

List of composers to receive RMK stipend, first version, 28 May 1942

Bundersarchiv Berlin, N 0008, 2830–2834. Note: all information on NSDAP membership from Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945* (as for all following lists)

I: 6,000 RM

Paul Graener (1872–1944); NSDAP membership 1.597.250 (1 April 1933)

Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949)

Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek (1860–1945)

Richard Strauss (1864–1949)

II: 4,000 RM – The committee suggests the distribution of the amount of 4,000 RM to the following 12 composers, who have created particularly culturally valuable music and within the whole of German musical life practice a decisive influence:²

Theodor Berger (1905–1992)

Johann Nepomuk David (1895–1977)

Hugo Distler (1908–1942), NSDAP membership Nr. 2.806.768, 1 May 1933

Otto Gerster (1897–1969)

Kurt Hessenberg (1908–1994), NSDAP membership Nr. 8.829.724, 1 April 1942, application dated 2 February 1942

Karl Höller (1907–1987), NSDAP membership Nr. 8.827.661, 1 April 1942

Josef Marx (1882–1964)³

Carl Orff (1895–1982)

Ernst Pepping (1901–1981)

Hermann Reutter (1900–1985), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.321.546, 1 May 1933

Max Trapp (1887–1971), NSDAP membership Nr. 1.332.058, 1 September 1932

Julius Weismann (1879–1950)

III: 2,000 RM – The committee suggests that the amount of 2,000 RM be awarded to the following eight composers, whose creations must be appreciated as especially culturally valuable, even if their works have not yet found the dissemination as the composers of the above Group II:⁴

Boris Blacher (1903–1975); name crossed out with note: “the quarter Jew” (*der Vierteljude*; figure 1.6)

Edmund v. Borck (1906–1944; killed in battle)

Gerhard Frommel (1906–1984), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.141.599, 1 May 1933

Harald Genzmer (1909–2007)

Armin Kaufmann (? – ?)⁵

Armin Knab (1881–1951)

Karl Marx (1897–1985)

Friedrich Reidinger (1890–1972)⁶

² Original language: *Der Ausschuss schlägt die Ausschüttung eines Betrages in Höhe von RM 4.000.– an nachstehende 12 Komponisten vor, die kulturell besonders wertvolle Musik geschaffen haben und innerhalb des gesamten deutschen Musiklebens einen bestimmenden Einfluss ausüben:*

³ As of this writing, I have not been able to confirm that Josef Marx was not a member of the NSDAP.

⁴ Original language: *Der Ausschuss schlägt vor, nachstehenden 8 Komponisten einen Betrag in Höhe von RM 2.000.– zuzuerkennen, deren Schaffen als kulturell besonders wertvoll angesehen werden muss, wenn auch ihre Werke noch nicht die Verbreitung gefunden haben, wie es bei den Komponisten der vorstehenden Gruppe II der Fall ist:*

⁵ At the present writing, I have been able to find no further information on this composer.

⁶ Dates of life according to <http://www.universaledition.com/composer/589> (accessed 21 November 2014). As of this writing, I have not been able to ascertain whether or not Reidinger was a member of the NSDAP.

Final version of list, 4 July 1942

Berlin BA, N 0008, 2826 (a draft is found N 0008, 2824)

An additional list from 24 June 1942 (N 0008, 2828) is nearly identical, but there was no Category IV; the four composers in that category were instead in Category III. In addition, Theodor Berger was in Category III instead of Category II, and Georg Schumann did not appear in any category.

I: 6,000 RM

Paul Graener (1872–1944), NSDAP membership 1.597.250, 1 April 1933

Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949)

Richard Strauss (1864–1949)

II: 4,000 RM

Theodor Berger (1905–1992)

Johann Nepomuk David (1895–1977)

Werner Egk (1901–1983)

Otto Gerster (1897–1969)

Kurt Hessenberg (1908–1994), NSDAP membership Nr. 8.829.724, 1 April 1942, application dated 2 February 1942

Paul Höffer (1895–1949)

Karl Höller (1907–1987), NSDAP membership Nr. 8.827.661, 1 April 1942

Josef Marx (1882–1964)

Ernst Pepping (1901–1981)

Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek (1860–1945)

Max Trapp (1887–1971), NSDAP membership Nr. 1.332.058, 1 September 1932

Julius Weismann (1879–1950)

Hermann Zilcher (1881–1948), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.561.191, 1 May 1933

III: 2,000 RM

Cesar Bresgen (1913–1988)

Hugo Distler (1908–1942), NSDAP membership Nr. 2.806.768, 1 May 1933

Wolfgang Fortner (1907–1987), NSDAP membership Nr. 7.818.245, 1 January 1940, application dated 1 September 1939

Harald Genzmer (1909–2007)

Hermann Grabner (1886–1969)

Armin Knab (1881–1951)

Gottfried Müller (1914–1993), NSDAP membership Nr. 2.458.091, 1 May 1933

Carl Orff (1895–1982)

Kurt Rasch (1902–1986)

Friedrich Reidinger (1890–1972)

George Schumann (1866–1952)

Heinz Tiessen (1887–1971)

Richard Trunk (1879–1968), NSDAP membership Nr. 659.692, 1 September 1931

IV: 1,000 RM

Edmund v. Borck (1906–1944)

Hans Chemin-Petit (1902–1981)

Gerhard Frommel (1906–1984), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.141.599, 1 May 1933

Egon Kornauth (1891–1959)

Gottbegnadeten-Liste (ca. 1944)

Source: Oliver Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet: Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich*, Wien: ÖBV, 1991, 176.

Unersetzliche Künstler (“Indispensable artists”), 3 in field of music:

Richard Strauss (1864–1949)

Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954)

Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949)

Komponisten (“Composers”), 16:

Johann Nepomuk David (1895–1977)

Werner Egk (1901–1983)

Gerhard Frommel (1906–1984), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.141.599, 1 May 1933

Harald Genzmer (1909–2007)

Otto Gerster (1897–1969)

Kurt Hessenberg (1908–1994), NSDAP Nr. 8.829.724, 1 April 1942, application dated 2 February 1942

Paul Höffer (1895–1949)

Karl Höller (1907–1987), NSDAP membership Nr. 8.827.661, 1 April 1942 (after deletion in January 1934 of previous membership, Nr. 3.201.115, 1 May 1933)

Mark Lothar (1902–1985)

Josef Marx (1882–1964)⁷

Gottfried Müller (1914–1993), NSDAP membership Nr. 2.458.091, 1 May 1933

Carl Orff (1895–1982)

Ernst Pepping (1901–1981)

Max Trapp (1887–1971), NSDAP membership Nr. 1.332.058, 1 September 1932

Fried Walter (1907–1996)

Hermann Zilcher (1881–1948), NSDAP membership Nr. 3.561.191, 1 May 1933

Dirigenten (“Conductors”), 15:

Hermann Abendroth (1883–1956)

Karl Böhm (1894–1981)

Karl Elmendorff (1891–1962), NSDAP membership Nr. 5.059.744, 1 May 1937, application dated 24 June 1937

Robert Heger (1886–1978), NSDAP membership 5.917.569, 1 May 1937

Eugen Jochum (1902–1987)

Oswald Kabasta (1896–1946), NSDAP membership Nr. 6.209.372, 1 May 1938

Herbert von Karajam (1908–1989), NSDAP membership 1.607.525, 8 April 1933; Nr. 3.430.914, 1 May 1933

Joseph Keilberth (1908–1968)

Hans Knappertsbusch (1888–1965)

Rudolf Krasselt (1879–1954)⁸

Clemens Krauss (1893–1954)

Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (1900–1973)

Paul Schmitz (1898–1992), NSDAP membership Nr. 4.284.947, 1 May 1937, application dated 22 June 1937

Johannes Schüller (1894–1966), NSDAP membership Nr. 5.377.245, 1 May 1937

Carl Schuricht (1880–1967)

⁷ As of this writing, I have found no indication that Josef Marx was in the NSDAP, but I also have not found confirmation that he was not as with the other composers here listed.

⁸ As of this writing, I have not been able to ascertain whether or not Krasselt was a member of the NSDAP.

Selected other prominent musicians who received UK status

UK = *unabkömmlich*, literally “unavailable,” i.e. deferred during the war

Unless otherwise specified, all information comes from Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*. Please note that in some cases the dates of application for membership in the NSDAP precede the dates on which the membership was conferred; it is unclear how this is possible. Please also note that the following list does not consider deferments due to physical disability (see Bertram Schaffner’s report of Hans Rosbaud in Appendix 2e, for example).

Hans von Benda (1888–1972, conductor)

Theodor Berger (1905–1992, composer)

Cesar Bresgen (1913–1988, composer)

Hermann Diener (1897–1955, music educator, violinist, and conductor), but joined *Volkssturm* willingly on 6 December 1944

Heinz Drewes (1903–1980, conductor), NSDAP membership Nr. 847.794, 1930

Barnabás von Géczy (1897–1971, conductor)

Georg Haentzschel (1907–1992, composer and conductor)⁹

Georg Ludwig Jochum (1909–1970, conductor), NSDAP membership Nr. 5.794.680, 1 May 1937, application dated 24 December 1937

Franz Kinzl (1895–1978, composer and educator), NSDAP membership Nr. 1.619.526, 1 May 1933, application dated 29 May 1938

Curt Kretzschmar (1894–1973, conductor), NSDAP membership Nr. 890.015, 1 February 1932, UK since 1944 (at recommendation of Heinz Drewes)

Will Meisel (1897–1967, composer and music publisher), NSDAP membership Nr. 2.849.490, 1 May 1933, UK status since 1943

Johannes Petschull (1901–2001, music publisher), NSDAP, Nr. 5.937.579, 1 May 1937, application from 6 July 1937

Heinrich Spitta (1902–1972, composer), but joined *Volkssturm* willingly on 6 December 1944 (note Spitta was a quarter Jewish)

Heinrich Strobel (1898–1970, music journalist), UK status until 1944

Bertil Wetzelsberger (1892–1967, conductor)¹⁰

⁹ Géczy’s and Haentzschel’s UK statuses are not mentioned in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker* (2070 and 2788, respectively); see, however, Martin Lücke, *Jazz in Totalitarianismus: Eine komparative Analyse des politisch motivierten Umgangs mit dem Jazz während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Stalinismus* (Populäre Musik und Jazz in der Forschung, Band 10), Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004, 98.

¹⁰ Wetzelsberger’s UK status is not mentioned in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker* (see 8244–8245); see, however, Bertram Schaffner’s report on Wetzelsberger in Appendix 2e.

Letter from Hans Hinkel (1901–1960) to Carl Orff, 15 November 1944. AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 3 and 5 November 2014; Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 257)

...von Seiten der Reichskulturkammer als der Gemeinschaft der deutschen Kulturschaffenden unserem schwer kämpfenden Volke und der Weltöffentlichkeit, wie sie auch heute zu Deutschland stehen mag, Bekenntnisse deutscher Künstler und Kulturschaffender vorzulegen. Gerade in den Tagen des Kampfes unseres Reiches um sein Leben und seine Freiheit wollen wir uns gemeinsam zu unserem Führer, dem Schirmherrn unserer Kultur, freudig bekennen... Äußerungen sollen und werden auch für den Treuhänder unseres Führers für das deutsche Kunstschaffen, den Präsidenten der Reichskulturkammer, Herrn Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels, eine schöne Weihnachtsfreude bedeuten, die unsere Gemeinschaft ihm bereiten möchte.

[We intend] to present declarations of German artists and creative artists from the Reich Cultural Chamber as the community of German creative artists to our seriously battling *Volk* and for the whole world's opinion of Germany even today. Even in the days of the battle of our Reich for its life and its freedom, we want to declare with joy our common support to our *Führer*, the patron of our culture...[the] remarks should and will also signify a beautiful Christmas joy, which our community would like to give to him, for the trustee of our *Führer* for our production of art, the president of the Reich Cultural Chamber, Herr Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels.

Accompanying this letter in Orff's correspondence is an excerpt of a poem by one of his favorite poets, Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), titled "Shicksal" ("Fate"). It bears the dedication "to the patron of German art" (*dem Schirmherrn Deutscher Kunst*)

Mit ihrem heiligen Wetterschlage,
Mit Unerbittlichkeit vollbringt
Die Noth an Einem grossen Tage,
Was kaum Jahrhunderten gelingt;
Und wenn in ihren Ungewittern
Selbst ein Elysium vergeht,
Und Welten ihrem Donner zittern –
Was gross und göttlich ist, besteht. –

With their holy strikes of thunder and lighting
They inexorably accomplish
The trouble on one great day,
What scarcely succeeds for centuries;
And if in their thunderstorm
Even an Elysium fades away,
And worlds tremble at [their] thunder,
What is great and godlike persists.

An der Schwelle des
Jahres der Entscheidung,
Dezember 1944

On the threshold of the year of decision

December 1944

Source of the original poem: *Friedrich Hölderlins ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Christoph Theodor Schwab, Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1874, 67–69, here 68

Appendix 2b. Documents: Contemporary Reviews

Friedrich W. Herzog (1902–1976): "O sancta simplicitas! Orffs »Carmina Burana« in Frankfurt a. M.," in *Rheinische Landeszeitung* (Düsseldorf), Nr. 158, 11 June 1937.

As reproduced in Carl Orff and Michel Hofmann, *Briefe zur Entstehung der Carmina Burana*, ed. Frohmut Dangel-Hofmann, Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1990, 222.

O sancta simplicitas!

Orffs „Carmina burana“ in Frankfurt a. M.

(Von unserem nach Frankfurt entsandten Schriftleitungsmitglied)

O heilige Einfachheit! Der Leser mag verzeihen, wenn diese Kunstbetrachtung mit einer lateinischen Ueberschrift versehen ist. Aber das im Frankfurter Opernhaus zur Diskussion gestellte Werk fast durchgehend lateinisch gesungen wird, entspricht auch die lateinische Schlagzeile dem Sinn dieser Veranstaltung, die als eine reine Bildungsangelegenheit anzuspprechen ist.

Der musikalischen Gestaltung von Carl Orffs Igenischer Kantate „Carmina burana“ liegt als Text eine Auswahl aus den vierhundert spätlateinischen und mittelhochdeutschen Liedern der Benediktiner Handschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts zugrunde. In der den Programmheft, das als „Braune Blätter“ der Städtischen Bühnen Frankfurt a. M. unter dem Titel „Der 30. Januar“ erscheint, beigelegten Einführung schreibt Michel Hofmann, daß das „Vorwiegen des Lateins jeder begrüßen wird, der ein Ohr für die Magie des Klanges, einen Sinn für die ewige Jugend und Lebendigkeit der „toten“ Sprachen besitzt, deren scharfe, dem Schicksal der lebendigen Umgangssprache entrückte Prägungen keine Lässigkeit des Alltags äußerlich abschleifen, keine Geschäftigkeit fester Schreiber innerlich entwerthen kann.“

Hier irrt der Archivar Michael Hofmann! Für die überwiegende Mehrheit der deutschen Theaterbesucher ist die lateinische Sprache ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln. Jeder Versuch, mit einem neuen Werk zu einem wirklichen Erlebnis vorzustoßen, muß sich der allgemeinverständlichen deutschen Sprache bedienen, will er nicht von vornherein auf das natürliche Echo verzichten. Dieser Einwand gegen das Werk ist so grundsätzlicher Natur, daß die Frage nach der Gegenwartsbedeutung der Musik ohne weiteres in die zweite Linie rückt. Das Mittelalter hat sich überlebt, und was wir heute noch in unserem geistigen Leben als Ueberbleibsel finden, ist reaktionär oder römisch insiziert. Unsere Zeit verlangt eine Haltung, die unseren Lebensaufgaben entspricht. Unsere deutsche Sprache ist so reich und vielfältig, daß wir nicht unter die Kutte eines noch so süßigen und gefahrten Mönchslateins kriechen wollen.

Da nimmt es wunder, daß ein Komponist von der Bedeutung Orffs, der in den Fragen der Musikerziehung durchaus fortschrittliche Tendenzen vertritt, von dem lateinischen Text seinen Ausgang nimmt. Die Musik unterwirft sich dem Gebot des Rhythmus. Er beherrscht alles. Dabei ist die Klangwelt der Kantate auf reiner Diatonik aufgebaut. Man kann seitenslang in dem Klavierauszug (erschieden bei B. Schotts Söhne, Mainz) blättern, ohne ein

Vorzeichen zu entdecken. Der Wille zur Vereinfachung ist gewiß ein Fortschritt, nachdem der moderne Opernapparat zu einem bombastischen Klangungeheuer aufgeschwemmt war. Aber übertriebene Einfachheit führt leicht zur Dürftigkeit und Primitivität, eine Gefahr, der Orff auch stellenweise erlegen ist. Dafür müssen dann Glöckerspiele in verschiedenen Stimmungen zur Auffüllung des Klanges dienen.

Die „Carmina burana“ sind durch gotische Gesänge an die Schicksalsgöttin Fortuna eingeleitet. Der erste Teil der Kantate befragt den Frühling und die Liebe. Im Mittelteil wendet sich der Komponist dann „in der Schenke“ den Freuden des irdischen Lebens zu, die in dem lauten Ausbruch der Freh- und Trinkfröhlichkeit gipfeln. Im dritten Teil wird von der Liebe gesungen. Hier kommt auch das Gefühl in einem persönlicheren Rahmen zu seinem Recht. Der Geisteswelt des Tanzens und Schlemmens im zweiten Teil entspricht die Geisteswelt der heiter gestimmten Gemeinschaft.

In der Uebersetzung der Igenischen Kantate auf die Bühne geht Orff den umgekehrten Weg. Er gibt keine Dramatik äußerer Geschehnisse,

sondern verlangt eine Spiegelung seiner Musik in den Raum. Was gesungen wird, erscheint in handgreiflicher Weise noch einmal geistlich erläutert und als Allegorie verdeutlicht. Ludwig Sievert hatte ein leichtes Architekturgerüst entworfen, dessen zarte Formgebung den bekannten Miniaturcodices mittelalterlicher Kunst entsprach, aber mit romanischen Akzenten verziert war. Zu beiden Seiten war der Chor amphitheatralisch aufgestellt, während im Vordergrund nur ein kleines Dreieck für die Spieler und Tänzer übrigblieb. Zum Gesang an Fortuna rief im Hintergrund ein großes Glücksrad hoch, auf dem die Schicksalsgöttin mit dem Füllhorn thronte. In der Schlussszene, die von der Liebesgöttin beherrscht wird, setzt sich dann zum abschließenden Chor die Drehweibe in Bewegung, auf der sich Venus in Fortuna verwandelt. Der Spielleiter Dr. Oskar Wälder lin kühnte sich in seiner bunten Inszenierung auf das klassische Vorbild des „Jedermann“ Spiels. Er gab der Szene ein reiches Maß von Sinnfälligkeit und diesseitiger Verdeutlichung. Die Chöre überraschten durch großartige Klangfülle. Unter den Solisten fiel neben dem herrlichen Charakterbariton Jean Stern Clara Ebers durch ihre blühblanten Koloraturen auf. Bertil Wegelsberger dirigierte das problematische Werk sicher und überlegen. Der anwesende Komponist wurde mit starkem Beifall begrüßt. Friedrich W. Herzog.

English translation by Janée Messer with Andrew Kohler.

O sancta simplicitas!
Orff's "Carmina Burana" in Frankfurt a.M.

What stunning naiveté! May the reader forgive the fact that the headline of this artistic evaluation is in Latin. It is to be noted that since the work performed at the Frankfurter Opera House that is under discussion was almost entirely sung in Latin; the Latin headline speaks for the purpose of the event. This only can be addressed as a purely educational matter.

The musical configuration of Carl Orff's scenic cantata, *Carmina Burana*, is text that is based on the 400 late Latin and Middle High German songs from the Benediktbeuern manuscript of the thirteenth century. Michel Hofmann writes in a description, found in the program, which appears as the "brown pages" of the City Stages of Frankfurt a.M. with the title "30th of January," that the "high proportions of Latin will be welcomed by everyone who has an ear for the magic of its musical tones and a feeling for the eternal youth and livelihood found in this 'dead' language. For this language, whose strength prevents typical, unreasonable deterioration in the face of destiny's impact upon the living dialect, namely coinage, could not be left unappreciated by any hardworking, devoted writer."

Here the critic, Michel Hofmann is in error! Most German theater guests understand absolutely nothing about the Latin language. Every attempt to achieve a real experience must include basic understandable German if it is a natural response that is wanted from the beginning. This reaction to the performance is so natural that any questions concerning the meaning of the music's lyrics automatically move down a step in importance. The middle ages have become a thing of the past and what remnants we still find today in our conscious lives is infected in a reactionary or Roman fashion. Our times demand a stance that is in compliance with our daily duties. 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.

It is hard to believe that a composer like Orff, who has defended advanced tendencies in questions of musical education, would base his work on a Latin text. The music is subject to the law of rhythm. It controls all else. In that, the tones used in cantatas are built upon pure diatonicism. One can search the pages of the piano score (published by B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz) without finding an accidental.¹¹ The will to simplify things is certainly progress after the modern opera scene turned into a bombastic atrocity of tones. 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.¹²

The *Carmina Burana* are framed by a choir singing of the Goddess of Fate, Fortuna. In the first part of the cantata they sing of spring and love. In the middle part, the composer turns to "In the tavern," resulting from the joys of earthly life that leads to a loud outburst of merriment in eating and drinking. In the third part, love is sung of. This is where feelings on a personal level are given recognition. The social dancing and feasting in the second part corresponds with the feelings of the cheerful community.

Orff has the opposite approach when applying the scenic cantata to the stage. Instead of allowing outer happenings any drama, he expects his music to be projected throughout the room. That which is sung appears in a comprehensible manner, also being expressed in stage scenes and clarified with allegory. Ludwig Sievert had a light architectural scaffold designed. Its petite shape of the well-

¹¹ This is, of course, an exaggeration (see table 2.1).

¹² Presumably a reference to the three glockenspiels of no. 24 ("Ave formosissima"—"Hail, most beautiful one").

known miniature codices was equivalent to art from the middle ages yet decorated with roman details. Both sides were set up like an amphitheater, leaving only a small triangle at the front for the actors and dancers. During the song to Fortuna, a large wheel of fortune was raised in the background. On it the Goddess of Fate sat on a throne with a horn of plenty. In the last scene, in which the Goddess of Love is the main character, the Wheel of Fate begins to spin, Venus is on it transforming into Fortuna, while the choir plays the closing song. The director, Dr. Oskar Wälterlin, based his colorful production on the classical role model of everyday ideas and approaches. He gave the scene a great deal of sensuousness and a clearer picture of exactly that. The choirs surprised everyone with a great spectrum of tones. One of the soloists, Clara Ebers, alongside the main baritone singer, Jean Stern, was recognized for her perfect flourish. Bertil Wetzberger conducted the problematic work with confidence and superiority. The composer was present and received a very enthusiastic applause.

Geraldine deCourcy (? - ?): "Historic German Musical Society Disbands," *Musical America*, Vol. LVII, No. 13, August 1937, page 19. Courtesy Musical America Archives.

MUSICAL AMERICA for August, 1937

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HISTORIC GERMAN MUSICAL SOCIETY DISBANDS

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 Frankfort Opera

By GERALDINE DE COURCY

BERLIN, Aug. 2.

AT the sixty-eighth annual festival of the German Tonkünstler Verein, held in Darmstadt and Frankfort from June 8 to 12, it was decided by official inspiration and unanimous vote to dissolve this famous old organization. The decision seemed sudden and surprising to many, but the reason given was the fact that the task of furthering the country's music had now become the pride and purpose of the all-powerful Music Chamber so that to all intents and purposes, the Society as Liszt conceived it, had now outlived its usefulness. In other words, this Gibraltar of German musical societies has at last been Goebbeleed, as *Time* would say. Even at that, it took a good four years for the sands of its independence to run out, which is the subtlest of tributes nowadays and one quite worthy of the illustrious founder and the service his idea has rendered to German music in the seventy-six years of the association's existence.

Since the war, at least, the Verein has discovered no works or talents that would send tremors through the heights of Olympus, but the failure to do so is easily traced to other factors than the congenial witlessness of selection committees. As the memory-laden ranks have thinned out, the vacancies have been filled by younger men who have learned their paces on the new political speedway. And moreover, the works they occasionally projected were, in Mr. Shaw's apt phrase, "either the fulfillment of a commission or the seizure of a professional opportunity."

A Festival at Low Ebb

The result of this sad state of affairs was never more evident than at this closing festival where with the exception of the concert dedicated to Liszt, the programs consisted almost entirely of works bearing such titles as 'Workers Dances', 'Holy Fatherland', 'Workers Chorus', 'The Eternal Reich', 'In Praise of Labor' and 'Onward We March'.

In addition, one day was devoted to "entertainment music for the people" which is dethroned *Gebrauchsmusik* in the pinafores and pigtailed of "sweet tunes." And it was further deemed expedient to devote two more days to such art forms as male choruses for mass singing, labor camps, and so on; folk



Moll

CARL ORFF

hymns, and other progeny of the marriage of art and socialism.

The one bright gem in this dismal collection was a scenic Cantata, 'Carmina Burana', by Carl Orff of Munich which was elaborately mounted and admirably produced by the Frankfort Opera, in full appreciation of its unique qualities.

Orff is co-founder and co-director of the famous Günther School of Dancing in Munich which is celebrated for the unusual musical accompaniments of its dances as for the choreography itself. He also wrote the sparkling accompaniments for the Olympic Festival of Youth last year, which were so important a factor in its success. And he has recently published a course of public school music that is founded on the same principles and is arousing much interest and comment in German pedagogic circles.

Inspired by Medieval Songs

For the present work he has gone to the uncommon source of a collection of medieval religious and secular lyrics dating from the thirteenth century which now reposes in the Bavarian State Museum under the name of the Benedictbeurer Manuscript, or *Carmina Burana*. The 400 odd poems comprising the collection are the inspiration of various unknown authors and were first committed to writing by the monks of the Benedictbeurer Monastery who gathered them together from traveling scholars and minnesingers. Written in medieval Latin, German and French, they cover everything from philosophical musings, pastorals and hymns to Rabalaisian pothouse ballads in the frank imagery of the age.

From this heterogeneous array, Orff selected twenty-four which he grouped into three song cycles under the subtitles of 'Spring', 'In the Ale-house' and



Pietsch

A View from Carl Orff's Scenic Cantata, 'Carmina Burana'

'Love', binding them into a unity with a Hymn to the Goddess Fortuna. There was no material here for either a cantata or a secular oratorio in the common sense. Furthermore nothing in it bore the faintest relationship to an opera or a ballet, yet it could hardly be conceived without a scenic background and the interpretation of the dance.

Thinking constantly in terms of the dance it was perhaps natural that Orff should bind this element firm and fast in any structure of his imagination. Although the huge chorus was in a way the protagonist, it was actually the dancers and mimes who were called upon to translate the unintelligibilities of the medieval text into the common speech of movement and gesture. And this was so vividly done, with the suggestive power of the music, that a public which usually demands the vernacular apparently never noticed the omission.

Adheres to Simple Patterns

The folksong and dance are Orff's constant models and he never wanders far from this simplest of patterns. The tonal texture of the Cantata was radically diatonic and the tritone harmonies that formed the foundation stones were almost naive in the simplicity of their progressions. But there was no suggestion of superficiality or triteness. Religious ecstasy as well as sensuous abandon or sentimental sweetness are completely foreign to Orff's creative gifts and he is wise enough not to toy with the temptation even when the text holds out alluring suggestions in one or the other vein. He keeps strictly to his personal idiom which pulsates with nimble-footed rhythms and vibrates with a style

that is as exhilarating and joyous as the clear cold tinkle of glass bells.

The Frankfort production was almost perfect in its way. Ludwig Sievert had designed an elaborate painted background that was sumptuously rich in ornamentation, color and intricate detail and the costumed chorus banked the stage to the right and left and threw color and movement into the immediate foreground in the proximity of the soloists and dancers by being mounted in two tower-like structures that divided the scene into panels. If the music suggested ancient madrigals, the setting made one think of a medieval mystery play or the illumination in an old manuscript.

If not freighted with far-reaching fame for Orff, the work was nevertheless exceedingly interesting as a development in the treatment of this type of cantata and, moreover, it had the gift of life and melody in abundance. The public, as might be expected, received it with great enthusiasm and enjoyment and the ovation had a quality of warmth that is not often meted out to such frank departures from the stereotyped.

Philadelphia Simfonieta to Continue

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 10.—The Philadelphia Chamber String Simfonieta, founded by Fabien Sevitzyk, announces that three concerts will be given as usual in the Bellevue Stratford Ballroom in the 1937-38 season. These will be directed by Mr. Sevitzyk, recently appointed conductor of the Indianapolis Symphony, who will return to lead the Simfonieta on Nov. 17, Jan. 5, and March 23. A special children's concert is also projected.

W. E. S.

Herbert Gerigk (1905–1996), “Ein Opern-Einakter von Carl Orff,” in *Die Musik*, Vol. XXXI, Heft 6, March 1939:412–413, excerpt from 412

Hierzu hat Orff eine Musik geschrieben, die ihre melodischen Antriebe aus dem Volkslied holt und die sich auf musikalische Kleinformen beschränkt. Sie wird mit allen Errungenschaften der neuzeitlichen Orchesterkunst aufgeputzt. Vibraphon, Zither, Celesta und manches anderer treten zu der großen Besetzung. Orff geht virtuos um mit dem gewaltigen Apparat, raffiniert in der sicheren Erzielung von Wirkungen; aber er ist weit entfernt von jeglicher romantischen Haltung. Durchsichtigkeit und Klarheit zeichnen ihn aus, und man bedauert nur, daß er die Längen nicht gefühlt hat, die nur zu schnell abstumpfen. Es ist in dieser Aufmachung kein Märchen mehr, sondern ein Sketsch.

With [this work] Orff has written a music that gets its melodic drive from the folksong and limits itself to small musical forms. It is decked out with all the achievements of the modern orchestral art. Vibraphone, zither, celesta, and many others step up to the large instrumentation. Orff handles the enormous apparatus with virtuosity, ingenious in the sure realization of effects; but he is far removed from any romantic manner. Transparency and clarity distinguish him, and one only regrets that he has not felt the lengths, which he neutralizes only too quickly. It is no more fairytale in this presentation, but a sketch.

Hanns Lerch (? – ?), *Völkischer Beobachter*, 53. Jahrgang, Nr. 281, 7 October 1940, S. 7, excerpt also printed in the same publication, Nr. 282, 8 October 1940, S. 4.

In Dresden uraufgeführt Orffs „Orfeo“
Dresden, 6. Oktober

Die erste Uraufführung des Dresdner Staatlichen Opernhauses wurde zugleich zum ersten großen Erfolg dieses Winters. [...]

Den Komponisten Orff konnte man dann noch besser und reiner in der nachfolgenden Erstaufführung der „Carmina burana“ (Lieder aus der Benediktbeurer handschrift) erkennen. Hier strotzte Orff geradezu vor unverwüstlicher und gesunder Musikalität. Rhythmisch, klanglich und in der Instrumentierung blühten alle 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.

Wenn Orff bei seiner Instrumentierung auch kein Instrument verschmäht, nie gefällt er sich in Extravaganzen; alles klingt in der großen Gesamtheit und in bestrickendem Einfallsreichtum.

Die Darstellung war auch hier unübertrefflich; meisterhaft hörte man die Feinheiten der schweren Chöre, harmonisch verschmolzen auch hier Orchester, Gesang, Tänze, Chöre und Bühnenbild zu einem ganz starken und wirksamen Ganzen.

Stürmische Hervorrufe belohnten am Schluß mit Recht den Komponisten, Professor Dr. K. Böhm und die Solisten.

In Dresden Orff's *Orfeo* Has World Premiere
Dresden, 6 October

The first world premiere of the Dresden State Opera House became at the same time the first great success of this winter. [...]

One could then recognize the composer Orff better and more purely in the following local premiere of *Carmina burana* (songs from the Benediktbeurer manuscript). 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 gently 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. It seizes and thrills and sounds from the ear to the heart.

If Orff rejects no instrument from his instrumentation, he never pleases himself with extravagances; everything sounds as part of the great totality and in enchanting imaginativeness.

The performance was also unsurpassable here; one heard the subtleties of the large choruses masterfully; the orchestra, singing, dancing, choruses, and scenery also melded harmonically here into an entirely powerful and effective whole.

At the end, stormy excitement rightly rewarded the composer, Professor Dr. K. Böhm, and the soloists.

Freilich entstammen die Carmina, die vor drei Jahren in Frankfurt a. M. ihre Uraufführung erlebten, anderen Bezirken. Lieder mittelalterlicher Dichter und Scholaren liegen zugrunde, wie sie die Benediktbeurer Handschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts aufbewahrt hat. Sie verkörpern die irdisch sinnenfrohe Gegenströmung gegen die religiöse Geistesherrschaft der Zeit; sie sprechen und singen von Frühling und Liebe, von Trunk und Spiel, und der Ton ihrer Lebenslust klingt oft so herzlich, daß die Verkleidung in ein vokalschweres mittelalterliches Latein zur Milderung fast unumgänglich erscheint. Orff bewährt an diesen Texten die Kraft seiner charakterisierenden Melodik, deren Bewußtheit zuweilen fast zum musikgeschichtlichen Zitat wird, und schließt seine volksliedhaft einfachen, aber mit hohem Raffinement gezeichneten Weisen zu einer Kantate zusammen, deren gemeißelte rhythmische und klangliche Härte in der neuen Musik ihresgleichen suchen. Schon in diesem Werk enthüllt er seinen künstlerischen Charakter, den er später im „Mond“ bestätigte: die Fähigkeit einer vergeistigten Primitivität. Immer ist seine Kunst ein Spiel mit den nahen elementaren Dingen, ein Hinabtauchen in die morallose Sphäre des Triebhaften. Aber die durchdringende Schärfe des Blicks, mit der diese Sphäre angeschaut und musikalisch abgebildet wird, bannt ihre Gefahren und löst ihre besondere Schönheit aus, die blanke, helläugige Schönheit der Sinne, die lachend neben dem warmen, dunkleren Klang der Seele besteht.

But of course the Carmina, which had their world premiere three years ago in Frankfurt-am-Main, originate from other regions. The basis is songs of poets and scholars from the middle ages, which are stored in the thirteenth-century manuscript in Benediktbeuern. They embody the earthly, joyfully sensual countercurrent against the religious spiritual rule of the time; they speak and sing of spring and love, of drinking and games, and the sound of its lust for life rings often so heartily that the disguise in a vocally difficult middle-age Latin seems almost inevitable to mitigate it. In these texts, Orff establishes the power of his characterizing melody, the awareness of which sometimes almost becomes a music-historical quotation, and joins his melodies, which are simple [and] folksong-like but marked with high refinement, to a cantata whose chiseled rhythmic and tonal force seek their peers in the new music. Already in this work he reveals his artistic character, which he confirmed later in *Der Mond*: the ability of a spiritual primitivism. His art is always a game with nearby, elemental things, plunging down into the amoral spheres of the libido. But the piercing sharpness of the expression with which these spheres are looked at and musically portrayed avert their dangers and produce their special beauty, the pure, bright-eyed beauty of the senses, which laughingly exist next to the warm, darker sound of the soul.

Fritz Stege (1896–1967), “Berliner Music,” in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109. Jahrgang, Heft 2, February 1942:64–65, excerpt from 64

Berliner Musik.

Von Fritz Stege, Berlin.

Das stärkste Erlebnis in den letzten Wochen, in denen die Weihnachts- und Neujahrstage den gewohnten Ruhepunkt bildeten, war für mich die Bekanntschaft mit Carl Orffs seinerzeit in Frankfurt uraufgeführten „*Carmina burana*“ in der Berliner Staatsoper. Diese Schöpfung, die am Wendepunkt der bisherigen stilistischen Entwicklung steht, sollte Allgemeingut der deutschen Bühnen werden, um die Skeptiker von den ungeahnten Möglichkeiten zu überzeugen, die sich in der künstlerischen Vervollkommnung des einfachsten Ausdrucks darbieten. Carl Orffs kernige Musik bezieht ihren Wert aus den tiefsten Quellen des Empfindens, die psychologisch unbelastet und rein Naturnähe und Ursprünglichkeit offenbaren. Selbst die Diatonik ist nicht zu gering, um sich den Gesetzen des echten schöpferischen Könners zu unterwerfen, der mit wenigen Mitteln Größeres vollführt als die Anhänger jener Richtung, die den Klangrausch höher werten als die Ökonomie des Tones. Alle die Chor- und Solopartien, die Orff zu seinen „*Carmina burana*“ zusammenfügt, atmen gefinnungsmäßige Sauberkeit und Adel des Herzens, und in ihrem Stil knüpfen sie an wertvollste Perioden des deutschen Schaffens an.

Berlin Music

by Fritz Stege, Berlin

The most powerful experience for me in the last weeks, in which the days of Christmas and New Year formed the usual resting point, was getting to know Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* (which had its premiere in Frankfurt a while ago) at the Berlin Staatsoper. This creation, which stands at a turning point of the present stylistic development, should be common knowledge of the German stage, in order to convince the skeptics of the unimagined possibilities that present themselves in the artistic perfection of the simplest expression. Carl Orff's earthy music draws its worth from the deepest sources of feeling, which reveal psychologically unencumbered and pure closeness to nature and originality. Not even diatonicism is too base to submit to the laws of the genuine creative artist, who with few means performs something greater than the followers of that movement which values the intoxication caused by sound more highly than the economy of tones. All of the choral and solo parts that Orff has connected for his *Carmina burana* breathe a purity of massive conviction and nobility of the heart, and their style is tied to the most valuable periods of German creativity.¹³

¹³ Literally, “...in their style they tie to the most valuable periods of German creativity.”

Otto Ecksten-Ehrenegg (? – ? , Berlin), “Die tieferen Ursachen der Opernkrise und der Weg zu ihrer Überwindung” (“The Deeper Reasons of the Opera Crisis and the Way to Overcoming It”), in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109. Jahrgang, Heft 2, February 1942:62–64, excerpt from 63

Wenn diese Musikgeneration nun die bisherige individuelle psychologie Entwicklung der Operngestalten durch eine zustandschildernde überindividuelle Typisierung verdrängt, wenn sie in ihren musikdramatischen Versuchen das Allgemeinmenschliche betont und dazu neigt, eher das Schicksal ganzer Volksgruppen als das einzelner „Helden“ auf der Opernbühne darzustellen, so zeigt sich darin ihr ernster Wille einer künstlerischen Manifestierung des nationalsozialistischen Gemeinschaftsgedankens.

[...] Carl Orffs modernes Lebensgefühl hat in seinem „Mond“ die sinnliche Freude am Mummenschanz seiner süddeutschen Heimat in einer ideenreichen musikalischen Volkslegende mit der Symbolkraft des Märchens zu einem Bühnenspiel von stärkster Wirkung und von außerordentlicher Bedeutung für die Zukunft der Oper vereinigt. Wenn Orffs Bearbeitung von Monteverdis „Orfeo“ kürzlich in Dresden einen so großen Erfolg errang, weil dessen klassisch-statische Haltung der zeitgenössischen Neigung für ein typisiertes Operntheater aufs glücklichste entsprach....

If this musical generation now suppresses the previous individual psychological development of operatic construction through a super-individual standardization that portrays the situation, if it accentuates that which is universally human in its musico-dramatic and tends to portray the fate of the entire group of the *Volk* rather than the single “hero” on the operatic stage, so it appears therein its serious will of an artistic manifestation of the National Socialist communal thought.

[...] Carl Orff’s modern attitude toward life in his *Der Mond* has united the sensual joys in the masquerade of his southern German *Heimat* in a musical *Volk* legend that is rich in ideas with the fairy tale’s power of symbol to a theater piece of the most powerful effect and extraordinary importance for the future of opera. If Orff’s adaptation of Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* [on 4 October 1940] recently won so great a success [it was] because its classical-static style corresponded most happily to the contemporary inclination for a typified opera theater....

Appendix 2c. Documents – Letters

Letter from Fritz Reusch to Hans Bergese, 5 November 1933. Cited in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 220–221, internal quotation marks omitted (note that the citation incorrectly gives 5 January 1933 as the date).

Fritz Reusch wrote to Bergese that the *Schulwerk* was Orff's "personal destiny...and therefore destiny of our time and of the music of our time and our *Volk*" (*persönliches Schicksal...und damit das unserer Zeit und das der Musik unserer Zeit und unseres Volkes*). He also gave a favorable report from his school, which was largely National Socialist:

Die Arbeit hier ist sehr schön und positiv, und man kann sagen, dass sich die neue Zeit in der Pädagogik und besonders an unserer Hochschule für Lehrerbildung sehr deutlich, sehr einschneidend und sehr fruchtbar spiegelt. So sind bei uns alle Studenten und Dozenten in der S.A. (d. h. ich bin im N.S.K.K.), und wir haben durch Wehrsportlager, durch gemeinsame Veranstaltungen mit unseren Stürmen einen völlig neuen Stil der Lebenshaltung und der Unterrichtspraxis in unserer Hochschule herausbekommen.

The work here is very lovely and positive, and one can say that the new time is reflected very clearly, very greatly, and very fruitfully in the pedagogy and especially in our school for educating teachers. So all of us [in the school], students and instructors, are in the *Sturmabteilung* (i.e. I am in the National Socialist Motorist Corps), and we have found an entirely new style of living and practice of teaching in our school through paramilitary training camps, through common meetings with our *Stürmen* [presumably a reference to members of the *Sturmabteilung*]

Note: N.S.K.K. is an abbreviation for *Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrerkorps*.

Letter from Angelika Probst (1918–1976) to Carl Orff, 7 April 1936. This was Angelika Probst's eighteenth birthday.) AK, COS/OZM, quoted in Alexander Schmorell and Christoph Probst, ed. Christiane Moll, *Alexander Schmorell, Christoph Probst: Gesammelte Briefe*, Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2011, 291 n. 15:

Sehr geehrter Herr Orff

Die Gedichte sind fertig. Hoffentlich merkt man ihnen das »laufend Band« nicht zu sehr an; ich hab sie nämlich alle an einem Tag gemacht. Vielleicht sind Sie so gut und schicken sie mir mit Kritiken versehen zurück, damit ich sie umänder oder erneuern kann. Die blumigen Wiesen in die man sich hineinlegt und dichtet, sind natürlich Pappe. Es regnet in Strömen; aber das regt die Phantasie vielleicht an.

Dear Herr Orff

The poems are finished. Hopefully one will not notice the "production line" too much; that is to say I have made them all in one day. Perhaps you would be so good as to return them to me with critiques so that I can alter or repair them. The flowery meadows in which one lies down and writes poetry are naturally cardboard. It is pouring rain, but perhaps that stimulates the imagination.

Letter from Ludwig Strecker to Carl Orff, 22 June 1936. SK, OZM, cited in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 229, 324 n. 115.

Bei der „Burana“ ist guter Rat sehr teuer. So lange wir nicht jemand finden, der eine weithin sichtbare Aufführung zu machen bereit ist, ist Ihnen selbst nicht gedient. Nach meinen letzten sehr reichen Erfahrungen in Weimar über musikpolitische Dinge ist mein bester Rat – wenn er auch grausam ist – abzuwarten.

With the *Burana*, good advice is very costly. So long as we do not find someone who is prepared to make a widely visible performance, it is not of service even to you. After my last very rich experiences in Weimar regarding musical-political matters, it is my best (if also cruel) advice is to wait.

Letter from Engelhard Barthe (Hamburg conductor) to Hans Meyer-Rogge, 9 February 1938. AK, OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October and 31 2014).

Ich muss Ihnen nun leider sagen, dass der dritte Teil textlich Stellen enthält, die ich dem weiblichen Teil meines Chores (es sind zum grösseren Teil junge Mädchen) nicht anbieten mag und die der Staatschor (hier sowohl im männlichen wie im weiblichen Teil) mir wahrscheinlich nicht abnehmen wird. Ich sehe mich also leider gezwungen meine Bereitschaft zur Mitarbeit zurückzuziehen.

I must tell you now, unfortunately, that the third part contains spots in the text that I would not like to offer to the women's section of my chorus (there are, for the greater part, young women), and truthfully the *Staatschor* (here both in the men's as in the women's sections) will not put up with it from me. Thus I am unfortunately forced to withdraw my willingness to collaborate.

For more on Engelhard Barthe (Hamburg conductor, 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*.

The following two letters concern the inclusion of a German translation in the choral parts of Carmina Burana; evidently Orff was concerned that they might have been intended for performance.

Letter from Franz Willms to Carl Orff, 7 September 1938. SK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 2 October 2014.

Soviel ich weiß, soll der deutsche Text garnicht gesungen werden, sondern, wie es eigentlich selbstverständlich ist, der lateinische. Der deutsche Text ist lediglich eine Hilfe für die Sänger, die den lateinischen nicht verstehen.

So far as I know, the German next is not at all to be sung, but rather the Latin is, as is actually self-evident. The German text is only an aid for the singers who do not understand the Latin.

Letter from Willy Strecker to Carl Orff, 9 September 1938. SK, OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014)

Über die „Burana“-Stimmen sind wir einer Meinung. Auch in Leipzig will man lateinisch singen und der deutsche Text soll nur „zum

About the *Burana* parts we are of one mind. Also in Leipzig one wants to sing the Latin, and the German text should only serve “for better

besseren Verständnis“ dienen. Ich werde eine entsprechende Bemerkung hinzufügen. Singt man hier und da doch den deutschen Text, so müssen wir Augen und Ohren schließen. Ich glaube aber, dass die meisten Dirigenten, die den „schlechten“ Geschmack haben, Ihre „Carmina“ schön zu finden, auch den lateinischen Text nehmen werden.

understanding.” I shall add an appropriate note. Yet the German text is sung here and there, so we must close our eyes and cover our ears. But I believe that most of the conductors who had the “bad” taste to find your *Carmina* beautiful also will take the Latin text.

Note: presumably the reference to “‘bad’ taste,” especially in light of the quotation marks, is meant ironically.

Letter from Fanz Menge to Carl Orff, 17 April 1941, SK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014).

... kürzlich sprach ich mit Papst – Köln, der, wie Sie ja wissen, die „Carmina Burana“ in Aussicht genommen hat. Er stieß aber auf heftige Widerstände bei der Gruppe um den bekannten Herrn Trienes (Westdeutscher Beobachter). Dieser hatte behauptet, dass wegen des unsittlichen Textes das Stück nicht erwünscht und auch an verschiedenen Orten wieder abgesetzt worden sei.

I recently spoke with [the conductor Eugen] Papst – Cologne, who, you certainly know, considered *Carmina Burana*. He met with vehement oppositions from the group around the well-known Herr [Walter] Trienes (*Westdeutscher Beobachter*). This man had claimed that, because of the indecent text the work was not desired [*nicht erwünscht*] and also was cancelled in various other locations.”¹⁴

For more on Papst (1886–1956), see Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 5480–5481; <http://www.bmlo.lmu.de/> (accessed 6 November 2014). As of this writing, I have not found biographical information on Menge.

Wilhelm Schmidt-Scherf to Carl Orff, 3 May 1942. AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 2 October 2014).

In 1942, Wilhelm Schmidt-Scherf, the music director of Koblenz, wrote to Orff that a production of *Carmina Burana* had to be cancelled due to complaints from *Volksgenossen* (a National Socialist term signifying people who belong to the *Volk*) about the reference to the Queen of England in No. 10 (“Were diu werlt alle min,” i.e. “Were the whole world mine”). For biographical information on Schmidt-Scherf (1904–1990), see <http://graphologie-news.net/cms/upload/archiv/uebergaengezwischenenerationen.pdf>, accessed 31 October 2014.

Ich wies auf die Lächerlichkeit dieses Einwandes hin und sandte ein Textbuch an den Landeskulturwalter. Der rief mich daraufhin an und wies mich darauf hin, daß die Königin von England weniger schwerwiegend sei als das „Sauflied“, in dem Soldaten in einem Atem mit Trunkenbolden, Überläufern und Banausen genannt wurden.

I pointed out the absurdity of this objection and sent a libretto to the *Landeskulturwalter* [i.e. a regional cultural authority]. He called me after that and point out to me that the Queen of England was less serious than the ‘Drinking Song’ [i.e. No. 14], in which soldiers were named in the same breath as drunkards, deserters, and philistines.

Letter from Rudolf Meyer to Carl Orff, 9 April 1944. Cited in Karner, *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz*, 251, 327–328 n. 245 and 246

In der ersten Szene des Bauern machten sich schon Störungsversuche durch Lachen, lautes Schwatzen im Zuschauerraum bemerkbar. Dagegen versuchten andere die Störer durch Zischen zum Schweigen zu bringen. [...] In der dritten Szene fing die Unruhe wieder an und äußerte sich als das dritte Rätsel anfangen sollte, in lauten Pfiffen, mit dem entsprechenden Begleidlärm. Ich ließ daraufhin den Vorhang fallen. Pfeifen, Johlen, Schreien des ganzen Hauses! [...] Die Vorstellung ging weiter. [...] Der Vorhang fiel zum zweiten Mal. Dann trat der diensthabende Polizeioffizier zum Vorhang heraus und stellte dem Publikum eindringlich vor, daß er bei weiterer Fortsetzung der Störungen eingreifen müsse. Darauf ging die Aufführung, von einigen kleinen Unruhen abgesehen, zu Ende. Als der Vorhang fiel, setzte ein lautes Pfeifen und Johlen ein, gegen das die wenigen Klatscher nicht ankamen. [...] Es kam natürlich zu erregten Debatten auf den Gängen. [...] Im Grundsätzlichen scheint es sich [...] hier um eine politische Entwicklung zu handeln, der wir Reichsdeutschen in der Ostmark an allen Gebieten begegnen. Nicht die Tatsache, daß Ihr Werk neue Wege sucht und den Grazern nicht zu liegen scheint, [...] sondern den [sic] Erfolg, den dieses Werk im Reich überall hatte und die große Förderung, die es – meines Erachtens zu Recht – erfährt.

In the first scene of the farmer there already were attempts at interference through laughter and loud chatting in the auditorium. In contrast, others attempted to silence the interferers through hissing....In the third scene the unrest began again and manifested itself as the third riddle should have begun in loud whistling with the correspondent accompanying noise. Thereupon I left the curtain fall. Whistling, hooting, shouting of the entire house!...The performance proceeded again....The curtain fell a second time. Then the police officer on duty stepped up to the curtain and forcefully informed the public that he must intervene at the continuation of the interference. After that the production went on to the end, aside from a few small instances of unrest. As the curtain fell, loud whistling and hooting began, against which the few people applauding were not heard... It came naturally to excited debate in the corridors....On principle it seems to be a political development; we encounter Reich Germans in all areas in Ostmark [i.e. Austria]. Not the fact that your work seeks a new way and it seems not to be for the people of Graz...but the success that this work had everywhere in the Reich and the great aid that it (in my consideration rightly) has experienced.

Letter from Hans Bergese to Erich Katz, 25 December 1947.

Erich Katz Collection, Special Collections, Regis University. Series 1, Carton 1.

Note: Typographical errors corrected. This letter does not make clear to what work Bergese was referring, but he told Michael Kater decades later specifically about his resentment regarding *Musik der Landschaft*.

Bergese referred to his work on *Musik der Landschaft* with Huber, not mentioning Orff, in a letter to Erich Katz dated 10 November 1946 (Series 1, Carton 1, Erich Katz Collection). The contribution to a memorial book in question is presumably the posthumous letter to Kurt Huber (see Appendix 2e).

Meine persönliche Haltung zu ihm hat sich nicht gebessert, im Gegenteil, ich bin gezwungen, mich noch mehr von ihm abzuschliessen: ein Gedenkbuch, das dieser Tage erschienen ist, enthält auch einen Brief von ihm, in welchem er u.a. zum ersten Mal (mir wenigstens) klar und schriftlich dokumentiert hat, dass er in skrupellosester Weise Arbeitskraft, geistige und schöpferische Leistung Anderer, die von ihm abhängig sind oder waren für die Glorifizierung seines Names und seines doch nur beschränkten Vermögens ausnutzt. Jedenfalls erwarte ich von einer wahrhaft grossen Persönlichkeit, dass blosser Anregungen nicht in einer derartigen Weise für persönlichste Zwecke ausgenützt werden.

My personal attitude toward him has not improved, to the contrary, I am forced to close myself off from him yet more: a commemorative book that was published these days also contains a letter from him, in which he, among other things, for the first time (to me, at least) clearly has documented in writing that, in the most unscrupulous way, he exploits the work, the intellectual and creative accomplishment of others who are, or were, dependent on him for the glorification of his name and his still only limited ability. In any case, I expect from a truly great figure that mere suggestions are not exploited in such a manner for the most personal purposes.

Letter from Carl Orff to Stanley Kubrick, 1 April 1966. AK, COS/OZM (information according to OZM, 24 October 2014). Unfortunately, no letter from Kubrick to Orff is extant in the *Nachlass* of Carl Orff.

Leider kann ich Ihren Wunsch nicht erfüllen, die Musik zu dem sehr interessanten Film zu schreiben, die Aufgabe ist doch ziemlich umfangreich. Mich bedrängen ohnehin unaufschiebbare eigene Arbeiten, vor allem die Fertigstellung meines neuen Bühnenwerks. Falls Sie daran Interesse haben, kann ich Ihnen aber gern einen oder den anderen phantasievollen jüngeren Komponisten mit entsprechender Film-Erfahrung nennen, der vielleicht bereit wäre, die Aufgabe zu übernehmen.

Unfortunately I cannot fulfill your wish to write music for the very interesting film, but the task is fairly substantial. Anyway, I am hard pressed by my own urgent work, above all the completion of my new stage work. But if you are interested, I gladly can name for you one or another of the imaginative young composers with appropriate film experience, who perhaps would be prepared to accept the task.

Appendix 2d. Miscellaneous writings by Carl Orff.

Vignettes in *Das gute Kind*, 8. Jahrgang, Nr. 10, 9 July 1905 (Augsburg: Schmid, 1905), 76–77 and 79–80. While the moralistic tone of “Der Hochmut” is strikingly different from Orff’s later works (even those written in his teenage years), the rapturous tone of “Der Stern” already evinces the composer’s love of fantasy.

Der Hochmut

Eine Sternblume sagte einst zum Veilchen:
„Sieh mich an, wie schön ich bin! Groß und
lieblich stehe ich hier, von jedermann
angesehen, während du in der Verborgenheit
stehst und kaum beachtet wirst.“

Als die Sternblume noch sprach, liesen Kinder
des Weg’s, pflückten sie, zupften ihre Strahlen
aus und warfen sie dann auf den Weg.

Das Veilchen aber blieb unbeachtet unter der
Hecke stehen und freute sich, daß es leben
durfte. Andern Tags kam ein Mann gegangen,
sah das Veilchen, grub es samt den Wurzeln
vorsichtig aus, trug es nach dem Friedhofe und
pflanzte es auf das Grab seiner Mutter. Dort
wuchs und blühte es und brachte jedes Jahr
herrliche, duftende Blumen.

So wurde die Bescheidenheit reichlich belohnt,
der Hochmut hingegen ernstlich bestraft.

Der Stern von Karl O.

Vor vielen, vielen Jahren fiel einmal ein
schöner, glänzender Stern vom Himmel herab.

Da kam ein Engel, um ihn wieder
hinaufzuholen, der Stern aber bat ihn: „Laß
mich auf der Erde bleiben, ich will sie
schmücken!“

Der Engel erfüllte seinen Wunsch und ließ den
Stern auf der Wiese; der Herbstwind aber
wehte die Samenteilchen über die ganze

Pride

A masterwort flower¹⁵ once said to a violet:
“Look at me, how beautiful I am! I stand here,
large and lovely, looked at by everyone, while
you stand concealed and are scarcely noticed.”

As the masterwort yet spoke, children ran
along the road, picked it, plucked its rays, and
then threw it on the road.

But the violet remained unnoticed under the
hedge and was happy that it may live. The next
day a man came along, saw the violet, dug it up
carefully along with its roots, carried it to the
graveyard, and planted it on the grave of his
mother.¹⁶ There it grew and bloomed every
year brought forth marvelous, fragrant flowers.

So was humility richly rewarded but pride was
seriously punished.

The Star by Karl O.

Many, many years ago a beautiful, shining star
fell out of the sky.

There came an angel to put it back up again,
but the star asked him: “Let me remain on the
earth; I want to adorn it!”

The angel fulfilled his wish and left the star in
the meadow; but the autumn wind blew the
seed particles over the entire area of the

¹⁵ The masterwort is a flowering plant native to central and Southern Europe, including in the Alps.

¹⁶ Note the importance of the maternal figure, as in “Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar,” “Die Närrin,” and *Gisei* (see Chapter 1).

Wiesenfläche hin, und als dann endlich der Frühling seinen Einzug hielt, da guckten viele goldgelbe Sternlein aus der Erde und schmückten die Wiese, und die Menschen nannten sie den Wiesengoldstern.

meadow, and then as the spring finally founds its way there, many little golden yellow stars peeped up from the earth and adorned the meadow, and the people called them the meadow's golden star.¹⁷

Carl Orff's tribute to Igor Stravinsky.

Orff wrote a tribute for the program celebrating Stravinsky's works held by Musica Viva on 4 October 1957. Orff's tribute centered on one of the works on the program, *Apollon Musagète* ("Apollo and the Muses," 1927–1928):

Mit *Apollon Musagète* trat für mich ein neuer Klang in die Musik. Befangen in den Frühenwerken des Meisters, die mir großes Erlebnis waren, fand ich damals, 1928, schwer Zugang zu dem neuen eigenwilligen Werk. Heute gehört gerade der *Apollon Musagète* zu meinen Lieblingswerken. Ich bewundere und liebe den Meister Igor Strawinsky, meinen Apoll.

With *Apollon Musagète* there came [forward] for me a new sound in music. Caught in the early works of the master, which were a great experience for me, I found there, in 1928, the heavy entrance to the new, unconventional work. Today *Apollon Musagète* belongs right with my favorite works. I marvel at and love the master Igor Stravinsky, my Apollo."¹⁸

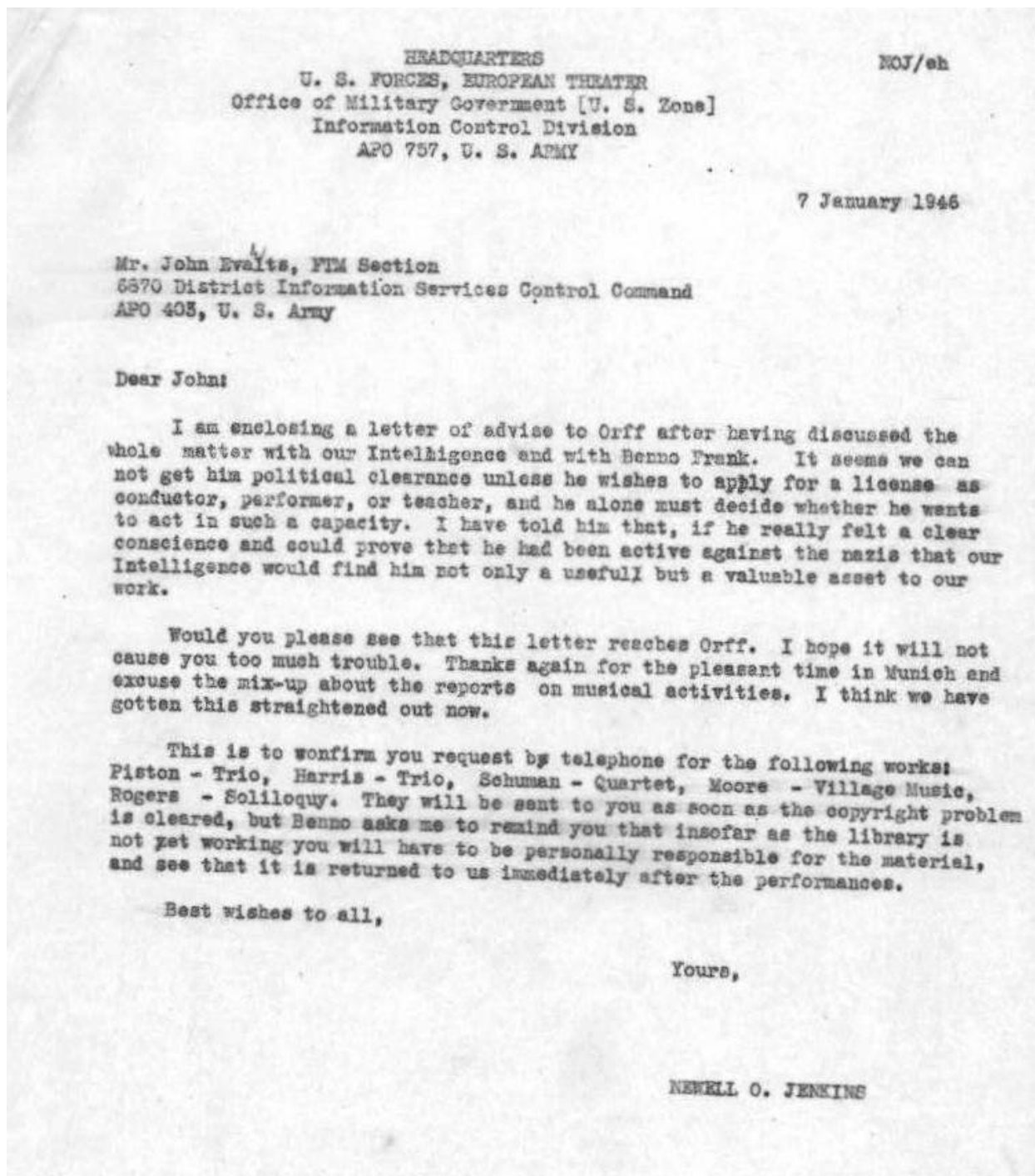
Note: 1928 was the year of the premiere of *Apollon Musagète*.

¹⁷ *Wiesengoldstern* is a German word for the flower *Gagea pratensis*.

¹⁸ Renata Wagner, Margot Attenkofer, and Helmut Hell, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva: Essays, bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe an Hartmann Katalog* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ausstellungs-Kataloge. 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«"), internal quotation marks (guillemets) omitted. This publication is based on an exhibit on Hartmann and the Musica Viva at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 19 June to 29 August 1980). Original language: 1928 was the year of the premiere of *Apollon Musagète*. Orff's original handwritten tribute is not dated (see BSB HSL, Ana 407, Briefe von Karl Amadeus Hartmann an Carl Orff); the date of the concert is found in the printed source (Wagner et al, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, 328).

Appendix 2e. Documents Pertaining to Denazification and Subsequent Controversy

Letters from Newell O. Jenkins (1915–1996) to John Evarts and Carl Orff, 7 January 1947, National Archives, Records of United States Occupation Headquarters, World War II (Record Group 260), Entry A1 1681: Correspondence and Related Records, 1945–1949, Box 928. English translation of letter to Orff follows facsimile. Note: John Evarts (1908–1989), a pianist and composer, was an important American cultural officer in Bavaria.



HEADQUARTERS
U. S. FORCES, EUROPEAN THEATER
Office of Military Government [U. S. Zone]
Information Control Division
APO 757, U. S. ARMY

NOJ/eh

7. Januar 1946

Herr Carl Orff
Kurt Huberstr. 21
Graefelfing b. Muenchen

Mein lieber Carl:

Nach Bad Homburg zurueckgekehrt habe ich mit unserem Musikoffizier und unseren Leuten von Intelligence gesprochen und habe Folgendes erfahren:

1. Da Du selbst momentan kein Interesse daran hast in der Oeffentlichkeit zu erscheinen, weder als Dirigent, noch zu Reden irgendwelcher Art, und Dich noch nicht entschieden hast, ob Du eine Lehrtatigkeit annehmen willst oder nicht, d.h. Dich nur Deinen Kompositionen widmen willst, brauchst Du eigentlich keine Lizenz.

2. Ich habe erfahren, dass political clearance, [politisches Klaerungsverfahren], in solchen Faellen nicht durchgefuehrt wird.

3. Ich habe Deinen Fall ganz objektiv unseren Leuten von Intelligence vorgetragen und um einen diesbzgl. Rat gebeten. Sie sind der Ansicht, dass, falls Du Dich wirklich antifaschistisch betatigt hast und dies klar beweisen kannst, Du nicht nur fuer uns, die amerikanische Besatzung, sondern auch fuer den zukuenftigen deutschen Wiederaufbau von ungeheuerem Nutzen waerest. Nach Ansicht unserer Leute muessstest Du Dich alsdann fuer das zukuenftige Deutschland mit verantwortlich fuehlen, und, sofern Du im stillen Herzen Dich jeglicher Nutzniesserei freisprechen kannst, solltest Du doch wenigstens eine Lehrstelle in einer Dir sympathischen Gegend Deutschlands annehmen, wo Du Deine freie kuenstlerische Meinung vertreten kannst. Du muessstest Dich dann entweder bei Capt. Kilenyi oder Herrn Evalts in der Renatastr. 48 melden. Dort wuerdest Du bestimmt freundlich aufgenommen, und in hoechstens 2 Monaten nach Einreichung Deines Gesuches wuerdest Du ohne weiteres einen endgueltigen Bescheid in Haenden haben. Ich moechte nur wiederholt die 2 wichtigsten Punkte betonen: Dein eigenes Gewissen zu pruefen und Beweise zu erbringen, dass Du aktiv gegen die vorherige Regierung taetig warst. Denn solche Leute findet man selten, und wie gesagt, sie sind von groesstem Nutzen fuer alle.

Ich moechte Dir und Gertrud nochmals herzlichst danken fuer Eure Gastfreundschaft und fuer Eure herrliche Weihnachtsfeier. Ich habe den 1. Akt des Klavierauszuges der "Bernauerin" an Strecker in Mainz persoendlich uebergeben. Er laesst Dich schoen gruessen und wartet sehnsuechtig auf den 2. Akt. Einige amerikanische Musik ist jetzt in Deutschland angekommen. Bei meiner naechsten Reise nach Muenchen werde ich Dir darueber berichten. Ich weiss

nicht, wann ich von hier wegkomme und wohin ich versetzt werde. Das alles wirst Du auf demselben Weg erfahren, wie Du diesen Brief erhaltst.

Zum Schluss moechte ich noch erwaehnen, dass ich vorlaeufig keine Moeglichkeit sehe, Egek zu helfen. Sei aber versichert, dass ich tue, was ich kann.

Bitte, nimm diese Vorschlaege ernst und behandle sie vertraulich.

Mit vielen Gruessen an alle,

Dein

NEWELL O. JENKINS

My dear Carl:

I have returned to Bad Homburg, spoken with our music officer and our people from Intelligence, and found out the following:

1. Since you presently have no interest in appearing in public, neither as conductor nor to speak [publicly] in any way, and you have not yet decided whether or not you want to accept a teaching [position], i.e. [if] you want to dedicate yourself only to your compositions, you really do not need a license.

2. I have found out that political clearance is not carried out in such cases.

3. I have presented your case completely objectively to our people from Intelligence and asked for advice regarding it. They are of the view that, if you really were actively antifascist and can clearly prove it, you would be of enormous use not only for us, the American occupation, but also for the future reconstruction of Germany. In our people's view you must then feel responsible for the future Germany and, provided that you can acquit yourself in your still heart of any instances of being a beneficiary, you should even so accept at least a teaching position in a region of Germany that appeals to you, where you can represent your artistic opinion freely. You must then report either to Captain [Edward] Kilenyi or Herr [John] Evalts [sic] in 48 Renatastrasse.¹⁹ You would certainly be warmly received there, and in two months at the most after the submission of your request you would have a final notice in your hands without [having to do] anything further. I simply would like to emphasize repeatedly the two most important points: to examine your own conscience and to produce proof that you were actively employed against the previous government. For one seldom finds such people, and as [I have] said, they are of the greatest use for everyone.

I would like to thank you and Gertrud again most warmly for your hospitality and for your marvellous Christmas celebration. I have personally handed the piano reduction of the first act of *Die Bernauerin* to Strecker in Mainz.²⁰ He greets you nicely and longingly awaits the second act. Some American music has now arrived in Germany. On my next trip to Munich I shall report to you about it. I do not know when I shall get away from here and where I shall go. All this you will find out the same way that you receive this letter.

Finally, I additionally would like to mention that I see no possibility to help Egk for the time being. But be assured that I do what I can.

Please, take these suggestions seriously and treat them confidentially.

With many greetings to everyone,

Your

Newell O. Jenkins

¹⁹ Captain Edward Kilenyi (1910–2000), a concert pianist, was the Music Control Officer for Bavaria.

²⁰ It is unclear if Jenkins was referring to Ludwig or Willy Strecker.

Classification list for the ICD Screening Center.
Oskar Diethelm Library, DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, Weill Cornell Medical
College, New York City, New York. Box 34, Folder 1.

HEADQUARTERS *Folder 1*
UNITED STATES FORCES EUROPEAN THEATER
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
APO ~~757~~ U. S. Army

11 October 1945

CLASSIFICATION LIST

The following classifications are being used by the screening
teams of Information Control Division:

"A" - Not a member of the Party or of affiliates (with excep-
tion of List I organization). Recognized anti-Nazi attitude. Not a
collaborator with Nazis nor a beneficiary of Nazism. Politically
suitable for leading positbn.

"B" - Non-Party member. Neutral non-political type or anti-
Nazi who falls short of high standards of "A" classification,
but against whom no definite derogatory evidence of Party affilia-
tions, connection or benefits or Nationalistic leanings is developed.
May be member of List I or II organizations. Suitable for probation.

"C" - Party members, or member of List III subordinate organi-
zations, without record of Nazi or Nationalistic convictions or small
non-Party oppotunists. Cannot be emploed in policy making or creative
capacity or executive position or as a personal officer. Should be
replaced by "A" or "B". In cases where it is felt that it is inadvi-
sable to replace a person classified "C", special application should
be made to United States Forces, European Theater.

"D" and "E" - Any person who had:

- a. Held office or otherwise been active in or for the Nazi
Party or its subordinate organizations or in organizations which
further militaristic doctrines.
- b. Been a member of List IV or V.

c. Been an officer of the Wehrmacht (unless specific exception is made by Information Control Division, United States Forces, European Theater) or an officer or non-com in Waffen SS.

d. Benefited to a marked extent from the Nazi system.

e. Been an early member of Party or "Black" subordinate organizations, unless proof can be established of anti-Nazi activities subsequently.

f. Authorized or participated affirmatively in any Nazi crimes, racial persecutions or discriminations.

g. Been an avowed believer in Nazism or racial and militaristic creeds.

h. Voluntarily given substantial moral or material support or political assistance of any kind to the Nazi Party or Nazi officials or leaders.

Membership in the following organizations would not necessarily eliminate a person from "A" classification:

Reichsbund der deutschen Beamten
DAF
NSV
NSKOV
NS Arztebund
Deutsche Studentenschaft
Reichskulturkammer
Reichsschrifttumskammer
Reichspressekammer
Reichsrundfunkkammer
Reichstheaterkammer
Reichskammer der bildend. Künste
Reichsmusikkammer
Reichsfilmkammer
Deutsche Jägerschaft
Deutsches Rotes Kreuz
Reichsarbeitsdienst
Reichsluftschutzbund (After '38)

Membership in the following organizations would preclude classification as "A", but would not necessarily eliminate a person from "B" classification:

HJ einschl. BDM
KdF
Reichsbund deutscher Familie
NS Reichsbund für Leibesübungen
Deutsche Akademie München
Deutsches Auslandsinstitut (If entry before '34)
Deutsche Glaubensbewegung (~~If entry before '34~~)
Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (If entry before '34)
Deutsche Frauen Woche

Membership in the following organizations should preclude classification as "A" or "B" and would indicate a classification no higher than "C":

NSDAP
NSDStB
NSKK
NSFK
NS Reichsb. deutscher Schwestern
NS Altherrenbund
Deutscher Gemeindetag
Deutsches Auslandsinstitut (If entry after '34)
Deutsche Christen-Bewegung
NS Reichskriegerbund (Depending on entry)
Deutscher Fichte-Bund (If entry after '34)
Reichskolonialbund
VDA
Deutsche Frauenschaft
Reichsluftschutzbund (Before '37)

Membership in the following organizations would prevent employment at present and would indicate a classification of "D":

Waffen SS (unless drafted after '43)
SA (Depending on length of service)
NSDDB
Kameradschaft USA
Staatsakademie für Rassen-u. Gesundheitspflege
Werberat der deutschen Wirtschaft

Membership in the following means permanent "Black List":

Allgemeine SS
Sicherheitsdienst der SS
Institut zur Forschung der Judenfrage

ence

ALF

Bertram Schaffner (1912-2010): Official Denazification Report of Carl Orff, 1 April 1946.
Oskar Diethelm Library, DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, Weill Cornell Medical
College, New York City, New York. Box 35, Folder 2.
Please note that in the archive the second and third pages are reversed; the order is corrected here.

copy

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
ICD Screening Center
Det.H-86, 2nd.Mi.Govt.Bn. (Sep)
APO 633, U.S. ARMY

1 April 1946

SUBJECT: ORFF, Carl, applicant for license as composer and orchestra
conductor

Political Classification: " Grey C ", acceptable

TO: Chief, Intelligence Section
Office of Director of Information Control
Military Government for Germany (U.S. Zone)
APO 742, U.S. ARMY

BIOGRAPHICAL:

AGE: 50, married RELIGION: Catholic; VOCATION: Composer;
FATHER'S VOCATION: Officer; TRAVEL: Italy, Switzerland;
FOREIGN LANGUAGES: a little French and English; EDUCATION: Gymnasium
(no Abitur)

VOCATIONAL HISTORY: 1925-'38 Music teacher, Guenther School,
Munich
1938-'45 Independent composer

MILITARY: Deferred as composer

AFFILIATIONS: Not a member of the NSDAP
member of the RMK (1933-'45)

INCOME: 1932, about 5,000 M.; 1934, 3,000 M.; 1936, 4000 M.;
1941, 7,400 M.; 1942, 16,900 M.; 1944, 28,500 M.

POLITICAL:

1. O. belonged only to the professional organization, RMK.
2. He has always been an independent composer without a fixed position except at the Guenther School in Munich, of which he was a founder in 1925 and later head of the music department. The owner, Miss Guenther, a convinced Nazi, became a member of the NSDAP, in 1933. He left the school in 1938 because he felt music was becoming less and less important in the school program.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

- 2 -

3. He had a fixed income from the municipal theatre in Frankfurt and the State Opera in Vienna, for which he had to write operas. He wrote 4 or 5, not all of which are finished.

4. He said that his music was not appreciated by the Nazis and that he never got a favorable review by a Nazi music critic. His great success came after the performance of " Carmina Burana " in La Scala in Milan, in 1942; this performance was not under the auspices of the Propaganda Ministry. During the war his music was played in occupied countries (Haag, Agram) and in Switzerland (Zuerich).

5. He composed a festival for children for the opening of the Olympic games, and a new version of Mendelsohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream ". He said that he received no order from Nazi authorities to do so, and that he did it from his own private musical point of view. It was performed twice; then, he withdrew it and wrote a new version which has never been performed. He swears that it was not written to try to replace Mendelsohn's music, and he admits that he chose an unfortunate moment in history to write it.

6. The fact that he was deferred (UK) during the war is contradictory to his claim that he was not well thought of at the Propaganda Ministry. There were only 12 composers on the UK-list, all more or less known as Nazis. He does not give a very good explanation. He states that he did not know that he was deferred for the first two years, and that since most of the composers had a position in the theatre, they did not need to be one on this list. He states that he made no request to be placed on the UK-list and had nothing to do with such a list. At this time it is not known whether he was on the list of the so-called "Party-Composers ". He said that he does not know who is in the list and believes that he would never have been considered for it.

7. He said that he had never composed for an official Nazi festival, attended one, and never received a prize or title. He also states that he had never had any connection with prominent Nazis. He was introduced to Baldur von Schirach in Vienna when his opera was performed, and never met Goebbels.

8. O's attitudes are not Nazi. One of his best friends, Prof. Carl Huber, with whom he published " Musik der Landschaft", a collection of folk songs, was killed by the Nazis in Munich in 1943. Nevertheless he was a "Nutzniesser" of the Nazis and can at present be classified only as " Grey C ", acceptable. In view of his antinazi point of view, his deliberate avoidance of positions and honors which he could have had by cooperating with the Nazis, he may at a future date be reclassified higher.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

PSYCHOLOGICAL:

1. A highly gifted, creative individual, who scored high on intelligence tests at the Screener Center. Orff is diplomatic, ingratiating and ingenious. Retiring and unobtrusive, accustomed to independence and solitude since childhood, he has steadfastly pursued his career as an unattached composer. He has little personal need of "belonging" to a group, public honor or recognition, and prefers to work alone rather than in organizations. He is emotionally well-adjusted, purposeful and egocentric.

2. Orff scored highest in his group on the political attitudes test. Psychiatric studies of his environment and development are consistent with an antinazi attitude. On psychological grounds, nazism was distasteful to him; likewise on psychological grounds, he remained a passive antinazi, and tried to avoid official and personal contact both with the Nazi movement and with the war.

3. Orff does not wish a license as "Intendant" of an opera-house, and states that he has already refused such an offer, because the work would be primarily administrative and not musical. He wishes to have permission to appear as guest-conductor.

RECOMMENDATION:

Political Classification: "Grey C", acceptable. License as composer and Orchestra conductor recommended.

MAJOR BERTRAM SCHAFFNER, M.C.
ICD Screening Center

Rorschach Test of Carl Orff

Oskar Diethelm Library, DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, Weill Cornell Medical College, New York City, New York. Box 35, Folder 40.

ORFF,
Class 123
Date: 2^o March 1946
Age:

RORSCHACH RECORD:

- I 4" 1) Heraldic coat of arms, with angels on the side and an animal in the middle.
2) Beetle or insect with wings (W; body is center section, wings on either side).
- II 6" 1) A dancing pair, grotesque; they're in costume in the theater (W).
2) Pure ornament, like the decoration around the block letter beginning a page in an old book (W).
3) Impressionistic picture, because of the two colors (W).
- III 3" 1) Again a grotesque dance: two clowns (all black).
2) Design for a piece of jewelry, metal jewelry; almost K African (all black).
- IV 6" 1) Animal skin spread out (W).
2) Mask (bottom center) with large head dress (W).
3) Sea weed; the shading shows the ribs etc. of the plants (W).
4) Figure in a dance, jumping over an obstacle (bottom center). (W) Light part of boots are shadows, of artistic kind as if on stage.
- V 1" 1) Bat, somewhat stylized; or maybe the shadow of a bat on the ground (W).
2) Two figures, back to back, leaning against something there in the middle; their arms are crossed over their chests.
3) Three dancers or acrobats; one, in the middle, is spinning and whirling the two others around, one on each arm.
- VI 7" 1) Animal skin with clear backbone line and head at top (top 1/3). (W).
2) Pendant, jewelry; at top it is made fast; bottom hangs down: jewelry for a woman (W).
3) Magician, with his hands stretched out (statues), something balanced on his head, feet at bottom; his clothing is swinging out from movement (flat protrusions) (W).

V GRET,

(cont.)

- VII 35" 1) Either half is a map (right or left 1/2)
2) Dancing pair, with their hands out, hair up; dancing away from each other.
- VIII 8" 1) Anatomical study or sketch (W; inq: CF)
2) Two Chameleons climbing on a flower;
3) An ornament of some sort because it is symmetrical (W; inq: SE FC)
3) Flower, stylized (W; inq: CF).
- IX 20" 1) View through a door or gate into an opening with a fountain in the background (W).
2) Still life with fruit and flowers; Fall leaves which are green and yellow; and fruit below (W; inq: CF).
3) Grotesque picture: green are two dancing hens; hens with one leg in air (green; inq: F--)
4) Stylized goat with horns, antlers (orange).
- X 8" 1) Still-life with sea plants (W; inq: CF)
2) Grotesque figures of animals in the style of Bosch, Dutch painter of 15th Century; it is like the painting "Versuch der Heiligen Antonius" (W; inq: FC).
3) Spider (blue lateral).
4) Lice (top gray).
5) Fantasy animal with only head and legs (bottom green).
6) Insects (lateral gray and bottom yellow).
7) Dancing figures, six dwarfs, each with one leg up in the air (blue lateral).

Total time: 23'25"

(For the first five cards, S always asked a E if he had given enough responses before handing back the card.)

Bertram Schaffner: Official Denazification Report of Hans Rosbaud (1895-1962), 15 April 1946.
Oskar Diethelm Library, DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, Weill Cornell Medical
College, New York City, New York. Box 35, Folder 2.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
ICD Screening Center
Det.H-86, 2nd Mil.Gov.Bn. (Sep)
APO 633, U.S. ARMY

15 April 1946

SUBJECT: ROSBAUD, Hans, applicant for license as conductor

Political Classification: " Grey C ".

TO: Chief, Intelligence Section
Office of Director of Information Control
Military Government for Germany (U.S. Zone)
APO 742, U. S. ARMY

BIOGRAPHICAL:

AGE: 50, married; RELIGION: Catholic; VOCATION: Conductor;
FATHER'S VOCATION: Unknown; TRAVEL: Italy, Switzerland, France;
FOREIGN LABGUAGES: English, French, some Italian;
EDUCATION: Gymnasium (Abitur), Conservatory of Music

VOCATIONAL HISTORY: 1928-36 Conductor at Radio Frankfurt
1937-41 Conductor and general musical director
at theatre in Muenster
1941-44 Conductor and general musical director
at theatre in Strasbourg
1944-45 Conductor and general musical director
at Radio Munich-Bazyreuth

MILITARY: Deferred because of physical disbaility

AFFILIATIONS: Not a member of the NSDAP
Member of the RRK (1933-45), RTK (1933-45),
RMK (1933-45)

INCOME: 1931, 20,000 M.; 1934, 12,000 M.; 1941, 32,000 M.;
1944, 36,000 M.

POLITICAL:

1. R. belonged to the professional organizations, RRK, RTK and RMK.
2. In the early part of the Nazi period R. conducted the orchestra of Radio Frankfurt. He is able to prove that he was in trouble with the Nazis and left for that reason. For the next 4 years he conducted in Muenster (Westphalia), a strongly Catholic city. This made it easy for him to stay outside the NSDAP and its affiliated organizations.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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3. In 1941 he was asked to conduct the Strasbourg theatre orchestra. He stated he received the request from a theatrical agent and not from the Propaganda Ministry. At first he refused because he considered the offer to be for only a limited period, but after conducting one rehearsal there, he decided to accept. He claimed that he obtained this position against the will and without the concurrence of Drewes, head of the music section of the Propaganda Ministry. It is hard to believe that he could have held such a position without the consent of the Propaganda Ministry, since Strasbourg was considered a strategic centre for propagandizing German culture. Even if it is true that he was not chosen by Goebbels or his representatives, R. knew perfectly well that as conductor in Strasbourg he was playing a propaganda role, especially since he was the first German to direct that orchestra after the German victory over France. As such he succeeded H. Pfitzner, the last German conductor in Strasbourg before the liberation in 1918. Both as a French and as a German city, Strasbourg always had well-known conductors, and R.'s pride was flattered. Among the references Rosbaud gave were Strasbourg citizens, personally known to the political analyst, who were definitely antinazi and anti-German. They are reliable people; according to their statements R. was not considered a Nazi, treated his musicians well, and even helped them against the Gestapo. These things are in his favor.

by 4. During the war, R. performed as guest conductor in Florence, Monte Carlo, Bruxelles and at Radio Paris. Again he states that he was invited only/the directors of these theatres unofficially, and was not sent by the Propaganda Ministry; but he must have been authorized by the Auslandsabteilung, and thus the performances became more or less official.

5. His income was about 20,000 M. before 1933. Immediately afterwards it fell to 12,000 M. When he became conductor in Strasbourg it rose to 32,000 M. and finally to 36,000 M. in 1944, according to his contract.

6. R. can only be considered a passive antinazi. Under the Nazis he earned less at first, indicating his lack of cooperation with them. He had to leave a good position at Radio Frankfurt for the less important one in Muenster. But in accepting the position as conductor in Strasbourg, and satisfying his personal ambitions, he helped Nazi propaganda in an area which the Nazis considered a German province and in which they were trying to get popular sympathy. He also helped the Nazi propaganda effort by performing in various occupied countries during the War.

PSYCHOLOGICAL:

1. A driving, strong-willed, creative individual, of very high intelligence according to Screening Center tests. Self-controlled to the point of masochism, R. is cold and independent, sets high musical

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

- 3 -

standards for himself and for others, and is extremely critical. In attaining his ambition, he has been absorbed in his work and has let nothing stand in his way.

2. Political attitude tests show excellent comprehension of political and social problems of the present era, and a high degree of antinazi responses for the sake of his musical career.

RECOMMENDATION:

Political Classification " Grey C ", acceptable.
Suitable for employment, but should not be considered for licensing.

MAJOR BERTRAM SCHAFFNER, M.C.
ICD Screening C enter

Bertram Schaffner: Official Denazification Report of Bertil Wetzelsberg (1892-1967), 15 April 1946.
Oskar Diethelm Library, DeWitt Wallace Institute for the History of Psychiatry, Weill Cornell Medical
College, New York City, New York. Box 35, Folder 2.

COPY

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
ICD Screening Center
Det. W-86, 2nd Mil. Govt. Bn. (Sep)
APO 633, U.S. ARMY

15 April 1946

SUBJECT: WETZELSBERGER, Bertil, applicant for license as conductor

Political Classification: "Grey C"

TO: Chief, Intelligence Section
Office of Director of Information Control
Military Government for Germany (U.S. Zone)
APO 742, U.S. ARMY

BIOGRAPHICAL:

AGE: 54, married; RELIGION: Catholic; VOCATION: Conductor;
FATHER'S VOCATION: Merchant; TRAVEL: Austria, Switzerland, France,
Italy, Spain;
FOREIGN LANGUAGES: a little English and French; EDUCATION: University
(Ph. D.)

VOCATIONAL HISTORY: 1931-'33 Conductor at Stadttheater, Nuremberg
1933-'38 " " " Frankfurt
1938-'45 " " Staatsober, Munich

MILITARY: Military service in W.W.I; deferred as essential in W.W.II.

AFFILIATIONS: Not a member of the NSDAP
Member of the RTK (1933-45)

INCOME: 1931, 19,000 M.; 1934, 14,000 M.; 1939, 18,000 M.;
1942, 24,000 M.

OTHER DATA: Guest-conductor in Barcelona and Paris, 1942

POLITICAL:

1. W. belonged to the professional organization RTK.
2. W. conducted at the Stadttheater Frankfurt from 1933 to 1938. He said that he was in constant trouble with the "Intendant", but as an Austrian citizen, he was able to refuse to join the Party. When Austria was annexed by the Nazis, the "Intendant" again asked him to join the NSDAP. This time when he refused, he was obliged to resign his position at the Stadttheater.
3. He became assistant conductor of the orchestra at the Staatsoper in Munich, under Clemens Kraus. He said that he was in a position to avoid pressure from the Party and affiliated organizations since he exercised no choice in selecting programs. After 1940, he was not allowed to conduct new operas, only those which were already in the repertoire.

CONFIDENTIAL

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4. In 1934 the entire ensemble of the Stadttheater Frankfurt, of which he was conductor, gave performances in Holland: in 1938 they toured all the Balkan capitals. He did not go as an individual "guest" conductor. But during the War, in 1942, he went to Barcelona as conductor and later to the "Grand Opera" in Paris, where he conducted the first eight performances of Pfitzner's "Palestrina". He states that he accepted the invitations because Goetze, the head of the Auslandsstelle, an old personal friend from his Frankfurt days, asked him to. He adds that Pfitzner wanted him particularly to be the conductor.

5. His income dropped from 18,000 M. yearly before 1933 to 14,000 M during his engagement at the theatre in Frankfurt (1934 to 1938). It rose to 18,000 M. in 1939, when he was conducting in Munich, and then increased again to 24,000 M. in 1942, when he performed abroad.

6. W's point of view is not "Nazi". He is very intelligent, but he is a shifty character and not especially trustworthy. He made compromises with the Nazis and used his Nazi acquaintances. He attended the official receptions in Barcelona and in the Paris Embassy (given by the well-known Abetz). He did not mention the story given in the DISCO report, that he had joined an Austrian Freedom Movement in Paris (he stated only that he had helped an Austrian friend to escape from the Gestapo). He admits that he conducted one concert at the SS-Junkerschule, (but he also stated that he never performed before a purely Nazi audience).

PSYCHOLOGICAL:

1. An ambitious, talented, maladjusted individual of fairly high intelligence, according to tests at the Screening Center. W. is a man with a highly emotional "innerlife" with few external emotional attachments. With a strong sense of the directions of his own life, he switches persons and principles as need be to fulfill his own needs, and makes the most of situations. In fact, he became a musician only accidentally, when the opportunity presented itself in 1918. He is too intelligent not to be aware of the significance of his behavior and at present feels guilty and depressed. He offers no excuse for his acceptance of Nazi musical invitations, admitting that he was not able to refuse the lure of travel and publicity.

2. Austrian-born, Wetzelsberger is not a German nationalist. Nor is he militaristic. He scored unusually high on political attitude tests, confirming the fact that he understood the implications of his opportunistic behavior during the Nazi period.

RECOMMENDATION:

Political Classification: "Grey C".

MAJOR BERTRAM SCHAFNER, M. C.
ICD Screening Center

THE "INCOMPLETE SENTENCE" TEST

1. The National Socialists came into power in 1933 because.
2. If every nation were composed of people of the same race, the same religion, and the same culture,
3. The authoritarian state has the advantage that.
4. Hitler's peace policy failed because.
5. In the future, German youth should be organized under the leadership of.
6. The good points in the program of the National Socialist party are.
7. The anti-semitism of the Nazis was.
8. The marriage of persons of different nationalities is.
9. The greatest man in Germany's history.
10. The task of a free Germany in Europe is.
11. The democratic countries were not prepared for war because.
12. Hatred of the Jews was due to.
13. Present-day measures for the control of the press should consist of.
14. In the new Germany, that kind of art and literature should be allowed which.
15. The weaknesses of democracy are.
16. Demonstration of maternal affection by kissing and hugging is.
17. That Germany had lost the war, became apparent in the year.
18. The revolt of a young man against his father is.
19. The reason for the weakness of the German underground was.
20. The bombing of open cities in Germany was.
21. A mother, who interferes when a father is punishing his son, is.
22. The reconstruction of the *Wehrmacht* should.

23. If the world were completely indoctrinated with German culture,
24. If a father does not use corporal punishment on his children,
25. To keep the church from abusing its power,
26. A third World War will come, unless.
27. Horst Wessel was a man who.
28. Germany would never have lost the war if.
29. Anti-Semitism can best be solved by.
30. If a father does not inspire respect (*Ehrfurcht*) in his son,
31. The right of women to vote, take up professions, or in general to earn their own living,
32. The best way to protect oneself during the Nazi period was.
33. In the new Germany, people who were put in concentration camps because of their resistance to Hitler should.
34. Actors and writers, who were members of the Nazi Party, should.
35. For young men, military service.
36. The creation of *Lebensborne* * shows.
37. When a man expresses his political opinion, his wife should.
38. Nazi profiteers, who are now under arrest, should.
39. In connection with the second World War, all those should feel guilty who.
40. The occupation of Germany should last.

* *Lebensborne* was the name given originally to rest-camps for SS officers, to which young girls were sent for the pleasure of the officers. Later the name came to be applied to the camps where these girls bore their children. Generally the girls returned to their homes, leaving the babies to be raised in the *Lebensborne* by the Nazi state.

White, Grey, and Black Lists for Information Control Purposes, 1 June 1946. Supplement 1 to List of 1 April 1946. Source: National Archives, College Park, Maryland, OMGUS RG 260 Z 45F/11/47-3/25. Scan courtesy of Oliver Rathkolb.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12065 SECTION 3-402/HNDG NO. 775047

R E S T R I C T E D

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U.S.)
APO 742

AG 014.12 IC 350.09 (Int)

APO 742
1 June 1946

SUBJECT: White, Grey and Black List for Information Control Purposes.

TO : See Distribution List.

1. Inclosed for the information, guidance and compliance of all concerned is the first supplement to the 1 April 1946 WHITE, GREY and BLACK LIST FOR INFORMATION CONTROL PURPOSES compiled by the Intelligence Branch, Office of the Director of Information Control, Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.). These two lists together supersede all previous Information Control Classification Lists with the exception of the FWD/SHAEP release of 18 Nov 44. Classifications have been made on the basis of available information and are subject to revision by the issuing authority. Supplements to this edition will be published periodically.

2. This publication has been arranged in the sequence of Press, Radio and Theater within the White, Grey and Black classifications. An index combining the names in all three lists is included.

3. The following definitions have been adhered to in determining classifications:

WHITE (A) : Impeccable record which warrants licensing or employment in leading positions in all fields.

WHITE (B) : Politically suitable for licensing or employment in leading positions of all media except in the fields of press, publications, or film production.

GREY (C) ACCEPTABLE : Suitable for employment but not in policy-making, executive, or creative positions or as personnel officer. Not suitable for licensing. Should be replaced by WHITE.

GREY (C) UNACCEPTABLE : Not suitable for employment other than "ordinary labor" as defined under Military Government Law No. 8.

BLACK (Former D and E) : Not suitable for employment in any Information Control Media.

BY COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL CLAY:



G.H. GARDE
Lieutenant Colonel, AGD
Adjutant General

1 Incl:
List, subject as above,
dated 1 June 1946

DISTRIBUTION: See last page.

Telephone: Berlin 43427

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

GREY
FILM - THEATER - MUSIC

MEISSNER, Fritz (unacc.)
Straubing, Pfarrplatz 2
Born: 9 July 1927, Handing/Straubing
Musician

METHNER, Hildegard (acc.)
(see: HEEP, Hildegard)

MEYER, Christine (acc.)
Straubing, Simon-Hoeller-Str. 9
Born: 23 July 1888, Prachatitz, C. S. R.
Musician

MEYER, Erich (acc.)
(stage name: Enric)
Regensburg, Weissenburgstr. 5
Born: 9 May 1915, Berlin
Singer

MICHAEL, Otto (acc.)
(see: SENFT, Otto)

MIGGISCH, Franz (unacc.)
Freising, Untere Hauptstr. 2
Born: 27 March 1896
Publicity Agent

MIKSCH, Elisabeth (acc.)
Stadlau 304, Deggendorf
Born: 29 July 1910, Petersdorf C. S. R.
Actress

MIKSCH, Josef (acc.)
Stadlau 304, Deggendorf
Born: 21 March 1897, Dobern C. S. R.
Theater Manager

MITTELMEIER, Albert (acc.)
Regensburg, Engelburgergasse 12
Born: 13 April 1915, Regensburg
Musician

MOLO, Conrad von (unacc.)
Born: c. 1907
Film Cutter, Producer

MOOSBAUER, Goswin (acc.)
Regensburg
Born: 4 Jan. 1885, Ellwangen/Wuerttemberg
Stage Director

MOSER, Herbert (unacc.)
Regensburg, Gabelsberger Str. 4
Born: 11 Nov. 1918, Regensburg-Steinweg
Musician

MOSZI, Stefan (acc.)
Regensburg, Weissenburgstr. 5
Born: 11 Feb. 1913, Vienna
Musician

MUEHLDOERFER, Rosa (acc.)
Regensburg 10, Sandgasse 66
Born: 5 Dec. 1921, Regensburg
Actress

MUEHLHAUPT, Peter-Annelles, Emille (acc.)
Erzlingen, Krs. Waldshut, Hofackerstr. 238
Born: c. 1920
Actress

MUELLER, Sebastian (unacc.)
Regensburg, Niklasstr. 3
Born: 10 Dec. 1911, Gebelkofen,
nr Regensburg
Musician

MUELLER, Thilde (acc.)
Augsburg, Klinkertorstr. 1
Born: 31 Aug. 1916, Inchenhofen,
Kreis Alchach
Singer

MUELLER, Ulrich (acc.)
Kelheim/Donau, E 97
Born: 3 July 1921, Oppeln, Silesia
Musician

MUENSTER, Maria (unacc.)
Regensburg, Ostengasse 4
Born: 10 Oct. 1894, Erbendorf
Actress

MUGGENTHALER, August (unacc.)
Straubing, Ludwigplatz 25
Born: 2 July 1896, Habach/Bavaria
Musician

NACHBAR, Josef (acc.)
Regensburg, Weissenburgstr. 5
Born: 26 July 1926, Altrohlau, C.S.R.
Musician

NACHTMANN, Max (acc.)
Weiden, Pressather Str. 30
Born: 3 August 1919, Weiden
Musician

NEDOG, Maria (unacc.)
Wallenfels, Schuetzenstr. 203, nr Kronach
Born: c. 1888
Actress, Theatrical Producer

NEIGERT, Eugen (unacc.)
Regensburg, Wohnwagen
Born: 4 May 1894, Eberling
Circus Man

NEUGEBAUER, Heinz (acc.)
Regensburg, Haidplatz 8
Born: 7 Jan. 1920, Wildschuetz N/S.
Actor and Dancer

NEUMANN, Maria Magdalena (acc.)
(stage name: WELTEN, Magda)
Regensburg, Adolf-Schmetzer-Str. 12
Born: 25 May 1902, Vienna
Singer

NEUREITER, Leopold (acc.)
Regensburg, Obere Bachgasse 21
Born: 1 Nov. 1911, Coprainitz/Jugoslavia
Musician

NEWKLOWSKY, Hermine (acc.)
(stage name: NOWSKA, Herma)
Regensburg, Wittelsbacherstrasse 7 a
Born: 15 March 1893, Budweis
Actress

NICKOLAI, Josef (acc.)
Straubing, Stelnergasse 15
Born: 26 Jan. 1901, Wernborn
Orchestra Leader

NICOLAY, Wilhelm (acc.)
Schwandorf/Bavaria, Sandstr. 24
Born: 16 Oct. 1919, Wiesbaden
Orchestra Leader

NOELISCH, Hedwig (acc.)
Memmingen, Waldhornstr. 6
Born: 25 Oct. 1919, Goepplingen
Actress

NORDMANN, Annemarie (acc.)
Regensburg, Weissenburgstr. 5
Born: 21 May 1907, Hamburg
Violinist

NOWSKA, Herma (acc.)
(see: NEWKLOWSKY, Hermine)

OBERMAIER, Bertold (unacc.)
Weiden, Martin-Luther-Str. 18
Born: 2 Dec. 1922, Anweiler, Rhine-Palatinate
Musician

OEHM, Rudolph (Peter) (unacc.)
Regensburg, Weissenburgstr. 5
Born: 21 April 1908, St. Joachimsthal
Musician

OPFERMANN, Hans-Karl (unacc.)
Tomerdingen, Krs. Ulm, Hauptstr. 5
Born: 26 April 1907, Altdorf/Bavaria
Film Producer, Chemical Engineer

ORFF, Carl (acc.)
Munich-Graefelfing, Kurt-Hubert-Str. 21
Born: 10 July 1895, Munich
Composer

OTTWINA, Ilse (acc.)
(see: SPENGLER, Ilse)

PAELZ, Holm (acc.)
Wuerzburg, Leutfresserweg 17
Born: 26 Feb. 1903, Leipzig
Music-Dealer

PANOSCH, Heribert (unacc.)
Augsburg, Brunnenlech 27
Born: 14 Nov. 1905, Knittelfeld/Stelmark
Singer, Actor and Musician

RESTRICTED

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Carl Orff's Posthumous Tribute to Kurt Huber (1893–1943) printed in *Kurt Huber zum Gedächtnis: Bildnis eines Menschen Denkers und Forscher*, ed. Clara Huber, Regensburg: Josef Habel, 1947:166–168 reprinted as »Kurt Huber zum Gedächtnis: der Tod...war nicht vergebens«, ed. Clara Huber, Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH, 1986:164–167

Verehrter, lieber Freund!

Reverenced, dear friend!

Nie im Leben schrieb ich Ihnen einen Brief. Sie waren da und immer nahe und Ihr Dasein zu erleben war beglückend.

Never in life did I write you a letter. You were there and always near and your presence was a blessing to experience.

Erinnern Sie sich noch unserer ersten Begegnung?—Sie wollten mir Ihre neuen Aufnahmen bayerischer Volksmusik vorspielen. Ich wartete stundenlang auf Sie—endlich kamen Sie—Sie hatten die Verabredung wie auch die Schallplatten, die Sie mitbringen wollten, längst vergessen.

Do you remember still our first meeting?—You wanted to play for me your new collection of Bavarian folk music. I waited for you for hours—finally you came—you had long since forgotten the appointment as well as the gramophone record which you had wanted to bring with you.

Unvergeßlich bleibt mir aber dieser Tag.

This day remains unforgettable to me.

Wir sprachen lang bis in die Nacht hinein—und kamen vom Hundersten ins Tausendste.

We spoke a long time, until the middle of the night—and then came the hundredth, into the thousandth.

Spät brachte ich Sie dann nach Hause, erinnern Sie sich noch?

I brought you home late then, do you still remember?

Damals wohnten Sie in Schwabing, am „andern Ende“ der Stadt. –

At that time you lived in Schwabing, on the “other side” of town. –

Nach Jahren fügte es sich, daß unsere Behausungen in Gräfelfing in der gleichen Straße, nur mehr ein paar Schritte voneinander, lagen. Von da ab waren Sie zu keiner Tag- und Nachtzeit vor meinen Heimsuchungen sicher.

After some years, it was fated that our houses in Gräfelfing were to be on the same street, only a couple paces from each other. Certainly from that point on you did not fail to pay me visits any day or night.

Seit meinem späten Erstling, „Carmina Burana“, erlebten Sie die Entstehung all meiner Werke mit; ich könnte mich keiner „Urfassung“ und keiner der oft vielfachen Wandlungen entsinnen, die wir nicht gemeinsam besprochen hätten.

Since my early firstling *Carmina Burana*, you witnessed the genesis of all of my works; I can remember no “original version,” nor any of the many changes I often made, which we had not discussed together.

Selten, ganz selten sprachen Sie von Ihren eigenen Plänen, viele haben Sie mir zeitlebens völlig verschwiegen, besonders Ihre musikalischen Arbeiten verbargen Sie immer sorgfältig vor mir. Sie gingen fast ausschließlich nur auf das ein, was mich bewegte.

Rarely, very rarely did you speak of your own plans; so much did you suppress entirely during your life—in particular you hid your musical works from me, always attentive to me. Almost exclusively, you carefully considered that which occupied me.

Aus vielen Gesprächen und Erwägungen

Out of much discussion and conversation emerged

entstand unser Plan, „Musik der Landschaft“, Volksmusik in neuen Sätzen herauszugeben. Wir begannen mit den Liedern und Tänzen aus dem bajuwarischen Raum.

Die Ausgabe war ein Ergebnis künstlerischer und wissenschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit. Da lernte ich zum ersten Mal die Fülle heimatlicher Musik von ihren Wurzeln her kennen.

Wie viele Stunden arbeiteten wir zusammen! Sie spielten und sangen, wählten aus und sichteten, setzten „Zersungenes“ wieder zurecht und verwarfen falsche Neuausgaben.

Wissen Sie noch, wie meine alte Aufwartefrau – sie war im Bayerischen Wald beheimatet – eifrig an der Türe horchte, als Sie die „Zwiefachen“ spielten. Da holten Sie die Frau ins Zimmer, tanzten [mit] ihr, piffen und sangen dazu, und freuten sich, als die Alte Ihnen sagte, ganz genau so hätte man die Tänze in ihrer Jugend zuhause aufgespielt.

Das Heft der „Zwiefachen“ war das Letzte, das in unserer Reihe erschien. Dann brach der Tanz für immer ab.

„Catulli Carmina“ war das letzte Werk, das ich Ihnen vorspielen durfte. Wissen Sie noch, wie wir Plautus lasen?

Erinnern Sie sich noch der Nachmittage im Garten, wenn im Frühsommer die ganze Wiese voll von Sternblumen stand, wenn wir am kleinen Wasserbecken unter der Birke saßen – die Birken vor meinem Fenster liebten Sie besonders – und abends tranken wir letzten Chianti. –

Es war ein trüber Winterabend. Sie kamen noch spät, verstimmt und niedergeschlagen aus der Stadt. Da erzählte ich Ihnen meinen Plan, die „Bernauerin“ zu schreiben. Eben hatte ich den ersten Entwurf beendet. Noch während des Lesens empfand ich an Ihrem Mitgehen Ihre lebhaftige Zustimmung. Dann sprangen Sie auf

our plan to edit *Music of the Region*, folk music in new compositions. We began with the songs and dances from the Bavarian region.

The publication was a product of artistic and scholarly collaboration. It was then, in this way, that I studied the music of our homeland for the first time and came to know its abundance, from its roots.

How many hours we worked together! You played and sang, handpicked and selected, placed the “garbled songs” in order over and over again and cast aside faulty revisions.

Do you still know how my old cleaning woman – she was a native of the Bavarian forest – eagerly listened at the door when you played *Zwiefachen*.²¹ Then you brought the woman into the room, danced with her, whistled and sang together, and were happy when the old woman said to you, that so people had played dances at home exactly like that in her youth.

The volume of *Zwiefachen* was the last that appeared in our series. Then the dance was broken off forever.

Catulli Carmina was the last work that I was permitted to show you in advance. Do you still know how we read Plautus?

Do you still remember the afternoons in the garden, when in the early summer the entire meadow stood full of masterwort,²² when we sat on a small water tank under the birch tree – you especially loved birch trees in front of my window – and in the evening we drank the last Chianti.

It was an overcast winter night. You came late again, disgruntled and depressed from the city. Then I told you of my plan to write *Die Bernauerin*. I had just completed the first outline. During the reading I perceived once more your enthusiastic approval in your agreeable company.

²¹ The *Zwiefach* is a popular Bavarian dance with changing meter. Orff used the *Zwiefach* in his compositions, as in the “Tanz” (No. 6) of *Carmina Burana*.

²² The masterwort is a flowering plant native to the mountains of central and southern Europe.

und spielten das alte „Lied von der Bernauerin“.

„Es muß eine bayerische Ballade werden!“
Dann gingen Sie fort.—

Ich schrieb die Bernauerin im Gedenken an den fernen Freund, der wie in geheimer Zwiesprache in all meiner Arbeit immer so gegenwärtig war. Ich schrieb die Bernauerin in der alten Sprache, im alten bayerischen Dialekt, den Sie so liebten—ein Volkslied, das Sie oft spielten und sangen, ist in die Musik mit eingeflochten.—
„Die Bernauerin, ein bayerisches Stück.“—

Sie waren fortgegangen—es kamen die dunklen Tage, Wochen, Monate.—

„Dunker, ganz dunkler,
stockdunker muß's wern,
auf daß ma dös Liacht
wieda richti derkennt.“

So darf ich nun auf die letzte Seite der Partitur die Worte setzen:

In memoriam Kurt Huber.

Bitte nehmen Sie diesen Freundesgruß und –
dank als Zeichen meiner Verbundenheit
entgegen. Allzeit
Ihr
Carl Orff

19.1.46.

Then you sprang up and played the old “Song of the Bernauerin.”

“It must become a Bavarian ballad!”
Then you left.—

I wrote *Die Bernauerin* in remembrance of a distant friend, who as in a private dialogue was always so present in all of my work. I wrote *Die Bernauerin* in the old tongue, in the old Bavarian dialect, which you so loved—a folksong, which you often played and sang, is interwoven into the music.—“*Die Bernauerin*, a Bavarian piece.”—

You were gone—there came the dark days, weeks, months.—

“Darkness it needs, this light,
all inky, pitch-black,
raven-coloured,
to shine most brightly...”²³

So now on the last page of the score I must place the words:

In memoriam Kurt Huber.

Please accept this greeting and thanks of friendship as a sign my bond. For all time

Your
Carl Orff

19 January 1946²⁴

²³ This line is from *Die Bernauerin*, Part I, Scene 4 (Carl Orff, *Die Bernauerin*, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne (ED 6856), 1946/1974.

²⁴ This is the same date as appears on the manuscript of *Die Bernauerin* (*Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Vol. 6 (“Bairisches Welttheater”), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980, 166).

Captain Edward Kilenyi (1910–2000, concert pianist and Music Control Officer for Bavaria, United States Military Government), “The Record of German Musicians: Many Played Ball With The Nazis—Very Few Did Not,” *The New York Times*, 2 June 1946, page X5. Reprinted with kind permission of Captain Kilenyi’s daughter, Ann Langston.

THE RECORD OF GERMAN MUSICIANS

Pianist Edward Kilenyi put aside his concert tours and recordings when he entered the United States Army in July, 1942. He is now planning to resume his career.

By CAPT. EDWARD KILENYI

ARE musicians responsible for their political behavior? In Germany, when they made obeisance to Nazism, was it for their immediate survival, or for the furtherance of their art?

These problems were to be my concern when in June of 1945, I took over my duties as Music Control Officer of the American Military Government in Bavaria. The Military Government directives left no doubt that all Germans, including musicians, were to be treated alike.

Under the Nazi Reichsmusikkammer, music became, after 1933, a potent weapon for the propagandists of the Third Reich. It furnished unlimited material for racist, mystic incantations. It served as an emotional inspiration for the intense nationalism so typical of the German nation. Prominent musicians enjoyed a certain freedom as well as social rank and wealth. Every phase of musical activity was thoroughly organized to fit Goebbels’ dictum that “Music must not be merely good, but German.”

With the war over, Richard Strauss’ home in Garmisch in the Bavarian Alps became the object of pilgrimages. American autograph hunters apparently paid little heed to Strauss’ hints for our gasoline and rations, but they avidly devoured the Master’s confidences concerning plans to give American troops the “first performance of his concert arrangement of ‘Rosenkavalier’ Waltzes.” Interviews were publicized with such naive headlines as “Strauss says he was not molested by Nazis.”

Royalties Count

Why should he have been? In his mind all questions of politics and humanity were boiled down to whether Axis or Allied royalties showed more promise. He once offered to replace, gratis, a fellow conductor then in disgrace with the Nazis. He composed a long hymn commemorating the two thousandth anniversary of the Japanese empire. For the great “music lover” Hans Frank he autographed his photograph. “To the highly honored friend, with sincere gratitude.”

And yet recently Strauss managed to obtain gasoline and permits to travel to Switzerland, where he was reported to be looking after his interests, among prominent conductor asked me to which was the introduction of a new oboe concerto.

A more saddening case was that of Hans Pfitzner, the 78-year-old unprepossessing and undiplomatic “late romantic” composer. Although his works were constantly

Many Played Ball With The Nazis—Only Very Few Did Not

performed in Germany, even reaching occupied France and Belgium, his personal relationship with Hitler was unpleasant and he even has the “distinction” of having had a violent altercation with Goering. The quarrels, however, were about musical matters—specifically, the insufficient appreciation of Pfitzner’s works.

Nazi Friend

That beneficent patron, Gen. Gov. Hans Frank, was a staunch friend of Pfitzner’s. The composer wrote a festive piece for the Cracow Orchestra at his request. Frau Pfitzner maintained that she and her husband could not have known of the atrocities committed in Poland, as Governor Frank used to speak paternally of “my Poles.” When they questioned Frank about the rumor that “his Poles” were ill treated, he brushed it aside with “Ach, don’t you believe it!” One does not know if they fell for this. Nevertheless Pfitzner refused to replace Mendelssohn’s “Midsummer Night’s Dream” music with his own.

One who rushed in where Pfitzner feared to tread was a young composer, Carl Orff, whose dramatic works enjoyed considerable success. His admirers insist that he succeeded despite the Nazis, but the claim bears investigation. Eventually, his works will have to stand on their own merits. The other composer of his generation whose success extended from Germany into occupied capitals was Werner Egk. He explained his acceptance of party patronage with few words, implying volumes, that he had been “fed up with starving.”

As part of my duties, I sought out well known conductors capable of starting the Munich Philharmonic season auspiciously last July. Revealing self-contradictions enlivened the negotiations. Eugen Jochum, Generalmusikdirektor of the Hamburg Philharmonic, was prepared to conduct at our request. He always conducted wherever he was invited, he told me, and was “willing to do so for the enemy, too.” This drew a worried frown from his wife, who tugged at his sleeve and said, “Remember they are not really your enemies.”

Flattering Americans

I blessed the non-fraternization rules of those months which enabled me to say “no” when each of them asked me to be his soloist. It was strange experience to find myself interviewing musical big-wigs with a pistol in my holster when only a few years ago we had sat together informally discussing programs and music. The Nazis had been suck-

cert took place in Paris four days after D-Day.

Of the singers known in this country, I might mention Maria Ivogün, who lived in retirement after 1933, although her husband, Michael Raucheisen, was the most prominent coach and accompanist of the Third Reich. Paul Bender, veteran basso, suffered many humiliations because of his non-Aryan wife, but is now honored for his dignified resistance and great artistry. Two months ago, at the age of 71, he sang the triple role in the “Tales of Hoffmann” with highly impressive dramatic power. Maria Müller, after a long breakdown in health, declared herself ready to sing again. Unfortunately, she had publicized as the greatest experience in her life the Fuehrer’s backstage visit at one of her recitals.

By the time I left Bavaria in April, 1946, the results of our work were evident. Concerts were being given in scores of bomb-shattered towns and villages. Opera was being performed in six theatres with the Bavarian State Theatre giving splendid productions under the management of Arthur Bauckner.

To Karl Amadeus Hartmann, gifted composer, has been entrusted the task of bringing hearings and knowledge of formerly banned music. At our instigation, Hans Rosbaud, a good conductor was brought to Munich in October to head the Philharmonic organization, and give Bavaria the benefit of his versatility, musicianship and honesty.

Many musicians disapproved of the German reign of terror. Few had the selflessness, courage and luck to steer completely clear. Some of those who played ball with the Nazis will soon be returned to musical activity. The warmth of their welcome will depend on the conscience of the new audience.

ers for flattery. Why not the new powers in uniform?

From world-famous artists to peasant-band accordionists, the musicians represented fantastic varieties of convictions. There were Nazi thugs, fanatics, mystics, careerists, people compelled to join up to safeguard self or relatives, and others who just managed to walk the tightrope without compromising their integrity. Some withdrew entirely from public life, while others managed a hand-to-mouth existence during twelve years of Hitlerism.

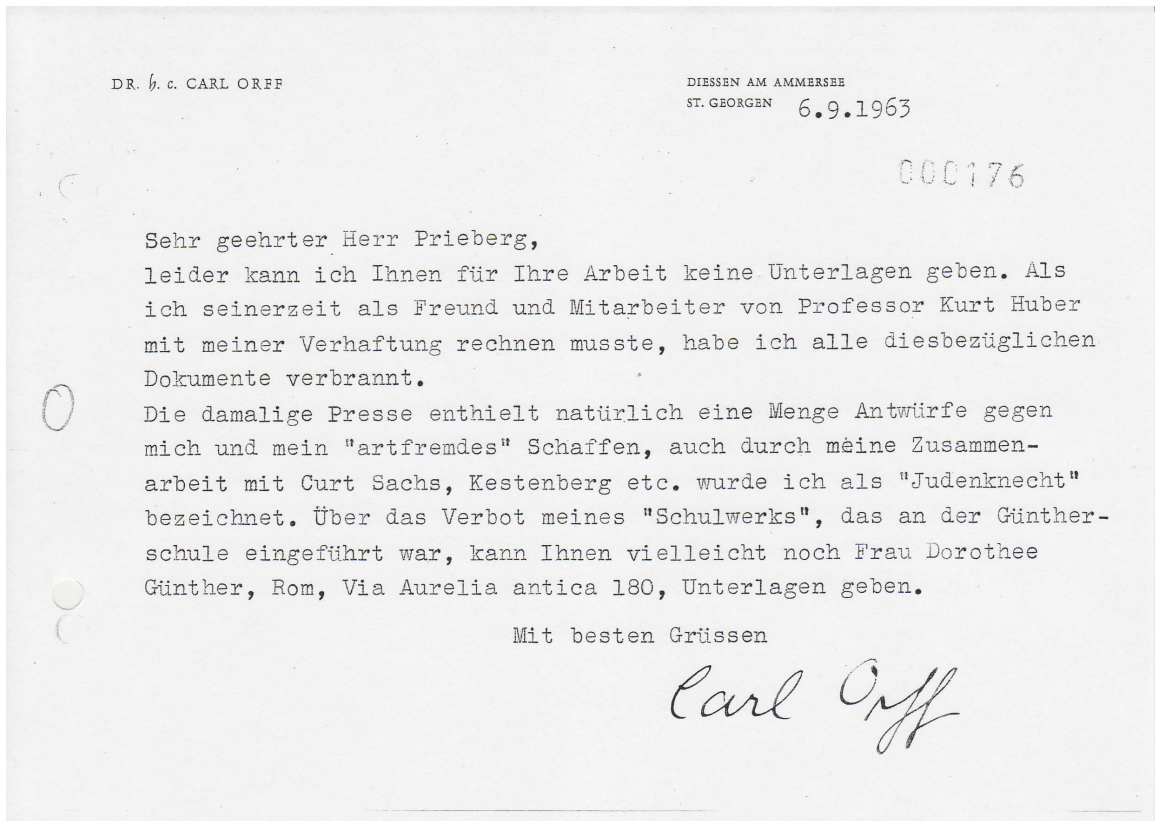
The formerly brilliant pianist, Elly Ney, used the concert stage as a pulpit to preach gems of Hitler’s gospel and read from soldiers’ letters between renditions of the “true” German composer, Beethoven. It was his bust in Salzburg that she honored with a Hitler salute while kneeling. Retired now to Tutzing, near Munich, she occasionally favors American officers with free piano lessons.

Sign of Tolerance

Naiveté different from Frau Ney’s was expressed by Gerhard Taschner, the 25-year-old concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic. Desiring to impress me with his unequivocal liberalism, he said: “Why, Jews even paid for my education!”

A strange, self-contradictory case was that of the conductor, Hans Knappertsbusch. A rough, Teutonic giant with a powerful personality, he incurred the displeasure of the Bavarian Gauleiter Wagner, in 1934, which resulted in an enforced leave of absence from concert and opera in Bavaria despite his tremendous popularity. However, he frequently conducted the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra during propaganda tours. One con-

Letter from Carl Orff to Fred K. Prieberg, 6 September 1963, Archiv-Prieberg, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.



Dear Herr Prieberg,

Unfortunately I can give you no papers for your work. As I had to expect my arrest as a friend and collaborator of Professor Kurt Huber in those days, I have burned all related documents.

The press at that time naturally contained a large number of slanderous remarks against me and my "untypical creations"; I also was called a "servant of Jews" because of my collaboration with Curt Sachs, Kestenberg, etc. Regarding the ban on my *Schulwerk* that was imposed on the *Günther-Schule*, perhaps Frau Dorothee Günther (Rome, Via Aurelia antica 180) still can give you documents.

With best wishes
Carl Orff

Christa Spangenberg, born Jung, letter to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 July 1995, page 11.
Note: This letter gives a very different, and considerably more positive, account of Carl Orff from the period of the Third Reich than most contemporary sources.

Enttäuschung über Sympathie mit den Nazis

Als Tochter eines 1934 von den Nazis Ermordeten - mein Vater hat die Reden für Franz von Papen geschrieben - bin ich über die wiederholten Angriffe Ihrer Zeitung gegen Carl Orff außerordentlich empört. 1938, kurz vor dem Krieg, wurde ich auf Orffs Wunsch mit zehn Jahren seine Schülerin. Ich fuhr wöchentlich zu ihm nach Gräfelfing. Zwei Stunden Improvisation und Komposition auf der Basis des Schulwerks erfreuten ihn und mich. Neue Grundlagen zu meiner musikalischen Ausbildung wurden erarbeitet, wobei es Orff nicht störte, daß ich mit seiner Musik nichts anfangen konnte.

In diesen Jahren kam Carl Orff auch zu uns nach Hause, um uns seine neuen Stücke vorzuspielen: Die Kluge, Astutuli und die Bernauerin. Wir diskutierten über die Texte, die er bewußt auch als Anspielung auf die politischen Verhältnisse verfaßt hatte, zum Beispiel über die Strolche in der 'Klugen' oder über die 'kluge Bauerntochter', der es durch Liebe gelingt, Unrecht in der Welt zu beseitigen.

Orff sprach mit uns auch über Kurt Huber und die Weiße Rose und auch über seine Enttäuschung, daß es Künstler gab, die mit den Nazis sympathisierten. Dies war zu einer Zeit, da unser Haus und Telefon in Feldafing unter ständiger Kontrolle der Gestapo standen. Wir hatten keine Freunde mehr, alle hatten Angst, mit uns Verbindung zu haben. Nicht so Carl Orff. Übrigens: Wenn Orff 1946 einen 'Persilschein' gebraucht hätte, wäre es doch einfach gewesen, die Familie Jung darum zu bitten.

Schade, daß im Jahr seines 100. Geburtstags Angriffe gegen Carl Orff gestartet werden, deren er sich nicht mehr erwehren kann. Als Zeitzeuge möchte ich feststellen: Wenn Carl Orff Nazi gewesen wäre, hätte er mich nie als seine Schülerin gefördert. Gerade aus dem gemeinsamen Erleben in der Nazizeit entstand eine lebenslange Verbindung zwischen uns.

Christa Spangenberg, geb. Jung
Bäumelstraße 6 80638 München

Disappointment over Sympathy with the Nazis

As the daughter of a man who was murdered in 1934 by the Nazis—my father wrote the speeches for Franz von Papen²⁵—I am exceptionally outraged over the repeated attacks of your newspaper against Carl Orff. In 1938, shortly before the war, I became Orff's student at the age of ten by his wish. I went to him in Gräfelfing weekly. He and I took pleasure in hours of improvisation and composition based on the *Schulwerk*. New grounds for my training were planned, in which it did not bother Orff that I could not do anything with his music.

In these years Carl Orff also came to our home to play his new works for us: *Die Kluge*, *Astutuli*, and *Die Bernauerin*. We discussed the text, which he also deliberately wrote as allusions to the political conditions, for example the vagabonds in *Die Kluge* or the "farmer's clever daughter," who succeeds in eliminating injustice in the world through love.

Orff also spoke with us about Kurt Huber and the White Rose and also about his disappointment that there were artists who sympathized with the Nazis. This was at a time when our house and telephone in Feldafing were under constant monitoring of the Gestapo. We had no more friends; they all were afraid to have contact with us. Not so Carl Orff. By the way: had Orff needed a "denazification certificate" in 1946, it would have been easy, after all, for him to ask the Jung family about it.

It is a pity that in the year of his hundredth birthday attacks are launched against Carl Orff, which he no longer can fight off. As a contemporary witness I would like to assert: if Carl Orff had been a Nazi, he would not have promoted me as a student. A lifelong bond between us arose directly out of our common experience in the Nazi period.

²⁵ Franz von Papen (1879–1969) was driven out of the government during the Night of the Long Knives (*Nacht der langen Messer*) from 30 June to 2 July 1934.

Renatus Wilm (1927–1998), “Orff und die ‘Weiße Rose,’” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr. 162, 15 July 1995, S. 6.

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Note: According to Wilm’s testimony, Jenkins was especially eager to portray Orff as a resistance fighter, to the degree that it made Orff uncomfortable (at least according to Orff’s account at that time). Like the preceding letter to *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the author remembered Orff fondly.

Zu Ihrem Artikel “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich - O Fortuna” (F.A.Z., “Geisteswissenschaften” vom 5. Juli):

Carl Orff habe ich am 6. November 1943 in Leipzig bei der Uraufführung der “Catulli Carmina” kennengelernt. Ich war damals 16 Jahre alt und blieb bis zu seinem Tod mit ihm befreundet. Er hat in den für mich oft ausweglosen Jahren bis zum Ende der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur dazu beigetragen, mich vor einer Verzweiflungstat zu bewahren. Er hat mir gegenüber niemals auch nur den Anschein erweckt, irgend etwas mit der “Weißen Rose” zu tun gehabt zu haben.

Im Jahre 1946 unterhielt ich mich mit Orff in seinem Haus in Gräfelfing über zukünftige Aufführungen seiner Stücke. Dabei kam auch zur Sprache, ob die Besatzungsmächte solche Aufführungen behindern würden. Orff sagte mir, eher das Gegenteil werde in Zukunft der Fall sein: Der verantwortliche amerikanische Kulturoffizier (Newell Jenkins) sei ein ehemaliger Schüler von ihm, der versuche, ihn zu einem Widerstandskämpfer hochzustilisieren. Er habe Mühe, den Übereifer seines Schülers zu bremsen. Aus dieser Kenntnis halte ich es für unvorstellbar, daß Orff die Legende von seiner Beteiligung an der “Weißen Rose” selbst in die Welt gesetzt hat. Offen bleibt, ob er davon gewußt hat, daß Jenkins diese Legende zu seiner Entlastung verwenden würde, oder ob dies ohne sein Wissen geschah. Die neuerdings wiederholten Versuche, Orff in die Nähe der Nationalsozialisten zu rücken, beweisen, daß die “Astutuli” allzeit ihre “fröhlichen Urständ” feiern.

About your article “Carl Orff in the Third Reich – O Fortuna” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, “Humanities,” from 5 July):

I met Carl Orff on 6 November 1943 in Leipzig at the world premiere of *Catulli Carmina*. I was 16 years old then and remained friends with him until his death. He often helped to save me from an act of despair in the years up to the end of the National Socialist dictatorship, which were hopeless for me. He also never even gave me the impression in person that he had anything at all to do with the “White Rose.”

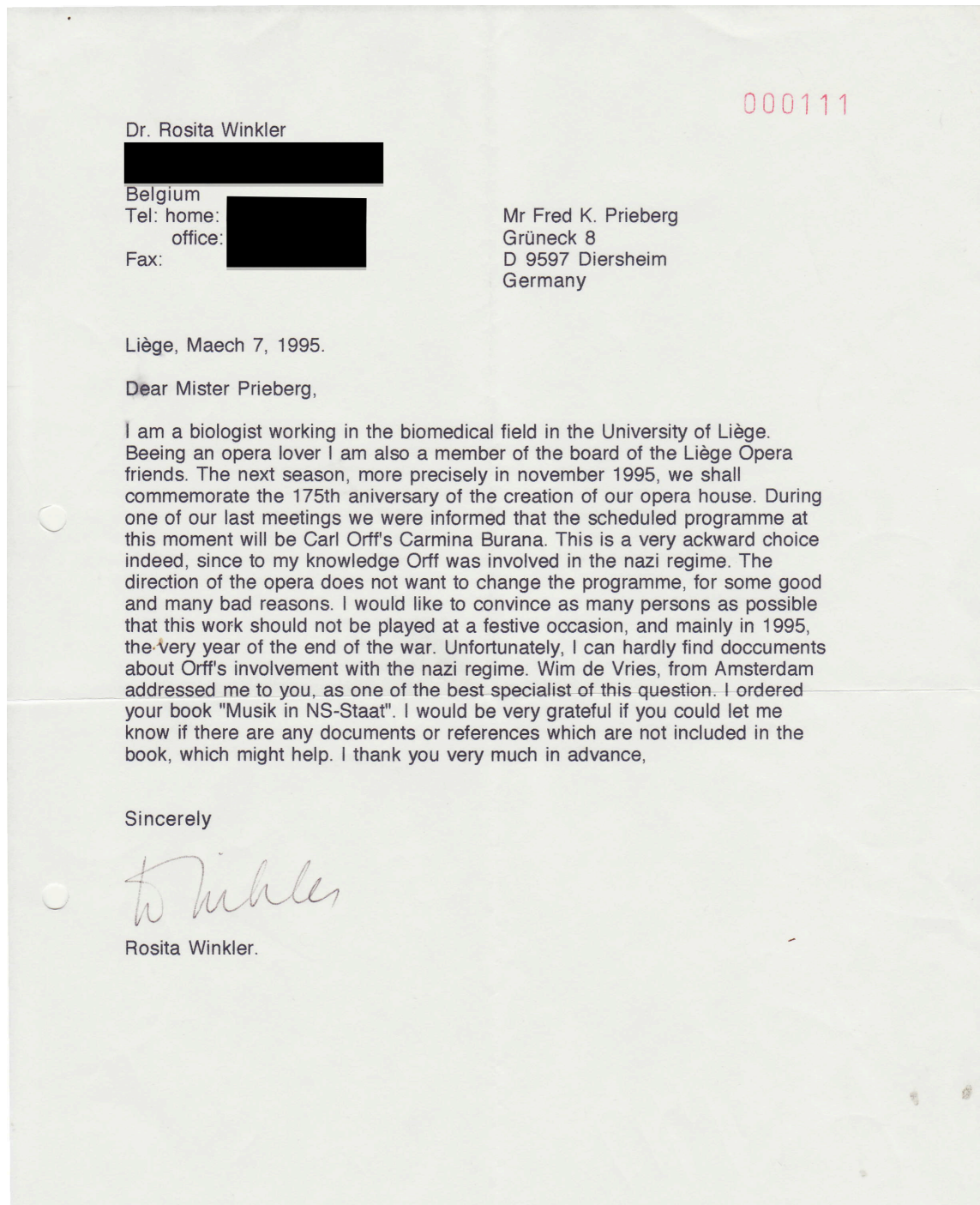
In 1946 I talked with Orff in his house in Gräfelfing about future productions of his pieces. In the process the subject came up if the occupying powers might impede such productions. Orff said to me that rather the opposite would be the case in the future: the responsible American officer (Newell Jenkins) was a former student of his, who attempted to build him up as a resistance fighter. He had difficulty braking the overzealousness of his student. From this knowledge I hold it to be inconceivable that Orff himself brought the legend of his involvement with the White Rose into the world. It remains open whether he knew that Jenkins would use this legend for his exculpation, or whether this was done without his knowledge.²⁶ The newly repeated attempts to push Orff into the vicinity of National Socialism prove that the “Astutuli” always celebrate their “happy resurrection.”²⁷

²⁶ In fact there is no evidence suggesting that Jenkins told anyone before his interview with Kater in 1993 about Orff’s alleged involvement with the White Rose (although the possibility that he did so remains).

²⁷ The “Astutuli” (as in Orff’s work of the same title) are agents of deception.

Letter from Rosita Winkler to Fred K. Prieberg, 7 March 1995, Archiv-Prieberg, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. (Author's address and phone number redacted out of respect for her privacy.)

Note that the author was under the impression that Orff was involved with the Third Reich despite not having concrete evidence.



Letter from Fred K. Prieberg (1928–2010) to Rosita Winkler, 20 April 1995, Archiv-Prieberg, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.

Note: the date of death for the "monster A.H." (i.e. Adolf Hitler) is 30 April 1945; 20 April 1889 is his date of birth. The documentation in the Bundesarchiv (cited in Prieberg's *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, 5387–5388) is in fact from 1942. Although here Prieberg referred his correspondent to Michael Kater's work (Kater is in fact a cultural historian rather than a musicologist), he later condemned much of Kater's scholarship (see *ibid.*, 12–15, 2882–2883, and many other examples).

Fred K. Prieberg
D-77866 Diersheim
Grüneck 8

000112

Madame,

I suggest that you take into account the findings of the Canadian musicologist Michael H. Kater as laid down under the title "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich" in "Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte" No. 43, Munich 1995. It is brand new and uses more documents than I did; the author, however, comes to the same conclusions.

It would be a disgrace in fact to play a music that was so very successful in Hitler's Germany, written by a composer who was not ashamed to have commerce with the nazis. He even went so far as to fulfil the evil requirements of antisemitism by composing a new music for the "Summer Nights Dream" when the canonized work of the "jew" Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was forbidden.

Orff was not a Nazi by way of organization, this is true; his personal ideology was not that of Hitler. Nevertheless he furthered the cause of the regime like a fanatic party member. And he was so devoid of character that he did so for selfish reasons. He wanted to become famous, no matter what the costs were. There is a document from a Munich party office - as late as 1944 - saying that Orff was absolutely trustworthy politically. I did not use this, because, for me, the case of the "Summer Nights Dream" was the most terrible felony that I could think of.

Mr. Kater has made clear that Orff did know exactly what he was doing and that an US cultural officier after the war helped to cover up this an other more than redoubtable activities of the composer, because he wanted to use him as the leading man in the democratization of German music!

Please, try to convince the Board and the Opera Director that Orff - especially in 1995 - would be a miserable choice. This is a year to commemorate the victims, and Belgium has thousands, and the men and women of the resistance Belge, but not a German collaborator with the brown criminals.

Thank you!

Avec un profond respect

20. April 1995
(i. e. half a century after the death
of the monster AH).

Appendix 3. Additional Information on Selected Persons.

Paul Ehlers

b. 10 May 1881 [1871?], Honolulu; d. 3 February 1942, Munich

Ehlers's NSDAP membership, Nr. 1.723.013, was conferred 1 May 1933. He was the *Landesleiter* (i.e. local leader) of the Southern Bavarian branch of the *Kampfund für deutsche Kultur* and the *Musikreferent* (head advisor on music) of the Munich chapter for that militant organization. In a memorandum to Oberbürgermeister Karl Fiehler dated 26 June 1934, Ehlers wrote that his ultimate goal in the *Bachverein* was "to make the German *Volk's* soul, which has taken ill and gone astray, again to health...and to lead it back into its homeland." In his encomium to the *Führer*, Ehlers complained that anyone who did not praise Jewish cultural achievements used to be branded as "a bloodthirsty 'anti-Semite'" (*ein blütrunziger Antisemit*, Ehlers, "*Die Musik und Adolf Hitler*," 358). One should note the oppressor's especially insidious tactic of taking on the mantle of the oppressed.

Ehlers's dates of life, given above, are found on the website of the *Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden*, accessed at [http://hansopac.slub-dresden.de/cgi-bin/slub.pl?x=u&t_show=x&wertreg=PER&wert=ehlers%2C%20paul%20\[1881-1942\]&reccheck=49489](http://hansopac.slub-dresden.de/cgi-bin/slub.pl?x=u&t_show=x&wertreg=PER&wert=ehlers%2C%20paul%20[1881-1942]&reccheck=49489), 11 August 2014. Prieberg's *Handbuch* gives 1941 without month or day as Ehlers's date of death and 10 May 1871 as the date of birth. 3 February 1942, however, is the date of death found on the website of the *Sächsischen Landesbibliothek*. This source gives 10 May 1881 as the year of birth. The latter source is given preference here because it gives a full date rather than only a year for the date of death, and for the sake of consistency the year 1881 has been adopted as the year of birth.

Sources:

Ehlers, Paul, "*Die Musik und Adolf Hitler*," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106. Jahrgang, Heft 4, April 1939:356–362 (excerpts in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*).

Ehlers, Paul, "Richard Trunk," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106. Jahrgang, Heft 2, February 1939

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 1418–1419.

Wulf, Joseph, "*Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*," Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1966, 332–333.

Alfred Frankenstein

b. 1906, Berlin; d. 4 January 1991, Ramat Gan in the Tel Aviv, Israel

Frankenstein studied law and was dismissed from civil service in 1933. After this he worked for the *Jüdische Künstlerhilfe* (an assistance organization for Jewish artists) before he emigrated to Palestine in 1935, where he made his living by working as an accountant. He worked as a music and theater critic since 1926, first for the *Berliner Tribüne* and in Israel as a freelance journalist for the *Jüdische Rundschau* and various newspapers. This biographical information kindly was provided to me in emails of 25 and 26 August 2014 by Dr. Heribert Heinrich of the music archive of the *Akademie der Kunst* in Berlin, where Frankenstein's papers are held. Dr. Heinrich confirms the correct date of death, as above, which is incorrectly listed as 1990 in the other sources. Carl Orff had contact with Frankenstein from 1966 to 1980 (information according to OZM, 6 and 20 November 2014).

Sources:

Author not cited. http://www.nachlassdatenbank.de/viewsingle.php?category=F&person_id=34404&asset_id=39057&sid=5e15528d53ce6f1b0756c, accessed 2 August 2014.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 8864.

Herbert Gerigk

b. Mannheim, 2 March 1905; d. Dortmund, 20 June 1996.

Gerigk's membership in the NSDAP (Nr. 1.096.433) was conferred 15 February 1932. In 1933 he joined the *Sturmabteilung* ("Storm Division," the paramilitary wing of the NSDAP) and in 1935 he joined the

Schutzstaffel (“defense corps”). He was also involved in the *Nationalsozialistische Kultur-Gemeinde* and the *Amt Reichsleiter Rosenberg* (“Office of Reich Leader Rosenberg”).

Sources:

de Vries, Willem, “Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscation by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe,” Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, 31, 32, and 35–39.

Dümling, Albrecht, “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, 46.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 2112–2185 (information on involvement in Nazi organizations on 2113).

Georg Götsch

b. 1 March 1895, Berlin; d. 26 September 1956, Friedrichshafen

Götsch’s NSDAP membership, Nr. 5.947.374, also was conferred 1 May 1937 (Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, 2619–2624).

Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog

b. Oldenburg, 30 March 1902; d. Oldenburg, 3 November 1976

Friedrich W. Herzog’s membership in the NSDAP (Nr. 566.797) was conferred 1 June 1931. In September 1935, however, he was removed from Party register by Gauleitung Westfalen-Nord due to *unbekanntes Aufenthalts* (“unknown residence”). He was an important figure in the *Nationalsozialistische Kultur-Gemeinde* in the early years of the Third Reich. In June 1933, he delivered a lecture in Freiburg titled *Das Judentum in der Musik* (“Jewishness in Music”), taking the title from Richard Wagner’s notorious essay.

Source: Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 3124–3128.

Newell O. Jenkins

b. 8 February 1895, New Haven, Connecticut; d. 21 December 1996, Hillsdale, New York

Jenkins’s musical training largely took place in Germany from 1932 and 1938, beginning in Dresden. He moved to the University of Freiburg in 1934, where he studied with the musicologists Wilibald Gurlitt (1889–1963) and Erich Doflein (1900–1977) through 1937. His conducting debut took place in Freiburg in 1935 with *Dido and Aeneas*, the opera (Z. 626, ca. 1688) by Henry Purcell (1659–1695) and Nahum Tate (1652–1715). In 1938 year he studied with Carl Orff, a friend of his previous teacher Doflein, and the impending war brought his studies to an end. He studied with Paul Hindemith (1895–1963) at Yale upon his return to America and worked for a year in New York as a conductor and in arts administration. In 1942, Jenkins had enlisted in the Field Ambulance Service, as he was a pacifist, serving in the North African and Italian campaigns. His involvement in Orff’s denazification is described in Chapter 3.

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 133–135.

Kozinn, Allan, “Newell Jenkins, 81, Conductor Who Found Gems in Archives,” *New York Times*, 24 December 1996, Obituaries, D 18.

Monod, David, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 38.

Fritz Jöde

b. 2 August 1887, Hamburg; d. 19 October 1970, Hamburg

Jöde’s NSDAP membership (Nr. 7.792.080) was conferred on 1 January 1940 from an application dated 29

December 1939. He had been involved in the *Hitlerjugend* (“Hitler Youth”) previously.

Sources:

Jöde, Fritz, “Die Musik im Kindesalter,” *Musik im Volk: Gegenwartsfragen der deutschen Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Stumme, Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1944:79–91.

Karner, Otto. *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Dissertation, Universität Wien, 2002, 218–220.

Kater, Michael H. “Carl Orff im Dritten Reich.” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 43. Jahrgang, Heft 1, January 1995, 6.

Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 118.

Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 137, 143, 146–150, 154–155, 170, 191 (specifically noting a relationship with Carl Orff), and 286 n. 76.

Klement, Udo. *Das Musiktheater Carl Orffs (Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR, Band 14)*. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982, 19.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 3690–3704, 3954, and 3955 (see also numerous references throughout to compositions by Jöde, which best may be found using the search feature).

Prieberg, Fred K. *Musik im NS-Staat*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 58–59, 165–166, and 243–245.

Regner, Hermann. “Carl Orff und seine pädagogischen Ideen,” in *Elementarer Tanz – Elementare Musik: Die Günther-Schule München 1924 bis 1944*, Michael Kugler, ed. Mainz: Schott Musik International (ED 9502), 2002, 74.

Erich Katz

b. 31 July 1900, Posen; d. 30 July 1973, Santa Barbara, California

In the first four months of the Third Reich was barred from working at Freiburg University, where he had been first student and then professor for the last ten years, and lost his position at the Freiburg Music Seminary, his own creation, although he continued using the seminary’s stationery in protest. After the additional insult of being interned as an enemy alien for six months in 1940, he left for America in 1943 and remained there for the rest of his life. Katz’s second wife, Hannah Labus Katz, told Mark Davenport in 1993 that Erich Katz was in Dachau “at least two months and that made a deep, deep impression on him. Year in and year out he had nightmares about Dachau. Erich would scream in his sleep and I would say ‘Erich what’s the matter?’ ‘I was thinking again of Dachau’” (Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 37).

The relationship with Carl Orff was of great importance to Katz. According to his companion, Winifred Jaeger, Katz even wrote to Orff at the end of his life when he was very ill and barely able to do anything physical: “We had him sitting up in the wheelchair only for meals, but otherwise he was bedridden. It is almost inconceivable how he managed to write these letters [to Carl Orff] by hand, being the only writing Erich produced during that whole time. It seems as if his memory had zeroed in on what may have been the happiest time of his life” (Davenport, “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” 38, emphasis in original). In a letter to Orff dated 12 February 1973, Katz wrote about Richard Beer-Hofmann’s (1866–1945) play *Jaakobs Traum: Ein Vorspiel* (1918), noting that, like Jacob in the play, Orff had been chosen by God: “You, Carl Orff, are chosen and cannot and should not be modest and you will continue your conversation with the archangels” (AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 5 November 2014, original language: *Du, Carl Orff, bist erwählt und kannst und darfst dich nicht bescheiden und wirst dein Zwiegespräch mit den Erzengeln fortsetzen*). After Katz’s death, Winifred Jaeger solicited a tribute from Orff for the Erich Katz memorial in *The American Recorder*. She wrote to Orff: “His collaboration with you and the friendship that developed from it belonged to his most beloved memories and he often spoke of how much you influenced him in his worst” (letter from Winifred Jaeger to Carl Orff, 12 September 1973, AK, COS/OZM, information according to OZM, 5 November 2014, original language: *Seine Zusammenarbeit mit Ihnen und die Freundschaft, die sich daraus entwickelt hat, gehörten zu seinen liebsten Erinnerungen und er hat oft davon gesprochen, wie sehr Sie ihn beeinflusst haben in seiner Arbeit*). Orff supplied the following tribute, written directly to Katz (printed in “Erich Katz, Teacher—

Composer, 1900–1973,” 119; original dated 25 September 1973 in Erich Katz Collection, Series 1, Carton 1):

Lieber Erich —

Nun hat es doch nicht mehr sein sollen, dass wir uns in diesem Leben wiederssehen und Du bist schon vorausgegangen. So bleibst Du mir in meinem Gedächtnis ganz so, wie ich Dich aus unseren Jugendtagen kenne.

Ich verdanke Dir so viel: Dein menschliches und künstlerisches Verstehen für mein Werk, besonders auch mein pädagogisches, das Du als einer der ersten richtig erkanntest und es gleichsam zu Deiner Sache machtest — in den unvergesslichen Tagen in Freiburg vor langer, langer Zeit.

So gedenke ich Deiner, wie Du auch fortleben wirst im Gedenken aller, denen Du durch Dein Sein so viel bedeutet hast.

—Immer Dein
Carl Orff

Dear Erich,

Now it is yet to be no more that we see each other again in this life and you have already preceded [me]. So you remain to me in my thoughts just as I know you in the days of our youth. I owe you so much: your personal and artistic understanding for my work, especially also my pedagogical work, that you were one of the first to recognize and made it equally as your own matter—in the unforgettable days in Freiburg a long, long time ago.

So I remember you, as you also will live on in the thoughts of everyone to whom your being meant so much.

—Yours always
Carl Orff

Sources:

Davenport, Mark. “Carl Orff: The Katz Connection,” *The American Recorder*, Vol. XXXVI, Issue 4, September 1995, 14–15, 36–37.

Karner, Otto. *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Dissertation, Universität Wien, 2002, 218 and 221.

Members of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, “Erich Katz,” in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Volume II / Part 1, 600.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 3862.

Primus, Constance M., “Erich Katz,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 13, 413.

Various contributors, “Erich Katz, Teacher—Composer, 1900–1973,” *The American Recorder*, Volume XIV, No. 4, November 1973:115–134, 120–121.

Primus, Constance M., “Erich Katz—Carl Orff: Longtime Friends. Two Voices Ahead of Their Time,” *The Orff Echo*, Vol. 24/2, Winter 1992, 19.

Ludwig Kelbetz

b. 18 June 1905, Graz; d. 10 January 1943 (died at the front)

While there is no record of membership in the NSDAP for Ludwig Kelbetz, he was otherwise involved in National Socialist organizations, including the *Hitler-Jugend*. Kelbetz was killed in battle in 1943

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 122 and 137.

Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 138, 142, 147, 149, 169, and 171.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 3882–3885.

Leo Kestenber

b. 27 November 1882, Rosenberg; d. 14 January 1962, Tel Aviv-Yafó

Kestenber had been involved in the *Preußische Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung* (“Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and People’s Education”) since 1918 and was the director of the Berlin *Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht* (“Central Institute for Education and Lessons”) since 1922. He fled to Prague in March 1933 and eventually to Tel-Aviv in 1938 (1934 is given as the year of Kestenber’s flight to Prague in “Leo Kestenber,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, but 1933 is given in the other sources cited below). Prieberg cites quotations of two denunciations of Kestenber from

1935 and 1940. Orff's *Nachlass* has correspondence with Kestenberg from 1932 to 1935 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

Sources:

Author not credited, "Leo Kestenberg," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc., 2001, Volume 13:503–504.

Author not credited, "Leo Kestenberg," in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 617.

Fetthauer, Sophie, "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, 30 July 2014.

Karner, Otto. *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Dissertation, Universität Wien, 200, 219.

Kruse, Matthias, "Leo Kestenberg," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil Vol. 10, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003:58–60.

Members of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, "Leo Kestenberg," in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Volume II / Part 1, 617–618.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 3909–3910.

Rösch, Thomas. "Carl Orffs Musik zu Shakespeares 'Ein Sommernachtstraum,'" printed in program to Carl Orff-Festspiele, Summer 2009, 44.

Slonimsky, Nicolas, Kuhn, Laura, and McIntire, Dennis, "Leo Kestenberg," in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, Centennial Edition*, ed. Nicolas Slonimsky and Laura Kuhn, New York: Schirmer Books, 2001, Volume 3:1864.

Armin Knab

b. 19 February 1881, Neuschleichach; d. 23 June 1951, Bad Wörishofen

Kater described Knab as "a distant composer friend of Orff's." Knab was a member of the *Bund Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Juristen* ("League of National Socialist German Jurists") since 21 December 1933 and a member of the *Musikausschuss des Reichsverband der gemischten Chöre Deutschlands* ("Music Committee of the Reich Association of Mixed Choirs of Germany"), part of the RMK. Prieberg was critical of Kater's research on Knab in *The Twisted Muse*.

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 140, 160, and 168–170, 4030–4031.

Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 11, 131, and 277.

Rösch, *Carl Orff: Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum*, 57 for the letter from Orff to Knab, 9 April 1939 (OZM, AK).

Marx, Karl. "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, 97–98.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 4021–4031.

Prieberg, Fred K. *Musik im NS-Staat*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 112, 253, 267, and 269.

Friedrich (Fritz) Krebs

b. 9 May 1894, Germersheim; d. 6 May 1961, Bad Homburg

In 1924 Krebs became the NSDAP *Ortsgruppenleiter* (the leader of the local branch) in Frankfurt. He founded the Frankfurt branch of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, and served as Frankfurt *Kreisleiter*

there from 1933 to 1937, although he did not become a member of the party until 1929. Krebs's NSDAP membership (Nr. 173.763) was conferred on 25 October 1929.

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 124.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 4238–4241.

Rösch, Thomas, Carl Orff – *Musik zu Shakespeares Ein Sommernachtstraum: Entstehung und Deutung*, 50–51.

Lotte Leonard (née Charlotte Levy)

b. 3 December 1884, Hamburg; d. 1 May 1976, Kfar Schmarjahu bei Tel Aviv

Leonard sang some of Orff's Werfel *Lieder* on a poorly received concert on 1 March 1921 in Berlin concert. She was denounced as a Jew and emigrated to Paris in 1933, then to America in 1940. After teaching at the Mannes Music School and the Juilliard School of Music in New York City (a position she first held in 1941), she moved to Switzerland in 1964 and then to Israel in 1968, where she lived until her death on 1 May 1976. She was best known for her interpretations of German *Lieder*. (Her year of birth is reported as 1884 in Prieberg's *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker* in the Archiv-Inventor (9204), whereas her main entry and other sources give it as 3 December 1889.) See also Chapter 1 at n. 201.

Sources:

Author not cited, *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, a project of the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut of the University of Hamburg, http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001921, updated 18 June 2014, accessed 7 July, 2014.

International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945, Volume II / Part 2: L–Z, 709.

Members of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, "Lotte Leonard," *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Volume II / Part 2: L–Z, The Arts, Sciences, and Literature, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder, Munich: K. G. Saur, 1983, 709.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933 – 1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 4491 and 9204.

Prieberg, Fred K. *Musik im NS-Staat*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 45 and 89 (in which her surname is spelled Leonhard).

Karl Marx

b. 12 November 1897, Munich; d. 8 May 1985, Stuttgart

Even though Marx was not a member of the NSDAP, he wrote several nationalistic works during the Third Reich, including for the *Kraft durch Freude* ("Strength through Joy") program. Prieberg criticized Kater's statement that Marx "regularly" (*regelmäßig*) wrote music for the *Hitler-Jugend*, although Marx did supply some music to that organization.

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 138, 140.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Prieberg 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 4780–4787.

Joseph Maria Müller-Blattau

b. 21 May 1895, Colmar/Elsaß ; d. 21 October 1976, Saarbrücken

Müller-Blattau joined both the NSDAP and the *Sturmabteilung* in 1933 (NSDAP membership Nr. 3.536.556, conferred 1 May 1933). In 1939, he worked on the Riemann *Musiklexikon* ("musical lexicon," a further edition of the publication first undertaken by Hugo Riemann, 1849–1919; see *ibid.*, 5085). In his *Geschichte der deutsche Musik* of 1938, Müller-Blattau excluded Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–

1847) and Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) from German music history. In 1936, Müller-Blattau was complicit in the firing of his teacher, Wilibald Gurlitt (1889–1963), from his position University of Freiburg, which Müller-Blattau himself was given the next year.

Sources:

Botstein, Leon, “Anonymous Deceit,” in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 88, No. 3, Autumn 2005:339–341.
Finscher, Ludwig, “Joseph Maria Müller-Blattau,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004, Personenteil 12, 804–806.
Kater, Michael H., *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 277–278.
Müller-Blattau, Joseph, “Das Horst Wessel-Lied,” in *Die Musik*, Vol. XXVI, Heft 5, February 1934:322–328 (an example of Müller-Blattau’s writings).
Potter, Pamela M., *Most German of the Arts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 104, 117, 127, 135, and 252.
Preiberg, Fred K. *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 5022, 5082–5088, 5876, 6688, and 9048 (information on membership affiliation, 5082).

Elly Ney

b. 27 September 1882, Düsseldorf; d. 31 March 1968, Tutzing

Ney was a member of the Nazi party from 1 May 1937, Nr. 6.088.559. 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.”

Sources:

Kater, Michael H., *The Twisted Muse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 30–33.
Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 5189–5205, especially the section on her “Ludwig van Beethoven: Ein Bekenntnis,” 5202–5203.

Edwin von der Nüll

b. 13 October 1905, Berlin; d. 27 March 1945 (missing at the front line)

Nüll was interested in modern music and was a champion of Herbert von Karajan (1908–1989), whom he favored over the older generation of composers. In 1938 he participated in a campaign against Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954) by Hermann Göring (1893–1946), although he did not have personal contact with Göring. von der Nüll tragically went missing in battle in 1945 and never was heard from again. In a memo dated 16 March 1939, Herbert Gerigk made an inquiry as to whether or not there was any evidence that von der Nüll held any views contrary to National Socialism, but evidently this inquiry ultimately never was answered.

Source: Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 5309–5316.

Albin von Prybram-Gladona

b. 1890, Zürich; d. 1974, Salzburg

Source for biographical information:

<http://gw.geneanet.org/alanguggenheim?lang=es;p=albin+ritter;n=von+przibram+gladona> and OZM, 1 August 2014. See Chapter 1 for more information, especially at n. 257.

Hans Ferdinand Redlich

b. 11 February 1903, Vienna; d. 27 November 1968, Manchester, England

Redlich, who was Carl Orff’s student in 1921, wrote the biography of Orff in the program notes for the Mannheim Neue Chormusik concert, 1931, where Max Sinzheimer conducted *Veni Creator Spiritus* and

Der gute Mensch. Orff's *Nachlass* has correspondence with Redlich from 1930 to 1934 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

Sources:

Hansen, Jutta Raab. *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.

Orff, Carl, et al. *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation*, Volumes 1–8. Tutzing: Hans Scheider, 1975–1983, Vol. 1, 68.

Program notes for *Neue Chormusik 1931: Mannheim, vom 2. bis 4. Oktober 1931. Sonderbeilage der Neuen Badischen Landes-Zeitung Mannheim*. Accessed in the OZM Pressearchiv, Kri XVIII, 3.

Fritz Reusch

b. 20 November 1896, Bingen; d. 8 February 1970, Heidelberg

Fritz Reusch applied to join the NSDAP in 1935; his membership, Nr. 4.546.481, was conferred 1 May 1937. See also Chapter 1 and letter from Reusch to Hans Bergese in Appendix 2c.

Sources:

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 6100–6102.

Reusch, Fritz, "Zur Musikausbildung an den Lehrerbildungsanstalten," *Musik im Volk: Gegenwartsfragen der deutschen Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Stumme, Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1944:127–132.

Karl (Karel) Salomon

b. 13 November 1897, Heidelberg; d. 15 January 1974, Beit Sa'yit (near Jerusalem), Israel

Salomon was a singer (baritone), composer, keyboardist, conductor, and dramaturg. In 1932, he sang Pilatus in Carl Orff's *Lukas-Passion* (see the program and reviews of the performance on 20 November 1932 at the Volksbühne e.V., Theater am Bülowplatz in Berlin, OZM, Pressearchiv, Bach-Verein, 1932–1933). By June 1933, Salomon had emigrated to Jerusalem (see letter from Salomon to Orff, 4 June 1933, AK, OZM). According to a letter from Max Sinzheimer (1894–1977) to Carl Orff dated 20 January 1934, their mutual friend Salomon had secured a position as a choral and orchestral conductor at the University of Jerusalem (OZM, AK). In Carl Orff's estate, correspondence between him and Salomon is extant for the years 1930–1935 and 1947–1973. After Salomon's death, Orff corresponded with his wife, Edith Salomon, from 1974 until his death in 1982 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

Sources:

Kennedy, Michael and Kennedy, Joyce Bourne, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 6th ed., 735 (also 4th ed., 632 and 2nd ed., 759–760).

Schipperges, Thomas, "Karel Salomon," *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2006, updated 26 November 2013: http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001422 (accessed 17 July 2014).

Schipperges, Thomas, "Karel Salmon [Salomon] (1897–1974). *Ein Weg aus Deutschland*," in: *Mr-Mitteilungen, Nr. 21, musica reanimata. Förderverein zur Wiederentdeckung NS-verfolgter Komponisten und ihrer Werke e. V.*, Berlin: 1996, S. 6–16.

Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg

b. 31 March 1891, Würzburg; d. 16 August 1949, Gmund/Tegernsee

Schulz-Dornburg, conductor and a friend and associate of Orff, founded the orchestra for the *Deutsche Luftsportverband* in 1933. This organization was run by one of the most important and earliest Nazi officials, Hermann Göring (1893–1946), whom Schulz-Dornburg knew from his days as a pilot in World War I. Although there is evidence that Schulz-Dornburg was a member of the NSDAP, he has no entry in the party's central card index.

Sources:

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 6835–6854 (information about NSDAP membership, 6835).
Prieberg, Fred K., *Musik im NS-Staat*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, 256 and 259.

Mátyás Seiber

b. 4 May 1905, Budapest; d. 24 September 1960, Kruger-National Park, South Africa (automobile accident)

Seiber returned from Frankfurt to his native Budapest in the autumn of 1933 and emigrated to England in 1935. Orff's *Nachlass* has correspondence with Seiber from 1931 to 1933 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

Sources:

Hansen, Jutta Raab, *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, 461–462.

Kennedy, Michael and Kennedy, Joyce Bourne, ed. Tim Rutherford-Johnson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 6th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996/2012, 770 (also 4th ed. (1996), 662–663 and 2nd ed. (1985/1994), 796).

Members of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, "Matyas György Seiber," in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Volume II / Part 2, 1070.

Scheding, Florian, "Mátyás (György) Seiber," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil Vol. 15, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006:528–531.

Scheding, Florian, "Matyas Seiber," in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2007, updated 6 February 2013, accessed http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002661, 7 July 2014.

Slonimsky, Kuhn, and McIntire, "Mátyás (György) Seiber," in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, Vol. 5:3276.

Wood, Hugh and Cooke, Mervyn, "Mátyás (György) Seiber," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, Volume 23. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001, 46–47.

Max Sinzheimer

b. 20 June 1894, Frankfurt am Main; d. 16 October 1977, Elm Grove, Wisconsin

Carl Orff's friend Max Sinzheimer was a conductor, choir director, pianist, and organist. He conducted Orff's cantata *Veni Creator Spiritus* in Mannheim in the fall of 1931 (see Orff in *Dokumentation*, Vol. 1, 68). Regarding his letters to Orff from the early years of the Third Reich, see Chapter 1. The Jewish Sinzheimer was imprisoned in Dachau from 11 November to 5 December 1938 and released, presumably with orders to leave the country. In March 1939, he and his wife, violinist Lene (Helene) Hesse-Sinzheimer (1896–1957), emigrated first to London and then to the United States of America, thanks in part to an affidavit from fellow émigré Ernst Toch (1887–1964). Orff's estate has correspondence with Sinzheimer from 1925 to 1937, then following the war from 1949 to 1974 (information according to OZM, 6 November 2014).

Sources:

Schlösser, Susanne, "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, 7 July 2014.

Schlösser, Susanne, "Lene Hesse-Sinzheimer," *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, 2010, updated 20 October 2010, accessed at http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00004423?wcmsID=0003, 9 September 2014.

Walter Trienes

b. 23 September 1901, Krefeld; d. 6 December 1990, Lübeck

Trienes's NSDAP membership (Nr. 399.919) was conferred 1 December 1930. Trienes denounced Orff's Schulwerk colleague, Fritz Jöde, in 1933 and authored several vehemently anti-Semitic tracts.

Sources:

Petsch, Hans, "Walter Trienes: Musik in Gefahr," in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 107. Jahrgang, Heft 10, October 1940:623–624.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 7738–7743 (dates of life and information on affiliation 7738), 49, 477, 517, 538, 1825, 4277, 5523, 7021, 7546, and 9824.

Trienes, Walter, "Musik in Gefahr. Der Kampf gegen die entartete Musik," in *Allgemeine Sängler-Zeitung*, XXXIV. Jahrgang, Heft 8-9, August-September 1940, 63.

Trienes, Walter, *Musik in Gefahr. Selbstzeugnisse aus der Verfallszeit ausgewählt und erläutert*. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1940.

Wilhelm Twittenhoff

b. 28 February 1904, Werdohl; d. 23 September 1969, Köln

Twittenhoff was Orff's affiliate at the Günther-Schule from 1934 to 1936. Twittenhoff's NSDAP membership, Nr. 5.204.059 from an application on 20 July 37, was conferred 1 May 1937. Note that Kater erroneously reported that Twittenhoff took a position at the Hitler Youth Conservatory in Weimar in April 1937 (*ibid.*, 122) when in fact no such institution existed. Presumably Twittenhoff taught at the *Staatliche Hochschule für Musik*.

Karner, Otto. *Komponisten unterm Hakenkreuz: Sieben Komponistportraits während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Dissertation*, Universität Wien, 2002, 223.

Prieberg, Fred K., *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker 1933–1945*, self-published on CD-ROM, 2. Edition, 2009, 7763–7768.

Sonner, Rudolf "Musik aus Bewegung," in *Die Musik*, XXIX. Jahrgang, Heft 11, August 1937:762–765, reprinted in *Elementarer Tanz, Elementare Musik*, 230–233.

Twittenhoff, Wilhelm, "Rhythmische Erziehung," *Musik im Volk: Gegenwartsfragen der deutschen Musik*, ed. Wolfgang Stumme, Berlin-Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1944:314–326.

Appendix 4. Selection of Carl Orff's Textual Sources with Translations

Princess Mathilde von Bayern (1877–1906): “Die Närrin” (“The Madwoman”)

Text for Carl Orff's *Lied* of the same name, Opus 8 No. 3, manuscript dated 27 November 1910 (BSB ML, Orff.ms. 26)

Textual source: Princess Mathilde von Bayern: *Traum und Leben: Gedichte einer früh Vollendeten*, Munich: Suddeutsche Monatshefte, 1910, 33. Note: The title means “Dream and Life: Poetry of one who died young.”¹ The volume originally was published anonymously.

Die alte Lenja, die lacht so schrill.
Und fragt dich: „Was macht mein Täubchen
Cyrill?“
Der ist in den Krieg gegangen!”

Old Lenja, who laughs so shrilly,
And asks you: “What is my dear Cyrill doing?
He has gone to war!”

Die alte Lenja, die lacht so schrill.
Und winselt: „Mein Sohnchen, mein schöner
Cyrill,
hat dich der Feind gefangen?“

Old Lenja, who laughs so shrilly,
And whines: “My little son, my beautiful Cyrill,
Has the enemy caught you up?”

Die Lenja, die alte, lacht gellend und schrill:
„Ich weiß es, mein Schelmchen, mein Herzchen
Cyrill,
sie haben dich aufgehängt!“

Lenja, the old woman, laughs piercingly and
shrilly: “I know it, my little rogue, my dear
heart Cyrill,
they have hanged you!”

¹ Literally, “poetry of an early finished person.”

Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894): “Der letzte Hohepriester” (“The Last High Priest”)
Text for Carl Orff’s *Lied* of the same name, Opus 6 No. 1, manuscript dated 8 June 1911 (BSB ML, Orff.ms. 29)

Textual source: Ludwig August Frankl, *Ahnenbilder*, Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1864, 51–53

Note: *Ahnenbilder* means “Ancestral pictures.” It is a collection of poetry with Jewish themes.

Die stolze Zion ist gefallen,
Es liegt die Gottestadt verheert,
Die kühnen Säulen, Marmorhallen,
Wo sonst des Opfers Däfte wallen,
In Schutt und Trümmerwerk verkehrt.

Proud Zion has fallen,
It lies, the city of God, devastated,
The brave columns, the marble halls,
Where usually the scents of the sacrifice boil,
Operate in rubble and debris.

Des Tempels Priester sind erschlagen,
Die Leichen ruhn in kalter Nacht;
Es stört das miternächtige Zagen,
Nur wenn ein Bogen, kühn getragen,
Nachberstend in die Oede kracht.

The temple’s priests are killed,
The corpses rest in cold night;
It disrupts the midnight hesitation,
Only if a tray, boldly carried,
Bursting forth afterward, crashing into desolation.

Ein Priester nur entging dem Morden,
Das Schwert reicht nicht an ihn heran;
Und als es tiefe Nacht geworden,
Da legt, verbrämt mit blauen Borden,
Sein weißes Priesterkleid er an.

Only one priest escaped the murder,
The sword did not reach him,
And as it became deep night,
Then he puts on, gilded with blue edges,
His white priestly clothes.

Auf seiner Brust ein helles Prangen:
Der Urim Tumim Feuerschein,
Und seine Silberlocken hangen
Um edle tiefgefurchte Wangen
In seines Bartes Schnee hinein.

On his chest is a bright emblazoning,
The firelight of the *Urim Tumim*,²
And his silver locks hang
Around his noble, deeply furrowed cheeks
Into his beard as snow.

So schreitet er durch öde Gassen,
Der Nachhall nur begleitet ihn,
Die Trümmerwerke rings erblassen,
Wenn durch gejagte Wolkenmassen
Sie plötzlich Mondeslicht beschien.

So he paces through the barren streets,
Only the reverberation accompanies him,
The debris around him becomes pale,
When hunted through the mass of clouds
The moonlight suddenly shines on it.

Und auf des Tempels Quaderstücke
Steigt stumm der Priestergreis hinauf;
Getroffen tief von dem Geschiecke,
Schickt er das Wort mit feuchtem Blicke
Zum schwarz umhangen Himmel auf:

And up the temple’s stones
The old priest silently ascends;
Deeply wounded by the fates,
He sends up the word with watery glances
To the dark hanging heavens:

„Du bist von deinem Volk gewichen,
Dein heiliger Tempel ist veheert,
Die hellen Schimmer sind erblichen,
Die durch des Tempels Dunkel strichen,
Mit Glanz der Cherubim Haupt verklärt.

“You have disappeared from your people,
Your holy temple is revered,
The bright glimmers are inherited,
Which swept through the darkness of the temple,
Transfigured with the luster of the head cherubim.

² The *urim tumim* (אורים תומים) is a symbol worn on the breastplate of High Priests (see Exodus 28:30).

Dein Zorn hat den Altar gespalten,
Ein Opfer fiel der Priesterschaft.
Du hast uns würdig nicht gehalten,
Um deinen Tempel zu verwalten,
Dein Volk ist todt und dein Altar.

So nimm des Tempels Schlüssel wieder,
Ihn reich ich bebend dir empor!”
Und in die Kniee sinkt er nieder,
Von ferne tönen wilde Lieder
Und dumpfer Siegerjubelchor.

Wie betend so die Arm’ erhoben,
Des Tempels greiser Pfortner kniet,
Reicht dunkel es herab von oben,
Wie eine Hand aus Licht gewoben,
Die hoch empor den Schlüssel zieht.

Und die es sehn von ferne flimmern,
Die halten es für Blitzesroth—
Als rings im Tag der Höhen schimmern,
Liegt auf des Tempels Marmortrümmern
Der letzte Hohepriester todt.

Your anger has cleaved the altar,
A sacrifice fell – the flock of priests.
You have held us not to be worthy
To manage your temple,
Your people are dead, and your altar.

So I give back to you the key of the temple,
I hand it up to you, trembling!”
And he sinks down on his knees,
From afar wild songs sound
And the dull jubilant chorus of victory.

As, praying, his arms thus lifted,
The very aged gatekeeper of the temple kneels,
[Something] darkly reaches down from above,
Like a hand, woven out of light,
That raises the key high aloft.

And those who saw the flickering from afar,
They held it for red lightning—
As all around in the day of the high ones shimmer,
On the marble ruins of the temple
Lies the last high priest, dead.

Libretto of Carl Orff's *De Temporum Fine Comoedia: Vigilia*
(*Play of the End of Times: A Vigil*)

Libretto translated by Andrew S. Kohler, based on the study score of 1973.

Passages omitted from the final version of the score are enclosed in brackets. Other changes are also indicated in brackets. Original line breaks are indicated by slashes (/).

Omnium rerum finis erit vitiorum abolition.
—Origen (ca. 184–253)

The end of all things will be the annulment of offenses.
—Origen

I. Die Sibyllen (αἱ Σίβυλλαι)
Nacht—Phantastische Landschaft. Einzelnen und in Gruppen die neun Sibyllen.

I. The Sibyls
Night—Fantastic landscape. Individually and in groups, the nine Sibyls.

[revised: *implacabile*]
Εἷς θεός ἐστιν ἄναρχος ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγέννητος·

First Sibyl
[revised: *implacable*]
There is one God, without chief, immensely great, unbegotten;

[revised: *semper con pronuncia molto chiara*]
ἀλλὰ θεός ὁ μόνος εἷς πανυπέριστατος, ὃς πεποιήκεν οὐρανὸν ἡέλιόν τε καὶ ἀστέρας ἡδὲ σελήνην ἀρποφόρον γαῖάν τε καὶ ὕδατος οἴδματα πόντου.

A Few Sibyls [revised: *Fourth and Fifth Sibyls*]
[revised: always with very clear pronunciation]
But one God alone, highest of all, who has heaven, the sun, and also the stars and the moon, the fruit-bearing earth, and the swells of the water of the sea.

[revised: *implacabile*]
Εἷς θεός ἐστιν ἄναρχος ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγέννητος·

Second Sibyl
[revised: *implacable*]
There is one God, without chief, immensely great, unbegotten;

ὃς ὁ μόνος ἐστὶ θεός κτίστης ἀκράτητος ὑπάρχων·

A Few Sibyls [revised: *Fourth and Fifth Sibyls*]
Who alone is God, founder, unconquerable, existing.

αὐτὸς δ' ἐστήριξε τύπον μορφῆς μερόπων τε αὐτὸς ἔμιξε φύσιν πάντων, γενέτης βίότιοι.

But he himself fixed the impression of the shape of those who can speak, and he himself, the begetter of life, mixed the nature of all.

(*implacabile*)
ἄφθαρτος κτίστης αἰώνιος αἰθέρα ναίων,

Third Sibyl [revised: *Second Sibyl*]
(*implacable*)
Imperishable founder, ever-lasting, inhabiting the air,

(*dolce*)
τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προφέρων πολὺ μείζονα μισθόν,

(*sweetly*)
To the noble presenting something good, a much greater award,

τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκους τε χόλον καὶ θυμὸν ἐγείρων.

A Few Sibyls [revised: *One Sibyl*]
But for the wicked and unrighteous raising bile and wrath.

(*fanatico*)

First Sibyl
(*fanatically*)

ἐρχομένης ὀργῆς μεγάλης ἐπὶ κόσμον ἀπειθῆ
ἔσχατον εἰς αἰῶνα θεοῦ μηνίματα φαίνω,

πᾶσι προφητεύσασα κατὰ πόλιν ἀνθρώποισιν.

(*profitezzando*)

ἦξει γὰρ τ' ἠοῦς ἢ δειλῆς ἢ μέσον ἡμαρ·
ἦξει δ' ἀτρεκέως καὶ ἔσσεται ὡς ἀγορεύω.

πάσης γὰρ γαίης θνητῶν τότε σύγχυσις ἔσται,

αὐτὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὅταν ἐλθὼν βῆται κρίνη

ζώντων καὶ νεκῶν ψυχᾶς καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα.

ἐγγὺς μὲν κόσμου τὸ τέλος καὶ ἔσχατον ἡμαρ·

αἶ, αἶ,

αἶ, ὅπόσοι κείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀθρήσουσιν.

ἀχνὺς γὰρ ζοφερὴ σκεπάσει τὸν ἀπείρονα κόσμον

ἀντολῆς δύσεως τε μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἄρκτου.

καὶ τότε δὴ ποταμὸς τε μέγας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο

ρέυσει ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ πάντα τόπον δαπανήσει,

γαῖάν τ' ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν γλαυκὴν τε θάλασσαν
λίμνας καὶ ποταμῶν πηγὰς καὶ ἀμείλιχον Ἄϊδην
καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον.

(*visionario*)

ἀτὰρ οὐράνιοι φωστῆρες

When the great wrath comes against the disobedient world
at its end, into the era of God, I shall reveal the cause of
blood-guilt...

A Few Sibyls [revised: *Fourth and Fifth Sibyls*]
...to all people by city, serving as God's interpreter.

Second Sibyl [revised: *Seventh Sibyl*]
(prophesying)

For he will have come either at daybreak or in the
afternoon or at midday, but certainly he will have come,
and it will be as I proclaim.

Contralto Sibyl

For then there will be confusion for the whole world of
mortals,

A Few Sibyls

When he himself, the all-powerful, comes on the throne to
judge...

Contralto Sibyl

...the souls of the living and the dead, and the entire world.

All Sibyls [revised: *First Sibyl*]

At hand is the end of the world, and the very last day.

Third Sibyl

Alas for however many will look upon that vain day...

A Sibyl, alone [revised: *Contralto Sibyl*]

...for gloomy mist will cover the endless earth...

Two Sibyls, alternating

...the East, and the West, and the South, and the North,

First Sibyl [revised: *Second Sibyl*]

And then indeed a river of great burning fire...

Second Sibyl

...will flow from heaven and consume every place:

All Sibyls [revised: *First Three Sibyls, alternating with the
rest*]

...the earth and the great ocean and the silvery sea, the
marshy lakes and the waters of the rivers, and implacable
Hades and the heavenly sphere.

First Sibyl

(visionary)

But the heavenly stars shall dash together into one all-dark

εἰς ἓν συρρήξουσιν καὶ εἰς μορφήν πανέρεμνον.
ἄστρα γὰρ οὐρανόθεν τε θαλάσση πάντα πεσεῖται·
ψυχὰ δ' ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαι βρύξουσιν ὁδοῦσιν
καιόμεναι ποταμῶ καὶ θείου καὶ πυρὸς ὀρμῆ
ἐν δαπέδῳ μαλερῶ,

τέφρα δέ τε πάντα καλύψει.

ὁπνὲ θεοῦ γ' ἀλέουσι μύλοι, τὸ δὲ λεπτὸν ἀλοῦσιν.

πῦρ τότε πάντ' ἀλέσει καὶ λεπτὸν χοῦν ἀποδώσει
ὕψικόμων ὀρέων κορυφᾶς...

...καὶ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

ἀρχὴ πᾶσι κακῶν φιλοχρημοσύνη καὶ ἄνοια.

χρυσοῦ γὰρ δολίιο καὶ ἀργυρίου πόθος ἔσται·
οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων θνητοὶ μεῖζον προέκριναν,
οὐ φάος ἡελίου, οὐκ οὐρανόν, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν,
οὐ γαῖαν πλατύνωτον, ὅθεν φύουσιν ἅπαντα,
οὐ τὸν πάντα διδόντα θεόν, γεννήτορα πάντων,
οὐ πίστιν τούτων καὶ εὐσεβίην προέκριναν.

[revised: *erompente*]

πηγὴ δυσσεβείης καὶ ἀταξίης προοδηγός,

μηχανίη πολέμων,

εἰρήνης ἐχθρὰ ἀνία.

γαῖα θ' ὄρους ἔξει καὶ φρουροὺς πᾶσα θάλασσα
πᾶσι μεριζομένη δολίως τοῖς χρυσὸν ἔχουσιν·
ὡς αἰῶσι θέλοντες ἔχειν πολυθρέμμονα γαῖαν
πορθήσουσιν πένητας, ἵν' αὐτοὶ πλείονα χῶρον
προσπορίσαντες ἀλαζονίῃ καταδουλώσωσιν.
καὶ μὴ γαῖα πέλωρος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
τὸν θρόνον εἶχε μακρὴν, οὐκ ἦν ἴσον ἀνδράσι φέγγος,

form. For the stars will collapse down from heaven, all of
them will collapse into the sea, and all the human life-
spirits will noisily gnash their teeth, burning in the river
and in the brimstone and in an attack of flame on the fiery
ground...

Contralto Sibyl

...and ashes will cover everything.

A Sibyl, alone

Late in the day the millstones of God indeed grind; they
will grind fine dust.

Another Sibyl, alone

Fire then will destroy everything, and it will return to fine
dust the highest peaks of the towering mountains...

Contralto Sibyl

...and all flesh.

Another Sibyl, alone

The origin of all things evil is love of money and lack of
understanding.

Fours Sibyls, alternating

For there will be the deceit of gold and desire for silver, for
not one of these following things did mortals choose more
frequently: not the light of the sun; not heaven and not the
sea; not the broad-backed earth, whence all the things
generate; not the all-giving God, ancestor of all; not faith
and reverence did they choose...

Three Sibyls together, alternating with One Sibyl, alone

[revised: *bursting forth*]

...but a fountain of impiety and an undisciplined guide
forward....

One Sibyl, alone

...the machine of wars....

Three Sibyls together [revised: *Another Sibyl, alone*]

...the hateful sorrow to peace.

Several Sibyls, alternating

But the earth will have borders, and every sea watchmen,
distributed deceitfully to those with gold; thus for ages
people who wish to possess the earth, which feeds many,
will besiege the day-laborers, so that these people
themselves, procuring more land, will enslave them under
false pretence. And if the mighty earth, far away from
starry heaven, did not have its throne, there would be no

ἀλλ' ἀγοραζόμενον χρυσῶ πλουτοῦσιν ὑπῆρχεν
καὶ πτωχοῖς αἰῶν' ἕτερον θεὸς ἠτοίμαζεν.

(*implacabile*)

πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ νύξ ἐστὶν ἴση τοῖς πλοῦτον ἔχουσιν
καὶ πτωχοῖς·

γυμνοὶ δ' ἀπὸ γῆς, γυμνοὶ πάλιν ἐς γῆν
ἦξαντες λήγουσι βίου χρόνον ἐκτελέσαντες.

καὶ τίσουσ' ὅσα περ βιώτῳ θνητῶ ἔπραξεν·

καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες διὰ δαιομένου ποταμοῖο
καὶ φλογὸς ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ'·

πάντες σωθήσονται·

(*fanatico, gridato*)

ἀσεβεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὀλοῦνται
εἰς αἰῶνας ὄλους.

(*veemente e visionario*)

ἔπειτα δὲ νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ
ἐν γέννη θηρσὶν ὑπὸ ταρταρίοισι βαλοῦνται
πολλῶς δειμαλέοισιν, ὅπου σκότος ἐστὶν ἄμετρον.

(*poco cantando*)

καὶ τότε θρηνήσουσιν ἐπ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλου ἄπωθεν
οἰκτροτάτη μοίρη.

(*lamentoso*)

οὐδέ σφιν δακρύων κόρος ἔσσεται οὐδὲ μὲν αὐδὴ
οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρομένων ἔσακούσεται ἄλλυδις ἄλλου.

equal light for men, but, purchased with gold, the light
belonged to rich men, and for beggars, God must have
provided another era.

All Sibyls, alternating and together

(implacable)

For all, all together....

Contralto Sibyl

...For all it is the same night, for those who have riches and
for beggars.

All Sibyls, alternating and together

For all, all together....

A Few Sibyls [revised: Contralto Sibyl]

But the naked of the earth, the naked, coming again to the
earth, arrive at their end, bringing to an end the time of
their life.

All Sibyls [revised: First Three Sibyls]

And they will atone indeed for those things that each of
them did in mortal life.

Contralto Sibyl

And then indeed everyone will pass through a blazing river
of unquenchable fire...

A Few Sibyls [revised: Fourth Sibyl]

...and all the righteous will be saved...

All Sibyls

(fanatic, screaming)

...after which these godless men will be destroyed, for all
eternity.

Second Sibyl

(vehement and visionary)

But thereafter in the dark of night, in Gehenna, they will be
cast beneath the beasts of Tartarus, under many frightful
things, where the darkness is without measure.

Another Sibyl, alone [revised: Third Sibyl]

(somewhat in a singing manner)

And then they will bewail—one here, another there from
afar—their most lamentable fate.

Another Sibyl, alone [revised: Eighth Sibyl]

(lamenting)

And they will not have their fill of tears, neither will be
heard the pitiable voice of those who lament here and there.

(*molto eccitato*)

ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ζοφόνεθ' ὑπὸ Τάρταρον εὐρώεντα
τειρόμενοι βύσσονται· ἐπ' οὐχ ὀσίοισι δὲ χώροις
τίσουσιν τρὶς τόσσον ὅσον κακὸν ἥλιτον ἔργον
δαιόμενοι πυρὶ πολλῷ·

καὶ καλέσουσι,

(*gridato*)

καλὸν τὸ θανεῖν,

καὶ φεύξετ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
οὐκέτι γὰρ θάνατος τούτους, οὐ νύξ ἀναπαύσει.

κλῦτε δέ μου, μέροπες, βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος ἄρχει.

[revised: *importante*]

ὀππόταν ἔλθῃ,

(*in estasi, quasi istèrico*)

πῦρ ἔσται σκοτόεντι μέση τ' ἐνὶ νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ.
οὐκέτι φωστήρων σφαιρώματα καγαλόωντα,

οὐ νύξ, οὐκ ἠώς, οὐκ ἡματα πολλὰ μερίμνης,

οὐκ ἔαρ, οὐχὶ θέρος, οὐ χειμών, οὐ μετόπωρον.

νύξ ἔσται σκοτόεσσα μέση ἐνὶ ἡματος ὥρῃ·
ἄστρα ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν λείψει καὶ κύκλα σελήνης·
γῆ δὲ κλόνῳ σεισμοῖο τινασσομένη μέγαλοιο.

χηρεύσει τότε πάντα χρόνῳ στοιχεῖα τὰ κόσμου,
ἄῃρ γαῖα θάλασσα φάος πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

First Sibyl

(very excited)

But under dank, long-darkened Tartarus the distressed will
cry out, and upon the unhallowed lands will they, burning
with much fire, atone for thrice as much evil as they
committed.

First Three Sibyls [revised: *All Sibyls*]

And they will call out,

All Sibyls

(shouting)

“Death is beautiful!”

Contralto Sibyl

And death will fly away from them. For no longer will
death, nor the night, give them rest.

First Sibyl

Attend to me, you who are endowed with speech: the
eternal Lord reigns.

One Sibyl, alone [revised: *Fourth and Second Sibyls*
alternating, importantly]

When he comes...

(in ecstasy, somewhat hysterical)

...there will be fire in the middle of the dark, blackened
night. And no longer will exist the spheres of heavenly
lights that laugh aloud...

Another Sibyl [revised: remains *Fourth Sibyl*]

...nor night, nor dawn, nor the many days of anxious
thoughts...

Another Sibyl [revised: remains *Fourth Sibyl*]

...nor spring, nor summer, nor winter, nor the late autumn.

All Sibyls

The night will be dark, in the middle of the day; the stars
and the disk of the Moon will be gone, down from heaven,
but the earth, in turmoil, will be shaken by a great
earthquake.

Second Sibyl [revised: *Third Sibyl*]

Then at that time all the elements of the world will be
bereft; the atmosphere, the earth, the sea, the light of
burning fire...

Third Sibyl [revised: *Second Sibyl*]

καὶ πόλος οὐράνιος καὶ νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα πάντα
εἰς ἓν συρρήξουσι καὶ εἰς μορφὴν πανέρεμνον.

ἔσται δ' αἰθέριόν ποτ' ἂν' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ὑπερθεῖν
βροντηδὸν κελάδημα, θεοῦ φωνὴν ἑπακοῦσαι.

χωνεύσω γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξω
οὐρανὸν εἰλίξω, γαίης κευθμῶνας ἀνοίξω
καὶ τότε' ἀναστήσω νεκροὺς μοῖραν ἀναλύσας
καὶ θανάτου κέντρον, καὶ ὕστερον εἰς κρίσιν ἦξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν·

Αὐτός μοι τάδε πάντα θεὸς μέγας ἀένναός τε
εἶπε προφητεῦσαι·

τάδε δ' ὄσεται οὐκ τέλεστα
οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὃ τι κεν μόνον ἐν φρεσὶ θεΐῃ·

ἄψευστον γὰρ πνεῦμα θεοῦ πέλεται κατὰ κόσμον.

ἀλλ' ὅτε κόσμος ὄλωλεν...

ἔμεινε δ' ἀνάστερος αἰθήρ,

ἀνόμους δὲ τὸ πῦρ αἰῶσιν ἐλέγξει.

(*gridando*)

Vae! Ibunt impii in Gehennam ignis aeterni. Vae!

Attacca Act II

...and the heavenly sphere and the night and all the days
will dash together into one, and into an all-dark form.

All Sibyls

But at some time from above, throughout the higher
atmosphere of the broad heavens, there will be a
thunderous roar: hearken to the sound of God's voice.

First Sibyl, with Echo

For I shall melt all things down and separate out the pure; I
shall cause the firmament to turn; I shall open the hiding
places of the earth. And then I shall awaken the dead,
putting an end to destiny and to the sting of death. And
thereafter I shall come to trial, judging the life of men, both
those living piously and those impiously.

First Sibyl

Mighty and everlasting God himself said all these things,
for me to serve as his interpreter.

Second Sibyl

But this will not be unfulfilled, nor unfinished: that which
He placed only in my mind.

Third Sibyl

For truthful is God's spirit throughout the world.

Second Sibyl [revised: *First Sibyl*]

But when the world has been destroyed...

Third Sibyl [revised: *First Sibyl*]

But the starless sky remains,

First Sibyl

But the fire will disgrace the lawless men for ages.

All Sibyls, alternating and together

(shouting)

Alas! The wicked will go into Gehenna, of eternal fire.

Alas!

II. Die Anachoreten (οἱ Ἀναχωρηταί)
Zerklüftete Felsgegend. [*Einzel und in Gruppen die neun Anachoreten.*] [revised: *Im Raum verteilt sitzen die neun Anachoreten.*]

οὔποτε, μήποτε, μήπου, μηδέποτε.

Ignis aeterni.

οὔποτε, μήποτε, μήπου, μηδέποτε.

Ignis aeterni.

οὔποτε, μήποτε, μήπου, μηδέποτε.

Immensa tormenta.

[revised: *scuro*]
Ewige Qual, ewige Marter, ewige Folter, ewige Pein.

(*stridulo*)
Hellische Pein!

Ewig verloren, verworfen, verflucht, in abyssum infandum.

[revised: *concitato*]
Procul a lumine, procul a Deo.

οὔποτε, μήποτε, μήπου, μηδέποτε.

[revised: *provocante*]
Poena eterna.

[revised: *scuro*]
Lug, Trug, Gaukelspiel, Blendwerk, Spuk, hellisch
Gespenst, Hirngespinst.

II. The Anchorites
A region of craggy rocks. [*Individually and in groups, nine Anchorites.*] [revised: *Distributed throughout the region sit the nine Anchorites.*]

All Anchorites
Never, on no account, nowhere, at no time.

One Anchorite (baritone)
“Of eternal fire.”

All Anchorites
Never, on no account, nowhere, at no time.

One Anchorite (baritone)
“Of eternal fire.”

All Anchorites
Never, on no account, nowhere, at no time.

One Anchorite (bass)
Unending tortures.

Anchorites, low voices
[revised: *darkly*]
Eternal torment, eternal agony, eternal torture, eternal pain.

One Anchorite (tenor)
(shrill)
Hellish pain!

Anchorites, low voices
Forever lost, cast away, damned, into the unspeakable abyss.

One Anchorite (baritone)
[revised: *excited*]
Far from the light, far from God.

All Anchorites
Never, on no account, nowhere, at no time.

One Anchorite (baritone)
[revised: *taunting*]
Everlasting punishment.

Anchorites, low voices
[revised: *darkly*]
Lies and deceit [or “a pack of lies”], delusion, trickery, a spook, a hellish ghost, an imaginary figment.

Uralte Ammenmär.	<i>One Anchorite (tenor)</i> A primeval cock-and-bull story.
Lug, Trug, Gaukelspiel, Blendwerk, Spuk, hellisch Gespenst, Hirngespinst.	<i>All Anchorites</i> Lies and deceit, delusion, trickery, a spook, a hellish ghost, an imaginary figment.
Uralte Ammenmär.	<i>One Anchorite (baritone)</i> A primeval cock-and-bull story.
(<i>stridulo</i>) Vana vanidici fictio, fabula mendax, fabula falsa, inepta, versutae praestigiae.	<i>One Anchorite (tenor)</i> (shrill) The empty fiction of a liar, a dishonest story, a false and absurd story, a clever sleight of hand.
Poenae aeternae.	<i>One Anchorite (baritone)</i> Everlasting punishment.
Nefandissima Fraus!	<i>Another Anchorite</i> The most heinous fraud!
οὔποτε, μήποτε, μήπου, μηδέποτε.	<i>All Anchorites</i> Never, on no account, nowhere, at no time.
Jedem Frevel und Verbrechen, jeder Untat in der Zeit, folgt die Sühne in der Zeit. Jeder Schuld folgt die Sühne in der Zeit.	Expiation follows every iniquity and crime, every misdeed in time. Expiation follows every fault in time.
[...nur in der Zeit.	[<i>One Anchorite (baritone)</i> ...only in time.
Mundus ac inferi transeunt. Welt und Unterwelt sind in der Zeit.	<i>All Anchorites</i> The world and the underworld cross over. The world and the underworld are in time.
ἐν βραχεῖ.]	<i>One Anchorite (tenor)</i> In a short time.]
(<i>veemente</i> , [<i>con voce stentorea</i>]) Unus solus Deus ab aeterno in aeternum.	<i>All Anchorites</i> (vehement, [with stentorian voice]) There is one God, from eternity into eternity.
<i>Pueri et Iuvenes</i> ἐς αἰεί...	<i>Boys and Young Men (pre-recorded)</i> For ever...
[<i>esaltato</i>] Unnennbar, unaussprechlich, unbegreiflich, unerfindlich, unerforschlich, unerschöpflich, unermessen, unergründlich, undurchdringlich.	<i>All Anchorites</i> [fanatical] Inexpressible, unspeakable, incomprehensible, mysterious, inscrutable, inexhaustible, immeasurable, unfathomable, impenetrable.
<i>Pueri et Iuvenes</i>	<i>Boys and Young Men (pre-recorded)</i>

ἐς αἰί...

For ever...

Unerdenklich, unvergleichlich, unaufhörlich,
unabwendbar, unaufhaltbar, unerreichbar,
ungeheuer, unerbittlich, unbegrenzt.

All Anchorites

Unimaginable, incomparable, everlasting, inevitable,
unstoppable, unascertainable, formidable, inexorable,
infinite.

Pueri et Iuvenes

ἐς αἰί...

Boys and Young Men (pre-recorded)

For ever...

[revised: *esaltato*]

Unwiderleglich, unwiderruflich, unwidersprechlich,
unwiderstehlich, unausweichlich, unentrinnbar,
unbezwänglich, unumstößlich, unumschränkt.

All Anchorites

[revised: fanatical]

Unanswerable, irrevocable, irrefutable, irresistible,
unavoidable, inescapable, unconquerable, unalterable,
absolute.

(*con voce stentorea*)

παντοκράτωρ.

(with stentorian voice)

All-powerful, all-powerful, all-powerful, all-powerful.

Pueri et Iuvenes

ἐς αἰί...

Boys and Young Men (pre-recorded)

For ever...

παντοκράτωρ.

All Anchorites

All-powerful, all-powerful, all-powerful, all-powerful.

Pueri et Iuvenes

ἐς αἰί...

Boys and Young Men (pre-recorded)

For ever...

Nicht / Satanas, / der Widersacher, / der Versucher /
nicht, / nicht / Lucifer, / nicht der Rebell, / nicht der
Verstoßne / damnatus / nunquam condemnatus / in
aeternum.

One Anchorite, alone

Not Satan, the adversary, the tempter; no, not Lucifer, not
the insurrectionist, not the violator, found guilty: never
will he be sentenced into eternity.

Omnium rerum finis / erit / vitiorum abolition.

The end of all things will be the annulment of offenses.

Πάντα ἐκ θεοῦ, πάντα πρὸς θεόν, πάντα θεός.

All Anchorites

All things are out of God, all things are toward God, all
things are God.

[(*bispigliando*)

Εἶρηκα.]

[(*whispering*)

I have spoken.]

Pausa lunghissima.

Very long pause.

Mundus terrenus volvitur, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, usque ad
finem. Et ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups

The earthly world revolves, from the beginning, all the
way until the end. And from all sides the demon, the Devil
walks about.

(accentuato)
Gott hat es gewollt.

Und die Herzen der Menschen verhärten sich.

(eccitato, intensivo, accentuato)
Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um unter den Menschen. Gott hat es gewollt.

Und viele werden verführt.

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um unter den Menschen. Gott hat es gewollt.

Hoffahrt zündet ein neues Gedankenlicht an, sie heben sich hoch, die kleinen Geschöpfe, die Taggeschöpfe, sie heben sich und erheben sich gegen Dich.

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um.

(eccitato)
Und treffen nur immer sich selber.

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um.

(eccitato)
Und treiben es bis zur Vernichtung.

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um. Gott hat es gewollt.

(voce stentorea)
Nihil contra Deum, nisi Deus ipse.

[*(con brivido)*
Nihil contra Deum, nisi Deus ipse.]

All Anchorites
(accented)
God has wished it.

One Anchorite, alone
And people's hearts harden themselves.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
(excited, intense, accented)
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about beneath people. God has wished it.

One Anchorite, alone
And many are misled.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about beneath people. God has wished it.

One Anchorite, alone
Haughtiness ignites the fire of a new idea; the small creatures, the day creatures raise themselves high, they raise themselves and elevate themselves against You.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about.

One Anchorite, alone
(excited)
And always they only meet up with themselves.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about.

One Anchorite, alone
(excited)
And they lead it up to its destruction.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about. God has wished it.

One Anchorite, alone
(with stentorian voice)
Nothing is against God, if not God himself.

[*All Anchorites*
(with a shiver)
Nothing is against God, if not God himself.]

Anchorites, in two alternating groups

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um, bis ans End
aller Zeit.

From all sides the demon, the devil walks about, up to the
end of Time.

Wann endet die Zeit?

One Anchorite (baritone)
When does Time end?

Ubique daemon, der Teufel geht um, bis ans End
aller Zeit.

Anchorites, in two alternating groups
From all sides the demon, the devil walks about, up to the
end of Time.

Wann endet die Zeit?

One Anchorite (tenor)
[revised: *One Anchorite, then All Anchorites*]
When does Time end?

Pausa lunga.

Long pause.

Gott weiß es; Gott weiß es; Gott allein weiß es.

One Anchorite (low bass)
God knows it; God knows it; God alone knows it.

τί ἐστιν τὸ τέλος;

One Anchorite, alone [revised: *All Anchorites*]
What is the endpoint?

Was ist unser Ziel, unser endlicher Sinn?

All Anchorites [revised: *One Anchorite, alone*]
What is our destination, our final meaning?

[τί ἐστιν τὸ τέλος;]

[*One Anchorite, alone*
What is the endpoint?]

Gott weiß es; Gott weiß es; Gott allein weiß es.

One Anchorite (low bass)
God knows it; God knows it; God alone knows it.

Gott, / schenk uns Wahrsagung, / Weissagung, /
Hellsicht im Traum. / Gott / schenk uns den Traum.

One Anchorite, alone
God, give us soothsaying, prophecy, prescience in a
dream. God, give us the dream.

[Gott, schenk uns den Traum.

[*All Anchorites*
God, give us the dream.

τί ἐστιν τὸ τέλος; τὸ τέλος; τὸ τέλος;]

One Anchorite, alone
What is the endpoint, the endpoint, the endpoint?]

Pausa lunga.

Long pause.

Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, τανυσίπτερε, οὔλε Ὀνειρε,
ἄγγελε μελλόντων, θνητοῖς, χρησμοιδὲ μέγιστε·
ἡσυχία γὰρ ὕπνου γλυκεροῦ σιγηλὸς ἐπελθῶν,
προσφωνῶν ψυχαῖς θνητῶν νόον αὐτὸς ἐγείρεις,
καὶ γνώμας μακάρων αὐτὸς καθ' ὕπνους ὑποπέμπεις,

Anchorites, alternately and together
I call on you, Blessed One, long-winged one; health to
you, Dream God, messenger of that which is to come,
most important oracle-maker to mortals. For in the rest of
sweet sleep silence approaches; you yourself awaken the
mind, addressing the souls of mortals. And you yourself

σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχαῖς μελλόντα προφαίνων,

send knowledge to the blessed, secretly and in sleep,
silently prophesying things to come to the silent souls.

κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, τανυσίπτερε, οὔλε Ὀνειρε,
οὔλε Ὀνειρε.

I call on you, Blessed One, long-winged one; health to
you, Dream God. Health to you, Dream God.

III. "Dies illa"

*Aus Dunkel und Nebelschwaden werden rechts und
links seitlich sowie im Vordergrund die letzten
Menschen sichtbar. Die Hauptbühne bleibt im Dunkel.*

[Note: This description is absent in the first printed
score.]

III. "Dies illa" ("That day")

*Out of darkness and wafts of mist, the Last People become
visible from the right and left, as well as in the foreground.
The main stage remains in darkness.*

Choruses I, II and III, alternating

[originally, alternating small groups within each chorus]

Wo irren wir hin, verloren, verlassen? Alle Wege
führen ins Nichts. [Wo irren wir hin, verloren,
verlassen? Alle Wege führen ins Nichts.]

Whither do we go astray, lost, abandoned? All ways lead into
nothing. [Whither do we go astray, lost, abandoned? All ways
lead into nothing.]

Wo bleibt die Sonne? Sie kommt nicht mehr.

All Choruses, alternating [revised: *also with Chorus Leader*]
Where is the sun? It comes no more.

[*scattando*]

Der Himmel ist eingestürzt, mit allen Sternen.

Chorus Leader

[springing up]

Heaven is collapsed, with all the stars.

[*rassegnato*]

Wo bleibt die Sonne?

Choruses I and III, together [revised: *All Choruses*]

[resigned]

Where is the sun?

[revised: *rassegnato*]

Sie kommt nicht mehr.

Chorus II [revised: *Chorus Leader*]

[revised: resigned]

It comes no more.

[Wo irren wir hin, verloren, verlassen? Alle Wege
führen ins Nichts. Wo irren wir hin, verloren,
verlassen?]

[*Small groups within all Choruses, alternating*

Whither do we go astray, lost, abandoned? All ways lead into
nothing. Whither do we go astray, lost, abandoned?]

[revised: *wie in plötzlicher Erkenntnis; spavenato*]

Wir sind gefangen im Dunkel der Nacht. Wir sind
gefangen im Dunkel der Nacht,

All Choruses [revised: *also with Chorus Leader*], *alternating*

[revised: as with a sudden revelation, frightened]

We are captive in the dark of night. We are captive in the dark
of night,

...in eisiger Nacht.

Chorus II [revised: *Chorus Leader*]

...in ice cold night.

All Choruses, alternating

Vergehen, zerfallen wird unser Stern. Wird sind dem
Tod ins Netz gegangen. Weh, weh! Weh, weh! Weh,
weh! [Weh, weh!]

Fade and fall into ruin will our star. Into death's net have we
gone. Woe, woe! Woe, woe! Woe, Woe! [Woe, woe!]

Das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende,
das Ende, das Ende.

Chorus Leader

This is the end, this is the end, this is the end, the end, the end.

Weh, weh! Weh, weh! Weh, weh! [Weh, weh!]	<i>All Choruses, alternating</i> Woe, woe! Woe, woe! Woe, Woe! [Woe, woe!]
[Das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende, das Ende, das Ende.]	[<i>Chorus Leader</i> This is the end, this is the end, this is the end, the end, the end.]
Das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende, das ist das Ende, das Ende der Welt.	<i>All Choruses, eventually joined by Chorus Leader</i> This is the end, this is the end, this is the end, the end of the world.
<i>(agitato, pauroso)</i> Wie überfällt uns das Ende Heimlich, tückisch, bei nachtschlafender Zeit!	<i>All Choruses, alternating, Sopranos and Contraltos</i> (agitated, frightened) How the end surprises us, secret, insidious, late at night-time!
<i>(eccitato)</i> Wir sind nicht bereitet. Parati non summus. Wir fallen aus der Zeit, am Ende aller Zeit. <i>(disperatamente)</i> Nihil restat...	<i>All Choruses, Men and Women alternating then together</i> (excited) We are not prepared. We are not prepared. We fall out of Time, at the end of Time. (desperately) Nothing withstands...
Nihil restat nisi nunc.	<i>Chorus III, Contraltos and Basses</i> Nothing withstands if not now.
Nihil restat...	<i>All Choruses</i> Nothing withstands...
Nihil restat nisi nunc, nihil aliud nisi nunc.	<i>Chorus III, Contraltos and Basses</i> Nothing withstands if not now, nothing else if not now.
Nunc, hic et nunc, hic et hoc, hic et hic, hicine...	<i>All Choruses</i> Now, here and now, here and at present, here and here, is this... (<i>screams</i>)
Nunc, hic et nunc, hic et hoc, hic et huc, hucine...	Now, here and now, here and at present, here and to this point, so far... (<i>screams</i>)
Nunc, hic et nunc, hic et hoc, hic et hac, hactenus...	Now, here and now, here and at present, here and this way, to this point... (<i>screams</i>)
<i>(veemente)</i> Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie!	(vehement) Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord! Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord!
Serva nos, salva nos...	<i>Chorus Leader</i> Watch over us, save us...
Eripe nos!	<i>All Choruses</i> Deliver us!

Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie!

(disperatamente)
διαέκδιεκπεραίνειν

(furibundo)
κατάπαυε
Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie!

[Mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende!
Pausa breve]

Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie!

(molto eccitato)
Mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende!

Pausa lunghissima. [revised: Langes vergebliches
Warten—große Stille]

Kyrie! Kyrie! Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie!
(scatenato)
Mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende, mach ein Ende!

Mach ein Ende!

Pausa lunghissima. [revised: *Angstvolles Warten,*
wie vorher.]

Angor, timor, horror, terror ac pavor invadit omnes.

(sfrenato)
Wir finden kein Wort, keinen Spruch, keinen Bann,
keinen Eid, keinen Fluch, keinen Schwur, keinen
Zwang.

[*scongiurando*]
Omne genus daemoniorum caecorum, claudorum sive
confusorum, attendite issum meorum et vocationem
verborum. [Vos attestor, vos contestor per
timendum, per tremendum diem iudicii, eterni
supplicii, diem miseriae, perennis tristitiae. Per nomen

Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord!

(desperately)
To bring an end and go through with it,

All Choruses
(furiously)
Put an end to it.
Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord!

[First version of score only: Make an end, make an end, make
an end! *Followed by brief pause.*]

Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord!]

All Choruses [revised: *Chorus Leader*]
(very excited)
Make an end, make an end, make an end!

Very long pause. [revised: Long, futile waiting—great
stillness.]

All Choruses
Lord! Lord! Lord, Lord, Lord!
(crazed)
Make an end, make an end, make an end!

Chorus Leader
Make an end!

Very long pause, as before. [revised: Anxious waiting, as
before.]

Chorus II then All Choruses, Basses and Other Parts
alternating
[revised: *All Choruses, Basses and Other Parts alternating*
revised versions, this passage is shortened.]
Anguish, fear, dread, alarm, and panic seize everyone.

All Choruses, alternating and then together
(wild)
We find no word, no phrase, no spell, no oath, no curse, no
vow, no obligation.

Chorus Leader
[imploringly]
Every kind of demon, blind, lame or confused: attend my
command and the invitation of my words. [I attest you, I call
you to witness, through the day that is to be feared, the awe-
inspiring day of judgment, of never-ending supplication, the
day of misery, of everlasting gloom. Through the remarkable

mirabile atque ineffabile, Dei Tetragrammaton, vos
exorcizo:] ἀπολύετε δεινὰ ὄνειράτα.

(*disperato* [revised: *eccitato disperato*])
ἀπολύετε δεινὰ ὄνειράτα.

*Aus dem Hintergrund mächtiges Aufleuchten der
Flammen des Tartarus.*

Vae, vae, vae. Vae, Portae Inferi.

(*smisurato*)
Oculus aspicit nos tenebrarius, tenebris, tenebris.

[Vae, vae, vae. Vae,] Portae Inferi.

Grido immenso [e gridi selvaggi].

*Lucifer erscheint hoch inmitten der Hauptbühne,
[revised: seine Kleidung und Rüstung sind
schwarzglänzend. Drachenhelm, weiter Mantel,
Gesichtsmaske.] Er steht mit ausgebreiteten Armen,
gleich riesigen Fledermaus flügeln.*

Pater peccavi.

*Ein Lichtstrahl trifft Lucifer; die Gesichtsmaske fällt
herab. [revised: Ein Lichtstrahl trifft die
Gesichtsmaske, die herabfällt.] Man sieht ein
blühendes Gesicht. Zugleich verdunkelt sich die
übrige Bühne.*

Pater peccavi.

*Wieder ein Lichtstrahl von oben; Der Mantel fällt ab.
[in revised: ...Mantel und Krallen fallen ab.]*

Pater peccavi.

*Lucifer steht ganz im Licht; er ist der Lucifer von
einst.
[revised: Lucifer steht ganz im Licht. Er nimmt den
Helm ab. Großes rotflutendes Haar. Er ist wieder
Lucifer von einst.]*

Vox Mundana

and unutterable name, the Tetragrammaton of God, I charge
you:] Release your terrible dreams.

All Choruses
(desperate [revised: desperate and excited])
Release your terrible dreams.

*From the background, a powerful lighting up of the flames of
Tartarus.*

All Choruses, alternating and then together
Alas, alas, alas. Alas, the Gates of the Underworld.

Chorus Leader
(enormous)
The dark eye looks upon us, in darkness, in darkness.

All Choruses, alternating and then together
[Alas, alas, alas. Alas,] the Gates of the Underworld.

Immense [and wild] screaming.

*Lucifer appears high in the middle of the top stage, [revised:
his clothing and armor are polished black. Dragon helmet,
long coat, facemask.] He stands with outspread arms, like
giant bat wings.*

Lucifer
Father, I have sinned.

*A beam of light hits Lucifer; his facemask falls down. [revised:
A beam of light hits the facemask, which falls down.] A
blossoming face is seen. At the same time the rest of the stage
darkens.*

Lucifer
Father, I have sinned.

*Again a beam of light from above; his mantel falls off.
[revised: ...the mantel and claws fall off.]*

Lucifer
Father, I have sinned.

*Lucifer stands totally in light; he is the Lucifer he once was.
[revised: Lucifer stands totally in light. He takes off his helmet.
Great, flowing red hair. He is the Lucifer he once was.]*

The Earthly Voice
(pre-recorded in original [revised: in orchestra pit])

(*Tenero, con sublime entusiasmo* [revised: *tutti tenero con pronuncia molto chiara*])
Venio...

(*dolce espressivo, in estasi* [revised: *intenso*])
...ad Te. Tu Paraclitus es.

[*Vox Mundana*
Venio...]

(*appassionato* [revised: *molto insistente*])
[You are the Paraclete,] and the ultimate goal.

Vox Mundana
Venio...

Allmählich wachsendes Licht von oben.

Voces caelestes

(*da molto lontano* [revised: *molto lontano*])
τὰ πάντα νοῦς.

(tenderly, with sublime enthusiasm [revised: all tenderly, with very clear pronunciation])
I come...

Tenor Solo
(pre-recorded in original [revised: in orchestra pit])
(sweetly, expressively, in ecstasy, [revised: intense])
...to you. You are the Paraclete.

[*The Earthly Voice*
I come...]

Contralto Solo
(pre-recorded in original [revised: in orchestra pit])
(passionate [revised: very insistent])
[Tu Paraclitus es] et summus finis.

The Earthly Voice
I come...

Gradually growing light from above.

Heavenly Voices
(pre-recorded, boys and tenors, as from a great distance)
[revised: boys' choir with two soloists, from as high as possible (the cupola)]

(from a great distance)
All is perception.

Textual Sources of *De Temporum Fine Comoedia*

The following information was compiled by Werner Thomas in the Libretto of *De Temporum Fine Comoedia* (Schott, BN 3643-90). All texts in the Libretto not here listed are by Carl Orff.

Act I

All texts are from the *Sibylline Oracles* except for the final line.

There is one God, without chief, immensely great, unbegotten;	Fragment 1, Line 7
But one God alone...and the swells of the water of the sea.	Fragment 3, Lines 3–5
But he himself fixed the impression...mixed the nature of all.	Fragment 5, entire
Imperishable founder...raising bile and wrath.	Fragment 3, Lines 17–19
When the great wrath comes...serving as God's interpreter.	Book VIII, Lines 1–3
For he will have come...and it will be as I proclaim.	Book II, Lines 182–183
For then there will be confusion...and the entire world.	Book VIII, Lines 81–83
At hand is the end of the world, and the very last day.	Book VIII, Line 91
Alas for however many... and ashes will cover everything.	Book II, Lines 193–205
Late in the day the millstones...the hateful sorrow to peace.	Book VIII, Line 13–24
But the earth will have borders...provided another era.	Book VIII, Lines 27–36
For all together...bringing to an end the time of their life.	Book VIII, Lines 107–109
And they will atone...destroyed, for all eternity.	Book II, Lines 251–255
But thereafter in the dark of night... is without measure.	Book II, Lines 290–292
And then they will bewail...as they committed.	Book II, Lines 297–305
And they will call out...give them rest.	Book II, Lines 307–308
Attend to me...the eternal Lord reigns.	Fragment 4, entire
When he comes...the middle of the dark, blackened night.	Fragment 6, entire
And no longer will exist...nor the late autumn.	Book II, Lines 88–90
The night will be dark...by a great earthquake.	Book IV, Line 56
Then at that time all the elements...into one all-dark form.	Book VIII, Lines 337–340
But at some time from above...the sound of God's voice.	Book V, Lines 344–345
For I shall melt all things down...and those impiously.	Book VIII, Lines 412–416
Mighty and everlasting God...throughout the world.	Book III, Lines 698–700
But when the world has been destroyed....	Book VIII, Line 216
But the starless sky remains....	Book V, Line 531
But the fire will disgrace the lawless men for ages.	Book VIII, Line 228
The wicked will go into Gehenna, of eternal fire.	<i>Sibylla tiburtina</i> , Cod. Escor. DI 3, v. J. 1047

Act II

The end of all things will be the annulment of offenses. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, Book VIII, 72
I call on you, Blessed One...to the silent souls. *Hymns of Orpheus*, No. 86, Lines 1–6

Act III

Anguish, fear, dread, alarm and panic seize everyone. Carl Orff, evidently modeled on
Every kind of demon...I charge you: Orlando di Lasso.³
Carmina Burana, Poem 54 (XXX),
lines
1–4, 15, 21–24, 27–28, 30

³ The first of the three pieces for a *cappella* men's chorus in *Sunt Lacrimae Rerum* (1956), the third of Orff's *Concento di voci*, contains the following text from di Lasso, also in the context of the end of the world: *Mors, dolor, luctus et pavor invadit omnes* ("Death, pain, grief, and panic seize everyone.") Thomas, however, does not cite this.

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