff has had ardent admirers (albeit primarily within Germany) from the days of his first great success with *Carmina Burana*,<sup>13</sup> his work has had a polarizing effect on the musical world.<sup>14</sup> *Carmina Burana* is a perennial audience favorite, but there are many eminent musicians and scholars who look down upon it as crude and kitschy because of its catchiness, rhythmic drive, and so-called primitivism,<sup>15</sup> a term at which Orff bristled.<sup>16</sup> Even though, as Nicholas Attfeld has written, "scarcely a day goes by when we are without Carl Orff" thanks to the frequent performances and appropriations

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<sup>12</sup> The personal quality of this work is noted in Werner Thomas, trans. Verena Maschat, *Carl Orff*, London: Schott & Co., Ltd. (ED 12340), 1985, 16; Godela Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, Leipzig: Henschel, 2008, 140; in previous edition, Godela Orff, *Mein Vater und ich: Erinnerungen an Carl Orff*, Munich/Mainz: Piper/Schott (Band 8332), 1992/1995, 134.

<sup>13</sup> In 1949, for example, Henry Pleasants reported from the Salzburg Festival that Orff "has quite a following in this part of the world" (Henry Pleasants, "Orff's 'Antigone' [sic] in World Premiere," *The New York Times*, 10 August 1949, page 24). In 1960, Karl-Heinz Füssl wrote that "Orff stands in Germany above all criticism" (Karl-Heinz Füssl, trans. Francis Burt, "Music in Austria and Germany Today," in *Twentieth Century Music*, Rollo H. Myers, ed., London: J. Calder, 1960:125–140, 130).

<sup>14</sup> This phenomenon is well described in Inka Stampfl, *Die Bernauerin: Theatrum Mundi, Mysterienspiel, Ballade, Antike Tragödie*, Munich: Deutscher Tonkünstlerverband, Manuskriptarchiv Nr. 1271, 1995, 1.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Gerald Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979, 840; Paul Henry Lang, "Carl Orff: Bungled Fireworks...or Skillful Effects?" (paired with a piece that is favorable toward Orff by R. D. Darrell), *High Fidelity/Musical America* XXXII/1, January 1982:52–55 and 97, especially 52. See also contemporary reviews of Orff's works from the Third Reich period in the COS/OZM, Pressearchiv.

<sup>16</sup> See Wolfgang Seifert and Carl Orff, "...auf den Geist kommt es an": Carl Orff zum 75. Geburtstag – Kommentar und Gespräch" (essay by Seifert and interview with him and the composer), *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 131. Jahrgang, Heft 7/8, 1970:370–377, 377.

of *Carmina Burana*,<sup>17</sup> textbooks on music history, including those devoted specifically to the twentieth century (even some devoted to German music from this time period), often afford little time to this composer or even omit him altogether.<sup>18</sup> In those texts that do address Orff, works other than *Carmina Burana* receive scant attention.<sup>19</sup> Nor have these other works been widely appreciated, especially those that are demanding of the listener and deal with painful subject matter. Performances of Orff's lesser-known works are especially rare outside of Germany.<sup>20</sup>

The scholarship and criticism on Orff may be divided into three categories: that which focuses on the *Schulwerk* in the fields of music education and music therapy,<sup>21</sup> that which examines the questions of Orff and the Third Reich,<sup>22</sup> and that which is devoted to

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<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Attfeld, "Re-staging the Welttheater: A Critical View of Carl Orff's *Antigonae* and *Oedipus der Tyrann*," in *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage*, ed. Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010:340–368, 340. I thank Professor Jason Geary for calling this source to my attention.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Paslica, *A History of Western Music*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010, 887–888 and 905. Carl Orff is not in the indices of the following works: Joseph Henry Auner, *Music in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013, A38; Gary E. Wittlich, ed., *Aspects of Twentieth-Century Music*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975, 480; Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts*, California Studies in 20th-Century Music, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 318; Peter S. Hansen, *An Introduction to Twentieth Century Music*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971, 442. For sources that acknowledge Orff as a significant composer, see William Austin, *Music in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century from Debussy through Stravinsky*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966, 387–390; Paul Collaer, trans. Sally Abeles, *A History of Modern Music*, New York: The World Publishing Company, 1961, 335–336 (Collaer's book, however, does not address any of Orff's works past the time of the Third Reich). Orff is only addressed with respect to the Third Reich in Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, Vol. 4, 756–765.

<sup>19</sup> One may find a similar observation in Attfeld, "Re-staging the Welttheater," 341. See Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991, 258–260 (in this text, Morgan described *Astutuli* but identified it as *Die Bernauerin*, *ibid.*, 259); Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century*, Belmont: Schirmer, Thompson Learning, 1995, 294–295.

<sup>20</sup> One may consult the website of Schott Music at the "works" section of the Carl Orff page, <http://www.schott-music.com/shop/persons/featured/carl-orff/works/> (accessed 17 July 2014). Click on individual works, go to "other editions," find the performance materials, click on the "Performances" tab, and click on "Show past performances." See also Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orff's*, 5.

<sup>21</sup> I regret that the limited scope of this dissertation and the limitations of my expertise in music education prevent giving the *Schulwerk* the attention it deserves. Glenn Watkins aptly has noted that: "Orff's activities in this field [i.e. music education] ought not to be separated from his activities as a composer" (Watkins, *Soundings*, 294). The composer's widow, Liselotte Orff (born Schmitz, 1930–2012, his fourth wife, to whom he was married from 1960 to his death) told me on the one occasion I had the honor of meeting her (30 January 2010 in Darmstadt for a performance of *Gisei: Das Opfer* and *De temporum fine comoedia*) that Orff's *Schulwerk* is critical to understanding her husband's stage works and concert music.

<sup>22</sup> See Michael H. Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," in *Vierteljahrshefte Für Zeitgeschichte*, 43. Jahrgang, 1. Heft, January 1995: 1–35; Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in*

Orff's music and drama.<sup>23</sup> Often historians (and consequently much of the literature in the second category) have addressed the question of Orff in the Third Reich with relatively little attention to his art, as matters of aesthetics are outside the traditional purview of their field. When musicologists have written about Orff and the Third Reich, discussion of his music is mostly limited to analyzing it in terms of alleged Nazi or fascist ideals regarding music while neglecting his works' meaning.<sup>24</sup>

Much of the scholarship on Orff's mature works has been written by members of his circle, especially his close friend Werner Thomas (1910–2011), a philologist.<sup>25</sup> In the last decade of his life, Orff collaborated with Thomas and other friends in an eight-volume series called *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation (Carl Orff and His Work:*

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*the Third Reich*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 10, 54, 138, 145, 158, 178, 186–187, 190–192 (see index for further references, 321); Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 111–143 (Chapter 5: “Carl Orff: Man of Legend”); Werner Thomas, “Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 1995, unpublished manuscript, OZM; Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 5376–5397; Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 158–161 and 324–328 (for additional references see index, 443); Eva Hanau, “Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik in Frankfurt am Main und Carl Orff,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 56. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 1999:245–257; Otto Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, dissertation, Universität Wien, 2002, 209–265 (I thank Dr. Karner for kindly sending me a copy of his work and granting me permission to quote from it; it is also accessible at OZM). At present writing, Oliver Rathkolb is preparing research on this subject for publication.

<sup>23</sup> See Andreas Liess, trans. Adelheid and Herbert Parkin, *Carl Orff: His Life and Music*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966 (in the original language *Carl Orff: Idee und Werk*, Zürich: Atlantis, 1977, an updated version from that which was published in English); Andreas Liess, *Zwei Essays zu Carl Orff: De temporum fine comoedia*, Wien: Böhlau, 1981; Andreas Liess, “Carl Orff – Der grosse unverstandene,” in *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift*, 35. Jahrgang, Heft 4–5, April/May 1980:199–203; Andreas Liess, *Carl Orff und das Dämonische*, Viernheim: Viernheim-Verlag, 1965; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orff's*; Fritz Henneberg, *Orff-Studien*, Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2011; Ingeborg Kiekert, *Die musikalische Form in den Werken Carl Orff's* (Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Band V), Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1957; Thomas Rösch, *Die Musik in den Griechischen Tragödien von Carl Orff* (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, Bd. 59), Tutzing: Schneider, 2003. I thank Dr. Rösch for kindly supplying me with a copy of his work.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, Vol. 4, 756–765; Richard Taruskin, “Orff's Musical and Moral Failings,” *New York Times*, 6 May 2001, AR 1 and AR 35, reprinted with slight modification (such as correcting the playing time of *Carmina Burana*) as “Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass At Last?” in *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009:161–167. In the 2009 publication, Taruskin wrote that he “fought tooth and nail” against the title “Orff's Musical and Moral Failings,” but that the editor of the *New York Times* would not honor the author's wishes (167). For a less polemical view, see Steven M. Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” *German Politics & Society*, Volume 19, No. 3, Fall 2001:80–93, 86–87.

<sup>25</sup> Werner Thomas, *Orff's Märchenstücke: Der Mond, Die Kluge* (Schott Musikwissenschaft) Mainz: Schott, 1994; Werner Thomas, *Carl Orff “De Temporum Fine Comoedia”, Das Spiel vom Ende der Zeiten, Vigilia*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1973; Werner Thomas, *Das Rad der Fortuna: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu Werk und Wirking Carl Orff's* (Schott Musikwissenschaft), Mainz: Schott, 1990; Werner Thomas, “*Dem Unbekannten Gott*”: Ein nicht ausgeführtes Chorwerk von Carl Orff, Mainz: Schott, 1997. This listing is a sample.



*Documentation*), the composer's official explication of his life and works, including an autobiography only of his early life.<sup>26</sup> Other publications on Orff's works were authorized or overseen by the composer himself, such as the Austrian musicologist and music educator Andreas Liess's (1903–1988) monograph from the mid-1960s. Thus for many years the public picture of Carl Orff was guarded closely by the composer and his friends.<sup>27</sup> When asked by an interviewer why *Dokumentation* contains so little in the way of personal memoirs, Orff tellingly replied: "I said: an autobiography is the greatest swindle in my eyes. What one writes is not true, and what is true one does not write."<sup>28</sup> On another occasion, Orff told an interviewer that he had no intention to discuss his creative process or the inner meaning of his works: "No! Not a word about that...I do not yet feel ripe enough for it. We are better to postpone discussion about that discussion for the next 30 years."<sup>29</sup>

A notorious example of Orff's reticence is found in the 1944 tome *Deutsche Oper*

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<sup>26</sup> Carl Orff et al, *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975–1983 (eight volumes). Kim H. Kowalke has written: "One can interpret Orff's eight-volume compilation as another tactic to ward off investigators...." He also observed that: "the political context of the time...goes almost unremarked in the eight volumes of *Carl Orff und sein Werk*..." (Kim Kowalke, "Burying the Past: Carl Orff and His Brecht Connection," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 1, Spring 2000:58–83, 79 n. 12 and 71, respectively). Emily Richmond Pollock has noted that *Dokumentation*, "along with the published scores, seems to literally embody the final word on and about Orff" (Emily Richmond Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2012, 83; I am thankfully to Dr. Pollock for sending me a copy of her dissertation and granting me permission to quote from it).

<sup>27</sup> In 1955, Everett Helm wrote: "But it is as difficult to get definite information about [Orff's] early works as it is to ascertain biographical facts regarding his earlier days. He refuses to speak about himself and is unhappy when others do so" (Everett Helm, "Carl Orff," in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XLI, No. 3, July 1955:285–304, 285). Helm proceeded to quote the passively-aggressively laconic autobiography for *Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart* (see following note). See also Kater's characterization in *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 116. Note, however, that Kater's view of Orff as reflected in the entirety of his Orff chapter (ibid. 111–143, Chapter 5, "Carl Orff: Man of Legend") accentuates Orff's negative qualities and arguably underestimates his capacity to have healthy human relationships (see especially ibid., 142). As a result, Hans Jörg Jans, director of the Orff-Zentrum-München from its opening in 1990 to 2002, wrote in 2000 that he had "questioned [Kater's] willfully negative view of Orff's personality" (Hans Jörg Jans, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, "Behind the Scenes: Composer Institutes and the Semblance of Censorship," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 4, Winter 2000:696–704, 697). Dr. Thomas Rösch replaced Jans as the director of the Orff-Zentrum-München in 2002 and still holds that position at the time of this writing.

<sup>28</sup> W-E. v. Lewinski "„Ich wollte nie modern sein.“ Gespräch mit dem Komponisten Carl Orff," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Mainz, 14 July 1979, Carl Orff-Stiftung/Orff-Zentrum München (hereafter COS/OZM), Pressearchiv. Original language: *Ich sagte: eine Autobiographie ist in meinen Augen der größte Schwindel. Was man schreibt, das stimmt nicht, und was stimmt, das schreibt man nicht....* The quotation ends in ellipses in the original.

<sup>29</sup> "Kindheitseindrücke waren entscheidend. Ein Gespräch zwischen Carl Orff und Walter Erich Schäfer," in *Hannoversche Presse*, 16 July 1965, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv. Original language: *Nein! Darüber kein Wort...Dazu fühle ich mich noch nicht reif genug. Das Gespräch darüber wollen wir besser auf die nächsten 30 Jahre verschieben.*

*der Gegenwart* (*German Opera of Today*), compiled by the theater scholar Carl Niessen (1890–1969). As part of his project, Niessen asked dozens of German composers for handwritten biographies to be printed in facsimile. While composers obliged with one or two pages, Carl Orff sent in only six words, not counting his name: “born 1895 in Munich.....living there.. — ” (see figure 1).<sup>30</sup> Andreas Liess specified that the first section of his monograph on the composer, written in the 1960s, represented what Orff “wishes to be known of his vocation and his early work” and tellingly added:

[Orff] imposed on me the strict condition that my book should be concerned exclusively with his music; all those biographical details in which psychologists or a sensation-hungry public might be interested, were to be excluded. Occasionally Orff would offer a remark which seemed to me to illuminate some aspect of his character; but he would immediately insert an ironic qualification.<sup>31</sup>

The only part of his personal life that Orff discussed in public was his early life, and only decades after the fact.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps his distrust of authority made him more circumspect in what information about himself he allowed to be made public. Following the Third Reich, especially in the denazification period, he was particularly aware that the facts of his success during the National Socialist period had the potential to hinder his future career.

Outside the realm of Orff’s circle, there has been relatively little scholarship on his stage works.<sup>33</sup> Wilfried Hiller (b. 1941), Orff’s student and at the time of this writing the president of the Carl Orff Foundation (*Carl Orff-Stiftung*), wrote in 2013 that many

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<sup>30</sup> The punctuation is given here as it is in original (see Figure 1). The word *daselbst* may be translated more literally as “in the aforesaid place.” *Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart*, ed. Carl Niessen, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1944, 182–183 (182 has a photograph of Carl Orff with his signature beneath it). The original source of this much quoted quasi-autobiography was brought to my attention in a paper by Emily Richmond Pollock titled “Opera by the Book: Defining Music Theater in the Third Reich and After,” delivered 7 November 2013 at the American Musicological Society’s annual meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; see also Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, 1–6).

<sup>31</sup> Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 11. Original language: *Was er selbst über seine Jugend, seine Selbstfindung, sein frühes Werk in die Öffentlichkeit gelangen lassen will.... Gewiß, eine Grenze hält er zielsicher fest: Es soll und darf nur über das Werk [emphasis in original] geschrieben werden! Alles Persönliche, alles Biographische, das Psychologen oder ein sensationshungriges Publikum interessieren könnte, ist ausgeschlossen. Ereignete es sich im Verlaufe der Plauderstunden, daß Orff diese Barriere selbst übersprang, und glaubte man sich dadurch berechtigt, den einen oder den anderen Zug zu erhellen, so stellte er selbst mit einer ironischen Bemerkung alles vorher Gesagte in Frage.* (Liess, *Carl Orff*, 9.)

<sup>32</sup> See Seifert and Orff, “„...auf den Geist kommt es an“ ”; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 9–69 (“Erinnerungen,” his memoirs from his early childhood through the Weimar Republic; for the remainder of *Dokumentation*, Orff’s autobiography focuses almost exclusively on his professional life).

<sup>33</sup> Significant exceptions include Attfeld, “Re-staging the Welttheater”; Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*.

aspects of his teacher's work have been left unexamined in the scholarly literature because they lay outside the expertise of Orff's appointed biographers.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the greatest lacuna in the scholarship on Carl Orff's life and work is that around the connection between his oeuvre and its historical, political, and cultural contexts; very few authors have examined it.<sup>35</sup> In order to achieve a fuller understanding of the composer and his work, however, it is necessary to bring together these two elements and examine how each relates to the other.

Because of the difficult nature of the question of Orff's relationship to the Third Reich, which he himself avoided to conceal the embarrassing facts of his success during that period, some people close to him have been loath to address this discomfiting subject.<sup>36</sup> On those occasions when writers in Orff's circle do address this troubling period, it is often to defend him against his critics.<sup>37</sup> On the occasion of Orff's centenary in 1995, Hans Maier (b. 1931), a prominent German politician who was then part of the scholarly advisory council (*Wissenschaftlicher Beirat*) of the *Orff-Zentrum-München*,<sup>38</sup> delivered a speech in Munich in which he attempted to remove Orff as far as possible from his cultural context: "one can hardly say of Orff that he had a particular, conscious or significant relationship to time or political situation.... He was totally a musician and nothing else, concerned with musical, not political effect, obstinately and obsessively

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<sup>34</sup> Wilfried Hiller, "Selbstporträt in Künstler-Begegnungen," in *Disziplinlos: Eigensinnige Lebensbilder zwischen Wissenschaft und Kunst*, ed. Eduard A. Wiecha, Munich: oekom, 2013:309–326, 317. Hiller specified that there has been scant attention in the scholarly literature to the influence of popular music from the 1930s on Orff's work (including the Comedian Harmonists), his interest in the music of other cultures, his study of folk music, his examination of his colleagues' work, and his interest in American jazz.

<sup>35</sup> Notable exceptions include DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff*; Kowalke, "Burying the Past."

<sup>36</sup> For example, there is very little mention of the Third Reich in Liess, *Carl Orff* (see both English and German versions) or Lilo Gersdorf, *Carl Orff: in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt von Lilo Gersdorf* (Rowohlt's Monographien, ed. Kurt and Beate Kusenberg), Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981.

<sup>37</sup> See Thomas, "Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich"; Franz Willnauer, "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 9–14; Thomas Rösch, "Carl Orff," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004, Personenteil Vol. 12:1397–1409, 1400.

<sup>38</sup> Maier is associated with the *Christlich-Soziale Union* and was the cultural minister of Bavaria from 1970 to 1986. He held his position at the Orff-Zentrum München from 1990 to 2002 (information according to OZM, 1 August 2014). Kater erroneously wrote that Maier was a member of the Orff Foundation (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 127), a related but distinct organization (see Hans Jörg Jans, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, "Behind the Scenes: Composer Institutes and the Semblance of Censorship," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 4, Winter 2000:696–704, 698 and 703 n. 18).

committed to the service of Music.”<sup>39</sup>

In the same speech, Maier went so far as to discourage scholarly inquiry into Orff and the Third Reich: “I can only warn those curious researchers...that they will hardly find what they are seeking in the sparse sources. I am heretical enough to add: even the theme ‘Orff and National Socialism’ reveals in the end little in the way of information or even anything sensational.”<sup>40</sup> Maier’s statement came in the wake of the publication of Michael H. Kater’s controversial 1995 article on Orff and the period of National Socialism,<sup>41</sup> which was the source of great turmoil in the Orff circle. Orff’s advocates have been reticent to address the highly uncomfortable period of National Socialism out of respect to the composer’s wishes that his personal life not be discussed.<sup>42</sup> Their reluctance to engage in an open discourse about the subject of Orff in the Third Reich has engendered suspicion and resentment among several scholars and critics.<sup>43</sup>

Efforts to dissociate Orff from his time and place in history have had the effect of

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<sup>39</sup> See Hans Maier, trans., Margaret Murray, “Carl Orff in his Time: Speech on the occasion of Carl Orff’s 100<sup>th</sup> birthday, Munich, Prinzregententheater, 7 July 1995,” Mainz: Schott Musik International with Orff-Zentrum Munich, 1995, 3–4. Original language: ...denn von einer ausdrücklichen, bewußten, gar emphatischen Beziehung zur Zeit, zur Politik kann bei Orff kaum die Rede sein....er war ganz und gar Musiker und nichts sonst, auf musikalische, nicht auf politische Wirkung bedacht, bis zur Obstination, bis zum Aufsässigen und Monomanischen der Musik dienstbar und verpflichtet.... (Hans Maier, “Carl Orff in seiner Zeit,” in *Cäcilia: Essays zur Musik*, erweiterte Neuausgabe, Frankfurt-am-Main: Insel Verlag, 2005, 136 (this essay is not in the previous edition of the work from 1998), in original publication, “Carl Orff in seiner Zeit: Rede anlässlich Carl Orffs 100. Geburtstag, München, Prinzregententheater, 7. Juli 1995,” Mainz: Schott Musik International with Orff-Zentrum München, 1995, 3).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, in translation by Murray, 3–4. Original language: ...ich kann neugierige Forscher...nur warnen: Sie werden in den spärlichen Quellen kaum das finden, was sie suchen. Ich bin ketzerisch genug hinzuzufügen: Selbst das Thema »Orff und der Nationalsozialismus« gibt am Ende wenig an Aufschlüssen oder gar an Sensation her. (Maier, *Cäcilia*, 132–133; original publication, 3–4).

<sup>41</sup> See Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich.” This matter will be addressed at length elsewhere in this dissertation, especially Chapter 3. In his speech, Maier blamed the media response to Kater’s article more than Kater himself (see *ibid.*, and 327 n. 182).

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Rösch, however, has addressed issues of the Third Reich directly in *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum; Entstehung und Deutung*, Munich: Orff-Zentrum-München, 2009.

<sup>43</sup> See Kowalke, “Burying the Past,” 75–77; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, . Prieberg went so far as to list Maier’s statement as an instance of *Geschichtsfälschung* (“falsification of history”; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5393). Michael H. Kater criticized another portion of Maier’s speech as indicative of “the white-washing efforts of Orff defenders after World II...through denial and obfuscation” (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 327 n. 182). See also Attfield, “Re-staging the Welttheater,” 344; Eleonore Büning, “Die Musik ist Schuld,” *Die Zeit*, 7 July 1995 (28/1995), accessed at [http://www.zeit.de/1995/28/Die\\_Musik\\_ist\\_schuld](http://www.zeit.de/1995/28/Die_Musik_ist_schuld), 5 December 2012. Another salient example is Tamara Bernstein’s scathing indictment of the Carl Orff-Stiftung: “for blanking out those 10 pesky years, 1937–1947” in an exhibit for Orff’s centennial (Tamara Bernstein, “Classical Music Awards for 1995” (subset of article titled “Severe times test celebratory mood”), *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 30 December 1995, C14.

limiting the possible interpretations of his works.<sup>44</sup> While Hans Maier has noted Orff's antipathy to authority, he stated that, "for Orff, tyranny was mainly evil and wicked because it destroyed the autonomy of the Arts, because everything was sucked into the undertow of politics."<sup>45</sup> As I aim to demonstrate in the body of this dissertation, Maier's interpretation overlooks a significant element of Orff's works by suggesting that his dislike of authority was only motivated by his concern for his personal and professional well-being. Although several scholars and critics briefly have noted elements of social commentary in several of Orff's works, there has not yet been a comprehensive study of the pervasive theme of oppressive authority in the composer's oeuvre.<sup>46</sup>

In addressing the question of Carl Orff and the Third Reich, the literature to date often has taken a moralistic approach. This is nowhere more evident than in the controversy that ensued after the initial presentation of Kater's research in November 1994, in which Kater suggested that Orff had capitalized on his friendship with Kurt Huber, who had been executed by the Nazis, in order to clear his name after the Third Reich.<sup>47</sup> This led to condemnations of Orff's character by his critics and attempts by his

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<sup>44</sup> Nicholas Attfield expressed a similar opinion in "Re-staging the Welttheater," 342–344. For an example of this phenomenon, see Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 166, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 186 (note the difference between these two versions). See also *ibid.*, 31 (English translation) and 27 (original German); see also the brief reference to the "very brave" (*mutige*) texts of *Die Kluge* in *ibid.*, 95 (English translation) and 96 (original German).

<sup>45</sup> Maier, trans. Murray, "Carl Orff in his time," 10. Original language: *Sein Ideal war eine v o r der Macht (nicht v o n der Macht!) geschützte Innerlichkeit. Und die Tyrannis war für Orff vor allem deshalb schlecht und böse, weil sie das Eigen-Reich der Kunst zerstörte, weil sie alles in den Sog der Politik zog* (emphasis in original; Maier, *Cäcilia*, 139; original publication, 10). One of the few other instances in which Orff's dislike of authority is Michael H. Kater's observation that Orff generally distrusted those in authority and experienced "an overall sentiment of fear," possibly as a result of his traumatic experiences in World War I (as will be addressed in Chapter 1 (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 142). Kater even went so far as to describe Orff's behavior as "asocial," citing his "preference for shabby exercise clothes to formal dress" (*idem*). For more on Orff's preference for solitude, simple life, and informal clothing, see interviews with his widow, Liselotte Orff Tony Palmer's *O Fortuna!* Neither Maier nor Kater, however, identified anti-authoritarianism in Orff's oeuvre.

<sup>46</sup> The elements of social commentary in Orff's works have not, however, gone unnoticed. While individual cases will be addressed in the following chapters, see, for a general sampling: John Rockwell, "Orff: Two Second Thoughts" (recording review), *The New York Times*, 6 June 1993, H34G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 55–56, in previous version, 52; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1994, 189–190; Carl Dahlhaus, "Den Notlügen auf der Spur: Fred K. Priebergs Chronik der Musik im NS-Staat," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 February 1982, S. BuZ5; Hugo Hartung, "Begegnungen mit Carl Orff: Zu seinem 75. Geburtstag," *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 10 July 1970; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 18; DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff*, 195–196, 218–221, 235–237, 246–247, and 250–251.

<sup>47</sup> See Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich." See Chapter 3 for more information.

advocates to clear his name.<sup>48</sup> This debate has been especially rancorous due to its personal nature, as evinced in much of the press coverage of the time.<sup>49</sup> The fixation on Orff's guilt or innocence has supplanted thoughtful and open discussion of his life and work. What has been lacking in these debates is an evaluation of his actions, however problematic they may be, in terms of the extraordinary times in which he lived. My aim is to assess Orff's professional and artistic decisions during the Third Reich, analyze their ramifications, and consider the factors that shaped them. Some of these decisions are themselves "grey"; there is a fine and often blurry line between self-preservation in an oppressive power structure and self-advancement.

### The Reception of Carl Orff Since His Death

Carl Orff has not been particularly well regarded among elite composers, scholars, or critics, especially following his death in 1982. As John Rockwell has noted, many of those who express disdain for Orff's music "assume he was a Nazi."<sup>50</sup> The perception of Orff as a composer without substance is no doubt reinforced by the mass commercialization of the opening and concluding chorus of *Carmina Burana*, "O

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<sup>48</sup> For examples of the criticisms, see See Taruskin, "Orff's Musical and Moral Failings" (reprint, "Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass at Last?"); Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 133–143. For examples of Orff's advocates' responses, see Werner Thomas, "Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich"; Hans Jörg Jans, "Peinliche Unterschiebung eines Machwerks über Orff," in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 July 1995, Leserbriefe, 11; Hans Jörg Jans, "Behind the Scenes: Composer Institutes and the Semblance of Censorship," trans. J. Bradford Robinson, *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 4, Winter 2000:696–704, 701; Michael H. Kater, "In Answer to Hans Jörg Jans, in *ibid.*, 711–712. As Emily Richmond Pollock has written: "Kater's criticism of Orff himself has by now been overshadowed by his increasing vitriol directed at the OZM and the institution of Orff scholarship more broadly" (Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, 80

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 3 for more information. In 1999, the German journalist Reinhard Schulz wrote of an episode in this conflict that "[e]verything went according to the established forms of a scholarly cockfight" (Reinhard Schulz, "'Alter Schnee'?" *Neue Musikzeitung*, Ausgabe März, 48. Jahrgang, 1999, 48; original language: *Alles ging nach erprobten Formen wissenschaftlichen Hahnenkampfes...*) See also Reinhard J. Brembeck, "Mitläufer oder Widerstandskämpfer? Ein neues Dokument hat einen Historikerstreit über die Rolle des Komponisten Carl Orff im Nationalsozialismus ausgelöst," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 31, 8 February 1999, Münchner Kultur, 16; Reinhard J. Brembeck, "Von zu großer Liebe und Verletztem Stolz: Wie der Chef des Orff-Zentrums die Ehre des Komponisten Verteidigt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11 February 1999, Münchner Kultur, 17; Hans Krieger, "Wenig Widerstand: Neue Erkenntnisse und kaum Gewißheit über Carl Orffs Rolle im Dritten Reich," *Berliner Zeitung*, 11 February 1999, U8.

<sup>50</sup> John Rockwell, "Reverberations: Going Beyond 'Carmina Burana,' and Beyond Orff's Stigma," *New York Times*, 5 December 2003, E6. See also Rockwell, "Orff: Two Second Thoughts"; John Rockwell, "Could Shostakovich Become The [sic] Mahler of the '80's?", *The New York Times*, 22 February 1981, D19, reprinted in John Rockwell, *Outsider: John Rockwell on the Arts, 1967–2006*, Pompton Plains, New Jersey: Limelight Editions, 2006:170–173, 171).

Fortuna” (see figure 2), which is ironic in light of its negative text, which laments the depredations of fate.<sup>51</sup> The graver stain on his reputation, however, has been his association with Nazism and fascism.<sup>52</sup> In 1995, the German journalist Eleonore Büning wrote in *Die Zeit* that Orff had joined the Nazi Party in 1940 (that is, the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, or NSDAP, the “National Socialist German Worker’s Party”). In actuality, Orff never had a party membership.<sup>53</sup> As Michael H. Kater has written, “Carl Orff’s name to many has become synonymous with fascist art and culture, frequently by way of a rather cavalier prejudgment.”<sup>54</sup>

Kater’s statement raises the question of fascist aesthetics, of which Orff’s music often has been held up as an example.<sup>55</sup> It is difficult to know the degree to which the

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<sup>51</sup> See Werner Thomas’s observation in *Carl Orff* (trans. Maschat, Schott ED 12340), 10. For a sampling of uses of “O Fortuna” in advertisements, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p0HSA25sTzo> (uploaded 29 January 2011, accessed 22 April 2014); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIEv34dKVI> (uploaded 23 December 2007, accessed 22 April 2014); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rbZr7Y0qK0> (uploaded 16 January 2010, accessed 22 April 2014); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GY6uJII-t14> (uploaded 23 April 2010, accessed 22 April 2014). See also <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cfENLdUTR0> (uploaded 14 October 2013, accessed 18 April 2014) for a particularly garish performance; I thank Jonathan King for alerting me to this spectacle (with the caveat that it may cause convulsion).

<sup>52</sup> A similar observation is found in Jans, trans. Robinson, “Behind the Scenes,” 701. The linkages of Orff to National Socialism are not always factually based. Bhasham R. Sharma wrote in 2000 that “leaders of the Third Reich” commissioned Carl Orff to write *Carmina Burana* “to fill the vacuum created by the destruction of all art deemed decadent, progressive, or Jewish,” and that Richard Strauss’s (1864–1949) tone poem *Also sprach Zarathustra* (“Thus spoke Zarathustra,” Opus 30) is likewise “among the compositions written for the Nazis.” (Bhasham R. Sharma, *Music and Culture in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New Studies in Aesthetics, Vol. 31), New York: Peter Lang, 2000, 157). No citation is provided for these claims. In fact Richard Strauss composed *Also sprach Zarathustra* not in 1936, the year given in Sharma’s text, but in 1896, over two decades before the Nazi Party was founded. *Carmina Burana* was not written on a commission of any kind (see Chapter 2 for more information). Additionally, Sharma described the alleged commissions in the context that “...leaders of the Third Reich commissioned neoclassical composers to create a music that reflected healthy conservative values” (idem), even though few works of Strauss could be described as neo-classical and the tone poems are certainly not among them. For the score of Richard Strauss’s Opus 30, see *Tone Poems: Series II*, New York: Dover Publications, 1979. Strauss’s tone poem is inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche’s (1844–1900) *Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (“Thus spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One,” written 1883–1885; for publication, see Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1901).

<sup>53</sup> Büning, “Die Musik ist Schuld.” See also Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 210; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5394 and 5377 (regarding Orff’s lack of NSDAP membership).

<sup>54</sup> Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 114. Examples of “cavalier judgment” include Matthew Gurewitsch’s suggestion that a picture of Carl Orff at the age of three holding a tin drum may be “[t]he most haunting clue” as to his politics (Gurewitsch, “Cosmic Chants,” 93). In quoting this same passage, Michael H. Kater rhetorically asked, “Was this irony or malice?” (Kater, *Composer of the Nazi Era*, 113).

<sup>55</sup> Toby Thacker has noted this phenomenon as recently as 2007 (Toby Thacker, *Music After Hitler, 1945–1955*, Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007, 39). The American musicologist Glenn Watkins has observed of *Carmina Burana*: “Composed during the heyday of the Third Reich, in retrospect some have heard in the work’s aggressive and repetitive figurations a reflection of the hypnotic chanting of Nazi mass rallies” (Watkins, *Soundings*, 294; in the text, there is no citation for this statement). Patrick

perception of *Carmina Burana* as “Nazi music” has to do with its musical characteristics rather than the fact that it enjoyed such popularity in the Third Reich.<sup>56</sup> What constitutes a fascist aesthetic is a complicated and contentious matter, as will be addressed further below, and it is reductive to say that any particular work or style is inherently fascistic.

At times the correlation between Orff’s music and Nazism seems to be primarily one of guilt by association.<sup>57</sup> As the historian David Monod has written, after the fall of the Third Reich, the Allies were hesitant to allow performance of compositions by composers who had been well received during the National Socialist era. They feared that allowing these performances would be “symbolically accepting the legitimacy of the successes these artists had enjoyed in the Third Reich.”<sup>58</sup> As Monod’s statement suggests, success during the period of National Socialism and benefitting from the Nazi

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Bade has written that “the crude populism of Orff’s *Carmina Burana* expresses certain aspects of the Nazi mentality” and that “For all its attractive, indeed irresistible qualities *Carmina Burana* is very much a product of its time and place. If the motoric, Stravinskian elements displeased some in the Nazi hierarchy others liked its earthy folkloric qualities and its brutal populism” (Patrick Bade, *Music Wars, 1937–1945*, London: East & West Publishing Limited, 2012, 90 and 117, respectively). Harry White has gone far beyond Bade: “...Orff’s music *celebrates* Nazism [emphasis in original] in ways which compare very closely to Leni Riefenstahl’s *Triumph of the Will*....How or why Orff should deserve a ‘defence’ [sic] is beyond me....It’s right up there with the *Horst Wessel Lied* [the National Anthem of the Third Reich] for stirring the blood” (Harry White, “The Rules of Engagement: Richard Taruskin and the History of Western Music,” in *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, Vol. 2 (2006–2007):21–49, 45).

<sup>56</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, for example, wrote in a letter in 1995 that *Carmina Burana* should not be performed because Orff, while not personally a National Socialist, “furthered the cause of the regime like a fanatic party member” and was “a German collaborator with the brown criminals” (letter from Fred K. Prieberg to Rosita Winkler, 20 April 1995 (English in original), Archiv Prieberg, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel). Despite these harsh words, Prieberg later explicitly stated that he did not consider *Carmina Burana* to be an inherently National Socialist work (see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5396 (*Geschichtsfälschung* XXVI) and 5397 (*Geschichtsfälschung* XXVIII)). Regarding *Geschichtsfälschung* XXVI, note that Prieberg interpreted Kater’s reference to “the issue of Orff’s personal status as a Nazi” (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 128) as an imputation on Kater’s part that Orff had been a Nazi, but elsewhere in his writings Kater made clear that Orff never was a Nazi (see *ibid.*, 119; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 192; interviews with Kater in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!*). Other examples of strong negative reactions to *Carmina Burana* are based more on musical characteristics, as is Steven Whiting’s assessment. Whiting wrote: “I too was fond of *Carmina burana* in my adolescence, for the same reasons I liked playing rock: it had a good beat, it was hypnotically repetitive, it had colorful sonorities and offcolor lyrics. The difference is, I can still listen to Iron Butterfly without revulsion” (Steven Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” *German Politics & Society*, Volume 19, No. 3, Fall 2001:80–93, 85–87, quotation 85).

<sup>57</sup> In 1996, for example, the Canadian music critic Elissa Poole described “O Fortuna” thus: “Set to staccato syllables that are anything but lyrical, this initial chorus can be terrifying when the singers spit out their Latin fricatives like powerful jack-booted automatons—it was, after all, composed in Germany in 1936” (Elissa Poole, “Chorus lacks colour, bite,” *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 28 September 1996, C21.)

<sup>58</sup> Monod further described that, following the war, Orff and Egk (1901–1983) were thought to be “perfumed with evil” (David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 31 (both quotations)).



government have been considered a maximally damning offense.<sup>59</sup>

Due to the stigma of association with the Third Reich, many artists who were successful in Germany during that period later strove to ally themselves with what the English writer Stephen Spender (1909–1995) called the “politics of the apolitical.”<sup>60</sup> An example is the soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (1915–2006), who had been a member of the NSDAP.<sup>61</sup> When asked about her activities during the Third Reich, Schwarzkopf invoked the famous aria from the title character of Giacomo Puccini’s (1858–1924) *Tosca*: “‘*Vissi d’arte*’ — ‘I lived for art.’”<sup>62</sup> The idea that art may be kept completely separate from the everyday world,<sup>63</sup> and by extension politics, has been widely rejected in the past several decades.<sup>64</sup> As Maier said in his 1995 address, the Nazis took Orff’s work and “added [it] to their other political triumphs. They would have taken no notice of his

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<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 3 for more information as to how this was the philosophy of the American denazification officers following World War II.

<sup>60</sup> Quotation as cited in Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 9 (internal quotation marks omitted). See also Fulcher, “Romanticism, technology, and the masses,” 215.

<sup>61</sup> In fact, Schwarzkopf became involved in the *Nationalsozialistischer Deutsche Studentenbund* (National Socialist German Student Association) in 1934, at the age of nineteen. Her NSDAP membership, Nr. 7.548.960, is dated 1 March 1940, and the application is dated 26 January 1940 (less than two months before her twenty-fourth birthday). For more on Schwarzkopf, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, (the information cited here is found on 6924); Alan Jefferson, *Elisabeth Schwarzkopf*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996.

<sup>62</sup> As quoted in Edward Rothstein, “A Chorus of Denial: New examinations of the role of musicians in the Nazi era,” *The New York Times Book Review*, 29 June 1997, accessed 16 July 2014 at <http://www.nytimes.com/books/97/06/29/reviews/970629.29rothstt.html>. *Tosca* (premiere 1900) is an adaptation of Victorien Sardou’s (1831–1908) play *La Tosca* (1887, published by Hamburg: Tredition Classics, 2012) by with a libretto by Giuseppe Giacosa (1847–1906) and Luigi Illica (1857–1919). For the relevant passage, see in the score, New York: Dover Publications, 1992, 317–325. For a literal English translation, see Nico Castel, *The Complete Puccini Libretti*, second edition, Volume II, Mt. Morris, New York: Leyerle Publications, 1994/2004, 164–165.

<sup>63</sup> This ideal notion relates to a line in E. M. Forster’s (1879–1970) novel *A Room with a View* (1908): “The kingdom of music is not the kingdom of this world” (E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View*, New York: Dover Publications, 1995, 23). It should be noted that Forster’s statement has a different meaning in its original context, as he was describing transcendent personal experiences with music. Such experiences may indeed be what has made many people resistant to accepting that art can be coopted for reprehensible purposes.

<sup>64</sup> In reference to Schwarzkopf’s statement, Edward Rothstein noted that the Third Reich “polluted the position [of ‘*Vissi d’arte*’] for generations, opening to question whether any art is really autonomous, whether beauty can ever exist apart from interest and ideology” (Rothstein, “A Chorus of Denial”). Michael Meyer has emphasized that, as far as politics are concerned, “music was no innocent art, nor was it an innocent institution” (Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (American University Studies, Series IX, History, Vol. 49), New York: P. Lang, 1991, 13–14). Richard Taruskin has generally condemned idea of the innocence of music as well (Taruskin, “Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass At Last?”, 164; also “Orff’s Musical and Moral Failings,” AR 35).

insistence on the absolute power of music. For the Nazis there was nothing musical that was not also political.”<sup>65</sup> In such circumstances, the artist’s intention to remain apolitical—and throughout his life Orff sought to maintain an apolitical persona—cannot alter the reality that the ruling powers have imposed politics on his or her art.

The appropriation of art by oppressive power structures is at the heart of the ethical questions surrounding the situation of artists working under totalitarian conditions, many of whom became increasingly grey figures as the years went on. Beyond Nazi Germany, examples include Shostakovich in Soviet Russia and Artur Honegger (1892–1955) in Vichy France.<sup>66</sup> Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of symbolic capital and symbolic domination offer important insight here. Bourdieu, who was informed by Antonio Gramsci’s theories of hegemony and domination,<sup>67</sup> has observed that society’s assets lie not only in its land and treasury, but also in its culture: it is in the best interest of the ruling powers to have robust cultural institutions that lend credence and prestige to the governing body.<sup>68</sup> The state’s use of symbolic capital leads to symbolic domination of those who have produced it. Bourdieu has defined this phenomenon as “the condition of

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<sup>65</sup> Maier, trans. Murray, “Carl Orff in his time,” 9. Original language (part of which is paraphrased rather than quoted in English): *Die Nationalsozialisten legten Orffs ästhetische Argumente einfach als politische Trümpfe zu den anderen. Sein Beharren auf der Eigenmacht der Musik dürften sie kaum zur Kenntnis genommen haben. Denn für die Nazis gab es nichts Musikalisches, was nicht zugleich politisch war* (Maier, *Cäcilia* 138; original publication, 9). Thomas Rösch of the Orff-Zentrum München has written: “The autonomy of art, which Orff always held highly, was only more illusion within the dictatorship – and the insistence of the composer on a purely artistic, aesthetic viewpoint inevitably changed under this condition to a momentous error” (Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 71, original language: *Die von Orff stets hochgehaltene Autonomie der Kunst war innerhalb der Diktatur nur mehr Illusion – und das Beharren des Komponisten auf einem rein künstlerischen, ästhetischen Standpunkt wandelte sich unter diesen Gegebenheiten zwangsläufig zu einem folgenschweren Irrtum*).

<sup>66</sup> See Jane F. Fulcher, “Romanticism, Technology, and the Masses: Honegger and the Aesthetic Allure of French Fascism,” in *Western Music and Race*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007:201–215, especially 215. While there are many parallels between these two cases, Orff did not suffer a decline in reputation following World War II as did Honegger. See also Jane F. Fulcher, “From Hybrid to Metamorphosis: Poulenc’s Path toward Symbolic Resistance and Counter-Discourse during Vichy,” in *Verwandlungsmusik: Über komponierte Transfigurationen* (Studien zur Wertungsforschung, Band 48), Vienna: Univrsal Edition, 2007:432–484.

<sup>67</sup> See Antonio Gramsci, trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg, *Prison Notebooks*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

<sup>68</sup> See Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Chapter 4: “Structures, habitus, power: basis for a theory of symbolic power,” 159–197, quotation 184. For more on Bourdieu, see Fulcher, “Symbolic Domination and Contestation in French Music”; David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

the appropriation of the material and symbolic profits of [people's] labour.”<sup>69</sup> The film scholar Carlo Testa has expressed this concept vividly: “anything appreciated and consumed by Power, however subversive in its original intention, becomes by its nature as merchandise a support for that very power; and so much the worse for the artist unwilling or unable to cope with this.”<sup>70</sup> Carl Orff was willing to participate in the culture of the Third Reich, thereby allowing his music to be coopted by National Socialism. The composer's reputation has suffered as a result of his actions, and there is evidence in his works that his conscience was haunted by the knowledge of his involvement for the remainder of his life.

### **Fascist Aesthetics and Musical Culture in the Third Reich**

In recent years, a reassessment of music and the Third Reich has been underway that has challenged the assumption that the music produced during this time is inherently without value. In her seminal article “What Is ‘Nazi Music’?”, Pamela M. Potter stated that, for many years after the fall of Hitler, “there was a tacit understanding that all composers who left Nazi Germany, for any reason, were morally upstanding and therefore worthy of having their works taken seriously, while all composers who remained were morally suspect and therefore artistically unworthy of attention, as their music most certainly represented Nazi kitsch at best and racist or nationalist propaganda at worst.”<sup>71</sup> Potter and other scholars have challenged this notion and noted that, contrary to popular belief, there was no single, unified conception of “Aryan music” during the

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<sup>69</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, trans. Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 184. As Jane F. Fulcher has written of Artur Honegger: “...a composer may be impelled by ‘pure’ creative intentions, but...his compromised acts may affect construal of his art. Opportunism or political naivety in the service of great art is not insignificant: the ‘politics of the apolitical’ [a phrase of Stephen Spender] can lend force to those symbols that may have politically noxious, even deadly effects. For symbols can convince and legitimise: they are part of the myriad vectors of ideological diffusion, or networks of impregnation of ideology” (Fulcher, “Romanticism, technology, and the masses,” 215).

<sup>70</sup> Carlo Testa, *Masters of Two Arts: Re-Creation of European Literatures in Italian Cinema* (Toronto Italian Studies), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 109. The context is Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1975 film *Salò, o le 120 giornate di Sodoma*.

<sup>71</sup> See Pamela M. Potter, “What Is ‘Nazi Music’?”, in *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 88 No. 3, Autumn 2005:428–455, quotation 433; and Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich,” *Central European History*, Vol. 40, No. 4, December 2007:623–651.

Third Reich.<sup>72</sup>

In order to understand the phenomenon of music and the Third Reich, it is important to consider not only what may constitute a fascist aesthetic but also how musical culture functioned in Nazi Germany. The following background is intended to establish the terms in which Orff's music, and its perceived connections to Nazism, will be analyzed in the first two chapters.

There has been a popular misconception regarding music in the Third Reich, namely that there existed a clearly defined and consistently enforced National Socialist ideal for musical aesthetics, of which Carl Orff often has been held up as an example due to the success of *Carmina Burana*. For example, the eminent musicologist Gerald Abraham (1904–1988) wrote in the late 1970s that “[t]he only kind of modernism acceptable in the Third Reich was the rhythmically hypnotic, totally diatonic neo-Primitivism” of Orff's music.<sup>73</sup> Other commentators have implied that Orff's success in the Third Reich automatically qualifies his work to some degree as aesthetically Nazi.<sup>74</sup>

One significant treatise on what constitutes fascist aesthetics is Susan Sontag's

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<sup>72</sup> See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 188; Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” 86: “...it is (and should be) as difficult for us to specify inherently Nazi musical features as it was for NS cultural politicians to specify inherently Jewish musical features” (Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” 86). Whiting, as a musicologist, was more willing than Kater to identify elements in *Carmina Burana* that are compatible with National Socialist desiderata for music (see *ibid.*, 86–87). Fred K. Prieberg wrote that the construction of Germanness that many music critics claimed to identify in the Third Reich were simply the product of fantasy (*Phantasieprodukt*, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5569). For more on the subject of music and the Third Reich, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 3–30; Stefan Hanheide, “Einleitung” and “Musik zwischen Gleichschaltung und Säuberung. Zur Situation der Komponisten in Deutschland 1933–1945,” in *Hugo Distler im Dritten Reich*, 11–16 and 17–33, respectively.

<sup>73</sup> Gerald Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979, 840.

<sup>74</sup> For example, Michael Caesar has written: “When the Nazis came into power in 1933, many composers were forced to flee into exile. The Nazis looked to music that was both popular and certainly less complex than twelve-tone music. Music like that of Carl Orff was seen as an excellent remedy for twelve-tone music” (Michael Caesar, “Luigi Dallapiccola (1904–1975),” in *Music of the Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde: A Biocritical Sourcebook*, ed. Larry Sitsky, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002:117–123, 119–120). In the late 1990s, Hans Werner Henze (1926–2012), an eminent German composer who was grew up during the Third Reich, was asked in a BBC3 Radio interview about what sort of music the Nazi establishment wanted. He replied: “They wanted to create sort of a neo-Germanic or neo-Neanderthal kind of music-making, of which Carl Orff is one outstanding representative. They would have loved to have more Orffs....” Quoted in Michael Oliver, *Settling the Score*, 105 (the exact date of the interview is unfortunately not specified, but the book is based on broadcasts that were transmitted between February 1997 and 1999; *ibid.*, vii). In his verse novel *Byrne*, Anthony Burgess (1917–1993) wrote: “Carl Orff's the sole survivor of the Nazis' / Conception of an Aryan aesthetic. / As soon as *Carmina Burana* starts, he's / Heard to be a phthisical diabetic; / Rich only in Teutonic grunts and farts, he's / Confounded the intoxicant and emetic” (Anthony Burgess, *Byrne: A Novel*, London: Vintage, 1996, 30). It remains an open question as to what degree Orff's aesthetic, rather than his association with Nazism, was the impetus for Burgess's inimitable vituperation.

1974 article “Fascinating Fascism.” While Sontag’s analysis did not focus on music—her primary focus was the work of Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003), especially *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), the propagandistic documentary of the 1934 Nazi Party Congress in Nürnberg—the broader concepts are applicable. As Sontag wrote: “To an unsophisticated public in Germany, the appeal of Nazi art may have been that it was simple, figurative, emotional; not intellectual; a relief from the demanding complexities of modernist art.”<sup>75</sup> Sontag’s characterization of fascist aesthetics further includes “contempt for all that is reflective, critical, and pluralistic”; communitarianism; and a “taste for the monumental and mass obeisance to the hero.”<sup>76</sup>

The contention that any particular music, including Orff’s, music typifies or complies with a defined Nazi aesthetic is difficult to support, because many composers in the Third Reich had considerably more aesthetic latitude than previously has been thought.<sup>77</sup> In general, as the musicologist Erik Levi has noted, “the grounds for censorship of a particular composer could be rather arbitrary. As often as not, political attitudes and racial origins were deemed of greater significance than an aesthetic standpoint,” and the criteria for censorship “seem to have been conditioned as much, if not more, by wartime [political] expediency rather than by issues of musical style.”<sup>78</sup>

There are plentiful examples of inconsistent enforcement of musical policies in the Third Reich. Two students of Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), Winfried Zillig (1905–1963), a good friend of Carl Orff,<sup>79</sup> and the Danish-born Paul von Klenau (1883–

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<sup>75</sup> Susan Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” in *The New York Review of Books*, Volume XXII, Number 1, 6 February 1975:23–30, 27, reprinted with modification in Susan Sontag, *Under the Sign of Saturn*, New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1972/1980:71–105, 94. 1974 is given as the year in which the piece was written in *Under the Sign of Saturn*, 105.

<sup>76</sup> Idem.

<sup>77</sup> In 1961, Paul Collaer wrote of the advent of the Third Reich: “Overnight, modern art lost its freedom” (see Paul Collaer, trans. Sally Abeles, *A History of Modern Music*, New York: The World Publishing Company, 1961, 332–337, quotation 332). Collaer considered Carl Orff “the only interesting figure among young German musicians who continued to work under the Nazi regime” (ibid., 335). As Kater has described the situation: “...far more musical events occurred almost in spite of state regulations...in contradistinction to newly established sets of aesthetic values yet continuous with certain lines of development from an earlier period that was now officially blacklisted....On close examination we can find in the Third Reich elements we would not expect in the dictionary definition of a totalitarian regime....” (Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 4 and 6).

<sup>78</sup> Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 97. Levi further noted: “Indeed, many of the characteristics of recent German music, to which propagandists...took great exception, were still prevalent in some of the repertoire which was performed in Germany after 1938” (ibid., 97–98).

<sup>79</sup> See Carl Orff, “Nachruf für Winfried Zillig,” *Musica*, 18. Jahrgang, Heft 2, March/April 1964:66–67.

1946), incorporated the 12-tone method into their music, yet these works still were performed in the Third Reich.<sup>80</sup> Klenau justified his use of the system by comparing his musical language to the highly chromatic Richard Wagner (1813–1883), one of the most revered composers of the Third Reich.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps because Klenau was racially and politically acceptable to National Socialist cultural officers, his strange justification was successful, lending credence to Levi's theory as quoted above.

As Kater has noted, musicians in the Third Reich had this "surprising degree of latitude" because of "the difficulty leading Nazis had devising a binding definition of 'German' music.... [Their opinions] were never manifested in coherent control programs to be executed by efficient censorship agencies, and even when such agencies existed...they were riven by intraparty rivalries,"<sup>82</sup> such as that between Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), a highly influential National Socialist ideologue and *Reichsleiter* (literally "Reich leader," the second highest rank in the NSDAP), and Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945). Rosenberg was more conservative in his taste than Goebbels.<sup>83</sup> Hannah Arendt observed that totalitarian governments instill fear in the population by being capricious in the implementation and enforcement of their laws and policies, creating a sense of constant terror in those whom they dominate.<sup>84</sup> In the case of inconsistent aesthetic censorship in the Third Reich, it is difficult to know the degree to which the confusion was deliberately orchestrated or

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<sup>80</sup> See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 102–103, 106, 300, and 312–313; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 202. Klenau defended himself from criticism by distancing himself from his teacher, Schoenberg, and pointing to the musical language of Richard Wagner as his precedent. As to Klenau's positive reception by Nazi critics, see Fritz Stege, "Berliner Musik: Paul von Klenaus 'Königin' Uraufführung der Neufassung," in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 107. Jahrgang, Heft 7, July 1940:399–403. See also Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 106. For more on Zillig, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 8520–8525; Zillig, see Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, 2–6.

<sup>81</sup> See Paul von Klenau, "Wagners »Tristan« und die »Zwölftönemusik«,," in *Die Musik*, XXVII Jahrgang, Heft 10, July 1935:727–733. Regarding Wagner and the Third Reich, see Joachim Köhler, trans. Ronald Taylor, *Wagner's Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000; Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics: From Wagner and the German Romantics to Hitler*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 188. See also Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 17 and 82–85 ("Naturally, rivalries within the Nazi hierarchy made it more difficult to establish a cohesive musical policy during this period").

<sup>83</sup> See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 84–85; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 188–193;

<sup>84</sup> See Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. As Michael Meyer has written: "Confusion and slavish dependency benefited the regime"; "The totalitarian system fed on the insecurity of individuals and the rivalries and power struggles among the leaders" (Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 193 and 226, respectively). Meyer also noted, however, that Paul Graener (1872–1944) "expressed...the pretension that conflict did not exist within the ranks of coordinated music" (*ibid.*, 226).

simply the result of internal Party dysfunction.

Whatever the reason, there was a general lack of clarity about how Nazi musical ideals translated into aesthetic terms. Efforts among Nazi officials to generate criteria for *Ernste Musik* (literally “serious music,” as classical music was called) often yielded vague, general notions. In the early summer of 1936, Hans Hinkel (1901–1960), a high-ranking official of the RMK and of the reactionary *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur* (“Battle League for German Culture”),<sup>85</sup> gave a speech in which he adumbrated the ideal characteristics for German music. As Hinkel was not a musician but a journalist by training, it is little wonder that he provided a bombastic enumeration of ill-defined traits: close to the folk, “true to life” (*lebensnahe*), and “life-affirming” (*lebensbejahende*).<sup>86</sup> On this occasion Hinkel praised the composer Paul Graener (1872–1944), a member of the NSDAP since 1933 and of the *Kampfund für Deutsche Kultur* since 1930.<sup>87</sup> Graener, an outspoken supporter of National Socialist culture, did compose nationalistic works, including compositions for party functions, during the period of National Socialism,<sup>88</sup> but

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<sup>85</sup> For more on Hinkel, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 3245–3287; Hans Hinkel, “Die geistigen Grundlagen für Körperbildung und Tanz im nationalsozialistischen Staat,” in *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 25, 1933:14–16; “Ein Interview mit Hans Hinkel, Kommissar z. b. V. im preußischen Kultusministerium,” in *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 8, 1933:5–6. For more on the *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur*, see Alan Steinweis, “Weimar Culture and the Rise of National Socialism: The *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur*,” in *Central European History*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1991:402–423.

<sup>86</sup> See Hans Hinkel, “Reichstagung des Berufstandes der deutschen Komponisten auf Schloß Burg. 1. Die Ansprache des Reichskulturwalters Hans Hinkel,” *Zeitschrift für Musik*, Jahrgang 103, 6. Heft, June 1936:699–702, quotations 701 (these quotations are specifically in reference to *Unterhaltungsmusik*, i.e. light and popular music). See also Albrecht Riethmüller, “Komposition im Deutschen Reich um 1936,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 38. Jahrgang, 4. Heft, 1981:241–278, 251–258.

<sup>87</sup> Hinkel, “Die Ansprache des Reichskulturwalters Hans Hinkel,” 700.

<sup>88</sup> Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 140 and 281. Graener’s Party Membership, Nr. 1.597.250, was conferred 1 April 1933; he was in the *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur* since 1930 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 2652). For Graener’s writings, see Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 15–16 and 126–127; Paul Graener, “Staatliche Musikhochschulen,” in *Deutsche Kulturwacht*, 1. Jahrgang, Heft 1, 1932:8–9; Paul Graener, “Aufklang!”, *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, 12. Heft, 1933:1–2, quotation 1 (also printed in *Die Musik*, Jahrgang XXV, Heft 9, June 1933:641–642; reprinted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 73–74, quotation 74, and partly quoted in English translation in Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 87); Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 95–99; and Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, Fifth Edition, New York: Schirmer Books (MacMillan), 1994, 1077–1078 (translation of the text found in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 126–127); several extensive quotations throughout Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 2652–2664. For more information on Graener, see Knut Andreas, *Zwischen Musik und Politik: der Komponist Paul Graener (1872–1944)* (Kunst-, Musik- und Theaterwissenschaft, Vol. 5), Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2008.

in a serious style that it is difficult to connect with Hinkel's musical criteria.<sup>89</sup>

Presumably Hinkel's praise was based on his friendship with Graener and the composer's political reliability rather than his music.<sup>90</sup>

In May 1938, Joseph Goebbels proposed a list of "Ten Principles of German Musical Creation" ("*Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens*").<sup>91</sup> Nothing on this list provides any practical guidelines for composers attempting to write "German" music, and several of the alleged principles are nothing but fulsome clichés, such as no. 6: "Music is that art, which moves the mind of people most deeply; it possesses the power to soothe pain and to transfigure happiness."<sup>92</sup> According to no. 3, "Jewishness and German music are opposites that, according to their nature, stand in starkest conflict to each other."<sup>93</sup> Nothing in the document even attempts to define "Jewish music," and the characteristics of "German music" are even more vague than Hinkel's.

Like Hinkel, Goebbels focused on the idea of melody yet failed to adduce a single quantifiable musical characteristic of the melodic ideal. Instead, he wrote that music should be memorable and, like his Soviet counterpart Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948),

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<sup>89</sup> Graener's publically proclaimed musical criteria are based on his dislike of modernism (he spoke of *die falschen Propheten des Fortschrittes*, "the false prophets of progress") and his strong advocacy for Romanticism. See Paul Graener, "Aufklang!", *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, 12. Heft, 1933:1–2, quotation 1 (also printed in *Die Musik*, Jahrgang XXV, Heft 9, June 1933:641–642; reprinted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 73–74, quotation 74, and partly quoted in Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 87).

<sup>90</sup> See Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 95–99 (note here that Hinkel and Graener were on a *Du* basis by no later than August 1936). Graener's *Turmwächterlied* ("Tower Watchman's Song"), Opus 107 (premiere 1938) is dedicated to Hinkel (see score, Leipzig: Ernst Eulenburg (Plate E.E. 5808), 1938).

<sup>91</sup> This list was written for the *Reichsmusiktag* in Düsseldorf, 22–29 May 1938. See Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion*, Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf / Düsseldorfer Symphoniker, 1988, 2. korrigierte Auflage, 105–125. The convenient number ten is an immediate sign that the list is artificially contrived. One here could apply the words of American comedian and social commentator George Carlin (1937–2008): "They knew if it was [sic] eleven, people wouldn't take it seriously... [this is] a political document artificially inflated to sell better" (George Carlin, *Complaints and Grievances*, Eardum/Atlantic, 2001).

<sup>92</sup> Joseph Goebbels, "Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens," in *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer*, 5. Jahr, Nummer 11, 1 June 1938 (Berlin), S. 1 (reprinted in Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion*, Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf / Düsseldorfer Symphoniker, 1988, 2. korrigierte Auflage, 123). Original language: *Die Musik ist jene Kunst, die das Gemüt der Menschen am tiefsten bewegt; sie besitzt die Kraft, den Schmerz zu lindern und das Glück zu verklären*. An even blander example is found in No. 5: "We thank God that he gave us the grave to hear music, to feel and to listen passionately" (idem, original language: *Danken wir Gott, daß er uns die Gnade gab, Musik zu hören, sie zu empfinden und leidenschaftlich zu lieben*).

<sup>93</sup> Idem. Original language: *Judentum und deutsche Musik, das sind Gegensätze, die ihrer Natur nach in schroffstem Widerspruch zueinander stehen*.



condemned intellectualism and formalism. Goebbels thought that music should have direct emotional appeal:

1. Not the program and not the theory, not experimentation and not construction make the nature of music. Its nature is the melody. The melody as such raises hearts and refreshes souls; therefore it is neither kitschy nor objectionable, because it is sung by the *Volk* on account of its memorability....
4. Music is the most sensual of all arts. It speaks therefore more to the heart and to feeling than to understanding.... It is therefore an irrefutable obligation of our musical leadership to let the entire *Volk* participate in the treasures of German music.<sup>94</sup>

In practice, monumental and stirring works of art can be appropriated for almost any case. A prominent example is the music of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), whose music has been appropriated for political causes across the entire left-right spectrum, including in the Third Reich.<sup>95</sup> During World War II, Beethoven’s music was played as a patriotic display by the fervid Nazi pianist Elly Ney and also used to boost morale by Dame Myra Hess in London during German bombing campaigns.<sup>96</sup>

Beethoven, as Fred K. Prieberg has written, “no longer could defend himself” as he “was misused politically, already long before 1933.”<sup>97</sup> Unlike Carl Orff, Beethoven had no

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<sup>94</sup> Idem. Original language: *1. Nicht das Programm und nicht die Theorie, nicht Experiment und nicht Konstruktion machen das Wesen der Musik. Ihr Wesen ist die Melodie. Die Melodie als solche erhebt die Herzen und erquickt die Gemüter, sie ist nicht deshalb kitschig oder verwerflich, weil sie ihrer Einprägsamkeit wegen vom Volke gesungen wird. [...] 4. Die Musik ist die sinnlichste aller Künste. Sie spricht deshalb mehr das Herz und das Gefühl als den Verstand an....Es ist deshalb einer unabweissbare Pflicht unserer Musikführung, das ganze Volk an den Schätzen der deutschen Musik teilnehmen zu lassen.*

<sup>95</sup> David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, 142–174 (Chapter 4, “The Third Reich”); David B. Dennis, *Inhumanities: Nazi Interpretations of Western Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 30–33, 71–73, 375, 412–413, 421–422, 436, and other references (see index, 533).

<sup>96</sup> Regarding Ney (1882–1968), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5189–5205 (especially the section on her “Ludwig van Beethoven: Ein Bekenntnis,” 5202–5203); Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 30–33; Edward Kilenyi, “The Record of German Musicians: Many Played Ball With The Nazis—Very Few Did Not,” *The New York Times*, 2 June 1946, page X5 (reproduced in Appendix 2). Kater noted that Ney’s “chosen medium was Beethoven,” and that “Beethoven, of course, was in vogue in the Third Reich; he stood for the heroic spirit with which Hitler identified himself” (ibid., 31). Myra Hess’s (1890–1965) first concert at the National Gallery was centered on the famous Piano Sonata No. 23 in F minor, Opus 57 (1804–1805). See Sir Kenneth Clark, “Music in Place of Pictures,” collected in *Myra Hess by Her Friends*, ed. Howard Ferguson and Denise Lassimone, New York: The Vanguard Press, 1966, 57; Jutta Raab Hasen, *NS-verfolgte Musiker in England. Spuren deutscher und österreichischer Flüchtlinge in der britischen Musikkultur* (Musik im “Dritten Reich” und im Exil, Band 1), Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1996, 230–257.

<sup>97</sup> Prieberg’s example is from October 1918; see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 367–368 (quotation 367). Original language: *sich nicht mehr wehren konnte, war schon lange vor 1933 politisch*

control over where and when his music would be played.

Because the National Socialists were in need of symbolic capital, they were inclined to co-opt those works of art that were well received, including *Carmina Burana*. In this regard, there was a significant functionalist element to the cultural policies of the Third Reich. As noted by historians Kater and Michael Meyer, there has been a longstanding debate as to whether the policies of the Third Reich regarding music were primarily functionalist or intentionalist. The paradigm of functionalism maintains that policies were shaped, in Meyer's words, by "forces of chance, the logic of social change, and Nazis reacting to circumstances," as well as intraparty conflict.<sup>98</sup> Appropriating successful music to strengthen the cultural credibility of the Nazi party falls into this category. In contrast, the model of intentionalism states that the National Socialists began with unified principles and shaped their policies in accordance.

The reality of the Third Reich often was a blend of these two paradigms. That the Nazis held strong (albeit abominable) beliefs and imposed totalitarian rule by no means insulated them from practical realities. While my proposed theoretical framework focuses on symbolic capital, thereby favoring a largely functionalist approach to music and the Third Reich, intentionalism unquestionably also played a significant role in National Socialist cultural policies.<sup>99</sup> Many individual Nazi officials and critics had clear ideals as to how music in the Third Reich should sound;<sup>100</sup> the problem was in getting them to agree. Functionalism does not obviate the need to address aesthetic issues because, as noted above, some aesthetics are more likely to garner popularity than others. It is for this reason that accessibility is one of the criteria on which totalitarian officials almost certainly will agree for any kind of art.

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*mißbraucht.*

<sup>98</sup> For a selection of literature on this question, see Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 4–5 and 241 n. 2–4; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 15–16 n. 1, quotation 15 n. 1; Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., London: Arnold, 1985/2000, 69–92 (Chapter 4, "Hitler: 'master in the Third Reich' or 'weak dictator'?"); Erhard Bahr, "Nazi Cultural Politics: Intentionalism vs. Functionalism," in Glenn R. Cuomo, ed., *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995:5–37 (see also Kater's comment on this essay, Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 241 n. 4). See Chapter 2 for further analysis.

<sup>99</sup> As to whether functionalism or intentionalism, if either, is a better framework for studying the Third Reich in general is a question beyond the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>100</sup> See, for example, Herzog, "Was ist deutsche Musik?"

## The Artist's Dilemma under Totalitarianism

While the term “symbolic capital” did not exist in Germany in the 1940s, some German citizens were aware of the underlying concepts and their disturbing implications for culture in the Third Reich. Even during the war, the Munich student-led intellectual resistance group known as the White Rose (*die Weiße Rose*) called on the German people, in the third of their four flyers from the summer of 1942, to participate in a campaign of passive resistance.<sup>101</sup> This campaign included a call for “[s]abotage in all institutions of the cultural type that could raise the ‘reputation’ of the fascists among the people. *Sabotage* in all branches of the fine arts that have merely the slightest connection to National Socialism or serve it.”<sup>102</sup> In effect, the members of the White Rose were calling on their fellow citizens to starve the National Socialists of symbolic capital.

The White Rose's sentiment is trenchantly echoed in a 1947 letter from Orff's colleague Werner Egk (1901–1983) to the music critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901–1988). Egk described the charges leveled against him at his recent denazification tribunal, which included providing “assistance with the construction of a cultural façade intended to camouflage the crematoria of Dachau and Buchenwald.”<sup>103</sup> Egk's name was cleared,<sup>104</sup> but the cloud of that accusation continued to hang over German culture and artists.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> See Chapter 2 for more information on this important resistance movement.

<sup>102</sup> Original language: *Sabotage in allen Veranstaltungen kultureller Art, die das “Ansehen” der Faschisten im Volke heben könnten. Sabotage in allen Zweigen der bildenden Künste, die nur im geringsten im Zusammenhang mit dem Nationalsozialismus stehen und ihm dienen.* Accessed at [http://www.bpb.de/themen/QIW5UX,0,0,Flugblatt\\_III.html](http://www.bpb.de/themen/QIW5UX,0,0,Flugblatt_III.html), 15 June 2014.

<sup>103</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nachlaß of Werner Egk (Ana 410), letter from Egk to Stuckenschmidt, 25 October 1947, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: ... *Mithilfe bei der Errichtung einer Kulturfassade, die dazu dienen sollte die Krematorien von Dachau und Buchenwald zu tarnen.* See also letter from Hans Bergese to Erich Katz, 25 December 1947, page II, front side, in Series 1, Carton 1, Erich Katz Collection, Special Collections, Regis University: “Egk was accused of being a beneficiary and partner in building the cultural façade of National Socialism” (original language: *Egk war der Nutzniesserschaft und der Teilhaberschaft am Aufbau der N.S.Kulturfassade angeklagt*). Bergese and Katz will be introduced in Chapter 1. See also Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 2, in which the author referred to opportunistic musicians' “contribution to a cultural facade for the terror state.” See also *ibid.*, 314: “[Karl Amadeus Hartmann] withdrew into ‘inner emigration’...since he did not want to contribute to the ‘cultural façade of barbarism.’”

<sup>104</sup> See the two letters quoted in the previous note; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 29.

<sup>105</sup> Less than three months before the fall of the Third Reich, the Swiss newspaper *Volksrecht*, a social democratic paper associated with labor unions, condemned the eminent conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954) on similar grounds: “At the same time he has let himself be misused for years...through his

There were a small number of artists in the Third Reich who remained in Germany but abjured the culture of the Third Reich, withdrawing into what has been termed “inner emigration.”<sup>106</sup> One example is Orff’s colleague Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905–1963), with whom he had a complicated relationship.<sup>107</sup> During the Third Reich, Hartmann wrote music of dissent that was only performed abroad.<sup>108</sup> In comparing Hartmann’s actions to those of his peers, it is important to consider one advantage that he had over many others, including Orff: financial stability. Hartmann’s wife, Elisabeth (born Reussmann, 1913–2003), came from a wealthy family.<sup>109</sup> As Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956), one of Orff’s most important artistic influences, wrote in his and Kurt Weill’s (1900–1950) mordant commentary on capitalism, *Die Dreigroschenoper* (*The Threepenny Opera*, 1928): “First comes food, then comes morality.”<sup>110</sup>

The radical Italian leftist author and filmmaker Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975) is

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work, the cruel crimes against countless people should not be heard and not be thought possible in foreign countries.” Article in the *Volksrecht*, Nr. 45, 22 February 1945, quoted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 1984. Original language: *Er hat sich jahrelang dazu mißbrauchen lassen...durch sein Wirken sollten im Ausland die grausamen Verbrechen an unzähligen Menschen nicht gehört und nicht für möglich gehalten werden.* Decades later, Fred K. Prieberg responded to the criticism in the *Volksrecht* by pointing out that Furtwängler’s work in fact had done nothing to prevent the world from learning of the Nazis’ crimes against humanity (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 1984).

<sup>106</sup> Fred K. Prieberg has included the term “inner emigration” in a category of misleading phrases often heard describing music in the Third Reich (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 2884.). See also Andrew D. McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Sein Leben und Werk* (stark erweiterte Neuauflage 2004 zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten), Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen-Bücher, Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2004, 71–85.

<sup>107</sup> For more on Hartmann, see Barbara Haas, “Die Münchner Komponisten-Trias: Das nicht immer unproblematische Verhältnis zwischen Orff, Egk und Hartmann,” in *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Komponist im Widerstreit*, ed. Ulrich Dibelius, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004:228–250; Barbara Haas, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Zeitzeugen und Dokumente zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen-Bücher, Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2004, 57–69; McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann*; Marie-Therese Hommes, “‘Wider das Vergessen’ – Chiffrierte Botschaften in Karl Amadeus Hartmanns wiederentdeckter Schauspielmusik zu ‘Macbeth’ von 1942,” *Die Musikforschung*, 58. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2005:151–174; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 232–239; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 86–110 (Chapter 4, “Karl Amadeus Hartmann: The Composer as Dissident”); Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 266–291; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 2869–2884; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 313–315.

<sup>108</sup> A chart of performances of Hartmann’s, Orff’s, and Egk’s works in Germany and abroad during the Third Reich may be found in Haas, “Die Münchner Komponisten-Trias,” 230–233.

<sup>109</sup> Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 234.

<sup>110</sup> Original language: *erst kommt das Fressen, dann kommt die Moral.* (It is difficult to capture the debasing connotation of the word *Fressen* in English; this word is often used in reference to animals.) Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Vienna: Universal Edition, 2000 (UE 32 992), pages 124–125. The source material for this work is *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728) by John Gay (1685–1732) in the German translation by Elisabeth Hauptmann (1897–1973). The significance of Brecht in Orff’s work will be addressed in Chapter 1.

one of very few artists to have taken extreme measures to ensure that his work could not be used by power. Pasolini grew up during the period of Italian Fascism, and even after 1945 he continued to despise those in power.<sup>111</sup> In 1975, Pasolini wrote that, while an artist must create his or her art as a sincere expression without any fear of being appropriated, “afterwards one must be able to take stock of the degree to which one has possibly been used by the integrating power. And then if one’s own sincerity or necessity has been taken over and manipulated I think one must simply have the courage to reject them.”<sup>112</sup> Pasolini took the drastic step of publicly announcing that he dissociated himself from his previous three films and proceeded to make *Salò, o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (*Salò, or the 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975), a film with a blatantly, even pedantically, anti-fascist and anti-consumerist message delivered as brutally and as graphically as possible—a veritable assault on its viewers.

As several commentators have observed, *Salò* was designed to be unconsumable.<sup>113</sup> The inevitable disadvantage to Pasolini’s approach is the drastic reduction in his audience.<sup>114</sup> While creating deliberately unconsumable works may be a solution for maintaining artistic integrity in totalitarian conditions, the disadvantages include not only severely limiting the audience for a work, and the ideas it posits, but also the risk of antagonizing the enforcers of state cultural policies. Even in democratic

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<sup>111</sup> See footage of an interview with Pier Paolo Pasolini in the documentary “*Salò* Yesterday and Today,” Disc 2 of the Criterion Collection DVD (Cat. No. CC1764D, 2008).

<sup>112</sup> Pasolini, trans. Hood, “Trilogy of Life Rejected,” 49. Original language: *Ma penso anche che, dopo, bisogna saper rendersi conto di quanto si è stati strumentalizzati, eventualmente, dal potere integrante. E allora se la propria sincerità o necessità sono state asservite e manipolate, io penso che si debba avere addirittura il coraggio di abiurarvi* (Pier Paolo Pasolini, “Abiura dalla *Trilogia della vita*,” republished in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Saggi sulla politica e sulla società*, ed. Walter Siti e Silvia De Laude, Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1999:599–603, 599). Carlo Testa has noted the “macabre joke” of Pasolini’s success, which he wrote “was clearly not something for which Pasolini was about to forgive himself” (Testa, *Master of Two Arts*, 270 n. 18).

<sup>113</sup> Naomi Greene, *Pier Paolo Pasolini: Cinema as Heresy*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 216–217 (also 217 n. 111); Naomi Greene, “*Salò*: The Refusal to Consume,” in *Pier Paolo Pasolini: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Patrick Rumble and Bart Testa, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994:232–242

<sup>114</sup> As Naomi Greene has written: “Pasolini’s last film may be greatly admired by a fervent minority, but it has not entered the normal channels of distribution; as of this writing, *Salò* is not even available for rental in the United States” (Greene, *Pier Paolo Pasolini*, 216; fortunately, the film is readily available as of this writing).

societies, *Salò* has been widely persecuted by censors.<sup>115</sup> To have made something like *Salò* under totalitarian conditions would have been an enormous risk.

Those artists working in conditions of domination who, unlike Pasolini, were not willing to renounce their successes and who, as Godela Orff wrote of her father, “did not possess the talent of a martyr”<sup>116</sup> were compelled to find alternative methods of maintaining their subjectivity. In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980), Michel de Certeau (1925–1986) addressed how people struggling to maintain their subjectivity within power structures may do so by means of “unreadable but stable tactics” and “surreptitious creativities that are merely concealed by the frantic mechanisms and discourses of the observational organization.”<sup>117</sup> When applied to music, de Certeau’s theories demonstrate that resistance against the dominant power is possible within a vast array of musical styles, even those that are tolerated or endorsed by those in power. This line of thinking offers an alternate perspective to such paradigms as that of the philosopher Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno (1903–1969), who took a narrow view of what styles of music may be considered appropriately resistant to totalitarianism and other instances of dehumanization.<sup>118</sup> Adorno was critical of Carl Orff, Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971), neoclassical composers such as the French *Les Six*, and many others.<sup>119</sup>

While the struggle to maintain individuality and subjectivity applies to all people living within dominating power structures, artists face particular challenges under such

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<sup>115</sup> See Glenn McCriddle, “Salò Critique,” at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fbrJw7euDwI> (Part 1, uploaded 6 January 2011, accessed 19 June 2014) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBWspwXrbj0> (Part 2, uploaded 21 January 2014, accessed 19 June 2014).

<sup>116</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 54; in previous edition, 51. Original language: *Er besaß keine Begabung zum Märtyrer*.

<sup>117</sup> Michel de Certeau, trans. Steven F. Rendall, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 19854, especially xxiv and 91–110 (Chapter 7, “Walking in the City”), quotation 96.

<sup>118</sup> See Fulcher, “Symbolic Domination and Contestation in French Music,” 314.

<sup>119</sup> See Fulcher, *The Composers as Intellectual*, 6; Jane F. Fulcher, “Symbolic Domination and Contestation in French Music: Shifting the Paradigm from Adorno to Bourdieu,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, eds. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007:312–329, especially 314; Röscher, *Die Musik in den Griechischen Tragödien von Carl Orff*, 13. For Adorno’s negative assessment of Carl Orff, see his 1962 essay “Stravinsky” in *Quasi una Fantasia*, trans. Rodney Livingstone, London: Verso, 1998:145–175, 159. It should be noted that Adorno’s rigid musical criteria were, in fact, not favorable to all twentieth-century avant-garde music (see Marcus Zagorski, “‘Nach dem Weltuntergang’: Adorno’s Engagement with Postwar Music,” *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Fall 2005):680–701).

circumstances. Totalitarian governments are generally wary of personal expression,<sup>120</sup> as the goal of such power structures is to subsume individuality into the collective.<sup>121</sup> The effect of such oppression on the arts has been a central focus in the discourse on the Soviet Dmitri Shostakovich, especially regarding his Fifth Symphony (Opus 47), which like *Carmina Burana* had its premiere in 1937.<sup>122</sup> Like Orff, Shostakovich frequently used, in Esti Sheinberg’s characterization, elements of “irony, satire, parody, and the grotesque.”<sup>123</sup> In both the popular perception of Shostakovich and in much of the scholarly literature about him, one finds the interpretation of this composer as a dissident whose music was designed to be subversive while fooling Soviet cultural officials into believing otherwise. In Chapter 5, I will argue that Orff’s work possessed similar qualities, which became considerably less common in his work following the period of the Third Reich. One possibility for this change is that irony, and the plausible deniability that accompanies it, is more of a necessity in totalitarian conditions.

Godela Orff wrote, of her father’s actions in the Third Reich, “my father was no hero,” and she reported that he chose the path of least resistance during the era of National Socialism.<sup>124</sup> The available evidence, as will be laid out in the following chapters, suggests that his priorities lay in self-preservation rather than fighting against a system that, with his anti-authoritarian worldview, he likely regarded with distrust and antipathy. The fatalist Orff was hardly inclined to do battle against the dark forces he perceived around him; he participated in the musical culture of Nazi Germany and emerged as a “grey” figure. Despite his desire to adhere to the “politics of the apolitical” (in Spender’s words), the nature of totalitarianism made it impossible for him to do so. While Orff’s public remarks rarely address the Nazi period, through his art he expressed the trauma that he, like so many others of his generation, found impossible to utter aloud.

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<sup>120</sup> See Collaer, trans. Abeles, *A History of Modern Music*, 335 (but note the author’s misconceptions, including the odd assertion that composers avoided chromaticism during the Third Reich).

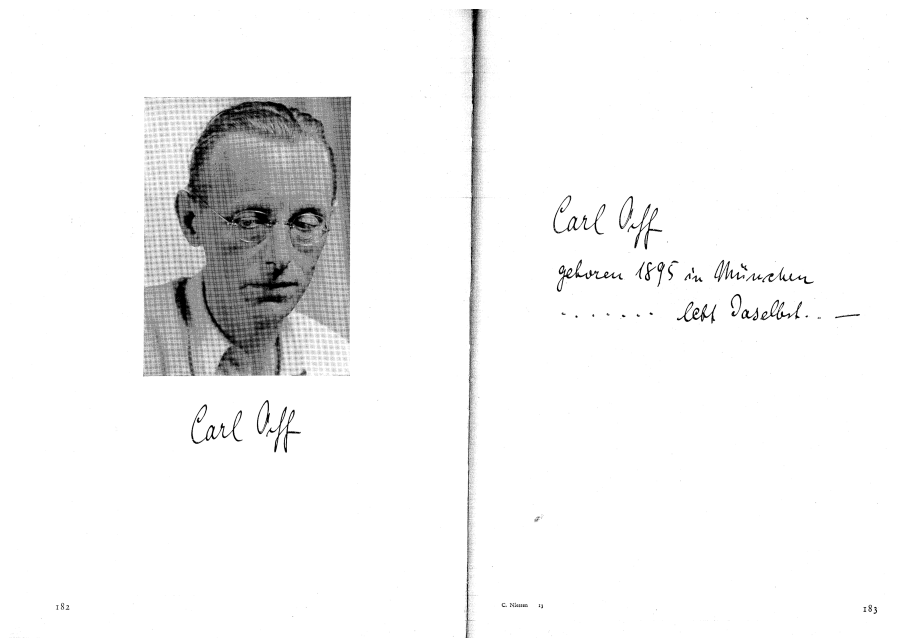
<sup>121</sup> See Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 4, 791–796. Score: Dmitri Shostakovich New Collected Works, 1<sup>st</sup> Series, 5<sup>th</sup> Volume: Symphony No. 5, Opus 47 (score), ed. Manashir Iakubov, DSCH Publishers, 2004 (includes relevant critical commentary).

<sup>123</sup> See Esti Sheinberg, *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich: A Theory of Musical Incongruities*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.

<sup>124</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 54; in previous version, 51. Original language: *Mein Vater war kein Held*.

## Figures



**Figure I.1.** Carl Orff's curt contribution to *Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart* (ed. Carl Niessen, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1944, 182–183). (Translation of text: “Born 1895 in Munich ..... living there .. —”)



**Figure I.2.** Record jacket (Supraphon, SUA 001, 1977) for *Carmina Burana* excerpts with picture from Old Spice TV commercial. In a strange turn of events, an advertisement using *Carmina Burana* becomes itself an advertisement for a recording of *Carmina Burana*—a case of meta-advertisement. The record includes no. 1 and part of no. 9.



**CHAPTER 1**  
**THE LONG JOURNEY TO *CARMINA BURANA*:**  
**Carl Orff's Artistic Development and Professional Decisions**  
**through the Beginning of the Third Reich**

At the time Carl Orff completed his scenic cantata *Carmina Burana* in 1936, he was 41 years old, nearly halfway through his life. Orff himself considered this work, his most famous, to be the true start of his career, as it was the culmination of a musical and theatrical style that he had been cultivating for years.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to examine Orff's personal and artistic development up to the point of his career breakthrough in the Third Reich. I shall demonstrate that many of the salient themes in Orff's oeuvre were present already in his earliest surviving compositions. So too were certain crucial aspects of Orff's character already formed in his childhood. As he told a newspaper interviewer around his seventieth birthday: "The origin of what I have made in the course of my life is found in childhood impressions. Already in my childhood, everything was molded and processed in me."<sup>2</sup>

The literature to date has not addressed the persistence of Orff's unusually dark worldview and pronounced dislike of authority, including of the military and the religious establishment, which was present in his art throughout his entire creative life.<sup>3</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> See Carl Orff in *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Vol. 4 ("Trionfi"), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in "Kindheitseindrücke waren entscheidend. Ein Gespräch zwischen Carl Orff und Walter Erich Schäfer," in *Hannoversche Presse*, 16 July 1965 (Orff-Zentrum München, materials owned by the Carl Orff-Stiftung, hereafter COS/OZM, Pressearchiv). Original language: *Was ich im Laufe meines Lebens geschaffen habe, findet seinen Ursprung in Kindheitseindrücken. In meiner Jugend war alles schon in mir vorgeformt und verarbeitet.*

<sup>3</sup> For comprehensive accounts of Orff's early life, see *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Vol. 1 (Carl Orff, "Erinnerung" and Werner Thomas, "Der Weg zum Werk"), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975; Lilo Gersdorf, *Carl Orff: in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt von Lilo Gersdorf* (Rowohlt's Monographien, ed. Kurt and Beate Kusenbergh), Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981, 8–51; Andreas Liess, trans. Adelheid and Herbert Parkin, *Carl Orff: His Life and Music*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966, 11–27, in the original German, *Carl Orff: Idee und Werk*, Zürich: Atlantis, 1977, 9–25; Ulrich Rühle, »...ganz verrückt nach Musik«: *Die Jugend großer Komponisten*, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995, 366–393.

significant component of Orff's mentality is crucial to understanding his reactions to living under totalitarianism. While one may think that his anti-authoritarianism would have led him to resist the Third Reich, this trait likely was countered by fear of those in power and a profound sense of fatalism, which no doubt were exacerbated by his traumatic experiences in World War I at the age of 22.

Relatively little scholarship on Orff's life has focused on how the experiences of his first several decades shaped him into the artist who wrote *Carmina Burana*,<sup>4</sup> and none has focused on the themes that run throughout his entire oeuvre. I aim to offer a new perspective on Orff's development, both as a composer and as person. This chapter also will address Orff's affiliations in the Weimar Republic and the early years of the Third Reich, including his involvement with progressive musical circles and his attraction to such radical figures as the Communist playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht. This analysis serves to demonstrate Orff's precarious political situation in the early years of National Socialism, thereby establishing the challenges that he faced as he strove to achieve success in the perilous landscape of the Third Reich.

### **Beginnings: Carl Orff's Early Development as an Artist**

Karl Heinrich Maria Orff was born on 10 July 1895 in Munich.<sup>5</sup> He lived his entire 86-year life within Bavaria, a primarily Catholic and traditionally conservative region with a distinct culture. He and his younger sister Maria ("Mia," 1898–1975, married name Seifert) were born into a military family, dating back five generations.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The work that has addressed Orff's development most thoroughly to date is Thomas Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum: Entstehung und Deutung*, Munich: Orff-Zentrum München (KAT 295-99), 2009, 9–44.

<sup>5</sup> The inconsistency between spelling Orff's first name as "Carl" and "Karl" is found throughout the archival materials and even secondary literature cited in this dissertation. Orff's official first name is found in Thomas Rösch, "Carl Orff," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil Vol. 12, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004:1397–1409, 1397.

<sup>6</sup> Beyond the ancestors listed after this note, Orff's patrilineal military ancestry extends back to his great-great-great-grandfather, Johann Caspar Orff (1724–1790) and his great-great-grandfather Anton Josef von Orff (1758–1855, a privy counselor). Orff's other military forebears include his mother's paternal grandfather, Kaspar Josef Köstler (1792–1842); his grandfather Orff's maternal grandfather, Ignaz Goeschl (ca. 1773–1847); and Johann Caspar Orff's maternal grandfather, Heinrich Dötter (? – ?). See Helmut Drobnitsch, "Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII. Die Familie des Komponisten Carl Orff (1895–1982),"

Family tradition was embedded in the composer's very name, Karl, which he shared with his great-grandfather (1797–1874), his grandfather (1828–1905), and his father's older brother and only sibling (1863–1942).<sup>7</sup> Yet from early in his life the fourth-generation Carl Orff knew that his family's military tradition was not for him. According to the composer's memoirs, his father, Heinrich Orff (1869–1949), took him to military parades and musical events, yet was able to accept that his young son had little interest. As Orff wrote in his memoirs: "My father knew that everything soldierly lay far from me and that I could not warm up to it."<sup>8</sup>

According to Godela, Heinrich Orff, kind and supportive though he was, never quite understood Carl's music. This was not at all the case, however, with the composer's mother, Paula Orff (born Köstler, 1872–1960). Godela, the only grandchild of Heinrich and Paula Orff,<sup>9</sup> wrote: "The gift of inspiration, the promotion of [his] creative abilities was given to my father by his mother."<sup>10</sup> Paula Orff was an accomplished pianist, who gave her son piano lessons from the time he was five years old and helped him write down his first compositions.<sup>11</sup> Orff's relationship with his mother had great importance in shaping him as a person. As he wrote in his memoirs: "From time immemorial I was a real mother's boy. In life's serious and supremely difficult situations she understood me

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*Blätter des bayerischen Landesvereins für Familienkunde*, 52. Jahrgang (Kallmünz: Lassleben), 1989:73–83. Maria Seifert's married name and dates of life according to OZM, 7 February 2014.

<sup>7</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 9–19; Wolfgang Seifert, "...auf den Geist kommt es an': Carl Orff zum 75. Geburtstag – Kommenar und Gespräch," in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 131. Jahrgang, Heft 7/8, July/August 1970:370–377, 373; Karl Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," in *Carl Orff: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. Horst Leuchtmann (on commission from the music department of the *Bayerischen Akademie der Schönen Künste*), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985:93–110, 94; Drobnitsch, "Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII." Orff's uncle never married or had children; hence the patrilineal name was carried on through his younger brother's son (Drobnitsch, "Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII," 81–82).

<sup>8</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 15–16, quotation 15. Original language: *Mein Vater wußte, daß mir alles Soldatische fern lag und ich mich dafür nicht erwärmen konnte*. See also Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 22.

<sup>9</sup> In 1924, Orff's sister Maria married the widowed architect Alwin Seifert (1890–1972); they never had any children. See Thomas Zeller, "Seifert, Alwin," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 24 (Schwarz–Stader), Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2008/2010:189–190, 189.

<sup>10</sup> Godela Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, Leipzig: Henschel, 2008, 29–30 and 25 (quotation), in previous version, Godela Orff, *Mein Vater und ich: Erinnerungen an Carl Orff*, Munich/Mainz: Piper/Schott (Band 8332), 1992/1995, 29 and 23 (quotation). Original language of first quotation: *Die Gabe des Inspirierens, das Fördern kreativer Fähigkeiten wurde meinem Vater von seiner Mutter mitgegeben*. Godela's fond memories of her paternal grandparents are recounted in *ibid.*, 25–32, in previous version 23–32 (the earlier version is more extensive).

<sup>11</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 14 and 22; G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 27–29, previous version, 23–25; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 12–13, in the original language, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 11.

deeply with her heart, even if her ideas, strongly set in tradition, stood in the way of it.”<sup>12</sup> After Paula’s death on 22 July 1960, Karl Amadeus Hartmann wrote to Orff: “I know how intimately bonded you were with your mother, similar to me with mine.”<sup>13</sup> Godela wrote that her father called out for his mother as he lay on his hospital deathbed.<sup>14</sup>

Another figure of great importance to the young composer was his maternal grandfather, Karl Köstler (1837–1927), who like his other grandfather was a military major general and a scholar in his private life.<sup>15</sup> Köstler chronicled the young Orff’s musical activities, including the concerts he began attending around the age of ten, and financed five publications of the teenage composer’s songs in 1912.<sup>16</sup> In a 1970 interview, Orff recalled that he grew up in a musical household: “In my father’s house there was certainly more music making than drilling.”<sup>17</sup> In addition to writing music from an early age, Orff wrote puppet plays, an early indication of his love for theater.<sup>18</sup> Orff’s passion for classical literature also dates to his childhood. In his memoirs, he wrote that he found his schooling (*Gymnasium*) to be largely uninspiring, with one exception: “Only Greek was important and really absorbing to me. Reading Homer was music for me: Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ. I also was allowed to read aloud

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<sup>12</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 15. Original language: *Von eh und je war ich ein rechtes Mutterkind. In schweren und schwierigsten Lebenslagen verstand sie mich zutiefst mit dem Herzen, auch wenn ihre stark in der Tradition befangenen Vorstellungen dem entgegenstanden.* See also *ibid.*, 26–28.

<sup>13</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Handschriftenlesesaal (hereafter BSB HSL), Ana 407 (Karl Amadeus Hartmanns Nachlaß), Briefe von Karl Amadeus Hartmann an Carl Orff. This letter does not have an exact date. Original language: *Ich weiss, wie innig Sie mit Ihrer Mutter verbunden waren, ähnlich wie ich mit meiner....* The date of Paula Orff’s death is given in Drobnitsch, “Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII,” 82.

<sup>14</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 150, in previous version, 145.

<sup>15</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 9–12; Drobnitsch, “Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII,” 80 and 82 n. 46 (note that some sources give 1924 as the year of Köstler’s death, but an *errata* list in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1 clarifies that 1927 is correct; see also Orff in *ibid.*, 12).

<sup>16</sup> Karl Köstler’s diary is housed at the Orff-Zentrum München. See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 21–27 and 39. For complete information on the five publications of Orff’s early songs (Opus 12, Opus 13 No. 3, Opus 15, Opus 17, and Opus 18 No. 1), see Appendix 1; *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 242–243; Orff in *ibid.*, 42; Thomas in *ibid.*, 83–88 and 95–96; Robert Münster et al, *Carl Orff. Das Bühnenwerk. Ausstellung anlässlich des 75. Geburtstags, 10. Juni bis 31. Juli 1970, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich: Holzinger Druckerei, 1970, 50–51.

<sup>17</sup> Orff quoted in Seifert, “...auf den Geist kommt es an,” 373. Original language: *In meinem Vaterhaus ist sicher mehr musiziert als exerziert worden.*

<sup>18</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 25–30 and 41; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 12, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 10.

in class again and again, which I did with verve and childlike pathos.”<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the pervasive role of fate in Greek mythology and Greek tragedy helped to mold Orff’s own strong sense of fatalism.<sup>20</sup>

According to Godela’s memoirs, her father was a rebellious soul. A prominent example of Orff’s strongly independent nature is his break with his family’s religion. Orff grew up in a devoutly Catholic family, as his daughter described in her memoirs: “The dogmas of the Catholic Church minted the lifestyle and everyday life of my grandparents. They lived their faith and subjugated themselves to the strict demands of their religion.”<sup>21</sup> At the age of ten, two miniature stories by Orff appeared in a Catholic children’s journal.<sup>22</sup> Yet, as Godela wrote: “my father...very early must have rebelled against it; he wanted, in keeping with his nature, to test and identify himself what was right and proper for him – he broke very young from his parents.”<sup>23</sup> According to Orff’s second wife, Gertrud Willert Orff (1914–2000), to whom he was married from 1939 to 1953, “he never went to church; to the contrary. It was probably the time of inner rebellion against things like that...He was a religious person, yes. But not a person of the church.”<sup>24</sup>

According to Godela, the decisive event in her father’s break with the Catholic Church was the death of one of his schoolmates, who was driven to suicide by the

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<sup>19</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 38. Original language: *Mir wichtig und mich wirklich packend war nur Griechisch. Homer lesen: Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ war für mich Musik. Ich durfte auch immer wieder in der Klasse vorlesen, was ich mit Schwung und kindlichem Pathos tat.* The quoted Greek is the first line of the *Odyssey*: “Sing to me, muse, the man of many turns...” Homer’s years of life are unknown.

<sup>20</sup> I thank Professor Jason Geary for raising this possibility to my attention.

<sup>21</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 29, previous version, 29. Original language: *Die Dogmen der katholischen Kirche prägten den Lebensstil und Alltag meiner Großeltern. Sie lebten ihren Glauben und unterwarfen sich den strengen Forderungen ihrer Religion.*

<sup>22</sup> *Das gute Kind*, 8. Jahrgang, Nr. 10, 9 July 1905 (Augsburg: Schmid, 1905), 76–77 (“Der Hochmut,” i.e. “Pride”) and 79–80 (“Der Stern,” i.e. “The Star”). The authorship of the former story is not credited, while that of the latter is given as “von Karl O.” See Münster et al, *Carl Orff. Das Bühnenwerk*, 7; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 24–25. See also Appendix 1. *Das gute Kind (The Good Child)* was the *Jugendbeilage* (children’s supplement) of *Der katholische Familie (The Catholic Family)*.

<sup>23</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 29, previous version, 29. Original language: *Mein Vater aber muss sich schon sehr früh dagegen aufgelehnt haben; er wollte, wie es seiner Natur entsprach, das für ihn Richtige und Gemäße selbst prüfen und erkennen – er löste sich sehr jung von seinen Eltern.* It is relevant here that Orff’s sister, Maria, married a Protestant who was interested in anthroposophy (see Zeller, “Seifert, Alwin,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 189).

<sup>24</sup> See interviews with Gertrud Willert Orff in Tony Palmer, *O, Fortuna!*, Isolde Films, 2008 (original broadcast date 1995). Original language: *Er ging nie in die Kirche, im Gegenteil. Es war wohl auch die Zeit, der inneren Rebellion gegen so etwas...Er war ein religiöser Mensch, ja, aber kein kirchlicher Mensch.* English translation differs from subtitles (which are often imprecise or inaccurate in this film).

treatment he received when he attempted to leave his religion. Despite Orff's rejection of Catholic dogma, Godela stated that her father's parents "nevertheless always remained lovingly inclined toward him, even when his way of life did not meet their expectations."<sup>25</sup> Orff raised his daughter without religious dogma and did not have her baptized, instead allowing her to determine matters of religion for herself.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, as Gertrud Orff noted, the composer's works often feature religious imagery, albeit conceived outside the framework of orthodox doctrine.<sup>27</sup> Of Orff's extant works, his only liturgical setting is a brief *a cappella* arrangement of the "Ave Maria" text from his time at the *Akademie der Tonkunst* (1912–1914); it is possible that this work was an assigned exercise.<sup>28</sup>

According to his 1975 memoirs, Orff made his most significant break with his family tradition at the age of 16, when he announced to his family that he intended to go to music school rather than complete his *Abitur* (the German equivalent of a high school diploma) and attend university. This decision met with resistance, primarily from his father's elder brother, the senior male of the Orff family.<sup>29</sup> According to Orff's memoirs, his uncle said: "An Orff who has no *Abitur*, cannot be accepted into university, and cannot get his doctorate is no Orff!" The composer retorted: "I need no *Abitur*; I need music, and anyway I'll get the honorary doctorate, exactly like my grandfather!" (Indeed, he was vindicated, albeit after his uncle's death, with honorary doctorates from

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<sup>25</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 29, in previous version, 27. Original language: *blieben ihm trotzdem immer liebevoll zugeneigt, auch wenn seine Lebensweise ihren Vorstellungen nicht entsprach*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–139; in previous version, 126–129. The circumstances of Orff's schoolmate's suicide are not entirely clear in Godela's memoirs, but one may assume he was ostracized for his apostasy.

<sup>27</sup> Orff's use of religious imagery will be described in the subsequent chapters, especially in Chapter 5 regarding *De temporum fine comoedia*. As Gertrud Orff noted in the interview quoted above (Palmer, *O Fortuna!*), Orff decided to be buried in the Andechs Monastery despite having been divorced three times. He also married his fourth wife, Liselotte Orff, at the Andechs on 10 May 1960 (Drobnitsch, "Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII," 82).

<sup>28</sup> The premiere of this work took place on 23 June 1982, a few months after Orff's death. Carl Orff, "Ave Maria," Schott Choral Music (C 47005), 1991. The precise date of the work is unknown (see also Münster et al, *Carl Orff. Das Bühnenwerk*, 52, which makes references to *Verschiedene Chöre*, i.e. various choruses, in manuscript from 1914 as among Orff's required compositions from his time at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*).

<sup>29</sup> Orff wrote that his uncle was "at that time, as it were, the senior of the family" (original language: *damals gleichsam der Senior der Familie*, Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 40), although his paternal grandmother, Fanny Orff (1833–1919), was still alive. This speaks to the paternal structure of the traditional German family at that time.

universities in Tübingen in 1959 and Munich in 1972.)<sup>30</sup> Contrary to the stereotype of the strictly paternal German family,<sup>31</sup> it was the composer's mother who convinced her husband to honor their son's wishes, and the young Orff was able to begin his studies at the Munich *Akademie der Tonkunst* (Academy of the Musical Arts) in 1912.<sup>32</sup>

### **Carl Orff's Early Compositions as They Relate to His Mature Output**

Following the success of *Carmina Burana*, Carl Orff often expressed discontent with many of his earlier compositions.<sup>33</sup> A survey of his works up until *Carmina Burana*, however, demonstrates that many of the characteristics of his mature output are present already in the works of his youth, despite the differences in his musical influences and choice in textual sources. These preferences include his love for literature and theater, his disinclination toward absolute music, and his obsession with themes of fatalism and oppressive authority.

Orff was enrolled in the *Akademie der Tonkunst* from 1912 to 1914, during which time he studied composition. Alas, the young composer's victory against family tradition was Pyrrhic. In his memoirs, Orff wrote: "The whole academy was conservative and old-fashioned." While he described his composition teacher Anton Beer-Walbrunn (1864–1929) with deference, he wrote that their natures were entirely different and so the relationship was not particularly successful.<sup>34</sup> Andreas Liess has written that Orff found little inspiration in his schooling; he was primarily an autodidact and never liked

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<sup>30</sup> *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 40, internal quotation marks omitted (both quotations). Original language of first quotation: *Ein Orff, der kein Abitur hat, nicht auf der Universität zugelassen wird und keine Doktor machen kann, ist kein Orff!* Original language of second quotation: *Ich brauche kein Abitur, ich brauche Musik, und ich kriege den Doktor h.c. sowieso, genau wie mein Großvater!* Regarding the honorary doctorates, see Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann, "Orff, Carl," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 1, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999:588–591, 590.

<sup>31</sup> See Bertram Schaffner, *Fatherland: A Study of Authoritarianism in the German Family*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Schaffner and his theories will play an important role in Chapter 3.

<sup>32</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 40.

<sup>33</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4 ("Trionfi"), 1979, 66. This matter is addressed at the beginning of Chapter 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 44–45 (quotation 44). Original language of quotation: *Die ganze Akademie war konservativ und altväterlich*. See also Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 12; Liess, *Carl Orff*, 10 (original German). See Appendix 1 for more information on Orff's works from his time at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*.

technique-building exercises at the piano, even as an adult.<sup>35</sup> Orff's displeasure at his own education likely accounts, at least in part, for his interest in music education and his philosophy that it should encourage creativity, fantasy, and improvisation.<sup>36</sup>

Before his time at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*, Orff wrote several dozen *Lieder*, the earliest of which that survive date from November 1910 to August 1912. He primarily used texts by early and mid-nineteenth-century German poets, especially Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), as well as such contemporary poets as Richard Beer-Hofmann (1866–1945) and Borries, Freiherr von Münchhausen (1874–1945). While Orff did not usually gravitate toward old German source material in the tradition of Richard Wagner, he did set a poem from the Old Norse *Edda* poetry and two poems by Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230).<sup>37</sup> Orff's love of fantasy is manifest in the three poems he set to music at the age of 15 from a volume of verses and stories children, collected and illustrated by Hermann Vogel (1854–1921; see figure 1.2).<sup>38</sup> Orff's most ambitious extant work from this time is a three-movement cantata (at present unpublished) of at least 40 minutes in length on texts of Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844–1900) *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*), Opus 14, which is scored for solo baritone, three men's choruses, wind ensemble, harps, pianos, organ, and percussion.<sup>39</sup>

Orff's early musical influences were typical for those of his generation, including

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<sup>35</sup> Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 12, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 10. See also Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 73.

<sup>36</sup> One may note a similarity between Orff's ideals and Godela Orff's account of her grandmother's teaching in G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 27 and 29, in previous version, 23 and 25.

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix 1 for complete information. The Heine settings are Opp. 4, 9 Nos. 2–4 and 6, 10 No. 1, and 13 Nos. 1 and 2; the Beer-Hofmann setting is Opus 6 No. 2; the Münchhausen settings are Opp. 9 No. 1, 18, and “Die Glocke zu Hadamar”; the songs using old German texts are Opp. 10 No. 3, 15, and 19 (songs). See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 41–44; Thomas in *ibid.*, 73–96. An edition of Orff's early *Lieder* is in preparation at the time of this writing.

<sup>38</sup> The texts Orff used (respectively for his Opus 8 No. 4, Opus 8 No. 5, and Opus 7, all composed in May and June 1911) are found in Hermann Vogel, ed. and illustrator, *Hermann Vogel Album II*, München: Braun und Schneider, Monatsblätter 1896, 17 (Februar), 38 (Mai), and 44 (Juni). These texts, respectively, are by Vogel, Hans Mayr (1871–1925), and Franz Josef Stritt (1831–1908). See Appendix 1 for complete information.

<sup>39</sup> See Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiklesesaal (hereafter BSB ML), Orff ms. 43 and Orff ms. 44. See also Orff m. 34 for the *Lied* version (Opus 11 No. 2) of the first movement, “Aus: Zarathustras Nachtlid.” See Appendix 1 for further information on these works. See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1 43–44; Thomas in *ibid.*, 88–95.



Richard Strauss (1864–1949) and Claude Debussy (1862–1918).<sup>40</sup> When Orff was about eighteen, he became interested in the music of Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) and the work of the *Blaue Reiter* (“Blue Rider”) circle.<sup>41</sup> At this time Orff also became fascinated by the sonic experiments of the Italian Futurists, especially as outlined in the writings of Francesco Balilla Pratella (1880–1955) and Luigi Russolo (1885–1947).<sup>42</sup> Orff’s heavy use of percussion and speech in his mature works owe a debt to the Futurists. Their radical concepts of sound and noise are evident in the extant sketches of Orff’s *Treibhauslieder* (“Greenhouse Songs”). These include the sound of cicadas played from a record and dripping sounds, combined with plucking the high strings of a piano with plectra.<sup>43</sup> Orff’s sketches predate by over a decade Ottorino Respighi’s use of the sound of a nightingale played on phonograph in *Pini di Roma* (“Pines of Rome,” premiere 1924).<sup>44</sup>

Although Orff’s musical style evolved radically from youth to maturity, one critically important element of his work was constant: his love for literature. As he said in an interview in 1979: “I deliberately have seen music and theater as a unit — that also corresponded to my nature. I have always been interested in language... For speech is

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<sup>40</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 45–46; Thomas in *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 139; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 31–33; Sabine Fröhlich, “Carl Orff und Richard Strauss: Zeitversetzte Parallelen und Differenzen,” in *Richard Strauss und die Moderne: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium München, 21. bis 23. Juli 1999* (Veröffentlichungen der Richard-Strauss-Gesellschaft, Band 17), ed. Bernd Edelmann, Birgit Lodes, and Reinhold Schlötterer, Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2001:329–342.

<sup>41</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 44 and 51–53; Thomas in *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 124–127, 131; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 29–30.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 130–131 and 136–139; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 53–54. For more on the Futurists, including their writings, see F. T. Marinetti et al, *I manifesti del futurismo Lanciati da Marinetti, Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Pratella, de Saint-Point, Apollinaire, Palazzeschi*, Firenze: Lacerba, 1914; Rodney Johns Payton, *The Futurist Musicians: Francesco Balilla Pratella and Luigi Russolo*, dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974; Domenico Tampieri, ed., *Francesco Balilla Pratella: Edizioni, scritti, manoscritti musicali e futuristi*, Ravenna: Longo, 1995; Luigi Russolo, *The Art of Noise (Futurist Manifesto, 1913)*, New York: Something Else Press, 1967, original language: Luigi Russolo, *L’arte dei Rumori*, Viterbo [Italy]: Stampa alternativa/Nuovi equilibri, 2009.

<sup>43</sup> *Treibhauslieder* was to be a *Traumspiel* (dream play) with texts by the symbolist poet Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949). Orff worked on this piece from 1913 to 1914. Unfortunately, he decided to destroy what he completed of the score in what he called a “passionate auto-da-fé” (*leidenschaftliche Autodafé*). See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 53–58 (quotation 58); Thomas in *ibid.*, 127–139; *ibid.*, 245; Münster et al, “Carl Orff: Das Bühnenwerk,” 52; Rudolf Stephan, “Einfachheit oder Vereinfachung,” in *Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste, Jahrbuch 2, 1. Halbband*, München: Verlag C.H., 1988:260–268 260–264; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 14–15, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 13–14. Some of the extant sketches are printed in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 130, 132, and 136.

<sup>44</sup> Respighi (1879–1936) composed *Pini di Roma* (P. 141) in 1923–1924 (score: Milan: G. Ricordi & C., 1925. Plate P.R. 439).

most deeply connected with music.”<sup>45</sup> Orff never worked with a librettist, instead choosing to write his own words or selecting preexisting texts himself, sometimes in collaboration with friends.<sup>46</sup> When Orff selected texts to set (using either excerpts or the entirety), he was far more reticent to alter them than many other composers;<sup>47</sup> he later wrote *verbatim* settings of three Greek tragedies.<sup>48</sup> According to Orff’s memoirs, his first composition, written around the age of five, was a lullaby for voice and piano in G major for which he wrote the five lines of text himself.<sup>49</sup> Most of the extant works from his youth are texted, primarily using poetry from nineteenth-century German authors.<sup>50</sup> Even his only surviving work for solo piano, “Tonbild nach Andersen” (“Tone Picture after Andersen,” Opus 16, 1912), is not absolute music, but rather, in the Romantic tradition, a musical interpretation of a literary text.<sup>51</sup> For Orff, music and words were inextricably linked from an early age.

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<sup>45</sup> W-E. v. Lewinski “,Ich wollte nie modern sein.‘ Gespräch mit dem Komponisten Carl Orff,” *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Mainz, 14 July 1979, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv. Original language: *Ich habe Musik und Theater ganz bewußt als Einheit gesehen – das entsprach auch meiner Natur. Ich habe mich immer für die Sprache, welche es auch sei, interessiert. Denn Sprache hängt zutiefst mit Musik zusammen.* See also Martin Konz, “Auf den Mond zu fliegen ist elementar. Rückbesinnung auf die Ursprünge: Interview mit dem Komponisten Carl Orff,” in *Neue Musikzeitung*, 24. Jahrgang, Heft 2, April/May 1975, S. 3: “I consider concert music in the disposition of the classical and romantic to be simply impossible today as matter for composition” (*Konzertmusik im Habitus von Klassik und Romantik halte ich als Kompositionsanliegen heute einfach für möglich*).

<sup>46</sup> In the interview quoted in the previous note, Orff said: “Thus I also searched for no librettists” (idem, original language: *Also suchte ich mir auch keine Librettisten*). As Nicholas Attfield has written: “For Orff, so to speak, no librettist need apply” (Nicholas Attfield, “Re-staging the Welttheater: A Critical View of Carl Orff’s *Antigonae* and *Oedipus der Tyrann*,” in *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage*, ed. Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjenšek, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010:340–368, 346). See Chapter 2 for details of Orff’s collaborators on the libretti of *Carmina Burana* and *Die Kluge*, as well as his work on Bavarian folk music

<sup>47</sup> An exception is the early *Lied* “Gebet” (“Prayer”), Opus 2 No. 3 (manuscript dated 23 December 1910). Not only did Orff make substantial changes to the poem by Gustav Renner (1866–1945), but he did not include the poet’s name on the manuscript, unlike with his other early songs. See Appendix 1 for complete information.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Rösch, *Die Musik in den Griechischen Tragödien von Carl Orff* (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, Bd. 59), Tutzing: Schneider, 2003, 17.

<sup>49</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 22–23. The composer’s age at the time of this composition is unclear; it is, however, in the same paragraph in which he described starting to learn piano at the age of five.

<sup>50</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 40–41. For a complete listing, see Appendix 1. Orff also wrote many instrumental works in his youth that regrettably do not survive (*Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 240).

<sup>51</sup> The literary source is from Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875); see Appendix 1 for complete information. See also Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 95. Piano compositions based on literary readings were typical of such composers as Robert Schumann (1810–1856) and Franz Liszt (1811–1886). Orff wrote several instrumental works at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*, of which a movement for string quartet survives, as does another such composition from 1921. See Appendix 1 for further information.

## Anti-Authoritarianism in Carl Orff's Early Works

The similarity between Carl Orff's youthful compositions and his mature stage works extends beyond his approach to text setting. Given that Orff went against his family's traditions from an early age, it is not surprising that several works from his teenage years already evince the anti-authoritarian attitude that he would express through his art throughout his entire life. In these pieces, one finds not only negative depictions of authority, but also another theme that was to occupy the composer throughout his entire life: fatalism. Four significant examples are the songs "Die Närrin" ("The Madwoman,"<sup>52</sup> Opus 8 No. 3) and "Der letzte Hohepriester" ("The Last High Priest," Opus 6 No. 1), the song cycle *Eliland: Ein Song von Chiemsee* (*Eliland: A Song from Lake Chiemsee*, Opus 12), and the music-drama *Gisei: Das Opfer* (Opus 20; *Gisei*—犠牲 in Japanese—and *Das Opfer* both mean "The Sacrifice").<sup>53</sup> For all their musical differences from Orff's mature works, these early compositions remarkably foreshadow the composer's later subject matter, a fact that has not been addressed in the scholarly literature to date.

"Die Närrin" is the earliest of Orff's surviving *Lieder*; the manuscript is dated 27 November 1910. This song has not been analyzed in the previous literature.<sup>54</sup> The text is a poem by Princess Mathilde von Bayern (1877–1906) that expresses misgivings toward war and, by extension, the military, one of the most venerated institutions of German society and the very institution in which Orff's family was steeped. Rather than focusing on the horror of the battlefield experience, Mathilde's poem describes a damaged woman whose son has been killed in war:

Old Lenja, who laughs so shrilly / And asks you: "What is my dear Cyrill doing? / He has gone to war!" // Old Lenja, who laughs so shrilly, / and whines: "My little son, my beautiful Cyrill, / Has the enemy caught you up?" // Lenja, the old woman, who laughs piercingly and shrilly: / "I know it, my little rogue, my dear

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<sup>52</sup> *Närrin* is literally the feminine word for "fool," and sometimes carries the unfortunate and antiquated meaning of a mentally handicapped individual.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix 1 for complete information on these works.

<sup>54</sup> Werner Thomas's text in *Dokumentation* does not even mention "Die Närrin" by name, but rather describes the songs of Opus 8 and Opus 9 as Orff's early attempts to write music without any instruction, most of which he later found unsatisfactory (Thomas in *Dokumentation*, 79).

heart Cyrill, / they have hanged you!”<sup>55</sup>

For a 15-year-old German boy from a military family in 1910 to be drawn to a poem about the horror of war and the grief of a mother is highly unusual. Shortly after he composed “Die Närrin,” Orff set to music another poem in which a mother loses her son, Heinrich Heine’s “Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar” (“The Pilgrimage to Kevlaar,” Opus 4).<sup>56</sup> The reason that Orff was drawn to these poems may lie in his close relationship with his own mother.

In Orff’s setting of “Die Närrin,” the first of the three strophes is followed by an eight-measure march in B-flat major, evoking what William Shakespeare (1574–1616) called the “pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.”<sup>57</sup> After the second strophe, in which Cyrill’s capture by the enemy is suggested, the first three measures of the march return in B-flat minor, abruptly cutting off mid-phrase, with the dynamic reduced from *forte* to *piano* (see musical examples 1.1–1.2). The minor-mode ghost of the march illustrates that the valiance of war—a concept that had great significance in German society—has been tainted.<sup>58</sup>

Note: mm. 28–31 missing dots in left hand in manuscript.

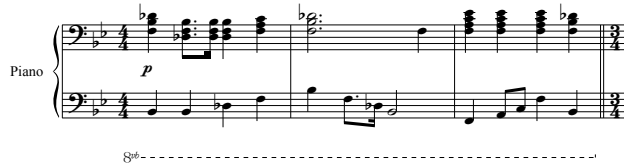
**Musical Example 1.1.** “Die Närrin,” Opus 8 No. 3 (1910), diplomatic transcription of manuscript (BSB ML, Orff.ms. 31), measures 26–33.

<sup>55</sup> One slash (virgule) indicates a line break; two indicate a new stanza. This poem is printed in the posthumously published collection *Traum und Leben: Gedichte einer früh Vollendeten*, Munich: Suddeutsche Monatshefte, 1910, 33. This collection initially was published anonymously. Original language: *Die alte Lenja, die lacht so schrill. / Und fragt dich: „Was macht mein Täubchen Cyrill?“ / Der ist in den Krieg gegangen!“ // Die alte Lenja, die lacht so schrill. / Und winselt: „Mein Sohnchen, mein schöner Cyrill, / hat dich der Feind gefangen?“ // Die Lenja, die alte, lacht gellend und schrill: / „Ich weiß es, mein / Schelmchen, mein Herzchen Cyrill, / sie haben dich aufgehangen!“*

<sup>56</sup> In this case the mother loses her son to illness at the end of the poem. See Appendix 1 for complete information on Opus 4. For Heine’s poem, see Heinrich Heine, *Heines sämtliche Werke*, Band 1, Berlin: Knauer, 1906, 158–160.

<sup>57</sup> William Shakespeare, *Othello* (ca. 1603), Act III, Scene 3, line 354 (New York: Penguin Books, 1958/2001, 78).

<sup>58</sup> See Chapter 3 for more on the prevalent attitude of German society toward war and the military at this time.



Note: in m. 59 right hand missing dot in manuscript.

**Musical Example 1.2.** Carl Orff, “Die Närrin,” measures 59–61.

The textual source of “Der letzte Hohepriester” (manuscript dated 8 June 1911) is from a collection of Jewish-themed poetry by Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894) titled *Ahnenbilder* (*Ancestral Pictures*).<sup>59</sup> The somber tone of the young Orff’s setting befits Frankl’s lugubrious poem about a high priest who is the sole survivor of a massacre in the temple, presumably one of the two historical destructions that befell the Holy Temple (בְּיַת־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ) in Jerusalem. The Talmudic interpretation of the temple’s destruction (Yoma 9B) states that God was punishing the Israelites’ transgressions, and the priest in the poem seems to agree; he says to God, “you have held us not to be worthy.”<sup>60</sup> After returning the temple’s key to God, the priest expires.

Based on Orff’s rebellion against religious dogma, it is unlikely that he saw the temple massacre as just punishment for sinners, but rather as an example of a cruel, unseen force outside of humanity’s control. God has abandoned his people.<sup>61</sup> The priest is “deeply wounded by Fate,” presaging the Goddess Fortuna of *Carmina Burana*. The apocalyptic imagery in Frankl’s poem foreshadows that of *De temporum fine comoedia*, the culmination of his stage works, nearly six decades later: “So he proceeds through the desolate streets; / Only the echo accompanies him; / The ruination around him grows pale; / When through the hunted masses of clouds / suddenly the moonlight illuminates them.”<sup>62</sup> Apocalyptic imagery was a lifelong fascination for this composer.

<sup>59</sup> Ludwig August Frankl, *Ahnenbilder*, Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1864, 51–53; this book is reprinted by Nabu Public Domain Reprints.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 53. Original language: *Du hast uns würdig nicht gehalten*.

<sup>61</sup> Here too there is a parallel with Heine’s “Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar” in that the Mother of God allows a sick child to die, although both he and his mother have worshipped her devoutly. In Heine’s poem, however, one may interpret the Mother of God’s act of taking the boy’s life as merciful and compassionate.

<sup>62</sup> Frankl, *Ahnenbilder*, 52 (both quotations). Original language: *Getroffen tief von dem Gesckicke*. Original language of second quotation: *So schreitet er durch öde Gassen, / Der Nachhall nur begleitet ihn, / Die Trümmerwerke rings erblassen, / Wenn durch gejagte Wolkenmassen / Sie plötzlich Mondeslicht beschien*. In *Dokumentation*, Werner Thomas described the song’s “exaggerated synagogue atmosphere in heroic pathos of fate” (Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 77, original language: *übersteigert synagogale*

In September 1911, at the age of 16, Orff composed *Eliland: Ein Sang von Chiemsee*, a song cycle in the tradition of Robert Schumann (1810–1856) using texts Karl Stieler (1842–1885). The ten poems of *Eliland* are in the voice of a young man in a monastery who has espied from afar a fair novice at the neighboring convent. *Eliland*'s dreams are shattered when an abbot, the rigid personification of dogma and authority, discovers his poetry. The abbot, condemning the poet as “anathema” (the title of the ninth song), compels him to give up his poetry, and therefore his self-expression. Here the damaging power structure is not the military but the Catholic Church, another of the dominant institutions in Orff's childhood. *Eliland* does not fight against the abbot's cruel authority, but rather accepts it and internalizes the condemnation as his own shortcoming. Like “Der letzte Hohepriester,” *Eliland* is an early example of the fatalism that pervades Orff's entire oeuvre.

Fatalism is even more pronounced in Orff's first large-scale stage work, *Gisei: Das Opfer*, which he completed on 7 June 1913 but which was not performed until 30 January 2010 in Darmstadt.<sup>63</sup> The source material of *Gisei* is “Terakoya” (寺子屋, a kind of temple school), a scene from a mid-eighteenth-century kabuki drama. Orff freely adapted the German translation by Karl Florenz (1865–1939).<sup>64</sup> In his memoirs, Orff

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*Atmosphäre in heldisches Schicksalspathos*). This comment is the only analysis of this song in the previous literature.

<sup>63</sup> The score of *Gisei: Das Opfer* is published by Schott (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 2009), presently accessible at [http://www.schott-music.com/shop/resources/perusal\\_score\\_files/234763/MDS\\_234763.pdf](http://www.schott-music.com/shop/resources/perusal_score_files/234763/MDS_234763.pdf) (accessed 17 July 2014). For more on *Gisei*, Peter Revers, *Das Fremde und das Vertraute: Studien zur musiktheoretischen und musikdramatischen Ostasienrezeption* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, Band XLI), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997, 188–199; Werner Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 98–117; Carl Orff in *ibid.*, 46–48; Isabel Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs: ethnologische und interkulturelle Perspektiven*, Mainz: Schott, 2010, 256–297 and 374–375. The premiere of this *Musikdrama* is available on DVD, B.O.A. Videofilmkunst/Wergo, MV 0856 5, 2012. The accompanying booklet contains an essay by Thomas Rösch (“Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 5–14) with an English translation by Dr. Susan Marie Praeder (17–26). I am thankful to Megan Hill for sharing her expertise on Japanese theater and culture during my examination of this work.

<sup>64</sup> Karl Florenz, *Japanische Dramen. Terakoya und Asagao*, Leipzig; Amelang [u.a.], 1895 (this volume is reprinted by Nabu Public Domain Reprints). For an English translation of the play, see *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, ed. and trans. by Stanleigh H. Jones, Jr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. It should be noted that there are substantial differences between Jones's English translation (which features a narrator, for example) and Florenz's translation (which does not feature a narrator). “Terakoya” is Act IV Scene 3 of the 1746 kabuki drama *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* (菅原伝授手習鑑, literally “A Mirror of the Transmission and Learning of Sugawara's Calligraphic Secrets”) by several Japanese authors, including Takeda Izumo II (竹田出雲, 1691–1756), Takeda Izumo I [?]-1747), Namiki Sōsuke (並木宗輔, 1695–ca. 1751), and Miyoshi Shōraku (三好松洛, 1696[?]-1772[?]). Florenz's translation and Orff's libretto credit only Takeda Izumo (not specifying I or II) as the author, although Orff acknowledged

wrote that he consulted with a Japanese friend who was living in Munich at the time, who helped him formulate the title of his work. In retrospect, Orff was chagrined that he had taken on a subject matter for which he did not have sufficient understanding (he was convinced that his friend's approval must have been "Japanese politeness").<sup>65</sup> This statement suggests a deferential attitude toward foreign cultures and a reluctance to appropriate them. Accordingly, he did not turn to non-European source materials in his mature works, although he often used African and Asian percussion instruments.

*Gisei* foreshadows the themes of injustice and cruel authority of Orff's later works, especially *Die Bernauerin* and the Greek tragedies. This music drama (*Musikdrama*) tells a grim story set in a Japanese village school in the year 902. In the kabuki drama, the "Terakoya" scene comes relatively late, after the chancellor Michizane has been assassinated by his rival Tokihira. Michizane's vassal Matsuo changes his allegiance to Tokihira, in which capacity he is ordered to ensure the execution of Michizane's son, Kwan Shusai.<sup>66</sup> He decides that he must atone for his change of allegiance by substituting his own son, Kotaro, who is the same age as Kwan Shusai and bears him a striking resemblance. Matsuo and his wife, Chiyo, have their son sent to the same school as Kwan Shusai, anticipating that the schoolmaster, Genzo, and his wife, Tonami, will make the sacrifice when Tokihira's henchman demands Kwan Shusai's head. Matsuo, as Tokihira's vassal, must identify his own son's severed head as that of the prince. Afterward he and his wife reveal their conspiracy.

The alterations Orff made to his source material significantly reshape the work's message, shifting the focus from the honor of sacrifice to its horror.<sup>67</sup> By focusing on the

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in his memoirs that there were four authors (Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 47). The literal translation of the title is taken from Jones, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 1 n. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 48. Original language of quotation: *japanische Höflichkeit*. See also Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs*, 272. The same source addresses at length many aspects of Orff's interest in foreign cultures.

<sup>66</sup> In other versions Matsuo is called Matsuōmaru (see Jones, trans., *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 30; here Kwan Shusai's name is transliterated as Kan Shūsai). The description of Michizane and Tokihira as "chancellors" here is taken from Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 103. In other versions Tokihira is called Shihei, the Minister of the Left, while Michizane was Minister of the Right. Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, 845–903) was a Japanese poet and politician. Tokihira is likewise an historical figure, Fujiwara no Tokihira (藤原時平, 871–909). The description of Michizane and Tokihira as "chancellors" is taken from Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 103.

<sup>67</sup> As Werner Thomas has written: "Orff has differently romanticized this austere heroism of the vassal's duty (in the simplistic imprinting of the Japanese original) into the tragic sacrifice and the destruction of

devastation of the sacrifice, Orff called into question the moral framework in which the death of innocents may be held as noble—a subject he was to revisit during the collapse of the Third Reich in *Die Bernauerin* (the subject of Chapter 4). In the original kabuki play, Matsuo asks if his son begged for his life or met his death “with the courage of a fearless hero.” When the schoolmaster reports that Kotaro accepted his death with stoicism befitting a samurai, Matuso rejoices: “O brave son!... So he died, so loyally devoted.... [He will] enjoy the reward of [his] courage in sacrifice.”<sup>68</sup> In the young Orff’s libretto, there is no such lofty discussion. Instead, the father announces: “Atoned is the betrayal; the guilt is paid for and we are redeemed.” His wife replies: “The sun sinks.” She then repeats the last word of her husband’s statement, “redeemed” (*erlöst*), and dies without explanation; this is a departure from the source material.<sup>69</sup> Her death suggests either that she also is part of the sacrifice, that the horror of the filicide has destroyed her, or perhaps some combination thereof. Regardless of one’s interpretation, the ending is far grimmer in Orff’s music drama than in Florenz’s German translation of the original.

Orff added a *Vorspiel* (prelude) to his music drama, a dialogue between the father and mother that, as Thomas Rösch has written, “shift[s] the weight to...[the] pangs of conscience felt by the parents.”<sup>70</sup> As in “Die Närrin,” the mother’s grief is the focal point

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those affected by it, and he announced these reinterpretations through the change of the title in *Gisei* (‘The Sacrifice’)” (Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 105, original language: *Diesen nüchternen Heroismus der Vasallenpflicht in der holzschnittartigen Prägung des japanischen Originals hat Orff in das tragische Opfer und die Vernichtung der davon Betroffenen umromantisiert und diese Umdeutung durch die Änderung des Titels in Gisei (Das Opfer) anzeigt*).

<sup>68</sup> Florenz, *Japanische Dramen*, 35. Original language of first quotation: *mit dem Mut des unerschrocknen Helden*. Original language of second quotation: *O tapfres Kind! ... So starb, so treu ergeben ... Sie werden ... ihres Opfermutes Lohn geniessen*. The plural forms in the original refer both to Kotaro and to Matsuo’s dead brother. For the corresponding scene in the English translation, see Jones, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 248–250. Note Matuso’s general obsession with heroism and attempt to curb his and his wife’s emotional reactions to their son’s death.

<sup>69</sup> Orff, *Gisei*, 120–123. Original language of first quotation: *Gesühnt ist der Verrat, die Schuld getilgt und wir erlöst*. Original language of second quotation: *Die Sonne sinkt*. Thomas Rösch has written: “Orff substitutes a guilt-atonement construct together with Chiyo’s ‘redemptive death,’ close to Wagner, for the restoration of the samurai warrior’s honor” (Rösch, trans. Praeder, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 21, original language: *Orff ersetzt die Wiederherstellung der Ehre des Samurai-Kriegers... durch ein Schuld-Sühne-Konstrukt samt Wagner-nahem „Erlösungstod“ der Chiyo*, Rösch, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*, 9). See also Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 105; Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs*, 375.

<sup>70</sup> Rösch, trans. Praeder, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 22, original language: *...trägt der Verschiebung des Gewichts auf...die...Gewissensqual der Eltern* (*ibid.*, 10). Werner Thomas and Thomas Rösch have cited this *Vorspiel* as an example of Maeterlinck’s dramatic influence (Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 98–99; Rösch, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 9–10, in Praeder’s English translation, 21–22).



in *Gisei*.<sup>71</sup> Chiyo is in a deteriorated state during the *Vorspiel*, screaming that she sees blood, including on her hands.<sup>72</sup> Orff's work underscores the importance of the sacrificed child's life by adding a Japanese saying in the original language, sung by an unseen chorus: "Whether born in the field or on the mountain peaks, a child is far more valuable than a treasure of 1,000 ryos."<sup>73</sup> In keeping with this idea, the schoolmaster's wife resists Kotaro's death more strongly in Orff's libretto than in his source material.<sup>74</sup> In Florenz's translation, her reaction is to say: "For nothing is holier than service to one's lord."<sup>75</sup> In Orff's libretto, however, she protests, her vocal line ascending to a high C for the only time in the work.<sup>76</sup> It is her husband rather than she who utters the line about service to one's lord, altered from the source material: "Service to one's Lord is the highest duty."<sup>77</sup>

The 17-year-old Orff ennobled the character of the prince Kwan Shusai by portraying him as respectful of nature, compassionate, and even pacifistic—a drastic departure from the samurai qualities of valor in battle that are praised in the original play.<sup>78</sup> In Florenz's text, Kwan Sushai scolds the other children like a schoolmarm for

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<sup>71</sup> It is notable that Kotaro is described in both Florenz's text and Orff's libretto as a mother's boy (*Muttersöhnchen*), as was Carl Orff himself (see Orff, *Gisei*, page 59; Florenz, *Japanische Dramen*, 6. In the English translation, the relevant passage is given as "You see, he's such a baby," which has quite a different meaning (Jones, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 227).

<sup>72</sup> Orff, *Gisei*, pages 22–25. One may note a reference to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (ca. 1606); see William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 1993, 69–71 (Act V Scene 1).

<sup>73</sup> The following German translation is provided in the score: *Ob im Felde geboren, oder auf Bergeshöhn, weit kostbarer als ein Schatz von 1000 Ryos ist ein Kind*. The Japanese transliteration is as follows: *No demo yama demo kowa umiokeyo Senryo kura yori koga takara* (Orff, *Gisei*, pages 10–11). The Ryō (両) is a form of Japanese currency that is no longer used. Orff likely was told this saying by his Japanese acquaintance (see Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs*, 272).

<sup>74</sup> Thomas Rösch has observed: "Almost all the figures, above all the women Chiyo and Tonami, experience emotional deepening and intensification" (Rösch, trans. Praeder, "Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*," 21. Original language: *Fast alle Figuren, allen voran die Frauen Chiyo und Tonami, erfahren eine emotionale Vertiefung und Intensivierung*, Rösch, *ibid.*, 9). See also Revers, *Das Fremde und das Vertraute*, 194–195. It is relevant that the schoolmaster, Genzo, rather than Tonami, speaks the line about "service to one's lord" (*Herrendienst*); Orff made the figure of Tonami more maternal and sympathetic by removing these words from her mouth.

<sup>75</sup> Florenz, *Japanische Dramen*, 14. Original language: *Denn nichts ist heiliger / Als Herrendienst....*

<sup>76</sup> Orff, *Gisei*, page 94.

<sup>77</sup> The line is in two different passages (Orff, *Gisei*, 73 and 95). Original language: *Höchste Pflicht ist Herrendienst*. The expressive markings are, respectively, *dumpf* ("dull" or "lifeless") and *wie gebrochen, langsam* ("as if broken, slowly"). The change of language from "holiness" to "duty" may subtly undercut the nobility of the underlying concept (although this depends on the connotations one attaches to the word "duty").

<sup>78</sup> This scene also testifies to the character of Kwan Shusai, perhaps compensating for the fact that Orff omitted Kwan Shusai's appearance in the closing scene (presumably to shift the focus onto the parents of Kotaro). In the source material, the young prince enters and deplures Kotaro's sacrifice, which was carried

their immaturity and lack of discipline in their calligraphy exercises.<sup>79</sup> In Orff's libretto, however, he rebukes his rowdy classmates when one of them kills a butterfly: "Why did you kill him? Has he done something to grieve you? He flew in to us so happily. The poor thing! I want to bury him under so many blossoms, the little dead one."<sup>80</sup> The butterfly serves as a symbol for the sacrificed Kotaro: an innocent being destroyed by senseless cruelty and violence, foreshadowing *Die Bernauerin*. The imagery is also reminiscent of the eponymous heroine of Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904), another unjustly abused figure in another opera set in Japan.<sup>81</sup>

As different as the music in *Gisei* sounds from that in Orff's mature compositions, its libretto looks ahead to his future works to a degree that has not been acknowledged previously. Both in the *Vorspiel* and in the concluding scene, the characters remark that the light is dying out; these references are Orff's addition to the source material. Similarly frightening disappearances of light occur in *Der Mond*, *Die Bernauerin*, and *De temporum fine comoedia*.<sup>82</sup> Even more significantly, after the sacrifice, Orff gave Chiyo the words: "We all stand, after all, under the might of fate."<sup>83</sup> This presages Orff's later works—notably *Carmina Burana*, *Die Bernauerin*, *Oedipus der Tyrann*, and *De*

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out without his knowledge (see Florenz, *Japanische Dramen*, 36; Jones, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 250).

<sup>79</sup> Florenz, *Japanische Dramen*, 1–3. For an English translation, see Jones, *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, 223.

<sup>80</sup> Orff, *Gisei*, pages 44–45. Original language: *Warum erschlugst du ihn? Hat er dir etwas zu Leide getan? Er flog so fröhlich zu uns herein. Der Arme! Ich will ihn begraben unter lauter Blüten, den kleinen Toten.*

<sup>81</sup> At the end of Act I in Puccini's (1858–1924) opera, the title character says that she has heard that in America butterflies are often killed and put in display cases, foreshadowing her own abuse at the hands of her American so-called husband (in the score, New York: Dover Publications, 2012, 191–194; for a literal English translation of the text, see Nico Castel, *The Complete Puccini Libretti*, second edition, Volume I, Mt. Morris, New York: Leyerle Publications, 1994/2002, 327–328). The premiere of *Madama Butterfly* took place in 1904 and the work was revised several times until 1906. The libretto is by Giuseppe Giacosa (1847–1906) and Luigi Illica (1857–1919) after the play *Madame Butterfly* (premiere 1900) by David Belasco (1853–1931), itself an adaptation of the short story by John Luther Long (1861–1927). See David Belasco, *Six Little Plays*, Little, Brown, and Company, 1928; John Luther Long, "Madame Butterfly," *The Century Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. 55, January 1898:274–295.

<sup>82</sup> Both *Die Bernauerin* and *De temporum fine comoedia* specifically make reference to the fading or absence of the sun; see Chapters 4 and 5 for more information (the analogous passage in *Der Mond* is addressed in Chapter 5). See Orff, *Gisei*, pages, 1–2 (stage directions), 17, 22–24, 28–29, 31 (stage directions; here there is a burst of light from the moon before it darkens again), 33 (stage directions), 109–110 (including stage directions), 122–124 (stage directions), and 126–128 (stage directions).

<sup>83</sup> Original language: *Wir alle stehen ja unter der Macht des Schicksals* (score, 116). Peter Revers has related the fatalism of *Gisei* to *bushidō* (武士道), the Samurai code of conduct (Revers, *Das Fremde und das Vertraute*, 196).

*temporum fine comoedia*—in which the characters are stripped of their agency by the powers of fate and unjust authority. It is remarkable that Orff was fixated on such dark themes even during what appears to have been a happy childhood, before the dark turn his life took during World War I.

### Carl Orff and the Crisis of World War I

And of my weeping something had been left,  
Which must die now. I mean the truth untold,  
The pity of war, the pity war distilled.

—Wilfred Owen (1893–1918), “Strange Meeting” (1918), lines 23–25<sup>84</sup>

On 28 June 1914, around the time of Carl Orff’s graduation from the *Akademie der Tonkunst*, World War I (1914–1918) broke out.<sup>85</sup> Orff’s future was entirely uncertain at this point, and from the early days of the war he was afraid that he would be conscripted.<sup>86</sup> At the beginning of the war, Orff was able to delay service on the grounds of bad health.<sup>87</sup> At this time (1915 to 1917), he held a position at a Munich theater with the distinguished director Otto Falckenberg (1873–1947) and studied with the composer Hermann Zilcher (1881–1948), which proved to be formative experiences.<sup>88</sup> On 1 August 1917, the 22-year-old composer finally was conscripted into the First Bavarian Field Artillery Regiment. In a letter to his father, dated two days later, he wrote:

My future lies now more than ever completely in the dark. That I [shall] go into

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<sup>84</sup> Wilfred Owen, *The Poems of Wilfred Owen*, ed. Jon Stallworthy (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990), 125. See also Owen’s drafted preface to an intended collection of his poems: “This book is not about...glory, honour, might, majesty, dominion, or power, except War....My subject is War, and the pity of War. The Poetry is in the pity” (ibid., 192).

<sup>85</sup> The dates given for World War I reflect the dates of combat; while the Armistice occurred on 11 November 1918, the Treaty of Versailles was not signed until 28 June 1919.

<sup>86</sup> Rösch, trans. Praeder, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 18, in original language, “Carl Orff: *Gisei – Das Opfer*,” 6; Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 13.

<sup>87</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 61; Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 26 (Orff’s bad health, it is noted here, included meningitis); Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 94.

<sup>88</sup> See Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 14–20. For more on Orff’s relationship with Falckenberg, see Carl Orff, “Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*: Ein Bericht,” in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* (herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft), Heidelberg: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, Band 100, 1964:117–134, 117–127, reprinted with modification in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5 (“Märchenstücke,” 1979), 219–226; Seifert, “...auf den Geist kommt es an,” 375; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 58–61; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 15; Liess, *Carl Orff*, 13 (original German); Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 34; Otto Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, dissertation, Universität Wien, 2002, 215.

the battlefield is absolutely certain. Here the decision should, and will, fall (you know that I am free from sentimentality): either I find an end of everything that has pushed and almost crushed me, or I become a wholly new person and begin in a certain sense entirely new. What must come, should come entirely better as the time that was.<sup>89</sup>

Orff's fatalistic tone helps to explain why he later was drawn to the image of the Wheel of Fate that is central to *Carmina Burana*. The sibylline quality of the final sentence is similar to the words he wrote for the eponymous heroine of *Die Bernauerin* almost three decades later, which she utters before her wrongful execution: "Yet for others there will be something else, it will be something else!"<sup>90</sup>

After six weeks of training, Orff was transferred to the Eastern Front. Within a few weeks he was in a near-fatal trench cave-in, from which he was taken unconscious to a field hospital and declared no longer fit for battle. His injuries temporarily resulted in amnesia, aphasia (difficulty in speech), and paralysis of his entire left side.<sup>91</sup> It is difficult to know to what degree Orff's aphasia was the result of physical injury rather than shellshock. It is striking that this life-changing event in Orff's biography has been so little analyzed.<sup>92</sup> Orff devoted only two short paragraphs to this traumatic time in his life in

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<sup>89</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Heinrich Orff, 3 August 1917 (COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 26. Original language: *Meine Zukunft liegt mehr denn je ganz im Dunkeln. Daß ich ins Feld geh ist unbedingt sicher. Hier soll und wird die Entscheidung fallen, (Du weißt daß ich frei von jeder Sentimentalität bin) entweder ich finde ein Ende von Allem was mich gedrückt und fast zerdrückt hat, oder ich werde ein ganz neuer Mensch und fange in gewissem Sinne ganz neu an. Was kommen muß, soll kommen alles besser, als die Zeit die war.*

<sup>90</sup> Carl Orff, *Die Bernauerin* (score of final revised version), Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (Schott ED 6856), 1946/1974, 111. Original language (Bavarian dialect): *Doch Andern / wird Andres / ein Anderes sein!* The sense of these words is not easily rendered in translation. In the final version of the score, this line is accompanied by the expressive direction "sibylline, as if spoken in the distance" (*sibyllinisch, wie in die Ferne gesprochen*).

<sup>91</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 61–62; Rösch, *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 26–27; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 34 (characteristically a quotation of *Dokumentation* without further comment).

<sup>92</sup> The most detailed account to date is found in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 26–27. See also Werner Thomas, trans. Maschat, *Carl Orff*, London: Schott & Co., Ltd. (ED 12340), 1985, 6; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 215; Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 114 and 142; Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," 94–95; Udo Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982, 13 (here there is a reference to the military service but not to the trench cave-in); Seifert, "...auf den Geist kommt es an," 370 (the trauma is euphemistically described here as *einem kurzen militärischen Intermezzo*, i.e. "a brief military intermezzo"); Hans Maier, trans., Margaret Murray, "Carl Orff in his Time: Speech on the occasion of Carl Orff's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday, Munich, Prinzregententheater, 7 July 1995," Mainz: Schott, 1995, 4–5, republished in Hans Maier, *Cäcilia: Essays zur Musik*, erweiterte Neuausgabe, Frankfurt-am-Main: Insel Verlag, 2005 (this essay is not in the 1998 edition):130–144, 133–

*Dokumentation*, and he rarely addressed the matter elsewhere.<sup>93</sup>

Letters to his father from his time in the field hospital reveal the damaged state of Orff's psyche. In a letter dated 22 November 1917, he wrote: "I cannot hear the playing of music; in that case must I run directly away from it, so does it grate on my nerves. A musician who cannot bear music any more!!!" A month later, things were no better:

I certainly never think of something that looks like the future.... Since I am in the battlefield, all threads and connections from earlier are torn to shreds.... For him who has been out here once, it is better (especially in my profession) that he remains out here. When I hear music I get palpitations & fever and it makes me sick; I can't think at all about when I might be able to hear a concert again, let alone make music myself.<sup>94</sup>

The effects of the war likely were long-lasting; Orff's family members have reported that he suffered from dreadful nightmares throughout his adult life.<sup>95</sup> The writings of Orff's friends and appointed biographers have little more information on this crucial time in his life. Andreas Liess's monograph grants it two sentences and only cryptically acknowledges its impact on the composer: "This was a period of emotional crisis which

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134, original German publication, "Carl Orff in seiner Zeit: Rede anlässlich Carl Orffs 100. Geburtstag, München, Prinzregententheater, 7. Juli 1995," Mainz: Schott, 1995, 4–5.

<sup>93</sup> For Orff's few other brief references to his military experience, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 7 ("Abendländisches Musiktheater," 1981), 10; Orff, "Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*: Ein Bericht," 122, reprinted in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 221 and Rösch, *Carl Orff – Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 22. While in *Dokumentation* Orff referred to a "diary from the battlefield" (*Tagebuch aus dem Feld*), this document, which he kept between November 1917 and March 1918, is in fact a listing of books and scores he studied during that time (when he was in the hospital rather than the battlefield), as well as a few thoughts and ideas for new works. There is nothing about his experiences in the war. See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2 ("Lehrjahre bei den alten Meistern," 1975), 7; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 27. Additional information according to OZM, 16 July 2014.

<sup>94</sup> Letters from Carl Orff to Heinrich Orff, 22 November 1917 and 20 December 1917, respectively (housed in the Orff-Zentrum München), both quoted in Rösch, *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 27. Original language of first quotation: *Das Musizieren kann ich nicht hören, da muß ich direkt davon laufen so geht mir alles auf die Nerven. Ein Musiker der keine Musik mehr ertragen kann!!!* Original language of second quotation: *An so was, das wie Zukunft aussieht, denke ich ja nimmer. [...] Seit ich im Felde bin, sind alle Fäden und Verbindungen von früher zerrissen. [...] Wer einmal heraußen ist für den ist (besonders in meinem Beruf) besser, er bleibt draußen. Wenn ich musizieren höre kriege ich Herzklopfen & Fieber und Kotzen, gar nicht zu denken wann ich wieder ein Konzert hören könnte, geschweige selber musizieren*

<sup>95</sup> See interviews with Orff's third wife, Luise Rinser (1911–2002, to whom he was married from 1954 to 1959), in Palmer's *O Fortuna!* In personal conversation on 21 August 2014, Thomas Rösch of the Orff-Zentrum München told me that Carl Orff's widow, Liselotte Orff (1930–2012, married to Orff from 1960 to his death), and his daughter Godela independently reported that he suffered from terrible nightmares, which both women believed began only after his trauma in World War I. Orff's student Wilfried Hiller gave a similar account in personal conversation on 30 May 2013.

involved a complete change in his work.”<sup>96</sup> As usual, Orff preferred not to discuss such a personal matter in public, and his allies followed his lead.

Godela wrote that her father’s military service “made him think and rebel yet more revolutionarily.”<sup>97</sup> It is clear from his pre–World War I output that his anti-authoritarian and fatalistic worldview predates this trauma. At the same time, it is logical to conclude that having his life disrupted, experiencing the curtailment of his personal freedom, and living through the horror of trench warfare must have exacerbated his mistrust of authority and militarism. A fear of those in power could explain his avoidance of conflict and his non-confrontational behavior with figures in authority, especially in the Third Reich, as will be illustrated in the next chapter.<sup>98</sup>

Within two years of his military service, another significant event occurred in Orff’s life. On 25 August 1920 he married the operatic soprano Alice Solscher (1891–1970), which was to be the first of four marriages and three divorces, over the course of his life. Godela Orff was born on 21 February 1921. About sixth months later, Orff and his wife separated, although the divorce was not finalized for another six years. In her memoirs, Godela recalled dreadful fighting between her parents and wrote that her mother eventually became a stranger to her. Around 1930, Alice Solscher departed for Melbourne, Australia, to pursue her singing career.<sup>99</sup> According to the recollection of

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<sup>96</sup> Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff* 15 (original language: *Eine innere Krise bahnte sich in dieser Zeit an, die zu einer völligen Wende in seinem Schaffen führen sollte*, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 13).

<sup>97</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 138; previous version, 128. Original language: *ließ ihn noch revolutionärer denken und aufbegehren*. The operative word here is “more” (*noch*).

<sup>98</sup> As Dr. Bertram Schaffner wrote in Orff’s denazification report: “[Orff] tried to avoid official and personal contact bot[h] with the Nazi movement and with the war” (David M. Levy Papers, Box 35, Folder 2, “Psychological” section, No. 2; see also “Political” section, Nos. 7 and 8; for further analysis of this document, see Chapter 3). Kater likewise has observed that Orff’s trauma in World War I “produced an overall sentiment of fear. This fear may have been responsible for Orff’s often asocial behavior (with his preference for shabby exercise clothes to formal dress) [and] his avoidance of human contact with members of the establishment, in the Third Reich as much as after” (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 142; for more on Kater’s speculation about Orff’s psychological health, see Chapter 3). See also the assessment in Rösch, “Carl Orff,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1400.

<sup>99</sup> Dates of Orff and Solscher’s marriage (25 August 1920) and divorce (9 December 1927) according to OZM, 13 August 2014, based on Orff’s *Ahnenpass* from the Third Reich (see note 230 *infra*). The fact that Alice Solscher evidently was about three months pregnant at the time of their marriage has not been noted in the previous literature. See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 66–67; Rösch, *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 30; G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 10–17, in previous version, 10–15; Rösch in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1401; Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 99–100. 1925, rather than 1927, is given as the year of divorce in Dangel-Hofmann, “Orff, Carl,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 589; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 116 (specifically, Kater wrote that Orff and Solscher

Orff's friend Karl Julius Marx (1897–1985), a composer and music educator,<sup>100</sup> Alice wanted Godela to come live with her in Australia, which Orff prevented by obtaining certification that their daughter was unfit for such travel. According to Marx, Orff feared that his ex-wife's care would have a detrimental influence on their daughter. He eventually won custody.<sup>101</sup> Thus the struggling composer came to have the added challenge of raising his daughter alone.

### **Carl Orff's Professional and Artistic Developments During the Weimar Republic**

As Orff's personal life underwent drastic changes in the years from 1917 through the 1920s, so too did his artistic development. After 1919, Orff almost completely turned away from his earlier textual sources.<sup>102</sup> He was drawn instead to contemporary poets of a younger generation, the first of whom was Klabund (pseudonym of Alfred Henschke, 1890–1928).<sup>103</sup> Given Orff's experiences in World War I, it is fitting that he was drawn to Klabund, who was associated with radical politics and who had become a pacifist over the course of that war, despite his initial support for it.<sup>104</sup> Orff next turned to the

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were divorced “by 1925”); Michael H. Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 43. Jahrgang, 1. Heft, January 1995:1–35, 4.

<sup>100</sup> This composer has no known connection to the famous political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883).

<sup>101</sup> Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 99–100. It should be noted that Marx's reminiscence may well be imprecise, given the parenthetical question mark that appears after the year (1928) in which he tentatively said that Orff won the custody battle (*ibid.*, 100) and in light of the fact that previously he had given Heuser rather than Solscher as Alice's family name (*ibid.*, 99).

<sup>102</sup> Orff's last settings by the poets he selected before World War I are the songs “Bitte” (“Please”) and “Mein Herz is wie ein See so weit” (“My heart is like a lake so wide”) from August 1919; see Appendix 1 for more information. The one later instance of Orff returning to the author of a pre-World War I textual source is his *verbatim* settings of the German translations of Sophocles (ca. 496–406 BCE) by Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), author of the text for his song Opus 2 No. 9. One of Orff's several sources for *Astutuli* is a 1615 *Intermezzo* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616) in German translation by Adolf Friedrich, Graf von Schack's (1815–1894), author of the text for his song Opus 2 No. 5, although Orff's libretto drastically differs from Schack's language. See Chapter 5 for more on Orff's Greek tragedies and *Astutuli*; for more on the Opus 2 songs, see Appendix 1.

<sup>103</sup> Orff composed three songs to the poet's texts in April and October 1919. For complete information, see Appendix 1. These songs are published in Carl Orff, *Frühe Lieder*, Mainz: B. Schött's Söhne (ED 7024), 1982, pages 18–26 and *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 279–287. See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 65; Thomas in *ibid.*, 156–160 (note that the date in *Dokumentation*, June–October 1919, should be April–October 1919, as is clarified by an inserted *errata* in a later printing).

<sup>104</sup> Author not credited, “Klabund,” Contemporary Authors Online, Detroit: Gale, 2003, *Biography in Context*, Web, accessed 29 June 2014 (Gale Document Number: GALE|H1000054618); Markus Pöhlmann, “Der Grenzgänger. Der Dichter Klabund als Propagandist und V-Mann im Ersten Weltkrieg,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 55. Jahrgang, 5. Heft, 2007:397–410.

Expressionist poetry of Franz Werfel (1890–1945). In the early 1920s, Orff selected 19 of Werfel’s poems for several compositional projects.<sup>105</sup> In 1920 and 1921, Orff studied with the composers Heinrich Kaminski (1886–1946) and the eminent Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949). At this time, however, Orff was turning away from the late Romantic tradition, to which both of these composers belonged. He wrote respectfully of Kaminski in his memoirs but reported that his own ideas were too far removed from his teacher’s for the lessons to yield the desired results. There is little record of Orff’s relationship with Pfitzner; Pfitzner reported in a letter from June 1921 that Orff withdrew from lessons due to ill health.<sup>106</sup>

Following his Werfel projects, Orff began what he later called his “years of apprenticeship with the old masters.” In the early 1920s, many composers were embarking on similar projects, notably Igor Stravinsky, who was to become one of Orff’s most important musical influences.<sup>107</sup> In his memoirs, Orff reported that after an ill-fated concert of his Werfel *Lieder* in Berlin on 1 March 1921, he gained the support of the eminent musicologist Curt Sachs (1881–1959), who told him that he was foremost a composer for the theater and encouraged him to study the music of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643).<sup>108</sup> In 1923 Orff began to work on his own adaptations of Renaissance and

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<sup>105</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 65–68; Thomas in *ibid.*, 161–211; Wilhelm Keller, “Orffs Werfel-Lieder,” in *Melos*, 46. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 1984:69–102; Stephan, “Einfachheit oder Vereinfachung,” 266–267; Manfred Angerer, “Orffs Werfel-Vertonungen,” in *Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste*, Jahrbuch 2, 1. Halbband, München: Verlag C.H., 1988:326–336. For the projected works, see Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 183; Münster et al, *Carl Orff: Das Bühnenwerk*, 53–54 (this chronology includes one unrealized project not mentioned in *Dokumentation*). See also Appendix 1.

<sup>106</sup> One of Orff’s last works in the late Romantic vein is the three songs for tenor and orchestra on texts of Richard Dehmel (1863–1920), composed 1918–1919 (see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 62–63; Thomas in *ibid.*, 145–153; Fröhlich, “Carl Orff und Richard Strauss,” 335–339; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 29). Regarding Orff’s studies with Kaminski and Pfitzner, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 9; letter from Hans Pfitzner to Leo Kestenberg, 6 June 1921, Hans Pfitzner, ed. Bernhard Adamy, *Hans Pfitzner Briefe*, 1. Band, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991, 325; Johann Peter Vogel, *Hans Pfitzner: Leben, Werke, Dokumente*, Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch Verlag, 1999, 141; Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 97 (regarding breaking from the late Romantic tradition) and 99; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 29–30.

<sup>107</sup> Original language of quotation: *Lehrjahre bei den alten Meistern*. Thus is the subtitle of *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2 (1975). See also Theodor Göllner, “Carl Orff und die alten Meister,” in *Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste*, Jahrbuch 2, 1. Halbband, München: Verlag C.H., 1988:238–247. In his memoirs, Orff wrote that his intention to study the “the old masters” dated back to his time in the military (Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 7). For a general resource on neoclassicism in music, see Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music*, Rochester, NY: BOYE6, 1988.

<sup>108</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 14; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 40; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 17 and 77–78, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 16 and 77–78.



Baroque composers. In addition to the three renderings of Monteverdi-, his projects included an adaptation of William Byrd's keyboard work "The Bells" for large orchestra, which he titled *Entrata* (composed 1928), and the *Kleines Konzert* (*Little Concerto*, composed 1927), which comprises several arrangements of sixteenth-century lute works of various composers.<sup>109</sup>

Around this time, Orff began his work in music education. In 1924, he joined with Dorothee Günther (1896–1975) to found the *Günther-Schule* in Munich, an institution dedicated to novel approaches to pedagogy in music that incorporate movement and dance. At the Günther-Schule, Orff cultivated his pedagogical methods, known as the *Schulwerk* (literally "school work"). His colleagues included Hans Bergese (1910–2000), the dancer Maja Lex (1906–1986), and, perhaps most importantly, his close collaborator Gunild Keetman (1904–1990).<sup>110</sup> The *Schulwerk* drew the attention of several prominent music pedagogues, including Leo Kestenberg (1882–1962).<sup>111</sup> Orff's pedagogical approach may in part be seen as a reaction to his discontent with his own uninspiring training at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*: he believed in fostering fantasy and creativity.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to the Günther-Schule, the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik* (Union for Contemporary Music) and the *Münchner Bach-Verein* (Munich Bach Society) also played an important role in Orff's artistic development during the Weimar Republic.<sup>113</sup> The *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik*, founded in March 1927, held

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<sup>109</sup> See *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 205–210; Münster et al, *Carl Orff: Das Bühnenwerk*, 54. The majority of *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2 comprises Orff's descriptions of these various projects.

<sup>110</sup> For more on the Günther-Schule and the *Schulwerk*, see *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3 ("Schulwerk: Elementare Musik," 1976, entire volume, date of founding 205); Michael Kugler, ed., *Elementarer Tanz – Elementare Musik: Die Günther-Schule München 1924 bis 1944*, Mainz: Schott Musik International (ED 9502), 2002. This volume includes essays on Günther, Orff, Lex, Keetman, and Bergese; selected pedagogical writings of Günther and Orff; and other documents. See also Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 13–14; Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," 106–107.

<sup>111</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 199–203 and 212; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 218; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118; Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 6; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 14. For more information on Kestenberg, see Appendix 3.

<sup>112</sup> See interviews with Carl Orff in Tony Palmer's *O Fortuna!* In two of these interviews, Orff described his belief in the importance of fantasy and creativity; he did not, however, draw any connection to his discontented years at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*.

<sup>113</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 141–148. For more on the Orff and the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik*, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 216–218; Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 5–6; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 115; Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," 104–105. For more on Orff and the *Münchner Bach-Verein*, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 219; Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," 108–109.

four *Festwochen* (“festival weeks”) of new music in 1929–1931. Some of Orff’s Monteverdi and Byrd arrangements were performed alongside such avant-garde works as *Die Mutter* (*The Mother*, Opus 35), an opera in the quarter-tone system by the Czech Alois Hába (1893–1973).<sup>114</sup> Of the other modernist works performed at the 1931 festival, two had special relevance to Orff: Igor Stravinsky’s *Oedipus Rex* (*Oedipus the King*) and Artur Honegger’s *Antigone*, both recent adaptations of tragedies by Sophocles (ca. 496–406 BCE) that Orff would set himself in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>115</sup> Orff’s close involvement with the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik* demonstrates that he was entirely comfortable in the camp of musical progressivism.<sup>116</sup> The 1931 *Festwoche* took place under the looming shadow of the National Socialists’ rise to power; the music of several of the participants would be labeled as *entartet* (“degenerate”) in the coming years and would no longer be heard in Germany.<sup>117</sup>

On 28 April 1932 the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik* became the venue through which Orff first conducted his modernist production of the *Lukas-Passion* (*Passion of St. Luke*, see figure 1.3), a work of unknown authorship that mistakenly had been attributed to Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750).<sup>118</sup> Following the performance, the art historian Albin von Prybram-Gladona (1890–1974), the manager of the board of the Munich *Bach-Verein*, arranged for two more performances. Because of Prybram-Gladona’s progressive attitude, the *Bach-Verein* opened new possibilities for Orff. As he later wrote: “Prybram was the soul of the *Bach-Verein*.... Where there was something progressive and new, Prybram was there.... Our pact was closed and I had a free hand in the *Bach-Verein*. So I thank Prybram a great deal.”<sup>119</sup> Orff’s relationship with Prybram-

<sup>114</sup> The original Czech title of this opera, which was composed 1927–1929, is *Matka*. This performance was the world premiere. For more on the 1931 *Festwoche*, including a complete listing of the program, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 141–144.

<sup>115</sup> For more on Orff’s Greek tragedies, see Chapter 5. Both Stravinsky’s and Honegger’s works were first performed in 1927 (*Oedipus Rex* was composed 1926–1927 and *Antigone* (H. 65) was composed 1924–1927). Both use libretti by Jean Cocteau (1889–1963). Scores: Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex, Symphony of Psalms: Full Orchestral Score*, London: Boosey & Hawkes (The Masterworks Library), 1927/1998; Artur Honegger, *Antigone*, Paris: Éditions Salabert, 1927.

<sup>116</sup> See Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 101–105. Note, however, that Marx here reported that Orff sometimes reacted with hostility toward atonal lines in the many modern scores that he studied (*ibid.*, 102).

<sup>117</sup> See Chapter 2 for more information.

<sup>118</sup> See Erich Prieger, *Echt oder Unecht? Zur Lucas-Passion*, Berlin: C. F. Conrad, 1889.

<sup>119</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 145. Original language: *Prybram war die Seele des Bach-Vereins.... Wo es um Fortschrittliches und Neues ging, war Prybram dabei.... war unser Pakt geschlossen und ich hatte im*

Gladona demonstrates that he was firmly associated with artistic progressivism during this period.

Around 1929 Orff returned to original composition. As Hans Maier has noted, Orff was a late developer (*Spätentwickler*).<sup>120</sup> It was in the latter part of the Weimar Republic that Orff, in the fourth decade of his life, at last found what one may consider his mature musical and theatrical styles. The composer turned away from late Romanticism, polyphonic counterpoint, and absolute instrumental music (of which he wrote very little even in his early life). As Thomas Rösch has characterized it, Orff instead favored a “linear music style” (*linearen Musikstil*), inspired by the writings of Curt Sachs, who thought that Western music had been weakened by the advent of polyphony. Orff’s mature style makes heavy use of ostinato and focuses on the rhythms of speech and dance. He also declined to describe any of his stage works as operas, a genre he considered obsolete.<sup>121</sup>

Orff’s interest in speech and percussion may be traced back to his previous interest in Futurist conception of music and noise, especially the use of mechanical and percussive sounds. Orff was but one of many composers of his time to be influenced by the Futurists’ ideas about music,<sup>122</sup> which evidently many artists were able to separate

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*Bachverein freie Hand. So verdanke ich Prybram viel.* Given that the authenticity of the *Lukas-Passion* already had been doubted, it is telling of Prybram-Gladona’s liberal attitude that he supported Orff’s project. For Prybram-Gladona’s role at the *Bach-Verein*, see Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 109; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 40. For biographical information on Prybram-Gladona, see Appendix 3.

<sup>120</sup> Maier, trans. Murray, “Carl Orff in His Time,” 7, in original German, Maier, *Cäcilia*, 136, original publication, 7.

<sup>121</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 43; internal quotation marks (guillemets) omitted from the quotation of *linearen Musikstil*. For more on how Orff developed his style at this time, see *ibid.*, 41–44; Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 97. The text that influenced Orff was *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft in ihren Grundzügen* (Musikpädagogische Bibliothek, Heft 8, ed. Leo Kestenbergh), Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1930; for a later version, see Curt Sachs, *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft: Musik der Fremdkulturen* (Musikpädagogische Bibliothek), Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, 1974. For more on Orff’s relationship to the genre of opera, see Attfield, “Restaging the Welttheater”; Emily Richmond Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2012, Chapter Four: “The Opera Underneath: Carl Orff’s *Oedipus der Tyrann*,” 79–113.

<sup>122</sup> See Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 58–59, in which several important related compositions are enumerated. Of special relevance is Alexander Mosolov’s (1900–1973) *Zavod* (“The Foundry”), Opus 19 (an orchestral episode from the ballet *Stal’*, 1926–8), which has aggressive use of ostinato despite being scored for a traditional orchestra (score: Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1958, HS 1585).

from the militant and fascistic political ideology that many Futurists held.<sup>123</sup> The far-reaching influence of the Futurists' conceptions of music, sound, and noise transcended political barriers.<sup>124</sup>

In keeping with the Futurist conception of music, compositions for percussion ensemble began to appear in the mid-1920s from such composers as Dmitri Shostakovich, George Antheil (1900–1959), Edgar Varèse (1883–1965), and Alexander Tcherepnin (1899–1977).<sup>125</sup> One percussive work from the early 1920s had special importance for Orff: Igor Stravinsky's choral ballet *Les noces* (*The Wedding*, premiere 1923), which is scored for four pianos and percussion.<sup>126</sup> Orff's fixation on pianos predates *Les noces*, as he already had called for several unison pianos in his youthful *Also sprach Zarathustra*. His 1921 Werfel setting *Des Turmes Auferstehung* (*Resurrection of the Tower*) for double men's chorus and large orchestra is scored for six pianos.<sup>127</sup> In these earlier works, however, Orff's piano writing is not as rhythmically driven and percussive as in his works from 1929 through the end of his career. The declamatory vocal writing of *Les noces* also has special bearing on Orff's mature works.

Carl Orff expressed great admiration for Stravinsky on multiple occasions. In an undated letter (likely sent in early 1932) to his educator colleague Erich Katz (1900–1973), Orff described his ideas for rhythmic studies with percussion using passages of

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<sup>123</sup> For more on this subject, see Andrew Hewitt, *Fascist Modernism: Aesthetics, Politics, and the Avant-Garde*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

<sup>124</sup> See Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century*, Belmont, California: Schirmer/Thomson Learning, 1995, 235–252.

<sup>125</sup> See, for example, Dimitri Schostakowitsch, *The Nose*, score: *Die Nase: Oper in drei Akten und einem Epilog* (1930), Klavierauszug von Karl Götz, Wien: UE 13439, 1962, Act 1 No. 4 Interlude, 31–35; the second movement of Tcherepnin's Symphony No. 1, Opus 42, (1927), score: Durand S.A., 1929, movement published separately as "Percussion Movement (from Symphony No. 1)," Bryn Mawr: Theodore Presser, 1973; George Antheil's *Ballet mécanique* ("Mechanical ballet," premiere 1926, composed 1923–1925 and revised 1952–1953), Schirmer ED 4000; Edgar Varèse, *Ionisation*, Colfranc Music Publishing Corporation, 1967.

<sup>126</sup> *Les noces* (Russian title, *Svadebka*, Свадебка) was drafted 1914–1917 and completed 1921–1923. Stravinsky wrote his own libretto. Score: New York, Dover Publications 1998. Regarding Orff and Stravinsky, see Rudolf Bockholdt, "Orff und Strawinskij: Über die Wesensverschiedenheit ihrer Musik und den Einfluß der Sprache," in *Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste*, Jahrbuch 2, 1. Halbband, München: Verlag C.H., 1988:248–259; Paul Collaer, trans. Sally Abeles, *A History of Modern Music*, New York: The World Publishing Company, 1961, 33; Alexander L. Suder, ed., *Karl Marx* (Komponisten in Bayern, Band 3), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983, 54.

<sup>127</sup> Carl Orff, *Des Turmes Auferstehung*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1986.

*Les noces* and *L'histoire du soldat* (*The Soldier's Tale*, 1918).<sup>128</sup> In October 1937, Orff defended Stravinsky's ballet *Jeu de cartes* (*Card game*, 1932) against the hotheaded judgment of his Swiss pupil Heinrich Sutermeister (1910–1995): “So by no means at all can I find your crass judgment about the good Igor [to be] correct.”<sup>129</sup> In 1957, Orff wrote a tribute in the program of a concert celebrating Stravinsky's works, which featured Stravinsky's 1928 ballet *Apollon musagète* (*Apollo and the Muses*): “I marvel at and love the master Igor Stravinsky, my Apollo.”<sup>130</sup>

Orff's modernist style was in keeping with the experiments of some of his contemporaries. It is likely that Orff, as he was becoming fascinated with the element of speech, was aware of Ernst Toch's (1887–1964) revolutionary three-movement suite *Gesprochene Musik* (*Spoken Music*, including the famous “Fuge aus der Geographie”—“Geographical Fugue”), written for the 1930 *Fest der neuen Musik* (Festival of New Music) in Berlin.<sup>131</sup> The elements of speech and non-pitched percussion are powerfully combined in several works by Darius Milhaud (1892–1974), whose likely influence on

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<sup>128</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz, undated, in Series 1, Carton 1, Erich Katz Collection, Special Collections, Regis University. It seems a safe assumption that “Soldaten” in the letter refers to *L'histoire du soldat* (in German, *Die Geschichte vom Soldaten*), especially as it mentioned with another work of Stravinsky. The letter is headed “Vorschläge zum II. Freiburger Kurs” (“Suggestions for second Freiburg class”). After Orff was a guest at the Freiburg Music Seminary in 1931, Katz invited him back. Orff responded to Katz in a letter dated 31 January 1932; presumably the letter in question is from shortly thereafter. See Mark Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” *The American Recorder*, Vol. XXXVI, Issue 4, September 1995:7–15 and 34–39, 13–14. See also Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 103 (for Orff's pedagogical use of Stravinsky).

<sup>129</sup> BSB HSL, Fasc. germ. 1 Nr. 1–144, letters from Carl Orff to Heinrich Sutermeister, Nr. 30, 11 October 1937. Original language: *So ganz & gar kann ich ihr krasses Urteil über den guten Igor nicht richtig finden....* See also Jürg Stenzl, “Im Reich der Musik: Heinrich Sutermeister und Carl Orff zwischen 1935 und 1945,” in *Musik & Ästhetik* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta), 5. Jahrgang, Heft 20, October 2011:44–66, 53. See also letter from Carl Orff to Werner Egk, 1 June 1930, BSB HSL, Ana 410, Briefe von Carl Orff and Werner Egk (Orff here referred to his reticence to lend out some of his Stravinsky records).

<sup>130</sup> BSB HSL, Ana 407, Briefe von Karl Amadeus Hartmann an Carl Orff, undated manuscript. Original language: *Ich bewundere und liebe den Meister Igor Strawinsky, meinen Apoll.* This concert, a program of *Musica Viva*, took place on 4 October 1957. For more information and the reprinted text of Orff's remarks, see Renata Wagner, Margot Attenkofer, and Helmut Hell, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva: Essays, bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe an Hartmann Katalog* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ausstellungskataloge. 21), Schott/Piper & Co. Verlag, München (ED 6929), 1980, 328–329 (transcription 328, facsimile 329; item No. 305.2, “Carl Orff: zu Strawinskys »Apollon Musagète«”). For the full text of Orff's tribute, see Appendix 2.

<sup>131</sup> See Diana Castelnovo-Tedesco, “Toch's Spoken Music Rediscovered” (also features an interview with Vocal Area Network with Christopher Caines and Kristina Boerger), 3 June 2006, accessed at <http://www.van.org/articles/CainesBoergerInterview20060603.htm>, 12 August 2014. Score: Belwin Music (AP.60168).

Orff's music has received little attention.<sup>132</sup> In *L'Orestie d'Eschyle* (*The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, composed 1913–1923), Milhaud employed extended passages of speech, aggressive vocal exclamations, and non-pitched percussion to create an unrelentingly harsh setting of the trilogy by Aeschylus (ca. 525–456 BCE). As will be addressed in Chapter 5, Milhaud's austere vision of Greek tragedy is similar to Orff's.<sup>133</sup>

Orff's musical style was tailored to fit his vision of the theater. As Thomas Rösch has written, Orff turned away from naturalism, placed little focus on the characters' psychology, and eschewed the emotionalism of late Romantic symphonic composition. Instead, he favored archetypal characters and placed great value on speech.<sup>134</sup> This description is highly consistent with the Epic Theater of Bertolt Brecht, to which Orff was introduced when he attended the 1924 world premiere of Brecht's *Leben Eduards II. von England* (*Life of Edward II of England*). As Orff later wrote: "This evening was something crucial for me. A new theatrical style was created."<sup>135</sup> Epic Theater employs a deliberately didactic narrative style, eschews verisimilitude (in this regard it is the opposite of Naturalism), and attempts to elicit thought rather than emotional responses from the audience. The technique used to achieve these means is often called the *Verfremdungseffekt* ("alienation effect"). As Brecht wrote, his aim was to turn "the spectator into an observer," to arouse "his capacity for action," to force "him to take

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<sup>132</sup> Exceptions include Attfield, "Re-staging the Welttheater," 362 (specifically linking Orff's Greek tragedies to Milhaud's *Les choéphores*); Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 105, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 106; Collaer, trans. Abeles, *A History of Modern Music*, 336 (Collaer noted Milhaud's influence in the bass progressions of *Catulli Carmina*); Thomas Rösch, *Die Musik in den Griechischen Tragödien von Carl Orff* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, Bd. 59), Tutzing: Schneider, 2003, 169 (Rösch noted that some of the harmonic language in Orff's Greek tragedies is reminiscent of Milhaud's polytonality, "which Orff doubtless knew"; original language: *die Orff zweifellos kannte*).

<sup>133</sup> Milhaud's collaborator on this project was Paul Claudel (1868–1955). See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 177; Jens Rosteck, *Darius Milhauds Claudel-Opern Christophe Colomb und L'Orestie d'Eschyle. Studien zu Entstehung, Ästhetik, Struktur und Rezeption*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995.

<sup>134</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 43.

<sup>135</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 68. Original language: *Dieser Abend brachte Entscheidendes für mich* [literally, "This evening brought something crucial for me"]. *Ein neuer Theaterstil wurde kreiert*. Brecht's play is an adaptation of Christoph Marlowe (1564–1593). See Bertolt Brecht, *Leben Eduards des Zweiten von England*, in *Die Stücke von Bertolt Brecht in einem Band*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1982:91–129; for an English translation, see Bertolt Brecht, trans. Eric Bentley, *Edward II: A Chronicle Play*, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1966.

decisions,” and to make him “face something.”<sup>136</sup>

On several occasions in the latter part of his life, Orff described the importance of Brecht to his work.<sup>137</sup> As Andreas Liess has noted: “Orff embraces wholly the cause of the contemporary Epic Theater, of which Bert [sic] Brecht is the greatest exponent.”<sup>138</sup> Such statements are especially significant given that the composer rarely identified himself with any artistic movement, as he told *Time* magazine in 1959: “I belong to no school,” adding that criticism “doesn’t give me a headache.”<sup>139</sup> Brecht’s Epic Theater remained important to Orff’s theatrical style throughout his career, and after his final stage work, *De temporum fine comoedia*, he composed several pieces for spoken chorus and percussion using Brecht’s poetry.<sup>140</sup>

Orff’s fascination with the “old masters” and with Epic Theater came together in his staging of the *Lukas-Passion*, which included projected images.<sup>141</sup> The influence of Epic Theater on Orff’s staging did not go unnoticed by the critics, one of whom compared Orff’s *Lukas-Passion* to Stravinsky’s *L’histoire du soldat*, the narrative structure of which may be called an early example of Epic Theater.<sup>142</sup> A less friendly

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<sup>136</sup> Bertolt Brecht, trans. John Willett, *Brecht on Theater: The Development of an Aesthetic*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1957, 37. For Brecht’s writings on theater in the original language, see Bertolt Brecht, *Die Stücke von Bertolt Brecht in einem Band*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978, 983–998.

<sup>137</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 68–69 and Vol. 2, 153; Orff quoted in Seifert, “...auf den Geist kommt es an,” 375. See also Kim Kowalke, “Burying the Past: Carl Orff and His Brecht Connection,” *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 1, Spring 2000:58–83; Fritz Hennenberg, “Carl Orff und Bertolt Brecht – eine unvollendete Geschichte,” in *Orff-Studien*, Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2011:11–71; Michael John T. Gilbert, *Bertolt Brecht’s Striving for Reason, Even in Music: A Critical Assessment* (Studies in Modern German Literature, Vol. 3), New York: Peter Lang, 1988, 242–246; Siegfried Mauser, “Dramaturgie und satztechnische Psychologisierung in der »Klugen«,” in *Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste*, Jahrbuch 2, 1. Halbband, München: Verlag C.H., 1988:278–290, 285–287; Richard Manley DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff: From ‘Unerwünscht’ to Postmodernity*, dissertation, University of Iowa, 1995, 242 and 265–266; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 89–92.

<sup>138</sup> Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 65. Original language: *Orff bekennt sich voll und ganz zum neuen epischen Theater der Gegenwart, das durch Bert Brecht seine stärkste Ausprägung gefunden hat* (Liess, *Carl Orff*, 64).

<sup>139</sup> Quoted in English (presumably translated from German, but this is not specified, nor is any original language provided) in “Music: Orff’s Oedipus,” *Time*, 28 December 1959 (author not credited), accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,811619,00.html>, 8 November 2009, internal quotation marks omitted.

<sup>140</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 252–259. Score: Carl Orff, *Sprechstücke für Sprecher, Sprechchor und Schlagwerk*, Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne (ED 6711), 1977, 23–56.

<sup>141</sup> For a description of this staging, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 149–176.

<sup>142</sup> Article signed “A.E.,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 553, 22 November 1932 (COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Bach-Verein 1932–1933). This is a review of the performance at the *Berliner Volksbühne*, 20 November 1932.

critic derided Orff's production with a disparaging reference to Brecht and Kurt Weill's "embarrassing" (*peinliche*) *Die Dreigroschenoper*: "A *Dreigroschenpassion* we must reject on religious grounds; a peepshow card configuration of the *Lukas-Passion* we reject on musical grounds." The author also aligned Orff firmly with the camp of musical progressivism by calling him "the idea-filled head of the 'contemporary' musical generation."<sup>143</sup>

This denunciation was one of many attacks against Carl Orff during the latter years of the Weimar Republic, as National Socialism was gaining momentum. In a letter dated 23 November 1930, he wrote to Curt Sachs that his home city of Munich was turning against him:

In Munich there goes through the entire press, which has its directives from certain sides, a vile smear campaign against me, which leaves nothing remaining to be desired in lack of objectivity. I am made out to be not only a violator of corpses (see Monteverdi), but also a youth-seducer, who systematically corrupts our good youth with exotic perversities.<sup>144</sup>

Orff wrote this letter following the unsuccessful performance of his *Schulwerk* (which he presented with his composer friend Karl Marx) and the world premiere of two of his 1930 cantatas based on texts by Franz Werfel, *Veni Creator Spiritus* (*Come, creative spirit*) and *Der gute Mensch* (*The Good Man*). These performances occurred, respectively, on 7 and 11 October 1930 at the third annual music festival week organized by the progressive *Vereinigung für zeitgenössische Musik*.<sup>145</sup> As Orff wrote to one of his publishers at Schott Music, Ludwig Strecker (1883–1978): "The general criticism was absolutely hopelessly against the thing, because the people speak in 7/8 time or multiple syncopations, only

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<sup>143</sup> Article signed "m.h.w.," *Augsburger Postzeitung*, Nr. 97, 28 April 1932 (review of the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik* performance, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Bach-Verein 1932–1933). Original language of first quotation: *Eine „Dreigroschenpassion“ müßten wir aus religiösen Gründen ablehnen; die Guckkasten-Ausstattung der Lukas-Passion lehnen wir aus musikalischen Gründen ab*. Original language of second quotation: *der ideenreichste Kopf der „zeitgenössischen“ Musikgeneration*. "Peepshow card configuration" (*Guckkasten-Ausstattung*) refers to the once-popular devices, similar to the Polyorama Panoptique, designed from boxes with a lens through which one views pictures. See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 153; Seifert, "...auf den Geist kommt es an," 375–376.

<sup>144</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Curt Sachs, 23 November 1930 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 45. Original language: *In München geht durch die ganze Presse, die von bestimmter Seite ihre Direktiven hat, eine wüste Hetze gegen mich, die an Unsachlichkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt. Ich werde nicht nur als Leichenschänder (siehe Monteverdi), sondern auch als Jugendverführer hingestellt, der unsere gute Jugend mit exotischen Perversitäten systematisch verdirbt*.

<sup>145</sup> Information according to OZM, 2 and 31 October 2014.



from a Hottentot rhythm, the opposite of true music like ‘O Christmas Tree.’”<sup>146</sup> He wrote to Erich Katz:

The production of the *Schulwerk* is absolutely not successful here and was completely misunderstood. Even so I had expected somewhat more understanding for such a matter. The public partly responded well; of the press, 90% wrote ‘The *Schulwerk* proved itself as unsuitable for the concert hall etc.’ I no longer want to write about these matters so that I do not damage my good machine [i.e., typewriter], as far as it doesn’t bear drivell.<sup>147</sup>

The critic Wilhelm Zentner wrote that the *Schulwerk* did not address children properly, as it featured “an intellectualism of a different nature” (*Ein wesensfremder Intellektualismus*) than it should.<sup>148</sup> The composer Siegfried Kallenberg, who in the Third Reich would write articles expressing sympathy for National Socialist culture, wrote: “Three pianos, a percussion ensemble, choral responsories indeed conveyed a fantastic will for destruction, but also embarrassing, agonizing impressions of a primitivism that hardly can be surpassed.”<sup>149</sup> Another critic wrote of the Werfel cantatas: “This is an extremely cheeky assassination of the German language – it is a *vulgarity*, against which

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<sup>146</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 17 October 1930, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 31 October 2014). Original language: *Die allgemeine Kritik stand der Sache völlig hilflos gegenüber, da die Leute in einem 7/8 Takt oder mehrfachen Synkopierungen nur von einer Hottentotten-Rhythmik sprechen, dem der einzig wahre „O Tannenbaum“ gegenüber gestellt wird.* Literally, the last phrase is translated as “which is juxtaposed with the only true [song], ‘O Tannenbaum.’” Note: the Ludwig Strecker referred to here is *der jüngere* (“the younger”), son of Ludwig Strecker *der ältere* (i.e. “the elder,” 1853–1943). Unless otherwise noted, all references to Ludwig Strecker in this dissertation are to *der jüngere*.

<sup>147</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz, 1 November 1930, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 14 August 2014). Original language: *Die Aufführung des Schulwerks ist hier absolut nicht geglückt und restlos missverstanden worden. Ich hatte doch etwas mehr Verständnis für solche Angelegenheit vorausgesetzt. Das Publikum ging teils gut mit, von der Presse schrieb 90 % „Das Schulwerk erwies sich als ungeeignet für den Konzertsaal etc.“ Ich will nicht mehr von diesen Sachen schreiben, dass ich meine gute Maschine nicht kaputt mache, soviel Blödsinn verträgt die nicht.* See also Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 13.

<sup>148</sup> Dr. Wilhelm Zentner, “Dritte Festwoche neuer Musik in München,” *Germania. Zeitung für das deutsche Volk* (Berlin), 60. Jahrgang, Nr. 489, 20 October 1930, [S. 2]. This article ran under the same headline in *Sächsische Volkszeitung* (Dresden), Nr. 245, 22 October 1930 and under the heading “Festwoche neuer Musik in München” in *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*, Nr. 506, 28 October 1930 (COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XVIII, 3). For more information on Zentner (1893–1982), see <http://www.bml.lmu.de>, accessed 13 November 2014.

<sup>149</sup> S. Kallenberg, “Neue Musik in München,” *Volk und Heimat*, München, Nr. 22, 22 November 1930 (COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVIII, 3). Original language: *Drei Klaviere, ein Schlagzeugorchester, chorische Responsorien vermittelten zwar einen fantasischen Willen zum Destruktiven, aber auch peinlich quälende Eindrücke eines kaum mehr zu überbietenden Primitivismus.* For more on Siegfried Garibaldi Kallenberg (1867–1944) and his politics, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 95, 3732, 3770–3771, 7726, 9087, and 9800.

one cannot repudiate sharply enough. Orff's music manifests creative impotence."<sup>150</sup>

These reviews are especially unfortunate in light of the fact that Orff was working out his new compositional style in the Werfel cantatas, as he also did in the two sets of *a cappella* choruses on texts of Catullus (ca. 84–54 BCE), *Catulli Carmina* (*Songs of Catullus*) I and II of 1930.<sup>151</sup> The Werfel Cantatas were among the choral works that he published as *Werkbücher* (“workbooks”). The first *Werkbuch* comprises three cantatas on texts of Franz Werfel (often incorporating material from his 1920 Werfel *Lieder*) and the second comprises two cantatas on texts of Brecht. Each of the five works has three movements, and most are scored for pianos and percussion in the vein of *Les noces*.<sup>152</sup> As Kim Kowalke, Udo Klement, and even Orff himself (albeit later in life) all have noted, these cantatas, especially the Werfel settings, contain all of the salient elements of Orff's mature style.<sup>153</sup> Kowalke aptly has linked Orff's declamatory text setting, in which the poetry is not altered at all, to Brecht's ideal of “taking the text for granted” and noted that these characteristics apply also to *Carmina Burana*. Hence Orff's most famous work has what Kowalke has termed a “Brecht connection,”<sup>154</sup> a great irony given the diametric opposition between Brecht and the National Socialist government in which, as will be described in the following chapter, *Carmina Burana* ultimately found favor.

In 1932, Schott Music published *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank und vom Fliegen* (*Of*

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<sup>150</sup> Signed “K.H.,” “Münchener Konzerte. Musikalische Akademie,” in *Bayerische Staatszeitung München*, Nr. 238, 15 October 1930 (COS/OZM, Pressearchive, Kri. XVIII, 3), emphasis in original. Original language: *Diese ist ein bodenlos freches Attentat auf die deutsche Sprache – eine G e m e i n h e i t, die man nicht scharf genug ablehnen kann. Orffs Musik offenbart schöpferische Impotenz*. For another especially harsh review, see “Neue Chormusik Mannheim 1931. Kollektive Musik,” in *Mannheimer Tageblatt*, Nr. 270.

<sup>151</sup> These works are reprinted in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4 (1979), 9–37. Some of these choruses were incorporated into a later stage work, also called *Catulli Carmina*, of 1943. See also Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 107.

<sup>152</sup> The exception is the Werfel cantata *Fremde sind wir* (“Strangers are we”), which calls for an unusual ensemble of violins and contrabasses. Orff's *Werkbuch I* was published in three volumes: B. Schott's Söhne (Mainz) in 1931: I. *Veni Creator Spiritus* (“Come, creative spirit,” Schott ED 3261, BSS 33058), II. *Der gute Mensch* (“The good man,” Schott ED 3262, BSS 33094), III. *Fremde sind wir* (Schott ED 3267, BSS 33518). For more on these works, see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 67–69; Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 212–238.

<sup>153</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 43; Kowalke, “Burying the Past,” 64 and 66 (Kowalke noted the “deliberate simplicity, primacy of text, and obsessive presentation of a text-derived rhythmic gestus” in these works; *ibid.*, 66); Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 14.

<sup>154</sup> Kowalke, “Burying the Past,” 67. The Brecht quotation may be found in Brecht, trans. Willett, *Brecht on Theater*, 38.

*Spring, Oil Tank, and of Flying*) from *Werkbuch II*.<sup>155</sup> According to the title page, this work was to be the second of two pieces comprising *Werkbuch II*. Its companion, *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt (Of the World's Welcome)* was not completed until 1973,<sup>156</sup> although an *a cappella* arrangement of the first movement was published in Erich Katz's *Das neue Chorbuch (The New Choir Book)* in 1931.<sup>157</sup> The three poems in *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt* come from Brecht's *Die Hauspostille* (often rendered in English as *Manual of Piety*), a biting satire of religion.<sup>158</sup> Orff's selection of these poems is indicative of his break from his devoutly Catholic upbringing. It is in keeping with Orff's rebellious worldview that he was drawn to such texts.

Orff intended to write a third *Werkbuch* titled *Das fünfte Rad (The Fifth Wheel)* using poetry about human isolation from Brecht's *Aus einem Lesebuch für Städtebewohner (From a reader for city-dwellers)*, but this project never was realized.<sup>159</sup> The reason why these two of the Brecht projects were aborted in the early 1930s very likely has to do with the changing political climate as the shadow of National Socialism was spreading over Germany.

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<sup>155</sup> Score: Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (Schott ED 3268), 1932 (BSS 33503).

<sup>156</sup> The premiere took place on 19 March 1979. Score: Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (Schott ED 5706), 1975. Orff's initial plan was to score the work for chorus and brass, although the final version is scored for pianos and percussion. See Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 214–220; Hennenberg, *Orff-Studien*, 28.

<sup>157</sup> See Erich Katz's *Das neue Chorbuch*, Vol. 8 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1930, BSS 32663), described as "Aus: Carl Orff, *Werkbuch II/1*." The relevant page is reproduced in Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," 14. See also *ibid.*, 12–13; Heinrich Bohl, "'Neuer Geist' in neuer Chorkunst," in *Der Türmer*, Berlin, 33. (7.) Jahrgang, Heft 8, Juni 1931:282–283, 283, in which the text of the poem is quoted in its entirety.

<sup>158</sup> See Bertolt Brecht, trans. Eric Bentley (bilingual edition), *Manual of Piety*, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1966, 92–93 ("Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt"); 120–123 ("Grosser Dankchoral"); 232–233 ("Gegen Verführung"). Kowalke has characterized these poems as "provocative" and "antireligious" (Kowalke, "Burying the Past," 66).

<sup>159</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 68–69; Thomas in *ibid.*, 238; Hennenberg, *Orff-Studien*, 29. For the texts of these poems. For the texts that Orff selected for this projected work, see Bertolt Brecht, *Die Gedichte*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Insel Taschenbuch (3331), 2008, 160–162 and 165–166 (Nos. 2 and 6); in English translation, Bertolt Brecht, ed. John Willett, Ralph Manheim, and Erich Fried, *Bertolt Brecht Poems*, London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1976, 132–133 and 137 (Nos. 2 and 6).

## The Third Reich Begins: Carl Orff's Precarious Situation

*Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher  
Verbrennt, verbrennt man auch am Ende Menschen.*

That was only a prelude: there, where books are burned,  
They burn also, in the end, people.

—Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), *Almansor* (1821)<sup>160</sup>

Carl Orff was always highly guarded as to his personal and political views, which makes it difficult to know his thoughts on the Third Reich. As of this writing, however, no evidence has been adduced to suggest that he was personally sympathetic to Nazism. His overall anti-authoritarian worldview suggests that he would have been disinclined to support Adolf Hitler, and there are indications that he harbored misgivings toward National Socialism. In a letter to the musicologist and educator Erich Doflein in March 1931, Orff referred to National Socialism (*Nationalsozialismus*) as Narcissism (*Narziss*).<sup>161</sup> In the summer of 1933, he signed a letter to a friend “with various heils” (*mit verschiedenen heilen*), a tongue-in-cheek allusion to the formal *Heil Hitler* signature.<sup>162</sup> As late as June 1937, Orff signed a letter to Werner Egk with a similarly tongue-in-cheek *Heil Kitesch*, a reference to an invisible legendary city in Russian folklore to which Orff had referred in the letter.<sup>163</sup> Such sardonic commentary on

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<sup>160</sup> Heinrich Heine, *Almansor* (begun 1821), in *Tragödien, nebst einem Lyrisches Intermezzo*, Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1823, 148.

<sup>161</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Doflein, 6 March 1931, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 24 and 30 October 2014). For more on Doflein (1900–1977), see Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 11–15; <http://www.bml.o.lmu.de> (accessed 5 November 2014).

<sup>162</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Michel Hofmann, 1 August [1933] (Munich), printed in Carl Orff and Michel Hofmann, *Briefe Zur Entstehung Der Carmina Burana*, ed. Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann, Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990, 13. One also may translate this phrase as “with several heils,” as it is given in Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 119. For more on Hofmann (1903–1968) and his role in the creation of *Carmina Burana*, see Chapter 2.

<sup>163</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Werner Egk, dated “early Freitag” and signed “Der Mond” (Orff was working on *Der Mond* at that time). In this letter Orff was writing to Egk with great enthusiasm about an upcoming trip to a place he called Kitesch, for which he asked for a report (see also letter dated 1 June 1937); presumably an inside joke between the two composers. BSB HSL, Ana 410, Briefe von Carl Orff an Werner Egk (previously misfiled in Briefe von Heinrich Strobel an Werner Egk). In his memoirs Egk recollected that, in the early days of National Socialism, Orff showed him a photograph in a newspaper with the caption “Roll call of the Reich labor service”: “Orff remarked laconically: ‘The face of National Socialism’” (Werner Egk, *Die Zeit wartet nicht*, Pecha/Kempfenhausen am Starnberger See, Verlag R. S. Schulz, 1973, 212, original language of first quotation: *Appell des Reichsarbeitsdienstes* (internal quotation marks omitted), original language of second quotation: *Orff bemerkte lakonisch: „Das Gesicht des*

National Socialism, although cryptic, is more than Orff usually revealed in writing.

As will be addressed in Chapter 3, in the aftermath of the Third Reich Orff was evaluated by Dr. Bertram Schaffner of the Office of Military Government, United States. Based on an examination of Orff's upbringing and current attitudes, Schaffner found that his "attitudes are not Nazi," that he had an "antinazi point of view," and that "on psychological grounds, nazism [sic] was distasteful to him."<sup>164</sup> Several people who were close to Orff, some of whom had difficult relationships with the composer, have attested to his dislike of National Socialism. Hans Bergese, whose relationship with Orff had deteriorated following the war,<sup>165</sup> wrote to Fred K. Prieberg in 1964:

Lastly, I would like to accentuate explicitly that the fact that there was no ban on the *Schulwerk* [during the Third Reich] had nothing to do with an open or secret sympathy of Orff's for the Nazi Regime. His antipathy stood beyond doubt. That he had to suffer under it, yet cannot prove it, one may take on faith from the assertions of Orff's poet laureates.<sup>166</sup>

Orff's daughter Godela and his third wife, Luise Rinser (1911–2002, to whom he was married from 1954 to 1959) also attested to his anti-Nazi attitude in their memoirs. As Godela wrote of her father: "He was well versed in history, knew where everything must lead, knew of friends who had emigrated.... He stood with deep aversion toward the gruesome ideology of the 'Third Reich'; he had seen through it from the beginning."<sup>167</sup> It

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*Nationalsozialismus*.") This wry comment suggests that Orff did not think that National Socialism was particularly healthy for his society.

<sup>164</sup> Quotations from Major Bertram Schaffner's report on Carl Orff, 1 April 1946, second page (political assessment) No. 8 and third page (psychological assessment) No. 1 (in archive the latter two pages are reversed), David M. Levy papers, Box 35 Folder 2. Even Kater and Prieberg, who have been highly critical of Carl Orff's actions in the Third Reich, have emphasized that he was not sympathetic to Nazism. See interviews with Kater in Palmer's *O Fortuna!*; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 19–21, 119, and 128; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 192; letter from Fred K. Prieberg to Rosita Winkler, 20 April 1995, a scan of which kindly was supplied to me by Tim Schwabedissen of the Prieberg Archive; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker, 1933–1945*, 5394 (Geschichtsfälschung XIX) and 5396 (Geschichtsfälschung XXVI).

<sup>165</sup> See letters from Hans Bergese to Erich Katz dated 10 November 1946, 15 April (begun) and 15 May (continued) 1947, 25 December 1947, and 5 December 1948, Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 139–141.

<sup>166</sup> Letter from Hans Bergese to Fred K. Prieberg, 9 February 1964, second page, Archiv Prieberg, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. Original language: *Zum Schluss möchte ich ausdrücklich betonen, daß das nicht erfolgte Verbot des Orff-Schulwerks nichts mit einer offenen oder heimlichen Sympathie Orffs für das Nazi-Regime zu tun hatte. Seine Antipathie stand ausser Zweifel. Daß er darunter zu leiden gehabt hätte, läßt sich jedoch nicht beweisen, es sei, man nimmt die Behauptungen der Orffschen Hofdichter für bare Münze*. The context of this remark is a claim Orff recently had made that the *Schulwerk* had been banned during the Third Reich, which is untrue (see also Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5390).

<sup>167</sup> Luise Rinser, *Saturn auf der Sonne*, Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1994, 94–95; G. Orff, *Mein Vater*

is likely that Orff was not eager to participate in National Socialist culture, but during the twelve years of the Third Reich it was impossible to remain active in German musical society without doing so. It appears that Orff attempted to walk a fine line between remaining true to his artistic convictions and accommodating himself to the new ruling powers for the sake of his success.

Orff never joined the NSDAP (Nazi Party).<sup>168</sup> Godela, who was in school in Switzerland for the first part of the Third Reich,<sup>169</sup> was not a member of the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth), and his second wife, Gertrud Willert Orff, was not in the *Frauenschaft* (the women's branch) of the NSDAP. Orff was a member of a professional organization, the RMK (the *Reichsmusikkammer*, or "Reich Music Chamber") for the duration of the Third Reich (1933–1945), as was required for participation in musical culture at that time.<sup>170</sup> At present writing, the circumstances of Orff's joining the RMK, and his feelings about doing so, are difficult to ascertain. He was obliged in 1943 to apply for membership in the *Reichsschriftumskammer* (RSK, "Reich Writers' Chamber") because he wrote his own libretti, but was released from membership as he already paid dues to the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK, "Reich Cultural Chamber"), of which both the RMK and the RSK were branches.<sup>171</sup>

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*Carl Orff und ich*, 54 and 56; in previous version, 51 and 53. Original language of quotation: *Er war geschichtlich versiert, wusste, wohin alles führen müsse, wusste von Freunden, die emigrierten.....stand er der grauenvollen Ideologie des „Dritten Reiches“ mit tiefer Aversion gegenüber, hatte sie von Anfang an durchschaut [...]* The previous version has different word order at the beginning of this quotation: *Mit tiefer Aversion stand er der grauenvollen Ideologie des »Dritten Reiches« gegenüber....* Both Godela and Rinser had problematic relationships with Orff; see Rinser, *Saturn auf der Sonne*, 86–137; G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 58–59 and 64–68, in previous version, 57 and 65–68 (in this instance, the previous version has a more extensive account than the revised version); interviews with Rinser and Godela in Palmer's *O Fortuna!*

<sup>168</sup> Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5377. NSDAP stands for *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, i.e. "National Socialist German Worker Party").

<sup>169</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 52, in previous version, 48.

<sup>170</sup> See the first page of Orff's denazification report by Major Bertram Schaffner, David M. Levy papers, Box 35 Folder 2. Further evidence of Orff's membership in the RMK is found in a letter dated 29 November 1937 (AK, COS/OZM) that he received on behalf of the President of the RMK, Peter Raabe (1872–1945, who held the office from 1935 to 1945; the letter bears the signature Becker) asking him to pay his overdue membership fees for November 1937—yet more evidence of Orff's unhappy financial situation (information according to OZM, 11 March 2014). Regarding Gertrud and Godela, see inquiries into Carl Orff's political reliability by Nazi officials from May–July 1942, Berlin Bundesarchiv (hereafter Berlin BA), RK N 0029, 0046–0068, here 0047 and 0053.

<sup>171</sup> See letter from office of the President of the RSK, signed "Loth" (signature unclear) to Carl Orff, 26 February 1943, Berlin BA, RK I 0448, 0754. For Orff's RSK application, see *ibid.*, 0746–0751; strangely, the application is dated 1 May 1943, well after the date on the letter releasing him from his obligation to

At the outset of the Third Reich the cultural climate was not favorable to Orff due to his associations with both artistic and political progressives.<sup>172</sup> In 1931, Orff mentioned in a letter to Erich Doflein that it was “imputed to [him] all over the place” that he was a member of the Communist Party, although this was not the case.<sup>173</sup> After Adolf Hitler’s ascension to power, Orff’s Werfel and Brecht cantatas had to be withdrawn, as both authors were officially banned. Brecht was a Communist and Werfel was a Jew who adopted Catholic beliefs but never formally converted or entirely renounced Judaism.<sup>174</sup> The one published Brecht setting, *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank und vom Fliegen*, was never performed before it was withdrawn. There is curiously little documentation as to the withdrawal of the Brecht and Werfel compositions,<sup>175</sup> which is not surprising given that Willy Strecker (1884–1958) of Schott Music told Paul Hindemith (1895–1963) that several of his controversial works from the Weimar Republic had been removed from general circulation and placed in a “poison cupboard.”<sup>176</sup> Curiously, however, Orff requested examples from his Brecht cantatas

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join. See also letter from Orff to the RSK, 2 May 1943, *ibid.*, 0766. Why exactly Orff went to the trouble of filling out the application for the RSK when he did not have to is unclear; perhaps it is the result of bureaucratic confusion.

<sup>172</sup> For example, Orff’s associates in the theater included Caspar Neher (1897–1962), Caspar Neher (1897–1962), Oscar Fritz Schuh (1904–1984), Heinz Hilpert (1890–1967), and Karl Heinz Ruppel (1900–1980), all of whom were known to be politically unsympathetic to National Socialism, although all four participated in the culture of the Reich. See Rösch in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1400; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 12; letter from Gottfried von Einem to Werner Egk, 26 November 1947, BSB HSL, Ana 410.

<sup>173</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Doflein, 6 March 1931, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 24 and 30 October 2014). Original language: *wie es mir überall angedichtet wird*. See also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 117–119; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 218.

<sup>174</sup> Regarding Werfel’s religion, see *Judentum in Leben und Werk von Franz Werfel*, Hans Wagener and Wilhelm Hemecker, ed., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, especially the first essay, Lionel B. Steiman, “Franz Werfel: The Formation of a non-Jewish Jew” (1–18). I thank Scott Spector for sharing with me his expertise on Werfel. Brecht and Werfel both appeared on black list (*Schwarze Liste*) the of the librarian Wolfgang Herrmann (1904–1945), although a few of Werfel’s books were granted exception until 31 December 1938 (these did not include the poetry that Orff had selected). See [http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte\\_buecher/schwarze\\_liste.php](http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte_buecher/schwarze_liste.php); [http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte\\_buecher/detail.php?referer=%2Frubrik%2Fhauptstadt%2Fverbannte\\_buecher%2Fsuche.php&id=72778&page=0&suche=Werfel&](http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte_buecher/detail.php?referer=%2Frubrik%2Fhauptstadt%2Fverbannte_buecher%2Fsuche.php&id=72778&page=0&suche=Werfel&); and [http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte\\_buecher/detail.php?referer=%2Frubrik%2Fhauptstadt%2Fverbannte\\_buecher%2Fsuche.php&id=70741&page=0&s\\_autor\\_nachname=Brecht&s\\_autor\\_vorname=Bertold&](http://www.berlin.de/rubrik/hauptstadt/verbannte_buecher/detail.php?referer=%2Frubrik%2Fhauptstadt%2Fverbannte_buecher%2Fsuche.php&id=70741&page=0&s_autor_nachname=Brecht&s_autor_vorname=Bertold&), all accessed 29 October 2014.

<sup>175</sup> Information according to OZM, 3 November 2014. See also Hennenberg, *Orff-Studien*, 23–39, especially 28; Kowalke, “Burying the Past,” 81 n. 30.

<sup>176</sup> Geoffrey Skelton, *Paul Hindemith: The Man Behind the Music*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1975, 120, internal quotation marks omitted (unfortunately this source does not give the original German).

from his publisher, along with several other works, for purposes of advertisement in November 1933; it is possible that he envisioned a performance abroad.<sup>177</sup>

As early as November 1931, National Socialists in Erich Katz's native Freiburg attacked Katz's *Neue Chorbuch*, in which the *a cappella* version of the first movement of *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt* had been published.<sup>178</sup> Orff's remaining Brecht compositions, as described in the preceding section, were aborted, although in July 1931 he had told Ludwig Strecker that he was eager for their publication.<sup>179</sup> Werner Thomas's explanation in *Dokumentation* darkly implies that the rise of National Socialism was at play: "Clearly the possibility of a printing already had become questionable at that time." Thomas later posed a rhetorical question: "Was this break only grounded in the situation of the time? The question is open." It is extraordinary that someone as close to Orff as Werner Thomas wrote that the "question is open," especially as Orff was still alive and able to be consulted when Thomas wrote these words.<sup>180</sup> Orff himself addressed the matter very briefly in his memoirs, although he did specify that he withdrew the Brecht and Werfel works under duress, adding that he suffered from deep depression during this time.<sup>181</sup> As usual, the subject of the Third Reich was largely taboo.

There were, however, efforts to perform the Brecht and Werfel cantatas in the months leading up to the National Socialists' seizure of power, but unsurprisingly they came to naught. In December 1932, Orff's conductor friend Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg hoped to conduct *Der gute Mensch* and *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank, und vom Fliegen*, but, as Orff's music education colleague Eberhard Preussner informed him, there was a potential problem with the chorus: "Whether he can present the Brecht with [Bruno] Kittel's

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<sup>177</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Johannes Petschull, 13 November 1933, SK, COS/OZM. The first letter from Petschull (1901–2001) in the OZM archive after this one is dated 22 December 1933: the Brecht cantata is not mentioned here, nor is it mentioned in the previous letters from Ludwig Strecker. Information according to OZM, 2 October 2014. See also Henneberg, *Orff-Studien*, 28.

<sup>178</sup> Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," 15 and 35, ref. 9.

<sup>179</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 12 July 1931, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 3 November 2014). In this letter, *Werkbuch III* is referred to as *Die gute Tat* ("The Good Deed") instead of *Das fünfte Rad*.

<sup>180</sup> Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 214 (first quotation) and 238 (second quotation). Original language of first quotation: *Offenbar war die Möglichkeit einer Drucklegung bereits damals fragwürdig geworden*. Original language of second quotation: *War dieser Abbruch nur in der Situation der Zeit begründet? Die Frage ist offen.....*

<sup>181</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 69 and Vol. 3, 203 (reference to the works being withdrawn and his depression); Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 62. See also Henneberg, *Orff-Studien*, 23–39, especially 28; Kowalke, "Burying the Past," especially 66.



chorus, however, I also would like to question.” Preussner was right to be wary, as the next year Kittel denounced several of their colleagues, including Orff’s music education associate Fritz Jöde, and purged his chorus of Jewish members. Orff agreed with Preussner’s judgment: “I consider the Brecht to be inopportune.”<sup>182</sup>

On the same day as his reply to Preussner, Orff wrote to Schulz-Dornburg: “I had agreed upon...the Brecht with a choral society that wanted to bring the work in a very particular framework, proposed by me.”<sup>183</sup> This was likely a reference to the Berlin Schubert Choir, as the Board of Management’s records indicate that Orff met with them on 28 January 1933—two days before Hitler became chancellor—to discuss a performance. The Schubert choir’s artistic director at this time was Hermann Scherchen (1891–1966), a politically left-leaning conductor who had directed the premiere of Orff’s *Entrata* in 1930. A few months later, Scherchen was compelled to emigrate as a political opponent of the Third Reich.<sup>184</sup>

In addition to the projected performance of *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank, und vom Fliegen*, Orff also told Schulz-Dornburg that Fritz Jöde was planning to perform the Werfel cantata *Der gute Mensch*.<sup>185</sup> The day before his meeting with Berlin Schubert Choir, Orff wrote to Preussner in frustration that he had not heard from several of his colleagues: “Schulz-Dornburg? Werfel cantatas?...[Leo] Kestenberg? Jöde? And a line of others? You see that I sit here restlessly because I hear nothing more from any side.” Preussner replied: “Dear Orff! Clearly I hear you ask, ‘yes, what is really going on politically, I am so little oriented...?’ But now, therefore you finally [...] grasp it: Hitler

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<sup>182</sup> Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg to Carl Orff, 17 December 1932 (Schulz-Dornburg also hoped to conduct the *Kleines Konzert*); letter from Eberhard Preussner to Carl Orff, 21 December 1932 (first quotation); letter from Carl Orff to Eberhard Preussner, 28 December 1932 (second quotation; information according to OZM), all AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 3 November 2014. Original language of first quotation: *...ob er den Brecht mit dem Kittel’schen Chor darstellen kann, möchte ich allerdings auch bezweifeln*. Original language of second quotation: *Brecht halte ich für ungünstig*. Regarding Kittel (1870–1948), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3954–3958. For more information on Schulz-Dornburg (1891–1949), and Jöde (1887–1970), see Appendix 3. For more on Preussner (1899–1964), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5969–5702.

<sup>183</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Rudolf-Schulz Dornburg, 28 December 1932, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 3 November 2014). Original language: *...hatte ich...den Brecht mit einer Chorvereinigung, die das Werk in einem ganz bestimmten, von mir vorgeschlagenen Rahmen bringen wollten*.

<sup>184</sup> For more on Scherchen, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 6480–6492.

<sup>185</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Rudolf-Schulz Dornburg, 28 December 1932, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 3 November 2014).

is there!”<sup>186</sup> Orff was learning that the “politics of the apolitical,” in Stephen Spender’s words,<sup>187</sup> were not going to be possible to maintain.

Orff’s problems at the beginning of the Third Reich extended beyond politics. The composer experienced financial hardships throughout the years of the Weimar Republic and well into the Third Reich.<sup>188</sup> In January 1932, Orff complained to Erich Katz: “With me things go on very dreadfully. I could hardly somewhat crawl again [when] new difficulties came. I had to bring my little girl to a sanatorium for lung disease in Switzerland; on the way home again I caught anew something of a cold and otherwise I am so in debt and broke that I hardly know where my head is.”<sup>189</sup> In June 1931, Orff told his music education associate Georg Götsch that the financial situation of the Günther-Schule was likewise bleak: “We have kept ourselves going completely by our own strength up until now, without even a penny of subsidy from a private or official party, and now we croak in the generally wretched situation in Germany.”<sup>190</sup>

An additional cause for Orff’s concern was his multiple associations with Jewish writers and musicians. It should be noted that these associations do not themselves offer

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<sup>186</sup> Letters from Carl Orff to Eberhard Preußner, 27 January 1933, and from Eberhard Preußner to Carl Orff, 31 January 1933 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 219–220 and 322 n. 55–56, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language of first quotation: *Schulz-Dornburg? Werfel-Kantaten?...Kestenbergl? Jöde? Und eine Reihe weiterer? Sie sehen, dass ich hier restlos aufsitze, weil ich von keiner Seite mehr irgendetwas höre*. Original language of second quotation: *Lieber Orff! Deutlich höre ich Sie fragen, ja was ist den eigentlich politisch los, ich bin so wenig orientiert ...? Nun aber, damit Sie es endlich [...] erfassen: Hitler ist da!*

<sup>187</sup> Quotation as cited in Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 9 (internal quotation marks omitted).

<sup>188</sup> Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 99 (Marx wrote that Orff was *ständig in Geldnöten*, i.e. “constantly in financial straits”); see also interviews with Michael H. Kater, Godela Orff, and Gertrud Willert Orff in Palmer, *O Fortuna!*; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222, 242–244, and 263; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 71–72.

<sup>189</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz dated 21 January 1932 (Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1). Original language: *Bei mir geht es scheusslich dick an. Kaum konnte ich wieder etwas kriechen kamen neue Schwierigkeiten. Ich musste meine Kleine in die Schweiz in ein Lungen-sanatorium bringen, auf dem Heimweg habe ich mich wieder etwas von neuem erkältet und im übrigen bin ich so verschuldet und pleite, dass ich kaum weiss, wo mir der Kopf steht*. Inconsistencies of spacing are here corrected as well; in the first sentence, the word *mir* is inserted in pencil into the typed text. Kater referenced Orff’s and Godela’s bad health in an interview in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!*

<sup>190</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Georg Götsch, 9 June 1931, quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 218 and 322 n. 49 (quotation in note), internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Wir haben uns bis jetzt vollkommen aus eigener Kraft ohne jeden Pfennig Zuschuss [literally “without any penny”] von privater oder offizieller Seite gehalten und krepieren nun an der allgemein trostlosen Lage in Deutschland*. See Orff’s official denazification report in the Appendix for a report of his income from the years 1932 to 1944 (see also Chapter 3). For more on Götsch (1895–1956), see Appendix 3.

definitive evidence as to his personal attitudes regarding anti-Semitism. The prevalence of anti-Semitism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German society led to many cases of cognitive dissonance among composers from this time. Even after the publication of his notorious 1850 essay “Das Judentum in der Musik” (“Jewishness in Music”), Richard Wagner continued to have several important Jewish associates and supporters.<sup>191</sup> Robert Schumann set texts by Heinrich Heine and promoted his Jewish colleague Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), yet his private remarks reveal a degree of prejudice against Jews.<sup>192</sup> Hans Pfitzner wrote an essay in 1919 in which he drew a distinction between individual Jews and Judaism, which he considered to be an anti-German and international threat. He stated that he knew Jews who were good Germans, and he considered the Jewish conductor Bruno Walter to be an important ally,<sup>193</sup> but maintained his anti-Semitic views even after the fall of the Third Reich.<sup>194</sup> In contrast to these examples, Orff’s known statements and writings contain no indications of an anti-Semitic attitude; he was characteristically silent on this matter. Thus his actions and associations are the only available clues.

Godela wrote that her father helped a Jewish friend (whom she did not identify) by letting the man stay in their house before his flight. She recalled feeling “stunned” (*fassungslos*) when, after they had eaten lunch with him in their favorite pub, the

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<sup>191</sup> Regarding Wagner’s Jewish supporters and associates, see Hilan Warshaw, *Wagner’s Jews*, New York: Overtone Films, 2013 (DVD). For Wagner’s essay, see Richard Wagner, trans. William Ashton Ellis, “Judaism in Music,” in *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, Vol. III: The Theatre, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1894:79–122; original language: Richard Wagner, “Das Judentum in der Musik,” in *Richard Wagner: Neue Text-Ausgabe*, Band V (1849–1850), Frankfurt: Axel Dielmann-Verlag (Edition Cornelius), 2013:217–237.

<sup>192</sup> See John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age,”* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 197 (this source addresses similar anti-Semitic remarks by Clara Schumann, born Wieck, 1819–1896); Peter F. Ostwald, *Schumann: The Inner Voices of a Musical Genius*, Northeastern University Press, 1987, 73.

<sup>193</sup> Hans Pfitzner, “Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz: Ein Verwesungssymptom?” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Band 2, Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926:99–252, 244–246 (excerpted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5549–5550). See also Hans Pfitzner, ed. Bernhard Adamy, *Sämtliche Schriften*, Band IV, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987, 320; Birgit Jürgens, »*Deutsche Musik*« – *das Verhältnis von Ästhetik und Politik bei Hans Pfitzner* (Historische Texte und Studien, Band 24), Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2009, 110–135 and 317–323; Sabine Busch, *Hans Pfitzner und der Nationalsozialismus*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2001, 70–80 and 114–130. Regarding Pfitzner and Bruno Walter (1876–1962), see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 31–46, 53, and 72–77 (various references); Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 149–150, 155, 161, 168, 179, and 181.

<sup>194</sup> See “Glosse zum II. Weltkrieg” in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Band IV (327–343), 338–340. Pfitzner here characterized the “problem” [*Problem*] of Judaism as a matter of race and *Weltanschauung*, not religion.

otherwise friendly owner told Orff never to bring “such a man” (*solch einen Menschen*) with him again.<sup>195</sup> Orff’s singer friend Karl Salomon (1897–1974), who had emigrated to Palestine, wrote to Orff from Jerusalem in 1933 to ask for a reference for his new university job. The two friends’ contact was halted by the Third Reich after 1935, but they resumed contact after the war and remained in touch until Salomon’s death.<sup>196</sup> One of the significant figures in Orff’s life, Curt Sachs, was forced to resign from all of his positions on 30 September 1933. He emigrated to Paris shortly thereafter and settled in America in 1937.<sup>197</sup> Sachs had supported Orff’s Monteverdi projects and his *Schulwerk*, and Sachs’s work on non-Western music had profoundly influenced Orff.<sup>198</sup> Following the war, Orff and Sachs resumed their correspondence.<sup>199</sup>

Many of Orff’s other Jewish friends and associates fared poorly under the Third Reich, and many were compelled to leave Germany. In *Dokumentation*, Orff described his disappointment when Leo Kestenberg “was relieved of all of his posts by the new

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<sup>195</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 54, previous version, 50–51. See also Orff’s testimony to Fred K. Prieberg that he had been considered a *Judenknecht* (servant to Jews) during the Third Reich; this statement is presently difficult to verify (letter from Carl Orff to Fred K. Prieberg, 6 September 1963, Archiv-Prieberg; see Appendix 2, also Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5391).

<sup>196</sup> Letter and postcard from Karl Salomon to Carl Orff, respectively 4 June 1933 and 6 July 1933, AK, COS/OZM. While there is no record of Orff’s reply to the first letter in the AK, COS/OZM, the postcard references a reply, and there are two further postcards from Salomon from 1933 (information according to OZM, 31 October and 3 November 2014). The *Nachlass* of Carl Orff contains correspondence with Salomon from 1930 to 1935 and 1947 to 1973. There is correspondence with Salomon’s wife, Edith, from 1974 (the year of Salomon’s death) to the year of his death, 1982 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014). For biographical information on Salomon, see Appendix 3.

<sup>197</sup> Andreas Eichhorn, “Curt Sachs,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil Vol. 14, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005:767–770; Martin Elste, “Curt Sachs,” in the *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2007, updated 18 June 2014, accessed at [http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00002025](http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002025), 7 July 2014. Some sources given 1934 instead of 1933 as the date of Sachs’s emigration (see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 6384–6385).

<sup>198</sup> See Carl Orff, “Ansprache bei der Hausübergabe,” in *Orff-Institut an der Akademie »Mozarteum« Salzburg*, Jahrbuch 1963, ed. Werner Thomas and Will Götze, Mainz: Schott, 1964:174–176, 174; Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs*, 54–61; Rösch, *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 30–33, 39, and 41–43; Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 17, in original language, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 16; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 14, 18, and 27 and Vol. 3, 14, 27, 96–97, 102–103. In *Dokumentation*, Orff conceded that not every interaction he had with Sachs was entirely positive, but this hardly vitiates his overall positive account.

<sup>199</sup> See Weinbuch, *Das musikalische Denken und Schaffen Carl Orffs*, 58–60 (this source has several quotations of letters between Orff and Sachs, beginning in 1948). The *Nachlass* of Carl Orff contains correspondence with Curt Sachs from 1924 to 1932 and from 1948 to 1949 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

rulers and had to leave Germany.”<sup>200</sup> Other associates who emigrated include the soprano Lotte Leonard (an early collaborator),<sup>201</sup> his former student Hans Ferdinand Redlich (a musicologist), and the modernist composer, educator, and jazz enthusiast Mátyás Seiber.<sup>202</sup> Following the Third Reich, Orff had an extensive correspondence with another Jewish exile in Israel, the music and theater critic Alfred Frankenstein.<sup>203</sup> Others of Orff’s Jewish friends remained in Germany for the first several years of the Third Reich and suffered serious consequences. The Mannheim conductor and keyboardist Max Sinzheimer (1894–1977) wrote to him in May 1933 in what he called “my great isolation” (*in meiner grossen Isolierung*), using the familiar pronoun (*Du*):

My dear Carl! For a long time you have heard nothing from me—thus do not be angry with me. But my mood has sunk so far that I decide on writing only with difficulty. There also is nothing special to report; I vegetate in the environment that is allowed to us—and wait patiently on—better days.

In the same letter Sinzheimer made clear that he was suffering under National Socialist racism. In lamenting that his access to a harpsichord owned by a mutual friend could be limited, he wrote that he could only take solace in playing it “only if I have access to the instrument, as up until now, and not if any bungler of a better race may cheat me in my handiwork.” In January 1934, Sinzheimer told Orff that he was sustaining

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<sup>200</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 203. Original language: *wurde Kestenberg von den neuen Machthabern aller Ämter enthoben und mußte Deutschland verlassen*. The *Nachlass* of Carl Orff has correspondence with Kestenberg from 1932 to 1935; he left Germany in 1933 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014; Sophie Fetthauer, “Leo Kestenberg,” in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2006, updated 20 June 2014, accessed at [http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00001289](http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001289), 30 July 2014).

<sup>201</sup> Leonard sang some of Orff’s *Werfel Lieder* on the ill-received Berlin recital on 1 March 1921 (see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 13; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 40). Neither Orff’s *Nachlass* in the OZM nor the small *Nachlass* of Lotte Leonard at the *Akademie der Künste* in Berlin contains any correspondence between the two (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014; Werner Grünzweig of the *Akademie der Künste*, 28 August 2014). For biographical information on Leonard (1884–1976), see Appendix 3.

<sup>202</sup> Regarding Orff’s association with these Jewish artists and intellectuals, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 215, 218, and 221; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 69; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118; Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 31; Jutta Raab Hasen, *NS-verfolgte Musiker in England. Spuren deutscher und österreichischer Flüchtlinge in der britischen Musikkultur* (Musik im “Dritten Reich” und im Exil, Band 1), Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1996, 452. For biographical information on Redlich (1903–1968) and Seiber (1905–1960), see Appendix 3. In the *Nachlass* of Carl Orff, there is correspondence with Seiber from 1931 to 1933 and with Redlich from 1930 to 1934; evidently Orff did not reestablish contact with them (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

<sup>203</sup> The *Nachlass* of Carl Orff has correspondence with Frankenstein between 1966 and 1980. It was Frankenstein who initiated their contact in a letter dated 23 April 1966 (information according to OZM, 6 and 20 November 2014). For biographical information on Frankenstein (1906–1991), see Appendix 3.

himself in his work: “I imagine that I were a Jewish general music director – something like my friend Karl Salomon.”<sup>204</sup> During the night of 9 November 1938, the notorious *Kristallnacht* pogrom (literally “Night of Crystal” but often more appropriately translated as “Night of Broken Glass”), Sinzheimer was arrested and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. He was released, presumably with orders to leave Germany. Fortunately, Sinzheimer managed to emigrate to America before the outbreak of World War II, where he lived for the remainder of his life.<sup>205</sup> He and Orff resumed their correspondence after the war.<sup>206</sup>

The injustice of the Third Reich also was illustrated for Orff in the case of his friend Erich Katz, who had become an important ally in the *Schulwerk*. As early as 1931, Katz came under attack by National Socialist ideologues.<sup>207</sup> In March 1933, Orff wrote in a letter to his and Katz’s mutual friend Erich Doflein: “What steps can I take? What is going on with Katz????”<sup>208</sup> While the cause of Orff’s concern is not entirely clear, the change in the political landscape is likely a factor. In the same letter he asked about the musicologist Hans Mersmann, (1891–1971), who by the next year would be relieved of his posts due to his advocacy of such artists as Arnold Schoenberg.<sup>209</sup> In July of the same year, Katz wrote to Orff of his despair:

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<sup>204</sup> Letters from Max Sinzheimer to Carl Orff, 28 May 1933 (first two quotations) and 20 January 1934 (third quotation), AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 20 and 28 August 2014). Original language of first quotation: *Mein lieber Carl! Du hast lange von mir nichts gehört – sei mir deshalb nicht böse. Meine Stimmung ist aber so weit gesunken, dass ich mich zum Schreiben nur schwer entschliesse. Es gibt auch nichts Besonderes zu berichten; ich vegetiere in dem Lebensraum, der uns gelassen ist – und warte geduldig auf – bessere Tage!* Original language of second quotation: *...nur, wenn das Instrument mir, wie bisher, zur Verfügung steht und nicht jeder Stümpfer mit besserer Rasse mir ins Handwerk pfuschen darf.* Original language of third quotation: *...bilde mir ein, ich wäre ein jüd. Generalmusikdirektor – wie etwa mein Freund Carl Salomon....* The harpsichord in question in the first letter was owned by Karl Maendler (1872–1958), who assisted Orff with his *Schulwerk* instruments (Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 103–105).

<sup>205</sup> Susanne Schlösser, “Max Sinzheimer,” in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2010, updated 29 November 2010, accessed at [http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm\\_lexmperson\\_00004218](http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00004218), 7 July 2014. For further biographical information on Sinzheimer, see Appendix 3.

<sup>206</sup> The *Nachlass* of Carl Orff contains correspondence between Orff and Sinzheimer from 1925 to 1937 and from 1949 to 1974 (information according to OZM, 6 and 10 November 2014).

<sup>207</sup> See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 103–104; Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 15, 34–37.

<sup>208</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Doflein, 14 March 1933, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 31 October 2014), emphasis in original. Original language: *Was kann ich unternehmen? Was ist mit Katz ? ? ? ?*

<sup>209</sup> Fritz Schieri, “Mersmann, Hans,” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 17 (Schwarz–Stader), Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1994:175–176, 175.

What will become of me otherwise, I do not know. In Germany I certainly shall not be able to remain in the long run, not only due to reasons of livelihood, but because I, as one who does not belong to the *Volk* (who lies when he writes in German) certainly have nothing more to seek in this land, and because I cannot allow myself, so to speak, to be spiritually and musically buried alive already at age 33....In a word, the rest is — hanging.<sup>210</sup>

Orff wrote Katz a sympathetic reply: “There is no sense in saying anything about the last months; on the whole it went terribly dirtily. Now something seems gradually to be getting set right again, and the first greater matter is now in Bern.... Now write to me soon and have confidence with me that by the autumn many things will yet take a turn for the good.” Orff’s mention of Bern was a reference to an event involving the *Schulwerk* that was planned for that city.<sup>211</sup> It is difficult to determine if the optimism Orff expressed was in reference to the *Schulwerk* or the political situation, or if he was expressing greater confidence than he felt in order to encourage his friend.

Mark Davenport has written that, at the beginning of the Third Reich, Orff and Katz “grew more distant, no doubt, due to the relentless tactics of the Nazis.”<sup>212</sup> Like Sinzheimer, Katz was arrested on Kristallnacht, and he spent eight to ten weeks as a prisoner in Dachau. After he was released, he obtained an exit visa to England with great difficulty and then moved to America, where he lived until his death in 1973.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Letter from Erich Katz to Carl Orff, 22 July 1933, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 20 August 2014). Original language: *Was im übrigen aus mir wird, weiss ich nicht. In Deutschland werde ich ja auf die Dauer nicht bleiben können, nicht nur aus Existenzgründen, sondern weil ich als Nicht-Volksgenosse (welcher lügt, wenn er deutsch schreibt) in diesem Lande ja nichts mehr zu suchen habe; und weil ich mich schliesslich nicht mit 33 Jahren schon geistig und musikalisch sozusagen lebendig begraben lassen kann....Kurz und gut, der Rest ist – Aufhängen.*

<sup>211</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz, 2 August 1933, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 20 August 2014). Original language of quotation: *Ueber die letzten Monate etwas zu sagen, hat keinen Sinn, im grossen Ganzen ging es furchtbar dreckig. Nun scheint sich allmählich wieder etwas einzurenken, und die erste grössere Sache ist nun in Bern. [...] Schreiben Sie mir nun bald, und haben Sie mit mir das Vertrauen, dass sich bis zum Herbst noch vieles zum Guten wenden wird.*

<sup>212</sup> Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 36. Davenport’s article includes a chart of the extant correspondence between Orff and Katz, which lists 10 letters from Katz to Orff and only five from Orff to Katz during the period of the Third Reich (ibid., 39). Orff’s student Newell Jenkins (to be introduced in Chapter 3) told Michael Kater in an interview in 1993 that Orff was concerned about being associated with Katz after Katz had visited his Munich apartment shortly before *Kristallnacht*, although to date this account has not been verified (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 142; Kater, however, inaccurately reported that Orff “made no attempt to resume the relationship” with Katz, ibid., 143).

<sup>213</sup> See Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 36–37; “Erich Katz,” members of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Volume II / Part 1, 600; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3862; various contributors, “Erich Katz, Teacher—Composer, 1900–1973,” *The American Recorder*, Volume

While Sinzheimer and Katz had told Orff of their troubles, he was not always aware of the full extent to which they were suffering. Orff evidently was unaware of Katz's fate on *Kristallnacht* as he sent his friend a letter while the latter was in Dachau,<sup>214</sup> which begins: "What a terribly bad conscience I have, that I still have not yet written and thanked you for all that you have sent me." Orff expressed his hope to discuss several musical matters with Katz and concluded: "Anyway, just drop me a line."<sup>215</sup> After the Third Reich, Orff reestablished contact in 1952, from which point they remained in contact until Katz's death.<sup>216</sup> Orff's relatively upbeat letter to Katz from 1938 suggests that, while he was aware of what was happening in the Third Reich and while he tried to offer support when he could, the composer still had not acknowledged the true nature of what was happening around him up until this point; perhaps he preferred not to.

There is an irony to the composer's position of relative privilege in relation to his Jewish friends: he was himself a quarter Jewish, a *Vierteljude* in the parlance of Nazi racism.<sup>217</sup> In the abhorrent *Nürnberger Gesetze* (Nürnberg Laws) of 1935, this made him a *Mischling 2. Grade* ("second-degree mixed race"; see figure 1.4).<sup>218</sup> Orff's ancestry seems to have been unknown either to Third Reich officials or any of his colleagues during his lifetime. Orff's paternal grandmother, Fanny Orff (born Franziska Caecilia

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XIV, No. 4, November 1973:115–134, 120–121.

<sup>214</sup> See Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," 37 (recollection of Hannah Labus Katz, Katz's second wife); "Erich Katz, Teacher—Composer, 1900–1973," 121 (recollection of Adelheid Soltau Katz, Katz's first wife). It is remarkable that Orff's letter of 31 December 1938, which was sent to Katz's residence during his wrongful imprisonment, is preserved in his papers. That Orff simply referenced a piano reduction in the letter without further specification (the timeline makes clear that he was referring to *Der Mond*) suggests that he and Katz had had some prior discussion of the new work, which supports the hypothesis that there were other letters between them between 9 July 1935 and 31 December 1938.

<sup>215</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz, 31 December 1938, Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1. Original language of first quotation: *Was habe ich für ein rasend schlechtes Gewissen, dass ich immer noch nicht geschrieben habe und Ihnen für all das Schöne gedankt habe, was Sie mir geschickt haben* (the irregular spacing of the original is corrected here). Original language of second quotation: *Schreiben Sie doch mal eine Zeile* (literally, "write me a line...") The previous known extant letter between the two men is from Katz to Orff, dated 9 July 1935, nearly three and a half years earlier (Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," 39). It is possible, however, that other letters in the interim unfortunately do not survive.

<sup>216</sup> See letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz dated 26 June 1952, Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1. For a list of the extant correspondence between Orff and Katz, see Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," 39.

<sup>217</sup> See Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 30–31. See also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 192; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 142; interviews with Kater in Palmer, *O Fortuna!* See also Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 264; Lewis Stevens, *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent*, London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003, 282–283.

<sup>218</sup> See Cornelia Essner, *Die »Nürnberger Gesetze« oder Die Verwaltung des Rassenwahns 1933–1945*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002.



Kraft, 1833–1919; see figure 1.5), was the daughter of Jews who had converted to Catholicism more than 15 years before her birth. On 3 December 1816 her father, Heinrich Kraft (1784–1866), had converted to Catholicism.<sup>219</sup> Her mother, Barbara Kraft (born Neustädtl, 1797–1872), had converted on 15 July 1817, four days before the date on the couple’s marriage license.<sup>220</sup> Their daughter Fanny was born 19 February 1833. What exactly Fanny was told of her family’s heritage remains unknown. Presumably she was at least nominally raised a Catholic, and she married into the devoutly Catholic Orff family on 29 January 1861.<sup>221</sup>

It is extraordinary that Orff’s partly Jewish heritage did not surface until over a decade after his death, when Michael Kater learned of it through Orff’s widow and fourth wife, Liselotte Orff (born Schmitz, 1930–2012), who was married to Orff from 1960 to his death. Gertrud Willert Orff, the composer’s second wife, told Kater in October 1993 that she had learned of her husband’s Jewish ancestry through her mother-in-law, Paula Orff, and that Orff himself never discussed this matter with her.<sup>222</sup> While he wrote affectionately about all four of his grandparents in *Dokumentation*, Orff made no reference whatsoever to his paternal grandmother’s Jewish heritage, nor did he mention anything about either of her parents. His only description of her is as follows: “My grandmother, well into old age a strikingly beautiful and extremely well-groomed woman, looked after her otherworldly spouse with great love; it was a happy marriage.”<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Presumably Heinrich Kraft was the namesake of Carl Orff’s father, Heinrich Orff.

<sup>220</sup> The extant records in the COS/OZM Familienarchiv unfortunately do not include a marriage certificate (*Traungsurkunde* or *Trauschein*) for Heinrich Kraft and Barbara Neustädtl, but there is a marriage license (*Heiratserlaubnis*) dated 19 July 1817. The issuance of a marriage certificate is also mentioned in a legal document, certified 21 July 1817, titled “from the wedding protocol – act from 19 July 1817” (*Aus dem Trauungs-Protocoll – Act. den 19 July 1817*). Information on Fanny von Orff’s according to OZM, 7 February, 21 March, and 24 March 2014. The information on Barbara Neustädtl Kraft is found in Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 69 n. 188. The source of all information is COS/OZM, Familienarchiv.

<sup>221</sup> Drobnitsch, “Ahnen Prominenter Bayern VII,” 80.

<sup>222</sup> Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 30 (Kater’s source is a letter, which he only paraphrased, from Gertrud Orff, 7 October 1993; *ibid.*, 30 n. 181). Kater initially learned of Heinrich and Barbara Kraft’s Jewish origins when Liselotte Orff showed him a portrait of them in the Orff household in Diessen (interview with Kater in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!*). Professor Kater confirmed to me that this was the first time Orff’s partly Jewish ancestry came to his attention in personal correspondence, 24 September 2009.

<sup>223</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 9–19, quotation 11; Gersdorf, *Carl Orff*, 8–16. Original language of quotation: *Meine Großmutter, eine bis ins hohe Alter auffallend schöne und äußerst gepflegte Frau, betreute ihren weltfremden Gatten mit großer Liebe; es war eine glückliche Ehe*. Orff devoted more time to

Kater has put forth the theory that during the Third Reich Orff was “extremely conscious of his need to conceal his partly Jewish ancestry from the authorities,” and that for this reason he “decided to accommodate himself to a regime that at heart he detested.”<sup>224</sup> Despite the sound logic of this theory, it is difficult to know the degree to which Orff was intentionally concealing this part of his background, rather than simply unaware of it. Due to the lack of references to the Jewish part of his heritage in his own writings (including his correspondence), his daughter’s memoirs, and the works of his contemporary advocates, one even may wonder if he was aware of it at all.<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, his denazification report contains no mention of his grandmother’s Jewish origins, which he could have used to his favor.<sup>226</sup> That Liselotte Orff knew about it, however, may lead one to infer that her husband knew as well.<sup>227</sup> Further, the family had kept the baptismal certificates of Heinrich and Barbara Kraft, which now are held in Orff-Zentrum München.

Regardless of whether or not Carl Orff was aware of his Jewish ancestry, there is no indication that the authorities knew of it.<sup>228</sup> Five years into the Third Reich, Orff filled out an *Ahnenpass* (literally “ancestral passport”), a booklet with multiple entries about one’s family that had to be certified individually.<sup>229</sup> This document has not been described in the previous literature on Orff and the Third Reich. In his *Ahnenpass*, Orff gave all four of his grandparents’ religion as Roman Catholic. Entry (*Eintrag*) no. 5 on page 10 is titled “Franziska Kraft,” who is described “as daughter of Heinrich Kraft (10)

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both of his grandfathers, and to their fathers in turn, than to his grandmothers, Fanny Orff and Maria Köstler (born Aschenbrenner, 1845–1906; dates of life according to OZM, 7 February 2014).

<sup>224</sup> Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 192. See also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 142.

<sup>225</sup> See interview with Michael Kater in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!* As of this writing, the archivists of the OZM have found no other references to the Jewish origins of Fanny Orff in the Nachlass of Carl Orff outside the baptismal certificates in the COS/OZM, Familienarchiv (information according to the OZM, 1 August 2014).

<sup>226</sup> This point has been noted surprisingly infrequently; see, however, Reinhard J. Brembeck, “Mitläufer oder Widerstandskämpfer? Ein neues Dokument hat einen Historikerstreit über die Rolle des Komponisten Carl Orff im Nationalsozialismus ausgelöst,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Nr. 31, 8 February 1996, *Münchner Kultur*, 16.

<sup>227</sup> It is, however, conceivable that she too learned of Orff’s partly Jewish ancestry through another family member, or even that she examined the family records herself.

<sup>228</sup> See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 82 (Kater here wrote that Orff was “able to deceive the party officials about [his] identity indefinitely”); interview with Michael Kater in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!*

<sup>229</sup> See Eric Ehrenreich, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007, especially xv, 61, and 70–74.

and Barbara Neustädtl (11).”<sup>230</sup> There are no entries for the great-grandparents, and so there is no mention of Heinrich and Barbara Krafts’ Jewish origins in Orff’s *Ahnenpass*. As Eric Ehrenreich has noted, the ancestral proof was not always a rigorous process. For most citizens, religious affiliation was often deemed sufficient, and so the baptized daughter of converted Jews could pass for Aryan.<sup>231</sup> Orff’s membership application for the *Reichsschrifttumskammer* (RSK) from 1942 is similarly silent on his partly Jewish ancestry. The field for religion and racial background is filled in simply with “Catholic” (*kath.*), and the question of race is politely ignored.<sup>232</sup>

It is striking that *Ahnenpass* booklets had been published as early 1933, by which time efforts were underway to ensure that the field of education, of which Orff was a part, was “racially pure.” The entries in Orff’s *Ahnenpass*, however, were not verified until the late winter of 1938. It is not clear what motivated him to have his *Ahnenpass* verified at this time, nor why he had not done so previously. Due to the shameful interracial marriage laws of the *Nürnberger Gesetze*, proof of ancestry was required to marry in Germany, but Orff did not marry Gertrud Willert until August 1939, a year and a half after the certification of his *Ahnenpass*.<sup>233</sup>

Even if officials had found out about Orff’s “racially” Jewish grandmother, the danger to his safety was not great.<sup>234</sup> In his diary entry of 15 November 1935, Joseph

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<sup>230</sup> *Ahnenpass* of Carl Orff, COS/OZM, Familienarchiv. Original language of quotation: ...als Tochter des (10) Heinrich Kraft und der (11) Barbara Neustädtl.

<sup>231</sup> Ehrenreich, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof*, 62–63. The requirement for party leaders was more stringent: they and their spouses had to prove the Aryan status of the parents of all ancestors born on or after 1 January 1800 (which Orff could not have done).

<sup>232</sup> Berlin BA, RK I 0448, 0746–0751, here 0748. While Orff was a member of the *Reichsmusikkammer*, as noted previously, his membership application for that organization has not been located as of this writing.

<sup>233</sup> See Ehrenreich, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof*, 58–61 (regarding the rules of ancestral proof); interview with Gertrud Willert Orff in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!* (regarding the date of Orff’s marriage). All of the entries in the *Ahnenpass* were verified on 5 February 1938 with the exception of the dates of Orff’s marriage and divorce, which were verified 12 March 1938. The dates on which Orff purchased his *Ahnenpass* and filled out the various entries are not recorded (COS/OZM, Familienarchiv, information according to OZM, 1, 20, and 28 August 2014). It is notable that, in 1934, Franz Willms of Schott music told Orff that he would have to send in an “(Aryan) picture” of himself to a group that was potentially interested in the *Schulwerk* (letter from Franz Willms to Carl Orff, 28 February 1934, SK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 20 November 2014).

<sup>234</sup> This also is noted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5394. Tony Palmer’s (b. 1941) statement that “one Jewish grandparent was enough to condemn you to death” in the Third Reich is in error (quoted in Jessica Duchon, “Dark Heart of a Masterpiece: Carmina Burana’s Famous Chorus Hides a Murky Nazi Past,” *The Independent*, 4 December 2008, internal quotation marks omitted). The existence of Carl Orff’s *Ahnenpass* casts doubt on Fred K. Prieberg’s statement that, because the National Socialist

Goebbels described a recent debate about how to treat quarter- and half-Jews, which occurred as the National Socialists were preparing to implement the *Nürnberger Gesetze*: “A compromise, but the best possible. Quarter-Jews to us over here, half-Jews only by exception.”<sup>235</sup> Orff’s fellow composer Boris Blacher (1903–1975) was discovered to be a “quarter Jew” by the National Socialists in 1940 (his maternal grandmother, like Fanny Orff, was the daughter of converted Jews).<sup>236</sup> For this reason, Blacher came under attack by Herbert Gerigk (1905–1996), a prominent critic allied with Rosenberg.<sup>237</sup> Blacher’s “quarter Jewish” status disqualified him from receiving a monetary award from the *Reichsmusikkammer* in 1942 (see figure 1.6). Nevertheless, he did not find himself in grave danger, nor was his career halted.<sup>238</sup> Far from merely out of danger, the quarter-Jewish *Hitlerjugend* composer Heinrich Spitta was featured in the 1934 *Das Deutsche Führerlexikon* (*The German Führer Dictionary*) and granted exemption from military service during the war (although he still joined the *Volkssturm* by choice).<sup>239</sup> True to Hannah Arendt’s theories of totalitarianism, the situation for partly Jewish artists was capricious.<sup>240</sup>

With regard to Orff’s own views of Jews and Judaism, his selection of texts for *Lieder* and choral works prior to the Third Reich suggests that he was not particularly concerned with the authors’ ethnic background or personal worldview. Before his numerous settings of Franz Werfel’s poetry, Orff set texts by the Jewish poets Ludwig

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apparatus ascertained everyone’s racial background, Nazi officials must have known about Orff’s quarter-Jewish status. Prieberg noted that the name Fanny was popular in Jewish families and therefore would have caught the attention of National Socialist officials (it is striking that Heinrich and Barbara Kraft chose such a name for their daughter over 15 years after their conversions). See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5394.

<sup>235</sup> Original language: *Ein Kompromiß, aber der bestmögliche. Vierteljuden zu uns herüber, Halbjuden nur in Ausnahme*. See *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher*, Band 3: 1935–1939, ed. Ralf Georg Reuth. Munich: Piper Taschenbuch (4. Auflage), 2008, 909. See also the editor’s commentary (*ibid.*, 889 n. 54) that Goebbels was in fact among the more radical implementers of these racist laws. See also Essner, *Die »Nürnberger Gesetze«*, 171–173.

<sup>236</sup> See also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 231–232 (regarding Blacher’s grandmother, Louise Feliciano Boerling, *ibid.*, 232); Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 514, 518–519, and 521–522.

<sup>237</sup> For further information and sources on Gerigk, see Appendix 3. Gerigk’s antipathy for *Carmina Burana* will be addressed in Chapter 2.

<sup>238</sup> Blacher originally was to receive 2,000 Reichsmarks in 1942. See Berlin BA N 0008, 2820 and 2830; see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2 for more on the stipend in question.

<sup>239</sup> For more information about Spitta (1902–1972), see *Das Deutsche Führerlexikon 1934/1935*, Berlin: Verlagsanstalt Otto Strollberg G.m.b.H., 1934, 467; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 7164–7165.

<sup>240</sup> See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Schocken Books, 2004.

August Frankl, Heinrich Heine, Richard Beer-Hofmann, and Julius Mosen (1803–1867),<sup>241</sup> but also by poets with anti-Semitic tendencies, specifically one poem by Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860) and several by Borries, Freiherr von Münchhausen.<sup>242</sup> It is difficult to know if Orff was aware of the anti-Semitic views of either poet, although his interest in Münchhausen’s poetry predated its author’s involvement in National Socialism.<sup>243</sup>

Although the Jewishness or anti-Semitism of the authors listed above seems largely irrelevant in most of Orff’s decision to set their texts, he did select one poem with an explicitly Jewish theme: Frankl’s “Der letzte Hohepriester,” which comes from his Jewish-themed volume *Ahnenbilder*. It is likely that the young Orff was drawn primarily to the fatalistic overtones and apocalyptic imagery of this poem, rather than the Jewish context. Even so, Orff’s selection of this poem demonstrates he was open to considering aspects of the human experience through the lens of cultures other than his own, including the Jewish tradition.<sup>244</sup>

The most problematic evidence regarding Orff’s relationship to Jews and Judaism comes a full decade after the Third Reich in his *Comoedia de Christi resurrectione* (*Play*

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<sup>241</sup> For complete information on these songs, including the textual sources, see Appendix 1, Opus 2 No. 6 (Mosen), Opus 6 No. 1 (Frankl) and No. 2 (Beer-Hofmann), and Opera 4, 9 Nos. 2–4 and 6, 10 No. 1, and 13 Nos. 1 and 2 (Heine). It is notable that Werner Thomas mentioned in *Dokumentation* that Beer-Hofmann died in exile, an oblique reference to the poet’s persecution in the Third Reich (Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 78).

<sup>242</sup> For complete information on these songs, including the textual sources, see Appendix 1, Opus 11 No. 3 (Arndt) and Opus 9 No. 1, Opus 18, and “Die Glocke zu Hadamar” (“The Bell of Hadamar,” Münchhausen). Orff said nothing of these compositions in *Dokumentation* while Thomas’s analysis of the early songs only mentions their existence (albeit passing over Opus 9 No. 1; see Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 79–80, and 96). Thomas did note that Orff regretted the publication of Opus 18 No. 1 (*ibid.*, 96), but Orff expressed displeasure with others of his teenage works that were not associated with problematic authors (see *ibid.*, 73–139, various references). Regarding these authors’ anti-Semitic attitudes, see Ehrenreich, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof*, 28 (regarding Arndt); Jutta Dittfurth, *Der Baron, die Juden und die Nazis: Reise in eine Familiengeschichte*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2013 (regarding Münchhausen), especially 167–185 (Chapter 8) and 235–306 (Chapters 11–14).

<sup>243</sup> Arndt’s case is different as he died well before the Third Reich, but one still may note that Orff’s setting predates any Nazi appropriation of the poet. See, for example, signed “W.B.,” “Ernst Moritz Arndt,” *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 1933, 7.

<sup>244</sup> It is noteworthy that Orff’s family was aware of his composition: the diary of Karl Köstler, which chronicles the young Orff’s musical activities, mentions “Der letzte Hohepriester” on 8 June 1911, the same date that is found on the manuscript (information according to OZM, 5 November 2014). See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 14 and 42. Many of Orff’s textual sources, in fact, came from his grandfather’s library (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, 41). Excepting Werner Thomas’s reference to the song’s “synagogue atmosphere” (*synagogale Atmosphäre*), there is no comment on the Jewish subject matter in *Dokumentation* (see Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 77).

of *Christ's Resurrection*), an Easter play written in 1955 and given its first, televised performance on 31 March 1956.<sup>245</sup> Orff's libretto, which he characteristically wrote himself, follows the account of the crucifixion in John's Gospel in describing the Jews rejecting Jesus Christ and nailing him to the cross. As one character describes *post facto*: "A false prophet, who has misled the people, a rabble-rouser,' the Jews screamed, and nailed him to the cross."<sup>246</sup> Stravinsky's setting of "Tomorrow Will Be My Dancing Day" in his *Cantata* of 1952 is a parallel case.<sup>247</sup> Orff's text is particularly striking in that he had advised a member of the Munich *Kulturministerium* (cultural ministry) in the fall of 1949 that dismissing the Jewish conductor Georg Solti (1912–1997) could lead to accusations of anti-Semitism, indicating that he was aware that negative portrayals of Jews could be viewed as problematic.<sup>248</sup> The narrative of the Jews crucifying Jesus, however, was so ingrained in European culture at that time that many people may not have perceived it as anti-Semitic; the Catholic Church did not repudiate the idea until 1965.<sup>249</sup> Therefore, although the narrative of Jewish deicide is a problematic part of the history of European anti-Semitism, Orff's decision to incorporate such a reference to "the Jews" into his libretto, however insensitive one may find it, does not necessarily constitute evidence of an anti-Semitic attitude.

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<sup>245</sup> The first staging took place on 21 April 1957 in Stuttgart. See *Dokumentation*, Vol. 6 (1980), 271.

<sup>246</sup> Carl Orff, *Comoedia de Christi resurrectione*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (39 297), 1957, 19, original language: "An falschen Prophetn, / der 's Volk verführt, / an Aufwiegler", / habn d' Judn gschrien, / und ans Kreuz habn s'n gschlagn). The action of Orff's stage work begins after the crucifixion has taken place. In *Die Bernauerin* (the subject of Chapter 4), there is one unflattering reference to Jews spoken against the heroine by an unsympathetic character; it is difficult to argue that this line constitutes an endorsement of anti-Semitic attitudes (Orff, *Die Bernauerin*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, ED 6856, page 27).

<sup>247</sup> See Igor Stravinsky, *Cantata*, London: Boosey & Hawkes (Pocket Scores No. 666, B. & H. 17245), 1952, 19–22; Richard Taruskin, "Stravinsky and Us," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003:260–284, 277–284; Toorn, Pieter C. van den Toorn and John McGinness, *Stravinsky and the Russian Period: Sound and Legacy of a Musical Idiom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2012, 289–291.

<sup>248</sup> *Aktennotiz* recounting a personal meeting with Carl Orff, signed by Dr. Kroll, Munich, 7 November 1949, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich, ED 145, Band 2, 93–94, here 93 (page 1 of the document). The original document is an account of the conversation and therefore does not have Orff's exact words.

<sup>249</sup> See *Nostra aetate* ("In our time"), a declaration of the Vatican II council (1962–1965), proclaimed on 28 October 1965 by Pope Paul VI (Giovanni Montini, 1897–1978, in office from 1963 to his death). This text was accessed at [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html), 23 October 2014.

## Carl Orff's Early Efforts to Find Favor with the Third Reich

In the early years of National Socialist rule, Orff was especially concerned with finding favor with the new ruling powers. The composer had to take care to justify that his work was compatible with the vaguely defined criteria of the Third Reich, especially given that the more conservative factions of National Socialism were not favorably inclined to the kind of art that he produced. On 15 July 1933, the *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht* (*German Cultural Watch*), a strident publication of the militant *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Battle League for German Culture), ran an article by Heinz Fuhrmann denouncing Orff's most significant musical influence, Igor Stravinsky. Fuhrmann complained about Stravinsky's treatment of the piano as a percussion instrument and his avoidance of writing for strings in the traditional lyrical vein; both of these complaints may apply equally to Orff's instrumental writing.<sup>250</sup> On 2 September 1933, the same publication featured an article titled "Quertreiber an der Arbeit" ("Troublemakers at work") by the reactionary composer and music pedagogue Hans Fleischer, who wrote that the past decade had been "the most disgraceful of the entirety of German history." Immediately after naming Stravinsky, the Jewish Ernst Toch, Béla Bartók (1881–1945), and Paul Hindemith as culprits in the degradation of music, Fleischer condemned Orff with a contemptuous description of a *Schulwerk* instrumental ensemble.<sup>251</sup>

Soon after the National Socialists' rise to power, the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* exerted its control over the Munich *Bach-Verein* through the vehemently anti-

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<sup>250</sup> Heinz Fuhrmann, "Igor Strawinsky und die Moderne," *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 15, 15 July 1933:7–8. For more on the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, which was founded in 1928 and with which Alfred Rosenberg and Hans Hinkel were prominently involved, see Alan Steinweis, "Weimar Culture and the Rise of National Socialism: The *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*," in *Central European History*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1991:402–423. As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on Heinz Fuhrmann.

<sup>251</sup> Hans Fleischer, "Quertreiber an der Arbeit," in *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 22, 2 September 1933, 11; reprinted in Joseph Wulf, ed., *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963/1966, 77–78; quotations in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1701 and 5377. While the article makes no explicit mention of the *Schulwerk*, the description of the ensemble could be nothing else. Original language of quotation: ...*das schmachvollste der gesamten deutschen Geschichte*. The grim irony of this sentence cannot be overemphasized. For more on Hans Fleischer (1896–1981), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 1700–1702.

Semitic Paul Ehlers (1881–1942).<sup>252</sup> In a letter from December 1933 to the Lord Mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*) of Munich, Ehlers proudly reported that the entire board of the *Bach-Verein* had resigned and that he, with the support of the *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur*, had agreed to take over the chairmanship. In a memorandum to Fiehler from half a year later, Ehlers bragged that his name already had “enjoyed the honor” (*die Ehre genießt*) of being on the blacklist of the Jewish *Central-Verein* (“Central Society”), and that the Munich *Bach-Verein* had been “heavily under Jewish influence” (*stark unter jüdischem Einflusse*) before his arrival.<sup>253</sup>

Ehlers’s advent to the *Bach-Verein* was an unfavorable change for Orff. In May 1930, Orff wrote to Hans Redlich about “an abusive review by Herr Ehlers...in which he bad-mouths the Munich musical Bolshevists—contemporary music. One could laugh oneself to tears over the good souls.”<sup>254</sup> In 1932, Ehlers had attended Orff’s production of the *Lukas-Passion* at the *Vereinigung für Zeitgenössische Musik* and written a brief negative review of the unconventional staging, although without mentioning Orff by name: “The more elaborate than simple production was not entirely pleasing, in the treatment of most of the chorales yet directly repugnant: one truly would not have been surprised if in some of the chorales a yodeler were hung on every line (such distortion has nothing in common with ‘dramatic’ lecture).”<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> For more information about Paul Ehlers (including discrepancies in his dates of life), see Appendix 3. See also See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 1418–1419; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 5–6 and 119; Paul Ehlers, “Die Musik und Adolf Hitler,” in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106. Jahrgang, Heft 4, April 1939:356–362 (excerpts in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1419; Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 332–333).

<sup>253</sup> Letter from Paul Ehlers to Karl Fiehler dated 6 December 1933, Stadtarchiv München, Kulturstadtamt 265; memorandum from Paul Ehlers to Karl Fiehler dated 26 June 1934, Stadtarchiv München, Kulturstadtamt 176, both also quoted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 1418. Karl Fiehler (1895–1969) was the *Oberbürgermeister* of Munich for the duration of the Third Reich (see Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich: Wer war was vor und nach 1945?*, Frankfurt-am-Main, S. Fischer, 2003, 149).

<sup>254</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Hans Redlich, 16 May 1930, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 24 October 2014). Original language: ...eine Pöbel-Kritik von Herrn Ehlers...wo er schrecklich über die Münchener Musik-Bolschewiken – Zeitgenössische Musik herzieht. Man könnte Tränen lachen über die gute Seele. (Note: the word *Pöbel* is difficult to translate; it may mean “mob” as a noun or “to molest” as a verb, *pöbeln* or *herumpöbeln*).

<sup>255</sup> Paul Ehlers, *Bayerische Staatszeitung und Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger*, Munich, Nr. 100, 1/2 May 1933 COS/OZM, Pressearchive, Bach Verein, 1932–1933. Original language: Die mehr geschmacklerische als schlichte Aufführung war nicht durchweg erfreulich, in der Behandlung der meisten Choräle sogar direkt abstoßend: man hätte sich wahrhaftig nicht gewundert, wenn bei einigen Chorälen jeder Zeile ein Jodler angehängt worden wäre (mit „dramatischem“ Vortrage hat solche Verzerrung nichts gemein). Note: The parenthetic phrase about the “‘dramatic’ lecture” („dramatischem“ Vortrage) at the end is likely a



The true disaster for Orff came in mid-October 1933 with the forced resignation of the *Bach-Verein*'s entire board of management, including the Jewish manager, Orff's ally Albin von Prybram-Gladona. As Orff later wrote: "I had lost in him my most important support."<sup>256</sup> Prybram-Gladona emigrated to Paris in 1938, and by 1948 he and Orff reestablished a regular correspondence for the rest of their lives.<sup>257</sup> At the time of Prybram-Gladona's departure from the *Bach-Verein*, Orff wrote in a letter to the critic Helmut Schmidt-Garre: "Now the board of management of the *Bach-Verein* finally has resigned last week and the *Verein* is now really up in the air. But I hope that in the foreseeable future a new regulation is found.... Because I do not like unclear circumstances, I also have given up my office. Thus in the meantime [Karl] Marx works further with his *a cappella* choir alone."<sup>258</sup> Orff was, however, sufficiently diplomatic to honor his conducting engagements through 7 November 1934.<sup>259</sup>

Although Orff's extant papers contain no correspondence with Ehlers,<sup>260</sup> there is a reference to him in a letter written to Hans Fleischer dated 21 September 1933. In this letter, Orff defended himself against Fleischer's aforementioned attack in the *Deutsche*

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reference to Epic Theater. Ehlers also noted in this review that the work is likely not by Bach; he was correct on this point.

<sup>256</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 191. Original language of quotation: *Ich hatte an ihm meine wichtigste Stütze verloren....* In this source Orff did not mention his ally's Jewish heritage or his exile, nor did he mention Ehlers. The same is true in Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," 109.

<sup>257</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 44 (regarding emigration). Orff's *Nachlass* has correspondence with Albin von Prybram-Gladona from 1935, 1943, and 1948 to 1971, and with his wife Charlotte (born Herrmann, 1910–2002) from 1972 to 1982 (the year of Orff's death; information according to OZM, 6 November 2014). Prybram-Gladona and his wife both died in Salzburg (<http://gw.geneanet.org/alanguddenheim?lang=es;p=albin+ritter;n=von+przibram+gladona>, accessed 19 November 2014). See also Werner Thomas, *Orffs Märchenstücke: Der Mond, Die Kluge*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (ED 8134), 1994, 125.

<sup>258</sup> Letter from Carl Orff wrote to Helmut Schmidt (presumably Helmut Schmidt-Garre), 22 October 1933, COS/OZM, AK (information according to OZM, 1 August 2014). Original language: [...] *Nun ist endgültig letzte Woche der Vorstand des Bachvereins zurückgetreten und hängt der Verein nun eigentlich in der Luft. Ich hoffe aber, dass in der nächsten Zeit eine neue Regelung gefunden wird [...] Da ich unklare Verhältnisse nicht liebe, habe ich mein Amt auch niedergelegt. Also einstweilen arbeitet Marx allein mit seinem Chor A-Capella [sic] weiter.* Orff's letter as quoted here suggests that he was not in fact part of the management board and therefore was not impelled to resign, but rather that he left voluntarily (contrary to Kater's report; see Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 119). That Marx and Döbereiner were not forced to resign suggests that the music directors were not subjected to the same abuse from Ehlers as the management board. For more information on Helmut Schmidt-Garre (1907–1989), see <http://www.bmlo.lmu.de/> (accessed 10 November 2014).

<sup>259</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 190–191 and Vol. 3, 203; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 221; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 119–120 (see, however, the caveat in the preceding note).

<sup>260</sup> Information according to OZM, 1 August 2014.

*Kultur-Wacht*. He concluded: “If otherwise you wish for any information about me or my work, then please direct [your questions] directly to Herr Paul Ehlers...with whom I discussed this matter and who personally prompted me to leave my appeal for revision up to you.”<sup>261</sup> That Orff attempted to use Ehlers as his ally just a few weeks before Ehlers forced Prybram-Gladona to resign demonstrates that the composer was willing to work with a committed National Socialist, even one hostile to his friend, and to use that relationship to his advantage when it was necessary for his survival.

Even after the expulsion of Prybram-Gladona and his own voluntary resignation, Orff sought to maintain a good working relationship with Ehlers. In a letter dated 29 January 1934 to his colleague Christian Döbereiner, Orff told Döbereiner that he had arranged for the two of them to meet with Herr Ehlers to discuss Döbereiner’s “reservations” (*Bedenken*), which are not specified in the letter. He offered to meet Döbereiner beforehand to discuss the matter again privately, which suggests that they did not feel free to speak openly in front of Ehlers and that neither of them was at ease with the new direction of the *Bach-Verein*.<sup>262</sup>

Orff’s interaction with Ehlers is an instructive example of his interactions with National Socialism and of his greyness. Apparently he was unwilling to stay at the *Bach-Verein* under Ehlers’s directorship, even while Döbereiner and Orff’s good friend Karl Marx remained.<sup>263</sup> Yet at the same time he seems to have been unwilling to alienate anyone by protesting, even after the deplorable treatment of Prybram-Gladona. Evidently he continued to be on good terms with the *Bach-Verein* years after his resignation, as he

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<sup>261</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Hans Fleischer, 21 September 1933, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 1 August 2014). Original language: *Wenn Sie sonst irgendwelche Auskünfte über mich oder mein Werk wünschen, so wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an Herrn Paul Ehlers...mit dem ich die Sache besprach und der mich veranlasste Ihnen persönlich die Revision anheimzustellen.* (Note that *Auskünfte* is the plural of *Auskunft*, i.e. “information,” which cannot be reflected in good English.)

<sup>262</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Christian Döbereiner, 29 January 1934, BSB HSL, Ana 344, I, B, Orff, Carl. For more on Döbereiner (1874–1961), see <http://www.bml.o.lmu.de/> (accessed 10 November 2014). The apparent discomfort regarding Ehlers is intriguing given that Döbereiner knew Ehlers from before the period of the Third Reich. In his papers, there are 32 letters and cards between Ehlers and Döbereiner’s wife, Anna, between 23 November 1917 and 10 January 1922, after which there is a further undated card. Döbereiner’s papers also contain two letters addressed to him from Ehlers, 10 December 1919 and Christmas 1919, and a draft of a letter from his wife to Ehlers, 22 November 1917. See BSB HSL, Ana 344.I.B., 344.I.C., and 344.I.D., all Ehlers, Paul (information according to BSB, 3 November 2014).

<sup>263</sup> Karl Marx remained with the organization until he moved to Graz in 1939 (Marx, “Erinnerungen an Carl Orff,” 109), while Döbereiner was involved with the *Bach-Verein* at least through the fall of 1943 (Stadtarchiv München, Kulturamt 265, which contains materials from the *Bach-Verein*, including letters by Döbereiner through 26 October 1943). For more on Marx and the Third Reich, see Appendix 3.

was on the list of people to receive complimentary tickets for a concert on 30 April 1941.<sup>264</sup>

Despite Orff's many connections to Jews and progressive artists, he was by no means isolated from Nazism, as his circle included people with National Socialist convictions and others who collaborated with those in power more extensively than he did. Orff's close friend and erstwhile student Werner Egk became one of the most significant composers of their generation in the Third Reich. Although the evidence suggests he was not sympathetic to National Socialism, Egk nonetheless became the head of the composers' division of the RMK in 1941, a development that Orff told Hans Bergese he hoped would work in their favor.<sup>265</sup> Among Orff's other composer friends, Cesar Bresgen was involved in the *Hitlerjugend*, and Armin Knab and Karl Marx also wrote music for use by National Socialist organizations or events.<sup>266</sup> Winfried Zillig composed operas with texts by Richard Billinger, who was well known for his contribution to the National Socialist literary genre *Blut und Boden* ("blood and soil"). Hermann Zilcher, Orff's teacher after his time at the *Akademie der Tonkunst*, joined the NSDAP in 1933, which the other composers listed here did not, and was involved in the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*.<sup>267</sup> In light of Fanny Orff's Jewish parentage, it is ironic that Orff's brother-in-law—the prominent architect Alwin Seifert (1890–1972), who had married Mia Orff in 1924—had important connections with the National Socialist establishment. Seifert befriended Deputy *Führer* Rudolf Hess (1894–1987) and in 1934 he was appointed the landscape architect for the *Reichsautobahn* (the freeway project of

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<sup>264</sup> See *Freienkartenliste* for the concert "Meister um den jungen Mozart" at the Bayerische Hof, 30 April 1941, Stadtarchiv München, Kulturamt 265 (see figure 1.7).

<sup>265</sup> See letter from Carl Orff to Hans Bergese, 15 July 1941, AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 31 October 2014. For more on Egk, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1380–1416; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 140–174; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 3–30 (Chapter 1, "Werner Egk: The Enigmatic Opportunist").

<sup>266</sup> For more on Bresgen (1913–1988), Knab (1881–1951), and Marx (1897–1985), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, respectively 757–785, 4021–403, and 4780–4787. See also Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 143–146 (Bresgen), 168–170 (Knab), and 140 (categorizing all three as *Hitlerjugend* composers). See also Appendix 3 for more on Knab and Marx. See also Bresgen's contribution to a volume by Wolfgang Stumme (1910–1994), a prominent member of the *Hitlerjugend* (see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 7577–7591): Cesar Bresgen, "Zur Frage der ‚neuen Unterhaltungsmusik,‘" in *Musik im Volk: Gegenwartsfragen der deutschen Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Stumme, Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1944:285–291.

<sup>267</sup> For more on Zillig, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 8520–8525; for his collaborations with Billinger (1890–1965), Pollock, *Opera after Stunde Null*, 2–6. Regarding Zilcher and the Third Reich, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 8514–8519.

the Third Reich) by the Nazi engineer Fritz Todt (1891–1942).<sup>268</sup> Orff continued to have a close relationship with his sister Mia and her husband for the rest of their lives.<sup>269</sup>

Orff was encouraged to join in Nazi cultural efforts on several occasions in the early years of the Third Reich. In November 1933, Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg solicited military music from Orff for the *Deutsche Luftsportverband* (German Air-Sports Association). Orff did not oblige.<sup>270</sup> In December 1933, Hermann Kupfer, an actor who used the familiar *du* pronouns with Orff, encouraged him to adopt the principles of Adolf Hitler. Kupfer thought that National Socialism could be the vehicle for Orff's success, but the composer resisted his suggestions.<sup>271</sup> In the summer of 1934, Orff declined an offer from the city of Leipzig to compose music for the *Reichssender* (a Third Reich radio station).<sup>272</sup> Otto Karner has noted that Orff turned down potentially lucrative commissions despite his financial hardships.<sup>273</sup> As will be addressed further in Chapter 3, however, Orff was highly reticent to take on projects on others' behest even outside the context of National Socialism, and so it is not entirely surprising that he forewent commissions even to his financial detriment.

Whatever his reservations about participating in Nazi culture, Orff was not entirely successful in remaining apart from National Socialism. At least in the early years of the Third Reich, Orff's closest connections to National Socialist culture came through the *Günther-Schule*.<sup>274</sup> Dorothee Günther joined the NSDAP and the *Kampfbund für*

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<sup>268</sup> See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 230 and 324 n. 122; Zeller, "Seifert, Alwin," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 189; Thomas Zeller, *Driving Germany: The Landscape of the German Autobahn, 1930–1970*, Berghahn Books, 2007, 31–41.

<sup>269</sup> This fact was confirmed to me by Thomas Rösch of the OZM in personal conversation, 21 August 2014.

<sup>270</sup> Letter from Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg to Carl Orff, 10 November 1933, cited in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222 and 323 n. 73.

<sup>271</sup> Letter from Hermann Kupfer to Carl Orff, 21 December 1933 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in *ibid.*, 222 (citation 323 n. 72). Kupfer, whom Orff knew from Mannheim, became a music critic in the *Braunschweiger Tageszeitung* in the early days of the Third Reich (*idem*; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 119). As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on Kupfer. See Chapter 2 for a quotation from this letter.

<sup>272</sup> Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222 and 323 n. 74–75.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>274</sup> Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 324–325; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 5377–5381; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222–228; Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 14–18.

*deutsche Kultur* in 1933.<sup>275</sup> According to her postwar account, she did so to ensure her school's continued existence as she had been under pressure from Paul Ehlers.<sup>276</sup> There is evidence that at least one of Orff's colleagues was ambivalent about her participation in National Socialist culture. Although Dorothee Günther compelled Keetman to join the NSDAP and even paid the membership dues for her employee, Keetman never collected her membership card and, as a result, her membership never took effect; one may well interpret this inaction as an act of passive resistance. She was expelled from the Party in 1937.<sup>277</sup>

Others of Orff's associates in music pedagogy, not all of whom were employees of the *Günther-Schule*, became involved in National Socialist culture to varying degrees. In 1933, Orff's associate Fritz Jöde was denounced in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* by numerous conservative figures, including Pfitzner and Zilcher, for his ties to the progressive Jew Leo Kestenber and his perceived affiliations with the political left. Jöde eventually became affiliated with the *Hitlerjugend*, wrote nationalistic music, and joined the NSDAP shortly after the outbreak of World War II.<sup>278</sup> Others of Orff's music

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<sup>275</sup> See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 223, 225, and 323 n. 94; Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 14; Haselbach, "Dorothee Günther," 59–65. Günther was fundamentally apolitical according to some accounts, including that of Lilo Fürst-Ramdohr (1913–2013), a member of the White Rose resistance (Haselbach, "Dorothee Günther," 62; see Chapter 3 for more on the White Rose). Nevertheless, Orff's official denazification report from the psychological screening center of the Information Control Division (see Chapter 3 for more information) includes a brief section on Orff's association with the Günther-Schule, including a reference to "[t]he owner, Miss Guenther, a convinced Nazi." It is unclear to what degree this description is based on Orff's account versus other, unspecified sources of information ("political" section, No. 2, first page of Orff's denazification report by Major Bertram Schaffner, David M. Levy papers, Box 35 Folder 2).

<sup>276</sup> Günther's account dates from 1947; see Barbara Haselbach, "Dorothee Günther," in *Elementarer Tanz, Elementare Musik* (50–65), 59 n. 36. See also Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 210–211. Dorothee Günther's explanation from 1963, enclosure in letter to Carl Orff, 10 September 1963, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 8 September 2014); part of this document is found at [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dorothee\\_G%C3%BCnther](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dorothee_G%C3%BCnther) (accessed 5 November 2014).

<sup>277</sup> Keetman's friend Minna Ronnefeld has written that Keetman, like Carl Orff, rarely talked about the Third Reich after 1945, "but that which she had lived through and realised could neither be forgotten nor suppressed. Much from these years she carried as a burden with which she was unable to come to terms to the end of her life. Not until much later could she first bring herself to talk about it now and then" (Minna Ronnefeld, trans. Margaret Murray, "Gunild Keetman – Fragments of a life," in *Gunild Keetman 1904–1990* (14–49), 32, original language of quotation: *Aber das Erlebte und Erkannte ließ sich weder vergessen noch verdrängen. Vieles aus diesen Jahren trug sie bis zum Schluss ihres Lebens als eine nie zu bewältigende Last mit sich. Erst sehr spät konnte sie ab und zu darüber reden*, Ronnefeld, "Gunild Keetman – Bruchstücke eines Lebens," in *ibid.*, 33). See also in Minna Ronnefeld, "Gunild Keetman – Pädagogin und Komponistin," in *Elementarer Tanz, Elementare Musik* (95–108), 106–108.

<sup>278</sup> Regarding Orff's connections with Jöde, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 219; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 191; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118. For the denunciation of Jöde, see various

educator associates who joined the NSDAP include Wilhelm Twittenhoff, Georg Götsch, Ludwig Kelbetz, and Fritz Reusch.<sup>279</sup> While Reusch had worked with Kestenberg in the past, he became seriously involved in National Socialist activities and disparaged Erich Katz and Erich Doflein in bigoted terms in a letter to Orff from June 1932: “the *mental* atmosphere of Doflein and Katz: *that* I simply do not get; that is overgrowth, decadence, brain, and operation; I have a racial dislike for it, Jewish or not.”<sup>280</sup> (Reusch’s statement is curious; in fact Katz was Jewish, although Doflein was not.) Evidently Orff, typically averse to controversy, did not raise an objection to this bilious statement, nor did he sever ties with Reusch, who had been a steady ally in the *Schulwerk*.<sup>281</sup> It is telling that Reusch felt free to write to Orff in this way, just as Katz and Max Sinzheimer felt free to tell him of the troubles they were experiencing under National Socialism. Orff, it seems, largely kept his own feelings private and avoided expressing political views to his colleagues regardless of their inclinations or situations. The stakes were higher, and the situation more delicate, than when he chided his student Sutermeister’s insult of Stravinsky.

Just as whatever antipathy Orff had for National Socialism did not prevent him from breaking his ties with Reusch, so too was he willing to portray his work as being

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authors, “Gegen die Versuche, Professor Fritz Jöde in die veränderte Zeit hinüber zu retten,” in *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, LX. Jahrgang, Heft 18, 5 May 1933, 253 (excerpt printed in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3693). For more information on Jöde see Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 146–150; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3690–3704 (note the criticism of Kater’s work on 3704); see also Appendix 3.

<sup>279</sup> See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 218–220; Regner, “Carl Orff und seine pädagogischen Ideen,” 74; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118; Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 6; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 19. For biographical details (including involvement in National Socialist culture) regarding Twittenhoff (1904–1969), Götsch (1895–1956), Kelbetz (1905–1943), and Reusch (1896–1970), see Appendix 3.

<sup>280</sup> Letter from Fritz Reusch to Carl Orff, 20 June 1932, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 5 November 2014), emphasis in original. Original language: *...die geistige Atmosphäre von Doflein und Katz: da kann ich einfach nicht mit, das ist Ueberzüchtung, Dekadenz, Gehirn und Betrieb, da habe ich eine rassische Abneigung auch wenn es keine Juden sind.* The last part of the sentence literally translates as “even when there are no Jews” (the English has been adapted so as to be idiomatic). In fact Katz was Jewish while Doflein was married to a partly Jewish woman (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118). See also Appendix 2 for a quotation of a letter from Reusch to Hans Bergese; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 220.

<sup>281</sup> Michael Kater has reached a similar conclusion (Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 118). Regarding Reusch, see letter from Carl Orff to Erich Katz, 21 January 1932, Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1. Orff wrote that he might have to postpone a conference because “no one of the people in Berlin participates here; only Reusch holds true” (original language: *Von den Leuten aus Berlin tut hier niemand mit, nur Reusch hält zur Stange*). In the same letter, Orff noted that Jöde and Götsch had not been entirely reliable, although the latter had the excuse of having gone to England with his new bride and taken ill. See also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 129; Fritz Reusch, “Grundlagen und Ziele des Orff-Schulwerks,” in *Orff-Schulwerk*, Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne (ED Schott 4206), 1954:47–55.

compatible with the new ruling powers. Orff hoped that his *Entrata*, calling as it does for an enormous ensemble, could be advertised as suitable for large halls and open-air theaters such as those used for *Thingspielen* (literally Thing Plays), a kind of mass theatrical spectacle with nationalistic connotations in the early years of the Third Reich.<sup>282</sup> That Orff thought the *Entrata* could be well suited to a *Thingsplatz* (that is, an arena designed for the *Thingspiel*) does not mean that he considered his work to be in the artistic vein of the *Thingspielen*, but it does indicate that he was aware that the National Socialists placed a certain value on monumentality.

In the early years of the Third Reich, Orff was hopeful that National Socialists would have use for his *Schulwerk*.<sup>283</sup> He wrote to Ludwig Strecker in May 1933: “It is very important nowadays to clarify the national style of the *Schulwerk* in many credited articles, published by authorities. The time very much accommodates us here. In various journals, quite independently, there appear articles that unintentionally propagate the style of the *Schulwerk*.”<sup>284</sup> That these articles, in the composer’s judgment, were “unintentionally” promoting the *Schulwerk* demonstrates that there was a fortuitous connection between his work, developed years before the National Socialists came into power, and aspects of Nazi aesthetic ideals. Although Orff had not shaped his *Schulwerk* deliberately to accommodate Nazi values, he was entirely willing in 1933 to take full advantage of the similarities.

Orff further reported to Strecker that, to his surprise and Strecker’s delight, the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* had invited him to give a lecture about his educational

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<sup>282</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, SK, COS/OZM, quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222–223 and 323 n. 77. For more on the *Thingspiel* phenomenon, see William Niven, “The birth of Nazi drama?: *Thing* plays,” in *Theater Under the Nazis*, ed. John London, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000:54–95. For a related phenomenon in fascist Italy, see Jeffrey T. Schnapp, “18 BL: Fascist Mass Spectacle,” in *Representations*, No. 43, Summer 1993:89–125 (my thanks to Amy Petrongelli and Jessica Grimmer for calling my attention to this article).

<sup>283</sup> See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5377–5381; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 325; Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 14–18; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 119–122; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 220–225.

<sup>284</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 15 May 1934 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 16, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Sehr wichtig ist heutzutage den nationalen Stil des Schulwerks in vielen gutgeschriebenen und von Autoritäten verfaßten Artikeln klarzustellen. Die Zeit kommt uns hier sehr entgegen. In verschiedenen Zeitschriften erscheinen ganz unabhängig Artikel, die ungewollt den Stil des Schulwerks propagieren.*

methods,<sup>285</sup> although this occurred several months before Hans Fleischer's denunciation in that organization's magazine. In his letter of complaint to Fleischer in September 1933, Orff explicitly attempted to align his music with what the National Socialists considered acceptable:

A look in my works can prove to you that my entire work does not have anything in the slightest to do with atonal music, since I always definitely have championed tonality and its connections in "word and tone."... Especially in today's time of renewal, clarity, and structure, I must firmly insist that such errors as you apparently have made regarding my work are insistently and thoroughly revised.<sup>286</sup>

Fleischer's article did not dissuade Orff from campaigning to have his *Schulwerk* adapted by National Socialist youth organizations. In March 1934, he wrote to Franz Willms (1883–1946) of Schott Musik about one of the volumes of the *Schulwerk*, Heft F1, a volume of dances and round-dance songs by Gunild Keetman for flutes and whistles with clapping and stamping choruses: "It is these pieces especially that are always in demand and above all should be introduced in the League of German Girls and *Hitlerjugend*. We must bring these things out as soon as possible."<sup>287</sup> On 15–17 June 1934, Orff's colleague Hans Bergese led a weekend course in Nürnberg for the *Reichsbund Volkstum und Heimat* (Reich Alliance for Nationality and Homeland), with *Hitlerjugend* leaders in attendance.<sup>288</sup> Ludwig Strecker gave Orff a favorable report:

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<sup>285</sup> Letter as in preceding note and response from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 19 May 1933 (SK, COS/OZM), cited in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 220 and 332 n. 59–60.

<sup>286</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Hans Fleischer, 21 September 1933 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in *ibid.*, 221 and 323 n. 70, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language (part of the following is paraphrased rather than quoted): *Dass meine gesamte Arbeit nicht im Entferntesten etwas mit atonaler Musik zu tun hat, kann Ihnen ein Einblick in meine Werke beweisen, da ich in „Wort und Ton“ von jeher auf das Entschiedenste für die Tonalität und ihre Zusammenhänge eingetreten bin.... Gerade in der heutigen Zeit der Erneuerung, Klärung und des Aufbaus muss ich entschieden darauf dringen, dass solche Irrtümer, wie Sie Ihnen in bezug [sic] auf meine Arbeit scheinbar unterlaufen sind, nachdrücklich und gründlich revidiert werden.*

<sup>287</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Franz Willms, 25 March 1933, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 29 October 2014). Original language: *das Tanz und Reigenlieder für Flöten und Pfeifen mit Klatsch- und Stampfchor enthält (Keetman). Es sind dies Stücke, die besonders immer verlangt werden und die vor allem in BDM und HJ eingeführt werden sollen. Diese Sachen müssen wir möglichst bald herausbringen, da wir leider für unsere grosse [sic] Kurse in München ein solch geeignetes Material nicht haben.* The BDM (*Bund Deutscher Mädels*, i.e. "League of German Girls") was the branch of the *Hitlerjugend* for girls.

<sup>288</sup> See notice in *Melos*, 13. Jahr, Heft 7/8, July/August 1937, 254; Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," 17; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 223. While Prieberg reported that Orff led this event, assisted by Hans Bergese (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5377), the program in the OZM lists Bergese as the leader; he is described as an affiliate with the Günther-Schule and the assistant of Carl Orff (the same is true in the *Melos* article). The event was called *Wochenendkurs für Elementare*



“Bergese has just come back from a *Schulwerk* course from Nürnberg; it was almost entirely members of the National Socialist game crowd and teacher circles. Great excitement was prevalent and there was another beginning. The new volumes proved themselves especially well.”<sup>289</sup>

Despite these indications that the *Schulwerk* would succeed in the Third Reich, the *Hitlerjugend* did not adapt Orff’s method because it was too complex for their militaristic purposes. The important journal *Die Musik* ran a piece by Rudolf Sonner, an affiliate of the Orwellianly named *Kraft durch Freude* (“Strength through Joy”) program, in which he was sharply critical of the *Schulwerk* and denounced Wilhelm Twittenhoff, although the latter had become involved in National Socialist culture.<sup>290</sup> The number of *Schulwerk* publications decreased from 1933 to 1939, but there was never a ban, and the *Günther-Schule* remained operational until July 1944, at which point it was shut down by the *Gauleiter* of Munich in the grim last months of the war. The building was destroyed by bomb on 7 January 1945.<sup>291</sup>

The Günther-Schule enjoyed at least one major victory at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin: the music for the *Olympische Jugend Festspiel* (“Olympian Youth Festival Show”), a massive pageant organized by Hanns Niedecken-Gebhard (1889–1954), that took place on 1 and 3 August 1936.<sup>292</sup> Some of the music attributed to Orff is likely by

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*Musikerziehung. Rhythmisch-melodische Uebung / Chorische und instrumentale Laienmusik aus dem Orff-Schulwerk* (“Weekend course for elementary music education. Rhythmic-melodic exercise / Choral and instrumental amateur music from the Orff *Schulwerk*”). Information according to OZM, 2 October 2014.

<sup>289</sup> Quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 223 and 323 n. 81 (internal quotation marks omitted). Original language: *Eben kommt Bergese von einem Schulwerkkurs von Nürnberg zurück, es waren fast ausschliesslich Mitglieder der N.S.Spielschar und Lehrerkreise. Es herrschte grosse Begeisterung und war mal wieder ein Anfang. Besonders die neuen Hefte bewähren sich gut.*

<sup>290</sup> See Rudolf Sonner, “Musik aus Bewegung,” in *Die Musik*, XXIX. Jahrgang, Heft 11, August 1937:762–765, reprinted in *Elementarer Tanz, Elementare Musik*, 230–233. For more on Sonner (1894–1955), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 7127–7132. Sonner’s NSDAP membership (Nr. 3.146.066) was conferred 1 May 1933 (*ibid.*, 7127). Regarding Twittenhoff, see Appendix 3; see also Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 223.

<sup>291</sup> Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 121; letter from Hans Bergese to Fred K. Prieberg, 9 February 1964, Arciv-Prieberg; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 210–211 and 283.

<sup>292</sup> The program of this event, which took place on 1 and 3 August 1936, may be accessed at the Orff-Zentrum München and in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (“Olympische Jugend Festspiel”). For more on Orff’s involvement with the Olympics, see Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 225–228; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5378–5380; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 204–208; Pamela Stover, “The Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Berlin Olympics,” conference paper, American Orff-Schulwerk Association National Conference (Birmingham, Alabama), 11 November 2005; Pamela Stover, “Carl Orff, Carl Diem, the Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Olympics,” conference paper; National Association for Music

Gunild Keetman; some sources have listed Keetman as the sole author, but, as Pamela Stover's inventory of the extant materials revealed, the manuscripts exist in both Keetman's hand and in Orff's, suggesting that there was some degree of collaboration.<sup>293</sup> Regardless of what music he wrote, Orff's name and his educational work were associated with the 1936 Olympic Games, which lent a patina of legitimacy to the Third Reich.<sup>294</sup> This ethical quandary was hardly limited to Germans, however; recent scholarship, including that of Daniel Brown, has demonstrated the degree of American involvement in these Olympic Games.<sup>295</sup>

The music from the Olympian pageant was heard on other occasions in the Third Reich as well. The "Olympian Girls' Ring" (*Olympischer Mädchenreigen*), one of the pieces attributed to Orff that was in fact most likely by Keetman, was used in July 1938 at a *Festspiel* in Breslau. This *Festspiel*, in which Dorothee Günther participated, was organized by Niedecken-Gebhard in what Barbara Haselbach has characterized as a National Socialist style. Maja Lex of the Günther-Schule participated at a similar festival of Niedecken-Gebhard in Munich in 1939 called *Triumph des Lebens (Triumph of Life)*, the ostentatiously life-affirming title of which suggests a National Socialist conception. Neither Orff nor Keetman, however, participated in the latter event, nor was their music

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Education Biennial Conference (St. Louise, Missouri), 30 March 2012. I am grateful to Professor Stover for sharing her work with me. The music that Orff wrote was no longer extant (Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 208) was in fact discovered by Liselotte Orff and catalogued by Pamela Stover. Niedecken-Gebhard later directed *Carmina Burana* in 1943 in Leipzig (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5389). See also Berlin, BA, R 8077, 271, 1–105 for additional documentation.

<sup>293</sup> See Rösch in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1400; Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 45; Ronnefeld, trans. Murray, "Gunild Keetman – Fragments of a life," 28–33 (Ronnefeld attributed all of the music to Keetman, which is likely inaccurate); Stover, "The Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Berlin Olympics," pages 8, 16, and 18; "Carl Orff, Carl Diem, the Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Berlin Olympics." I am grateful to Professor Stover for sharing her work with me. See also Pamela Stover, "Keetman employed emerging technology to teach children," in *The Orff Echo*, Volume XXXVII, Number 3, Spring 2005:22–25.

<sup>294</sup> Godela Orff noted this point in G. Orff, *Mein Carl Orff und ich* (1992 version), 52 (this text is not in the 2008 version of her memoirs).

<sup>295</sup> See Daniel Brown, *The Boys in the Boat: Nine Americans and Their Epic Quest for Gold at the 1936 Berlin Olympics*, New York: Viking, 2013. See also Susan D. Bachrach, *The Nazi Olympics: Berlin 1936*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 2000; Arnd. Krüger and W. J. Murray, *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003; Christopher S. Hilton, *How Hitler Hijacked World Sport: The World Cup, the Olympics, the Heavyweight Championship and the Grand Prix*, Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2012. One sadly may note a certain repeat of history with the Winter Olympics of 2014.

used.<sup>296</sup>

Pamela Stover has written that the “Olympische Jugend Festspiele” was largely independent of the National Socialist propaganda machine. Of the thousands of participants, only the *NS-Kampfbund Chor* (“National Socialist Battle League Choir”) was affiliated with NSDAP. In general, the International Olympic Committee (especially Carl Diem, 1882–1962, who invited Orff to participate) was substantially more involved than the National Socialists. Many reports of the 1936 Olympics omitted the pageant, including Leni Riefenstahl’s *Olympia* (1938).<sup>297</sup> Among the music by Orff and Keetman that Stover cataloged is a piece called *Heeresmusik* (“Army Music”), which was omitted two months prior to the performance and still has not been published or performed as of this writing. While part of the reason for the cancellation may have hinged on technical difficulties, Stover has theorized that Orff wished to distance himself from Hitler’s militarism. She also has noted that, while there is a draft of fanfare for brass instruments penciled into the *Heeresmusik*, most of the music is for fife and drum, which she considers to be of a different character than National Socialist propaganda music.<sup>298</sup> Orff’s name was not connected to what may be the most problematic part of the Olympic children’s pageant, the fourth number, “Heroic Struggle and Death Lament” (“*Heldenkampf und Totenklage*”), which describes “the supreme sacrifice for one’s native land.”<sup>299</sup>

For Orff, the price of participating in the culture of the Third Reich was not so great as the price of the alternative. Godola wrote of her father after his death: “He always went on the path with less conflict, also in this evil time; he had – like so many –

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<sup>296</sup> See Führer durch das Deutsche Turn- u. Sportfest Breslau 1938, hrsg. im Auftrage des Reichssportführers von der Oberleitung des Deutschen Turn- und Sportfestes; Fotoordner Günther-Schule F 3/1, COS/OZM; Maja Lex : Tänzerin, Choreographin, Pädagogin, Hrsg: Wissenschaftliche Werkstatt - Elementarer Tanz e.V., Köln 1996 (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014). See also Haselbach, “Dorothee Günther,” 62.

<sup>297</sup> See Leni Riefenstahl, *Olympia*, Venice, California: Pathfinder Home Entertainment, 1938/2006.

<sup>298</sup> Stover, “The Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Berlin Olympics”; Stover, “Carl Orff, Carl Diem, the Orff-Schulwerk and the 1936 Olympics”; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3, 204. It is notable that the reactionary Bruno Kittel’s choir also was involved, but the choir was not officially affiliated with the NSDAP. Orff made a reference to “the great military music” (*die große Militärmusik*) for the 1936 Olympics in a letter to Heinrich Sutermeister dated 9 May 1936 (BSB HSL, Fasc. germ. 1 Nr. 1–144, Nr. 8).

<sup>299</sup> This tableau featured music by Werner Egk and choreography by Mary Wigman (1886–1973). See “Olympische Jugend Festspiel” program, 24 (quotation, from the official summary, original in English) and 41–42 (the latter is an essay by Mary Wigman).

simply fear.”<sup>300</sup> Given the fearfulness and fatalism that pervade Orff’s oeuvre as early as his teenage years, it is little wonder that he tried to avoid conflict of any kind in such a perilous environment.

For all of his independence and anti-authoritarianism, Carl Orff was also a highly driven artist, who toiled to achieve success while working within the Nazi culture. He was dependent on his collaboration with associates and performers and could not afford to isolate himself or alienate his colleagues regardless of their politics. It was during the Third Reich that Orff attained the success for which he long had strived with *Carmina Burana*. But this triumph came at a cost. With Orff’s increasing success under National Socialism, the composer became increasingly enmeshed in the cultural mechanism of the Third Reich. Orff’s rise to prominence under the difficult circumstances of totalitarianism, and the implications of his increased participation in the musical culture of Nazi Germany, will be the subject of the next chapter.

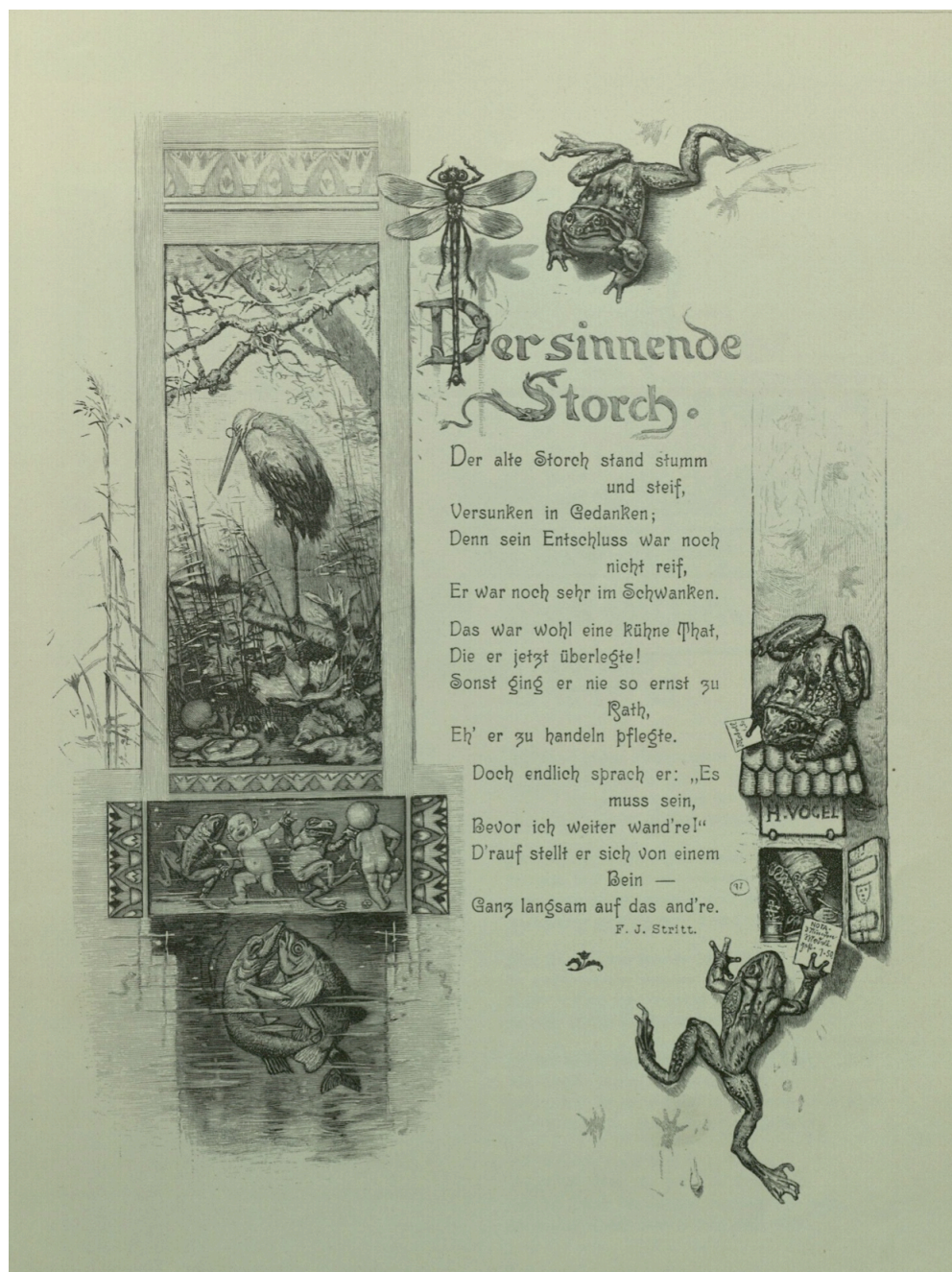
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<sup>300</sup> G. Orff, *Mein Vater Carl Orff und ich*, 54, in previous version, 51. Original language: *Er ging immer den konfliktloseren Weg, auch in dieser bösen Zeit; er hatte – wie so viele – einfach Angst.*

**Figures**



**Figure 1.1.** Carl Orff in 1898 (aged three).  
Source: Carl Orff-Stiftung (archive: Orff-Zentrum München), used with kind permission.

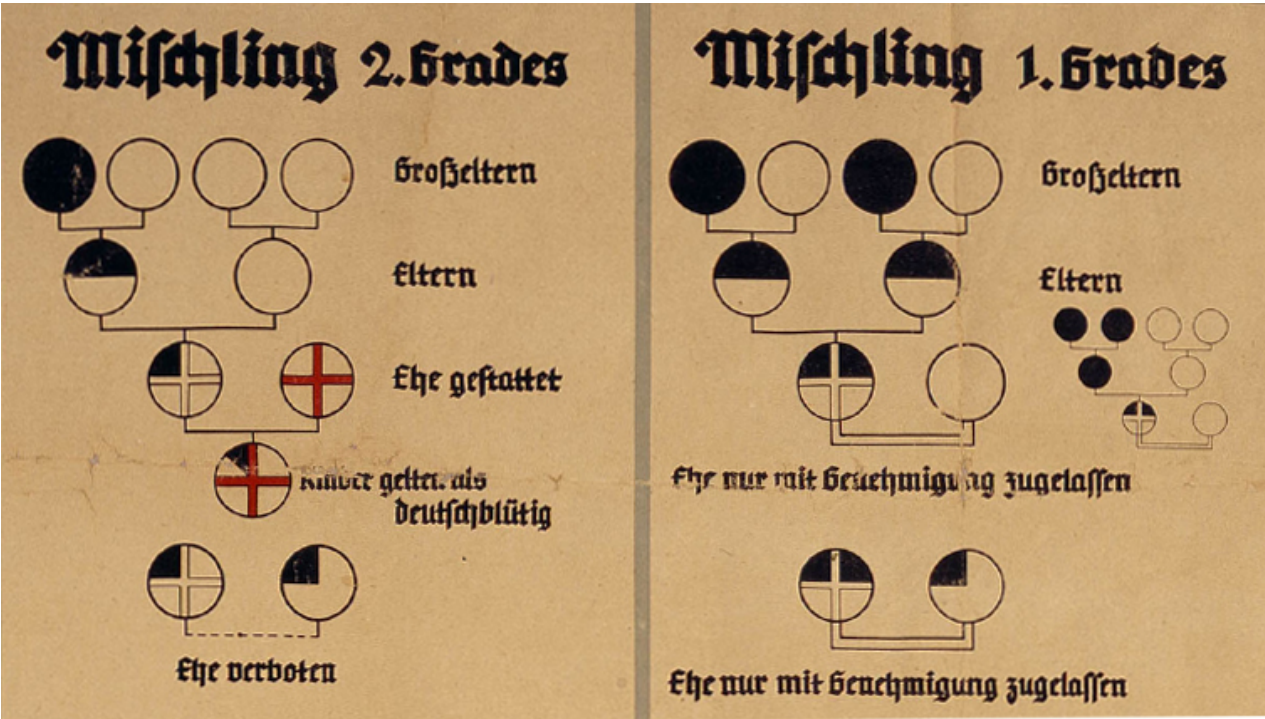


**Figure 1.2.** The textual source of Carl Orff's "Der sinnende Storch: Humoristisches Vocal-Quartett" ("The Meditative Stork: Humorous Vocal Quartet"), Opus 7 (ms. dated 13 June 1911, BSB ML, Orff.ms. 30). Text by Franz Josef Stritt (1831–1908), in Hermann Vogel, ed. and illustrator, *Hermann Vogel Album II*, München: Braun und Schneider, Monatsblätter 1896, 44 (Juni). Translation of text: "The old stork stood silent and stiff, / Sunken in thought; / For his mind was not ripe, / He was still very much in vacillation. // That was surely a bold act, / that he now contemplated! / Else he never went so seriously to counsel, / Ere he was wont to act. // Yet finally he said: 'It must be, / Before I further roam!' / Thereupon he brought one of his legs / Very slowly to the other." See also Werner Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 78–79.





**Figure 1.3.** Artist's representation of Orff's 1932 Berlin production of the *Lukas-Passion*. Published in the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, Nr. 274/275, 17 November 1932. Press clipping in the *Nachlass* of Carl Orff; image courtesy of Orff-Zentrum München (COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Bach-Verein 1932–1933).



**Figure 1.4.** A portion of a chart laying out the deplorable Nürnberg Laws (*Nürnberger Gesetze*) of 1935. The word *Mischling* refers to a person of mixed racial background. The left side shows the family tree (*Großeltern* and *Eltern* are, respectively, grandparents and parents) of the “second degree mixed-blood” (*Mischling 2. Grades*), or quarter-Jew, while the right side illustrates the two possible family trees of the “first degree mixed-blood” (*Mischling 1. Grades*). The left side explains that a quarter-Jew may marry a non-Jew (*Ehe gestattet* means “marriage permitted”) and that their “children [are] accepted as German-blooded” (*Kinder gelten als Deutschblütig*). Yet between two quarter-Jews marriage is forbidden (*Ehe verboten*). This is strikingly inconsistent with the policy described on the right side of the diagram: the marriage of a half-Jew either to a non-Jew or to a quarter-Jew is “licensed only with authorization” (*Ehe nur mit Genehmigung zugelassen*). That a quarter-Jew may marry a non-Jew or may marry a half-Jew with “authorization” but never may marry another quarter-Jew encapsulates the capricious and cruel illogic of racist pseudoscience.





**Figure 1.5.** Carl Orff's paternal grandmother, Fanny von Orff, born Franziska Caecilia Kraft (1833–1919), the daughter of Jews who had converted to Catholicism over 15 years before her birth. Photograph 1883. Source: Carl Orff-Stiftung (archive: Orff-Zentrum München), used with kind permission.

~~Blacher, Boris (da Vierteljude)~~  
Borck, Edmund von  
Frommel, Gerhard  
Genzmer, Harald  
Kaufmann, Armin  
Knab, Armin  
Marx, Karl  
Reidinger, Friedrich

**Figure 1.6.** Boris Blacher's name crossed out on a list of composers to receive a 2,000 RM from the RMK in 1942 because he is a *Vierteljude* (quarter Jew). Source: Berlin, Bundesarchiv, N 0008, 2830.

F r e i k a r t e n l i s t e  
zum Konzert des  
Münchener - Bach-Vereins e. V.  
M e i s t e r um den jungen M o z a r t  
am Mittwoch, den 30. April 1941 im Bayerischen Hof

StadtA Mü  
Kulturamt  
265

|                                      | 4.-   | 3.-   | 2.-   |
|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ratsherr Reinhard                    | 2     |       |       |
| Walth. Freih. v. Stengel             | 2     |       |       |
| Prof. C. Ehrenberg                   | 2     |       |       |
| Prof. Rosner                         | 2     |       |       |
| Ruckteschell                         | 3     |       |       |
| Scherrer                             | 2     |       |       |
| Pianohaus Neupert                    | 2     |       |       |
| Pianohaus Schramm                    | 2     |       |       |
| Völkischer Beobachter                | 2     |       |       |
| Süddeutsche Sonntagspost             | 2     |       |       |
| Münchener Neueste Nachrichten        |       | 2     |       |
| Münchener Zeitung                    |       | 2     |       |
| München-Augsburger Abendzeitung      |       | 2     |       |
| Münchener Tagblatt                   |       | 2     |       |
| Paul Ehlers                          | 2     |       |       |
| Direktor Seyrich                     | 2     |       |       |
| Karl Orff                            | 2     |       |       |
| Karl Marx                            | 2     |       |       |
| Konrad Lechner                       | 2     |       |       |
| Musikbücherei                        |       | 2     |       |
| Anton Huber                          |       | 2     |       |
| Karl Rittner                         |       | 2     |       |
| Prof. Fögner                         |       | 4     |       |
| Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek                | 4     |       |       |
| Luise Krieger                        | 2     |       |       |
| Polizeirat Glaser                    |       | 2     |       |
| Mitglieder des Orchesters            | 8     | 24    |       |
| Christian Döbereiner                 | 11    | 16    | 10    |
| Städt. Kulturamt                     | 6     | 29    | 10    |
| Mitglieder des Münchner Bach-Vereins | 20    | 5     |       |
| Prof. Cairati                        | 1     |       |       |
| Probst                               | 2     |       |       |
| Thoms                                | 1     |       |       |
| Oehlert                              | 2     |       |       |
| Hirschnagel                          | 1     |       |       |
| Hüni-Mihacsek                        | 2     |       |       |
| Frl. Fischer                         | 1     |       |       |
|                                      | ----- | ----- | ----- |
|                                      | 92    | 94    | 20    |

**Figure 1.7.** Carl Orff's name on a list of people to receive complimentary tickets for a concert at the Munich *Bach-Verein* in 1941. Source: Stadtarchiv München, Kulturamt 265.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**THE WHEEL OF FATE TURNS:**  
***Carmina Burana* and Carl Orff's Difficult Rise to Prominence in the Third Reich**

*Doch wen der Teufel reitet, den verdirbt er auch.*

But the one whom the devil rides, he also corrupts.

—Carl Orff, *Die Kluge* (1942)<sup>1</sup>

As he composed *Carmina Burana* from 1934 to 1936, Carl Orff was caught in a delicate balancing act. Despite his general antipathy for authority and his association with musical progressives, Orff's success was contingent on his ability to be accepted by the regnant Nazi cultural officers. Much of the criticism of Orff has focused on the acceptance of his work during the Third Reich. His works, particularly *Carmina Burana*, received many favorable reviews from multiple critics with National Socialist affiliations, were popular in performance, and were accepted—and coopted—by the cultural establishment of the Third Reich. Often, scholars who take a critical stance toward Orff have noted that his musical style fits into perceived notions of “Nazi music,” but this is a problematic construct.<sup>2</sup>

The following analysis provides a comprehensive comparison of *Carmina Burana* with Orff's prior work, which is lacking in the previous literature. The analysis demonstrates that Orff's most famous work is a continuation of the artistic evolution that traces back to his youth. In the discussion of Carl Orff's music in relationship to the

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<sup>1</sup> Carl Orff, *Die Kluge*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (ED 4580), 1957/1985, page 13.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Richard Taruskin, “Orff's Musical and Moral Failings,” in *The New York Times*, 6 May 2001, AR 1 and AR 35, reprinted with slight modification as “Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass At Last?” in *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009:161–167; Steven M. Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” *German Politics & Society*, Volume 19, No. 3, Fall 2001:80–93, 85–87 (note that Whiting here acknowledged that “Nazi music” is a problematic construct); Eleonore Büning, “Die Musik ist Schuld,” *Die Zeit*, 7 July 1995 (28/1995), accessed at [http://www.zeit.de/1995/28/Die\\_Musik\\_ist\\_schuld](http://www.zeit.de/1995/28/Die_Musik_ist_schuld), 5 December 2012 (note that this article falsely states that Orff joined the NSDAP in 1940, when in fact he never joined the Party).

aesthetic ideals of the Third Reich, there has been surprisingly little examination of whether or not he deliberately altered his work to accommodate the National Socialists.<sup>3</sup> An analysis of Orff's prior compositions, some of which have been described in the previous chapter, demonstrates that he had been cultivating the style of *Carmina Burana* years before the National Socialist takeover, and that *Carmina Burana* is the culmination of his prior efforts rather than the adoption of an external style.

Although *Carmina Burana* enjoyed great popularity in the latter part of the Third Reich, the initial reception of the work was mixed. The previous literature on Orff and the Third Reich has focused relatively little on the disagreement within the National Socialist press, especially at the time of the work's premiere. This disagreement, as the following analysis will illustrate, demonstrates the ill-defined and contradictory views of Nazi cultural leaders about what should be accepted as "Nazi music." As Orff's correspondence with his publisher indicates, there was significant concern that *Carmina Burana* would be met with hostility by National Socialists for its use of Latin text. In addition, the Stravinsky-like rhythmic drive, irreverent and indecent texts, and the pervading sense of fatalism were arguably at odds with what most National Socialists desired for modern compositions. These potentially problematic elements, however, were tempered by the work's musical accessibility, especially its elements of folk music.

This chapter also will examine how Orff negotiated between remaining true to his artistic vision during the Third Reich and pursuing success. During the Third Reich, Orff actively sought acceptance of his work despite any misgivings toward National Socialism. Analysis of the composition, presentation, reception, and message of *Carmina Burana* illuminates Orff's uneasy relationship with the Third Reich. In pursuing his success, Orff became an increasingly grey figure. This chapter demonstrates that Carl Orff emerged from the era of National Socialism as a compromised person, resulting in his "'Grey C', acceptable" rating during the denazification era (the subject of the following chapter).

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<sup>3</sup> A significant exception is Kowalke, "Burying the Past: Carl Orff and His Brecht Connection," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 1, Spring 2000:58–83. See also Udo Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs* (Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR, Band 14), Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982, 14; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 43.

## Carl Orff Embarks on *Carmina Burana*

“Fortune was good to me.” So begins Orff’s description in his memoirs of the day early in 1934 when he looked in the catalog of a Würzburg antiquarian and found “a title that attracted me with magical force.” The book was *Carmina Burana*, edited by Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852), published in 1847. Orff was immediately drawn to the dark and fatalistic themes, as are found in several of his early works such as “Der letzte Hohepriester” and *Gisei*. In light of these prior compositions, it is hardly surprising that he was instantly captivated by the first image of the *Carmina Burana*: the Goddess Fortuna and her Wheel of Fate.<sup>4</sup> The cruelly capricious Goddess of Fortune exerts an oppressive and inexorable power over humanity (the first section of Orff’s work is titled “Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi”—“Fortune, the Ruler of the World”). The image of the Wheel of Fate and its domination over humanity must have been powerful for those who, like Carl Orff, had a natural inclination to distrust authority and found themselves living under totalitarianism.

The *Carmina Burana* codex (also called the *Codex buranus*) is a collection of twelfth- and thirteenth-century secular poems in Latin, Middle High German, and Provençal discovered in the *Kloster* (abbey) of Benediktbeuern, a region in Bavaria. They were written by Goliards, a group of itinerant scholars and clerics. *Carmina* is the Latin word for “songs,” and *Burana* refers to the Benediktbeuern area.<sup>5</sup> Orff enlisted the aid of Michel Hofmann (1903–1968), an archivist from Bamberg, in planning the large-scale construction of the work and selecting poems from the Goliards’ earthy songs of love,

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<sup>4</sup> *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Vol. 4 (“Trionfi”), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979, 38 (both quotations). Original language of first quotation: *Fortuna hatte es mit mir gut gemeint*.... Original language of second quotation: *...der mich mit magischer Gewalt anzog*. Orff specified that he received the book on Maundy Thursday (29 March 1934). For the edition of *Carmina Burana* that Carl Orff used, see *Carmina Burana: Lateinische und deutsche Lieder und Gedichte einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benedictbeuern auf der K. Bibliothek zu München*, ed. Johann Andreas Schmeller, (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Band 16 Nr. 1), Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847. For modern editions, see *Carmina Burana*, trans. and ed. Günter Bernt, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1992/2012 (selections with Latin and German texts); *Carmina Burana*, trans. Peter and Dorothee Diemer, ed. Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, Berlin: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag (Band 49), 2011 (text with commentary).

<sup>5</sup> The Latin word for “song” is *carmen*, *carminis* (neuter, third declension); it is properly accented on the first syllable, as is its plural, *Carmina*.

lust, drink, gambling, nature, and fatalistic despair.<sup>6</sup> Orff completed the score in August 1936.<sup>7</sup>

The use of Latin texts was a source of serious concern for the publishers at Schott, who, as will be described in detail later on, feared that it would be perceived as too far removed from the National Socialist construct of Germanness. In addition, the ominous image of the Wheel of Fate was hardly in keeping with the triumphalist narrative of National Socialism. Orff remained true to his personal artistic vision by choosing texts that resonated with him despite the possible negative reaction from National Socialists. It is telling that Orff's associate Ernst Laaff, in his positive review of the premiere, took the tactic of preemptively addressing the objections of the more conservatively minded National Socialists.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of critics, some of whom had traveled extensively to attend the 1937 premiere performance in the Frankfurt opera house, received *Carmina Burana* with enthusiasm.<sup>9</sup> These critics included many supporters of National Socialism. Most overlooked the work's dark elements, especially the grim implications of the Wheel of Fate (several such reviews will be quoted later on). The work was instantly successful with the public, as it remains today throughout the world. There were, however, formidable negative reviews from two prominent National Socialist critics, Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog (1902–1976) and Herbert Gerigk, the same critic who three years later would attack Boris Blacher after the composer's quarter-Jewish status was revealed. Gerigk's dislike had the potential to pose a serious professional hindrance for Orff, as Gerigk was an important and influential member of *Der Amt Rosenberg* ("the Rosenberg

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<sup>6</sup> For the fascinating correspondence between Orff and Hofmann, which contains a wealth of information on the genesis of *Carmina Burana*, see Carl Orff and Michel Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, ed. Frohmüt Dangel-Hofmann, Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990. See also Michel Hofmann, "Zur Einführung" (1937, essay written for the world premiere), reprinted in Franz Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff: Entstehung, Wirkung, Text* (Serie Musik Piper-Schott Bd. 8220), Main/München: Schott/Piper, 1995, 161–170. For more on *Carmina Burana*, see Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*; Susanne Gläss, *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum: Entstehung und Deutung*, Munich: Orff-Zentrum München (KAT 295-99), 2009, 45.

<sup>8</sup> See Ernst Laaff, "Die Tonkünstlerversammlung des ADMV in Darmstadt und Frankfurt," in *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, Köln, 38. Jahrgang, Nr. 7, 15 July 1937. For more on Laaff (1903–1987), see <http://www.bml.o.lmu.de/> (accessed 14 November 2014).

<sup>9</sup> Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007, 263.

Office”), the office of Alfred Rosenberg.<sup>10</sup>

Many critics during the Third Reich noted the accessibility of the music of *Carmina Burana*, with its diatonicism, brief numbers, clear forms (which are often strophic), and memorable melodies, all of which served to compensate for the recondite Latin texts.<sup>11</sup> *Carmina Burana* also has elements of folk music, an area in which Orff had done research with his friend Kurt Huber and his *Schulwerk* associate Hans Bergese.<sup>12</sup> Folk music is a worldwide phenomenon that long predates the Third Reich. The ethnomusicological research of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967) in Eastern Europe, for example, demonstrates that interest in folk music in the twentieth century extended far beyond the Third Reich. In the context of the Third Reich, however, the idea of *Volk* took on a highly nationalistic and racially exclusive meaning, for which folk music was appropriated.

As will be demonstrated below, elements of folk music and communitarianism in Carl Orff’s music predate the Third Reich by several years: he did not change his musical style for the National Socialists, but he did seek to take advantage of the ways in which his musical ideals were compatible with some of those espoused by such officials as Joseph Goebbels and Hans Hinkel, as outlined in the Introduction.

While several scholars correctly have noted that Orff was far better received in the Third Reich than he was willing to admit following the war,<sup>13</sup> it is important to remember that there were many reasons for Orff to have been uncomfortable, both personally and professionally, during this period.<sup>14</sup> As addressed in the previous chapter,

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<sup>10</sup> For more on Gerigk, see Appendix 3.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Friedrich Stichtenoth, “Uraufführung im Opernhaus. Carmina burana von Carl Orff,” *Generalanzeiger*, Frankfurt am Main, Nr. 131, 9 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, I. Teil: “The score is a great, indisputable triumph of diatonicism” (original language: *Die Partitur ist ein großer, unbestreitbarer Triumph der Diatonik*).

<sup>12</sup> Carl Orff, Kurt Huber, and Hans Bergese, *Musik Der Landschaft : Volksmusik in Neuen Sätzen*, Vol. 1: Lieder und Tänze and Vol. 2: Zwiefache Tänze, Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne (respectively ED 3569 and ED 3570), 1942. Bergese is credited as the piano arranger on this volume, but he felt that his contribution was undervalued (see Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 141); letters from Hans Bergese to Erich Katz, 10 November 1946 and 25 December 1947, Erich Katz Collection, Special Collections, Regis University, Series 1, Carton 1. See also Gläß, *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana*, 44–47. Other composers for whom folk music was important include Igor Stravinsky and Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904).

<sup>13</sup> See, for example Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 263; Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” 85–87; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 122–132.

<sup>14</sup> Kim Kowalke acknowledged this when he wrote that Orff “emerged with few visible scars” from the Third Reich but that there “may have been hidden costs” (Kim Kowalke, “Burying the Past: Carl Orff and

he lost several of his friends and associates to exile, and no doubt his association with musical progressivism and his connection to figures like Leo Kestenberg, Curt Sachs, and Albin von Prybram-Gladona had the potential to harm his standing with the National Socialists. As Hannah Arendt observed, an important component of the totalitarian mechanism is keeping people in a constant state of fear and uncertainty.<sup>15</sup> Given Orff's predisposition to fear and distrust of authority, he was especially susceptible to such strain. For this reason, Orff may have been particularly concerned with remaining in good standing with the authorities and therefore willing to make certain compromises.

*Carmina Burana* is the most vivid illustration of how Orff navigated the perilous waters of the Third Reich professionally, artistically, and personally. While he did not compromise his artistic convictions throughout the period of the Third Reich and while he took considerable risks in his selection of texts, he also fortuitously had found a musical style that resonated with many National Socialist critics.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of his moral or political convictions, Orff evidently was happy to have achieved success and, on the whole, to have garnered the support of the Third Reich's cultural apparatus. As will be addressed below, Orff was willing to ingratiate himself to Nazi officials when opportunities to advance his career arose, but at the same time he was considerably more reserved in his participation than many of his colleagues. Orff became increasingly "grey" as he was caught between his fierce drive for success and his deep antipathy for authority, of which the Third Reich was a most brutal example. Although he avoided personal contact with the highest-ranking Nazi cultural officers like Joseph Goebbels and did not hold an office in the RMK (*Reichsmusikkammer*), Orff nevertheless worked hard to gain the favor of the National Socialist establishment. The fact that Orff finally achieved the success for which he had worked so hard during the Third Reich has been an indelible stain on his reputation.<sup>17</sup> The triumph that fickle Fortune bestowed on him came at a high price.

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His Brecht Connection," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 84, No. 1, Spring 2000:58–83, 73). Kowalke here cited reports of Orff's night terrors (see Chapter 1 at n. 95), citing the testimony of Luise Rinser, who was married to the composer in the mid- to late-1950s, in Tony Palmer's *O Fortuna! Carl Orff and Carmina Burana*, Isolde Films, 2008, originally released 1995.

<sup>15</sup> See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Schocken Books, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> The highly appropriate word "fortuitously" appears in the same context in Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 120.

<sup>17</sup> See also Thomas Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 74.



## The Way to “O Fortuna”: The Place of *Carmina Burana* in Carl Orff’s Oeuvre and His Ambivalent Relationship with His Earlier Works

In evaluating the degree to which Carl Orff adapted his art to the Third Reich, it is important to determine if he made significant changes to musical style in order to make his work more appealing to National Socialists. An examination of *Carmina Burana* in the context of his previous works demonstrates that he fundamentally did not alter his art, either musically or theatrically, at the beginning of the Third Reich.

At the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, Orff was well aware that he had achieved his first great success. In *Dokumentation*, he recounted that, following the successful dress rehearsal, he told his publisher: “Everything that I have written up until now and that you unfortunately have printed you now can pulp. With *Carmina Burana* begins my collected works.” Orff added that this line had been “often cited since that time” (*inzwischen viel zitierten*); it is indeed one of the most often quoted lines about the work and is traceable back at least to 1955.<sup>18</sup> In 1975, a newspaper interviewer asked Orff about “your famous quotation” (*ein berühmtes Zitat von Ihnen*) regarding *Carmina Burana*. Orff replied: “For the first time I had done exactly what I wanted, and I also knew that I had treated it right. Really there is nothing more to say.”<sup>19</sup> Orff does indeed seem to have been happier with

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<sup>18</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 66, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Alles was ich bisher geschrieben und was Sie leider gedruckt haben, können Sie nun einstampfen. Mit Carmina Burana beginnen meine gesammelten Werke*. The same line is quoted (with exclamation points rather than periods) in Andreas Liess, *Carl Orff: Idee und Werk*, Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1955, 27 (information on the first edition according to OZM, 10 November 2014). See also See Everett Helm, “Carl Orff,” in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XLI, No. 3, July 1955:285–304, 286: “In 1937 *Carmina Burana* was performed for the first time and with great success in Frankfurt am Main, and at that moment Orff ‘disowned’ all his previous work, with which he was now dissatisfied. Two pieces, *Catulli Carmina* and the *Entrata*, were later revised and restored to grace, as were the Monteverdi arrangements. For all practical purposes, then, *Carmina Burana* must be regarded as his earliest work” (*ibid.*, 286; see also *ibid.*, 303 regarding *Entrata*). Helm did not mention the *Kleines Konzert*, which also continued to be performed. See also Karl Harb, “Zum Tod von Carl Orff,” in *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift*, 37. Jahrgang, Heft 5, May 1982, 258; Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 264 (Painter interpreted Orff’s remark as an implication that he had found his mature compositional style in *Carmina Burana*). Orff’s statement is also frequently used in concert program notes up to the time of this writing (see notes by Elliot Moore for a performance of *Carmina Burana* at the University of Michigan, 21 February 2012, Kenneth Kiesler, conductor; notes for the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, concerts held 30 January–2 February 2014, Leonard Slatkin, conductor; my thanks to Jonathan King for providing me with a copy of the latter notes).

<sup>19</sup> Martin Konz, “Auf den Mond zu fliegen ist elementar. Rückbesinnung auf die Ursprünge: Interview mit dem Komponisten Carl Orff,” in *Neue Musikzeitung*, 24. Jahrgang, Heft 2, April/May 1975, S. 3. Original

*Carmina Burana* than with many of his other works, considering that he made relatively few changes to the score after its premiere, in contrast to several of his other works.<sup>20</sup> Of those changes he did make, none was structural; the alterations are confined to details, mainly in performance indications and tempi, as well as in the headings of the work's different sections.<sup>21</sup>

When Orff's line about the request to "pulp [his] works" is quoted, it is rarely accompanied by the qualifying statement he added in *Dokumentation*: "So I had said this thoughtlessly, *con leggerezza* [i.e. "lightly"]: a remark that, as I well knew, was true and also not true. I only wanted to accentuate with it the meaning that the *Carmina Burana* held in my creations up to that point, as was clear to me myself."<sup>22</sup> In fact Orff did not withdraw most of the works that Schott had published up until that point; most of the juvenilia from which he distanced himself throughout his later life had not been published by Schott and thus could not have been pulped by that publisher.<sup>23</sup> Rather, he revised his adaptations of Monteverdi, William Byrd (his *Entrata*), and sixteenth-century lute music (his *Kleines Konzert*). All five works were performed in the Third Reich after the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, and all but one documented performance used the revised versions.<sup>24</sup> 10 of the 12 *Cantus-Firmus-Sätze* (1929) were republished in 1954.<sup>25</sup>

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language: *Ich hatte erstmals genau das getan, was ich wollte, und ich wußte auch, daß ich richtig behandelt hatte. Mehr gibt es da eigentlich nicht zu sagen.*

<sup>20</sup> Examples include *Der Mond*, *Ein Sommernachtstraum*, *Die Bernauerin*, and *De temporum fine comoedia*.

<sup>21</sup> Compare the published score to *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana, Faksimile*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (ED 8653), 1997.

<sup>22</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 66. Original language: *Ich hatte das con leggerezza so hingesagt: ein Ausspruch, der, wie ich wohl wußte, stimmte und auch nicht stimmte. Ich wollte damit nur betonen, daß ich mir selbst klar war, welche Bedeutung die Carmina Burana in meinem bisherigen Schaffen einnahmen.*

<sup>23</sup> For example, Orff did not republish any of the songs that his grandfather Karl Köstler had paid to have published in 1912, and in some cases he explicitly through Werner Thomas (see Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 88 and 96; *ibid.*, 240; see also Appendix 1, Opp. 12, 13 No. 3, 15, 17, and 18 No. 1). In an interview in 1960, for example, Orff said that he would prefer his earlier works be forgotten, "although even so I know that they will be disinterred again by musicologists" (Bert Wassener, "Keine Parolen gegen Dämonen! Carl Orff: „Jeder muß seinen eigenen Weg gehen,“" Dortmund: *Ruhr-Nachrichten*, 8 October 1960, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, internal quotation marks omitted, original language: *obwohl ich weiß, daß sie doch wieder von den Musikwissenschaftlern ausgegraben werden*). It is difficult to tell what exactly he means here by his earlier works. Regardless, the present dissertation proves Orff's prognostication to be correct.

<sup>24</sup> The one exception is a performance of the second version of *Orpheus* in Bielefeld, 22 May 1938; the remaining performances were of the new, third version (premiere 4 October 1940 in Dresden). The *Kleines Konzert* was performed in a version for orchestra from 1937 on 15 December 1937 in Munich (premiere with choreography) and again in 1940 in Göttingen and Prague. The original 1927 version for small

Six of the seven *a cappella* choruses of the 1930 *Catulli Carmina I* were incorporated into the expanded 1943 *Catulli Carmina*. Material from others of the 1930 Catullus settings was incorporated into *Trionfo di Afrodite* and *Die Bernauerin*, and these works were subsequently republished with only minor emendation.<sup>26</sup> It is notable that Orff's composer friend Karl Marx identified these choruses as early examples of Orff's mature style.<sup>27</sup>

An examination of Orff's works from before *Carmina Burana* reveal that the composer's most famous work was by no means a stylistic departure. As Ernst Laaff wrote at the time of the premiere: "One who has followed Orff's creative work up until now had to be prepared for important new ideas again from this original and promising artist. In his external means the artist has remained essentially the same."<sup>28</sup> *Carmina Burana* combines several of the elements Orff favored in earlier works, including ancient texts, ribald and subversive content, and the theme of fatalism. Even some of Orff's juvenilia foreshadow *Carmina Burana*.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the most striking example is that the musical material opening of "O Fortuna" may be traced throughout Orff's previous

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ensemble was revised in 1975. The revised versions of the Monteverdi arrangements *Tanz der Spröden* and *Klage der Ariadne* occurred on 30 November 1940 in Gera, conducted by Orff, although the revised *Klage der Ariadne* had been performed in piano arrangement in Munich on 25 May 1940. The revised *Entrata* was first performed on 28 February 1941. (All information according to OZM, 12 September 2014).

<sup>25</sup> Robert Münster et al, *Carl Orff. Das Bühnenwerk. Ausstellung anlässlich des 75. Geburtstags, 10. Juni bis 31. Juli 1970, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich: Holzinger Druckerei, 1970, 55 (gives year of initial publication as 1929); *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 210 (gives year of initial publication as 1932).

<sup>26</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 27 and 199; Carl Orff, *Concento di Voci I. Sirmio: Tria Catulli Carmina*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1954 (a slightly revised republication of *Catulli Carmina II*); Carl Orff, "Lugete o veneres," Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, Chorverlag 44687, 1979 (the unused chorus from *Catulli Carmina II*).

<sup>27</sup> Karl Marx, "Erinnerungen an Carl Orff," in *Carl Orff: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. Horst Leuchtmann, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985:93–110, 107.

<sup>28</sup> Laaff, "Die Tonkünstlerversammlung des ADMV in Darmstadt und Frankfurt," 57. Original language: *Wer Orffs bisheriges Schaffen verfolgt hat, mußte von diesem eigenwilligen und vielversprechenden Künstler wieder auf wichtige neue Anregungen gefaßt sein. In den äußeren Mitteln ist der Künstler sich im wesentlichen gleich geblieben.*

<sup>29</sup> For example, his Opus 1, written in January and February 1911, is a cycle of six songs on texts of Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862) about the springtime, the subject of Nos. 3–10 of *Carmina Burana* (see Werner Thomas in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 74; Werner Thomas, trans. Verena Maschat, *Carl Orff*, London: Schott & Co., Ltd. (ED 12340), 1985, 3). The song cycle *Eliland* (Opus 12, September 1911) shares Orff's favored tonal area (D minor) with *Carmina Burana*, and the song cycle's theme of courtly love foreshadows the third part of *Carmina Burana*. Orff's setting of Richard Beer-Hofmann's "Schlaflied für Mirjam" ("Lullaby for Mirjam"), Opus 6 No. 2 (June 1911)—one of only three compositions from before World War I that he allowed to be published in entirety near the end of his life—is in the key of D minor. (See *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 255–257).

compositions to a far greater extent than previously has been noted. The famous chorus begins with a descending diatonic tetrachord in the bass (a gesture associated with lamentation) and a melodic line limited to first three scale degrees of D minor with special emphasis on E. The opening gesture is a D in the bass on the downbeat answered by a D minor triad with E added in the top voice on the offbeat (musical example 2.1).

Pesante  $\text{♩} = 60$

**Musical example 2.1.** *Carmina Burana*, opening of “O Fortuna,” simplification.

The opening gesture of “O Fortuna” may be found as early as *Eliland*, specifically in the piano codetta of the seventh song (here the strong beat has a D minor chord and the weak beat only Es in the upper register; musical example 2.2).

**Musical Example 2.2.** *Eliland: Ein Sang von Chiemsee*, No. 7 (“Mondnacht”)

Like “O Fortuna,” The 1913 music drama *Gisei* opens with the first three scale degrees of D minor and takes up the theme of fatalism (musical example 2.3).<sup>30</sup> The opening gesture of “O Fortuna” is presaged more clearly still in the opening measures of *Veni Creator Spiritus*, one of Orff’s ten *Werfel Lieder* from 1920 (musical example 2.4).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 1 for further analysis. There are other instances of the opening theme throughout *Gisei*, notably Chiyo leaves her son at the school, knowing he will have been murdered by her return. At this point the theme returns with some of the voices in the orchestra sustaining the pitch A, thereby completing the “O Fortuna” chord (the three pitches of D minor with an added E). See *Gisei* score, 62.

<sup>31</sup> This connection previously has been noted in Büning, “Die Musik ist Schuld.”

Langsam [Slowly] (Note: Bassoon 1. enters m. 10)

Bass Drum (in the orchestra) *ppppp*

Thunder Machine Percussion on stage *pp*

Wind Machine *pp*  
*(Aus dem Tempel tönt leiser Gesang.)*

Women's Chorus in the temple *pp*  
*(mit geschlossenem Mund)*

Translation of texts: top of staff, "From the temple a quiet song sounds"; below staves, "with closed mouth" (i.e. humming)

**Musical example 2.3.** *Gisei: Das Opfer*, opening measures

**Durchwegs mit großer Vehemenz**

*f*

Komm hei - li - ger Geist du, schöpferisch!

*f*  
*sempre c.p.*

\*)Ausführung auch durch Männerstimmen oder Chor möglich.

**Musical example 2.4.** "Veni Creator Spiritus" (*Lied*, 1920), opening measures. Translation of text: "Come, holy spirit, you creative one!" (Printed in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 324.)

Slowly paced half notes

The musical score is for the opening measures of *Des Turmes Auferstehung*. It features the following parts and dynamics:

- Oboe 3, Oboe 4, English Horn, Heckelphone:** Play slowly paced half notes in the treble clef, starting on a high G. Dynamics: *f*.
- 5 Bassoons, Contrabassoon:** Play slowly paced half notes in the bass clef, starting on a low G. Dynamics: *f*.
- 4 Trombones:** Play slowly paced half notes in the alto clef. Dynamics: *ff* sustained, with both mallets.
- Timpani:** Play a steady rhythm of half notes in the bass clef, starting on D3. Dynamics: *mf*.
- Pianos 3 and 4, Harps 3 and 4 (all unison):** Play slowly paced half notes in the treble clef, starting on a high G. Dynamics: *ff*.
- Pianos 5 and 6, Harps 5 and 6 (all unison):** Play slowly paced half notes in the bass clef, starting on a low G. Dynamics: *ff*.
- Group 1 (Violins II, Violins III):** Play slowly paced half notes in the treble clef, starting on a high G. Dynamics: *f*.
- Group 3 (Celli, Contrabasses):** Play slowly paced half notes in the bass clef, starting on a low G. Dynamics: *f*.

**Musical example 2.5.** *Des Turmes Auferstehung*, opening measures. Transcribed at sounding pitch and octave.

*Des Turmes Auferstehung* (*The Resurrection of the Tower*), composed at the same time, begins with an alternation between D and E in several octaves, with the timpani pounding out D3 on every beat, as in “O Fortuna.” In 1925 Orff further developed the material that later would become “O Fortuna” in the ritornello he added to Claudio Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna* in his arrangement of that work, *Klage der Ariadne* (musical example 2.6).

**Musical example 2.6.** *Klage der Ariadne*, 1925 version, opening measures.

There is at least one possible outside influence on the opening of “O Fortuna” that seldom has been noted. Two years before Orff had written *Klage der Ariadne*, the piano reduction of Alban Berg’s (1885–1935) opera *Wozzeck* (Opus 7, composed 1917–1922) was published.<sup>32</sup> The climax of the final interlude of this opera bears a remarkable similarity to the first beat “O Fortuna,” especially in the voicing. The orchestral codetta of no. 2 (“Fortune plango vulnera,” i.e. “I lament the wounds of fate”) also bears a strong resemblance to the passage in Berg’s work (musical examples 2.7–2.9).<sup>33</sup> It is possible that this passage in Berg’s opera may have been additional inspiration, especially in light of Orff’s professed interest in the playwright Georg Büchner (1813–1837), the author of Berg’s source material (*Woyzeck*, 1837) and of the comedy *Leonce und Lena* (1836), for

<sup>32</sup> The piano reduction of this opera was completed in December 1922 published in 1923 and the premiere took place on 14 December 1925 in Dresden. See Douglas Jarman, “Alban Berg,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 3 (Baxter to Busoni), ed. Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001:312–325, 324; George Perle, *The Operas of Alban Berg*, Volume One: *Wozzeck*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, Illustration 13 (illustrations between pages 108 and 109; this is a facsimile of an announcement of the publication of the piano reduction dated January 1923); Douglas Jarman, *Alban Berg: Wozzeck*, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Unlike in *Klage der Ariadne*, in which the chord on the first offbeat is D–A–E, in *Wozzeck* the analogous chord has all of the pitches of D minor with an E in the top voice, as the beginning of “O Fortuna.” While there is a different melodic line in the following chords, the stepwise descending motion is similar to the opening of “O Fortuna” (see also the coda to the strophes of No. 2, “Fortunae plango vulnera” / “I lament the wounds of Fortune”). See also Jarman, *Alban Berg: Wozzeck*, 91 (a facsimile of a sketch of the opening measures of an unfinished piano sonata in D minor that Berg wrote while studying with Schoenberg; the first chord is a D minor triad with an E in the top voice, the same chord used in the final interlude of *Wozzeck*).

which Orff had written incidental music in 1919.<sup>34</sup> While *Wozzeck* is more psychologically focused and features more overt social commentary than Orff's mature works, Berg's opera features themes that pervade Orff's oeuvre: the title character is a helpless figure who is preyed upon by forces completely outside of his control.<sup>35</sup> It is significant that Berg had written his opera in the wake of his miserable experiences in World War I, a trauma he and Orff shared.<sup>36</sup> The connection, however subtle, between *Carmina Burana* and *Wozzeck* is significant in terms of the Third Reich in that, like the Werfel cantatas, it is another connection to a work that was banned under National Socialism.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 62; Thomas in *ibid.*, 141–145; *ibid.*, 264–269 (excerpts of the piano reduction).

<sup>35</sup> See also Jarman, *Alban Berg: Wozzeck*, 3–4.

<sup>36</sup> See Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 232–240.

<sup>37</sup> For an especially mean-spirited condemnation of Berg's music, see Alfred Burgartz, "Nekrolog auf Alban Berg," in *Die Musik-Woche*, IV. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 11 January 1936, S. 12. An excerpt of this article, which was published shortly after the composer's death, is quoted in Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2009, 895. There was, however, a respectful death notice for Berg published in the *Neues Musikblatt* 15. Jahrgang, Nr. 14, February 1936, S. 2 (author not credited), albeit with the qualification that his style "has become foreign for the present" (*für die Gegenwart fremd geworden ist*).



molto rit. - - - Tempo I

all Fl. and Ob. Flutes and Oboes  
 4 Flutes  
 4 Oboes  
 all 4 unis.  
 4 Clarinets in B-  
 1., 3.  
 2., 4.  
 4 Horns in F  
 (without damper)  
 4 Trumpets in F  
 (without damper)  
 3 Tbn., 3 Bsn., B-Cl.  
 Tbn. 4, Tuba, Cbsn.  
 Timpani  
 several Snare Drums  
 Large Tam-tam  
 Bass Drum  
 Harp  
 5  
 Violins I, divided  
 Violins II, divided  
 Violas, divided  
 Celli  
 Contrabasses

3 Tbn. (3  
 (ama.)  
 B-Cl., Tb. b,  
 3 Bsns.  
 (ff) Cbsn.  
 B-Cl., 3 Bsns.  
 Cbsn., Tbn. 4, Tb.  
 two pairs of timpani with two players, each with two mallets  
 div. in 2  
 div. in 4  
 pizz  
 B-Cl., Bsns., Cbsn.,  
 Tbns., Tb., Timp.,  
 Harp, Celli, Cb.  
 already in new tempo

**Musical example 2.7.** Alban Berg, *Wozzeck*, climax of final interlude. Transcription at sounding pitch and octave. Note especially the downbeat of the second measure. (Alban Berg, *Wozzeck*, Vienna: Universal Edition, ED 7379/12100, 1926/1955)

**Pesante**  $\text{♩} = 60$  **poco stringendo**

High Woodwinds  
 4 Horns in F  
 3 Trumpets in B♭ + 3 Trombones one octave lower (Tbns. Svb)  
 Timpani  
 Crash Cymbals  
 2 Pianos (unison)  
 Soprano 1  
 Soprano 2  
 Alto  
 Chorus  
 Tenor 1  
 Tenor 2  
 Bass  
 Violins I and II (in unison)  
 Violas  
 Celli, 2 Bassoons (unis.)  
 Contrabasses, Cbsn., Tuba (unis.)

Lyrics: O For - tu - na, ve - lut Lu - na sta - tu va - ri - a - bi - lis.

Translation of text: "O Fortune, like the moon [you are] variable in position"

**Musical example 2.8.** Opening of "O Fortuna." Transcription at sounding pitch and octave.

**più mosso**

+ piccolo sounding octave higher than the top line

piccolo sounds 8va from top line  
2 Flutes + Clarinet in E<sub>♭</sub> (unis.)  
3 Oboes + 2 Clarinets in B<sub>♭</sub> (unis.)

*ff*

2 Bassoons (unis.)  
Contrabassoon

*ff*

Horns in F 1 and 3 (unis.)  
Horns in F 2 and 4 (unis.)

*ff*

3 Trumpets in B<sub>♭</sub>

*ff*

Trombone 1  
Trombones 2 and 3  
Tuba and Contrabassoon

*f*

Timpani

*f*

Snare Drum

*f*

Cymbals  
Bass Drum

*f*

8va

Piano 1

*ff* *martellato*

Piano 2

*ff* *martellato*

Violins I and II

*ff*

I and II unis.

Violas

*ff*

Cellos and Cb. unis.

Cellos  
Contrabasses

*ff*

**Musical example 2.9.** Orchestral postlude of “Fortune plango vulnera” (*Carmina Burana*, no. 2). Transcription at sounding pitch and octave. Note the descending tetrachord in the bass (as in the opening measures) and the descending parallel chords in the upper voices as in the *Wozzeck* excerpt (albeit here apreggiated and diatonic).

Over four decades after the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, Orff acknowledged that its style already was present in the Werfel and Brecht cantatas of 1930 and 1931.<sup>38</sup> The final movements of *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Der gute Mensch* both open similarly to “O Fortuna,” while other movements have ostinato patterns similar to those of *Carmina Burana* (see musical examples 2.10–2.15).<sup>39</sup> The declamatory and often syllabic text setting, heavy use of pianos and percussion, eschewal of counterpoint, and simple melodic lines of *Carmina Burana* are all clearly present in these earlier works.

♩ = 66 - 84

Soprano  
 p O Leib und Leid so ü - ber - ein!

Alto  
 p O Leib und Leid so ü - ber - ein! Gar

Chorus  
 p O Leib und Leid so ü - ber - ein! Gar

Tenor  
 p O Leib und Leid so ü - ber - ein!

Bass  
 p O Leib und Leid so ü - ber - ein! Gar

Suspended Cymbal  
 Bass Drum  
 p both instruments with hard mallets

Gong  
 p with soft mallet  
 with hard mallet

Timpani 1  
 p with hard mallet

Timpani 2  
 with soft mallet

Piano 2  
 p

Piano 3  
 p

**Musical Example 2.10.** *Veni Creator Spiritus* (1930 cantata), opening of first movement. Translation of text: “O body and suffering so agree!”

<sup>38</sup> Orff wrote: “In the scores of the Werfel cantatas (1930)... appeared the first clear contours of a style built from bourdon and ostinato, which in the *Carmina Burana* ultimately came to the fore” (Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 43, original language: *In den Partiturender Werfel-Kantaten (1930)... zeigten sich die ersten klaren Konturen eines auf Bordun und Ostinato aufbauenden Stils, der in den Carmina Burana endgültig zum Durchbruch kam*).

<sup>39</sup> The last movement of *Veni Creator Spiritus* uses the same text and much of the same musical material as the 1920 *Lied* of the same name (compare musical examples 2.4 and 2.15), although the *Lied* begins with an E in the bass rather than a D.

$\text{♩} = 120-132$

Oboe 1, 2 unis.  
English Horn

Bassoons 1, 2

Horns in F 1, 2

Timpani

Soprano and Alto, unison  
Chorus  
Tenor and Bass, unison

2 Pianos, unison

Violins I and II in unison

Violas  
Cellos

Contrabasses

sem - per cres - cis aut de - cres - cis; vi - ta de - te - sta - bi - lis

**Musical example 2.11.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 1, “O Fortuna,” beginning of ostinato. Transcription at sounding pitch and octave. Translation of text: “Always waxing and waning, detestable life.” Compare with Musical Example 2.10.

$d = 44$

3/8

35 4/8

5/8

Glockenspiel.  $pp$

2 Triangel.  $pp$  (mit Stahlnadel)

klein  $pp$  (mit Stahlnadel)

mittelgroß

3 Becken. I (2 Spieler)  $pp$  (mit kl. harl. Filzhammer)

groß

3 kl. Pauken.  $pp$  (Trommelschlägel)

2 gr. Pauken.  $pp$  (weiche Filzschlägel)

3/8

35 4/8

5/8

Klav. I.  $ppp$  (Klangvoll)

Klav. II.  $ppp$  (Klangvoll)

Klav. III.  $ppp$  (Klangvoll)

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Musical example 2.12. *Der gute Mensch* (1930), passage from first movement.

68

## Chume, chum geselle min

3/4  $\text{♩} = 40$  (70)

CORO  
PICC.

*p semplice*  
Chu - - me, dum, ge - sel - te - min,

1  
Viol. *pizz.*

2  
Viol. *pizz.*

Vi.  
*pizz.*

Vcl.  
*pizz.*

Cb.  
*arco*

**Musical example 2.13.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 9, “Chume, chum geselle min,” opening. Compare with musical example 2.12.

Sopran  
 Alt  
 Tenor  
 Baß  
 Kastagnette  
 Rasseln  
 Cymbel (hängend)  
 2 Becken (hängend)  
 Gong  
 Kl. Trommel (o. Schnarre)  
 Gr. Trommel  
 Pauken  
 Glockenspiel  
 Xylophon  
 Klavier I  
 Klavier II  
 Klavier III

7/8 (♩ = 76)  
 5/8  
*fff* Komm heiliger Geist, du schöpferisch!  
*fff* Komm heiliger Geist, du schöpferisch!  
*fff*  
 (mit Holzkopfschlägel)  
 (mit kl. Metallhämmern)  
 (Die Gongschläge in diesen Takten können vom Spieler der gr. Tr. übernommen werden)  
*fff* (harter Paukenschlägel)  
 (immer mit 2 Schlägeln)  
*fff* Glockensp. mit Metallhämmern  
*fff*  
*fff*  
*fff*  
*fff*

**Musical Example 2.14.** *Veni Creator Spiritus* (1930 cantata), opening of final movement. Translation of text: "Come holy spirit, you creative one!"

I.  
 II.  
 Glockenspiel.  
 Schellentrommel.  
 Triangel.  
 Becken.  
 4 kl. Pauken. (2 Spielern)  
 2 gr. Pauken.  
 Becken. 1. gr. Trommel.  
 Gong.  
 Klar. I.  
 Klar. II.  
 Klar. III.

(♩ = 40)  
 7/8  
*ff* Der gu- - - - - te Mensch!  
*ff* Der gu- - - - - te Mensch!  
 (♩ = 40)  
*fff*  
*ff* mit  
 (H)  
*ff*  
*ff*  
 (♩ = 40)  
*ff*  
*ff*  
*ff*

**Musical Example 2.15.** *Der gute Mensch* (1930), opening of final movement. Translation of text: "The good person"

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Following the war, Orff stood to benefit politically by rereleasing these works, as it would help to associate him with anti-Nazi authors.<sup>40</sup> One of the first two Werfel cantatas was featured in the autumn of 1947 on a program of new choral music organized by Ernst Laaff at the University of Mainz, but there is no evidence that Orff even was aware of this performance,<sup>41</sup> suggesting that he had no intention to revive the cantata work at this time. It was not until 1968 that Orff republished the three Werfel cantatas and the previously published Brecht cantata (*Vom Frühjahr, Öltank und vom Fliegen*). The previously unpublished Brecht cantata, *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt*, was only completed in 1973.<sup>42</sup> The reissued works include an odd prefatory note: “This has been done at the request of young people of today who believe that these works will still mean something to them. May their assumption turn out to be true.”<sup>43</sup> These characteristically cryptic words have the effect of deflecting Orff’s responsibility for the decision to republish these cantatas. His reticence to capitalize on his pre-Third Reich connections with Werfel and Brecht is once again striking. Apparently, Orff’s guardedness sometimes had other motivations than mitigating his association with the Third Reich.

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<sup>40</sup> See also Kowalke, “Burying the Past,” Brecht unequivocally took an anti-Nazi, as in such works as *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches* (“Fear and Misery of the Third Reich,” 1938; New York: Aurora Verlag, ca. 1945; in English, Bertolt Brecht, trans. John Willett, *Fear and Misery in the Third Reich*, London: Methuen Drama, 2009). Werfel was not as blatantly political in his orientation, but he was at least considered anti-Nazi by virtue of his persecution in the Third Reich and forced into exile.

<sup>41</sup> See signed “Kr.,” “Konzert mit Fragebogen,” part of article called “Der junge Melos-leser schreibt,” in *Melos*, 14. Jahrgang, Heft 12, October 1947:349–350. It is impossible from the article to know if *Der gute Mensch* or *Veni Creator Spiritus* was performed; the author did not give the title but rather only the description that the composition used texts of Werfel and was scored for pianos and percussion. This concert also features some of Orff’s *Catulli Carmina a cappella* choruses, quite possibly the pre-*Carmina Burana* version rather than excerpts from the 1943 composition. The OZM informed me that there is no record of this concert (including press clippings or a program, even the *Melos* article here) in Carl Orff’s *Nachlass*. The correspondence between Ernst Laaff and Carl Orff in the AK, COS/OZM contains letters only from 1932 to 1942 and again from 1955, hence there is no reference to this reference to the concert (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014).

<sup>42</sup> The premiere of *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank und vom Fliegen* took place before the official publication, however; it was first performed on 11 July 1965 in Stuttgart in celebration of the composer’s seventieth birthday. The premiere of *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt* took place on 19 March 1979 in Leipzig. See Fritz Hennenberg, “Carl Orff und Bertolt Brecht – eine unvollendete Geschichte,” in *Orff-Studien*, Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2011:11–71, 28–29; *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1. See also Chapter 1 around n. 155.

<sup>43</sup> The English translation given here is that given alongside the original German in the reissued scores of the four previously published Werfel and Brecht Cantatas (all published by Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne): *Veni Creator Spiritus* (ED 6020, 1931/1959/1968); *Der gute Mensch* (ED 6021, 1931/1959/1968); *Fremde sind wir* (ED 6022, 1932/1968); *Vom Frühjahr, Öltank und vom Fliegen* (ED 6023, 1932/1968). Original language: *Ich entspreche damit einer Anregung heutiger Jugend, die glaubt, daß ihr diese Sätze noch etwas bedeuten können. Möge sie in dieser Annahme recht behalten.* This note does not appear in the previously unpublished *Von der Freundlichkeit der Welt* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, ED 5706, 1975).

Orff's reluctance to rerelease the Werfel and Brecht cantatas immediately after the Third Reich, as would have been advantageous to him politically, suggests that he had an underlying artistic rationale. Presumably he felt that these works, in effect early drafts of *Carmina Burana*, were immature. One of the friendlier reviews of the 1930 premiere of the Werfel cantatas *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Der gute Mensch* wrote: "Granted, there is a certain fascinating effect that emanates [from the work, suggesting] that the primary idea is strong in itself! The final effect fizzles out, because Orff has not yet found the final end-formation."<sup>44</sup> With *Carmina Burana*, Orff had achieved "the final end-formation" that this critic found lacking in previous efforts.

Orff did not, however, alter his style with the advent of National Socialism, but rather continued to cultivate the style he had been developing for years, influenced by Igor Stravinsky and Bertolt Brecht. Following *Carmina Burana*, Orff decided that he was unhappy with the products of his previous efforts, but by no means did he reject his earlier style. As he himself noted, his alleged remark to his publisher is both true and untrue.

There was, however, one aspect of *Carmina Burana* with which Orff was not satisfied. About a week after the premiere, he wrote to Michel Hofmann that he felt the work should be extended to fill an entire concert.<sup>45</sup> Although his letter suggests that he had serious plans to extend the cantata, he later decided instead to let *Carmina Burana* stand as written and instead supplemented it with two companion pieces. *Catulli Carmina* (*Songs of Catullus*), which incorporates several of the 1930 *a cappella* choruses of the same title, was composed 1941–1943 and first performed on 6 November 1943 in Leipzig, paired with *Carmina Burana*. *Trionfo di Afrodite* (*Triumph of Aphrodite*) was composed 1947–1951 and first performed with both *Carmina* as the *Trionfi* (*Triumphs*) triptych on 14 February 1953 at La Scala in Milan, with Herbert von Karajan (1908–

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<sup>44</sup> Signed "v. S." [signature difficult to read on archival copy], "3. Neue Festwoche in München," *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, Nr. 536, 21 October 1930, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVIII, 3. Original language: *Zugegeben, dass gewisse faszinierende Wirkung ausgeht, dass der Primäreinfall an sich stark ist! die Endwirkung verpufft, weil Orff die endgültige Formung noch nicht gefunden hat, zudem sich nicht um den Text schiebt, der bloss rhythmische Folte ist.*

<sup>45</sup> Orff expressed this desire to Michel Hofmann in letters dated 16 June and 26 June 1937; see Orff and Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, 135 and 138–139. In the second letter, Orff wrote of printing materials in September and a premiere in October (*ibid.*, 138), suggesting that he was intent on the project.

1989) conducting.<sup>46</sup> The title of the *Trionfi* belies the negative ending of the first two works: *Carmina Burana* ends with the return of “O Fortuna” and the 1943 *Catulli Carmina* ends with Catullus’s heartbreak, although the hypersexual youths who have been listening to the poet’s story remain blithely (one even may say insensitively) oblivious. After the graphic musical depiction of marital consummation in *Trionfo di Afrodite*, the chorus sings a passage from Euripides’s *Hippolytus*, in which Aphrodite is a cruel villain who destroys the title character and his stepmother, a hapless bystander, out of spite. Even at his most life-affirming, Orff was still an unusually dark composer.

### **The Dark Message of Carl Orff’s *Carmina Burana***

The accessible and compelling musical style of *Carmina Burana* has made it among the most popular staples of the repertoire worldwide. By the middle of the Third Reich it already had achieved impressive popularity. Yet the central image of *Carmina Burana*, the Wheel of Fate, embodies the themes of fatalism and cruel, overpowering authority, and the cantata contains other dark and subversive ideas. The despairing message is insulated by songs of springtime, love, and lust, which constitute about two thirds of the work’s playing time. The pleasures of nature and the body are in tension with the work’s darker elements.

That so many National Socialists could embrace so negative a statement as the Wheel of Fate in *Carmina Burana* is not entirely surprising considering Adolf Hitler’s well-known love for Richard Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (*The Ring of the Nibelung*).<sup>47</sup> The Nordic source material and musical grandeur of Wagner’s operatic tetralogy apparently was enough to distract the *Führer* from its negative message; the story of Wotan’s hubris and poor leadership certainly may be read as a cautionary tale about power and greed, especially as it ends with the gods’ immolation. The final strophe

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<sup>46</sup> The libretto of the 1943 *Catulli Carmina* is a series of poems by Catullus and his own erotic Latin texts. *Trionfo di Afrodite* also uses texts of Catullus, as well as poetry of Sappho (Σαπφώ, alternately Ψάπφω, born ca. 630–612 BCE, died ca. 570 BCE) and a chorus from Euripides’s (Εὐριπίδης, ca. 480–406 BCE) *Hippolytus* (Ἴππόλυτος, premiere 428 BCE). Scores: *Catulli Carmina*, Schott, Edition Eulenburg, No. 8015, 1955/1983; *Trionfo di Afrodite*, Schott, Edition Eulenburg No. 8016, 1952.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Joachim Köhler, trans. Ronald Taylor, *Wagner’s Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press, 2000.

of no. 2 (“Fortune plango vulnera”) of *Carmina Burana* is a similarly unwelcome message to those in power: “Fortune turns; I descend, lessened. Another is raised up high, much too exalted. The king sits at the vertex – let him beware ruination! For beneath the axis we read: Queen Hecuba.”<sup>48</sup> The National Socialists took these crucial components of Orff’s and Wagner’s respective messages and effectively made them disappear for the sake of convenience. The nuances of Orff’s and Wagner’s works, let alone the authors’ artistic intentions, were irrelevant to propagandists, who shaped these compositions in the image of National Socialism.

In the context of totalitarianism, it is not surprising that Orff’s works contain many sardonic, ironic, and grotesque elements, similar to what Dmitri Shostakovich was writing in the context of Soviet Russia at the same time.<sup>49</sup> The enthusiastic response of audiences to this day demonstrates that, as the *Carmina Burana* poetry features both vibrant joy and nihilistic despair (twin facets of the human condition), Orff was able to compensate for the work’s dark elements through the upbeat numbers, his use of irony, the accessible musical aesthetic, and the incorporation of elements of folk music.

There are many dark and grotesque moments in *Carmina Burana*. Notable examples appear in the middle section, “In Taberna” (“In the tavern,” nos. 11–14), which is 10 to 11 minutes long. No. 11 (“Estuans interius”—“Burning within”), the opening number for the baritone in which he sings about being “dead in the soul” (*mortuus in anima*), there is an allusion to the “Dies irae” (“Day of wrath”) plainchant, invoking the Last Judgment (musical examples 2.16–2.17).<sup>50</sup> A salient example of Orff’s use of the grotesque in Esti Sheinberg’s definition (a mixture of humor and horror)<sup>51</sup> is the one appearance of the tenor soloist in no. 12 (“Olim lacus colueram”—“Once upon a time I had dwelled on lakes”). The tenor sings in an exceedingly high tessitura from the perspective of the roasting swan, who sings *lamentoso* (“lamenting”) and, tellingly,

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<sup>48</sup> Orff, *Carmina Burana*, study score, pages 14–17. Original language: *Fortune rota volvitur: descendo minoratus; / alter in altum tollitur nimis exaltatus / rex sedet in vertice caveat ruinam! / Nam sub axe legimus Hecubam reginam* (score 14–17, punctuation as in the score). Hecuba was the wife of Priam, the king of Troy at the time the city was destroyed.

<sup>49</sup> See Esti Sheinberg, *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich: A Theory of Musical Incongruities*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.

<sup>50</sup> For more on the “Dies irae,” see the analysis of act 3 of *De temporum fine comoedia* in Chapter 5.

<sup>51</sup> See Sheinberg, *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich*, beginning at 207.

*sempre ironico* (“always ironically”), accompanied by coarse orchestral sounds.<sup>52</sup> On the one hand the absurd concept and bizarre tessitura are amusing, but on the other hand there is a genuinely gruesome element in the swan’s suffering.



Di - es i - rae di - es il - la

**Musical example 2.16.** “Dies irae” plainchant (opening). Translation of text: “Day of wrath, that day....”

**Allegro molto** ♩ = 152

E♭ Cl., Fl. 1, Fl. 3 unis.  
Fl. 2

3 Flutes, E♭ Clarinet,  
2 B♭ Clarinets

*pp* + B♭ Cl. 1 octave lower than Fl. 1, Fl. 3 and E♭ Cl.;  
B♭ Cl. 2 octave lower than Fl. 2

2 Oboes

*pp*

2 Bassoons

*pp*

Solo

Timpani

*pp*

Baritone Soloist

fac - tus de ma - te - ri - a ci - nis e - le - men - ti si - mi - lis sum fò - li - o, de quo lu - dunt ven - ti.  
(*f*, *con spirito*)

Violins I  
Violins II  
Violas  
Cellos

*fp* *fp*

Contrabasses

div.  
*fp* *fp*

**Musical example 2.17.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 11 (“Estuans interius”), excerpt. Note the allusion to the “Dies irae” in the baritone’s vocal line. Translation of text: “Made from matter, an ash of an element, I am like a leaf with which the winds play.”

In no. 13 (“Ego sum abbas”—“I am the abbot”), the baritone describes the fate that befalls his followers with a touch of sadism (he is given the instruction *beffardo assai*, “quite mockingly”): a man is stripped of his clothes in a gambling loss, curses fate

<sup>52</sup> The violins are *tacit* in this number. After the introduction in the bassoon’s highest register, the tenor is doubled in three octaves by muted trumpet, E-flat clarinet, and piccolo, and his phrases are punctuated by accented off-beats played by the English horn and flutter-tongued trombone, colored by the rattling of the low xylophone. The use of flutter-tongued flute in the ostinato is also notable, as is the use of the tam-tam (this instrument is used only in nos. 1, 12, 14, and 25; no. 25 is a reprise of no. 1 with the addition of another tam-tam stroke on the initial downbeat).

(referring back to the central theme of the work), and cries *Wafna*, an exclamation of woe.<sup>53</sup> The chorus, which as in several of Orff's later stage works represents the everyman, has the last word with a mean-spirited "Ha ha!" This is Orff's addition to the text, expressing a negative view of humanity. There is a demonic quality underlying this number, although it is frequently downplayed in performances that choose to treat it with frivolity.<sup>54</sup> No. 14 ("In taberna quando sumus"—"When we are in the tavern") opens with the text: "When we are in the tavern, we do not care what is dust."<sup>55</sup> The reference to "dust" is likely an allusion to Genesis 3:19, which states that we are made of dust and to dust we will return. Perhaps it is even more important to enjoy carnal pleasures in a world where disaster could strike at any moment, an eminently fatalistic sentiment.<sup>56</sup>

Many sections of *Carmina Burana* feature subversive texts, as the parody of the Church in no. 13. The baritone blasphemously names himself the Abbot of Cockaigne, a mythical land of plenty in which moral conventions are turned upside down as hedonism and sexual liberty reign. No. 14 is similarly irreverent: the men in the tavern toast such dissolute characters as prisoners, sisters of questionable virtue, and wayward brothers, and include bishops, deacons, and even the pope in their litany of drinkers.<sup>57</sup> The tavern scene is not the only example of impious libertinism in Orff's scenic cantata. Although there are many lyrical and introspective moments in the "Cour d'amours" ("Court of Love") section (nos. 15–23), the unabashed celebration of sexuality is not always polite. In no. 18 ("Circa mea pectora"—"Around my heart"), the baritone makes clear his wish

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<sup>53</sup> As the men's chorus aggressively repeats the cries of *Wafna*, the orchestra brass section plays the same four pitches of the so-called *Schreckensfanfare* ("fanfare of fear") that opens the final movement of Ludwig van Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, Opus 125: B-flat major and D minor combined, with the additional dissonance of F-sharp (score: Kassel: Bärenreiter (BA 9009), 1996, page 195).

<sup>54</sup> This statement is based on personal experience with many performances, including at the Orff Festival at the Kloster Andechs in Bavaria.

<sup>55</sup> Orff, *Carmina Burana*, page 94. Original language: *In taberna quando sumus / non curamus quid sit humus*. A more literal rendering is "When we are in the tavern, we do not care what is dust."

<sup>56</sup> A similar interpretation is mentioned in Richard Morrison, "Carl Orff, the Composer Who Lived a Monstrous Lie," *Times Online (The Times, United Kingdom)*, 19 December 2008, accessed at [http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts\\_and\\_entertainment/music/article5366154.ece?print=yes&randnum=1252869960731](http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/music/article5366154.ece?print=yes&randnum=1252869960731), 13 September 2009.

<sup>57</sup> The men in the tavern supply a litany of all the people who are presently drinking, which is striking both for its irreverence (bishops, deacons, and even the pope are included) and for its egalitarianism: both the white man and the black man (*albus* and *niger*) drink together and the downtrodden are welcome at the table. Just as all humans are treated equally by the Wheel of Fate's depredations, so too are all made equal in Bacchanalian revelry.

“to unlock her virginal chains” (*ut eius virginea / reserassem vincula*). In no. 19 (“Si puer cum puella”—“When a boy with a girl”), an *a cappella* male sextet bawdily sings about a sexual encounter between two young people in a cellar. While the soprano is caught between chastity and carnal love in no. 21 (“In trutina”—“In the balance”), in no. 23 (“Dulcissime”—“O sweetest man”) she sings an orgasmic coloratura as she yields herself to her lover. For Orff to choose such impertinent texts certainly constituted a risk in the context of the Third Reich. When he used even more erotically charged Latin in *Catulli Carmina* (some of which he had written himself), Willy Strecker wrote to Orff shortly before the premiere about his concerns regarding a law against illicit sexual relations.<sup>58</sup>

For all of its subversive texts in dead languages, *Carmina Burana* is highly accessible musically; this characteristic, more than any other, was likely the most appealing to the National Socialists. Orff’s interest in Bavarian folk music is apparent in many sections of the work, for example the traditional *Zwiefach* dance in no. 6.<sup>59</sup> The 55-minute length of the scenic cantata is divided into 26 numbers (taking into account the subdivision of no. 9), two of which are reprised.<sup>60</sup> In addition to their musical style, brevity of the numbers makes the work accessible even to relatively inexperienced listeners. Formally, the numbers are very easy to follow: 17 of them are strophic or modified strophic, nine are through-composed, and two are in ternary form (see table 2.1).<sup>61</sup> The musical language is largely diatonic, especially in the first ten numbers.<sup>62</sup> Two numbers (nos. 12 and 15; musical example 2.18) have predominately octatonic melodic lines and there is expressive use of chromaticism in the Court of Love (nos. 15 and in the codetta of each strophe in 21). On the whole, however, Orff’s use of dissonance in this

<sup>58</sup> Letter from Willy Strecker to Carl Orff, 23 October 1943, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 5 November 2014). In this letter, Strecker referred to the “enemies” (*Feinde*) of his publishing firm.

<sup>59</sup> See Gläß, *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana*, 44–45.

<sup>60</sup> The fourth part of No. 9 is an identical *da capo* of the second part *Swaz hie gat umbe* (“Those who dance around here”), and No. 25 is a *da capo* of No. 1, the only alteration being the added stroke of the tam-tam on the initial downbeat.

<sup>61</sup> The strophic numbers are Nos. 1–5, 7, 8, the first and third sections of 9, 11, 12, 16–18, 21, 22, and 24. The through-composed numbers are “Swaz hie gat umbe” (the second and fourth sections of No. 9; the fourth section is a *da capo*) and Nos. 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, and 23. The ternary numbers are Nos. 6 and 15. See figure 2.2 for details.

<sup>62</sup> Excluding leading tones, melodic minor scales, and modal mixture, there are only three instances of chromaticism in Nos. 1–10, one of which (the F♯ in No. 8) functions as a dominant seventh chord to the tonality of the following number (the “Reie” of No. 9). See figure 2.2 for further information.

work is not challenging in the vein of, for example, Arnold Schoenberg’s music.<sup>63</sup> Such accessibility no doubt helped to counteract the musical influences that many National Socialists considered undesirable. The elements of Orff’s work that potentially could have caused him trouble during the Third Reich include the influences of jazz, the Comedian Harmonists (a popular group in the Weimar Republic that had been compelled to disband because three of its six members were Jewish), and Stravinsky.<sup>64</sup> Stravinsky’s music was, however, still played regularly in Germany until the official ban on 1 February 1940, five months after Hitler had invaded Poland.<sup>65</sup>

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**Musical example 2.18.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 15 (“Amor volat undique”), B section. Note the octatonicism.

<sup>63</sup> See also Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” 86–87.

<sup>64</sup> The relevance of the Comedian Harmonists to Carl Orff’s music was first brought to my attention in personal conversation with Wilfried Hiller, Orff’s student, in his home in Munich on 30 May 2013. See also Gläß, *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana*, 115. In No. 20 (“Veni, veni, venias,” i.e. “Come, come, please come”) there is a clear quotation of a passage from the second tableau of *Les noces*. Surprisingly passed over in the secondary literature is the clear quotation of the first movement of the *Symphony of Psalms* in No. 18 (“Circa mea pectora”; I am indebted to Andrew McManus for first calling this to my attention). Compare Orff, *Carmina Burana*, pages 123 and 135 to Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex and Symphony of Psalms*, London: Hawkes & Son Ltd., 1927/1931, pages 149–150 and Igor Stravinsky, *Les Nocces*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1998, page 41 (respectively).

<sup>65</sup> Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 7519. One additionally should note Orff’s possible influences of the Jewish composers Ernst Toch and Darius Milhaud (as described in the previous chapter).



Though many critics were willing to overlook the dark aspects of the piece, these elements are central to Orff's cantata. Karen Painter has observed that it is difficult to hear the many and varied individual numbers of *Carmina Burana* "as one configuration."<sup>66</sup> Close examination of the score, however, reveals that what unifies the 26 diverse numbers is the recurrence of musical material associated with the Goddess Fortuna and the Wheel of Fate. The musical material in *Carmina Burana* is primarily derived from the juxtaposition or combination of adjacent triads built on C and D, a combination first heard in "O Fortuna," from the initial class of the E in the upper voices against the D minor harmony (this chord recurs throughout the piece; see musical examples 2.20–2.21) to the concluding brass fanfares (C major and D major triads; musical example 2.19; see also musical example 2.22).<sup>67</sup> Its continued presence throughout the score suggests that the Goddess Fortuna is always present. Fittingly, the apotheosis of no. 24 ("Ave formosissima"—"Hail most beautiful one") is built from C major and D major triads (musical example 2.23), and so it should come as no surprise when it is cruelly cut down by the return of "O Fortuna," accompanied by a stroke of the tam-tam, an instrument that often connotes disaster.

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<sup>66</sup> Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 264.

<sup>67</sup> In the second beat of the opening measure of "O Fortuna," as the upper voices sustain the D minor triad with the added E, the bass descends to C. The combination of these pitches—C, D, E, F or F-sharp, and A—will continue to occur prominently throughout the work. The C and D triads recur throughout the piece, sometimes with D minor and sometimes with D major (see score, pages 12–13, 15, 63–64, 73, 112, 135, 138, 154–156, and 169–170). Other unifying elements in *Carmina Burana* include the motivic connections within the *Cour d'amours* section. The use of *attaccas* between Nos. 1–2, 3–5, 6–10, 11–14, and 15–25 has a similarly uniting function. Curiously, the only *attacca* indications in the manuscript occur between Nos. 4 and 5, 9a and 9b, 13 and 14, and 24 and 25. See *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana, Faksimile*. That Orff added in the other *attacca* indications during his revisions suggests that he intended for his work to feel more like a unified whole than a series of disparate numbers.

♩ = 160

Ostinato (in multiple octaves)  
(high woodwinds, pianos,  
glockenspiel)

*ff*

3 Trumpet in B $\flat$ ,  
3 Trombones  
(one octave lower)

*ff*

Violas (in octaves)

Bass line  
(+ upper and lower octaves)

*fff*

**Musical example 2.19.** *Carmina Burana*, concluding fanfares of “O Fortuna.” Simplification.

15

Ottav.

Fl. 1. 2.

Ob. 1. 2.

Trgl.

ne - morum dul - ci - so - no, - que - can - tu ce - le - bra - tur.

15

CORO  
PICC.

ne - morum dul - ci - so - no, - que - can - tu ce - le - bra - tur.

Cel.

**Musical example 2.20.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 3 (“Veris leta facies”), excerpt. Note the “O Fortuna” chord (D–E–F–A) is formed on the semichorus’s D, the highest pitch of the vocal line that is further emphasized through the syncopation.

*rubato e affettato*

Baritone Solo

me fay plan - szer

2 Piccolos [ Celesta (notated with hanging ties) ]  
2 Oboes [ doubles high woodwinds ]

*pp*

Vln. I con sord. [ 4 Horns, con sord. ]  
Vln. II con sord. [ double Vlns. and Vla. ]  
Vla. con sord.

Bass Cl., Cellos con sord.,  
Cb. Solo 1. (arco)  
Cb. Solo 2. (arco) [ decrescendo for strings only ]

**Musical example 2.21.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 16 (“Dies, nox, et omnia”), excerpt. Note the “O Fortuna” chord, here in the major mode. The movement opens with the pitches D and E. Transcription at sounding pitch and octave.

$\text{♩} = 160$

The score consists of the following parts:

- Triangle and Antique Cymbal:** Features a melodic line with dynamics *(mf)* and *mf*.
- Tambourine:** Features a rhythmic pattern with dynamics *(mp)* and *f*.
- Snare Drum:** Features a rhythmic pattern with dynamics *(mp)* and *f*.
- Cymbals:** Features a melodic line with dynamics *(mp)* and *f*.
- CHORUS II:** Includes Soprano 1, Soprano 2, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The lyrics are: *(f)* na - za - za, na - za - za, tril - li - ri - vos, tril - li - ri - vos, tril - li - ri - vos!
- Piano II:** Features a piano accompaniment with dynamics *(f)* and a *cresc.* marking.

**Musical Example 2.22.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 20, “Veni, veni, venias.” Note that Chorus II sings entirely on C major and D major triads.

## Blanziflor et Helena

## 24. Ave formosissima

4/p  $\text{♩} = 72$   
estatico

colla parte

1. Fl. 2. Fl. 3. Fl.

1. Ob. 2. Ob.

Clar. Mib

1. Clar. Sib. 2. Clar. Sib.

1. Fag. 2. Fag.

C.-fag.

1. Cor. 3. Cor.

2. Cor. 4. Cor.

1. Tr. Sib. 2. Tr. Sib. 3. Tr. Sib.

1. Trbn. 2. Trbn. 3. Trbn.

Tb.

Timp.

1. Grsp. 2. Grsp. 3. Grsp.

Gr. cassa

4/p  $\text{♩} = 72$

1. CORO

2. CORO

3. CORO

4/p  $\text{♩} = 72$

2/p

3/p *rubato*

1. Viol. senza sord. div.

2. Viol. senza sord. div.

Vie. senza sord. div.

Vcl. senza sord. *ff* sempre ben tenuto

Cb. *ff* senza sord. colla parte

Musical Example 2.23. *Carmina Burana*, No. 24, “Ave formosissima,” opening. Note the C major and D major triads.

Orff made *Carmina Burana* a unified whole by opening and closing *Carmina Burana* with the “O Fortuna” chorus. While he composed an additional chorus to follow the reprise of “O Fortuna,” he rejected this idea late in the compositional process, thereby creating a stronger sense of a cycle.<sup>68</sup> The opening D–C–A–D ostinato of “O Fortuna,” which depicts the constant rotations of the wheel of fate,<sup>69</sup> provides the tonal layout for the entire work: nos. 1–5 stay near to the key of D minor, nos. 6–10 remain in C major, nos. 11–14 begin and end in A, and nos. 15–25 return to D major (changing to minor mode for the reprise of “*O Fortuna*”).<sup>70</sup> Hence the entire cantata is a revolution of the Wheel of Fate (musical examples 2.24–2.25).

“O Fortuna” ostinato

The musical score for the “O Fortuna” ostinato pattern is presented across five staves. The top staff is for 2 Bassoons, followed by 2 Pianos (unison), Violins I and II (unison), Violas, and Cellos. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The bass line, shared by the Bassoons, Pianos, and Cellos, features a repeating pattern of D4, C4, A3, and D4. The Pianos and Cellos play this pattern in a *pizz.* (pizzicato) style. The Violins I and II play a rhythmic accompaniment of quarter notes, also in a *pizz.* style. The dynamic marking *pp* (pianissimo) is indicated at the beginning of the score.

**Musical Example 2.24.** “O Fortuna” *ostinato* pattern.

<sup>68</sup> Originally Orff intended to follow the reprise of “O Fortuna” with another choral number to serve as the work’s finale, “Iste mundus furibundus” (“That raging world”). The manuscript of this abandoned number, completed and fully scored, is reprinted in Orff and Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, 223–228 (oddly this number is scored for four trumpets, while the rest of the work is scored for only three). See also Thomas, “Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich” (unpublished manuscript, OZM), S. 14.

<sup>69</sup> This observation is also found in Werner Thomas, “Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” S. 12.

<sup>70</sup> While Nos. 3–5 and Nos. 6–10 (*Uf dem Anger*, i.e. “On the lawn”) comprise the two sections of *Primo vere* (“In the first spring”), Nos. 3–5 are closer to Nos. 1–2 (*Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi*, i.e. “Fortune, Ruler of the World”) than to Nos. 6–10 in scoring (specifically with the use of the pianos), language, and tonal area. Nos. 3–5 represent the beginning of spring and the thawing of winter: perhaps these numbers may be seen as a transition from *Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi* to *Uf dem Anger*, a kind of musical thaw.

Carl Orff: *Carmina Burana*,  
Tonal schematic

Nos. 1 – 2: Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi  
 Nos. 3 – 5  
 Nos. 6 – 10: Uf dem Anger  
 Nos. 11 – 14: In taberna  
 Nos. 15 – 23: Cour d'amours  
 No. 24: Blanziflor et Helena  
 No. 25: Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi

Nos. 1 – 5 = D minor  
 Nos. 1 – 2 played *attaca*  
 Nos. 3 – 5 played *attaca*  
 Nos. 6 – 10 = C major  
 played *attaca*  
 Nos. 11 – 14 = A minor/major  
 played *attaca*  
 Nos. 15 – 25 = D major/ending minor  
 played *attaca*

**Musical Example 2.25.** Tonal schematic of *Carmina Burana*.

The presence of the Wheel of Fate is especially strong in the latter two numbers of the tavern scene (nos. 13 and 14).<sup>71</sup> Despite the vibrancy and humor of Orff’s music in no. 14 (which is replete with tuba oom-pahs), there are many signs that all is not well. In these two numbers the chorus has outbursts that border on violence, and the orchestral sounds include ratchet and tubular bells (the only instances in which these instruments are used in the score).<sup>72</sup> The opening chord of no. 14 is a D minor triad over an E pedal, the same pitches as the opening of “O Fortuna,” and the chord at the climax is D minor with the addition of C and E (musical examples 2.26–2.27).<sup>73</sup> After the drinkers’ final text, which curses those who condemn them, the brass instruments introduce a prolonged dissonant B-flat (the only non-diatonic pitch in the entire number), which abruptly resolves down by a semitone in the last measure (musical example 2.29).<sup>74</sup> This is the exact same gesture (albeit with different pitches) as the cries of *Wafna!* in no. 13 (musical example 2.28). Even amidst the debauchery of the tavern, we are never off the Wheel of Fate.

<sup>71</sup> No. 13 prominently features the unifying pitches of C and D in the first orchestral interjections. In addition, the Abbot’s first phrase uses the pitches A, C, and D: the same pitches of the “O Fortuna” ostinato. Note also the prominent role of D minor (the harmony on which the number ends).

<sup>72</sup> While the ratchet and tubular bells are used only in nos. 13 and 14, pitched bells are used in No. 5 as well (in the author’s experience, tubular bells are most often used for this number). There is also another bell (neither the type nor the pitch is specified) used in no. 13.

<sup>73</sup> The climax of No. 14 also features tam-tam strokes, the only instance in the score that this ominous instrument is used other than in the roasting swansong and “O Fortuna.”

<sup>74</sup> Excepting this B-flat, all of the pitches in No. 14 fall into either the A major or the A natural minor scales, as the music alternates between the two modes, which are kept separate throughout (i.e. there are no passages with F and F# together, et cetera).

♩ = 132

2 Oboes  
2 Clarinets in B $\flat$

Ob.  
Clar.

*pp*

2 Bsns. + Tuba  
Contrabassoon

2 Bsns.  
+ Tuba  
Cbsn.

*pp staccatissimo*

Timpani

*pp*

*sempre eccitato* [always excited]

Men's Chorus

*mf* In - ta - ber - na quan - do sum - us, non cur - a - mus quid sit hu - mus,

*pizz.*

Violins I  
Violins II

Vn. I  
Vn. II

*pp*

Violas  
non div.

*pp pizz.*

Violas, Celli,  
Contrabasses (div.)

Celli, Cb. 1  
Cb. 2

*pp pizz.*

Translation: "When we are in the tavern, we do not care what may be dust."

**Musical Example 2.26.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 14 ("In taberna quando sumus"), mm. 3–4. Note the "O Fortuna" chord (D–E–F–A). Transcription notated at sounding pitch and octave.

**subito molto stentato      rit. a tempo subito      come prima      rit. a tempo subito**

Flutes 1 and 3 (unis.)  
Flute 2

Oboe 1.  
Oboe 2.  
Ob. 3., B♭-Cl. 1. + 2. (unis.)  
Clarinets in B♭-3.

2 Bassoons  
in unison

Contrabassoon

1., 3. unis.  
Horns in F  
2., 4. unis.

3 Trumpets in B♭  
all 3 *f*

3 Trombones

Tuba

Timpani

Xylophone

Suspended Cymbal  
Crash Cymbals

Tam-tam

Snare Drum  
Bass Drum

CHORUS  
Tenor  
Bass 1  
Bass 2

Pa - rum sex - cen - te - num - ma - te du - rant, cum im - mo - de - ra - te

Vln. I, II  
all unison  
pizz. vibr.

Violas

Cellos  
Contrabasses  
Cb.

**Musical Example 2.27.** *Carmina Burana*, No. 14 (“In taberna quando sumus”), climax. Note the use of the “O Fortuna” chord, replete with the added C on the second downbeat. Transcription notated at sounding pitch and octave. Translation of text: “Six hundred coins are not enough, since [everyone drinks] immoderately [and without measure].” (Bracketed text is the translation of the words that immediately follow: *bibunt omnes sine meta*). Note the E–D–E.



♩ = 132

(senza sord.)

3 Trumpets in B-  
3 Trombones

Tpts.  
Tbns.

(senza sord.)

4 Horns (unis.)  
Tuba

4 Horns  
Tuba

Timpani

Snare Drum

Crash Cymbals  
and Bass Drum

Baritone Solo

Waf - - - - na!

Men's Chorus

Tenor

Meno

Waf - na!

**Musical Example 2.28.** *Carmina Burana*, no. 13 (“Ego sum abbas”), excerpt. Transcription at sounding pitch.

**a tempo**

3 Flutes  
1 Oboe +  
1 Clar. in Bb

High Woodwinds

Horns 1 and 2  
+ 3 Tbps.

+ Horns 3 and 4

4 Horns in F,  
3 Trombones

3 Trumpets in B

2 Bsns. + Tuba  
Contrabassoon

Tbps.  
Tuba  
Cbsn.

Timpani

Xylophone

Snare Drum

Tambourine  
Bass Drum

CHORUS

Tenor  
Bass 1  
Bass 2

urlante [shouting]  
io!

All Violins,  
Violas, and Celis

Contrabasses

**Musical Example 2.29.** *Carmina Burana*, no. 14 (“In taberna quando sumus”), conclusion. Transcription at sounding pitch and octave.

## The Early Reception of *Carmina Burana*

The premiere of *Carmina Burana* took place in the opera house of the musically progressive Frankfurt-am-Main on 8 June 1937, thanks in large part to the advocacy of the city's theater and opera intendant (i.e., chief administrator) Hans Meissner (1896–1958).<sup>75</sup> Oskar Wälterlin (1895–1961) was the stage director, Ludwig Sievert (1887–1966) designed the sets, and Bertil Wetzelsberger (1892–1967) led the enormous musical forces.<sup>76</sup> This was the second premiere of a work by Carl Orff in that city, as his *Paradiesgärtlein* (*Little Paradise Garden*), a choreographed performance of the *Kleines Konzert*, was first staged there on 15 and 16 May 1935.<sup>77</sup> The premiere of *Carmina Burana* was part of the seventy-sixth music festival of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein* (ADMV, “General German Music Association”), founded in 1861 by Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and his colleagues. The ADMV was a musically progressive organization and was the venue for the premiere of the first version of Orff's *Entrata* in 1930, conducted by the Hermann Scherchen.<sup>78</sup>

By the time of the 1937 ADMV festival it was well known that this was to be the last annual meeting of the ADMV. Hans Severus Ziegler and his colleague Ernst Nobbe, who were on the organization's honorary committee for the 1936 festival, objected to the modernist programming.<sup>79</sup> Ziegler and Nobbe were instrumental in forcing the organization to disband. Ziegler's notorious exhibit of *Entartete Musik* (“degenerate music”), which toured several German cities in 1938, included examples of ADMV programs as well as music by Hermann Reutter (1900–1985), ironically a member of the NSDAP since 1933, whose ballet *Die Kirmes von Delft* (*The Fair of Delft*, Opus 48)<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Biographical information found at <http://lagis.online.uni-marburg.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/hb/id/4906> (accessed 14 September 2014). For more on Meissner, see Albert Richard Mohr, *Hans Meissner und das Frankfurter Theater. Ein Beitrag zur Theatergeschichte mit Bildern und zeitgenössischen Berichten*, Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1968.

<sup>76</sup> *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 195.

<sup>77</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2 (“Lehrjahre bei den alten Meistern,” 1975), 138–139.

<sup>78</sup> See Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 3 (“Schulwerk: Elementare Musik,” 1976), 114.

<sup>79</sup> For more on Ziegler (1893–1978), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 8497–8509. For more on Nobbe (1894–1938), see *ibid.*, 5267–5268.

<sup>80</sup> The world premiere of *Die Kirmes von Delft* had occurred earlier in 1937 in Baden-Baden. The score is published by B. Schott's Söhne (Mainz), 1937 (BSS 35002). The word *Kirmes* refers to a fair commemorating the consecration of a church.

was played as the first half of the concert in which *Carmina Burana* premiered.<sup>81</sup> In 1938, Ludwig Strecker wrote to Orff that future performances in Frankfurt might not be beneficial, as that musically progressive city was “at a disadvantage” (*vorbelastet*) in the eyes of the conservative cultural officers whose favor Orff had yet to win.<sup>82</sup>

The success of *Carmina Burana* was by no means guaranteed. In his favorable review of the premiere, the National Socialist music critic Wilhelm Matthes noted that “only rarely are opinions so widely divided as with this ‘scenic cantata,’”<sup>83</sup> while the hostile Herbert Gerigk called Orff’s cantata “the most controversial” (*das umstrittenste*) of the works presented at the ADMV’s final festival.<sup>84</sup> The use of obscure languages, especially Latin, was at odds with the National Socialist ideals of accessibility and nearness to the *Volk*. In a letter to his student Heinrich Sutermeister dated 23 May 1936, Orff described his recent communication with a man by the name of Scholl: “he believes

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<sup>81</sup> While the *Entartete Musik* exhibit was highly anti-Semitic, its targets were by no means exclusively Jewish (Reutter, for example, was not Jewish). See Wolfgang Steinecke, “‘Entartete Musik’. Eröffnung der Düsseldorfer Ausstellung,” in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 May 1938, quoted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 7293; “Entartete Musik: Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion mit Original-Tondokumenten,” published in Albrecht Dümling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion*, Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf / Düsseldorfer Symphoniker, 1988, 2. korrigierte Auflage, page VIII. Regarding Reutter’s inclusion in the exhibit, see Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 95 and 252 n. 16e; Albrecht Dümling, “The Target of Racial Purity: The ‘Degenerate Music’ Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938,” in *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, ed. Richard A. Etlin, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002:43–72, 61. Reutter’s NSDAP membership, Nr. 3.321.546, was conferred 1 May 1933 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 6108). See also *ibid.*, 6108–6112; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 202 (in which Reutter is referred to as “controversial” but protected by Hans Hinkel).

<sup>82</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 9 June 1938 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 53. In a letter dated 13 July 1938, Ludwig Strecker reiterated this point: “Among the other stages for the world premiere, Frankfurt is perhaps yet the safest point, although we should not delude [literally “hide from”] ourselves [about the fact] that a production just in Frankfurt counts nothing for your opponents, because just Frankfurt is regarded as more or less degenerate in music” (quoted in *ibid.*, 73; original language: *Unter den anderen Uraufführungsbühnen ist Frankfurt vielleicht noch der sicherste Punkt, obwohl wir uns nicht verhehlen dürfen, dass eine Aufführung gerade in Frankfurt für Ihre Gegner nichts zählt, denn gerade Frankfurt gilt in musicis als mehr oder minder entartet*; note that *in musicis* is Latin).

<sup>83</sup> Wilhelm Matthes, “Carl Orffs ‘Carmina Burana’ und die letzte Tonkünstlerversammlung in Darmstadt-Frankfurt,” *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, Nr. 137, 9 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XIII, 1a, I. Teil. Original language: *Nur selten sind die Meinungen so weit auseinander gegangen wie bei dieser „szenischen Kantate“*. Although Matthes (1889–1973) wrote to Fritz Stege that he was a member of the NSDAP (letter dated 12 June 1933), there is no record of his membership. He was involved in the *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur* and the *Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde* (i.e. “National Socialist Cultural Community”). See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 4798–4801 (4798 regarding NSDAP membership); Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 43; Fritz Stege, “Wilhelm Matthes” (essay on the occasion of Matthes’s fiftieth birthday), in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106. Jahrgang, Heft 1, January 1939:40–42.

<sup>84</sup> Herbert Gerigk, “Aus dem Musikleben,” in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, 8. Jahrgang, Heft 88, July 1937:650–653/74–77, 652/76 (this source has two page numbers at the top of each page).

there is no possibility of a performance because of the Latin texts.”<sup>85</sup> That same month, Orff wrote to Michel Hofmann of his general malaise: “Ah, I am so muddle-headed and — sick. All my nerves (see the handwriting) go soon to the devil. — Now certainly no one will print and perform the *Burana*. ‘Un-German.’”<sup>86</sup> In his reply, dated four days later, Hofmann also expressed a degree of trepidation.<sup>87</sup>

The use of Latin texts caused considerable concern to Orff’s publishers. In his memoirs, the composer said that his selection of language constituted a “provocation” (*Provokation*).<sup>88</sup> In March 1935, Franz Willms wrote to the composer: “Certainly there still always remained reservations about the texts [being] only Latin; thus if you could add a free rendering in German, that would count for a great deal.”<sup>89</sup> In 1936, Ludwig Strecker wrote to Orff about the difficulties of finding a suitably visible performance venue for *Carmina Burana*.<sup>90</sup> In a letter to Ludwig Strecker dated 12 November 1936, Orff described what sound like substantial efforts to justify his use of Latin to important National Socialist cultural figures:

I have insistently explained the idea of the work not only to Herr [Hans] von Benda but [also] to various people in authority: the music is also recognized by my “friends” as typically German.<sup>91</sup> The Latin language—which is certainly in

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<sup>85</sup> Carl Orff to Heinrich Sutermeister, 23 May 1936, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Handschriftenlesesaal (hereafter BSB HSL), Fasc. germ. 1 Nr. 1–144 (letters from Orff to Sutermeister), Nr. 9; see also Nr. 27 (undated, but probably early summer 1936) for another reference to Scholl. Original language: *er glaubt an keine Aufführung möglichkeit wegen d. lat Texten*. It is not clear who Scholl is; a possible candidate is the choir director Wilhelm Scholl (1900–1983; see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 6691).

<sup>86</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Michel Hofmann, 12 June 1936, reprinted in Orff and Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, 113. See also the editor’s (Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann) commentary on the same page. Original language: *Ach ich bin so wirr und — krank. Alle meine Nerven (siehe das Geschreibsel) gehen bald zum Teufel. — [line break here in original] Nun wird ja niemand die Burana drucken und aufführen. „Undeutsch.“ — Punctuated as in original.*

<sup>87</sup> See idem, letter from Michel Hofmann to Carl Orff, 16 June 1936. After giving his proposed Latin subtitle for the work, Hofmann wrote: “But whether the people understand it?” (original language: *Ob aber die Leute das verstehen?*)

<sup>88</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 64. In this passage, Orff described failed plans to have *Carmina Burana* performed in Berlin in March 1937.

<sup>89</sup> Letter from Franz Willms to Carl Orff, 29 March 1935, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014). Original language: *Gegen den nur lateinischen Text bestanden ja schon immer Bedenken; wenn Sie also eine deutsche Nachdichtung hinzufügen können, so hätte das manches für sich*. In fact, not all of the texts in Orff’s cantata are in Latin.

<sup>90</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 1936, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014). See Appendix 2 for quotation.

<sup>91</sup> Presumably “Herr von Benda” is the conductor Hans von Benda (1888–1972), whose National Socialist connections included involvement in the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* and, since 1934, the *Nationalsozialistische Opfergemeinschaft* (i.e. “National Socialist Community of Sacrifice [or Victims]”);

the end always a German-Latin,<sup>92</sup> i.e. it remains a Latin risen from German soil—should be regarded as a factor in advertisement for the other countries as an international choral work of typical German coinage. I came across much understanding with this definition, and I was assured that it would be necessary just now.<sup>93</sup>

The concerns expressed by Orff’s “friends” (a term he likely used with irony) about the Latin text could not have been comforting news to Strecker, whose letters suggest that he was prone to worry. Orff’s letter makes clear that he was spending a good deal of energy in strategizing how to persuade the National Socialists that his music was compatible with their ideals. There is a parallel case in the elaborate lengths to which the Danish-born composer and former Schoenberg pupil Paul von Klenau went to justify his use of dodecaphonal composition in terms of Wagnerian chromaticism; these efforts were successful.<sup>94</sup> It is notable that even as Orff attempted in this letter to justify his use of Latin in terms amenable to National Socialist ideology, he described it as “an international choral work.” This statement cleverly moves Orff’s work from the realm of German nationalism into a more universal application in keeping with his own sensibilities in the guise of appealing to the Nazis’ desire for international prestige.

In April 1937, Orff wrote to Ludwig Strecker that he hoped to enlist the aid of his brother-in-law, Allwin Seifert, who, as noted in the previous chapter, had important

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see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 413–415. The quotation marks around the word “friends” (*Freunde*) suggest that Orff’s meaning was ironic.

<sup>92</sup> This statement should clarify any question as to what kind of Latin pronunciation should be used in performances of *Carmina Burana*.

<sup>93</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 12 November 1936, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 12 September 2014). Original language: *Ich habe nicht nur Herrn von Benda, sondern verschiedenen massgebenden Leuten die Idee des Werkes nachdrücklichst erklärt: Die Musik wird auch von meinen „Freunden“ als typisch deutsch anerkannt. Die lateinische Sprache, die ja letzten Endes immer ein Deutsch-Latein, d. h. ein auf deutschem Boden entstandenes Latein bleibt, soll als Werbe-Faktor für die anderen Länder gelten als ein internationales Chorwerk typisch deutscher Prägung. Bei dieser Definition bin ich überall auf viel Verständnis gestossen, und es wurde mir versichert, dass das gerade heute nötig wäre.* Kater has characterized this comment as “a contemporary explanation of Orff’s [that] clearly contradicts the postwar assertion” (*Eine zeitgenössische Erläuterung Orffs widerspricht deutlich der Nachkriegsbehauptung*), i.e. the assertion that Orff’s use of Latin was risky and even subversive (Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 9 n. 39). In the context of the concerns of Orff’s publishers and Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog’s subsequent resentment, however, one may interpret these words as Orff’s attempts to defend his artistic decision against the anticipated objections of cultural conservatives. In 1936, it was advantageous for Orff to justify himself to his adversaries, just as after 8 May 1945 (the day of Germany’s unconditional surrender) it was to his advantage to highlight the opposition he faced during the Third Reich.

<sup>94</sup> See Paul von Klenau, “Wagners »Tristan« und die »Zwölfkörnemusik«,” in *Die Musik*, XXVII Jahrgang, Heft 10, July 1935:727–733; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 102–103, 106, 300, and 312–313; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 202. See also in the introduction.

National Socialist connections:

Now my brother-in-law, the architect Seifert, is a good friend of [Rudolf] Hess (presently he is constructing [something] for the Führer at Obersalzberg). At the right time I shall conjure up the libretto on the relevant writing desks. By the way my brother-in-law is a big fish (landscape architect for the *Autobahn*). He has a great deal of consequence and now I hold that it is the right time to ask him this favor.<sup>95</sup>

The cautious Ludwig Strecker, however, considered this course of action to be imprudent as there was no guarantee that the libretto would be well-received. The anxious Strecker added: “we want to risk nothing.”<sup>96</sup> That Orff was considering seeking Seifert’s intervention with high-ranking officials demonstrates that, regardless of his political inclinations, he was willing to maintain relationships with people with strong National Socialist ties and use these relationships to his advantage. It is, however, notable that Orff was not comfortable approaching these authority figures himself, but rather wanted to do so through a trusted intermediary. This fact is in keeping with the composer’s general misgivings toward authority.

Following the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, Orff was pleased with the critical reception, despite several negative reviews. In a parenthetical comment at the beginning of a letter to his collaborator Michel Hofmann from the week after the performance, Orff wrote: “By the way: success in the press for Bur. really terrific – but that does not matter.” When Hofmann had read only Gerigk’s unpleasant review, Orff assured him that this review “was the dumbest one. Otherwise fabulous discussion; in various [publications] even wholly hymn-like tones are sounding, especially about you.”<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 27 April 1937 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 230 and 324 n. 122, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Da mein Schwager, Architekt Seifert, mit Hess gut befreundet ist (gegenwärtig baut er beim Führer am Obersalzberg) werde ich zu gegebener Zeit das Textbuch schon auf die entsprechenden Schreibtische hinzaubern lassen. Nebenbei ist mein Schwager ein grosses Tier (Landschaftsarchitekt bei den Autobahnen). Er hat allerhand zu sagen und jetzt halte ich den Zeitpunkt für gegeben, ihn um diese Gefälligkeit zu bitten.*

<sup>96</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 3 May 1937 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in *ibid.*, 230 and 324 n. 123. Original language: *wir wollen nichts riskieren.*

<sup>97</sup> Letters from Carl Orff to Michel Hofmann, respectively dated 16 June 1937 and 26 June 1937, printed in Orff and Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, 135 and 139 (respectively). Original language of first quotation: *(Nebenbei: Presseerfolg der Bur. ganz toll – aber das ist egal.)* The comment is in parentheses in the original. Original language of second quotation: *...das war das Blödeste. Ansonsten fabelhafte Besprechg. in versch. sind auch hymnische Töne ganz besonders auf Sie angestimmt.* Hofmann had read only the review by Herbert Gerigk in the *Völkische Beobachter* (see letter from Hofmann to Orff, 24 June 1937, in *ibid.*, 137; for Gerigk’s review).

Ludwig Strecker wrote to Orff that Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog's highly unpleasant reviews were "not so toxic as I had feared."<sup>98</sup> Orff wrote to Ludwig Strecker ten days after the premiere: "In the mean time, you will have read the *Burana* press reports, about 90% of which are outstanding. Hopefully the same thing will happen for the next season." his publishers that the reviews of *Carmina Burana* were 90% positive; Orff's report is supported by a survey of Orff's press clippings.<sup>99</sup>

Many of the critics who praised *Carmina Burana* connected the piece to the idea of *Volk*. The subject of folk music had been addressed at the festival in a lecture by Joseph Maria Müller-Blattau, a prominent figure in National Socialist musical culture,<sup>100</sup> titled "*Volksmusik und Kunstmusik*" ("Folk Music and Art Music"). The critic Ernst Krause reported that the lecture called for modern music that was drawn from the folk tradition and that it had been received enthusiastically. He cited the works of Hermann Reutter and Orff as examples of Müller-Blattau's ideal and stated: "We need a music that draws its powers and patrons from the *Volk*."<sup>101</sup> In his review of *Carmina Burana*, Hermann Rudolf Gail wrote: "Orff's music is in the best sense of the word folk music. Who has heard the work twice goes home with an abundance of magnificent folk melodies. Here is a work that in its originality lights the musical meaning of the mass of *Volk*."<sup>102</sup> Gail wrote that those who had been suspicious of Orff's use of Latin must

<sup>98</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 19 June 1937 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 232 and 325 n. 134, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *selbst Herzog ist nicht so giftig, wie ich befürchtet habe*. Given that Herzog's two reviews are highly unpleasant, Strecker's expectations must have been especially grave.

<sup>99</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Ludwig Strecker, 18 June 1937 (information according to OZM, 20 November 2014). Original language of quotation: *Die Burana-Presse, die zu 90% ausgezeichnet ist, werden Sie inzwischen gelesen haben. Hoffentlich ergibt sich für die nächste Spielzeit Entsprechendes*. Orff's personal collection of the reviews of the world premiere of *Carmina Burana* may be accessed at the COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a.

<sup>100</sup> For more on Müller-Blattau (1895–1976), see Appendix 3a.

<sup>101</sup> Ernst Krause, "In Frankfurt und Darmstadt: Ausklang des Tonkünstlerfestes," *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger*, Nr. 135, 14 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, I. Teil. Original language: *Eine Musik brauchen wir, die ihre Kräfte und Gäste aus dem Volke ziehe*. Krause (1911–1997) joined the NSDAP late; his membership (Nr. 8.968.134) was conferred 1 July 1941; see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 4220–4221. For another review of *Carmina Burana* by Krause ("Das letzte Tonkünstlerfest," *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, 18 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, IV. Teil, printed Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 286–288.

<sup>102</sup> H. R. Gail [=Hermann Rudolf Gail], "Uraufführung im Reich: Carl Orff, 'Carmina Burana'", *Westfälische Zeitung*, Bielefeld, Nr. 144, 22 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, IV. Teil. Original language of quotation: *Orffs Musik ist im besten Sinne des Wortes Volksmusik. Wer das Werk zweimal gehört hat, geht mit einer Fülle herrlicher Volksmelodien nach Haus. Hier ist ein Werk, das in*

recognize that the language barrier had not stood in the way of the work's popularity.

Perhaps the most significant positive review of Orff's new work was that by Horst Büttner in the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (*Newspaper for Music*), the eminent music journal founded in 1834 by Robert Schumann and his colleagues.<sup>103</sup> At that time, the *Zeitschrift für Musik* was aligned with Joseph Goebbels.<sup>104</sup> Büttner wrote that *Carmina Burana* superbly demonstrated "the possibilities for the application of a *Volk*-like design." For Büttner, the Latin text was "no obstacle" (*kein Hindernis*), "because already we long and rightly have counted these songs with the most precious possessions of our national literature; what is written here is as typically German as, for example, the songs of Walther von der Vogelweide."<sup>105</sup> Büttner further wrote that "the area of expression of this wonderful song cycle belongs to the shining, strength-filled joy of life of the *Volk*." Büttner's refusal to acknowledge the grim implications of "O Fortuna" is impressive. He concluded his thoughts on *Carmina Burana* with high hopes, expressed in National Socialist rhetoric: "If the German musical creativity of the present already can put out such a work, then we certainly need have no worry that the general longing for 'art connected to the *Volk*' remains unfulfilled."<sup>106</sup>

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*seiner Ursprünglichkeit den Musiksinne der Volksmasse entzündet. Ursprünglichkeit* (originality) alternately may be translated as "unspoiled nature." Gail's defense of Orff's use of Latin is as follows: "Who still for a few weeks stood across from the title *Carmina burana* suspiciously, he will hold after the world premiere that an incomprehensible Latin title itself over night can become a popular term" (original language: *Wer noch vor wenigen Wochen dem Titel „Carmina burana“ mißtrauisch, der wird nach der Uraufführung inne, daß selbst ein unverständlicher lateinischer Titel über Nacht ein populärer Begriff werden kann*). As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on Hermann Rudolf Gail. An excerpt from an article by Gail about Werner Egk is quoted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1387 (citation: Hermann Rudolf Gail, "Junge völkische Musiker — Werner Egk," in *Die Musik-Woche*, III/47, 23 November 1935, S. 11).

<sup>103</sup> At this time the journal was called *Zeitschrift für Musik* rather than *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* ("New Newspaper for Music"), its original title. As of this writing, I have been unable to find the years of life or NSDAP membership status of Horst Büttner. Büttner was, however, a frequent contributor to the *Zeitschrift für Musik* (see, for example, Horst Büttner, "Musik in Leipzig," 101. Jahrgang, Heft 9, September 1934:938–941, 938–939, for his mixed opinion on Paul Hindemith).

<sup>104</sup> Whiting, "Un-Stelling Scores," 92 n. 6.

<sup>105</sup> It is notable that Orff had set two poems of Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230) in August 1912 (his Opus 19), at the age of 17 and shortly before beginning his studies at the *Akademie der Tonkunst* (see Appendix 1).

<sup>106</sup> Horst Büttner, "Hochkultur und Volkskunst. 68. Tonkünstlerversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins vom 8. bis 13. Juni in Darmstadt und Frankfurt a. M.," in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 104. Jahrgang, Heft 8, August 1937:871–876, 872 (first three quotations) and 873 (fourth quotation). See also Büttner's review of the 1939 concert performance of *Carmina Burana* in Leipzig (Horst Büttner, "Musik in Leipzig," in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106. Jahrgang, Heft 5, May 1939, 503–506, 503–504) Original language of first quotation: *die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten volksweisenhafter Gestaltung*). Original language of



The accessibility of the music seems to have offset any alienating effect of the texts for some, thereby increasing the work's chances of success. Geraldine deCourcy, the correspondent in Germany for the American music journal *Musical America*, noted that the staging and dancers "translated the unintelligibilities of the medieval text into the common speech of movement and gesture," which was "so vividly done, with the suggestive power of the music" as to satisfy "a public which usually demands the vernacular."<sup>107</sup> Ludwig Strecker had counseled Orff wisely when he suggested that the composer not distribute the libretto ahead of a performance (as he had planned to do through his brother-in-law Seifert) "because the text alone says nothing whatsoever about the music and only through your music does the text first win the desired meaning."<sup>108</sup> In his memoirs, Orff wrote that when Herbert von Karajan conducted *Carmina Burana* in a concert performance on 17 January 1941 in Aachen, the audience (which did indeed have the benefit of hearing the music) could read along with the text to compensate for the lack of the scenic images.<sup>109</sup>

Orff gained support from several National Socialist figures. To the excitement of Ludwig Strecker, *Carmina Burana* was enthusiastically received by the important critic Wilhelm Matthes.<sup>110</sup> Joseph Müller-Blattau, the musicologist who had given the

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second quotation: *denn wir zählen diese Lieder schon längst und mit Recht zu den kostbarsten Besitztümern unserer Nationalliteratur; was hier gedichtet wird, ist so typisch deutsch wie etwa Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide*. Original language of third quotation: *Ausdrucksbereich dieser wundervolle Liederkreis angehört: der strahlenden, kräftefüllten Lebensfreude des Volkes*. Original language of fourth quotation: *Wenn das deutsche Musikschaffen der Gegenwart schon ein derartiges Werk herausstellen kann, dann brauchen wir wohl keine Sorge zu haben, daß die allgemeine Sehnsucht nach „volksverbundener Kunst“ unerfüllt bleibt*. Translation by author and Janée Messer. See also Adolf Kolb, "Funk der Woche: Sendungen vom 6.–12. Juni 1937," *Freiburger Zeitung*, 16 June 1937: One readily can say that the work is of the greatest significance for the history of the development of the music of today." Original language: *Ohne weiteres kann man sagen, daß das Werk von größter Bedeutung für die Entwicklungsgeschichte der heutigen Musik ist*. As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on Adolf Kolb, but his reference to "the music of today" (*der heutigen Musik*) suggests that he was interested in advancing the National Socialists' cultural agenda.

<sup>107</sup> Geraldine deCourcy, "Historic German Musical Society Disbands" (Berlin, 2 August 1937), in *Musical America*, Volume LVII, No. 13, August 1937, 19. At this writing, I have not been able to find any biographical information on deCourcy.

<sup>108</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 3 May 1937 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 230 and 324 n. 123. Original language (some of which is paraphrased rather than literally translated): *denn der Text allein sagt garnichts über die Musik aus und gewinnt nur durch Ihre Musik erst die erhoffte Bedeutung*.

<sup>109</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 71.

<sup>110</sup> See Matthes, "Carl Orffs ‚Carmina Burana‘ und die letzte Tonkünstlerversammlung in Darmstadt-Frankfurt,"; Wilhelm Matthes, "Eine szenische Kantate. Zum letztenmal ‚Tonkünstler-Versammlung‘ des

*Volksmusik und Kunstmusik* lecture, wrote a review that was more descriptive than evaluative, but it was positive in tone and even justified the use of Latin.<sup>111</sup> The advertising department of Schott valued his review highly enough to print an extensive quotation from it in a proposed early advertisement for *Carmina Burana* (see figure 2.3).<sup>112</sup> Several critics also praised the surface-level simplicity of *Carmina Burana*, another quality that may be identified as folk-like. One critic to praise the work on these grounds was the reactionary Walter Abendroth. Abendroth's assessment was not entirely positive: he noted that the work "is no unproblematic matter" and that a translation of the Latin would solve the problem of inaccessibility. Even so, he wrote: "The primitivism of the texture and the formal plan serve not to interfere here, but to monumentalize. This music is a triumph of deliberate simplicity."<sup>113</sup>

The enthusiastic reviews make little mention of the grim central message of *Carmina Burana*: the inexorable Wheel of Fate. Although Orff's work starts and ends with this highly fatalistic image, the excitement of the springtime music and the Court of Love appear to have overshadowed the dark aspects of the work for many of the critics, some of whom chose to appropriate the work for National Socialist purposes. Edwin von der Nüll, who had no membership in the NSDAP, wrote of *Carmina Burana*: "A magnificent optimism goes through the work. One laughs, one is pleased. This unbridled

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ADMV," in Berliner Morgenpost, Nr. 138, 10 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, I. Teil. As to Ludwig Strecker's excitement over Matthes's positive reception, see Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 124.

<sup>111</sup> Dr. Josef [sic] Müller-Blattau, "Carmina Burana / Uraufführung im Opernhaus zu Frankfurt a. M.," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nr. 272, 11 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, II. Teil (11.06.1937–15.06.1937). Although Müller-Blattau noted Orff's decision to use languages that are "entirely not understandable for the listener" (*dem Hörer schlechterdings nicht verständlich*) as the composer obviously had been drawn to the "the short and sharp striking of the Latin verses" (*die knappe und scharfe Prägung der lateinischen Verse*). He added: "The pounding, originally German blood rhythm especially addressed the dance-musician. This 'libretto' offered law and blooming life in one" (*Den Tanzmusiker sprach wohl der urdeutsche pochende Blutsrhythmus besonders an. Dies „Libretto“ bot Gesetz und blühendes Leben in einem*). Translation by the author with Joe Weber.

<sup>112</sup> A copy of this proposed advertisement may be found with the review in the COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a, II. Teil.

<sup>113</sup> Walter Abendroth, *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 3 (1937/1938), 178–179 (quotation 178). Original language of first quotation: *ist keine unproblematische Angelegenheit*. Original language of second quotation: (*ibid.*, 189, original language: *Die Primitivität der Satztechnik und der Formanlage wirkt hier nicht störend, sondern monumentalisierend. Diese Musik ist ein Triumph bewußter Einfachheit...*). Abendroth (1896–1973), an advocate of Hans Pfitzner, had no NSDAP membership, but authored articles during the Third Reich discussing race and *Volkish* qualities in music, ideas in line with National Socialism. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 60–70.

love of life, this unlimited cheerfulness, this disarming simplicity of the subject had not yet been there on the opera stage.”<sup>114</sup> Erich Limmert wrote in the *Neues Musikblatt* that “the vitality and ‘the great health’ of early music are captured and utilized with a high artistic power of form.”<sup>115</sup> While these and other critics may have ignored the negative message of *Carmina Burana* because the majority of the score focuses on springtime and love, it is also possible that they realized that *Carmina Burana* would be more serviceable to the National Socialist agenda if they passed over its dark side.<sup>116</sup>

Not all reviews, however, were positive. Orff and his publishers had anticipated correctly that the primary objection to the work would be the use of Latin. One critic with Nazi sympathies, Wilhelm Hendel, expressed his misgivings about the language in relatively mild terms in the *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, specifically in reference to the cantata’s combination of ancient and modern: “This obliteration of the boundaries of time is uneven in effect.”<sup>117</sup> The fervent National Socialist Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog took

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<sup>114</sup> Edwin von der Nüll in the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* on 4 June 1937. Original language: *Ein großartiger Optimismus durchzieht das Werk. Man lacht, man freut sich. Diese unbändige Lebenslust, diese schrankenlose Heiterkeit, diese entwaffnende Schlichtheit des Themas war noch nicht da auf der Opernbühne.* The quoted passage is included in a typed list of quotations, some of which (although not this one) appeared on later advertisements for *Carmina Burana*. The typed list may be accessed in the OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri XIII, 1a. I have had difficulty locating the original of this review; it is possible that the date (four days before the premiere) is in error. For more information on von der Nüll (1905–1945), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5309–5316; see also Appendix 3.

<sup>115</sup> Erich Limmert, “Der ADMV in Darmstadt und Frankfurt,” in *Neues Musikblatt* (Mainz), 16. Jahrgang, Nr. 28, June/July 1937, S. 3. Original language: *...die Vitalität und „die große Gesundheit“ der frühen Musik eingefangen und mit einem hohen künstlerischen Gestaltungsvermögen.* See also Abendroth in *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 178 (he wrote that the songs are “bursting full of energy,” original language: *voll strotzender Vitalität*). In addition to being a music critic, Erich Limmert (1909–1988) was also a conductor and composer. Biographical information accessed at <http://www.bmlo.lmu.de/>, 14 September 2014. As of this writing, I have not been able to find any information on Limmert’s political affiliations.

<sup>116</sup> See also Büttner, “Hochkultur und Volkskunst”; Stichtenoth, “Uraufführung im Opernhaus: *Carmina burana* / Von Carl Orff,”; E. C. Privat, “Uraufführung im Frankfurter Opernhaus. ‚*Carmina Burana*‘ / Von Carl Orff,” in *Offenbacher Zeitung*, 9. Juni 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XIII, 1a, I. Teil. As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on the political affiliations of Friedrich Stichtenoth and E. C. Privat, but regardless of whether they had any degree of sympathy toward National Socialism, it is striking that they considered *Carmina Burana* to be an optimistic work.

<sup>117</sup> Wilhelm Hendel, “*Carmina Burana*: szenische Kantate von Carl Orff,” *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, Frankfurt am Main, Nr. 155, 10 June 1937. Original language: *Diese Verwischung der Zeitgrenzen wirkt uneinheitlich.* While at the present writing I have not found Hendel’s dates of life or information about his possible affiliations with National Socialist organizations, there are several references to other reviews by Hendel that make clear his sympathy to National Socialist ideology, including articles for the *Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung* (“German Military Musician Newspaper”; see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 6900–6901 and 7681). Hendel also was the librettist for the composer Artur Schubert (1890–1960, NSDAP membership conferred 1 May 1933, Nr. 2.710.697), whom he praised as a composer

greater umbrage than Hendel.<sup>118</sup> Of the use of Latin, he wrote: “Our German language is so rich and diverse that we do not want to crawl under the habit of a monastic Latin, however flowing and erudite.” The simplicity that had won the admiration of other critics seemed to Herzog a deficiency: “But extreme simplicity leads easily to meagerness and primitiveness, a danger to which Orff also has fallen prey in some places. Then must glockenspiels in various tunings serve as the replenishment for it.”<sup>119</sup> Given that part of the Germanic musical tradition, certainly through 1937, involved intellectual complexity and counterpoint, it is surprising that more critics did not react like Herzog to Orff’s work, the simplicity of which, as Karen Painter has noted, “shuns tradition” in its rejection of polyphony and counterpoint.<sup>120</sup>

It is not surprising that one of the critics who best understood Orff’s work, both in terms of the underlying fatalism and in terms of Orff’s theatricality, was hostile to it. Heinz Fuhrmann, the same critic who had denounced Stravinsky in the reactionary *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht* in 1933, viewed the negative imagery of the Wheel of Fate as an affront to the triumphal attitude of National Socialism: “Without an ethos near to our time, here a fatalism is embraced that is far [removed] from our time in the symbolism of the ‘Wheel of Fate’ of the Middle Ages. Today we play ourselves courageously in the spokes of history!”<sup>121</sup> In addition to perceiving the underlying negativity in *Carmina*

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in keeping with National Socialist values (see *ibid.*, 6748–6750; for more on Schubert, see *ibid.*, 6748–6751). For quotations of other reviews by Hendel, see *ibid.*, 989–990, 1817, and 5586.

<sup>118</sup> Herzog published two reviews of *Carmina Burana*: Friedrich W. Herzog, “Zwischen Frankfurt a. M. und Darmstadt. Vor der Auflösung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins,” in *Rheinische Landeszeitung* (Düsseldorf, also München-Gladbach), Nr. 157, 10 June 1937; Friedrich W. Herzog, “O sancta simplicitas! Orffs »Carmina Burana« in Frankfurt a. M.,” in *Rheinische Landeszeitung* (Düsseldorf), Nr. 158, 11 June 1937, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XIII, 1a, I. and II. Teil (respectively). Both reviews are reprinted in Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 289–293; “O sancta simplicitas!” also is reprinted in Orff and Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, 222 and Appendix 2.

<sup>119</sup> Herzog, “O sancta simplicitas!” (Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 292). Original language of first quotation: *Unsere deutsche Sprache ist so reich und vielfältig, daß wir nicht unter die Kutte eines noch so flüssigen und gelahrten Mönchsleins kriechen wollen.* Original language of second quotation: *Aber übertriebene Einfachheit führt leicht zur Dürftigkeit und Primitivität, eine Gefahr, der Orff auch stellenweise erlegen ist. Dafür müssen dann Glockenspiele in verschiedenen Stimmungen zur Auffüllung des Klanges dienen.* Presumably Herzog was referring the three glockenspiels in No. 24.

<sup>120</sup> Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 264–265, quotation 264.

<sup>121</sup> Heinz Fuhrmann, “Zum Tonkünstlerfest 1937 des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins in Frankfurt a.M. und Darmstadt,” *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung* (Hannover), Nr. 136, 15 June 1937, Pressearchiv, Kri. XIII, 1a, II. Teil. Original language: *Bar eines zeitnahen Ethos, wird hier in der mittelalterlichen Symbolik es „Glücksrades“ eines zeitenfernen Fatalismus gehuldigt. Heute greisen wir selbst mutig in die Speichen der Geschichte.* In the other version of Fuhrmann’s review, which is longer and contains the

*Burana*, Fuhrmann also noted a cabaret-like quality to the music and identified Orff's indebtedness to Brecht's Epic Theater and the music of Stravinsky:

Already the Jew [sic] Bert Brecht played off an "epic" theater against a "dramatic theater"; he went about it polemically and found the companion in his racial comrade Weill, who fought out such Marxist tendencies musically in his *Bürgerschaft*.<sup>122</sup> ...And between Brecht/Weill stands Stravinsky.<sup>123</sup>

The negative review of *Carmina Burana* that posed the greatest threat to work's continued success was by Herbert Gerigk.<sup>124</sup> Nearly identical versions of this review ran in two significant publications, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (literally, the *Volk-ish Observer*), an official publication of the NSDAP, and *Die Musik* (*The Music*), a journal

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comparison to Brecht and Weill (as cited), the same concept is expressed in different language: "Such a fatalism scarcely should correspond to the worldview of present day Germany.... But: does this all correspond to the 'epic theater' of our day? No more do we turn ourselves in the Wheel-of-Fate-fatalism, but we ourselves play in the spokes of history" (Heinz Fuhrmann, "Ausklang des letzten Tonkünstlerfestes des ADMV. Übernahme der Arbeit des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins durch die Reichsmusikkammer," *National Zeitung* (Essen), 15 June 1937, Pressearchiv, Kri. XIII, 1a, II. Teil (beginning of article's text gives 14 June 1937, Darmstadt), original language: *Schwerlich dürfte ein solcher Fatalismus dem Weltbild des heutigen Deutschland entsprechen.... Aber: entspricht dies alles dem „epischen Theater“ unserer Tage? Nicht mehr im Glücksrad-Fatalismus drehen wir uns, sondern wir greifen selbst in die Speichen der Geschichte*). For the Stravinsky, review, see Heinz Fuhrmann, "Igor Strawinsky und die Moderne," *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, 2. Jahrgang, Heft 15, 15 July 1933:7–8. For more of Fuhrmann's writings, see Prieberg *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 1267, 1525–1526, 2138–2139, 2332, 5028–5029, 5888, 6808–6809 (excerpts from two articles), 7511 (a mention of the Stravinsky denunciation), 7715, 7742, 8505, and 8521–8522.

<sup>122</sup> The libretto of *Die Bürgerschaft* ("The Guarantee"; piano reduction: Vienna: Universal Edition, Nr. 1525, 1931) is not by Brecht but rather by the scenic designer Caspar Neher, who often collaborated with both Bertolt Brecht and Carl Orff (see Vana Greisenegger-Georgila and Hans Jörg Jans, ed. *Was ist die Antike Wert? Griechen und Römer auf der Bühne von Caspar Neher*, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1995; Hans Jörg Jans, "Caspar Neher und Carl Orff. Szenische Phantasie und Bühnenwirklichkeit im Widersteit," in *Caspar Neher – Der grösste Bühnenbauer unserer Zeit*, ed. Christine Tretow and Helmut Gier, Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997:150–165; Gottfried von Einem and Siegfried Melchinger, ed., *Caspar Neher*, Hannover: Friedrich Verlag, 1966, 88–93 (Brecht) and 154–155 (Orff)).

<sup>123</sup> Fuhrmann, "Ausklang des letzten Tonkünstlerfestes des ADMV" (i.e. the version in the *National Zeitung*). Original language: *Schon der Jude Bert Brecht spielte ein „episches“ Theater gegen ein „dramatisches“ aus; er ging damit polemisieren und fand in seinem Rassegenossen Weill den Weggefährten, der in seiner „Bürgerschaft“, solche marxistischen Tendenzen musikalisch ausfocht*. Brecht was not, in fact, Jewish.

<sup>124</sup> See Herbert Gerigk, "Problematisches Opernwerk auf dem Tonkünstlerfest: „Carmina Burana“ von Carl Orff," in *Völkische Beobachter* (Berliner Ausgabe/Ausgabe A), 50. Jahrgang, Nr. 167, 16 June 1937, S. 5; Herbert Gerigk, "Zum Tonkünstlerfest 1937 des allgemeinen deutschen Musikvereins in Frankfurt a.M. und Darmstadt," in *Die Musik*, Jahrgang XXIX, Heft 10, July 1937:696–702, 701–702. The discrepancies between the two versions are minor syntactic differences; the content is identical. The article is reprinted in Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 294–296. An abridged version of Gerigk's article appeared under in an article titled "Aus dem Musikleben" in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, 652/76. In the full version of the article, Gerigk wrote that *Carmina Burana* "builds a line of problems" (*wirft eine Reihe von Problemen auf*, in *Die Musik*, 701).

associated with the reactionary Alfred Rosenberg.<sup>125</sup> Gerigk considered the issues raised by *Carmina Burana* to be “a matter of cultural politics and worldview.” He was disturbed that the work suggested the influence of jazz; he wrote that Orff’s music was a “falsely understood return to the original elements of playing music” and that “for us, this intransigence signifies a character of exotic musical practice.”<sup>126</sup> Like Heinz Fuhrmann, the hostile Gerigk had identified an important element of Carl Orff’s composition: his approach to musical lines was inspired by the Jewish Curt Sachs’s writings on non-Western music. Orff had been inspired in developing his non-contrapuntal style by Sachs’s belief that polyphony, often considered a crowning achievement of Western music, had in fact weakened melody and rhythm.<sup>127</sup>

### ***Carmina Burana* and the Question of “Nazi Music”**

As outlined in the Introduction, many commentators have identified the music of *Carmina Burana* as inherently Nazi or fascist, but the idea of “Nazi music” and “fascist aesthetics” are difficult to define specifically.<sup>128</sup> The same musically and theatrically progressive ideas that angered one National Socialist critic could please another. For example, the influence of Epic Theater, despite its association with the anti-Nazi Bertolt Brecht, did not disqualify any given work from National Socialist appropriation, as demonstrated by a review of George Friedrich Händel’s (1685–1759) *Acis and Galatea*

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<sup>125</sup> The heading of the *Völkische Beobachter* in 1937 described the publication as the *Kampfblatt der national-sozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands* (i.e. “Militant Paper of the National Socialist Movement of Greater Germany”). Regarding *Die Musik*, see Whiting, “Un-Stelling Scores,” 92 n. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Gerigk, “Problematisches Opernwerk auf dem Tonkünstlerfest.” Original language of first quotation: *eine Angelegenheit der Kulturpolitik und der Weltanschauung*. Original language of second quotation: *eine falsch verstandene Rückkehr zu Urelementen des Musizierens*. Original language of third quotation: *Diese Starrheit gilt uns meist als ein Zeichen exotischer Musikübung*.

<sup>127</sup> See Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 41–43. Orff’s source was Curt Sachs, *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft in ihren Grundzügen* (Musikpädagogische Bibliothek, Heft 8, ed. Leo Kestenberg), Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1930; later revised as Curt Sachs, *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft: Musik der Fremdkulturen* (Musikpädagogische Bibliothek), Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichhofen’s Verlag, 1974.

<sup>128</sup> Harry White, for example, has asserted that “Orff’s music *celebrates* Nazism” (emphasis in original) with no further explanation or analysis (Harry White, “The Rules of Engagement: Richard Taruskin and the History of Western Music,” in *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* Vol. 2 (2006–2007):21–49, 45). In other cases, the connection is insinuated, as in Elissa Poole, “Chorus lacks colour, bite,” *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 28 September 1996, C21. For an important contrary view, see Pamela M. Potter, “What Is ‘Nazi Music’?”, in *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 88 No. 3, Autumn 2005:428–455.

(HWV 49) in the *Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten* (Bielefeld), a National Socialist publication.<sup>129</sup> The author likened the innovative staging of this work not only to *Carmina Burana* but also to Stravinsky's *Perséphone* and *Oedipus Rex*, works that also have elements of Epic Theater,<sup>130</sup> and wrote that "all these attempts...strive for the National Socialist ritualistic design for celebration, and no doubt can possibly persist that from these approaches the musical-ritualistic artwork of the future will develop."<sup>131</sup> What one person considered incompatible with National Socialism, another might view as its future.

There are, however, certain characteristics in the music that are in keeping with those most often valued by totalitarian cultural officers. The prominent American musicologist Richard Taruskin, although careful not to accuse Orff of Nazi sympathy, has identified Nazi characteristics in *Carmina Burana*, especially the communitarian element.<sup>132</sup> In Taruskin's view, *Carmina Burana* leads people to suspend their critical faculties: "it reverberates in the head the way propaganda is supposed to.... Everybody likes to indulge the herd instinct now and then.... It is just because we like it that we ought to resist it. Could the Nazi Holocaust have been carried off without expertly rousing primitive, unreflective enthusiasm in millions?"<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> The work is described as being in "Händel's oratorio-dramatic style" (*Händels oratorisch-dramatischer Stil*); the mixture of oratorio and opera may be related to *Carmina Burana*. Händel wrote *Acis and Galatea* in 1717 and 1718. The premiere occurred in 1718. The text is by John Gay. According to the review, the performance in question used a recent edition by Dr. Ernst Zauder.

<sup>130</sup> The preface to the score of *Oedipus Rex* notes, consistent with the style of Epic Theater, that the narrator "expresses himself like a conferencier, presenting the story with a detached voice" (Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex, Symphony of Psalms: Full Orchestral Score*, London: Boosey & Hawkes, The Masterworks Library, 1927/1998, ix; the note is provided in French, English, and German, but presumably the original language is French: *Il s'exprime comme un conférencier, présentant l'action d'une voix passive*). The German premiere of *Perséphone* recently had occurred in Braunschweig. The libretto of *Perséphone* is by André Gide (1869–1951). Stravinsky composed this work, the title character of which has a spoken role, in 1933–1934 and conducted the premiere in Paris on 30 April 1934 (score: London: Boosey & Hawkes, Hawkes Pocket Scores, No. 652, 1950).

<sup>131</sup> "Acis und Galatea: Festkonzert des Musikvereins," *Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten*, Bielefeld, 14 June 1937. The name of the author is unfortunately not present on the clipping in the COS/OZM, Pressearchive Kri XIII, 1a, II. Teil. Original language: *Aber alle diese Versuche liegen in einem wesentlichen Punkte in einer Richtung, wie sie die nationalsozialistische kultische Fei ergestaltung erstrebt, und es kann wohl kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß aus diesen Ansätzen das musikalisch-kultische Kunstwerk der Zukunft sich entwickeln wird.*

<sup>132</sup> Regarding communitarianism, see Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 762–763.

<sup>133</sup> Taruskin, "Orff's Musical and Moral Failings," AR 35, in "Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass at Last?," 164–166, quotation 166; Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 762–765. The phrase "primitive, unreflective enthusiasm" is borrowed from Alex Ross ("In Music, Though, There Were No Victories,"

Taruskin is not the only commentator to object to the viscerally rousing nature of *Carmina Burana*, although his invocation of the Holocaust is an extreme remark.<sup>134</sup> Ironically, a similar objection is found in Gerigk's review, although Taruskin and Gerigk are completely opposed ideologically. Gerigk wondered how Orff's music would be received in the future by a "naïve public" (*naives Publikum*), as "the texts, incomprehensible in their wording, breathe an unbroken joy of life."<sup>135</sup> The Nazi Gerigk's implication that the music's "unbroken joy of life" may allure a naïve audience relates to Taruskin's objection about the work's ability to affect listeners on a viscerally emotional level, as both authors suggested that the audience would not be concerned with the meaning of the texts.<sup>136</sup>

A wide array of music has the power to elicit strong emotional responses, and strong emotional responses always carry a danger of overwhelming rational thought. Music certainly can be used as a tool of violence and demagoguery when written for or appropriated by a destructive ideological framework. While Orff's cantata has enjoyed enormous popularity over the course of its existence, there has yet to be any compelling evidence that this work, which was not performed until the fifth year of the Third Reich, has been the root of social ills. Taruskin's comment, therefore, seems in this case to

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New York Times, 20 August, 1995), which Taruskin had quoted shortly before this sentence (it is not, however, attribute to Ross in Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 4, 763). According to recent research by Eric A. Johnson and Karl-Heinz Reuband, "[c]ertainly the Nazis took pains to keep [the extermination of Jews] a secret both from the German population and the world in general" (Eric A. Johnson and Karl-Heinz Reuband, *What We Knew: Terror, Mass Murder, and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basic Books, 2005, xvii). Hence, while Hitler's anti-Semitic rallying cries were intended to promote a culture of intolerance, it is problematic to suggest that they were intended openly and explicitly to generate support among the general population for mass murder, as Taruskin imputed could have been the effect of *Carmina Burana*. One could, however, make the claim that "primitive, unreflective enthusiasm" facilitated the Nazis' rise to power, although here again other factors also were at play.

<sup>134</sup> See Luise Rinser, *Saturn auf der Sonne*, Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1994, 94; Jessica Duchon, "This Wild Darkness: Why Everything They Told You About *Carmina Burana* Is Wrong," 21 January 2009, accessed at [http://operachic.typepad.com/opera\\_chic/2009/01/this-wild-darkness-why-carmina-burana.html](http://operachic.typepad.com/opera_chic/2009/01/this-wild-darkness-why-carmina-burana.html), 6 October 2014 (here *Carmina Burana* is described as "merrily barbaric").

<sup>135</sup> Gerigk, "Problematisches Opernwerk auf dem Tonkünstlerfest." Original language of second quotation: *Die im Wortlaut unverständlichen Texte atmen ungebrochene Lebensfreude*.

<sup>136</sup> It is curious that Gerigk implied that *Carmina Burana* could have such a rousing effect given that he also raised the objection that the arcane texts made the work inaccessible. Gerigk, "Problematisches Opernwerk auf dem Tonkünstlerfest." Gerigk wrote: "From the start Orff has blocked the way to a popular effect through the incomprehensibility of the language" (idem, original language: *Orff hat seinem Werk den Weg zu einer volkstümlichen Wirkung durch die Unverständlichkeit der Sprache von vornherein versperrt*).



overestimate what he has termed “the danger of music.”<sup>137</sup>

Another element common to fascist art, this one identified by Susan Sontag, is accessibility and nearness to the ideal of *Volk*, for which, indeed, *Carmina Burana* was praised. In her 1974 article on fascist aesthetics, Susan Sontag identified another: “the dissolution of alienation in ecstatic feelings of community.”<sup>138</sup> While Sontag was writing decades after the Third Reich, the applicability of this concept to its artistic ideals is supported by the statements of National Socialist cultural officers. The vague lists of musical characteristics—positive, true to the *Volk*, based on melody (hence easily accessible to a wide audience), *et cetera*—that Joseph Goebbels and Hans Hinkel enumerated as ideal German music are generally related to a communitarian spirit.<sup>139</sup>

Orff’s work, even from before the Third Reich, certainly engages with communitarian ideals. Several critics of the poorly received 1930 premiere of *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Der gute Mensch* found Orff’s communitarian efforts to be poorly executed.<sup>140</sup> In December 1933, Orff’s actor friend Hermann Kupfer identified communitarianism as a long-term facet of Orff’s work, which he cited in an effort to persuade Orff to embrace National Socialist culture:

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<sup>137</sup> See the title of Taruskin’s *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian* essays, in which “Can We Give Poor Orff a Pass at Last?” is reprinted. It should be noted that Taruskin’s position is more moderate in his later *The Oxford History of Western Music*, in which he remarked that “if Bach and Beethoven could not prevent Nazi barbarity is it [sic] hard to claim that Orff could have inspired it” (Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 4, 765). Given that the National Socialist movement began over 15 years before the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, the theory of a causal link is not viable.

<sup>138</sup> Susan Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” in *The New York Review of Books*, Volume XXII, Number 1, 6 February 1975:23–30, 28, reprinted with modification in Susan Sontag, *Under the Sign of Saturn*, New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1972/1980:71–105, 96. 1974 is given as the year in which the piece was written in *Under the Sign of Saturn*, 105.

<sup>139</sup> See speech by Hans Hinkel, printed in “Reichstagung des Berufsstandes der deutschen Komponisten auf Schloß Burg. 1. Die Ansprache des Reichskulturwalters Hans Hinkel,” in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103. Jahrgang, Heft 6, June 1936:699–702; Joseph Goebbels, “Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens,” in *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer*, 5. Jahr, Nummer 11, 1 June 1938 (Berlin), S. 1 (reprinted in Dümling and Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik*, 123). Note Orff was nearing completion of *Carmina Burana* at the time of Hinkel’s speech, while the article by Goebbels was published nearly exactly a year after the scenic cantata’s premiere. See also Albrecht Riethmüller, “Komposition im Deutschen Reich um 1936,” in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 38. Jahrgang, Heft 4, 1981:241–278, 251–258; Whiting, “Un-Settling Scores,” 86–87. See also the Introduction.

<sup>140</sup> See reviews by Siegfried Garibaldi Kallenberg (1867–1944), “Neue Musik in München,” *Volk und Heimat*, München, Nr. 22, 22 November 1930; Wilhelm Zentner, “Dritte Festwoche neuer Musik in München,” *Germania. Zeitung für das deutsche Volk* (Berlin), 60. Jahrgang, Nr. 489, 20 October 1930, [S. 2] (his article ran under the same headline in *Sächsische Volkszeitung* (Dresden), Nr. 245, 22 October 1930 and under the heading “Festwoche neuer Musik in München” in *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*, Nr. 506, 28 October 1930). These articles were all accessed at the COS/OZM, Pressearchive, Kri. XVIII, 3.

Everything that I hope for you culminates in this: that you can make the great Hitler principles your own; I am convinced that then also on this ground a great and powerful period of creativity would begin for you....The withered ground of our cultural life must yet finally bear fruits and I believe that you can be qualified for this, in the sense of a *Volk*-like design from the spirit of an idea of community, which you championed more than ten years ago, to create one of those works of art that is groundbreaking and liberating.<sup>141</sup>

Just as significant as Kupfer's statement that Nazi culture springs "from the spirit of an idea of community" is his statement that Orff had cultivated his style long before National Socialism had become a powerful political force.

Orff had embraced the idea of communitarianism before the National Socialist takeover. *Veni Creator Spiritus* was presented at a 1931 festival along with other pro-communitarian events.<sup>142</sup> Orff's former student Hans Redlich wrote in the program that Orff "belongs to the most prominent agents of the new choral community spirit, which for years to an increasing extent has become the actual guideline for production for the younger musical generation."<sup>143</sup> National Socialist communitarianism hardly benefitted Redlich, who was forced into exile in 1939, as was Orff's friend Max Sinzheimer, who

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<sup>141</sup> Letter from Hermann Kupfer to Carl Orff, 21 December 1933 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 222 and 323 n. 72, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Alles, was ich für Dich hoffe, gipfelt darin, dass Du die grossen Hitlerschen Grundsätze zu den deinen machen könntest; ich bin überzeugt, dass dann auf diesem Boden auch eine grosse und gewaltige Schaffensperiode für Dich anbricht. [...] Der verdorrte Boden unseres kulturellen Lebens muss doch endlich wieder Früchte bringen und ich glaube, dass Du dazu berufen sein könntest, im Sinne einer volkhaften Festgestaltung, aus dem Geiste eines Gemeinschaftsgedankens, den Du vor mehr als zehn Jahren verfochtest, eines jener Kunstwerke zu schaffen, das bahnbrechend und befreiend ist.*

<sup>142</sup> See, for example, Dr. Max Unger, "Neue Chormusik Mannheim 1931," in *Fränkischer Kurier* (Nürnberg), Nr. 278, 8 October 1931; Friedrich Loser [name difficult to read], "Neue Chormusik. Der Abschluß des Mannheimer Musikfestes," in *Heidelberger Tageblatt*, Nr. 231, 5 October 1931; "Neue Chormusik Mannheim 1931. Kollektive Musik," in *Mannheimer Tageblatt*, Nr. 270 (author name and date not present on clipping in OZM); Karl Laux, "Neue Chormusik 1931 in Mannheim," in *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, Nr. 276, 11 October 1931; Dr. Konrad Ott, "Tagung Neue Chormusik 1931 Mannheim," in *Regensburger-Anzeiger*, Nr. 279, 11 October 1931; Dr. Konrad Ott, "Neue Chormusik 1931 Mannheim," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Stuttgart), Nr. 235, 8 October 1931; "Neue Chormusik Mannheim 1931," *Hagener Zeitung – Hagen*, Nr. 249, 23 October 1931 (author name not present on press clipping in COS/OZM); signed "t.," "Kultur und Kunst: Neue Chormusik," *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, Nr. 282, 9 October 1931. These articles were all accessed at the COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVIII, 3.

<sup>143</sup> Hans F. Redlich, "Carl Orff," in "Neue Chormusik 1931: Mannheim, vom 2. bis 4. Oktober 1931," Sonderbeilage der *Neuen Badischen Landes-Zeitung*, Mannheim, S. 4, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVIII, 3. Original language: *gehört zu den markantesten Vertretern des neuen chorischen Gemeinschaftsgedankens, der seit Jahr und Tag in gesteigertem Maße zur eigentlichen Produktions-Richtlinie für die junge Musikergeneration geworden ist.*

conducted *Veni Creator Spiritus*.<sup>144</sup>

The *Schulwerk* is an example of community spirit in Orff's pre-Third Reich work, with its heavy emphasis on the shared experiences of music and dance. An even more explicit example is found in the Werfel and Brecht cantatas from 1930 and 1931. In his analysis of these cantatas, Kim Kowalke has identified an element of *Gemeinschaftsmusik* ("communal music"). The related element of *Gebrauchsmusik* ("music for use") is evident in Orff's decision to group the Werfel and Brecht publications together, respectively, as *Werkbuch I* and *Werkbuch II* (i.e. "workbooks").<sup>145</sup> In the preface to each of the three cantatas in *Werkbuch I*, Orff explained his goals in communitarian terms:

The workbook contains choral and instrumental movements that in their nature do not come from the concert practice. They are seeking the connection to that mental attitude, which should lead from the subjectivity and the alienation of the individual to a binding, public, universal feeling of community. The simplicity of the construction and the selection of methods arise from this attitude, and the renunciation of everything that could hinder the practicability [of performance] should enable the maximum intensity.<sup>146</sup>

The communalism is even more pronounced in the third of the Werfel cantatas in *Werkbuch I*, *Fremde sind wir* (*Strangers are we*), as Orff specified that everyone present

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<sup>144</sup> Regarding Sinzheimer and Redlich, see Chapter 1 around n. 204 and n. 202 (respectively) and Appendix 3.

<sup>145</sup> Kowalke, "Burying the Past," 62. For more on Brecht and Weill, see Michael John T. Gilbert, *Bertolt Brecht's Striving for Reason, Even in Music: A Critical Assessment* (Studies in Modern German Literature, Vol. 3), New York: Peter Lang, 1988, 53–89 and 113–132; for more on Brecht and Hindemith, see *ibid.*, 89–96. For a description of how *Gebrauchsmusik* applied to Orff's pedagogical colleague Erich Katz, Mark Davenport, "Carl Orff: The Katz Connection," *The American Recorder*, Vol. XXXVI, Issue 4, September 1995:7–15 and 34–39, 9.

<sup>146</sup> This passage appears in all three of the Werfel Cantatas published as three volumes of Orff's *Werkbuch I* by B. Schott's Söhne (Mainz) in 1931: I. *Veni Creator Spiritus* ("Come, creative spirit," Schott ED 3261, BSS 33058), II. *Der gute Mensch* ("The good man," Schott ED 3262, BSS 33094), III. *Fremde sind wir* (Schott ED 3267, BSS 33518). It is reprinted in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 67. Original language: *Das Werkbuch enthält Chor- und Instrumentalsätze, die ihrem Wesen nach nicht von der Konzertübung herkommen. Sie suchen den Anschluß an diejenige geistige Einstellung, welche von dem Subjektivismus und der Isoliertheit des Einzelnen zu einem bindenden allgemein gültigen Gemeinschaftsempfinden führen soll. Die Einfachheit der Anlage und die Wahl der Mittel ergab sich aus dieser Einstellung und soll durch den Verzicht auf alles, was die Ausführbarkeit erschweren könnte, ein Höchstmaß an Intensität ermöglichen.* This introduction was noted in some of the reviews of the concert, including "Neue Chormusik Mannheim 1931. Kollektive Musik," in *Mannheimer Tageblatt*, Nr. 270 (no date on press clipping); "Neue Chormusik 1931 Mannheim. Kollektive und religiöse Chormusik," in *Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, Nr. 460, 5 October 1931 (no author name on either press clipping, both COS/OZM, Pressearchiv Kri. XVIII, 3).

should join in singing at the end of each strophe of the second movement.<sup>147</sup> When Orff reissued the Werfel cantatas in 1968, he no longer called them *Werkbuch I* and the *Gemeinschaftsmusik* explanatory note was omitted: perhaps the ensuing years had sufficiently demonstrated to him the dark side of communitarianism. It is hardly surprising that he no longer wanted to be associated with this concept, which he once embraced, only to later witness its appropriation by an ideology of hatred and, ironically, exclusion. One also may note that Orff's embrace of community during the Weimar Republic is something of a contradiction to his generally individualistic nature.

The idea that *Carmina Burana* is inherently fascist is of course far from universally accepted. In the August 1937 edition of *Musical America*, Geraldine deCourcy saw a contrast between *Carmina Burana* and the many works of National Socialist propaganda that were played at other concerts during the last festival of the ADMV. Writing from the perspective of an outsider for an American audience, deCourcy described the "sad state of affairs" in which "this Gibraltar of German musical societies [had] at last been Goebbeled." In contrast, she described *Carmina Burana* as "the one bright gem in this dismal collection."<sup>148</sup> When presented with Orff's cantata alongside actual Nazi propaganda, deCourcy perceived a clear distinction.

At present there is no indication that Orff ever said that his music was intended to convey a political message of any kind; rather, it seems that his plan during the Third Reich was to convince those who were in power that his art was compatible with their ideals.<sup>149</sup> The fact remains, however, that Carl Orff allowed, and indeed encouraged, his work to be appropriated by those in power for the sake of his own success, as was the

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<sup>147</sup> See prefatory note in 1931 publication of *Fremde sind wir*.

<sup>148</sup> Geraldine deCourcy, "Historic German Musical Society Disbands" (Berlin, 2 August 1937), in *Musical America*, Volume LVII, No. 13, August 1937, 19. The subheading of the article emphasizes the special role that the author assigned to Orff's work: "Founded by Liszt Seventy-six Years Ago, It Had Done Valiant Service in Furthering the Country's Music – Closing Celebration Redeemed Only by Carl Orff's Scenic Cantata 'Carmina Burana,' Admirably Produced by the Frankfurt Opera." *Carmina Burana* is the only work from the ADMV festival that is given extensive treatment in this article, which also features a headshot of Carl Orff and a picture of the staging. de Courcy also reported that Orff "also wrote the sparkling accompaniments for the Olympic Festival of Youth last year, which were so important a factor in its success." It is noteworthy that she evidently did not view the Olympics as propaganda, although from a practical standpoint the games had this unfortunate function. The author's concluding observation includes a faulty prognostication that the work may "not freighted with far-reaching fame for Orff" (deCourcy, "Historic German Musical Society Disbands").

<sup>149</sup> Orff's questionable claims that his music was ill-received by the National Socialists after the Third Reich will be addressed in Chapter 3.

norm for artists who continued to work under National Socialism.<sup>150</sup> Because *Carmina Burana* has such wide appeal, then as now, it was an asset for the National Socialists. In Pierre Bourdieu's framework, Orff's work had provided symbolic capital. This is a case in which, in Bourdieu's words, the "domination of individuals... is the condition of the appropriation of the material and symbolic profits of their labour."<sup>151</sup> The critics and cultural officers of the Third Reich had no interest in composers' artistic intentions.<sup>152</sup> The idea that an artist in totalitarian society could maintain the "politics of the apolitical," to return to Stephen Spender's phrase, is untenable when the state is appropriating all successes within its borders.<sup>153</sup> As Karen Painter has noted, the critics of the Third Reich "conveyed the success of *Carmina burana* as one of the regime, not the composer."<sup>154</sup> Orff's appropriation by the Third Reich, as will be seen in the next chapter, has haunted his reputation since 1945.

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<sup>150</sup> Elsewhere Taruskin has written: "Orff's continued popularity has also quickened the postwar debate as to whether hermetic, difficult modernist art, insofar as it is so much less easily exploited for possibly unsavory or even criminal political purposes, might after all be morally superior to 'accessible' art" (Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 764). Perhaps the question is not so much whether or not the art can be "exploited" as whether or not it can give the destructive power structure symbolic capital.

<sup>151</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, trans. Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 184.

<sup>152</sup> For a similar point, see Maier, trans. Murray, "Carl Orff in his time," 9, original language: Maier, *Cäcilia* 138; original publication, 9. As Karen Painter has written: "Whatever it meant at its American premiere in 1954 and at thousands of performances since, in Nazi Germany *Carmina burana* was music that lent itself of a synthesis of enthusiasm, obedience, and naïve celebration of secular collectivism—and this in a society where the media had been largely reduced to channels for propaganda and where political debate had disappeared from the public sphere" (Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 262–263). Whatever objections one may raise to Richard Taruskin's writings on art and totalitarianism, he aptly has noted that the ethical questions about the cooptation of music "cannot be answered simply on the basis of the composer's intention.... The question of political meaning is as much or more a question about reception as it is a question about intention." In the same passage, Taruskin wrote that even if it could be proven that Orff had anti-Nazi politics, this should not change one's interpretation of the political meanings of his works, which "left [his] hands the moment they were performed and have in any case outlived their [author]" (Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 4, 764–765).

<sup>153</sup> Quotation as cited in Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 9 (internal quotation marks omitted). See also Jane F. Fulcher, in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007:201–215, 215, in which the statements about Artur Honegger (1892–1955) in Vichy France are applicable to Carl Orff. See Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 74.

<sup>154</sup> Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 264 (note that *burana* is lowercase in the original; the inconsistency in capitalization dates back to the time of the premiere, as a survey of the reviews reveals).

## *Carmina Burana* Overcomes Obstacles and Rises in Popularity

Despite the largely enthusiastic reception of *Carmina Burana* upon its world premiere, the work would not be staged again until 4 October 1940 in Dresden, although in the meantime there were several concert performances. In the late 1970s, Orff wrote in *Dokumentation*:

On the whole, the Frankfurt performance was a Pyrrhic victory, because many large stages, after they had accepted *Carmina Burana* for the coming season on the evening of the world premiere, later withdrew their promises on flimsy grounds. It was only too easy to see that this was not done entirely voluntarily. The work, as one had learned in the mean time, was declared as “undesirable” [*unerwünscht*], so that, for the time being, further productions were not thinkable.<sup>155</sup>

Orff’s postwar account of his career in the Third Reich generally downplays his successes and places great emphasis on his difficulties.<sup>156</sup> There are, however, elements of truth in the passage quoted above. In a letter dated just eight days after the premiere, Ludwig Strecker wrote to the composer: “With the ‘Burana’ still nothing ever wants to stir. By the way, there is a rumor that the watchword has been given to theaters the *Burana* texts are undesirable [*unerwünscht*], because they contradict the worldview of today.<sup>157</sup> I want to try hard to learn some details.”<sup>158</sup>

In addition to Gerigk, Walter Trienes, a committed National Socialist who had signed a denunciation of Orff’s *Schulwerk* colleague Fritz Jöde in 1933 and authored several vehemently anti-Semitic tracts, prevented a performance of *Carmina Burana* in

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<sup>155</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 71. Original language: *Im Ganzen gesehen wurde die Frankfurter Aufführung zu einem Pyrrhussieg, dadurch daß mehrere große Bühnen, nachdem sie noch am Abend der Uraufführung die Carmina Burana für die kommende Spielzeit angenommen hatten, ihre Zusage aus fadenscheinigen Gründen später wieder zurückzogen. Es war nur allzu leicht zu ersehen, daß dies nicht ganz freiwillig geschah. Das Werk war, wie man inzwischen erfahren hatte, für „unerwünscht“ erklärt worden, so daß an weitere Aufführungen vorerst nicht zu denken war.*

<sup>156</sup> These matters will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>157</sup> It is unclear as to whether Strecker was referring to the content of the *Carmina Burana* poems, the language in which they are written, or both.

<sup>158</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 15 September 1937, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014). Original language: *Mit der „Burana“ will sich immer noch nichts regen. Es geht übrigens das Gerücht, bei den Theatern sei das mot d’ordre gegeben, dass die Burana-Texte unerwünscht seien, weil sie der heutigen Weltanschauung widersprechen. Ich will mich bemühen, etwas Näheres in Erfahrung zu bringen.* Note that Strecker used the word *unerwünscht*, the same word as in Orff’s later account.

Cologne on the grounds that the text was indecent.<sup>159</sup> The National Socialist pianist Elly Ney is reported to have shouted “*Kulturschande!*” (“Cultural disgrace!”) at a performance of the cantata in Görlitz in 1942.<sup>160</sup>

Orff’s antagonists also reportedly included Heinz Drewes (1903–1980), the leader of the music division of the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Reich Ministry for the *Volk’s* Education and Propaganda).<sup>161</sup> In April 1946, Orff wrote a letter to the musicologist and opera director Gerhard Pietzsch, who had joined the NSDAP in 1933, thanking him for his advocacy of Orff’s music and his firm stand against Drewes and the ministry during the years that his work had been “forbidden and banned” (*verboten und verbannt*) from the theatrical stage. In June 1946, Pietzsch wrote to Orff: “By the way, do you remember still the dispute with Generalissimus Drewes on account of *Carmina Burana*? The Bavarian nigger-music, as he himself liked to put it, and the scenic blockade he was able to impose from ’36–’40?”<sup>162</sup> As of this writing, no proof has been found that Drewes made such a comment. In 1947, Hans Meissner reminisced in a letter to Orff about the premiere of *Carmina Burana*: “No wonder about the attitude of the official administrative bodies. Their agents, on the occasion of the performance in the middle of the last music festival of the ADMV, called me the

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<sup>159</sup> See letter from Fanz Menge (Schott Music) to Carl Orff, 17 April 1941, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014), quotation in Appendix 2. For more on Trienes (1901–1990), see Appendix 3. For the denunciation of Jöde, see various authors, “Gegen die Versuche, Professor Fritz Jöde in die veränderte Zeit hinüber zu retten,” in *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, LX. Jahrgang, Heft 18, 5 May 1933, 253 (excerpt printed in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3693). As of this writing, I have been unable to find further information on Menge.

<sup>160</sup> See Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 326 (Prieberg’s source is not specified); Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 233. Ney’s antipathy for Orff is also reported in Cesar Bresgen, *Mittersill 1945 – Ein Weg zu Anton von Webern*, Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983, 66.

<sup>161</sup> Drewes, a conductor and general intendant, joined the NSDAP in 1930 (Nr. 847.794) and founded the Altenburg branch of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* in the same year. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1314–1325 (Party membership information on 1314).

<sup>162</sup> Letter Carl Orff to Gerhard Pietzsch, 28 April 1946 (first quotation); letter from Gerhard Pietzsch to Carl Orff, 16 June 1946 (second quotation), AK, COS/OZM, information provided by the OZM via email, 11 March and 5 November 2014. It should be noted that the world premiere occurred during the years that Pietzsch described as the “blockade,” suggesting his memory was not completely accurate. Original language: *Erinnern Sie sich übrigens noch des Streites mit Generalissimus Drewes propter carmina Burani [sic]?, der bayr. Niggermusik, wie er sich auszudrücken beliebte u. der szen. Sperre, die er von 36–40 zu verhängen vermochte?* (*Propter* is, fittingly, a Latin preposition meaning “on account of,” which takes the accusative case). Pietzsch’s (1904–1979) NSDAP membership (Nr. 2.452.109) was conferred on 1 May 1933. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 5639.

Maecenas of the Negro musicians.”<sup>163</sup>

While it took three years for *Carmina Burana* to return to the theatrical stage, there were at least three other concert performances in the meantime in Mainz (December 1937), Bielefeld (23 October 1938), and Leipzig (April 1939).<sup>164</sup> Orff’s reference to a ban in his letter to Pietzsch therefore only could have referred to the early obstacles to scenic performances. The Bielefeld performance (which occurred a few months after Ludwig Strecker’s fretful letters) was especially well received. As Orff wrote to Heinrich Sutermeister: “It was a terribly big success. The people demanded *da capo* in the middle of the piece and now in the next month yet a third production is slated there, because the people have not had enough of it.”<sup>165</sup> He wrote to Willy Strecker at Schott Music:

Have you read the hymns in the press? Would it not be good to use this sensational success for advertisement? The entire criticism is a response to Gerigk’s idiotic accusations. It [i.e., the Bielefeld critical response] is only teeming with such [descriptions as] “elemental force,” “vital,” “true *Volk* quality,” “spiritually grounded,” “convincing,” “captivating,” etc.<sup>166</sup>

Orff’s letter demonstrates that he was aware that critics in the Third Reich were praising his work using the language of National Socialist cultural ideals (particularly with the reference to the *Volk*). Whatever qualms Orff may have had about his work being thus appropriated evidently were cancelled out by happiness that he had achieved the success

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<sup>163</sup> Letter from Hans Meissner to Carl Orff, 1 July 1947, COS/OZM, AK (information according to OZM, 11 March 2014). Original language: *Kein Wunder bei der Einstellung der amtlichen Stellen. Deren Vertreter hat mich anlässlich der Vorstellung, im Mittelpunkt des letzten Musikfestes des A.D.T.V., [sic] als Mäcen der Negermusiker bezeichnet.* The original letter gives “A.D.T.V.” instead of “A.D.M.V.” (the English translation has been corrected). The reference to “Negro musicians” (*Negermusiker*) does not refer literally to dark-skinned musicians but is rather a general insult.

<sup>164</sup> See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 232–233; Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 342 n. 81. In Mainz, *Carmina Burana* was performed with Stravinsky’s *Symphony of Psalms*, one of Orff’s musical influences (see Wolfgang Stephan, *Die Musikpflege*, Leipzig, 8. Jahrgang, Heft 11, February 1938:446–447).

<sup>165</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Heinrich Sutermeister, 27 October 1938 (Munich), BSB HSL, Fasc. germ. 1 Nr. 1–144, Nr. 39. Original language: *Es war ein entsetzlich grosser Erfolg. Die Leute haben mitten im Stück da Capo verlangt und nun wird im nächsten Monat dort noch eine dritte Aufführungsangesetzt, da die Leute noch nicht genug davon haben.* [Note: spacing normalized according to modern convention and other typographical errors corrected. The word *dort* following *Monat* is a handwritten insertion in the typed letter.]

<sup>166</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Willy Strecker, 8 November 1938 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 233 and 325 n. 140, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Haben Sie die Hymnen der Presse gelesen? Wäre es nicht gut, diesen sensationellen Erfolg propagandistisch zu verwerten? Die gesamte Kritik ist eine Entgegnung auf Gericks [sic] blödsinnige Anwürfe. Es wimmelt nur so von „Urkraft“ „vital“ „wahres Volkstum“ „erdverbunden“ „durchschlagend“ „hinreissend“ etc.*



he had long desired. Here we have a prime example of Orff's greyness.<sup>167</sup> Given that Orff realized that the success of his work was being reported in the terms of National Socialism, it is unlikely that he was not to some degree aware that he was enhancing the prestige of the Third Reich simply by producing the music he wanted to write.

Once again, part of the critical response to the 1938 Bielefeld performance identified the *Volk* element in Orff's work. The music critic Wolfgang Steinecke defended the Latin texts of *Carmina Burana*. While Steinecke had no membership in the NSDAP, and while after the war he became a good friend of the dissident Karl Amadeus Hartmann, earlier that year he had written favorably of the *Entartete Musik* exhibit and a speech about music and *Volk* by Joseph Goebbels at the *Reichsmusiktage* (Reich Music Days).<sup>168</sup> Steinecke wrote that the "prejudice" (*Vorurteil*) against the use of obscure languages had been "refuted" (*entkräftete*): "The success, which almost [should be] called sensational, that the work had in Bielefeld proved that the 'popularity' that the direct effectiveness of Orff's cantata suffered no damage in this way [i.e., due to the language]." <sup>169</sup>

Orff's optimism was clearly renewed following the success in Bielefeld. In the letter to Sutermeister quoted above, he reported that future performances were planned in at least 12, and possibly 13, cities. Yet in only one of these cities (Leipzig) did a performance come to fruition within the next year; despite the critical success, the work still had not yet become a regular staple of the repertory, as Orff was hoping it would.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> See also Thomas Rösch's handling of this subject in Rösch *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 74.

<sup>168</sup> See Steinecke, "'Entartete Musik'. Eröffnung der Düsseldorfer Ausstellung"; Wolfgang Steinecke, "Die Düsseldorfer Reichsmusiktage," in *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, Jahrgang XXXIV, Heft 9, June 1938:213–214. Both articles are quoted in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 7293–7294. For more information on Steinecke (1910–1961), see *ibid.*, 7292–7295. Regarding his relationship with Hartmann, see Barbara Haas, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Zeitzeugen und Dokumente. Zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag (Heinrichshofen-Bücher), 2004, 72–79. These events occurred in Dresden.

<sup>169</sup> Wolfgang Steinecke, "Orffs ‚Carmina Burana‘ im Konzertsaal," in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung Berlin*, Reichsausgabe, 30 October 1938, quoted in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 232–233, internal quotation marks omitted. Original language: *Daß die „Volkstümlichkeit“, die unmittelbare Wirksamkeit der Orffschen Kantate dadurch keinen Schaden leidet, bewies der fast als sensationell zu bezeichnende Erfolg, den das Werk in Bielefeld hatte....*

<sup>170</sup> Letter from Orff to Sutermeister, 27 October 1938, BSB HSL, Fasc. germ. 1, 39. The towns Orff specified were Elberfeld, Hamburg, Münster, Hannover, Berlin, Leipzig, Brüssel, Köln, London, and Graz. He wrote that Bern, and the small town of Lüneburg also were considering performances of his work, while he was waiting to hear from Zürich. Presumably due to the outbreak of World War II (just over ten months

Also in 1938, Engelhard Barthe, a choral director from Hamburg, informed a colleague that he had to withdraw from a proposed performance of *Carmina Burana*. Barthe was uncomfortable giving the text of the third part—the highly erotic Court of Love—to the young women of his chorus, and he thought that his chorus on the whole would not tolerate it.<sup>171</sup>

As Orff was negotiating future performances of *Carmina Burana*, he was at work on his next composition for the stage, *Der Mond*, an adaptation of a fairytale by the Brothers Grimm (Jacob, 1785–1863, and Wilhelm, 1786–1859).<sup>172</sup> Orff composed *Der Mond* from 1936 to 1938 and wrote the libretto himself, with large portions of the original fairytale sung by a narrator. The music of *Der Mond*, as in *Carmina Burana*, is largely diatonic and imbued with qualities of folk music and folk dance. *Der Mond* tells the story of four fellows who find the moon hanging from a tree in a neighboring town, steal it for their own, and have it interred with them when they die. The light of the moon awakens the denizens of the underworld, who engage in Bacchanalian activity similar to the tavern scene of *Carmina Burana*. As in the original fairytale, Petrus descends from heaven, restores order, puts the dead back to rest, and hangs the moon in the sky for all to enjoy. Before that, however Orff’s story takes a dark turn that is not in the source material: the revitalized inhabitants of the underworld begin to quarrel and become disillusioned. As in *Carmina Burana*, there is a dark side to the fantasy, especially in the scenes in the underworld.

Leading up to the February 1939 premiere of *Der Mond*, Ludwig Strecker at Schott Musik continued to worry about Herbert Gerigk. In June 1938, Strecker wrote to Orff that he considered Gerigk’s review to be “an opinion of the Party” (*eine Partei-Meinung*). He expressed anxiety that “*Der Mond* signifies a risk, about which we want to

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following Orff’s letter to Sutermeister), *Carmina Burana* was not performed in England until 1951. The first performance in Belgium did not take place until 1955, while the first performance in Switzerland took place in 1941 (Switzerland was the first country outside of Germany in which *Carmina Burana* was performed; see Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 272–273).

<sup>171</sup> Letter from Engelhard Barthe to Hans Meyer-Rogge, 9 February 1938, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October and 31 2014), quotation in Appendix 2. For more on Barthe (1906–1977), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 274–275. Meyer-Rogge (1904–1975), husband of the dancer Lola Rogge (1908–1990), was the leader of a dance group and hoped to produce *Carmina Burana*.

<sup>172</sup> “Der Mond” is *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1857 edition) Nr. 176. Score (final version): Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne (ED 6481), 1947.

be entirely clear.” Strecker was concerned that winning the favor of the audience would not be enough if the officials at the RMK who were not kindly disposed to Orff were not persuaded: “There is too much at stake. An official disapproval would signify a very heavy setback for you. We must go the safest way.”<sup>173</sup> The next month, Strecker anxiously wrote:

Before we now make the next important step, I must again hold before your eyes the dangers that are associated with it. Your opponent is Gerigk, behind whom the *Völkischer Beobachter* stands.... Thus one must expect the possibility that the case of Orff enters a crucial stage. These people have a hundred means to do you in completely, if they want.... I do not want to say that it must come to be thus; I must only make you in all seriousness attentive to the danger.<sup>174</sup>

Gerigk was not Orff’s only potential obstacle leading up to the premiere of *Der Mond*. Several months before the premiere, the scheduled conductor Clemens Krauss told Franz Menge of Schott Music that he was concerned about the work’s reception in Catholic Munich: “Now it is not at all conceivable, if one knows the psyche of the Munich public, to bring out during Advent a work with content that takes on somewhat risky forms for local sensibilities in certain scenes (mainly in the underworld scenes).”<sup>175</sup> At least to Krauss, Orff’s unorthodoxy had not gone unnoticed. Five years after the premiere, the scenes in the underworld became problematic for another reason. In 1944 Hermann Dollinger, the artistic manager of the Hessisches Landestheater in Darmstadt, told Orff that the head of the theater, the director Franz Everth, “would not like to play

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<sup>173</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 9 June 1938, quoted Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 53. Original language of first quotation: *Der Mond bedeutet ein Risiko, darüber wollen wir uns ganz klar sein*. Original language of second quotation: *Es steht zu viel auf dem Spiel. Eine offizielle Ablehnung würde einen sehr schweren Rückschlag für Sie bedeuten. Wir müssen den sichersten Weg gehen*.

<sup>174</sup> Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 13 July 1938, quoted in *ibid.*, 73. Original language: *Bevor wir nun den bedeutungsvollen Schritt tun, muss ich Ihnen doch noch einmal die Gefahren vor Augen halten, die damit verbunden sind. Ihr Gegner ist Gerigk, hinter dem der Völkische Beobachter steht.... Man muss also mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, dass der Fall Orff in ein entscheidendes Stadium tritt. Diese Leute haben hundert Mittel, Sie restlos zu erledigen, wenn sie wollen.... Ich will nicht sagen, dass es so kommen muss, ich muss Sie nur allen Ernstes auf die Gefahr aufmerksam machen*.

<sup>175</sup> Letter from Clemens Krauss to Fritz Menge, enclosure in letter from Krauss to Carl Orff, 4 June 1938 (information according to OZM, 31 October 2014). Original language: *Nun ist es, wenn man die Psyche des Münchener Publikums kennt, gar nicht auszudenken, in der Adventszeit ein Werk herauszubringen, das seinem Inhalt nach in gewissen Szenen (hauptsächlich in der Totenszene) für hiesige Begriffe [literally “local notions”] etwas gewagte Formen annimmt*. For more on Krauss (1893–1954), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 4224–4324.

*Der Mond* because of the subject of the dead.”<sup>176</sup> At the time of the premiere of *Der Mond* on 5 February 1939 in Munich (well after Advent, no doubt to Krauss’s relief), however, the underworld scenes did not yet have such a grim resonance for the public.

Even so, the production caused the composer a great deal of grief, as it proved to be exceedingly difficult to stage.<sup>177</sup> In the summer of 1938, Ludwig Strecker had to assuage Orff’s fears that Clemens Krauss’s unreliability was due to some kind of political machinations.<sup>178</sup> Orff wrote to Franz Willms two days after the premiere that he considered the production “an outright disaster” (*ein glatter Durchfall*). Although he was unsure as to what degree he rather than the production was to blame, he wrote: “I probably will have to change the last third of the work fundamentally.”<sup>179</sup>

Despite Orff’s disappointment, the critical reception of *Der Mond* was reasonably positive on the whole, although not as enthusiastic as with *Carmina Burana*. No review by the hostile Friedrich Herzog is present in Orff’s press clippings.<sup>180</sup> Herbert Gerigk’s brief review in *Die Musik*, curiously passed over in the previous secondary literature, was far kinder than his treatment of *Carmina Burana*, and he made no mention of that previous work. Gerigk praised Orff’s “transparency and clarity” (*Durchsichtigkeit und Klarheit*) and noted that the melodic style is derived from folk music. It is difficult to gauge from Gerigk’s tone if his comments about Orff limiting himself to small forms and eschewing any romanticism are intended as positive or negative assessments. His primary

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<sup>176</sup> In March 1944, Hermann Dollinger, the artistic manager of the Hessisches Landestheater in Darmstadt, told Orff that the head of the theater, the director Franz Everth, “would not like to play *Der Mond* because of the subject of the dead” (letter from Hermann Dollinger to Carl Orff, 5 March 1944, AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 31 October 2014; original language: *Der Chef möchte den „Mond“ nicht spielen, des Themas der Toten wegen.*) For biographical information on Dollinger (1906–1990), see <http://theaterfreunde-mainz.de/kuenstlerlexikon/theaterintendanten/hermann-dollinger/>. For biographical information on Everth (1880–1965), see [http://tls.theaterwissenschaft.ch/wiki/Franz\\_Everth](http://tls.theaterwissenschaft.ch/wiki/Franz_Everth) (both links accessed 31 October 2014).

<sup>177</sup> See BA R 55/20699, 347; see also interview with Carl Orff excerpted in Palmer’s *O Fortuna!*

<sup>178</sup> See letters from Ludwig Strecker are dated 9 June 1938 and 16 July 1938, quoted in, Rösch *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 53.

<sup>179</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Franz Willms, 7 February 1939 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 57. Original language of second quotation: *Ich werde wohl das letzte Drittel des Werkes grundlegend ändern müssen.*

<sup>180</sup> No review by Herzog is present in the COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVI, 2 nor have I been able to find one elsewhere as of this writing.

criticism was that the work was too short and thus felt like a sketch.<sup>181</sup> While Gerigk's review was not enthusiastic, it must have been a relief to Orff that it was not antagonistic. Orff was fortunate to gain the support of the National Socialist critic Fritz Stege (1896–1967), who conducted an interview with him.<sup>182</sup> Stege, although he had not reviewed *Carmina Burana*, had high praise for the composer, whom he called “this highly gifted herald” (*dieser hochbegabte Kunder*) in his review of *Der Mond*:

But his ideas are strong because they are simple; they have sentimental value in their original form that calls on the unspoiled, healthy listener, and they leave the way open to art music, without admitted one-sided primitivism. Therefore Orff's natural, songlike essence always will find an enthusiastic following in all circles that have genuine naivete.<sup>183</sup>

As with *Carmina Burana*, several critics, including Gerigk,<sup>184</sup> noted elements of Epic Theater, sometimes making reference to Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat*. Yet for the most part, again including Gerigk, they did not raise objections.<sup>185</sup> Evidently *Der Mond*,

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<sup>181</sup> Herbert Gerigk, “Ein Opern-Einakter von Carl Orff,” in *Die Musik*, Vol. XXXI, Heft 6, March 1939:412–413, 412. See Appendix 2 for an excerpt.

<sup>182</sup> Fritz Stege, “Gesprache mit deutschen Musikern. Er hat den Mond vom Himmel geholt. Wir besuchen den Munchener Komponisten Carl Orff,” in *Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten* (Kassel), Nr. 66, 18/19 March 1939. A truncated version of the article with the same title was published in the *Solinger Tageblatt*, 29 March 1939. See COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, XVI, 2. Stege was a member of the NSDAP since 1930 (Nr. 410.480) and a member of the *Kampfbund fur deutsche Kultur* since 1929 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 7245; see also *ibid.*, 7244–7256, and note on 7256 Prieberg's statement that Michael Kater had overstated Stege's power of influence; see Kater, “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” 21; see also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 6–7, in which it is noted that Stege was in the camp of Goebbels).

<sup>183</sup> Fritz Stege, “Karl Orffs ‚Der Mond.‘ Ein bedeutsames musikalisches Ereignis im Deutschlandsender,” in *Der Westen* (Berlin), Nr. 65, 6. March 1939, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, XVI, 2. Original language: *Aber seine Einfalle sind stark, weil sie einfach sind, sie enthalten Gefuhlswerte, die in ihrer Ursprunglichkeit an den unverbildeten, unangekrankelten Horer appellieren, und sie lassen die Brucke zur Kunstmusik offen, ohne sich einseitig zur Primitivitat zu bekennen. Darum wird Orffs naturliche liedhaftes Wesen stets eine begeisterte Gefolgschaft in allen Kreisen finden, die sich die echte Naivitat erhalten haben.*

<sup>184</sup> Gerigk wrote: “A narrator, whose model is the Evangelist of the Passion, accompanies the unrolling events, more epic than dramatic” (Gerigk, “Ein Opern-Einakter von Carl Orff, 412, original language: *Ein Erzahler, dessen Vorbild der Evangelist der Passion ist, begleitet die mehr episch als dramatisch abrollenden Vorgange*). It is remarkable that such a zealous National Socialist as Gerigk did not raise the obvious objection of the influence of Brecht, as did Heinz Fuhrmann with *Carmina Burana*.

<sup>185</sup> Regarding the references to *L'histoire du soldat*, See Oscar von Pander, “Fasching in der Munchener Staatsoper. Carl Orffs ‚Der Mond‘ und Mussorgskys ‚Jahrmarkt von Sorotschintzi,‘” in *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, Nr. 33, 8 February 1939; Oscar von Pander, “Fasching in der Staatsoper. Neueinstudierungen in ubermutigem Stil,” in *Munchner Neueste Nachrichten*, 92. Jahrgang, Nr. 38, 7 February 1939, S. 5; Carl Benedict, “‚Der Mond.‘ Marchenoper von Carl Orff. Urauffuhrung im Munchner Nationaltheater,” in *General-Anzeiger der Stadt Wuppertal, Elberfeld-Barmen*, Nr. 34, 9 February 1939; Dr. Alfred Burgartz, “‚Der Mond‘ als Opernheld. Carls Orffs neues Werk in prachtvoller Wiedergabe durch Clemens Krau,” in *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, Nr. 31, 6 February 1939. For references to the “epic” quality of *Der Mond*, see author not credited, “Zu den Musikprogrammen,” in *Die Sendung* (Rundwoche, Berlin), Nr. 10;

with its quintessentially Germanic source material (of which Gerigk heartily approved),<sup>186</sup> largely diatonic music, and folkloric qualities were enough to please many of the National Socialist critics.<sup>187</sup>

It was over a year and a half after the premiere of *Der Mond* that the second staging of *Carmina Burana* finally took place in Dresden on 4 October 1940, sealing the work's popularity. In *Dokumentation*, Orff wrote that the scenic designer Emil Preetorius (1883–1973), the director Heinz Arnold (1906–1994), and the conductor Karl Böhm (1894–1981) “brought the work to a triumphant success.”<sup>188</sup> The *Völkischer Beobachter*, in which Gerigk's unpleasant review of the 1937 premiere had appeared, ran a highly positive review, albeit by a far less prominent critic, Hanns Lerch:

Here Orff was absolutely bursting with indestructible and healthy musicality. Rhythmically, sonically, and in the instrumentation all colors and pictures bloomed, from wood engravings of a coarse variety to gentle, softly whispered idylls, or to whoops of joy for life in thunderous jubilation. This is the clear, stormy and yet always disciplined in style music that our time demands.<sup>189</sup>

One can detect in Lerch's words the increased militancy that characterized much of the press in the Third Reich following Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939.<sup>190</sup>

Orff also received positive treatment in *Das Reich*, a publication of Joseph

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Karl Holl, “Orffs Märchenspiel ‚Der Mond‘ Ein Abend in der Münchener Staatsoper,” in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Nr. 71, 8 February 1939, S. 11; Alfred Burgartz, “‘Der Mond’ als Opernheld. Uraufführung in München, *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, Berlin, Nr. 31, 6 2 February 39. All preceding articles in COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, XVI, 2. See also Kurt Heifer, “Oper und Gegenwart,” in *Deutsche Oper der Gegenwart*, ed. Carl Niessen, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1944:16–23, 20 (a description of Orff's theatrical style that matches with the description of Epic Theater).

<sup>186</sup> Gerigk wrote: “The fable is so rightly suitable for the musical theater” (Gerigk, “Ein Opern-Einakter von Carl Orff,” 412, original language: *Die Fabel ist so recht für das musikalische Theater geeignet*).

<sup>187</sup> As Richard DCamp has noted of *Der Mond*: “This dramatic effort is full of folkloristic qualities, characteristic nationalistic representations the Nazis found most valuable. In addition to this, it is perhaps Orff's most melodic work, thus not alienating the audience of censors. This endearing piece probably bought Orff more time with the Nazi censors than any other work of his Third Reich compositions” (DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff*, 215).

<sup>188</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 71. Original language: *brachte das Werk zu einem triumphalen Erfolg*.

<sup>189</sup> Hanns Lerch, “In Dresden uraufgeführt Orffs ‚Orfeo‘,” in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 53. Jahrgang, Nr. 281, 7 October 1940, S. 7 (also in the same publication, Nr. 282, 8 October 1940, S. 4; see Appendix 2 for further quotation). Original language: *Hier strotzte Orff geradezu vor unverwüstlicher und gesunder Musikalität. Rhythmisch, klanglich und in der Instrumentierung blühten alles Farben und Bilder, von Holzschnitt derber Art bis zum sanft hingehauchten Idyll oder zum Aufjauchzen der Lebensfreude in brausendem Jubel. Das ist die klare, stürmende und in ihrer Haltung doch immer wieder disziplinierte Musik, die unsere Zeit verlangt. Sie packt und reißt mit und klingt vom Ohr ins Herz*. As of this writing, I have not been able to find further information on Hanns Lerch.

<sup>190</sup> I am indebted to Professor Wolfgang Rathert for this observation.

Goebbels, from the critic Werner Oehlmann. Although Oehlmann had no NSDAP membership, he used nationalistic rhetoric in his writings from the Third Reich and praised works that used National Socialist texts.<sup>191</sup> In 1942, another article by Oehlmann in *Das Reich* titled “*Europäische Musik*” (“European Music”) was accompanied by a picture of Carl Orff, the caption for which called *Carmina Burana* “a scenic composition of Middle Age poetry that is among the characteristic works of new German music”<sup>192</sup> (See figure 2.2.) In December 1941, Fritz Stege finally got to hear the work, conducted by Herbert von Karajan.<sup>193</sup> Stege wrote: “Orff is the composer that our time needs, and the musical world must grapple with his *Carmina Burana*—a master creation that no friend of music may pass by!”<sup>194</sup> The National Socialist cultural apparatus had decided that Orff’s music could be used to its advantage.

### **Carl Orff’s Relationship with the City of Frankfurt and the Music for William Shakespeare’s *Ein Sommernachtstraum***

The most notable instance of Carl Orff’s appropriation by the Third Reich is the music he supplied for William Shakespeare’s *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (the German title of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*) on commission from Frankfurt-am-Main. Shakespeare’s play had drawn Orff’s attention long before the Third Reich, and he characteristically hoped to write a score that brought out the play’s dark elements more

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<sup>191</sup> Werner Oehlmann, “Ursprung der Oper. Dresden spielt Monteverdi und Orff,” in *Das Reich*, Nr. 21, 13 October 1940, S. 18. For more on Oehlmann (1901–1985), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5348–5350 (dates of life and information about NSDAP affiliation 5348), 988 1403, 1957, 3830, 5103, 5154, 5385 (relating specifically to Carl Orff), 6187, 8817, 9341, and 9450. Michael Kater has called Oehlmann “one of the more credible critics still active” during the Third Reich (Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 57).

<sup>192</sup> Werner Oehlmann, “Europäische Musik,” in *Das Reich*, Nr. 7, 15 February 1942, Literatur/Kunst/Wissenschaft section [S. 3]. Original language: *eine szenische Komposition mittelalterlicher Dichtungen, zu den charakteristischen Werken der neuen deutschen Musik zählen.*

<sup>193</sup> Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, 71. For more on Karajan and the Third Reich, see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 3815–3850.

<sup>194</sup> Fritz Stege, “Orffs ‚Carmina burana‘ Ein ereignisvoller Abend in der Staatsoper,” *Der Westen* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf), Nr. 352, 22 February 1941, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVII, 2. Original language: *Orff ist der Komponist, den unsere Zeit braucht, und mit seinen ‚Carmina burana‘ muß sich die Musikwelt ernsthaft auseinandersetzen—eine Meisterschöpfung, an der kein Musikfreund vorübergehen darf!* See also Fritz Stege, “Berliner Music,” in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109. Jahrgang, Heft 2, February 1942:64–65, 64 (quotation in Appendix 2).

than other interpretations had done.<sup>195</sup> This commission has a troubling history. During the Third Reich, National Socialist cultural officers sought out music for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* to replace the popular overture *Schauspielmusik* (incidental music) by Felix Mendelssohn.<sup>196</sup> Although Mendelssohn had converted to Christianity, the *Nürnberger Gesetze* (Nürnberg laws) of 1935 were concerned with race and not religion.<sup>197</sup> Orff's *Ein Sommernachtstraum* project proved to be one of the most difficult of his career. It underwent the most extensive and protracted revisions of any of his works, to the annoyance of Willy Strecker at Schott Music.<sup>198</sup> It is entirely possible that Orff's difficulties were in part due to the fact that he was offering a replacement for Mendelssohn's score, an intimidating prospect and one that may well have weighed on his conscience.

During the Third Reich, Orff's ties to the musically progressive city of Frankfurt constituted one of his most important professional relationships.<sup>199</sup> He had five premieres in that city between 1935 and 1943: *Paradiesgärtlein* on 15 and 16 May 1935, *Carmina Burana* on 8 June 1937, the music for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (the score of which is

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<sup>195</sup> See Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 54 and 115–116; Andreas Liess, trans. Adelheid and Herbert Parkin, *Carl Orff: His Life and His Music*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966, 105–107, in original German, Andreas Liess, *Carl Orff: Idee und Werk*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, expanded edition, Zürich: Atlantis, 1977, 105–107.

<sup>196</sup> Mendelssohn composed his overture to *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (Opus 21) in 1826, and the first performance took place on 20 February 1827 in Stettin. In 1842–1843, he wrote further incidental music to the play (Opus 61), which was first performed on 14 October 1843 in Postdam (by unhappy coincidence, the premiere of Orff's 1939 *Ein Sommernachtstraum* also took place on 14 October). For the scores, see Felix Mendelssohn, *Major Orchestral Works in Full Score*, New York: Dover Publications, 1975. There is no evidence that Orff disliked Mendelssohn's music; he wrote to Willy Strecker that his music to Shakespeare's play would not please "directors who love moonlight with sugar water," but he made no reference to Mendelssohn's score in the letter (letter from Carl Orff to Willy Strecker, 8 November 1938, SK, COS/OZM, quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 54, original language: *Regisseure, die Mondschein mit Zuckerwasser lieben*; see also Rösch's commentary in *ibid.*, 54–55 n. 136 and 115–116; that Mendelssohn is not mentioned in the letter was confirmed to me by the OZM, 2 October 2014). Orff's journal from 1917–1918 notes that he studied several works of Mendelssohn at that time (*ibid.*, 27; see also Carl Orff, "Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*: Ein Bericht," in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Band 100, Heidelberg: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, 1964:117–134, 121–122, see also the modified reprinted version in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 221). After the Third Reich, Orff stated that he had meant no disrespect to Mendelssohn in taking on his *Ein Sommernachtstraum* project (see also Liess, trans. Parkins, *Carl Orff*, 105–107, in original German, Liess, *Carl Orff*, 105–109; see also Chapter 3 at note 90).

<sup>197</sup> See Cornelia Essner, *Die »Nürnberger Gesetze« oder Die Verwaltung des Rassenwahns 1933–1945*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002.

<sup>198</sup> See Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 87 and 96.

<sup>199</sup> See Hanau, "Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik in Frankfurt am Main und Carl Orff"; Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 75–79.



dedicated to the city of Frankfurt) on 14 October 1939, the revised version of the Byrd arrangement *Entrata* on 28 February 1941 (the score of which Orff dedicated to Mayor Krebs), and *Die Kluge* on 20 February 1943.<sup>200</sup> The 1940 revised version of *Der Mond* was slated to be performed in Frankfurt as well, but this fell through.<sup>201</sup> Many of these performances were part of a two-year contract beginning in 1940, through which Orff received a monthly stipend of 500 RM.<sup>202</sup>

In addition to Intendant Hans Meissner, Orff's primary ally was in Frankfurt-am-Main Fritz (Friedrich) Krebs (1894–1961), the Lord Mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*) of that city for the duration of the Third Reich. Krebs was a strong supporter of modern music despite his reactionary credentials (he had been involved in the NSDAP since 1922).<sup>203</sup> In addition to his support for Carl Orff, Werner Egk, and Hermann Reutter, Krebs continued to support Paul Hindemith after that composer had fallen out of favor with most of the Nazi establishment and considered it a great shame that Hindemith's opera *Mathis der Maler* (*Mathis the Painter*) was not allowed to have its world premiere in Germany.<sup>204</sup> In 1938, Krebs was critical of the *Entartete Musik* exhibit and condemned musical

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<sup>200</sup> *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 267 and Vol. 8, 363. Regarding the dedication of the 1939 *Ein Sommernachtstraum*, see letter from Carl Orff to Friedrich Krebs, 10 June 1938, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 124a. See also the title page of Hans Bergese's piano reduction (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1939, BSS 36066). Regarding the dedication of the revised *Entrata* score, see Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 78 (Rösch's source is a letter from Friedrich Krebs to Carl Orff dated 4 November 1941 in the AK, COS/OZM). Presumably the *Entrata* is the festive music that Orff supplied for Frankfurt in 1941 as part of his contract with that city (see note 202 *infra*), as no other known work matches this description (see *idem*; memos from Hans Meissner to Friedrich Krebs, 2 April 1940 and 19 February 1941, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 325 and 332a, respectively). Note that in *Dokumentation* two different dates are given as the premiere of the revised version of *Entrata*, one the correct, date 28 February 1941 (see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 2, 202), and one the erroneous date 24 August 1940 (*ibid.*, 207).

<sup>201</sup> Information according to OZM, 24 and 30 October 2014 (there are no records of the performance in the archive; see also letter from Carl Orff to Hans Bergese, 15 July 1941, AK, COS/OZM). Regarding the plans for this performance, see Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 330 (the performance was to be part of Orff's contract with the city of Frankfurt) and 332a (memorandum from Hans Meissner to the Friedrich Krebs via the *Kulturamt*, 19 February 1941). See also Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 78.

<sup>202</sup> The terms of this eight-part contract, accompanied by a memo from Hans Meissner to Friedrich Krebs dated 24 May 1940, are found in the Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 329–330. The dates of the contract were 1 April 1940 to 31 March 1942. Note, however, that this document is a draft.

<sup>203</sup> For more on Krebs (including bibliography), see Appendix 3.

<sup>204</sup> See various documents in Frankfurt Institut für Stadtarchiv, Magistratsakten 7939:11–23, 304, 309–318, and 324. See also Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 47. Hindemith's opera (score: Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, ED 4575, 1937/1965), to which he wrote his own libretto, is about the life of the painter Matthias von Grünewald (ca. 1470–1528). The opera was composed between 1933 and 1935 and the premiere took place not in Germany but in Zürich in 1938.

ensorship.<sup>205</sup> Meissner was more progressive politically than Krebs: he had joined the liberal *Sozialdemokratische Partei* (“Social Democratic Party,” SDP) in 1927 but joined the NSDAP in 1933 upon the National Socialists’ rise to power.<sup>206</sup>

Following the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, Meissner proposed to Mayor Krebs that Orff should be awarded 500 Reichsmarks (RM). Krebs agreed and wrote the composer a personal letter expressing his excitement about the work: “I am especially pleased that your work could experience its world premiere in Frankfurt am Main and hope that so happy a tied-together bond between you and the Frankfurt Opera may prove itself and strengthen also in the future.”<sup>207</sup> Orff immediately responded with an effusive note of thanks:

I would like to congratulate you quite especially, very dear Mr. Mayor, on this outstanding operatic stage and at the same time am proud to have contributed with my work a little bit to the old glory of this opera and the city of Frankfurt.

With further thanks and best regards

Heil Hitler!

Your devoted Carl Orff<sup>208</sup>

Orff’s highly deferential tone and, above all, his signature demonstrate that to some degree he was willing to ingratiate himself to those in power, even to committed National Socialists, for the sake of his professional survival. This letter is one of at least seven that Orff wrote to Krebs and signed *Heil Hitler!* It is, however, notable that Orff’s correspondence with Krebs suggests that Orff was unable to meet with Krebs during the premiere of *Ein Sommernachtstraum*. Whether or not Orff deliberately avoided the

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<sup>205</sup> See Fritz Stege, “Berliner Musik,” in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 105. Jahrgang, Heft 9, September 1938:990–992, 992; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 4240; Dümling, “The Target of Racial Purity,” 70 n. 81.

<sup>206</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 46–47.

<sup>207</sup> See draft of letter from Hans Meissner to Fritz Krebs, 15 June 1937 (Frankfurt am Main), Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 58; two textually identical but differently dated drafts of a letter from Fritz Krebs to Carl Orff, respectively dated 15 June and 24 June 1937 (Frankfurt am Main), *ibid.*, MA 7939, 59 and 60. While these documents are drafts, there is nothing on them to indicate that any changes were made. Original language of quotation: *Ich freue mich ganz besonders, dass Ihr Werk seine Uraufführung in Frankfurt a.M. erleben konnte und hoffe, dass die so glücklich angeknüpfte Verbindung zwischen Ihnen und der Frankfurter Oper sich auch in Zukunft bewähren und festigen möge.* See also Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 232.

<sup>208</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Fritz Krebs, 25 June 1937 (Munich), archival source *ibid.*, 61. Note that the letter is dated one day later than Krebs’s letter. Original language: [...] *Ich möchte Sie, sehr verehrter Herr Oberbürgermeister, ganz besonders beglückwünschen zu dieser hervorragenden Opernbühne und bin zugleich stolz mit meinem Werk ein Kleines zum alten Ruhme dieser Oper und der Stadt Frankfurt beigetragen zu haben. Mit nochmaligem Dank und bester Empfehlung Heil Hitler! Ihr ergebener Carl Orff.* Alternately, *sehr verehrter* may be translated as “very honored.”

meeting is, however, impossible to know.<sup>209</sup>

In March 1938, Meissner asked Orff if he would be interested in writing music for William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, using August Wilhelm von Schlegel's (1767–1845) German translation, titled *Ein Sommernachtstraum*.<sup>210</sup> After the composer's positive answer, Meissner proposed the commission to Krebs, who agreed.<sup>211</sup> Because several *ersatz* scores for *Ein Sommernachtstraum* already had been composed between 1934 and the beginning of 1938, Meissner expressed his wish to Orff that the composer could produce a work that "is not only tailored to the conditions of Frankfurt, but also is capable of maintaining your place in other theaters and therefore of replacing earlier compositions for Shakespeare's work."<sup>212</sup> Anyone who had been paying attention to Nazi musical culture would have known that the most important music being replaced was Mendelssohn's.

Orff was offered 5,000 RM for the *Ein Sommernachtstraum* commission, an offer difficult to turn down given his dire financial problems. When he proposed the 500 RM award to Orff following the premiere of *Carmina Burana*, Meissner wrote to Krebs of "the deprivation, which has lasted for years, that has been imposed on the composer,"

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<sup>209</sup> See also letters from Carl Orff to Friedrich Krebs dated 10 June 1938, 1 October 1939, 18 October 1939, 30 October 1939, 5 March 1940, and 26 April 1940, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 124a, 124o, 290, 291, 320, and 328, respectively. The letters dated 18 and 30 October 1939 make reference to the fact that the two men had not been able to speak in person at the premiere of *Ein Sommernachtstraum*. Other instances of Orff signing letters with *Heil Hitler!* include letter to Herr Starke (presumably Paul Starke of the Leipzig Volkssingakademie), 10 March 1939 (Archiv-Prieberg); letter from Carl Orff to Dr. v. Eckmann, 5 April 1942, Nr. 8, Personalia: Rudolf Wanger-Régeny, Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna; letter from Carl Orff to Walter Thomas, 16 April 1942, Personalia: Carl Orff, Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Nr. 12; letter from Carl Orff to the Reichsschriftumskammer, 2 May 1943, Berlin, BA, RK I 0448, 0766.

<sup>210</sup> Shakespeare's play was likely written between 1590 and 1596. The German title *Ein Sommernachtstraum* literally translates to "A Summer Night's Dream."

<sup>211</sup> Meissner's letter to Orff (25 March 1938) and Orff's reply (29 March 1938) are quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 48 (AK, COS/OZM). For official documentation of the commission, see internal memo of the *Kulturamt* (i.e. cultural office) of Frankfurt am Main, May 1938, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 124.

<sup>212</sup> Quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 48. Original language: *nicht nur auf Frankfurter Verhältnisse zugeschnitten ist, sondern ihren Platz auch an anderen Theatern zu behaupten vermag und damit frühere Kompositionen zu Shakespeares Werk ersetzt*. Regarding the other versions of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* from the Third Reich see Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 144–164 (158–161 regarding Orff); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, London: MacMillan Publishers, 71–74, especially 72; Rainer Hauptmann, *Wir haben keine Heimat mehr...: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy oder eine Geschichte kulturellen Antisemitismus im Deutschland des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Books on Demand, [2012], 157–175 (note that this source erroneously gives 1938 instead of 1939 as the year that Orff's work was first performed and published; see *ibid.*, 172–173).

who “even still today definitely lives in not especially favorable economic conditions.”<sup>213</sup> While he was at work on his score for *Ein Sommernachtstraum*, he had to borrow 2,000 RM from his brother-in-law, Alwin Seifert, in November 1938. In February 1939 he had difficulty paying the bills for Godela’s schooling.<sup>214</sup>

One of the primary proponents for replacing Mendelssohn’s music was in fact one of the critics who had expressed hostility towards *Carmina Burana*, Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog. In 1937, Herzog wrote in *Die Musik*: “Our *Volkisch* and moral sense make it impossible for us, for example, to bear a work like Shakespeare’s *Sommernachtstraum* with Jewish musical accompaniment.”<sup>215</sup> Through his leadership position at the *Nationalsozialistische Kultur-Gemeinde* (National Socialist Cultural Community), Herzog had solicited at least five composers in the autumn of 1934 to write music for Shakespeare’s play: Hans Pfitzner, Werner Egk, Gottfried Müller (1914–1993), Rudolf Wagner-Régeny (1903–1969), and Julius Weismann (1879–1950).

Given that replacing Mendelssohn was a daunting task, it is not surprising that only Wagner-Régeny and Weismann obliged, each receiving an award of 2,000 RM.<sup>216</sup> Pfitzner, despite his publicly professed anti-Semitic views, thought it was preposterous to replace Mendelssohn’s music.<sup>217</sup> Egk recounted to Fred K. Prieberg in 1964 that he

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<sup>213</sup> Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 58. Original language: ...*die jahrelange Entbehrung, die dem Tondichter auferlegt gewesen sind. Auch heute noch lebt der Dichter durchaus nicht in besonders günstigen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen und eine Sonderzuweisung würde ihm, wenigstens nach der wirtschaftlichen Seite hin, seine künstlerische Arbeit bestimmt erleichtern.*

<sup>214</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 71–72; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 242.

<sup>215</sup> Friedrich W. Herzog, “Die windgeschützte Ecke. Musikpolitische Betrachtungen zu Gegenwartsfragen,” in *Die Musik*, Vol. XXIX, Heft 6, March 1937, 416. Original language: *Unser völkisches und sittliches Empfinden macht es uns beispielsweise unmöglich, ein Werk wie Shakespeares „Sommernachtstraum“ mit jüdischer Begleitmusik zu ertragen.* See also Friedrich W. Herzog, “Eine neue Musik zum »Sommernachtstraum« Zwei Kompositionsaufträge der NS-Kulturgemeinde,” in *Die Musik*, Vol. XXVII, Heft 2, November 1934:110–111; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 3129–3130.

<sup>216</sup> See Herzog, “Eine neue Musik zum »Sommernachtstraum«”; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 150–151; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 3129–3130; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 178–180, especially 178; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, London: MacMillan Publishers, 73.

<sup>217</sup> See Ludwig Schrott, *Die Persönlichkeit Hans Pfitzners*, Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1959, 13. By Schrott’s account, Pfitzner said: “Yet such a thing is vile! But I gave these fellows a piece of my mind...I would never be able to write better music to *Sommernachtstraum* than Mendelssohn. Yes, you know, I am a bad guy, and lemonade does not exactly flow in my veins...” (internal quotation marks omitted; quotation ends in ellipses in original, original language: *So etwas ist doch eine Gemeinheit! Ich habe diesen Burschen aber heimgeleuchtet....Ich wäre nie in der Lage, eine bessere Musik zum »Sommernachtstraum« zu schreiben als Mendelssohn. Ja, wissen Sie, ich bin ein böser Kerl, und in meinen Adern fließt nicht gerade Limonade...).*

likewise had declined out of deference to Mendelssohn.<sup>218</sup> Ironically, Müller, the only one of the five solicited composers ever to join the Nazi Party,<sup>219</sup> who even set out to compose a cantata using texts of Adolf Hitler titled *Führerworte* (*Sayings of the Führer*, Opus 7, premiere 1944),<sup>220</sup> also refused the commission. It is remarkable that he turned down such a significant commission at the outset of his career (he was 20 years old); his motivations for doing so are not well documented.<sup>221</sup>

As the refusals of Pfitzner, Egk, and Müller demonstrate, the efforts to replace Mendelssohn's popular music were controversial even within the Third Reich. Richard Strauss, Germany's leading composer at that time, had disdain for the project.<sup>222</sup> Even the Nazi Fritz Stege wrote in 1934: "No, to *Sommernachtstraum* belongs Mendelssohn's music first. It does honor to no arranger to touch this artistic masterwork."<sup>223</sup> While both

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See also Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 150. See also Edward Kilenyi, "The Record of German Musicians: Many Played Ball With The Nazis—Only Very Few Did Not," *The New York Times*, 2 June 1946, X5. Regarding Pfitzner's anti-Semitism, see Chapter 1 at n. 193–194.

<sup>218</sup> See letter from Werner Egk to Fred K. Prieberg, 6 July 1964, cited in Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 150 and 420 n. 17.

<sup>219</sup> Müller's NSDAP membership (Nr. 2.458.091) was conferred 1 May 1933 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5047). That Pfitzner, Egk, Wagner-Régeny, and Weismann had no NSDAP membership is reported in *ibid.*, 5549, 1380, 8015, and 8152 (respectively).

<sup>220</sup> *Führerworte* was composed 1938–1943; the premiere took place on 14 April 1944 Dresden (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5056). The text of the final movement in fact predates Hitler (see Gunnar Wiegand, *Gottfried Müller zur NS-Zeit*, Masters thesis, Universität Leipzig, 2005, 118–125, here 123–124; a copy of this work is housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The composer's piano reduction of *Führerworte* was published by Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig: Edition Breitkopf Nr. 5710, plate 31060). While *Führerworte* garnered some good reviews for Müller, it was not by any means an unqualified success (see also Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 240–241). See also the Nachlaß of Gottfried Müller (Ana 629) in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Handschriftenlesesaal, Ana 629: Varia II, Korrespondenz zu Gottfried Müllers „Führerworte“; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 203–204; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 234–241; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 1484 and 5046–5061 (especially 1484 and 5056–5060); Thomas Schinköth, ed. *Musikstadt Leipzig im NS-Staat: Beiträge zu einem verdrängten Thema*, Altenburg: Klaus-Jürgen Kamprad, 1997; .

<sup>221</sup> See Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 151. It is unclear from Prieberg's text and endnotes how exactly he knew that Müller declined the commission; there is no quotation as with Pfitzner and Egk, nor is there any reference in Müller's entry in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5046–5061. That three of the five composers could demur the commission demonstrates that, at least in 1934, declining a state commission was, as Prieberg has described it, "among the few freedoms for composers in the National Socialist state" Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 151, original language: *zu den wenigen Freiheiten für Komponisten im NS-Staat*). In his 1964 letter to Prieberg, Egk stated that declining the commission was "at that time probably possible without serious consequences" (quoted in *ibid.*, 150, original language: *um diese Zeit ohne schlimme Folgen wohl möglich war*).

<sup>222</sup> See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 127.

<sup>223</sup> Fritz Stege, "Berliner Musik," in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 101. Jahrgang, Heft 10, October 1934:1030–1033, 1033. Original language: *Nein: zum Sommernachtstraum gehört einmal Mendelssohns [sic] Musik. Es gereicht keinem Bearbeiter zur Ehre, dieses künstlerische Meisterwerk anzutasten*. This passage is from a review of a performance that used one of the first new scores for Shakespeare's play, composed by

Wagner-Régeny's and Weismann's scores were performed several times during the Third Reich, neither work was as successful following the premieres in June 1935 as the composers had hoped.<sup>224</sup>

Orff's composition was fraught with problems from the beginning. Within two weeks of Orff receiving Meissner's letter with the commission, Franz Willms of Schott Music expressed his concern to the composer: "With the *Sommernachtstraum* music you have, I fear, sat yourself on an evil wasps' nest. [I wonder] if *you* will succeed at getting rid of Mendelssohn?" Willms noted the grim irony of Orff's concurrent request for a perusal copy of the score to the incidental music for Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* by the Jewish Erich Wolfgang Korngold: "That you call on Erich Wolfgang Korngold for help with this is no bad joke!"<sup>225</sup> When Orff told Heinrich Sutermeister about the project, his student wrote back to him with the salutation "Dear Mendelssohn!" (*Lieber Mendelssohn!*)<sup>226</sup> In December 1938 Willy Strecker expressed reservations about the project. He reminded Orff vividly of the unsavory underlying reason for Meissner's solicitation: "In the last years there is a whole line of *Sommernachtstraum* compositions have been commissioned, to put the non-Aryan Mendelssohn out of business." Orff defended himself in a strongly worded letter that he evidently never sent (both the

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Edmund Nick (1891–1974). See also Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5210 (for more on Nick, see *ibid.*, 5208–5214); Prieberg, *Musik im NS Staat*, 148–150; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 72–73 (this source describes the backlash against Stege from Herzog, cf. Herzog, "Eine neue Musik zum »Sommernachtstraum«,“ 110). For

<sup>224</sup> See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 73; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 8017 and 8152.

Wagner-Régeny's work was published in full score while Weismann's (his Opus 117) was published only in piano reduction (see Berlin: Deutscher Musik-Verlag in der NS-Kulturgemeinde, copyright 1935, K. 16 and K. 30, respectively). Both works were first performed in concert setting (rather than staging) by the *Nationalsozialistische Kultur-Gemeinde* in Düsseldorf on 6 June 1935 (Wagner-Régeny) and 11 June 1935 (Weismann).

<sup>225</sup> Letter from Franz Willms to Carl Orff, 12 April 1938 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 49, emphasis in original. Original language of first quotation: *Mit der »Sommernachtstraum-Musik« haben Sie sich, fürchte ich, in ein böses Wespennest gesetzt. Ob es Ihnen gelingen wird, Mendelssohn aus dem Felde zu schlagen?* Original language of second quotation: *Dass Sie dafür Erich Wolfgang Korngold zu Hilfe rufen, ist kein schlechter Witz!* Korngold's (1897–1957) incidental music to Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* (ca. 1598–1599) has the German title *Viel Lärmen um Nichts*, Opus 11 (composed 1918–19, premiere 6 May 1920 in Vienna, score: Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, BSS 30 683, accessible at <http://www.schott-music.com/shop/9/show,153315.html>). Adding to the irony of Orff's request, Korngold had travelled to America in 1934 to collaborate with Max Reinhardt (1873–1943) on his film of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for which Korngold arranged Mendelssohn's score. Korngold remained in America for the rest of his life.

<sup>226</sup> Quoted in Jürg Stenzl, "Im Reich der Musik: Heinrich Sutermeister und Carl Orff zwischen 1935 und 1945," in *Musik & Ästhetik*, 5. Jahrgang, Heft 20, October 2001:44–66, 51; Thomas, "Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," S. 5.

original and the onion skin are retained in his papers), firmly arguing the artistic merits of his project and differentiating himself from the other *ersatz* scores to Shakespeare's play.<sup>227</sup> Even to his publisher—and perhaps also to himself—Orff had to go to great pains to justify his project, haunted as it was by Mendelssohn's ghost. After the premiere Orff continued to receive what must have been unwelcome reminders. In 1941, his theater critic friend Karl Heinz Ruppel (1900–1980) reported that a performance of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* at the Berlin *Staatstheater* (i.e. “state theater”) would not be possible because “as [director Julian] Fehling expressed it, [General Intendant] Gustaf Gründgens does not want to ‘compromise’ his old friendly relationship with the Mendelssohn family with a new *Sommernachtstraum* music.”<sup>228</sup>

Orff's *Ein Sommernachtstraum* project has an extraordinary history; this project lasted throughout most of his career. By his own report, he already had made two abortive attempts to write music for Shakespeare's play, one in 1917 and one around 1927. No materials from these attempts survive, nor are there any references to these projects in his extant papers.<sup>229</sup> Between 1938 and 1962, Orff wrote four further versions of *Ein Sommernachtstraum*.<sup>230</sup> The initial composition of the music for *Ein*

<sup>227</sup> See letters from Willy Strecker to Carl Orff, 14 December 1938 (quotation), and Carl Orff to Willy Strecker (evidently never sent), 16 December 1938 (SK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 55–56. Original language of occasion: *Es sind in den letzten Jahren eine ganze Reihe von Sommernachtstraum-Musiken bestellt worden, um den nichtarischen Mendelssohn aus dem Geschäftsleben ausscheiden zu lassen*. See also Rösch's comment on Orff's error of holding to the principle of artistic autonomy during the Third Reich (ibid., 71).

<sup>228</sup> Letter from Karl Heinz Ruppel to Carl Orff, 3 June 1941, quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 69. Original language of quotation: *...dass Gustaf Gründgens seine alten freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zur Familie Mendelssohn nicht mit einer neuen Sommernachtstraum-Musik »kompromittieren« möchte, wie Fehling sich ausdrückte*. Ruppel's letter is dated 3 June 1941. In a letter dated 14 May 1941, Orff had asked Ruppel about the possibility of a production of a performance of *Der Mond* or *Ein Sommernachtstraum* at the Berlin *Staatstheater* (i.e. “state theater”) with Jürgen Fehling. He told Ruppel that “a Fehling *Mond* naturally would be still more important for me than a *Sommernachtstraum*,” suggesting that he considered *Ein Sommernachtstraum* the less important of the two works (quoted in ibid., 68; original language: *Ein Fehlingscher Mond wäre mir natürlich noch wichtiger wie ein Sommernachtstraum*). Jürgen Fehling (1885–1968) was a director at the Berlin *Staatstheater*. Gustaf Gründgens (1899–1963) was a German actor and director. He was appointed by the leading Nazi Hermann Göring (1893–1946) as the general intendant of the *Preussische Staatstheater* (Prussian State Theater) in Berlin in 1934 and held that position until 1944 (see also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 132–133).

<sup>229</sup> See Rösch, *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 14–39.

<sup>230</sup> For the chronology of Orff's *Ein Sommernachtstraum*, see *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 267–271. For Orff's own account, see Orff, “Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*: Ein Bericht,” in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 117–134. This essay is reprinted with slight revision in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 219–233. While Rösch's text, perhaps for the sake of comprehensibility, refers to each attempt as a version (*Fassung*) through his book,

*Sommernachtstraum* did not come easily for Orff in 1938. His commission was reduced to 3,000 RM when he could not produce the work by the end of the year.<sup>231</sup> Given that the composer was well aware that his efforts were contributing to an anti-Semitic National Socialist agenda, it is reasonable to think that his conscience was troubling him, as both Michael Kater and Richard DCamp have suggested.<sup>232</sup>

After his difficulties in creating the score to *Ein Sommernachtstraum*, Orff was dissatisfied with the result, although his music was used in at least five further productions after the world premiere through the fall of 1943.<sup>233</sup> In October 1942, he wrote to the director Reinhard Lehmann: “Surely you were disappointed by the *Sommernachtstraum*. I myself also did not think much of the piece at all and, when I have time, shall make it again brand new.”<sup>234</sup> In 1944, Orff completed his next version of the score, which retains some material from the 1939 version but also has substantial differences and omissions. The dire wartime conditions made any performance of this version impossible, however, as many theaters were destroyed and eventually all were shut down.<sup>235</sup>

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at the beginning there is a more more accurate description of “two attempts and four versions” (*Zwei Entwürfe und vier Fassungen*, section heading in *ibid.*, 9). As does Rösch’s work after this point, the present dissertation follows the convention of referring to the first through sixth versions for the sake of avoiding confusion. See also Franz Willnauer, “Anmerkungen zu Carl Orffs *Sommernachtstraum*,” in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 233–266.

<sup>231</sup> See memo of the Frankfurt Kulturamt to Mayor Krebs, 15 June 1939, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, MA 7939, 124i.

<sup>232</sup> See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 126–127; DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff*, 202. As DCamp wrote: “The many editions of this play by Orff also indicate a degree of malcontentedness on the author’s part. Orff’s inability to be satisfied with his work perhaps stems from a subconscious shame for his role in the denouncement of Felix Mendelssohn in the Third Reich.”

<sup>233</sup> Most of these performances occurred in Germany: Göttingen (December 1939), Karlsruhe (May 1940), Lippe (December 1940), and Mainz (October 1943). There was also a production in Brussels in 1942. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5390 (according to Prieberg, there were about 30 stage productions); Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 161; Rösch, *Carl Orff – Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum: Entstehung und Deutung*, Munich: Orff-Zentrums München, 2009, 68 (for the 1939 version in general, see 40–75); performance history at Schott Music website (<http://www.schott-music.com/shop/9/show,154493.html?showOldPerformances=true#top>, accessed 17 November 2014).

<sup>234</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Reinhard Lehmann, 24 October 1942 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 84. Original language: *Von der Sommernachtstraum sind Sie sicher enttäuscht gewesen. Ich selber halte von dem Stück auch garnicht viel und werde es, wenn ich mal Zeit habe, nochmal ganz neu machen*. As of this writing, I have been unable to find biographical or political information on Reinhard Lehmann, although Lehmann directed the premiere of Orff’s *Die Bernauerin* in Stuttgart on 15 June 1947 (see Chapter 4).

<sup>235</sup> See Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 88–89 (Orff’s wife at the time, Gertrud Willert Orff, wrote in her diary on 10 September 1944 that the premiere of the fourth version was



Shortly after the war, Orff was given the extraordinary opportunity to have the work performed at the Salzburg Festival, an offer he received from his young colleague Gottfried von Einem (1918–1996). In December 1946, Orff wrote to von Einem: “In the matter of *Sommernachtstraum*, I recommend to you the greatest restraint.” Ten months later, von Einem asked him: “Is your *Sommernachtstraum* a National Socialist commission or something similar?”<sup>236</sup> Orff responded defensively:

The *Sommernachtstraum* is obviously in no way “incriminated”; also, this version was never performed. Despite this, it has been held against me from [a] certain side that I have confronted the romantic masterpiece of Mendelssohn with an unromantic [version]....No, in no case do I release the *Sommernachtstraum* for Salzburg.<sup>237</sup>

That Orff declined the offer of a premiere at the prestigious Salzburg Festival (where his *Antigone* and *De temporum fine comoedia* would have their premieres, respectively, in 1949 and 1973) demonstrates the extent of his reservations. Perhaps he thought that it was too soon after the Third Reich, especially given the international audience of the Salzburg Festival.

The fourth version of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* was, in fact, never performed. Following the war, Orff reworked the music yet again, and again retained many portions of the previous version while rejecting others. This fifth version was completed in 1952 and first performed that year in Darmstadt. Yet one more revision followed (premiere 1964 in Stuttgart), but the final round of revisions were not drastic changes as before.<sup>238</sup> One therefore may consider the fifth version of 1952, written after the Third Reich, to represent Orff’s final structure.

Each time he went through the process of reworking *Ein Sommernachtstraum*

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to have taken place on that day; see *ibid.*, 89); Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 5390; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 161.

<sup>236</sup> First quotation: letter from Carl Orff to Gottfried von Einem, 6 December 1946. Original language: *In Sachen Sommernachtstraum empfehle ich Ihnen grösste Zurückhaltung*. Second quotation: letter from Gottfried von Einem to Carl Orff, 15 October 1947. Original language: *ist Ihr S.Traum ein N.S. Auftrag oder so etwas ähnliches?* Both excerpts quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 93.

<sup>237</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Gottfried von Einem, 22 October 1947 (AK, COS/OZM), quoted in Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 93. Original language: *Der Sommernachtstraum ist selbstverständlich in keiner Weise »belastet«, auch wurde diese Fassung noch nie aufgeführt. Trotzdem wurde es mir von gewisser Seite verübelt, dem romantischen Meisterwerk Mendelssohns [sic] eine unromantische [Fassung] gegenübergestellt zu haben. [...] Nein, den Sommernachtstraum gebe ich für Salzburg auf keinen Fall frei [...]*

<sup>238</sup> Most of the changes involved expanding the existing musical material and reducing the orchestra.

(even in the less drastic revisions between the fifth and sixth versions), Orff brought in more music from his other works, creating a something of a patchwork.<sup>239</sup> While Orff regularly incorporated material from his previous compositions into subsequent works, especially with his preferences for certain chords and pitch collections, *Ein Sommernachtstraum* remains unusual in how extensively he used passages from other works (specifically *Carmina Burana*, *Die Kluge*, and *Die Bernauerin*). That Orff increasingly drew from his other compositions in each of the three revisions suggests that the composer found this project especially difficult, even more than other works that he revised several times. To what degree the knowledge that his work was tied to the cultural agenda of the Third Reich contributed to his difficulties is impossible to know, but surely it could not have helped for his project to have become embroiled in such an unpleasant and embarrassing history.

In 1964, the year in which the final version of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* had its premiere, Orff wrote an essay about his decades-long project in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*. Of the 1939 version, he wrote that he had “produced a compromised (unfortunately printed) version. In place of the small onstage ensemble there was again a normal small opera orchestra, no more magical percussion, all inexcusable concessions.”<sup>240</sup> As Thomas Rösch has observed, this remark is “conspicuously sparing and short” even in comparison to Orff’s other statements.<sup>241</sup> Although the composer expressed his chagrin wholly in terms of artistic concerns and made no reference to the

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<sup>239</sup> Orff added an extensive quotation of “Si puer cum puella” (“If a boy with a girl,” No. 19) from *Carmina Burana* into the fourth version of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* preceding the wedding scene. In the fifth version, he expanded the role of this quotation by adding further statements throughout, most notably in the opening (although he incorporated a small amount of material from the prelude of the fourth version). Also in the fifth version, he added music from the seventh scene of *Die Kluge* (the sardonic and satirical drinking song) for the mechanicals. In the sixth version, he expanded one section of the music in the wedding scene with material that recalls part of the music from Part I Scene 5 of *Die Bernauerin*.

<sup>240</sup> Orff, “Musik zum *Sommernachtstraum*: Ein Bericht,” 123, reprinted in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 223 and Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 46. Original language: *eine kompromißhafte (leider gedruckte) Fassung herzustellen. An die Stelle des kleinen Ensembles auf der Bühne trat wieder ein normales kleines Opernorchester, kein magisches Schlagwerk mehr, alles unverzeihliche Zugeständnisse*. The list of the various versions of *Ein Sommernachtstraum* at the end of the relevant volume in *Dokumentation* again refers to the 1939 version as “compromised” (*kompromißhaft*; *Dokumentation*, Vol. 5, 271).

<sup>241</sup> Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 46. Original language of quotation: *auffallend knapp und kurz*. Rösch further noted: “A certain annoyance, indeed even anger and frustration, are clearly detectable” (original language: *Ein gewisser Unmut, ja sogar Ärger und Frustration sind deutlich zu spüren*).

Frankfurt commission, Orff's terse commentary may be read as a tacit apology for participating in the National Socialist effort to replace Mendelssohn.

### **“Justice Lives in Great Distress”: Carl Orff's *Die Kluge* and the End of the Third Reich**

By the time he took on the ill-advised *Ein Sommernachtstraum* commission, Carl Orff already was planning to his second Brothers Grimm fairy-tale project, *Die Kluge* (*The Clever Woman*), which he completed in 1942.<sup>242</sup> *Die Kluge* is a companion piece to *Der Mond*, and its musical language is similar. *Die Kluge*, however, has a smaller ensemble and greater emphasis on character (although the characters are unnamed, as are all but Petrus in *Der Mond*). It is centered on a heroine who is morally superior to those around her (all of whom are men), in the tradition of Richard Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. In *Die Kluge*, a wise woman who outsmarts a tyrannical king and prevents miscarriages of justice. Of all of Orff's works, *Die Kluge* has most often been identified as potentially anti-authoritarian.<sup>243</sup> The eponymous clever woman surrenders herself to the king in love after outwitting him, in the tradition of the Romantic heroine who devotes herself to, or even sacrifices herself for, a man who is her inferior. Whereas Wagner's female characters redeem the heroes, Orff's heroine deftly manipulates the tyrant.

*Die Kluge* opens with a man lamenting his wrongful imprisonment, decrying injustice in a passage that recalls Brecht: “For he who has much / also has power. / And he who has power, / also is right, / and he who is right / also warps it / for violence reigns

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<sup>242</sup> The source material for *Die Kluge* is the fairytale “Die kluge Bauerntochter” (“The Farmer's Clever Daughter”), *Kinder- und Haumärchen* (1857 edition) Nr. 94.

<sup>243</sup> See, for example, Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1994, 189–190; Carl Dahlhaus, “Den Notlügen auf der Spur: Fred K. Priebergs Chronik der Musik im NS-Staat,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 February 1982, S. BuZ5; Hans Krieger, “Wenig Widerstand: Neue Erkenntnisse und kaum Gewißheit über Carl Orffs Rolle im Dritten Reich,” *Berliner Zeitung*, 11 February 1999, U8; Klement, *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs*, 18; DCamp, *The Drama of Carl Orff*, 218–221 and 235; Christa Spangenberg, “Enttäuschung über Sympathie mit den Nazis,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 July 1995, Leserbriefe, S. 11; John Rockwell, “Orff: Two Second Thoughts” (recording review), *The New York Times*, 6 June 1993, H34; John Rockwell, “Reverberations: Going Beyond ‘Carmina Burana,’ and Beyond Orff's Stigma,” *New York Times*, 5 December 2003, E6; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 131.

over everything.”<sup>244</sup> The most striking scene in *Die Kluge* is a drinking scene with three vagabonds (*Strolche*), who raid the king’s liquor. As they drink, they sing:

When faithfulness was born / it crawled into a hunting horn. / The hunter blew it into the wind; / that’s why one finds no more faithfulness.

Faithfulness has been struck dead. / Justice lives in great distress. / Loyalty lies on straw. / Humility screams bloody murder. / Arrogance is chosen. / Patience has lost the fight. / Truth has flown heavenward. / Fidelity and honor have been pulled across the sea. / Religious piety goes out begging. / Tyranny wields its scepter widely. / Envy has gone. / Respect is naked and bare. / The virtue of the land has been expelled. / Unfaithfulness and malice have remained.<sup>245</sup>

Out of context, these words are extraordinarily bold, but Orff, like his Soviet counterpart Dmitri Shostakovich, veiled his message in irony.<sup>246</sup> The burlesque three vagabonds deliver these words in an inebriated mock litany. Their words may be interpreted either as a genuine act of protest or a joke. Nor is the tyrant specified, leaving the scene open to further interpretation. In 1970, the author Hugo Hartung (1902–1972) recalled the personnel of the Breslau theater singing the drinking song from *Die Kluge* in the summer of 1944, after the theater had been closed. Hartung noted: “The taskmasters of tyranny wondered, but they hardly understood the encrypted text.”<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Orff, *Die Kluge*, pages 18–20. Original language: *Denn wer viel hat, hat auch die Macht, und wer die Macht hat, hat das Recht, und wer das Recht hat, beugt es auch, denn über allem herrscht Gewalt*. There is yet another connection with Kurt Weill in this work. Lotte Lenya (1898–1981), Weill’s widow, noted a striking similarity between the opening of Orff’s work (which she admired) and her husband’s *Die Bürgschaft*, a collaboration with Caspar Neher (interview with David Beams, 15 and 28 February 1962, series 60, Weill-Lenya Research Center New York). Both works open with a man singing an effusive lament. Orff had considered conducting *Die Bürgschaft* at the very end of the Weimar Republic, by which time it would no longer have been possible due to the National Socialist takeover (letter from Carl Orff to Karl Salomon, 23 January 1933, AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 3 November 2014; Orff had hoped to conduct that work the following May).

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pages 139–147. Original language: *Als die Treue ward geboren / kroch sie in ein Jägerhorn / Der Jäger blus sie in den Wind, / daher man keine Treu mehr find*. [Note that “la la la la la la” follows each line in the original.] *Fides ist geschlagen tot. / Justitia lebt in grosser Not. / Pietas liegt auf den Stroh. / Humilitas schreit mordio. / Superbia ist auserkorn. / Patientia hat den Streit verlorn. / Veritas ist gen Himmel flogen. / Treu und Ehr sind übers Meer gezogen. / Betteln geht die Frömmigkeit. / Tyrannis führt das Scepter weit. / Invidia ist worden los. / Caritas ist nackt und bloß. / Tugend ist des Lands vertrieben. / Untreu und Bosheit sind verblieben*.

<sup>246</sup> See Sheinberg, *Irony, Satire, Parody and the Grotesque in the Music of Shostakovich*. As Fred K. Prieberg has noted, Orff did not endanger himself through his libretto (Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 327; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5392). See also Thomas, “Ein anderer Carl Orff im Dritten Reich,” S. 12.

<sup>247</sup> Hugo Hartung, “Begegnungen mit Carl Orff: Zu seinem 75. Geburtstag,” *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 10 July 1970, COS/OZM, Pressearchiv. Original language: *Die Fronvögte der Tyrannei wunderten sich, verstanden aber kaum den verschlüsselten Text*.

In the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the critic Erwin Bauer wrote that, in Orff's work, "every joke also has its serious side." The meaning he took away from *Die Kluge*, however, was hardly one of resistance. "It is a cheerful philosophy in which the following is reflected: the world is full of illusion and trickery; even the kings who have power to do right often err. It would be senseless and fruitless to lament this. One must accept it and meet it with wisdom — or, as happens here, with love."<sup>248</sup> Bauer's words advocate the blithe acceptance of injustice, quite a different message than that Orff's text suggests. His heroine appeases the tyrant with cunning rather than overthrowing him, but by no means does she accept injustice. On the contrary, she comes to the aid of two men whom the king has wronged. She gives him her love only after she has taken steps to make him a more just ruler, or at least to offer his victims relief. That a critic could imply in a National Socialist paper that Orff was not protesting injustice demonstrates what Carlo Testa has written: "anything appreciated and consumed by Power, however subversive in its original intention, becomes by its nature as merchandise a support for that very power; and so much the worse for the artist unwilling or unable to cope with this."<sup>249</sup> How Orff came to terms with this state of affairs will be the subject of following chapters.

Not everyone had so positive a view of the work, however. In 1947, the conductor Hans Blümer recalled to Orff that a group from the *Hitlerjugend* protested a 1944 performance of *Die Kluge*, calling it *Negermusik* (Negro music).<sup>250</sup> The same year, a performance in Graz was disrupted by the audience. The critic for Graz, Hans von Dettelbach, ended his scathing review with a stunning condemnation: "One thing is sure: that our soldiers at the front do not fight for such art and our best are already on their way

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<sup>248</sup> Erwin Bauer, *Völkischer Beobachter*, Berliner Ausgabe, 56. Jahrgang, Nr. 54, 23 February 1943, S. 6 (also Müncher Ausgabe, 56. Jahrgang, Nr. 53, 22 February 1943, S. 2). Original language of first quotation: *Jeder Witz hat auch seine ernsthafte Seite*. Original language of second quotation: *Es ist eine heitere Philosophie, die darin gespiegelt wird: die Welt ist voller Trug und List, sogar die Könige, die die Macht haben, das Rechte zu tun, irren oft. Dies zu beklagen wäre sinnlos und unfruchtbar. Man muß es hinnehmen und ihm mit Klugheit begegnen, oder — mit Liebe, wie es hier geschieht*. As of this writing, I have not been able to find further information on Bauer.

<sup>249</sup> Carlo Testa, *Masters of Two Arts: Re-Creation of European Literatures in Italian Cinema* (Toronto Italian Studies), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 109. The context is Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1975 film *Salò, o le 120 giornate di Sodoma*.

<sup>250</sup> Letter from Hans Blümer to Carl Orff, 28 August 1947, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 10 November 2014). At the present writing, I have been unable to find further information on Blümer.

to new shores.”<sup>251</sup> Evidently at least some audiences and critics perceived the subversive element of Orff’s work with umbrage.

Like the heroine of *Die Kluge*, Orff deftly managed to survive tyranny by presenting an amenable face. While he did not prevent any miscarriages of justice as did his heroine, he did manage to keep true to his art. By the last three years of the Third Reich, Orff fundamentally had achieved a comfortable position, even despite a secret inquiry about him by the Munich branch of the NSDAP in 1942. The ensuing report ascertained that “he appears to be engaged in no way with respect to politics. Facts that are indicative of opposition have not become known.” According to another memo: “There are no doubts against his political reliability. Orff is very often travelling and wholly dedicates himself to art.”<sup>252</sup> Orff had managed to convince the National Socialists that, to return to Stephen Spender’s phrase, his politics were “of the apolitical.”<sup>253</sup>

Around this time, Orff secured a lucrative commission from Vienna for his *Antigona*, which carried the extremely generous monthly stipend of 1,000 RM. This commission brought him into contact with the *Gauleiter* of Vienna, Baldur von Schirach (1907–1974), with whom Orff personally met at least twice in Vienna.<sup>254</sup> The *Antigona* commission fell through, however, in part due to the unsuccessful 1941 premiere of Rudolf Wagner-Régeny’s modernist opera *Johanna Balk*, and so Orff’s work was instead completed in 1949 and first performed that year at the Salzburg Festival.<sup>255</sup>

In the summer of 1942, Orff was one of 33 composers to be awarded a prize by

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<sup>251</sup> Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 251; Dr. Hans v. Dettelbach, “‘Giannic Schicchi‘ und ‘Die Kluge‘ Neuinszenierung und Erstaufführung im Grazer Opernhaus,” *Tagespost* (Graz), 89. Jahrgang, Nr. 92, 2 April 1944, S. 3 (quotation). Original language of quotation: *Eines ist sicher: daß unsere Soldaten an den Fronten nicht für solche Kunst kämpfen und daß unsere Besten bereits nach neuen Ufern unterwegs sind*. At this writing, I have not been able to find further information on Dettelbach.

<sup>252</sup> BA, N 0029, 0046–0068, respectively memorandum by the Gauhauptsellenleiter dated 27 June 1942, sent 17 August 1942 (0050); message from Hoheitsträger, 30 June 1942 (0048). Original language of first quotation: *Er tritt in politischer Hinsicht in keiner Weise in Erscheinung. Tatsachen, die auf eine Gegnerschaft schliessen lassen, sind nicht bekannt geworden*. Original language of second quotation: *Gegen die politische Zuverlässigkeit bestehen keine Bedenken. Orff ist immer sehr viel auf Reisen, und widmet sich ganz der Kunst*.

<sup>253</sup> Quotation as cited in Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 9 (internal quotation marks omitted).

<sup>254</sup> See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz* 181–184. Wagner-Régeny’s opera was a collaboration with Caspar Neher. See also Personalia: Rudolf Wanger-Régeny and Personalia: Carl Orff, Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna.

<sup>255</sup> See *ibid.*, 246–248; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 129–130.

the RMK. Initially he was to be in the second highest category (which carried an award of 4,000 RM), but he was demoted to the third category (2,000 RM) on account of the fact that his profits in the 1939–1940 season had been “only” (*nur*) 187,000 RM.<sup>256</sup> At the end of the war, Orff was one of 16 composers on the official *Gottbegnadeten-Liste* (literally “list of those graced by God”), meaning that he was to be protected as a valuable cultural asset and exempted from any kind of service. In addition to these 16 composers, Richard Strauss, Hans Pfitzner, and the conductor and composer Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954) were included on the list in the higher echelon of “indispensable artists” (*unersetzliche Künstler*).<sup>257</sup>

By the latter part of the Third Reich, Carl Orff had achieved a comfortable position.<sup>258</sup> In February 1942, the RMK ordered that Orff not have his telephone service taken from him due to his significance to musical culture.<sup>259</sup> Around the same time, Richard Strauss sent Orff a complimentary letter regarding *Carmina Burana*, to which Orff replied that his kind judgment “truly compensates me for the previously suffered injustice in the struggle for the assertion of my ideas.”<sup>260</sup> A publication of the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* said that his works should be treated favorably in the press, which served as an antidote to the hostility he had received from such followers of Rosenberg as Gerigk.<sup>261</sup> After his benign review of *Der Mond*,

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<sup>256</sup> Memo from von Borries to the Minister, 4 July 1942, Berlin Bundesarchiv, RK N0008, 2826.

<sup>257</sup> Oliver Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet: Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich*, Wien: ÖBV, 1991, 176. The figure of 19 composers includes Richard Strauss, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and Hans Pfitzner, the three musicians to be classified as *unersetzliche Künstler* (“indispensable artists”), although Furtwängler was almost certainly included for his work as a conductor rather than his composition.

<sup>258</sup> See also Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5388–5389. Note that Orff’s *Nachlass* does not include programs for the February 1944 production of *Die Kluge* in Cottbus here mentioned, nor does the program in his *Nachlass* specify whether or not the performance of *Carmina Burana* on 3 March 1944 was for officers of the *Luftgaukommandos VII München* as stated in Prieberg’s source, although it is possible that this was the case (information according to OZM, 20 November 2014).

<sup>259</sup> Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 132.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from Carl Orff to Richard Strauss, 12 April 1942, Richard-Strauss-Archiv, Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Original language: ...*entschädigt mich wirklich für alle früher erlittene Unbill im Kampf um das Durchsetzen meiner Ideen*. A facsimile of the letter from Richard Strauss to Carl Orff (no date, but between February and April 1942) is printed in Willnauer, ed., *Carmina Burana von Carl Orff*, 282–284 (facsimile); *Dokumentation*, Vol. 4, with Orff’s other letter to Strauss (10 February 1942), 77–82 (transcription and facsimile of Strauss’s letter).

<sup>261</sup> *Zeitschriftendienst (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda)*, Vol. 7 Nr. 286, 1941, as cited in Donald Ellis, *Music in the Third Reich: National Socialist Aesthetic Theory as Governmental Policy*, dissertation, University of Kansas, 1970, 133.

Gerigk appears not to have reviewed further works by Orff.<sup>262</sup> Although Willy Strecker anticipated a review from Gerigk of the *Catulli Carmina* premiere on 6 November 1943 in Leipzig, this never came to pass. After the positive reception of *Catulli Carmina*, Strecker wrote to Orff: “The *Catulli* success is really magnificent; now Gerigk can spray his poison quietly.”<sup>263</sup> Nevertheless, Gerigk did write to Heinz Drewes in June 1944 that he had investigated Orff’s most important stage works and reached a negative conclusion. He wrote: “But before I make my final conclusion in this work I absolutely yet want to check my impression about several things by seeing them staged.” Evidently nothing came to pass of Gerigk’s intended essay, likely because the closure of the theaters was but a few months away.<sup>264</sup> An employee of a theater in Nollendorfplatz (Berlin) confidentially assured Orff in July 1944 that he had heard that Gauleiter Karl August Hanke (1903–1945) had discussed Orff’s work with Goebbels with good result, and so “there is no more danger.”<sup>265</sup>

Even at the end of the war, Orff continued to be remarkably reticent for such a prominent figure when it came to interacting with Nazi officials. He evidently ignored a request to write militant music for the *Deutsche Wochenschau* (German Weekly Review) in June 1944. At the same time, however, Orff appears to have obliged Hans Hinkel’s request for a contribution for a public collection of praises to Adolf Hitler, although it seems that this tribute was not in fact widely distributed. Accompanying Hinkel’s letter in the composer’s papers is a verse by Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) with the dedication “to the patron of German art” and with the laconic signature “on the threshold of the year

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<sup>262</sup> I have been unable to find any other such reviews as of this writing, either at the OZM or elsewhere. No review by Gerigk is present in Orff’s press clipping for the world premiere of *Catulli Carmina* (COS/OZM, Pressearchiv, Kri. XVI 1a).

<sup>263</sup> Letters from Willy Strecker to Carl Orff, 18 November 1943 and 3 December 1943 (quotation), SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 5 November 2014). Original language of quotation: *Der „Catull“ Erfolg ist wirklich grossartig; jetzt kann Gerigk ruhig sein Gift verspritzen.*

<sup>264</sup> Letter from Herbert Gerigk to Heinz Drewes, 24 June 1944, copy from Archiv-Prieberg, original source (quotations in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5389, here Prieberg noted the imminent closure of theaters; Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 74). Original language, some of which is paraphrased rather than directly quoted: *Ich habe mich an eine größere Untersuchung gemacht, die an Hand der wichtigsten Bühnenwerke von Orff zu durchaus negativen Ergebnissen gelangt. Vor dem endgültigen Abschluß dieser Ausarbeitung will ich mir aber unbedingt zur Kontrolle des Eindrucks noch einige Sachen von Orff auf der Bühne ansehen.* Gerigk addressed *Catulli Carmina* in this letter.

<sup>265</sup> Letter from Theater am Nollendorfplatz (signature illegible) to Carl Orff, 17 July 1944, AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 5 November 2014). Original language: *So aber besteht keine Gefahr mehr.*



of decision, December 1944.”<sup>266</sup> Why Orff submitted the tribute to Hitler but decided not to write the music for the *Deutsche Wochenschau* is a matter for speculation. Perhaps the composer felt that it was not as safe to decline Hinkel’s request, and perhaps he felt that it was less of a compromise than having his music widely distributed by a National Socialist broadcast.

Surprisingly, the only mention of Orff in the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, the highest cultural officer in the Third Reich, is on the late date of 12 September 1944.

Following a radio broadcast of *Carmina Burana*, Goebbels wrote:

With Carl Orff we absolutely are not dealing with an atonal talent; to the contrary, his *Carmina Burana* offers extraordinary beauties, and if one also could get him onto the right track textually, so would his music surely promise much. I shall have him come to me first at the next favorable opportunity.<sup>267</sup>

That this is the first and only entry mentioning Orff in Goebbels’s extensive diaries suggests that this was the first occasion on which Goebbels paid serious heed to Orff’s famous cantata, despite the work’s many performances in the last several years. It is remarkable that Orff had avoided Goebbels up until this point. The entry is especially odd given that Goebbels likely had authorized the *Deutsche Wochenschau* commission,<sup>268</sup> and given the letter Orff had received two months earlier from the Nollendorfplatz theater assuring him that his work was in good standing with Goebbels.<sup>269</sup>

Goebbels’s desire to meet Orff never came to pass. The reasons are not entirely clearly, but by the time of this diary entry the theaters of Germany had been shut down

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<sup>266</sup> Letter from Hans Hinkel to Carl Orff, 15 November 1944, AK, COS/OZM. The diary of Gertrud Orff notes a letter to “Hi.” on 11 December 1944, suggesting that Orff’s tribute likely was sent. See Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 256–257; other information according to OZM, 5 November 2014. Original language of first quotation: *dem Schirmherrn Deutscher Kunst*. Original language of second quotation: *An der Schwelle des Jahres der Entscheidung, December 1944*. See Appendix 2 for a quotation. See also the discrepant accounts in Luise Rinser, *Saturn auf der Sonne*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1994, 94–95; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 131–132, 419 n. 41 (an account from Werner Egk in a letter to Prieberg, 6 July 1964; Egk’s statement that Orff sent in a Latin verse of Horace, 65–27 BCE, is evidently in error).

<sup>267</sup> See *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Teil II, Band 13 (Juli–September 1944), ed. Elke Fröhlich and Jana Richter, München: K. G. Saur, 1995, 466, lines 298–307. Original language: *Bei Karl [sic] Orff handelt es sich durchaus nicht um eine atonale Begabung; im Gegenteil, seine »Carmina Burana« bietet außerordentliche Schönheiten, und wenn man ihn auch textlich auf die richtige Bahn brächte, so würde seine Musik sicherlich sehr viel versprechen. Ich werde ihn mir bei nächster günstiger Gelegenheit einmal kommen lassen.*

<sup>268</sup> See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 132.

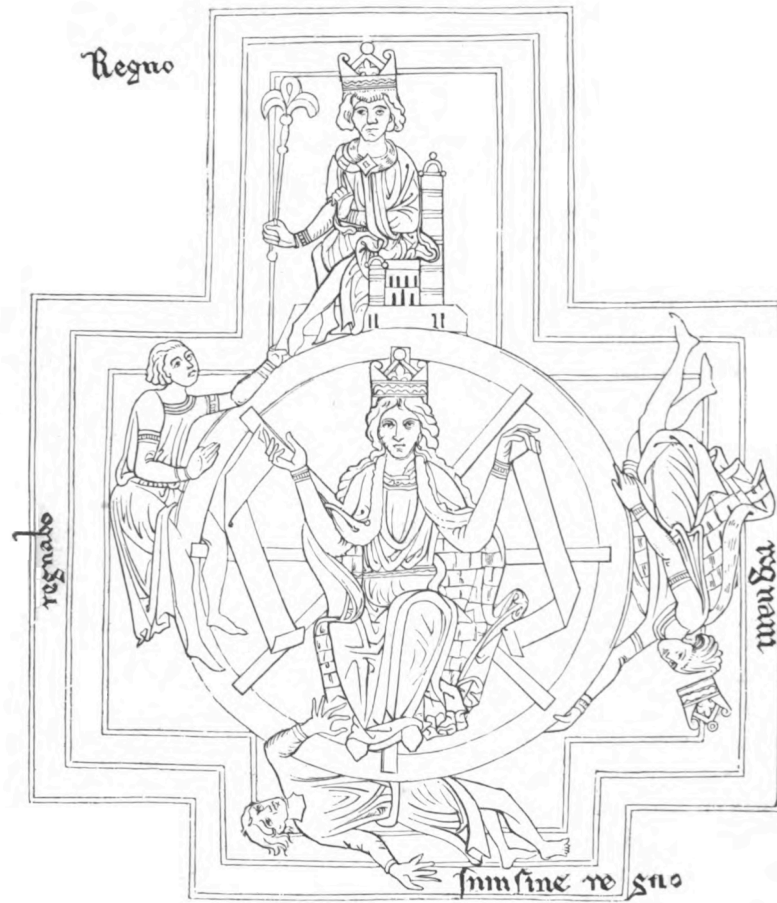
<sup>269</sup> The letter Orff received, however, was hearsay, and just because Karl Hanke had talked to Goebbels about Orff’s work does not necessarily mean that Goebbels had been familiar with it, or taken any interest in it, at the time.

for nearly two weeks and the war conditions were increasingly grim. In November 1944, Orff retreated to Dr. Heinz Zimmermann's sanatorium in the town of Ebenhausen. In his memoirs, he reported that he did so after suffering a heart attack. He remained in this safe haven until 2 May 1945, two days after Adolf Hitler's suicide.<sup>270</sup> Orff had successfully navigated the perilous political climate of the Third Reich with his career and his art intact, but with his person compromised. The next step in his life was to survive the American occupation and the so-called denazification process, yet another period of hazardous uncertainty.

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<sup>270</sup> An entry from Gertrud Orff's diary dated 21 November 1944 reads "to Ebenhausen" (*nach Ebenhausen*; information according to OZM, 6 November 2014). See also Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 285; Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 6, 17; Rudolf Hartmann, *Das geliebte Haus: Mein Leben mit der Oper*, München: Piper, 1975, 181 and 269.

**Figures**



**I.**

(fol. 1.)

1.

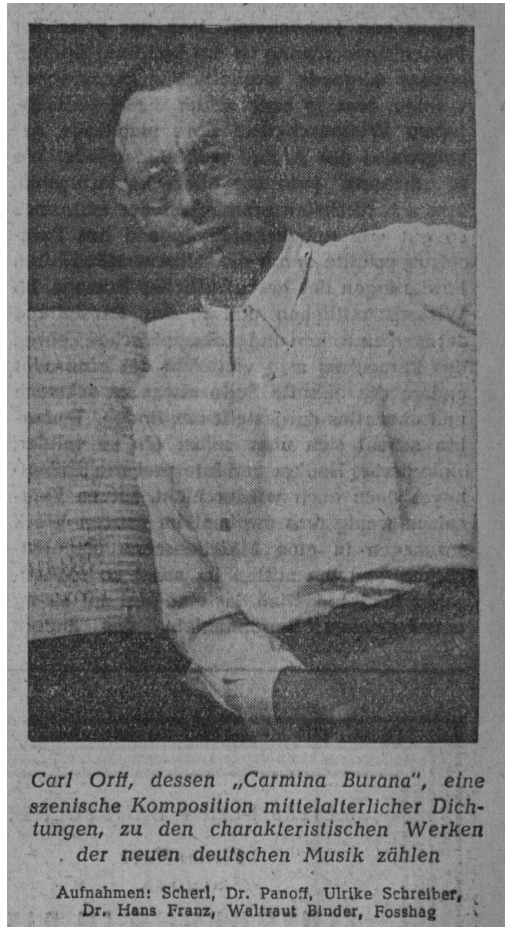
**O** FORTUNA,  
velut luna  
statu variabilis,  
semper crescis  
aut decrescis;  
vita detestabilis

Codex Buran.

nunc obdurat  
et tunc curat  
ludo mentis aciem,  
'egestatem',  
potestatem  
dissolvit ut glaciem.

1

**Figure 2.1.** The first page of Johann Andreas Schmeller's edition of *Carmina Burana*. Source: *Carmina Burana: Lateinische und deutsche Lieder und Gedichte einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benedictbeuren auf der K. Bibliothek zu München*, ed. Johann Andreas Schmeller, (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Band 16 Nr. 1), Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847.



**Figure 2.2.** Photograph of Carl Orff in Werner Oehlmann, “Europäische Musik,” in *Das Reich*, Nr. 7, 15 February 1942, Literatur/Kunst/Wissenschaft section [S. 3]. Translation of caption: “Carl Orff, whose *Carmina Burana*, a scenic composition of Middle Age poetry that is among the characteristic works of new German music.”

**PRESEESTIMMEN**

Der Vorhang hebt sich — und sofort bracht der gesungte Eingangschor auf die lautliche Göttin Fortuna über den Hügel dahin. In einem luftig durchbrochenen Bau, der sich rechts und links zu großen Terrassen schichtet, ist der Chor unbeweglich hingebaut. Im Hintergrund aber dreht sich nachlässig und unmaßstäblich das Chörebrat der großen Göttin. Haltet, wie es in der alten Handchrift aufgeschrieben war. Die rechte Spielfläche ist noch leer. Neuer Kehreingangs der Männerstimmen steigt von Wodest des Glückes am rollenden Rad erscheinende Figuren. Alle Sünde und Gesandter treten in den Reigen, der vom hoffenden Aufstieg zu höchsten Glanz, dann zum Niedergang und Alisters führt. Fest steht nun der Rahmen der Bilder und des Klanges. Der erste Teil „Vom Frühling“ hebt an. Zu den zarten und lauschbaren Klangfäden des Vorfrühlings hebe sich die Spielfläche mit kümmerhaften Gestalten. Dann steigt das Bild eines Kämmerchens auf. Der Liebende schreicht — ein Karuss Salo von wunderbare reichlicher Stimmung und nun belübt hell und schillend der volle Frühlingstadel sich. Uhm. — „Dürstet!“ Tanzen erklingt; die Damen tanzen den Frühling an. Dann die Bürger in einem Wechselchor zum Tanz mit reicher Mischung deutscher und lateinischer Zeilen. Edelmannen singen ein keckes Strophenlied, begleitet von Sonnen der Mäner; ihr Lied geht über in einen wortlosen hübschen Reigen. Und dann bewegt sich alles steigend im bunten Wirbel gleichsam als Treu spint sich eine ruhig fließende Melodie zu wohlbekanntem Reimen an („Kunne, kunne, gelle mit“). Mit einem Gesandter von unbedingter Durschlaufende schließt der Teil. „In der Schenke“ — so lautet das Thema des zweiten Teils. Überraschend beginnt das Bild mit der großen Trinkbeichte des alten „Bezpotten“ vor seinen lärmenden und zechenden Genossen (sie zündet zu spontanen Beifall). Der Festtrakt wird heringefahren; aus der Pfanne singt er in wundervollen Falset seinen überwältigend komischen „Schwanzgesang“. Die Schenke wird zum phantastischen Klüster der Zecher pulsant als Alt und hejmmert das Pech der Glücksspieler; ackerschlüpfend rufen seine Zechgenossen das alte Kriegsgeschrei dazwischen. Das Bild endet in einer wüsten Apollone des Sinfens, Spielens und Randaliereis. Dem Künftigen klingen die alten unverwundlichen Verso auf: bibit lata, bibit ille, bibant centum, bibant mille. Wer sie nicht kennt, dem sagt auch die handfeste erdeafokale Musik und des holzschliffste Bild allein schon genug. Der dritte und letzte Teil handelt von der Liebe. Ist eine Steigerung noch möglich? Sind uns insbesondere nicht Bild und Klang eben so wohlvertraut, daß Neues kann noch zu erwarten ist? Und doch kommt das Neue, überrascht und leuchtet zugleich. Keiner der bisherigen Teile ist von einer solchen Fülle feinsten Lyrik durchwoben . . . Sopran und Bariton hegen sie singen einander zu in empfindungsvollen Ziergesang. Dann wechselt ein kokettes Lied des Mädchens mit den Seufzern des Mannes, in die Lockrufe der Frauen schlaßschlief hinein. Dem begleitenden Liebhaber singen reiche kecke Gesellen ein recht eindeutiges Liedchen von der Wirklichkeit der Liebe. Fast an die Grenze des Trivialen streifen Worte und lockere Musik; Schlagzeug und Klaviers beherrschen den Klang. Ein zündender kleiner Chor, von hellen Rufen unterbrochen, gibt der Bewegung immer stärkere Schwungkraft. Noch einmal steigt der Komponist aus Aufruch. Die Frauenstimme setzt plötzlich eine ruhig wiegende Liedmelodie jaggen sie singt von der schwanke Wange des Frauenkessens. Von neuem tritt der Chor, nun von der Stimme der Solisten geführt, in ein jehnd ungestümes Tandell aus — Höhepunkt und Grenze der Auflockerung sind erreicht. Da steigt die Frauenstimme in höchste Höhen des Klanges auf, in einer selb verströmenden freien Melodik verleiht sie Gewährung . . . In diesem Augenblick setzt der mächtige Prologessang auf die Venus, die Göttin der Liebe ein, in Rad der Fortuna ordnet ihr Bild. Doch schon wandert er sich. Denn nicht Liebe und Schönheit regieren die Welt, sondern Fortuna die Unbeständige und Unerbittliche. Sie steht wieder in der Nähe des Rades. Und so schlägt im Augenblick der höchsten Steigerung der Liebesjehel des Chores in das Eingangslid nun „O Fortuna, deine Lamen wechseln wie das Mondes Bild.“ Der Kreis ist geschlossen. Der Vorhang fällt. Sücker und immer stärker zombi der Beifall auf. (Heftlose Tagblatt, 11. 6. 37 — Prof. Dr. J. Müller-Blattau)

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**CARL ORFF**  
**CARMINA BURANA**

Cautiones profanae cantibus et choris cantanda comitibus instrumentis  
Weltliche Gesänge der Benediktiner Handschrift für Soli und Chor mit Begleitung von Instrumenten

**URAUFFÜHRUNG:**  
Opernhaus Frankfurt a. M. (8. Juni 1937)  
Musikalische Leitung: Bertil Weitzelberger  
Regie: Dr. Oskar Wälterlin / Bühnenbild: Ludwig Siever

**B. SCHOTT'S SÖHNE · MAINZ**

Figure 2.3. Werbe-Prospekt des Schott-Verlags, Nachlass Carl Orff (Carl-Orff-Stiftung/ Archiv: Orff-Zentrum München). Note the review by Joseph Müller-Blattau in the far left column. Note also that all of Orff's works previously published by Schott are present in the center column with the exception of the discreetly withdrawn Werfel and Brecht cantatas, demonstrating that there had been no immediate order to pulp all of Orff's preceding works.

| Overview  | Section   | No. title   | Language                           | Musical Language/Structure  | Performing Forces  |
|---|---|---|------------------------------------|---|--|
| <b>D minor</b><br>Latin<br>Alternately Full Chorus, Semi-Chorus, and Baritone Soloist   | Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi<br>(Nos. 1–2 played <i>attacca</i> ) | 1. O Fortuna<br>2. Fortune plango vulnere                       | Latin                              | D minor: Diatonic with modal mixture,<br>C major – D major/minor juxtaposition<br>No. 1: 3 modified strophes with intro<br><b>Use of material from Orff's <i>Klage der Ariadne</i> and Werfel Songs/Cantatas; <i>Wozzeck</i> allusion in opening chord;</b><br><b>Ostinato (D–C–A–D) adumbrates the work's overall tonal schematic</b><br>No. 2: 3 strophes   | Full Chorus<br>Full Orchestra with Pianos and Traditional Percussion: T Imp, Glsp [only No. 1], – –, <b>Tam-tam</b> [only No. 1], Sn Dr [only No. 2], BD   |
|   | Primo Vere  | 3. Veris leta facies<br>4. Omnia sol temperat<br>5. Ecce gratum |                                    | A minor: Diatonic (no leading tone)<br>3 strophes with modified dynamics and introduction; suggestion of plainchant; adjacent parallel fifths<br>D minor: one chromatic pitch ( <b>lowered ^2</b> ) in second half of each strophe<br>3 Strophes with <i>ritornello</i> , brief closing added to final strophe<br>F major: Diatonic; adjacent triads<br>3 Strophes, modified tempo + dynamics<br>Conclusion of strophes uses A–C–D pitches (i.e. “O Fortuna” ostinato) in pianos and high woodwinds | Semi-Chorus (AB 1 <sup>st</sup> part of strophes, ST in 2 <sup>nd</sup> part)<br>Reduced Orch with <b>no strings</b> : Intro: Picc, 2 Fl, 2 Ob, 2 Pnos, Xylo; 1st part: 4 <sup>th</sup> Hn, Trpt, Trbn, Timp, 2 Pnos; 2nd part: Picc, 2 Fl, 2 Ob, Cel, Trgl<br>Baritone Soloist<br>Reduced Orchestra: Strings without Cellos; Glsp; Piccolo. In concluding only, 4 <sup>th</sup> Horn; 1 Piano<br>Full Chorus; Full Orch (except Tuba); 2 Pnos + Cel; Perc (Timp, Glsp, Tmbrn, – –, Ant Cymb, <b>3 Bells</b> ) |
| <b>C major</b><br>Primarily Middle-High German, one Macaronic number with Latin (No. 7)<br>Alternately Full Chorus and Semi-Chorus<br>Full Orchestra with Percussion, alternating with reduced orchestra<br>No Pianos | Uff dem Anger<br>(Nos. 6–10 played <i>attacca</i> )           | 6. Tanz   | Orchestral                         | C major: Diatonic; Ternary form (or arguably Rondo); <b>Zwiefach dance</b>  | Full Orchestra (except Obsn. or Tuba); No Pianos; Percussion (Timp, Glsp, – –, Sn Dr, BD)  |
|   |   | 7. Floret silva   | Macaronic: Latin, Mid. High German | G major: Diatonic<br>2 Strophes (each with same text, 1 <sup>st</sup> in Latin, 2 <sup>nd</sup> mostly in Mid. High German)   | Full Chorus alternating Semi-Chorus<br>Reduced Orchestra: 2.1.2.1. – 4.0.0.1. – Strings; No Pianos; Small Percussion ( <b>2 Timp</b> , Trgl, Tmbrn)  |
|   |   | 8. Chramer, gip die varwe mir                                   | Middle High German                 | G major with F $\sharp$ at the end of each section, functioning as part of dominant for following C major<br>3 Strophes   | Semi-Chorus (optionally with use of female Solo Voices); Full Chorus, humming or vocalise<br>Reduced Orchestra: 1.1.2.1. – 4.3.0.0. – Strings; No Pianos; Small Percussion ( <b>Sighbls</b> , Trgl, Timp)  |
|   |   | 9. Reie   | Orchestral                         | C major: Diatonic with no leading tone (= pitches of triads C major + D minor)<br>2 Strophes with long coda   | Reduced Orchestra: Obsn, 4 Hn, 2 Trpt, Tuba, Strings; No Pianos; Percussion (Timp, Trgl, – –, BD)  |
|   |   | Swaz hie gat umbe<br>Chume, chum geselle min                    | Middle High German                 | A minor / major: Diatonic<br>Through-composed   | Full Chorus<br>Full Orch; No Pnos; Small Perc (Timp, Tmbrn, – –)   |
|   |   | Swaz etc.   |                                    | C major: Diatonic<br>2 Strophes with brief intro<br>Use of <i>Schulwerk</i> melody and material from Orff's <i>Der gute Mensch Cantata</i>  | Semi-Chorus<br>Reduced Orchestra: 1 Fl, 2 Cl, 4 Hn, Strings;<br><b>Neither Pianos nor Percussion</b>   |
|   |   | 10. Were diu werit alle min                                     |                                    | A minor / major: Exact reprise<br>C major: Diatonic, but with <b>one instance of lowered ^6 and ^7</b> ;<br>C major – D minor juxtaposition<br>Through-composed   | As before.<br>Full Chorus<br>Full Orchestra; No Pianos; Slightly Expanded Percussion (Timp, – –, BD, <b>2 Sn Dr</b> )  |

Table 2.1. Structural diagram of *Carmina Burana*.

|  |   |                             |              |  |   |
|--|---|-----------------------------|--------------|--|---|
| <p><b>A minor/major</b></p> <p>Latin</p> <p>Men's Chorus</p> <p>Baritone Soloist</p> <p>Tenor Soloist</p> <p>Full Orchestra with Extensive Percussion</p> <p>No Pianos</p> | <p>In taberna</p> <p>(Nos. 11–14 played <i>attacca</i>)</p> | <p>11. Estuans interius</p> | <p>Latin</p> | <p>A minor: Diatonic, with no leading tone</p> <p>Stylistic parody of Italian opera; <b>Tango rhythm; allusion to <i>Dies irae</i></b></p> <p>2 strophes followed by 3 new strophes with modified dynamics and scoring; framed by high trill</p>   | <p>Baritone Soloist</p> <p>Full Orchestra; No Pianos; Percussion (Timp, -  -, _  -, Tmbrn, Sn Dr, BD)</p>   |
|  | <p>12. Olim lacus colueram</p>                              |                             |              | <p><b>F# minor: non-functional harmony, use of chromaticism and octatonicism</b>; emphasis on Neapolitan of F# minor, <b>total of 10 pitch classes used</b>; emphasis on C# – D semitone (D major + C#)</p> <p>3 Strophes with introduction (high bsn complements high tenor; both span high D down to a C#)</p> <p>According to Willfried Hiller: allusion (in intro) to Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), “Persons with Long Ears” from <i>The Carnival of the Animals</i> (1886). As Orff reportedly said: “Anyone who cooks the swan for dinner must be an ass” (<i>Jeder, der den Schwan zum Essen kocht, muss ein Esel sein</i>).</p> | <p><b>Tenor Soloist</b> (doubled by pice, Eb Cl, muted Trp), Men's Chorus in refrain</p> <p>Full Woodwinds and Brass (excepting 4<sup>th</sup> Horn), <b>Strings without Violins</b>; No Pianos; Percussion (Timp, Xylo, -  -, _  -, <b>Tam-tam</b>, Sn Dr, BD)</p> |
|  | <p>13. Ego sum abbas</p>                                    |                             |              | <p>D minor: D–F–A and C–G pitches used, (initially A–C–D of “O Fortuna” ostinato in Baritone’s declamation and C–D in brass and percussion), plus F#/G♭ and B♭ as modal mixture/dissonances</p> <p>Through-composed</p> <p>Allusion to Beethoven Opus 125 <i>Schreckensanfahre</i> (D triad + B♭)</p>  | <p>Baritone Solo and Men's Chorus</p> <p>Full Brass Section and Extensive Percussion (Timp, -  -, _  -, <b>Ratchet, Tubular Bells, Bell</b>, Sn Dr, BD)</p>   |
|  | <p>14. In taberna quando summus</p>                         |                             |              | <p>A minor/A major, with emphasis on D minor:</p> <p>Diatonic (all pitch classes of both major and minor modes used) except emphasized dissonant upper neighbor (B♭) at the end (a quotation of “Wafnia!” from No. 13); <b>total of 11 pitch classes</b></p> <p>Use of opening chord of “O Fortuna” at opening and climax (“Parum sexcente”)</p> <p>Through-composed in four sections, the first of which has two strophes, the second of which has some repeated material</p> <p>Brief allusion to <i>Dies irae</i></p> <p>Stylistic parody of <i>opera buffa</i></p>   | <p>Men's Chorus</p> <p>Full Orchestra; No Pianos; <b>Most Percussion of any number</b> (Timp, Glsp, Xylo, -  -, _  -, <b>Tam-tam</b>, Trgl, Tmbrn, <b>Ratchet, Tubular Bells</b>, Sn Dr, BD)</p>  |

Table 2.1. Structural diagram of *Carmina Burana*.

|   |  |                         |                                       |   |  |
|---|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| <b>D major/minor</b><br>Latin with some Macaronic numbers (Old French and Middle High German)<br>Full Chorus, Children's Chorus, Baritone Soloist, Soprano Soloist, <i>a cappella</i> male sextet<br>Full Orchestra, alternating with reduced orchestra, with Pianos, Celesta, and Extensive Percussion | Cour d'amours<br>(Nos. 15–25 played <i>attacca</i> ) | 15. Amor volat undique  | Latin                                 | D major/minor: C major – D major progression in intro; Chromaticism (B $\flat$ -B-C-C $\sharp$ , suggesting modal mixture) in <i>ritornello</i> ; Children's part minor mode; <b>B section primarily octatonic</b> (excepting soprano's F $\sharp$ ); <b>total of 10 pitch classes used</b><br>Ternary: Intro-ABA' – A has <i>ritornello</i> ; A' truncated | <b>Children's Chorus</b> (in A/A') + Soprano Soloist (in B section)<br>Reduced Orch: Intro: 2 Fl, Ob, EHN, Trpt, Glsp, 2 Pnos, all Strings; A/A':<br>2.1+EHN.2+B-Cl.0. – 1.1.0.0. – Violas, Cellos, Solo Cb.; B: 2 Fl, Picc, EHN, 8 Vlns I, all Vlns II, 3 Vlas, Cel |
|   |  | 16. Dies, nox et omnia  | Macaronic: Latin and Old French       | A major: Diatonic, with emphasis on whole tone D–E; unresolved prolonged dominant<br>3 Strophes, modified on baritone's melismas  | Baritone Soloist<br>Reduced Orch: <b>2 Picc</b> , 2 Ob, B-Cl, 4 Hn, Strings; Cel   |
|   |  | 17. Stetit puella       | Latin                                 | A major: Diatonic; <b>some use of quintal harmony; unresolved prolonged dominant; Tango rhythm</b><br>2 Strophes  | Soprano Soloist<br>Reduced Orch: Picc, 2 Fl, 2 Cl, 1 Hn, Str; Cel; Glsp  |
|   |  | 18. Cerea mea pectora   | Macaronic: Latin and Mid. High German | E minor: first part of strophes diatonic (E minor); second part of strophes features alternation between C and C $\sharp$ , juxtaposition of pitches D and E, and some C major – D major juxtaposition; arguably ends on V of D (min or maj)<br>Allusion to Stravinsky's <i>Symphonie du Psalms</i><br>3 two-part Strophes with modified dynamics and tempo | Baritone Soloist (first part of strophes only) and Full Chorus (first part of strophes only men's chorus)<br>Full Orchestra (except 3rd Fl. or Tuba); 2 Pianos; Percussion (Timp, Glsp, Xylo, Ant Cymb, -  -, Sn Dr, BD)   |
|   |  | 19. Si puer cum puella  | Latin                                 | Through-composed  | <b>Six Male Soloists a cappella</b> (3 Ten, Baritone, 2 Basses)  |
|   |  | 20. Veni, veni, venias  |                                       | A center, then D minor/major: First section C major and D major triads juxtaposed over arpeggiated A minor; second section D minor (Diatonic) over A pedal, ending D major (juxtaposing C and D major triads)<br>Allusion to Stravinsky's <i>Les noces</i><br>Through-composed  | <b>Double Chorus (used antiphonally)</b> , first part only 2 <sup>nd</sup> Chorus and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Piano<br><b>2 Pianos and Extensive Percussion</b> (Timp, Glsp, Xylo, Ant Cymb, Trgl, Tmbrn, _ _, Sn Dr)  |
|   |  | 21. In trutina          |                                       | D major: Chromaticism, descending, with same pitches as in No. 15 (B $\flat$ -B-C-C $\sharp$ ) at end of each strophe<br>2 Strophes   | Soprano Soloist<br>Reduced Orch: B-Cl, Cbsn, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Hn, Strings (w/ reduced vlas + cellos); in close of strophes addition of 2 Fl, 1 <sup>st</sup> Hn, Tuba, Timp   |
|   |  | 22. Tempus est iocundum |                                       | D major: Primarily diatonic, with some use of raised $\acute{4}$ ,<br>D major - C $\sharp$ minor juxtaposition<br>5 Strophes with modification of dynamics and performing forces  | <b>Largest number of voices of any number:</b><br>Full Chorus, Baritone Soloist, <b>Children's Chorus singing with Soprano Soloist</b><br><b>2 Pnos and Extensive Percussion</b> (Timp, Glsp, Ant Cymb, Castanets, Tmbrn, _ _, Sn Dr, BD)                            |
|   |  | 23. Dulcissime          |                                       | D major: Diatonic, prolonged unresolved dominant (sustained V <sup>o</sup> chord)<br>Through-composed   | Soprano Soloist, coloratura<br>Reduced Orch: Strings; 1 Piano and Celesta; Glsp  |
|   |  | 24. Ave formosissima    | Blanziflor et Helena                  | G major (strophes) – D major (coda): Each section Diatonic; C and D triads in high strings and glockenspiels<br>3 Modified strophes + Coda (ending on V of No. 25)  | Full Chorus; Full Orchestra (except EHN); Extensive Percussion ( <b>2 Timp, 3 Glsp</b> , BD); in coda addition of EHN, 2 Pianos, Tmbrn, -  -   |
|   |  | 25. O Fortuna Mundi     | Fortuna Imp. Mundi                    | D minor: Diatonic except leading tone = No. 1   | = No. 1 but with <b>Tam-tam on first downbeat</b>  |

Table 2.1. Structural diagram of *Carmina Burana*.



Textual Sources from the *Carmina Burana* Codex

| Section in Orff          | No. in Orff                   | Section of Codex (as in DKV <sup>1</sup> )                                   | No. in DKV <sup>1</sup>                        | No. in Schmeller   | Portion used  |   |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|---|---|
| Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi | 1. O Fortuna                  | <i>Moralisch-Satirische Dichtungen</i><br>("Moralistic and Satirical Poems") | 17   | I  | Complete  |   |
|                          | 2. Fortuna plango vulnere     | <i>Liebeslieder</i> ("Love Songs")   | 16   | LXXVII   | 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , and 4 <sup>th</sup> Latin Verses of 4 Complete                                |   |
|                          | 3. Veris leta factus          |  | 138  | 101  |   |   |
| Primo Vere               | 4. Omnia sol temperat         | [Orchestral]<br><i>Liebeslieder</i><br><i>Nachträge</i> (Supplement)         | 136  | 99   | N/A   |   |
|                          | 5. Ecce gratum                |  | 143  | 106  |   |   |
|                          | 6. Tanz                       |  | N/A  | N/A  |   |   |
|                          | 7. Floret silva               |  | 149  | 112  |   |   |
|                          | 8. Chramer, gip die varwe mir |  | 16*  | CIII   |   |   |
| In Taberna               | 9. Reie                       | [Orchestral]<br><i>Liebeslieder</i>  | N/A  | N/A  | Complete  |   |
|                          |                               |  | Swaz hie gat umbre                             | 167a   |   | 129a  |
|                          |                               |  | Chume, chum gesselle min<br>Swaz hie gat umbre | 174a<br>167a   |   | 136a<br>129a  |
|                          | 10. Were diu werft alle min   | 145a   | 108a   | <i>Trink- und Spielerlieder</i><br>("Drinking and Gaming Songs")   | First 5 Verses of 30 <sup>2</sup><br>1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , and 5 <sup>th</sup> Verses of 5 Complete |   |
|                          | 11. Estuans interius          | 191  | CLXXII   |  |   |   |
|                          | 12. Olim lacus colueram       | 130  | 92   |  |   |   |
|                          | 13. Ego sum abbas             | 222  | 196  |  |   |   |
|                          | Cour d'amours                 | 14. In taberna quando sumus  | 196  | 175  | <i>Liebeslieder</i>   | 4 <sup>th</sup> Verse of 5<br>DKV: 4 <sup>th</sup> , 5 <sup>th</sup> , and 7 <sup>th</sup><br>Verses of 7<br>Schmeller: Verses 6–8 <sup>3</sup><br>First 2 Verses of 3<br>Verses 5–7 of 7 <sup>4</sup><br>Complete <sup>5</sup><br>Complete |
|                          |                               | 15. Amor volat undique   | 87   | 60   |   |   |
|                          |                               | 16. Dies, nox et omnia   | 118  | 81   |   |   |
| 17. Stetti puella        |                               | 177  | 138  |  |   |   |
|                          | 18. Circa mea pectora         | 180  | 141  | In DKV: Verses 12a + 12b of 15<br>In Schmeller: Verse 7 of 9<br>1 <sup>st</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> , 7 <sup>th</sup> , 5 <sup>th</sup> , and 8 <sup>th</sup><br>Verses of 8<br>DKV: Last Verse of 15<br>Schmeller: Last Verse of 9<br>Verse 8 of 33 |   |   |
|                          | 19. Si puer cum puella        | 183  | 144  |  |   |   |
|                          | 20. Veni, veni, venias        | 174  | 136  |  |   |   |
|                          | 21. In trutina                | 70   | 43   |  |   |   |
|                          | 22. Tempus est iocundum       | 179  | 140  |  |   |   |
| Blanziflor et Helena     | 23. Dulcissime                | 70   | 43   | I  | Complete  |   |
|                          | 24. Ave Formosissima          | 77   | 50   |  |   |   |
| Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi | 25. O Fortuna                 | <i>Moralisch-Satirische Dichtungen</i>                                       | 17   | I  | Complete  |   |

DKV = *Deutsche Klassiker Verlag* edition (Band 49, Berlin, 2011); Schmeller = ed. by Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852), Breslau; M. & H. Marcus, 1904), which Carl Orff used. Note: Sections in Schmeller designated as *Seria* (all numbers with Roman Numbers) and *Amatoria*. *Lasoria* ("Loving, Drinking, Gaming," all numbers with Arabic numerals). Note: In DKV, all numbers designated as [No.]a are included with the preceding number, with [No.]a suggested as an alternative grouping. The [No.]a format is used in Schmeller and the *Reclam* edition (Stuttgart, 1992/2012). For Nos. 136, 138, 143, 179, 183, and, there is an additional German verse in DKV that is given as [No.]a for the equivalent in Schmeller.

<sup>1</sup> *Deutscher Klassiker Verlag*, however, suggests an additional repetition of the refrain *Floret silva undique, nah mime geseilen ist mir we!* following the second verse. Orff follows the Schmeller edition.

<sup>2</sup> In *Reclam* edition (Stuttgart, 1992/2012), the final five verses are designated as 191a.

<sup>3</sup> In *Reclam* edition, the three verses are respectively 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 2<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> In *Deutscher Klassiker Verlag*, the three verses of 180a are combined with 180, totaling 10 verses.

<sup>5</sup> *Deutscher Klassiker Verlag* gives a refrain that Schmeller does not; Orff follows Schmeller but repeats the opening lines at the end of the number.