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**PATRONAGE AND RECEPTION HISTORY OF
AMERICAN EXPERIMENTAL MUSIC IN WEST GERMANY,
1945-1986**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Music: Musicology)
in The University of Michigan
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Doctoral Committee:

**Professor Richard Crawford, Chair
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*Each more melodious note I hear
Brings this reproach to me,
That I alone afford the ear,
Who would the music be.*

Henry David Thoreau

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Danke, Ralf

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archival Sources:

- [AHB] **America House, Berlin**
- [BAB] ***Bauhaus Archiv*, Berlin**
- [BPA] **Berlin Philharmonic Archive, Berlin**
- [HHS/BAdK] **Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt Correspondence Archive, at *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin**
- [HR] ***Hessischer Rundfunk*, Records and Sound Archive, Frankfurt**
- [IMD] ***International Musikinstitut Darmstadt* (including Press Files and Correspondence Archives)**
- [JCC] **John Cage Correspondence, Northwestern University Music Library, Evanston, Illinois.**
- [RB] ***Radio Bremen* Files of Records and Correspondence**
- [SIM] ***Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin**

Other:

- ARD ***Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands* (union of public radio stations in West Germany)**
- BR ***Bayerischer Rundfunk* (Bavarian Radio), Munich**
- DF ***Deutschlandfunk* (German Radio), Cologne**
- DIAS ***Drahtfunk im amerikanischen Sektor* (Wireless Radio in the American Sector), Berlin**
- DM ***Deutsch Marks***
- EBU **European Broadcasting Union**
- FAZ ***Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt General Newspaper)**

| | |
|--------------|--|
| HICOG | United States High Commissioner of Germany, 1949-53 |
| HR | <i>Hessischer Rundfunk</i> (Hessian Radio), Frankfurt |
| IFNM | <i>Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik</i> (Holiday Courses for New Music), Darmstadt |
| ISCM | International Society for Contemporary Music |
| MEV | Musica Elettronica Viva |
| NDR | <i>Norddeutscher Rundfunk</i> (North German Radio), Hamburg and Hannover |
| NWDR | <i>Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk</i> (later: NDR and WDR) |
| OMGUS | Office of the Military Government of the United States, 1945-49 |
| RB | <i>Radio Bremen</i> |
| RIAS | <i>Radio im amerikanischen Sektor</i> (Radio in the American Sector), Berlin |
| SDR | <i>Süddeutscher Rundfunk</i> (Southern German Radio), Stuttgart |
| SFB | <i>Sender Freies Berlin</i> |
| SR | <i>Saarländischer Rundfunk</i> (Saarland Radio), Saarbrücken |
| SWF | <i>Südwestfunk</i> (South West Radio), Baden-Baden |
| TAT | <i>Theater am Turm</i>, Frankfurt |
| WDR | <i>Westdeutscher Rundfunk</i> (West German Radio), Cologne |

NOTE: All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

INTRODUCTION

I can't imagine my music without Europe. [. . .] I would conduct a piece for WDR and they would *pay* me!

(Earle Brown, 23 June 1998)

Germany is where the money is. [. . .] There are practically no opportunities at all in this country--you are happy just to have your music played. But you didn't get any money for having it played.

(Christian Wolff, 26 June 1997)

If I'm honest with myself, I have to admit that I have been able to survive largely through German radio, and a forty-person network.

(Frederic Rzewski, 2 April 1998)

West Germany and American Experimental Music

In 1985, the musicologist Hermann Danuser wrote an article on American musical modernism during the 1950s, in an attempt "to remedy [the] one-sidedness of the European reception." Danuser saw that "the music culture in the United States at the middle of our century is made up of many diverse personalities, traditional resources and tendencies that have not yet been fully received in Europe in their whole breadth; here [in Europe], the 'avant-garde' was over-accented at the expense of the 'modern,' the experimental preferred over the not-experimental."¹ He went on to write that in Europe--

¹ "Die Musikkultur der USA stellt sich um die Mitte unseres Jahrhunderts in einer überaus großen Mannigfaltigkeit von Persönlichkeiten, Traditionsbeständen und Tendenzen dar, die in Europa bisher nicht in ihrer gesamten Breite rezipiert worden ist. Hier wurde die 'Avantgarde' auf Kosten der 'Moderne' überakzentuiert, die

contrary to the United States--Cage was better known than Carter, Brown more important than Babbitt, Feldman more fascinating than Sessions, Cowell more famous than Copland.² While living in Germany during the early 1990s, I soon became aware that in German new music circles, performances and discussions of American *experimental* music overshadowed all other contemporary American classical music. Different values were clearly operating in Germany for promoting and appraising new music. Yet, beyond recognition that there was indeed a difference, I could not find a good answer to the question: **What historical events explain the unchallenged prominence of American experimental music within West Germany's new music community?** This study addresses that question by documenting American experimental composers' activities in West Germany and by examining the activities of German supporters of American experimental music between 1945 and 1986. In the process, I hope to prove three hypotheses:

1. American experimental composers received considerable support in West Germany;

*experimentelle gegenüber der nichtexperimentellen Neuen Musik bevorzugt. Der vorliegende Beitrag über die amerikanische Moderne versteht sich als Versuch, dieser Einseitigkeit der europäischen Rezeption entgegenzuwirken." Hermann Danuser, "Plädoyer für die Moderne: Über die amerikanische Musik der fünfziger Jahre," *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (22 November 1985): 41-2 [IMD]. Danuser's essay was also published under a slightly different title in *Die Musik der 50er Jahre*, Carl Dahlhaus, ed. (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1985): 21-38.*

² "Ein Blick auf die Publizistik der Neuen Musik macht deutlich, daß in der europäischen Rezeption der vergangenen 25 Jahre, übrigens sehr im Gegensatz zur amerikanischen, John Cage bekannter gewesen ist als Elliott Carter, Earle Brown wichtiger als Milton Babbitt, Morton Feldman faszinierender als Roger Sessions, Henry Cowell berühmter als Aaron Copland." Danuser, "Plädoyer für die Moderne," 41 [IMD].

2. That support energized those composers' careers, allowing them to earn money with their music, to gain exposure abroad, and to compose large works;
3. German support of American classical music favored experimental music over all other kinds.

In an article written two years later, Danuser identified central themes in comparisons between American experimentalism and the European musical avant-garde.

He wrote:

As for America, where 'tradition' is not nearly as deeply and tightly anchored as it is in Europe, [Peter] Bürger's conception of the avant-garde's break with "the institution of art" must be considered in a modified form. Within a--as yet unwritten--social history of the musical avant-garde, the point of difference between Europe and the United States would be the following: in Europe, the avant-garde's position of revolt won its strength through opposition to the dominant culture and its ideal of opus-oriented art music. But, in a country whose expanse and openness imply a much more heterogeneous society, the avant-garde is more in the position of an individual loner, a position that is made possible and accepted by the majority.³

It is not the purpose of this study to examine the validity of influential postwar aesthetic theories such as Theodor W. Adorno's *Philosophy of Modern Music* (1949), or Peter Bürger's *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1974), mentioned above by Danuser, nor to

³ "Im Blick auf Amerika nun, wo die 'Tradition' längst nicht so einheitlich tief und historisch fest verankert war wie in Europa, muß die Bürgersche Vorstellung einer Absage der Avantgarde an die 'Institution Kunst' modifiziert betrachtet werden. Innerhalb einer (noch ungeschriebenen) Sozialgeschichte der musikalischen Avantgarde wäre als Differenzpunkt zwischen Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten wohl vor allem die Tatsache zu akzentuieren, daß die revoltierende Haltung der Avantgarde, die in Europa ihre Kraft aus der Opposition gegen die herrschende Kultur mit ihrem opusbezogenen Kunstmusikideal gewann, in einem Land, dessen Weite und Offenheit eine ungleich heterogenere Gesellschaft implizieren, eher den Stellenwert einer individuellen Abweichung im Sinne einer möglichen, von der Mehrheit letztlich akzeptierten Einzelgänger-Position hat." Hermann Danuser, "Gegen-Traditionen der

establish new definitions for avant-garde or experimental music. Rather, Danuser's second statement provides a point of departure for my investigation because it reveals two key assumptions about where Germans place themselves and Americans with respect to new artistic trends. Comparisons of European and American music by German historians and theorists tend to share these basic ideas:

1. The European avant-garde artist functions in a modernist paradigm framed by a "tradition" based on "works" of art, created by single authors, referring to that same tradition through an established or modified system;
2. The American avant-garde artist functions in an egalitarian, heterogeneous society where individuals create their own artistic frameworks, and American society is built on, and values such diversity. Individuality is endemic to a country as physically vast and "open" as the United States.

West Germans' belief in this difference, especially on the part of those supporting and evaluating American experimental music, lies at the heart of the following story.

Experimentalism, Patronage, and New Music

Like any musical category, experimental music is hard to define. Each defining trait allows many exceptions. However, I offer several attributes that set the experimental composers apart from other American composers; some of these attributes are central to the West German reception of American experimental music. Experimental composers are often those who adopted neither neoclassical nor serial compositional styles, techniques, or gestures during the twentieth century. Though some did hold university

Avantgarde," *Amerikanische Musik seit Charles Ives*, Hermann Danuser, Dietrich

jobs and many were Ivy League-trained, they are considered neither academics nor important composition teachers in the mold of Milton Babbitt, Ross Lee Finney, Howard Hanson, Walter Piston, or Roger Sessions. Experimental composers created new sound sources, new formal structures, and new performance practices while developing their own means of publicity, performance and distribution. By necessity, they became performers. Many of them denied or defied analysis. Some called into question the notion of formal concert music and introduced extensive improvisation to classical composition, changing the rules of the concert ritual. Experimental composers are sometimes described as outsiders, rugged individualists, mavericks, and iconoclasts. Under scrutiny, such descriptions often lose force. While historians and critics have constructed this somewhat distorted image, they have not been alone in doing so. The composers themselves have played a role, many having downplayed their institutional connections, historical awareness, high level of training, and artistic sophistication. Yet there was a difference--sometimes subtle and sometimes overt--between experimental American composers and other American composers, and an awareness of that difference seems to have been heightened in West Germany. In some cases, the degree to which an American composer was seen to be *too European* reduced his or her appeal for German new music audiences.

While teaching a class at the University of Michigan on experimental music in the United States I saw that the music I taught was connected to European patronage. Many of these pieces had been commissioned, premiered, recorded, and analyzed in Germany. From the end of the Second World War in 1945 through the Cold War and into the 1980s,

Kämper and Paul Terse, eds. (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1987), 102.

changes in musical attitudes there were linked to the power balance in the patronage system. Until recently, Germany's economic growth and stability ensured that there was money in the State's budget for extensive cultural sponsorship. Attitudes about the radical character of some American music were closely linked to the social and political climate in Germany, a climate that affected the careers of many American experimentalists.

Since the idea of *patronage* looms large in this study, it seems appropriate to explain how it will be used in this dissertation. For my purposes, West German patronage of American experimental music includes support for American experimental composers in the following ways:

1. Performing, recording, programming, and broadcasting music by American experimental composers;
2. Inviting American experimental composers to West Germany for performances of their music and for speaking engagements;
3. Supplying financial support to American experimental composers through honoraria, commissions, and royalties;
4. Organizing festivals of American experimental music or on the work of particular composers;
5. Creating new venues in part for the performance of American experimental music;
6. Publishing texts or broadcasting educational documentaries on the radio and on television about American experimental music;
7. Encouraging and commissioning the production of scholarly and critical writings on American experimental music.

The interest and curiosity of a few West German musicians led to support for many Americans. Such support may be seen on both institutional and private levels. Patrons such as Wolfgang Steinecke, Hans Otte, Walter Bachauer and Ernstalbrecht Stiebler worked in state-supported cultural institutions (IFNM, RB, RIAS, and HR,

respectively), while Mary Bauermeister, Josef Anton Riedl, Walter Zimmermann, and others established alternative performance venues for American experimental music, though they too were sometimes supported by such institutions as radio stations. Whether inside or outside of large institutions, patronage of American experimental music in West Germany may be traced directly to a handful of supporters.

Patrons of American experimental music in West Germany are part of a group I refer to here as a *new music* community, a subgroup of the larger community of classical music performers, impresarios, scholars, critics, and patrons. In this study, *new music* is loosely defined as classical music composed after the Second World War. However, in West Germany, new music is closely connected to the idea of an avant-garde movement; in order for music to be *new* it must challenge existing musical boundaries in some way. During the 1950s, one could justify including music by Aaron Copland or Samuel Barber, for example, in new music programs. Yet as time went on, their works were gradually replaced by more radical music. By the end of the 1950s in West Germany, young composers made up the core of the new music community, and they worked closely with performers who specialized in contemporary music, radio directors in charge of new music departments, and musicologists, critics, and aesthetic theorists who evaluated the composers' work. Most of the key figures in this story balanced such roles as composer, performer, festival organizer, radio employee, musicologist, and critic.

Chapter Organization and Historical Periods

Many people I spoke with in the course of my research insisted that other countries--especially England, France, Holland, Italy, and Japan--were just as significant to the story of American experimental music's foreign patronage as West Germany. This may be true. However, Germany and America have a unique musical relationship. On one hand, Germany's presence in American classical music venues from the 1840s on deeply influenced America's musical life. On the other, the U.S. occupation of West Germany after the fall of the Third Reich also made a large impact.

This study divides the postwar and Cold War eras in West Germany into four periods that reflect changing attitudes toward American music. The first period lasted from 1945 to 1958. Chapter One surveys the "Zero Hour" and the initial period of occupation and reconstruction in West Germany after the Second World War. Chapter Two traces the arrival of American experimental music in Germany, culminating with John Cage's appearance in Darmstadt in 1958. Between 1954 and 1958, the idea of an American experimental music tradition--linking Ives, Varèse, Cowell, Cage, and other composers closely connected to Cage--entered new music discourse in West Germany. Chapter Three examines several general issues connected to the idea of American experimental music in both the United States and West Germany. The second period (1959-70) then reveals Cage's influence in new music circles in West Germany. Chapters Four and Five examine how German composers, musicians, critics and patrons reacted to American experimentalism--some in favor of it and some strongly opposed. The third period (1968-76) overlaps with the volatile years of the Vietnam War, when new music

from America was caught up in a political cause in search of music that reflected and encouraged social interaction. Chapter Six focuses on 1972 as a watershed year during which performances of American music in West Germany nearly tripled, establishing American experimental music's firm place in new music festivals throughout the country. During the fourth period, between 1977 and 1985, new music changed course again after minimalism arrived in West Germany. The final chapter of this study examines the rise of Morton Feldman's popularity during the 1980s (Chapter Seven).

The four periods outlined here resemble historical periods identified by a number of German and American scholars. The German composer and musicologist Dieter Schnebel sees German music in a struggle between tradition and progress.⁴ He too divides the postwar decades into four periods, marked by the following years: 1950, a time of "breaking out;" 1958, as the start of the "Cage shock;" 1968, as the beginning of a student revolution that influenced both the creation and dissemination of new music; and 1975, as the start of a period during which emotion and tradition found a new place in avant-garde composition. Frauke M. Heß also sees four periods for contemporary music in Germany since 1945, and defines those intervals through dominant musical changes taking place in those years:

- 1945-57: Articulation of structural thinking;
- 1958-65: Destruction of the concept of "works" of art;
- 1966-74: Integration of non-musical references;
- 1975-89: Subjectivity and internalization.⁵

⁴ Dieter Schnebel, "Die Tradition des Fortschritts und der Fortschritt der Tradition: Ein Erfahrungsbericht (1985/1989)," in *Dieter Schnebel: Anschläge--Ausschläge, Texte zur Neuen Musik* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1993), 113-27.

⁵ Frauke M Heß, *Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzert der achtziger Jahre* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1994), 14. The notion of a "work" of art

In contrast, Ulrich Dibelius identifies only two major turning points during this forty-year period, namely the onset of serialism in the early 1950s beginning seven years after the end of W.W. II, and the reconsideration of traditional forms and musical gestures around 1975--often called "new simplicity" or "new tonality"--about seven years after a major social upheaval, namely the West European student revolutions of 1968.⁶ The German music historian Helga de la Motte-Haber, a prolific writer on American music in Germany, singled out Germany's confrontations with American jazz, John Cage, minimalism, and the synthesis of avant-garde music with entertainment (as in Laurie Anderson's theatrical concerts) as the four most influential moments in West German-American musical interaction. In her words: "Europe imports only that which appears new."⁷ As expressed by many of these writers, the alternation of progress and tradition, emotion and abstraction, structure and destruction, and external and internal influences

(*Werkbegriff*) is part of an aesthetic that considers a composition to be a closed system with structural integrity and a tight relationship between the written score and the aural result. Naturally, indeterminate works, graphic notation and composing with chance methods (and in fact, any music that relies on improvisation) challenges this concept, which is rooted in Hegel's aesthetic theory, was developed by Adorno, and perpetuated by Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan.

⁶ Ulrich Dibelius, "Positions--Reactions--Confusions: The Second Wave of German Music after 1945," in *Contemporary Music Review* 12/1 (1995): 13-24.

⁷ "Importiert wird in Europa allerdings nur, was neu erscheint." Helga de la Motte-Haber, "Interkontinentale Verschiebungen," in *Neue Musik in Amerika: Über Traditionslosigkeit und Traditionslastigkeit*, Otto Kolleritsch, ed. (Vienna: Universal Editions, 1994), 22.

suggest a dialectical process favored by cultural historians and critics alike in Germany for explaining historical development.⁸

Sources: Interviews, Archives, Literature

No one source documents the support American experimental composers found in West Germany. Several German texts discuss the reception of American music there, but the consequences of that support for the history of American music have yet to be examined from an American perspective. Since patronage was my foremost concern, I set out to document what happened where, when, and with whom. I began with interviews. My American interviewees emphasized German patronage as a necessary source of income. In the interviews I conducted in Germany, my informants often named the same group of people as being responsible for American experimental music's presence in German new music circles. They repeatedly named Bachauer, Metzger, Oehlschlägel, Otte, Riedl, Schnebel, Stiebler, and Zimmermann--none of whom are well-known in the United States, despite the large role many of them played in the development of the overseas careers of certain American composers. The locations of their work spanned all corners of Germany, from Munich in the south to Bremen in the

⁸ In Germany, Cage and Feldman are often connected with the idea of dialectics. See Bálint András Varga, "These, Antithese, Synthese: Ein Doppelgespräch mit John Cage und Morton Feldman," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1 (January 1986): 25-7; Ursula Sturzbecher, "In dialektischer Spannung: Konzert des SEM Ensembles in der Akademie (zum Cage-Jahr 1972)," *Spandauer Volksblatt* (9 February 1972); and Walter Zimmermann und Stefan Schädler, "Stille und Lärm--zu einer aktuellen negativen Dialektik," *Positionen* 10 (1992): 3-7.

north, from Cologne in the west to West Berlin in the east, and with Frankfurt holding down the center. Nevertheless, it often seemed as if all *Autobahnen* led to Darmstadt.

Darmstadt set the stage for my investigation of the decades that followed the war. My first visit to the new music archives there convinced me that I had to uncover the roots of postwar relationships between the United States and Germany before I could write about American experimental music there. In the Darmstadt archives I found documents that showed extensive American involvement in rebuilding Germany's cultural life after the war, including the radio broadcasting system that became a main venue for new music. As I worked my way through 1950s documents held at other archives, it became apparent that the cultural infrastructure the Americans put in place in the late 1940s and early 1950s soon became an important means of support for American composers. However, my dissertation was guided in part by my ability to document this history. Given the rich state of documentation in Darmstadt and Bremen, those cities' stories are told here in much detail. Regretfully, however, several important venues--including the radio stations *Südwestfunk* in Baden-Baden and *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* in Cologne--remain, for the moment, conspicuously absent.

A number of German-language texts offer valuable ideas on American music's influence and reception in Germany. Helga de la Motte-Haber's essay "From the New World: The Reception of American Music in Europe" (1987) examines the history of cultural exchange and suggests reasons for the blinkered view of American music from a

German perspective.⁹ Hermann Danuser's texts (mentioned above) also consider American music within the history of twentieth-century European music. What is lacking from these historical accounts, however, is concrete information on why American composers were in Europe in the first place: who invited them, who paid their way, what institutions sponsored these performances, and why. On the other hand, from the angle of compositional development and international influence, the history of European interaction with American experimentalists has been well documented by both theorists and musicologists.¹⁰

Two books indirectly related to my topic helped shape my thinking about international relationships in the arts. Both are English translations of cultural investigations conducted by European scholars; both focused on how manipulation of national ideals shapes the reception of culture, and how the historical context of cultural ideology shapes our notion of nationalism. The first, Serge Guilbaut's *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), examines how America's mid-century

⁹ de la Motte-Haber, "Aus der Neuen Welt: Die Rezeption der amerikanischen Musik in Europa," in *Amerikanische Musik seit Charles Ives*, Hermann Danuser, Dietrich Kämper and Paul Terse, eds. (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1987), 113-25.

¹⁰ The following texts are just a few of many that discuss compositional influence between American and European composers after 1945: Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (New York: Schirmer, 1974); Joaquim M. Benitez, "Avant-Garde or Experimental? Classifying Contemporary Music," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 9/1 (Zagreb, 1978): 53-76; Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988); Niksa Gligo, "Die musikalische Avantgarde als ahistorische Utopie: Die gescheiterten Implikationen der experimentellen Musik," *Acta Musicologica* 61 (February 1989): 217-37; Jean Jacques Nattiez, ed., *The Boulez-Cage Correspondence*, trans. Robert Samuels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After: Directions Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

policies contradicted, yet used, the intellectual framework of abstract art. Though Guilbaut's book is about the visual arts, it nonetheless provides a model for approaching politics as they relate to the production and dissemination of art at any given time and in any given context, and for determining how patronage systems in certain ideological frameworks reflect both subtle and overt control of seemingly autonomous artistic expression. The second book, Dan Diner's *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), examines the roots and results of Germany's long-held views of the United States and its inhabitants. By outlining how America has been consistently portrayed as a land without culture, Diner's study provides a scholarly explanation for phenomena I have experienced first-hand during fifteen years of interaction with Germany and Germans.

Before the War

German interaction with American music did not begin in 1945 during the Zero Hour. Rather it stretches back to America's colonial era. Particularly during the mid-late nineteenth century, American musicians studying in Germany and German musicians working in the United States contributed to cultural stereotypes on both sides of the Atlantic. Amy Fay (1844-1928), an American pianist who studied with Carl Tausig and Franz Liszt in Berlin and Weimar between 1869-75, recalled that "playing like an American" was considered an insult, while the American editor of Fay's letters home, first published in German in 1882, considered Germany the "only real home of music,"

and thus a necessary place of study for American musicians.¹¹ The German choral conductor and friend of conductor Theodore Thomas, Hugo Kaun (1863-1932), like many of his countrymen, saw “the land of freedom” as provincial when compared with the cultural sophistication of Europe. He came to know the musical provinces intimately after moving to the northern midwest in 1887. As soon as he had saved one hundred dollars he rented a theater and an orchestra to put on an evening of his own music in Chicago (on 26 February 1889); Kaun proudly believed that it was the first concert of its kind in the United States.¹² Two late-nineteenth-century studies of music in the United States, Max Goldstein’s “The State of Public Support of Music in the United States” (*Der Stand der öffentlichen Musikpflege in den Vereinigten Staaten*, 1880) and John Cornelius Griggs’ “Studies on Music in America” (*Studien über die Musik in Amerika*, 1894), both depicted American musical life as somewhat primitive and almost totally dependent on Germany.¹³ As we will see, views of American musical life as underdeveloped continued well into the twentieth century.

¹¹ See Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 352.

¹² Hugo Kaun, *Aus meinem Leben: Erlebtes und Erlauschtes* (Berlin: Linos Verlag, 1932), 42.

¹³ See Max Goldstein, *Der Stand der öffentlichen Musikpflege in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1880); and John Cornelius Griggs, *Studien über die Musik in Amerika (Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894)*. Griggs was born in Minnesota in 1865. Beginning in 1891 he studied in Leipzig, where he earned a doctorate in “History, Theory, and Practice of Music.” He was later a friend of Charles Ives in New York, where they worked together in Center Church. See also Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Scribner’s, 1890).

Especially during the Weimar Republic (1918-33), Germans saw America as a symbol of the future and as a model for democracy.¹⁴ By the mid-1920s, interest in radical artistic styles had grown. Henry Cowell toured Europe several times before the Third Reich began restricting performances of modern music around 1933; he also studied non-Western music in Berlin with Erich von Hornbostel before the war.¹⁵ When he performed his new piano works in Berlin in 1923, Hugo Leichtentritt considered Cowell “the only American representative of musical modernism.”¹⁶ Leichtentritt’s statement foreshadowed views held more than a half a century later that American experimentalists were the only composers of true American music. Performances of pieces such as the German-born American composer Ernest Bloch’s “Epic Rhapsody” *America* (1927), given by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1930, underscored Germany’s romantic interest in America as an exotic cultural landscape (see Figure 0.1). The three sections of Bloch’s award-winning choral symphony depicted key eras of American history: the pilgrims and the settling of the land (1620), the Civil War (1861-65), and Bloch’s contemporary America, with its look to the future (1926). The writer of the program notes for *America* pointed out that Bloch’s inclusion of a Walt Whitman

¹⁴ “Amerika erschien während der von Krisen geschüttelten Weimarer Zeit als Sinnbild einer funktionierenden Demokratie; es schien schlichtweg mit dem Begriff Futur gleichwertig.” de la Motte-Haber, “Aus der Neuen Welt,” 116.

¹⁵ In addition to Cowell, several other American composers spent time in Germany before the Second World War, including George Antheil, Marc Blitzstein, Ruth Crawford, John Evarts, Everett Helm, Conlon Nancarrow, Roger Sessions, and Adolph Weiss. In addition, Edgard Varèse lived in Berlin from 1908 until 1914.

¹⁶ Hugo Leichtentritt as quoted by Rita Mead, *Henry Cowell’s New Music, 1925-1936: the Society, the Music Editions, and the Recordings* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 27.

poem showed "how the idea of American freedom has become a stimulus for musical invention."¹⁷

Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde zu Berlin E.V.

PHILHARMONIE

Sonnabend, den 29. November 1930, abends 8 Uhr

II. Konzert mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester

Dirigent: **Dr. HEINZ UNGER**

Solist:

MORIZ ROSENTHAL

Vortragsfolge

I. *Symphonie Nr. 40, D-dur* Mozart

(Köchel Nr. 504)

Adagio — Allegro
Andante
Finale (Presto)

II. *Klavier-Konzert Nr. 1, e-moll* Chopin

Allegro maestoso
Romanse (Larghetto)
Rondo (Vivace)

III. *„America“* Ernest Bloch

Epische Rhapsodie in drei Teilen (für großes Orchester)

Erstausführung in Berlin

1. 1620

The Soul — The Indians — England —
The Mayflower — The Landing of the Pilgrims

2. 1861—65

Hour of Joy — Hour of Sorrow

3. 1926

The Present — The Future

Blüthner-Konzertflügel 

B-Neumann, Kurfürstendamm 225

Celesta von Schiedmayer, Kurfürstendamm 233

III. Konzert: Donnerstag, den 15. Januar 1931, abends 8 Uhr, in der Philharmonie

Gastdirigent: **Igor Strawinsky**

Programm: Suite de Pulcinella. Le chant du Rossignol. Le Baiser de la Fée

Konzertdirektion Geo Albert Backhaus, Berlin W9, Linkstr. 12

Figure 0.1: Program of Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra Concert on 29 November 1930¹⁸

On Saturday, 5 March 1932, the conductor Nicolas Slonimsky led the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in a performance of Cowell's *Synchrony*, Charles Ives's *Three*

¹⁷ "Zitate aus Walt Whitman's poetischen Visionen zeigen an, wie die Idee der amerikanischen Freiheit Antrieb der musikalischen Erfindungskraft geworden ist." Program notes for Ernest Bloch's *America*, performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra on 29 November 1930 [BPA].

¹⁸ Program held at [BPA].

Places in New England, Carl Ruggles's *The Sun Treader*, and Edgard Varèse's *Arcana* (see Figure 0.2). A critic took these works as evidence that "something is happening over there in America, while we in Europe are astonished by our own stagnation."¹⁹ This performance was a milestone in the early history of what later came to be seen as the American experimental tradition, and the only one of its kind in German before the Nazi era. Slonimsky's grouping of Ives, Cowell, and Varèse--Ruggles remains lesser known in Germany today--announced a musical approach that would come to be recognized as a tradition in West German new music circles barely ten years after the war. These forefathers of experimentalism were sometimes seen as part of a group of composers known as "ultramodernists" who liberated American music from European dominance through their radical individualism during the 1920s.²⁰ While some American composers sought to avoid German models by adopting a neoclassical style influenced by Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky, these composers, together with Charles Seeger, Ruth Crawford, and others seemed to translate into musical terms Ralph Waldo Emerson's and Henry David Thoreau's desire for artistic self-reliance and self-inspiration.²¹ When

¹⁹ "Es geschieht doch etwas drüben in Amerika, während wir uns hier in Europa über Stagnation verwundern müssen." Max Marschalk, Review of Slonimsky's Berlin concert (5 March 1932), printed in *Vossischen Zeitung* on 7 March 1932; quoted in de la Motte-Haber, "Aus der Neuen Welt," 117. Several reviews of this concert are cited in Fernand Ouellette, *Edgard Varèse* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 110f.

²⁰ For more information on ultramodernism, see Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, Rev. 3d. Ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 449-69; and Kyle Gann, *American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 27-48.

²¹ See Felix Meyer, "The Emancipation of American Music from 'the Courtly Muses of Europe,'" in *Settling New Scores: Musical Manuscripts from the Paul Sacher Foundation* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1998), 153-56.

viewed in this historical context, the ultramodernists validate Danuser's statement on American individualism simply by creating their own rules.

| Tag | Premer-Konzert Rothemann Nr. 12-13 | Besondere Konzerte Nr. 14 | Besondere Konzerte Nr. 15 | Städtische Musikvereine Nr. 16 | Besondere Konzerte Nr. 17 | Besondere Konzerte Nr. 18 | Besondere Konzerte Nr. 19 |
|-------------------|--|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| Montag 22. | 7 1/2 Uhr Ausführung der Akademie Dir. Schumann | | | 8 Uhr Kammermusik- Vereinigung der Staats-? | 8 Uhr Klavier-Abend M. Herzowsky | 8 1/2 Uhr Vortrag-Abend Architekten- Verein | |
| Montag 23. | 8 Uhr Stadtkonzert & Philh. Orchest. Dir. Pröwer | 8 Uhr Viola-Abend Rihert Spalding | 8 1/2 Uhr Berliner Sinfonie- Orchester Kons. I. Schiller | 8 Uhr Klavierabend Nielsen | 8 1/2 Uhr Lieder-Abend Paul Bender | | |
| Mittwoch 24. | 8 Uhr Konz. d. Philh. Orchest. Dir. Oskar Fried bei: Serge Prokofiev | | | 8 Uhr Kammer- musik-Abend Georg Schumann mit dem Klinger-Quartett | | | |
| Donnerstag 25. | | 8 Uhr Niddy Impetaven | 7 1/2 Uhr Kleines Schreiner Konzert | 8 Uhr Volkskonzert d. Philh. Orchest. | | 8 Uhr Vortrag-Abend Komische | |
| Freitag 26. | | | 8 Uhr Tanz-Abend Masatoshi Ebihyo Dir. Matsuo Yuseo | 8 Uhr Gesellschaft für Dt. Schrifttum | | | |
| Samstag 27. | | 8 Uhr Niddy Impetaven | 8 Uhr Musikalische Vesper | 8 Uhr Orchester-Konz. Dir. Bened. | | | 8 1/2 Uhr Haus d. Technik Kulturilm Innere d. Nachb. d. Nord |
| Sonntag 28. | 8 Uhr Haydn-Fest Dir. Pröwer | | 8 Uhr Berliner Sinfonie- Orchester | 8 Uhr Lieder-Abend Garda Sander | | | |
| Montag 29. | 8 Uhr Beethoven-Abd. d. Philh. Orchest. Dir. Pröwer | | | | 8 1/2 Uhr Klavierabend Guillaume Mumbers | 8 Uhr Vortrag-Abend v. Architekten- Verein | |
| Dienstag 1. | 8 Uhr Beethoven- Zyklus Dir. Pröwer | 8 Uhr Lieder-Abend Bertridg Webster | | | 7 1/2 Uhr Beethoven- Abend Rauchstein-Trio | | |
| Mittwoch 2. | | | 8 1/2 Uhr Konz. d. Philh. Tobias Be-benoff | 8 1/2 Uhr Klavier-Abend Ise Einson | 8 Uhr Klavier-Abend Fritz Denman | | |
| Donnerstag 3. | 8 Uhr Konzert d. Ges. d. Musikfreunde Dir. Unger | | 8 Uhr Liederabend Carle Kestberg | 8 Uhr Klinger-Quartett | 8 Uhr Liederabend Elisabeth Dittich | | 8 Uhr Klavierabend Dr. Arthur Immlach |
| Freitag 4. | 8 Uhr Cecilia Melodie | 8 Uhr Zintiger Arias- Lieder-Abend Marcel Wittlich | 8 1/2 Uhr Jazz u. a. mit 3 Pflügen | 8 Uhr Klavier-Abend Elisabeth Holzheu | 8 Uhr Viola-Abend Edmund Kerstin | | |
| Samstag 5. | | 8 1/2 Uhr Konzert d. Philh. Orchest. Dir. Pröwer | 8 Uhr Musikalische Vesper | 8 Uhr Klavier-Abend Erich Lendorfer | | | 8 1/2 u. 8 1/4 Uhr Haus d. Technik Uta-Kulturilm- Korpothe |
| Sonntag 6. | 11 1/2 Uhr U. Hauptst. d. Philh. Konzert 8 Uhr Haydn Johann Dir. Mittel | 8 Uhr St. Michaels- Kirchenchor | | 8 Uhr Schubert-Abend Reed-Quartett | | 11 1/2 Uhr vorm. Lieder-Abend Richard Tauner | |

Figure 0.2: Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra Schedule for February 1932²²

In early January 1933, the American composer Howard Hanson conducted a special concert of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra billed as a program of “New American Music” (Figure 0.3).

²² In *Berliner Konzert Zeitung*, 4. Februarwoche (February 1932) [BPA].

| Veranstaltungen in den Berliner Konzertsälen | | |
|--|----------------|---|
| vom 4. bis 23. Januar 1933 | | |
| 4. Januar | 8 Uhr | Philharmonie: Einziger Violin-Abend mit dem Philharmon. Orchester: Heifetz. Dirigent: Hermann Abendroth |
| 5. " | 8 1/4 " | Philharmonie: 1. Beethoven-Sonaten-Abend: Artur Schnabel |
| 6. " | 8 " | Besteinsaal: 2. (letzter) Rezitations-Abend: Klassische Dialoge: Wöllner |
| 6. " | 8 " | Singakademie: (Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik): Orchester-Konzert des Funk-Orchesters. Leitung: Eugen Jochum. Sol.: Sigurd Rascher (Saxophon) |
| 7. " | 7 1/4 " | Philharmonie: Sonder-Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters. Dirigent: Howard Hanson. Progr.: Neue amerikanische Musik |
| 8. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters. Dir.: Prüwer |
| 9. " | 8 1/4 " | Besteinsaal: Kammermusik-Abend: Peter-Quartett |
| 9. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Aus Anlaß des 100. Geburtstages Brahms-Abend: Huberman mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester. Dir.: Georg Szell. Mitw.: Paul Grümmer |
| 10. " | 8 " | Besteinsaal: Schubert-Abend: Marc-André Souchay. Am Flügel: Rolf Albes |
| 10. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters. Dir.: Frieder Weissmann |
| 11. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: 4. Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters. Dir.: Eugen Jochum. Sol.: Georg Kulenkampff |
| 11. " | 8 1/4 " | Besteinsaal: Chopin-Abend: Rosa Elkin |
| 12. " | 8 " | Besteinsaal: Lieder- und Arien-Abend Ortwin Graber. Am Flügel: Dr. V. Ernst Wolf |
| 12. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Festkonzert mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester anläßl. des 25jährigen Bestehens der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Dir.: Heinz Unger. Sol.: v. d. Bergh, Frenkel, Hanke, Totenberg, Bertram, Eisner, Kreuzer, Osborn. Cembalo: Gertrud Wertheim |
| 13. " | 8 " | Besteinsaal: Lieder- und Arien-Abend Rose v. d. Poppenburg. Am Flügel: Fritz von Borries |
| 14. " | 8 " | Beethovenaal: Cello-Abend: Gregory Pecker. Mitw.: Arpad Sandor |
| 15. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters. Dir.: Paul Scheinpflug |
| 16. " | 8 " | Besteinsaal: Sonaten-Abend unter dem Protektorat der Königin-Elisabeth-Stiftung für Musik, Brüssel: Juliette Folville (Klav.), Maurice Raskin (Viol.) |
| 16. " | 8 1/4 " | Beethovenaal: Schubert: Winterreise: Emmi Leisner mit Dr. V. Ernst Wolf |
| 17. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Einziger Klavier-Abend Moriz Rosenthal (zur Feier seines 60jährigen Künstler-Jubiläums). |
| 19. " | 8 1/4 " | Beethovenaal: Klavier-Abend: Eugen Taizlin |
| 19. " | 8 " | Bachsaa: Klavier-Abend: Milja Nakisch |
| 20. " | 8 1/4 " | Singakademie: Lieder-Abend: Hermann Schey. Am Flügel: Michael Taube |
| 20. " | 8 1/4 " | Philharmonie: (Verlegt vom 18. Januar) 2. Beethoven-Sonaten-Abend: Artur Schnabel |
| 22. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: Konzert des Philharmonischen Orchesters |
| 22. " | vorm. 11 1/2 " | Philharmonie: Öffentliche Hauptprobe zum 5. Philharmonischen Konzert. Leitung: Wilhelm Furtwängler. Solist: Edwin Fischer |
| 23. " | 8 " | Philharmonie: 5. Philharmonisches Konzert. Leitung: Wilhelm Furtwängler. Solist: Edwin Fischer |

Karten für diese Veranstaltungen bei BOTE & BOCK, Leipziger Straße 37 und Taubentzenstraße 7 b und bei WEATHEIM

Konzert-Direktion Hermann Wolf u. Jules Sachs

Philharmonie
Sonnabend
7. Januar
7 1/4 Uhr

Sonder-Konzert des Philharm. Orchesters — Dir. Howard

HANSON

Neue amerik. Musik

Orffiz. Das Liedbuch der Kuhn Khan, Erntzeit; Massen:
Overtüre „Candide“, Romeo; Romant. Symph., Beethoven;
Concerto grosso: Scarlatti; Sonatas: Schumann, Fauré, Liszt; Klav. u. d. Priester

Figure 0.3: Schedule for Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, January 1933²³

²³ In *Berliner Konzert Zeitung*, 10/6 (January 1933) [BPA].

Three weeks after Hanson's performance in Berlin, on 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler accepted the chancellorship of Germany from President Hindenburg. Performances of American music in Berlin and elsewhere ceased for twelve years. But in the summer of 1945, with the dust barely settled on the wreckage of war and censorship, Germany's new music community resurrected itself--with plenty of help from abroad.

CHAPTER ONE
NEGOTIATING CULTURAL ALLIES

After the Zero Hour, nothing seems to fascinate
Germans more than theater and music.¹

Introduction: The Zero Hour, 1945

Writing history requires reexamining stories that have won acceptance through sheer repetition. The history of new music in postwar Germany reflects many such stories. This is not to deny that the destruction of German cities, especially in the spring of 1945, was devastating and dramatic, or that centers for new music seemed to sprout from the rubble.² But such descriptions are only a starting point for understanding why

¹ "Nichts scheint die Deutschen nach der Stunde Null mehr zu faszinieren als Theater und Musik." Dieter Franck, "Kultur statt Kalorien," in *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945-1949* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1980), 106.

² A number of texts provide detailed information about this era: Theodor Eschenburg, "Jahre der Besatzung, 1945-1949," in *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983); Jost Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1965* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1986); Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany: From Shadow to Substance, 1945-1963* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Hermann Glaser, Lutz von Pufendorf, Michael Schöneich, eds., *So viel Anfang war nie: Deutsche Städte 1945-1949* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989); Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of Germany, 1945-1949* (London, New York: Routledge, 1989); Wolfgang Benz, *Zwischen Hitler und Adenauer: Studien zur deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Fischer Verlag, 1991); and Wolfgang

certain areas of Germany became era-defining meccas for new music. Germany's postwar race to "make up for lost time" in a national deficit of modern music (*Nachholbedürfnis*) illustrates a dominant narrative in twentieth-century music history.

West Germany's commitment to new music immediately after the end of World War Two--beginning with the Zero Hour (*Stunde Null*)--is familiar to music historians.³ However, the concept of a Zero Hour is flawed for two reasons. First, musical life in Germany, though severely limited, did not entirely cease between 1933 and 1945. Furthermore, many musicians and music scholars who were active during the Third Reich continued to be professionally active in West Germany throughout the denazification period.⁴ Second, Germany did not crumble under the Allied invasion all at once; therefore, the war and the Nazi era did not end at the same time for all Germans. To the contrary, in many places "normal" activities--including newspaper production and musical performance--resumed before Germany's surrender was signed on 8 May 1945, and even before the fighting in the Reich's capital of Berlin ended early that month.⁵

Shivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945-1948* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

³ For a survey of German historians' interpretations of the Zero Hour, see Theodor Eschenburg, "Stunde Null," in *Jahre unseres Lebens 1945-1949*, ed. Dieter Franck (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1982), 6-9.

⁴ See Adolf M. Birke, *Nation ohne Haus: Deutschland 1945-1961* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989), 93; and Pamela Potter, "Denazification and the German Musicological Legacy," in *Most German of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 235-65.

⁵ The first publishing license for a German newspaper was given in Aachen, and the first issue was published on 24 January 1945. See Jürgen Reiche, "Zukunft nach dem Ende," in *So viel Anfang war nie*, 55.

Moreover, as early as 24 November 1944, the American Military Government Control Branch issued a law prohibiting German public activity including printing and publishing music, creating sound recordings, broadcasting over the radio, and any type of live musical performance.⁶ The literature on Germany's *Trümmerzeit*, the chaotic time during which most cities lay in ruins, emphasizes that during the months following Germany's surrender the hunger for culture was more gnawing than the need for coal, food and water.⁷ An art historian living in Berlin immediately following the war recalled that the

⁶ SHAEF Military Government Law No. 191. This law prohibited not only music-related activities, but broadly outlined "Control of Publications, Radio Broadcasting, New Services, Films, Theatres and Music and Prohibition of Activities of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda." Some of the activities suspended by Law No. 191 could be resumed in September 1947 with the initiation of the Military Government Licensing Program (called OMGUS Information Control Regulation No. 3). Both documents are reprinted in United States Department of State, *Germany 1947-1949: The Story in Documents* (March 1950): 594f; 598ff (hereafter: *Germany Documents*).

⁷ For example, see Helga de la Motte-Haber, "Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Avantgarde nach 1945," in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad 1990*, eds. Rudolf Stephan und Wsewolod Saderatzkij (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994), 63; Ulrich Dibelius, "Rundfunk und Neue Musik," in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 223.

For contradictions to the "Zero Hour myth," see Bernd Leukert, "Musik aus Trümmern: Darmstadt um 1949," *MusikTexte* 45 (July 1992): 24. In Leukert's article, German musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger criticizes depictions of the Zero Hour as a fresh start, claiming that after the end of the war "the old continuities went on." During my interview with Metzger he reiterated this point, remembering that during the late 1940s Nazi officials were still very much present as administrators in music schools and in city governments (Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998). Metzger's recollection is supported by Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 18. Further comments on the validity of the Zero Hour myth can be found in Reinhard Oehlschlägel, "Tour d'horizon: Zur neuen Musik seit 1945," *MusikTexte* 60 (August 1995): 3; Gottfried Eberle, "Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche, Neue Musik in Westdeutschland nach 1945," in *Musik der 50er Jahre*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1980), 36; and Glaser, et al., *So viel Anfang war nie*, 317f.

best medicine for broken spirits was art.⁸ In an eyewitness account of mid-1945 Berlin, Erich Hartmann, a double-bassist for the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra from 1943 until 1985, remembered that “one of the miracles of this period was, that despite all of the unfortunate circumstances in the bombed-out cities, attempts were made to continue cultivating culture while most concert halls, theaters, and cinemas were destroyed.” Hartmann added: “One didn’t think of making money, rather that life should just go on.”⁹

American Music in Postwar Berlin

Though the war nearly destroyed the city, by the late 1940s, cultural life in the former capital of the Third Reich was flourishing. By the beginning of 1946, Berlin boasted nearly two hundred stages and halls used for performance.¹⁰ And while the city remained in ruins, by June 1949 the U.S. sector of West Berlin maintained two daily newspapers with a circulation of 212,000 readers, fifty-six publishers had been licensed,

⁸ “Kunst ist notwendig, gerade jetzt in der Not. Erst der Geist erfüllt das Leben und ich will in keiner Welt leben, die ohne Musik ist. [. . .] Nein, Kunst ist notwendig.” Friedrich Luft, cited by Franck, “Kultur statt Kalorien,” in *Jahre unseres Lebens*, 108.

⁹ “Zu den Wundern dieser Zeit gehörte, daß man trotz aller unglücklichen Umstände in den ausgebombten Städten weiter versuchte Kultur zu betreiben, wo doch die Konzertsäle, Theater, Kinos zumeist zerstört waren. Man dachte nicht ans Geldverdienen, sondern daran, daß das Leben weiterging.” Erich Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null* (Berlin: Musik-und Buchverlag Werner Feja, 1996), 35.

¹⁰ The survey was conducted by art critic Friedrich Luft and cited by Franck, “Kultur statt Kalorien,” in *Jahre unseres Lebens*, 107. Another statistic reports that Berlin was the location of over 120 premieres between June and December 1945. Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 92.

and further information and entertainment was supplied by one radio station, two U.S. information centers, and seventy-six film theaters.¹¹ During reconstruction, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra's early postwar concerts gave Germans a chance to hear American music again.

In May 1945, some thirty members of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra were dead, instruments and scores had been burned, and remaining instruments had been confiscated by the Soviet army for their own military bands. After receiving authorization from the local Russian commander and district mayor on the seventeenth of May, the first orchestral rehearsal of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra took place in the still-intact city hall of the district of Wilmersdorf, just thirteen days after the surrender was signed.¹² The Red Army authorities issued orchestra musicians a certificate that allowed them to travel by bicycle to rehearsals with their instruments; a Russian translation of the document was printed on the back to avoid complications at Soviet checkpoints.¹³ During the first weeks of rehearsals, the entire orchestra was fed a three-

¹¹ "Development of Information Services," *Germany Documents*, 603.

¹² Peter Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester* (Tutzing: Verlegt bei Hans Schneider, 1982), 187. According to Hartmann, the first rehearsal, organized by word-of-mouth communication ("Flüsterpropaganda"--literally "whisper-propaganda"), took place on 13 May, five days after the official end of the war, at the Gasteiner School in Wilmersdorf. He admits though that the meeting was more of an assembly than a rehearsal, which explains the alternate date and location provided by Muck. Because of the lack of functioning public transportation at the time, Hartmann had to transport his double bass to the rehearsal in a borrowed baby carriage. Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, 36.

¹³ Hartmann was issued his pass on 17 May 1945. The document is reproduced in Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, 32f.

course meal daily by the American military government in a Café Siebert in the Berlin district of Dahlem. The daily meal helped strengthen the constitution of the musicians, many of whom were weak, undernourished, or ill after the war years.¹⁴

Despite the organizational problems of basic communication, locating displaced and homeless musicians, and securing instruments and scores, the orchestra's first concert took place on 26 May 1945, in the Titania Palace theater in the Berlin district of Steglitz.¹⁵ The first concert featured Mendelssohn's *Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Mozart's *Violin Concerto in A Major*, and Tschaikevsky's *Fourth Symphony in F Minor*. According to Erich Hartmann, the concert was a symbol of hope, showing Berliners that now things "could only get better."¹⁶ Many of the first concerts were arranged specifically for the occupying forces, and were led by the orchestra's first postwar conductor Leo Borchard, who had been forbidden to conduct during the Third

¹⁴ Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, 41. Apparently the American zone quickly gained a reputation for offering both basic comforts and luxuries not available in other zones. This situation is described in letters from Heinrich Strobel in Baden-Baden (French zone) to Stuckenschmidt in Berlin (U.S. zone), 3 September 1946; also undated letter from Strobel to Stuckenschmidt, autumn of 1946 [HHS/BAdK]. In Darmstadt as well, the Americans helped combat undernourishment, as is indicated by Wolfgang Steinecke's correspondence with U.S. officers to obtain additional calorie intake for IFNM visitors. Letters dated 11 June 1948, 13 July 1948 [IMD]. See also Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946-1966* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), 62; 81f.

¹⁵ In Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester*, 187. The Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, a comparable ensemble in size and reputation, gave their first postwar concert on 8 July 1945.

¹⁶ "Die Berliner wußten nun, daß alles nur noch besser werden kann." Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, 39.

Reich.¹⁷ After Borchard was accidentally killed by American soldiers in August of 1945, Rudolph Dunbar (b. 1907) was hired to direct the orchestra; he became the first black conductor to lead the Berlin Philharmonic. Though trained as a musician, Dunbar was stationed in Berlin because he had joined the Allied Forces during the war as a newspaper correspondent. Advertised as “the famous American conductor,” Dunbar conducted the European premiere of William Grant Still’s *Afro-American Symphony* (1930), the first American composition to be performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra after the war (Figure 1.1).¹⁸

¹⁷ “Konzert für amerikanische Soldaten,” 24 July 1945. The program included works by Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Tchaikovsky [SIM].

¹⁸ Printed in program for the concerts on 3-4 September 1945. The program was printed in English and in German, as the identical concert was repeated the next day for the American soldiers [SIM]. However, the phrase referring to Dunbar as the “famous American conductor” appears only in the German program (Figure 1.1) for 2 September 1945 [BPA]. A program for a concert on 10 December 1945 conducted by American Captain John Bitter noted: “This evening marks the first time that the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra has been conducted by an American. Ed. note: Rudolf Dunbar is British” [BPA]. At least one source claims that Dunbar’s September third performance in Berlin’s Titania Palace theater earned a standing ovation by some twenty thousand listeners. See Bark and David, *A History of West Germany*, 142.

TITANIA - PALAST
STEGLITZ · SCHLOSS-STRASSE 5

PROGRAMM

Sonntag, den 2. September 1945, vormittags 10.30 Uhr

BERLINER PHILHARMONIKER
unter Leitung des berühmten amerikanischen Dirigenten
Rudolph Dunbar

C. M. v. Weber Ouverture „Oberon“
William Grant Still *Afro-American Symphony*

P. Tschaikowsky *Sinfonia Nr. 6 op. 74*
(*Patbétique*)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| I. <i>Adagio, Allegro non troppo,</i> | II. <i>Allegro con grazia</i> |
| <i>Andante, Allegro vivo,</i> | III. <i>Allegro molto vivace</i> |
| <i>Andante come prima</i> | IV. <i>Finale, Adagio lamentoso</i> |

VORANZEIGE

Konzert des Berliner Philharmonischen Orchesters
Leitung: Robert Heger
am Sonntag, dem 16. September, 10.30 Uhr

Figure 1.1: Program for Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra Concert, 2 September 1945¹⁹

An early performance of American music for military employees by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra included Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings* (on 10 December 1945) conducted by Captain John Bitter (b. 1909), an "authorized musical delegate of the American occupation."²⁰ The program notes emphasized the military involvement of

¹⁹ Program held at [BPA].

²⁰ Hartmann remarked that the orchestra was obligated to cooperate with Bitter because he was politically influential, and though he respected the orchestra, the feeling was not

both the conductor and composer: Bitter had been in the army since 1942, and was currently a member of the Information Services Control Section at Berlin District Headquarters. The composer was referred to as “Corporal Samuel Barber,” and the biographical notes mentioned that since joining the Army Barber had enjoyed many military assignments, including “building latrines in Texas.”²¹ In the course of the next decade, Barber’s *Adagio for Strings* would become one of the most frequently performed pieces of contemporary American music by German orchestras, especially in Berlin (see Appendix C). In program notes for a Berlin performance of his *Adagio for Strings* in early 1946, Barber was named simply one of America’s most promising talents.²²

During the Third Reich, scores by Jewish composers such as Mahler and Mendelssohn had been removed from the Berlin orchestra’s collection and many survived

always mutual. Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null*, 42. A reviewer of a concert Bitter conducted for the NWDR Orchestra in Hamburg noted that he conducted in a “unique, democratic way” (“eine sehr eigenartige, sozusagen demokratische Art des Dirigierens”), and that he held back his own desires in a very un-European way, a “wise” way of conducting that evoked the Far East (“Der Wille des Dirigenten bremsst sich auf eine sehr uneuropäische Weise zugunsten des Ganzen ab: es ist ein weises, an fernöstliche Philosophie erinnerndes Dirigieren”). Gerhard Sanden, “Amerikanermusik,” *Die Welt* (16 October 1948) [IMD]. In the same review Sanden described Roy Harris as “a man who walks alone, amiable and broad-chested through the countryside and has not the slightest desire to transform the landscape through agriculture or cattle-breeding” (“Ein Mann, der wohlgelaunt breitbrüstig allein durch die Landschaft wandert und keineswegs geneigt ist, sie durch Ackerbau und Viehzucht umzugestalten”).

²¹ Concert program, 10 December 1945 [BPA].

²² “Die amerikanische Musik ist in einem so vehementen Gärungsprozeß begriffen, ihre schöpferischen Kräfte sind so zahlreich, nach Stil und Charakter so unterschiedlich, daß man einen überragenden, allgemein gültigen Repräsentanten für sie heute noch kaum benennen kann. Aber man kann beispielsweise sehr wohl Samuel Barber als eine ihrer vielversprechendsten Begabungen ansehen.” The program notes were written by Josef Rufer for a performance by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sergiu Celibidache on 17 March 1946 [BPA].

the war in the basement of the philharmonic building; for this reason, music by these composers was performed often in the early days after the war.²³ In order to promote a wider variety of music in Berlin performances, the four occupying governments in 1946 established an International Music Library stocked with scores.²⁴ That same year, Berlin's music conservatory reopened with composer Heinz Tiessen as director. In 1947, cultural officers in the south-west suburb of Dahlem in Berlin's American sector established the Dahlem Music Society for the Promotion of Young Artists (*Dahlemer Musikgesellschaft zur Förderung junger Künstler*).²⁵ The formation of the Dahlem Music Society was a joint effort between Germans and Music and Theater Officers for the U.S. Military Government (including John Bitter and John Evarts).²⁶ All of the music enterprises in Berlin mentioned here met the broader goals of a nationwide effort toward cultural reconstruction.

²³ Geiseler, "Zwischen Klassik und Moderne," 244.

²⁴ See Appendix A for a list of scores by American composers held in the Inter-Allied Music Lending Library, Berlin.

²⁵ Eberle, "Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche," 40.

²⁶ At first, American members could pay their dues in dollars, German members in German currency. See H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren: Ein Leben mit der Musik unserer Zeit* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1979), 187.

America's Reeducation Program²⁷

In the early years after the war, and in a number of ways, Americans helped rebuild a cultural infrastructure in Germany that would ultimately shape the climate for new music as well. The immediate crises of surrender and occupation gradually gave way to the daily business of reconstruction. In the American zone--Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, Greater Hesse, the city-state of Bremen, and a sector of West Berlin--and in the context of reeducation programs and Cold War politics, a number of media were employed to disseminate information about American values.²⁸ Publishing licenses for newspapers and books, America Houses and information centers, radio broadcasting stations, U.S. Music and Theater Officers, and the State Department's exchange program were all part of the plan to set German culture back on its feet and to promote its evolution. While the occupation of Germany altered the political structure of the country, U.S. State Department control of culture became the rule in the American zone.

The tasks facing the Allied forces in occupied Germany included rebuilding, reconstructing, redistributing, reeducating, reestablishing, renewing, reorienting, restoring, and reviving all areas of society.²⁹ The U.S. Military Government's long-range

²⁷ The term "reeducation" was coined by the publicist Leopold Schwarzschild. See Bark and Gress, *A History of West Germany*, 156.

²⁸ See Appendix B for a map of Germany's zones during the occupation.

²⁹ These goals were expressed in German as the 'four Ds:' "Demilitarisierung, Dekartellisierung, Denazifizierung, und Demokratisierung." Eschenburg, "Jahre der Besatzung, 1945-1949," 77.

plans for Germany's reconstruction, issued in June 1946, emphasized "cultural reeducation" in its first paragraph.³⁰ Specific "Cultural Objectives" of the "Directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation, Regarding the Military Government of Germany" (JCS 1779) read as follows:

Your Government holds that the reeducation of the German people is an integral part of policies intended to help develop a democratic form of government and to restore a stable and peaceful economy; it believes that there should be no forcible break in the cultural unity of Germany, but recognizes the spiritual value of the regional traditions of Germany and wishes to foster them; it is convinced that the manner and purposes of the reconstruction of the national German culture have a vital significance for the future of Germany.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that you make every effort to secure maximum coordination between the occupying powers of cultural objectives designed to serve the cause of peace. You will encourage German initiative and responsible participation in this work of cultural reconstruction and you will expedite the establishment of these international cultural relations which will overcome the spiritual isolation imposed by National Socialism on Germany and further the assimilation of the German people into the world community of nations.³¹ [emphasis mine]

This directive meant that American cultural officers in Germany (such as John Evarts and Everett B. Helm, discussed below) were under direct orders from Washington to do whatever it took to help rebuild an independent, democratic, non-ideological, and

³⁰ "Long-Range Policy Statement for German Re-education (5 June 1946)," reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 541f.

³¹ Issued in the Department of State *Bulletin* (27 July 1947), reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 40. This second directive was delivered to General Clay on 11 July 1947. It broadly outlined goals for officers engaged with German reconstruction, and superseded the previous directive issued on 26 April 1945 (JCS 1067). JCS 1067 did not contain a section on "Cultural Objectives" as did JCS 1779.

internationally-influenced cultural apparatus in West Germany. The U.S. military government also directly requested the services of German cultural figures for radio, newspapers, and art venues, even to the point of sending U.S. Army jeeps to escort personally back to the cities journalists, scholars, actors, writers, musicians, and other exiled cultural figures who had spent the war years in the provinces.³² The following paragraph clarifies the directives that later would allow Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt to travel to the United States in 1949 and Edgard Varèse to travel to Germany in 1950, both under State Department sponsorship:

Re-establishment of International Cultural Relations: In furtherance of the program of the reorientation of the German people and the revival of international cultural relations, you will permit and assist the travel into and out of Germany of persons useful for this program within the availability of your facilities. You will also permit and assist, to the extent of your facilities, the free flow of cultural materials to and from Germany.³³ [emphasis mine]

During the late 1940s the allies initiated a “denazification” program.³⁴ German citizens were required to provide written answers to over one hundred questions concerning their connections to the National Socialist party since 1933. Depending on their answers, they were assigned to one of five categories of guilt, ranging from main offenders to innocent bystanders. People who refused to answer such a questionnaire received no food stamps for grocery provisions, which at the time were necessary for survival in most cities. Individuals who had been cleared received a document--proof of

³² Glaser et al., *So viel Anfang war nie*, 14.

³³ *Germany Documents*, 41.

³⁴ See also Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 235-65.

their innocence--often referred to as a *Persilschein*.³⁵ Five classes of daily consumption were established for allotting fuel and food. People in the first group were allowed 1600 calories per day: they included hard laborers, scholars, doctors, production managers, city and local administrators, and people active in the creation of culture and art (*Kultur- und Kunstschaffende*). The inclusion of artists and musicians in the first group attests to the high value placed on culture during the immediate postwar months.³⁶ Food rationing in West Germany continued until 1 March 1950, and until 28 May 1958 in the Soviet-occupied zone (later German Democratic Republic).³⁷

Much to the advantage of the culture-starved Germans, and especially in Berlin, the four occupying powers competed with each other for cultural prestige by organizing art exhibitions, reopening theaters, and issuing newspaper licenses.³⁸ The American military government reviewed all activities in public cultural life in their zone, including newspapers and concert programs.³⁹ Censorship was common in the first years after the

³⁵ *Persil* is the name of a well-known laundry detergent, similar to American "Tide" or "Cheer." In colloquial usage, the phrase *Persilschein* came to denote a political clean-slate.

³⁶ Reiche, "Zukunft nach dem Ende," 39.

³⁷ Dieter Franck, ed., *Die fünfziger Jahre* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1981), 196, 199.

³⁸ Reiche, "Zukunft nach dem Ende," in *So viel Anfang war nie*, 44; Wolfgang Geiseler, "Zwischen Klassik und Moderne," in *So viel Anfang war nie*, 245; Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 92. Stuckenschmidt also mentioned the postwar cultural rivalry in Berlin in *Zum Hören Geboren*, 179; 250f.

³⁹ Despite OMGUS's extensive involvement in all aspects of public life in its zones, Rogers wrote: "Of all the Western Allies, the Americans had the foreign policy apparatus least inclined to exercise direct control over events in Germany." See Daniel E. Rogers,

war. Approved documents received an admittance number (*Zulassungsnummer*) and a publishing license from the Information Control Office.⁴⁰ All early concert and festival programs were stamped with an approval number from the U.S. military government, and this practice continued through 21 September 1949.⁴¹ In 1947, to aid education on American culture, the military government in Germany licensed the publication of a German translation of Virgil Thomson's book *The Musical Scene* (1945).⁴² In March 1947, Peters Edition in Frankfurt received its publishing license.⁴³ Newspapers and radio news programs also received licenses; one of the first German licenses was issued on 1

Politics After Hitler: The Western Allies and the German Party System (London: Macmillan Press, 1995), 6.

⁴⁰ On 12 May 1945, a "Manual for the Control of German Information Services" was published by the American Occupying Forces to aid officers in their control of public information. Edgar Lersch, "Auf Neuer Welle: Der Rundfunk in den Westzonen," in *So viel Anfang war nie*, 282.

⁴¹ Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau*, 91. The 1947 Darmstadt IFNM program contained the following stamp: "Genehmigt durch die Militärregierung unter der Lizenz Nr. 609." For the 1948 program the wording was altered slightly: "Gedruckt mit Sondergenehmigung der Militärregierung" [IMD]. Early on, Hartmann's *Musica Viva* festival received its license: *Zulassungsnummer 1003 der Nachrichten-Kontrolle der Militärregierung*. Renate Ulm, *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart: Musica Viva, 1945-1995* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1995), 75.

⁴² Virgil Thomson, *The Musical Scene* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945). "Published under Military Government License No. US-E-115 (Hans Kasperek)." Thomson's book was translated by Minna Retzer and Adalbert Brunner and published with the German title *Musikgeschehen in Amerika* by Edition Kasperek in 1948. Kasperek also published a translation of Aaron Copland's *What to Listen For in Music* during this period. See reviews of both translations, "Musikalisches Schrifttum in Amerika," *Die Welt* (6 August 1949); and Werner Egk, "Unabhängige Musikkritik in Amerika," *Neue Zeitung* (Munich, 3 August 1949) [IMD].

⁴³ Announced in *Melos* (May/June 1947): 231.

August 1945 to Frankfurt's liberal daily newspaper (*Frankfurter Rundschau*).⁴⁴ Berlin's first postwar daily paper (*Der Tagesspiegel*) was first printed on 27 September 1945; Munich's daily paper (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) quickly followed the others.⁴⁵ In November of 1946 the new music journal *Melos* resumed publishing; its immediate goal was to educate the public about what they had missed since 1933.⁴⁶ Censorship in the American zone soon displayed characteristics of Cold War propaganda, and Communist party members were refused publishing licenses.⁴⁷ The American military government also created *Neue Zeitung*, a U.S.-subsidized "American newspaper for the German public," published daily in both Munich and Berlin, for which prominent critics would be well paid to write articles on music in Germany and the United States.⁴⁸ Employees in

⁴⁴ Bark and Gress, *A History of West Germany*, 155; Eschenburg, "Jahre der Besatzung, 1945-1949," 539. Between 1945 and 1949, 149 licenses were issued for newspapers in the western zones. See Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 89.

⁴⁵ *Süddeutsche Zeitung* received its publishing license on 6 October 1945.

⁴⁶ *Melos* was founded in 1920 and discontinued during the war years. In a letter from Heinrich Strobel, the editor of the Mainz-based *Melos*, to Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (3 September 1946), Strobel wrote that his primary educational task was to inform a completely ignorant public about the music of Schoenberg, Berg, and others ("Alles, was Sie mir an Themen vorschlagen, gefällt mir sehr gut, nur glaube ich, daß es bei der vorwiegend aufklärerischen Aufgabe, zu der ich das *Melos* hinführen will, vielleicht besser wäre, wir würden erst einmal wieder das grundsätzlich zu wissende über Schoenberg, Berg, usw. sagen--die Leute wissen ja so gut wie nichts mehr") [HHS/BAAdK].

⁴⁷ Bark and Gress, *A History of West Germany*, 156. Heinz-Klaus Metzger claimed that the years between the end of the war and the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany allowed an unprecedented freedom of the press. See Leukert, "Musik aus Trümmern," 24. The Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was officially forbidden in West Germany on 17 August 1956.

⁴⁸ Bark and Gress, *A History of West Germany*, 156. A statement by President Eisenhower appeared in the first issue of *Neue Zeitung*: "The *Neue Zeitung* will help to

German Information Services (such as the German press in U.S.-occupied areas) were obliged to follow the rules spelled out in a “Responsibility Policy Instruction” issued in September 1946.⁴⁹

Another tool of reeducation was a network of information centers, often called America Houses, which existed in most larger German cities by the early fifties.⁵⁰

America Houses had been established “for the unilateral dissemination of information about the history, traditions and customs of the United States and the social, political, industrial, scientific and cultural development of the American people.”⁵¹ While sharing the pedagogical role held by Music and Theater Officers during reeducation, America Houses provided space for free concerts, lectures, and exhibitions, and exposed Germans

bring before the eyes of the German people the necessity of the work lying ahead of the German people. [. . .] We will help the Germans with this reconstruction, but we will by no means provide the actual work for the Germans” (“Die *Neue Zeitung* wird dazu beitragen, dem deutschen Volk die Notwendigkeit jener Aufgaben vor Augen zu führen, die vor dem deutschen Volke liegen. [. . .] Wir werden den Deutschen bei diesem Wiederaufbau helfen, aber die Arbeit selbst werden wir für die Deutschen keineswegs besorgen”). Cited by Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 89.

⁴⁹ “Responsibility of German Licensees: Policy Instruction No. 3 to All Licensees in German Information Services” (30 September 1946), reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 596.

⁵⁰ The name America House “was first employed in October 1947 in a Military Government report describing the purpose of the centres” (Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 20). An OMGUS Report titled “Development of Information Services” (Statistical Annex, OMGUS Report No. 48, June 1949, 266) shows that by June 1949, the U.S. zone maintained twenty-five U.S. “information centers,” and that a total of twenty-eight were planned, including three centers in West Berlin alone. Reports reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 603, 608. See also Everett Helm, “America Houses in Germany: Good-Will and Understanding,” *Musical America* (February 1952): 13.

⁵¹ “Information Centers: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 6 (April 5, 1949),” reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 608.

to all aspects of American life. Events focusing on Abraham Lincoln were frequent, as were topics that expressed values of freedom and civil liberty.⁵² In addition, America Houses were coupled with extensive English-language lending libraries open to Germans and run by the United States Information Service.⁵³

The former American Music and Theater Officer Everett Helm commented that “Germans, like other Europeans, are still somewhat skeptical about the quality and extent of American culture, and a certain amount of passive resistance has to be overcome.”⁵⁴ To combat unfamiliarity with American culture, performances of American music by American soloists and ensembles took place in America Houses. In 1949, for example, the U.S. State Department and the Department of the Army sponsored a seven-week tour of the Walden String Quartet in West Germany; most of the quartet’s performances took

⁵² Publicity materials and program schedules from the 1950s and 1960s held at the America House in Berlin reflect these themes [AHB]. Willett writes: “Under the re-education programme, ‘democracy’ had been an ideological counter to Nazism.” Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 21.

⁵³ According to Willett, in 1947, only a quarter of the books held at America Houses and U.S. Information Center libraries were in German. See Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 20.

⁵⁴ Helm, “America Houses in Germany,” 138. The creation of the Stuttgart-based Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra (1952-62) is a good example of the United States’ continuing effort to convince Germans that Americans too had culture. The orchestra’s public debut in Göppingen on 5 July 1952 included performances of Roy Harris’s *Third Symphony*, Leroy Anderson’s *Jazz Pizzicato*, and Morton Gould’s *American Salute*. The orchestra was used in “selling the United States and the United States Army in Germany.” Letter from Bruce C. Clarke, General Commander-in-Chief, to John Canarina (17 March 1962), quoted in John Canarina, *Uncle Sam’s Orchestra: Memories of the Seventh Army Symphony* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 199.

place in America Houses.⁵⁵ American music “experts” such as Everett Helm, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Bruno Nettl, and others lectured on classical, jazz, popular, and indigenous folk musics, and these lectures were usually accompanied by live examples or recordings. In addition to scores held at the libraries, recordings of American music were collected and made available to the public.⁵⁶ The following table provides a sample of presentations given on American music in Berlin’s America House during the latter 1950s.

Table 1.1: Presentations on American Music in America House, Berlin, Latter 1950s⁵⁷

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 24 June 1955: | “American Folksongs, a Means of Understanding,” Lecture by Richard Chapline |
| 21 Oct. 1955: | “Porgy and Bess” (presented on record) |
| 4 Dec. 1956: | “Music in American Universities,” Lecture by Dr. Heinz Draeger |
| 18 Oct. 1957: | “Folk Music of the Indians,” Lecture by Bruno Nettl |
| 22 Oct. 1957: | “Music Education in American Schools,” Lecture by Bruno Nettl |
| 22 Nov. 1957: | “America’s Musical Life,” Lecture by Peter Jona Korn |
| 1 April 1958: | “Stephen Foster, His Life and Songs,” |

⁵⁵ Catherine M. Cameron, *Dialectics in the Arts: The Rise of Experimentalism in American Music* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 1996), 91.

⁵⁶ Both Friedrich Hommel (music critic and IFNM director from 1982-94) and Josef Anton Riedl (Munich-based experimental composer) remarked that their first exposure to American music came through America Houses in Heidelberg and Munich, respectively. Furthermore, Riedl said that he first encountered works by avant-garde American composers--including new percussion music--by borrowing scores and recordings at Munich’s America House. He was also allowed to use electronic equipment and space for self-organized concerts. Interviews with the author: Hommel, 3 April 1998; Riedl, 10 July 1998.

⁵⁷ Many of these lecture titles were originally advertised in German. Gretchen Finney, who toured Germany in 1956 with her husband, the composer Ross Lee Finney, commented that compared to other places, the America House in Berlin was “organized and active,” and that “intellectual and cultural life thrived there.” Gretchen Finney, *Facts and Memories* (New York: Peters Edition, 1990), 212.

Film Excerpts and Music

- 16 Feb. 1959: "Down Beat Poll 1958," Lecture by Wolfgang Jänicke
 9 March 1959: Recordings of the Newport Jazz Festival Presented
 13 April 1959: "The History of Jazz" (continued on other dates)
 28 April 1959: "From MacDowell to Mennin--A Short History of
 American Music in Ninety Minutes,"
 Lecture by Peter Jona Korn
 29 Sept. 1959: "Leonard Bernstein: Portrait of an American Musician,"
 Lecture by H. H. Dräger
 20 Nov. 1959: "Stephen Foster--Charles Ives--George Gershwin:
 American Music in Three Generations,"
 Lecture by Dr. Dietrich Manicke

American-licensed publishing agencies and American information centers were just some of the means through which the United States "reeducated" West Germans. By the time the Allied High Commission to Germany revoked Germany's occupation status in 1955, the United States reeducation project in Germany had exercised considerable influence over the nature of cultural life in West Germany. Especially in the area of radio broadcasting, this influence can still be felt today.⁵⁸ But in all areas of reeducation, contact between individuals rebuilt German culture. During the occupation, American Music and Theater Officers provided the key to good human relations and practical support.

⁵⁸ Bark and Gress, *History of West Germany*, 345.

Music Officers: John Evarts and Everett Helm

The Theater and Music Branch was a division of the Office of Military Government of the United States (OMGUS) from 1945-49.⁵⁹ Some classically-trained American and German emigrant composers and musicians took jobs in Germany as Music Officers after the war. One of them, the American pianist and composer John Evarts (1908-89), did work that had long-reaching consequences for Germany's cultural life.⁶⁰ Following his musical training at Yale (1926-30), Evarts studied in Munich (autumn of 1930) and Berlin (1931).⁶¹ Before the war, Evarts had been a founding member of Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and was employed as the first

⁵⁹ It ceased to exist on 1 October 1949, at which time, the Military Government was replaced by the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG; 1949-53). HICOG began reducing cultural funding around 1951, and had eliminated funding for many cultural enterprises by 1955 (many of which were administered by the U.S. Information Agency after 1953). Under the organizational structure of both OMGUS and HICOG, field offices of the Cultural Relations Division were closely related to the Information Services Division (which oversaw America House activities). See OMGUS and HICOG organizational charts, in *Germany Documents*, 180ff. For a detailed description of Music Officers in postwar Germany, see Everett Helm, "Music in Occupied Germany," *Musical America* (February 1950): 115, 250, 256. For further information on U.S. policies regarding mass communication and culture during the OMGUS and HICOG eras, see Henry P. Pilgert, *Press, Radio, and Film in West Germany*, Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953.

⁶⁰ Evarts died in relative isolation in Berlin on 8 July 1989. Very little has been published on his life, though it is clear from existing correspondence and documents at [IMD], [BAB], and [HHS/BAdK] that he was a central figure in this story. Yet Evarts appears in neither the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* nor *Baker's Biographical Dictionary*. An obituary in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (15 July 1989) stated that "music and culture in postwar Germany owe Evarts much." Stuckenschmidt's autobiography, *Zum Hören Geboren*, provides some biographical information on Evarts. Further biographical information can be found in "John Evarts, der gute amerikanische Geist," *Berliner Morgenpost* (16 January 1987). The Bauhaus Archive in Berlin holds a copy of Evarts' typewritten autobiographical "Black Mountain College Reminiscences" (1967) and Evarts' typewritten "Curriculum Vitae," both unpublished [BAB].

music instructor there.⁶² He joined the army in 1942. After the war Evarts decided to stay in Germany to assist with cultural reconstruction. Like other Music Officers, Evarts had spent time in Europe before 1933, and enjoyed enough personal contacts for the State Department and the military government to consider him an effective cultural ambassador. Evarts worked as a Music Officer in Bavaria, Berlin, and eventually in Bad Nauheim near Frankfurt. He supplied money and helped create an infrastructure that integrally connected radio stations, cultural institutions (such as opera houses) and new music festivals. With his organizational help and support from the occupying forces, Karl Amadeus Hartmann's annual festival of contemporary music, *Musica Viva*, survived Munich's hunger years; this was the goal of cultural reconstruction turned into reality.⁶³ In a description of the lively cultural activity in Berlin's American sector, Stuckenschmidt mentioned U.S. Music Officers John Bitter and John Evarts as "supplying contacts and money."⁶⁴ From 1947 until 1951 Evarts was a main coordinator of the activities of Music Officers in both Berlin and Hesse.⁶⁵ Full documentation of Evarts' activity in Germany

⁶¹ Typewritten "Curriculum Vitae" [BAB].

⁶² For information on Evarts' activities at Black Mountain College from 1933 until 1942 see Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1987); and Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972).

⁶³ Ulm, *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart*, 75. See also Geiseler, "Zwischen Klassik und Moderne," 247.

⁶⁴ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 179.

⁶⁵ Typewritten "Curriculum Vitae" [BAB]; also Harris, *Arts at Black Mountain College*, 254. During this period, while the growing anti-Soviet climate justified excessive American control of culture in West Germany, Evarts spoke out against U.S. censorship of American plays. In a Memorandum to Colonel Mac Mahon written on 4 May 1949

during these years has yet to be uncovered, but those who know about his influence praise him highly.⁶⁶ In November 1986, Evarts was awarded a Distinguished Service Cross by the Federal Republic of Germany in recognition of his selfless work as a Music Officer.⁶⁷

Everett B. Helm, the second Music Officer to be considered here, held a position as Chief of Theater and Music Branch in Hesse from early 1948 until 1950.⁶⁸ Helm replaced Theater and Music Control Officer Gerhard Singer in Wiesbaden in early 1948. These brief but crucial years played a role in the survival of Wolfgang Steinecke's Holiday Courses for New Music in the city of Darmstadt (*Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*; hereafter IFNM). Helm is important to the story of American music in postwar Germany not only because of his presence in the American-governed region of

from his office in Bad Nauheim, Evarts compared U.S. censorship to that of the Nazis or the Soviets themselves, claiming that the effort to forbid certain authors (such as Arthur Miller) would only lead to a greater interest in their work. He emphasized that such obvious contradictions to American ideology of freedom and democracy would eventually contribute to distrust of U.S. policy. Reproduced as "The Evarts Memorandum," in Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 71f.

⁶⁶ Friedrich Hommel remarked: "Without Evarts, there wouldn't be a Berlin Philharmonic today." Hommel interview with the author, 3 April 1998.

⁶⁷ Evarts' notification of the Distinguished Service Cross Award contained the following text: "Verleihungsurkunde: In Anerkennung der um die Bundesrepublik Deutschland erworbenen besonderen Verdienste verleihe ich Herrn John Evarts, ehem. 'Music and Theatre Officer' der US-Armee in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, das Verdienstkreuz 1. Klasse des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn, den 6. November 1986, der Bundespräsident" [signed by Richard von Weizsäcker] [BAB].

⁶⁸ The following information on Helm's biography, career, and opinions was obtained primarily from interviews I conducted with Helm in Berlin on 9 December 1997, 16 December 1997, and 22 January 1998. For further information on Helm's compositions, see Howard Pollack, *Harvard Composers: Walter Piston and His Students from Elliott Carter to Frederic Rzewski* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 62-9.

Hesse during the late 1940s, but also because he was active as a composer, musicologist, and spokesman for American music. He was born in Minneapolis in 1913. After earning his Bachelor of Music degree (1934) at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota during the difficult years of the Depression, Helm moved to Boston. At Harvard he studied musicology with the German immigrant Hugo Leichtentritt (who fled Germany in 1933), composition with Walter Piston, counterpoint with A. Tillman Merritt, and choral music and conducting with Archibald T. Davison. After completing his Masters in Music degree in 1936 Helm received the prestigious John Knowles Paine Fellowship. Helm was awarded the Harvard fellowship through an internal departmental decision, and he bewildered the music faculty by choosing not to study with Nadia Boulanger in France as was expected, but to study with Gian Francesco Malipiero in Asolo, Italy, where he stayed for two years.⁶⁹

In 1936 Helm's ship from America landed on the Dutch coast in Rotterdam, and from there he traveled to Asolo by train. Traveling south through Germany along the way, in towns like Bonn, he experienced "enough Nazism to make me sick."⁷⁰ Once

⁶⁹ Helm was critical of the strong French influence on contemporary American music. Both Piston and Merritt had studied with Boulanger; Davison also studied in France. Helm ridiculed the Harvard composition faculty's adoration of Boulanger, and remarked that she was so "authoritarian" that one was expected to "kneel down and pray when you spoke to her." Helm interview with the author, 16 December 1997.

⁷⁰ Helm interview with the author, 16 December 1997. Later (in 1937?), Helm again traveled north of the Alps in order to conduct research in the State Library in Munich. Following his research, he and his wife traveled to Nürnberg where they were unable to find a hotel room for the night; the town was full of ecstatic masses shouting "Wir wollen unsern Führer sehen!" ("We want to see our leader!") A porter at the train station filled them in: the next day was *Reichsparteitag*, the largest, most important political rally (of the Nazi party) in Germany at which Hitler would appear (*Reichsparteitage* took place in Nürnberg in 1927, 1929, and annually from 1933-38).

settled in Asolo, Helm studied composition with Malipiero while “living like a king” on his stipend of \$1,500 per year. After completing his studies with Malipiero and additional study with Ralph Vaughn Williams and Alfred Einstein in England, Helm returned to the United States. He received his Ph.D. in Music from Harvard University in 1939.⁷¹

During the Second World War Helm was classified 4-F (or “incapable of shooting people”).⁷² The State Department sent him instead to Latin America as a music ambassador. There Helm toured nearly a dozen countries before arriving in Rio de Janeiro, where he lived for over a year, lecturing, composing, and collecting information on local music. After the war, Helm returned to New York.⁷³ There he encountered Harrison Kerr (1897-1978), the American composer and former Boulanger student who now supervised the Music, Art, and Exhibits Section of the Army Civil Affairs Division, a cultural institution that oversaw postwar activities in Germany, Austria and Japan for the U.S. military government. Helm told Kerr that he would be interested in working in the occupied countries. After a State Department security check, Kerr offered Helm a job in Germany. Helm arrived in war-torn Germany in February 1948, now under contract of

⁷¹ Helm wrote his doctoral thesis on “The Beginnings of the Italian Madrigal and the Works of Arcadelt.” See Pollack, *Harvard Composers*, 63.

⁷² Helm interview with the author, 9 December 1997.

⁷³ At one time Helm was on the board of directors for the League of Composers. See Claire R. Reis, *Composers, Conductors, and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 254.

the American military, just a few months before the beginning of the Berlin Airlift that intensified Cold War commitments.⁷⁴

Though Helm was “against the military in all forms,” he was now a high-ranking officer of the Theater and Music Branch of the Military Government.⁷⁵ Helm’s first duties were in Stuttgart but within the year he was transferred to Wiesbaden, the new capital of Greater Hesse, and the seat of a large portion of the American zone’s administrative offices. As the reconstruction of cultural life constituted a main goal of the military government in West Germany, cultural officers mostly followed policies as determined in Washington.⁷⁶ Specifically, Helm implemented the Military Government Licensing Program established in 1947.⁷⁷ Moreover, his routine duties were spelled out in the official directives for reeducation: to secure cultural coordination between Germany and the allies, to encourage initiatives and participation in cultural reconstruction, to expedite establishment of international cultural relations, and to permit and assist the free flow of cultural materials to and from Germany.⁷⁸ In his Wiesbaden

⁷⁴ Though Winston Churchill used the phrase “iron curtain” as early as 5 March 1946 (Franck, *Jahre unseres Lebens*, 198), the Berlin crisis of 1948-49 is often cited as the start of the Cold War; in fact, the conflict’s first official notice, known as the Truman Doctrine, was issued on 12 March 1947. See Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau*, 145.

⁷⁵ Helm remarked that he was a “full colonel by rank and pay but not in uniform.” Helm interview with the author, 16 December 1997.

⁷⁶ Helm, “Wiederaufbau des deutschen Musiklebens nach 1945 und Paul Hindemith,” *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 9 (1980): 131.

⁷⁷ OMGUS Information Control Regulation No. 3, in *Germany Documents*, 598ff.

⁷⁸ 1947 Directive (JCS 1779), cited above. By issuing licenses, Helm and other Music and Theatre Officers were allowing legal exceptions to SHAEF Military Government Law No. 191, in *Germany Documents*, 594f.

office Helm reviewed and distributed licenses for performers based on a clearance issued by security agencies in Frankfurt, requested and authorized funds for new or struggling cultural enterprises, and obtained scores, books and other materials--often donated by American publishers at no cost to the borrowers--for local orchestras and other ensembles who had lost their library collections during the war.⁷⁹ Also, as specified in the 1947 directive (JCS 1779, cited above), Germans wishing to travel between the different zones had to be granted permission to do so, as did persons wishing to leave the country. It fell under Helm's purview to grant permission for journalists and musicians to travel between zones for cultural events.⁸⁰

One of Helm's most important professional relationships in Hesse was with Wolfgang Steinecke, who paid Helm a visit in early 1949 to request financial support from the American Music Branch.⁸¹ Many institutions, including Steinecke's IFNM,

⁷⁹ In describing his duties, Helm often retold the story of how he refused to issue a license to the famous singer Zarah Leander based on her association with Nazi officials. Her manager insisted that she be allowed to perform in the American zone, since the British zone had already granted her a performing license. When Helm refused to issue her a license, Leander's manager remarked, "Don't you value your life?" Helm interview with the author, 16 December 1997. See also Helm, "Wiederaufbau des deutschen Musiklebens nach 1945," 132.

⁸⁰ Interzone Passes were introduced on 29 October 1946. For example, before Stuckenschmidt could travel to Darmstadt in 1947, he had to receive an official invitation from Steinecke in order to apply for an Interzone Pass; this pass would have been issued by an officer of the U.S. Military Government and would allow Stuckenschmidt and his wife to travel from the American sector of West Berlin to the American zone of Hesse. Letter from Steinecke to Stuckenschmidt, 23 May 1947 [HHS/BAAdK].

⁸¹ Helm's and Steinecke's initial meeting in Wiesbaden must have taken place shortly before 26 February 1949, the date of the earliest correspondence I have located between the two men. On that day Steinecke wrote to Helm, mentioning a few questions he forgot

suffered major setbacks because of the 1948 monetary reform (when the *Deutsche Mark* was introduced on 20 June).⁸² Helm responded by contacting General Lucius Clay, who soon authorized funds for IFNM.⁸³ Helm received orders to visit Steinecke's venue in Darmstadt to make sure that the military's investment was justified; as a composer himself, Helm found that the new music activity in Darmstadt did indeed constitute a

to ask during their first meeting. Steinecke also mentions his meeting with Helm in a letter to John Evarts in Bad Nauheim, dated 4 April 1949 [IMD]. The broader context of American music in Darmstadt will be examined in Chapter Two; here I provide only a survey of IFNM connections to Evarts and Helm and the Music Branch as an initial source of support.

⁸² For more information on Steinecke and the currency reform, see Friedrich Hommel, "How the Province Became International: Early Days of New Musik in Darmstadt," trans. Asa Eldh, *Sonus* 10/1 (fall 1989): 72-85.

⁸³ Even after Clay became full military governor in March 1947, he continued to exercise considerable influence over daily details of the military government in American-occupied Germany until his service ended in 1949: "Theoretically responsible for the overall policy of the occupation, the State Department almost never intervened once Clay had made a decision." Rogers, *Politics After Hitler*, 5ff.

It should be noted that Helm's account of his aid to IFNM has been partially disputed by Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 81. Letters in IMD's correspondence files confirm that at least in 1949, Helm issued 4,000 *Deutsch Marks* to Steinecke for IFNM (from here on, *Deutsch Marks* will be indicated by the standard abbreviation: DM). This money was to be used for the "Patenring," a scholarship fund for students attending the Darmstadt courses. Letter from Helm to Steinecke, 16 September 1949; also letter from Steinecke to Helm, 24 September 1949 [IMD]. Apparently Helm's Darmstadt-related activities were fairly well-known, if not exaggerated: in 1959, Elliott Carter wrote: "As a U.S. Army Theatre and Music Officer in Wiesbaden, [Everett Helm] helped to establish the Darmstadt School after the war and at various times since has saved it from being overwhelmed by numerous situations that have threatened its existence. By this he has earned the gratitude of a whole generation of young European musicians." Carter, "ISCM Festival, Rome (1959)," *Elliott Carter: Collected Essays and Lectures 1937-1995*, ed. Jonathan W. Bernard (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 27-8.

worthy enterprise.⁸⁴ In addition to supplying money for IFNM, Helm helped Steinecke contact American composers and obtained scores of American music for use at IFNM.⁸⁵

Though Helm was employed as a Music and Theater Officer only until late 1950 (when the Music and Theater Branch was eliminated), he chose to spend most of the rest of his life in Europe.⁸⁶ During the fifties he remained actively involved with IFNM by frequently lecturing on American music. In 1955, his four-movement sonata, *Eight Minutes for Two Pianos* (1943) was performed there by the pianists Alfons and Aloys Kontarsky. In 1955 and 1956 Steinecke and Helm also worked together on a Charles Ives project to be exhibited in Darmstadt.⁸⁷ His connection with IFNM had many

⁸⁴ It would have been clear to Helm that Steinecke's efforts fulfilled OMGUS's hope that "the reconstruction of the cultural life of Germany must be in large measure the work of the Germans themselves." "Long-Range Policy Statement for German Re-education (5 June 1946)," reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 542.

⁸⁵ Letter from Steinecke to Helm, 5 April 1949: Steinecke asked if Helm had yet heard from the American composers Aaron Copland and William Schuman [IMD].

⁸⁶ Helm was generally dissatisfied with musical life in America, and he indicated this in the following letter to Stuckenschmidt, written during Helm's visit to the United States in 1954: "I seem to have reached the midway point of my American sojourn and can now begin looking forward to the day I shall be starting out for Europe again. It is all very fine here in New York, but it is *furchtbar anstrengend* [terribly tedious], and I shall be glad to be back in the Old World again. I am somewhat upset by the situation in the world of music in America. There is much that is not as it should be, and much that is as it should not be." Letter from Helm to Stuckenschmidt, 17 February 1954 [HHS/BAdK]. Helm told me that it was much easier to make a living as a freelance music journalist in Europe than in America, and that was his main reason for staying overseas. Helm interview with the author, 22 January 1998.

⁸⁷ The following letters illuminate the plans for the Ives project: Steinecke to Helm, 29 December 1955; Helm to Steinecke, 23 January 1956; Steinecke to Helm, 14 February 1956; Helm to Steinecke, 5 March 1956 [IMD]. The project seems only to have resulted in Helm's lecture on Ives and Satie in 1956 and an IFNM performance of *The Unanswered Question* on 22 July 1956. The only other live performance of Ives's music at Darmstadt up to this date had been the German first performance of his *Second String*

consequences. In fact, it was he who put John Cage in touch with Steinecke in 1954.⁸⁸

The following table provides an overview of Helm's professional activities in Germany during the 1940s and 1950s:

Table 1.2: Professional Activities of Everett Helm in West Germany, 1948-60; Partial List

Performances:⁸⁹

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 17 January 1951 | Premiere of <i>Piano Concerto</i> (Berlin Philharmonic) |
| 23 February 1951 | <i>Piano Concerto</i> (broadcast on RIAS) |
| late 1951/early 1952 (?) | <i>First String Quartet</i> (RIAS String Quartet, Berlin America House) |
| 10 October 1953 | <i>Concerto for 5 Solo Instruments, Percussion and String Orchestra</i> (Premiere of SWF commission in Donaueschingen) |
| 1 June 1955 | <i>8 Minutes for Two Pianos</i> (performed by the Kontarskys at IFNM) |
| 1957/58 | <i>Concerto for 5 Solo Instruments, Percussion and Strings</i> (broadcast on SDR, Stuttgart) |
| season 1958/59 | <i>Second Sonata for Violin and Piano</i> (Broadcast on SR Saarbrücken) |
| season 1958/59 | <i>Concerto for 5 Solo Instruments, Percussion and Strings</i> (broadcast on SWF Baden-Baden) |
| season 1959/60 | <i>First and Second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra</i> (broadcast on HR, Frankfurt) |

Radio Broadcasts by Helm:

1957/58 (SFB Berlin) on Malipiero and Milhaud

Quartet by the Walden String Quartet in 1949. In addition, Wolfgang Edward Rebner played part of *Halloween* with the Assmann Quartet during his lecture on American experimental music in 1954 (see Chapter 2).

⁸⁸ Letter from Cage to Steinecke, 30 March 1954 [IMD]. Helm and Cage most likely met and discussed the situation in Darmstadt during Helm's trip to America in early 1954.

⁸⁹ On a number of occasions Stuckenschmidt recommended Helm's music to Heinrich Strobel at SWF in Baden-Baden. Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Strobel, 3 January 1950; and letter from Stuckenschmidt to Strobel, 21 February 1950 [HHS/BAAdK].

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1957/58 (SDR Stuttgart) | on Helm's <i>Die Belagerung von Tottenburg</i> |
| 1957/58 (SWF Baden-Baden) | on Erik Satie |
| 1958/59 (HR Frankfurt) | on Charles Ives |
| 1959/60 (HR Frankfurt) | on New Music in Yugoslavia (2 broadcasts) |
| 1959/60 (NDR Hamburg) | on Helm's <i>Divertimento for String Orchestra</i> |
| 1959/60 (SFB Berlin) | on Gershwin and Ralph Vaughn Williams |
| 1959/60 (SDR Stuttgart) | on Observations on a Journey in Yugoslavia |

Lectures:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1949: | "New Music in the USA" (IFNM, Darmstadt) |
| 1949 (September): | On American Music (America House, Marburg/Lahn) ⁹⁰ |
| 1950: | "Music of the Younger Generation in the USA" [?](IFNM, Darmstadt) |
| 1951: | "The Music Situation in the USA" (IFNM, Darmstadt) |
| 1953 (17 March): | "The Way to New Music: Chamber Music of the 20th Century, Part 3," Lecture with Recorded Examples (America House, Berlin) |
| 1953 (24 March): | "The Way to New Music: Stage Works of the 20th Century" (America House, Berlin) |
| 1956: | "Charles Ives und Erik Satie" (IFNM, Darmstadt) |
| 1956 (4 October): | "Charles Ives and Erik Satie" (America House, Berlin) |
| 1957 (9 October): | "Real and False Spirituals" (America House, Berlin) |
| 1959 (18 March): | "America's New Music" (IFNM, Darmstadt) |
| 1959 (7 October): | "Vom Spiritual zum Jazz" (America House, Berlin) |
| 1960 (July) | "On Musical Life in the USA" (Frankfurt) |
| --plus multiple lectures on American music at America Houses throughout Germany | |

⁹⁰ This lecture was reviewed in "Konzerte und Veranstaltungen, Amerikanische Musik," *Marburger Presse* (21 September 1949) [IMD].

In early 1949, Steinecke maintained professional contact with both Helm and John Evarts, and Evarts became Wolfgang Steinecke's primary contact for securing funds for IFNM from HICOG in 1950. Until his office was eliminated in 1951, Evarts helped Steinecke acquire both scores and money.⁹¹ Requests for scores were an important part of the duties of cultural officers, who were directed by the Information Services Division to "promote and facilitate the exchange of materials designed to stimulate the development of a sound German democracy."⁹² Thanks to Evarts and Helm, between 1949 and 1951 the United States annually contributed about twenty percent of Steinecke's budget for IFNM.⁹³ And even into the late fifties, the IFNM were advertised by the U.S. army as an alternative source of leisure-time entertainment for American enlisted men.⁹⁴

⁹¹ For example: letter from Evarts to Carleton Sprague Smith (New York Public Library), 24 February 1950. Evarts wrote: "As you undoubtedly know a chapter or section of the ISCM has been reestablished in Germany. The library of the section is at present located in the offices of the Kranichstein Music School in Darmstadt and the critic and teacher, Dr. Wolfgang Steinecke is in charge of it. Dr. Steinecke recently asked me if we could assist him in obtaining (free of course) additional scores and parts of American music. Could you perhaps as an American official of the ISCM persuade some of the New York publishers and composers to contribute a few of our best American works, both chamber music and orchestral, to the German section? Obviously the concerts they give bring in very little money and they need every help that can be given them" [IMD]. Evarts received scores soon thereafter. Letter from Evarts to Steinecke, 15 June 1950 [IMD]. Evarts' acquisition of money for IFNM is documented in the following letters: Steinecke to Evarts, 27 February 1950; Evarts to Steinecke, 13 March 1950; Steinecke to Evarts, 11 April 1950 [IMD].

⁹² "Exchange of Persons and Materials: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 6 (5 April 1949)," reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 608. Private, non-commercial interchange of cultural materials between individuals, organizations, and institutions in the United States and Germany--including sheet music, musical recordings, and musical instruments--were given official clearance through a policy statement issued on 28 February 1947 (Ibid., 612ff.).

⁹³ I found evidence for the following amounts of money having been donated to IFNM by OMGUS or HICOG: 1949: DM 4,000; March 1950: DM 2,000; April 1950: DM

The Radio Broadcasting System

Several times a day the radio stations in the American Zone put on "The Voice of America" with its signature tune "Yankee Doodle," and transmitted a program strongly influenced by thoughts of reeducation. Both military stations AFN and BFN reeducated without intent: yet their popular, swing, and jazz programs for the military personnel also formed the musical taste of many German young people, youths who up until then had primarily been exposed to march music and folk songs.⁹⁵

After Germany's surrender in 1945, the American military took over the three former *Reich's* radio stations in Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich, renaming them

2,000; March 1950: DM 1,000; and in February, discussion with Evarts about a subsidy ("Zuschuß") of DM 8,000; 1951: DM 3,000 (based on correspondence at IMD). See also Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 61.

⁹⁴ A notice about IFNM appeared in the Special Services Bulletin "for Americans taking interest in modern music." Letter from Reiber to Colonel Byrne, 31 July 1948 [IMD]. Also, in 1958 (the year Cage first lectured at the IFNM), a military official wrote to Steinecke requesting information on the IFNM, suggesting that GIs in need of entertainment might attend the events: "Dear Sir, One of the functions of this office is to stimulate interest in local travel by the U.S. Armed Forces personnel in Europe. In order to inform them of timely local events, this office needs reference material for publicity purposes. It will be greatly appreciated if you will provide us with specific information in English (if available) on: Kranichsteiner Music Week 1958." Letter from Archie P. Gauthier, Lt. Col. ARMOR, Chief, Recreation Section, APO 245 to Steinecke, 12 May 1958. Steinecke sent fifty copies of the Darmstadt brochure to the Special Activities Division in Nürnberg on 16 May 1958 [IMD]. Though they were no longer associated with the U.S. military by that time, both Everett Helm and John Evarts were listed as attendees of the 1958 IFNM [participant list held at IMD].

⁹⁵ "Mehrmals am Tag schaltete sich "Die Stimme Amerikas" mit dem "Yankee Doodle" als Erkennungsmelodie in die Radiosendungen der amerikanischen Zone ein und übertrug ein stark vom Umerziehungsgedanken geprägtes Programm. Umerziehung ohne Absicht betrieben die beiden Militärsender AFN und BFN: ihre Schlager-, Swing- und Jazzsendungen für die Besatzungsangehörigen bestimmten auch den musikalischen Geschmack vieler deutscher Jugendlicher, die bis dahin vor allem an Marsch- und Volkslieder gewöhnt waren." Eschenburg, *Jahre der Besatzung, 1945-1949*, 141.

collectively Broadcasting Stations of the Military Government.⁹⁶ The first postwar radio program was broadcast on 12 May 1945 by *Radio Munich*, on a frequency maintained by the military government in the American sector of Bavaria. On the following day, a Berlin station (*Berliner Rundfunk*) began broadcasting in the Soviet-occupied zone. The military allies engaged the radio as a primary tool of reeducation, a medium capable of reaching a majority of listeners especially during the immediate postwar period when paper for printing newspapers was scarce.⁹⁷

The radio broadcasting system in the American zone also proved to be an important distributor of information about democracy and life in America. On 21 November 1945, the Office of Military Government at the U.S. Headquarters of the Berlin District and Headquarters of the first Airborne Army announced the “Reopening of the *Drahtfunk* system [wire broadcasting] in the American Sector of Berlin under the direct supervision of the Information Control Services Control Section, U.S. Headquarters, Berlin Districts.”⁹⁸ Because Berlin was under fire right up to the end of the war, the first broadcast by the new American radio station DIAS (*Drahtfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*) took place later than the American-run *Radio Munich*, which began broadcasting four days after surrender. DIAS soon evolved into RIAS (*Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*); the name change reflected the new status of the growing radio

⁹⁶ Edgar Lersch, “Auf Neuer Welle: Der Rundfunk in den Westzonen,” in *So viel Anfang war nie*, 282.

⁹⁷ See Rita von der Grün, “Wer macht das Programm? Die Entwicklung des Rundfunks nach 1945,” in *Musik der 50er Jahre*, eds. Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1980), 26f.

broadcasting network, one no longer dependent on telephone wires. On 7 February 1946, RIAS sent its first broadcasts out over the American sector in Berlin. From five o'clock in the afternoon until midnight, RIAS featured news, current reports, music and entertainment. An advertisement for the initial broadcast listed the following programs:

Table 1.3: RIAS Broadcasts Advertised in 1946

News from Around the World
 The "Voice of America"
 Folk, House, and Concert Music
 Phonograph Records from Overseas
 Faded Voices
 Sounds from a Music Dictionary
 Stars from "Over There"
 Studio for New Music
 Listening School
 Literary Mosaics
 Forbidden Books
 Travels in Fairy-Tale Land
 For Women, Dictionary of Tomorrow
 [and others]⁹⁹

The emphasis on "catching up" is obvious. New music, previously banned books, and information from and about other countries were all topics central to reeducation. The overwhelming presence of American culture was also evident in the new radio medium: fifteen minutes into the maiden (7 February) broadcast, after a brief "greeting," listeners were treated to fifteen minutes of "jazz" followed by thirty minutes of the "Voice of America." Three hours later the "Voice of America" returned, followed by

⁹⁸ Cited in *RIAS Berlin: Eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), 407 (hereafter: *RIAS Berlin*).

⁹⁹ The advertisement is reproduced in *RIAS Berlin*, 27.

“Well-known Dance Bands” and “Voices from the Press in the American Zone” and finally, to round off the hour, again “jazz.” At ten o’clock listeners could spend an hour catching up on “Modern Symphonics” (Hindemith and Richard Strauss were heard on the first evening), followed by dance music, a short news report, and a preview of the following day’s highlights.¹⁰⁰ On 5 September 1946, RIAS was upgraded to an “AM” station. Following Berlin mayor Dr. Arthur Werner’s inauguration address, listeners were treated to melodies by Jerome Kern. On the same evening, following the “Voice of America” broadcast at 10:15 p.m., listeners could enjoy a half-hour of highlights from Rodgers and Hammerstein’s *Oklahoma* (followed by Schubert’s *Trout Quintet* in its entirety).¹⁰¹

In April of the following year, RIAS broadcast a show on American music and literature as part of its series “Voices of the People” (*Stimmen der Völker*). The program included:

Table 1.4: RIAS Broadcast “Voices of the People”

Edward MacDowell, *Aus einer Blockhütte*
 Freneau, *The Wild Honey-Suckle*
 MacDowell, *Der Salamander*
 Edgar Allan Poe, *El Dorado*
 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Brahma*
 Harrison Kerr, *Suite for Flute and Piano*
 Henry Wordsworth Longfellow, *The Warden of the Cinque*
 Samuel Barber, *Dover Beach*
 Robert Frost, *Stopping by the Woods . . .*

¹⁰⁰ *RIAS Berlin*, 44. Hindemith was without a doubt the biggest benefactor of the musical *Nachholbedarf* up until the early 1960s. See Eberle, “Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche,” 35; and Frauke M. Heß, *Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzert der achtziger Jahre* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1994), 16.

¹⁰¹ *RIAS Berlin*, 47.

Walter Piston, *Trio*

Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*

David Diamond, *Quintet for Flute, String Trio and Piano*¹⁰²

Because of programs like this one, East Germans came to see RIAS as a propaganda machine for the Americans, and therefore a threat to the Stalinist values of the Russian zone of Eastern Germany. A political poster for the socialist East German political party SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) issued in 1952 illustrated the perceived threat (see Figure 1.2).

¹⁰² *RIAS Berlin*, 145. Broadcast on 20 April 1947, at 3 p.m.

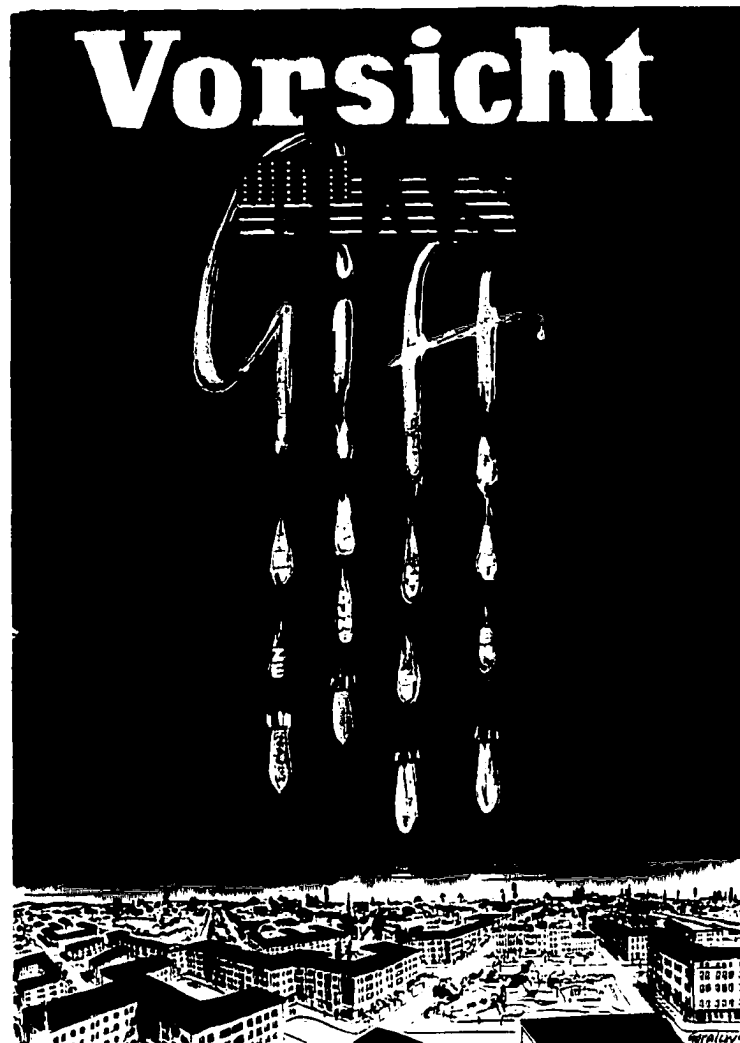


Figure 1.2: SED's anti-RIAS poster, 1952¹⁰³

RIAS was but one of many radio stations in the occupied zones. By June 1949, five radio stations--in Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich--were up and

¹⁰³ The text "Vorsicht RIAS Gift" roughly translates as: "beware of RIAS poison." Reproduction of original SED poster designed by Goralczyk (1952), held in the *Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin*.

running in the U.S. zone of West Germany.¹⁰⁴ The Russian, French and British zones each administered one station, while the U.S. military government maintained many:

Table 1.5: Radio Stations in Germany, June 1949

| | |
|----------------|---|
| USSR: | <i>Berliner Rundfunk</i> (Berlin) |
| France: | <i>Südwestfunk</i> (Baden-Baden) |
| England: | <i>Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk</i> (Hamburg) |
| United States: | <i>Radio Munich, Radio Bremen, RIAS</i> (Berlin), <i>Radio Frankfurt, Radio Stuttgart</i> |

When rebuilding the radio network, the Americans did not intend to use their own privatized broadcast system for stations in Germany, but they also rejected the centralized, state-controlled system favored by the French; drawing on the original network established in the mid-1920s, the Western allies established a decentralized, public system similar to the radio system used during the Weimar Republic.¹⁰⁵ On 10 June 1950, six stations in the western zones (excluding RIAS in Berlin) banded together to create a common “working pool” known as ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ “Development of Information Services,” *Germany Documents*, 603.

¹⁰⁵ See Lersch, “Auf Neuer Welle: Der Rundfunk in den Westzonen,” 284; and *Press, Radio, and Film in West Germany* (Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953), 28ff.

¹⁰⁶ An OMGUS document issued in April 1949 paved the way for the establishment of German Broadcasting Organizations. RIAS continued to be operated by the OMG Berlin Sector. Another document issued in September 1949 explicitly stated that “the German press, radio and other information media shall be free.” However, the Allied High Commission retained ultimate authority over the system. See “Freedom of Press, Radio, Information and Entertainment: Allied High Commission Law No. 5,” and “Military Government Radio Functions After Establishment of German Broadcasting

Table 1.6: ARD Stations in West Germany, 1950

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Hamburg: | <i>Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk</i> (NWDR; later split into <i>Norddeutscher Rundfunk</i> [NDR] and <i>Westdeutscher Rundfunk</i> [WDR]) |
| Munich: | <i>Bayerischer Rundfunk</i> (BR) |
| Frankfurt: | <i>Hessischer Rundfunk</i> (HR) |
| Stuttgart: | <i>Süddeutscher Rundfunk</i> (SDR) |
| Bremen: | <i>Radio Bremen</i> (RB) |
| Baden-Baden: | <i>Südwestfunk</i> (SWF) ¹⁰⁷ |

Collaboration between stations soon became necessary to provide all of West Germany with diverse programming around the clock. Shared “in-house” recordings, technical interaction, and recordings of live concerts made additional broadcasting materials readily available even to small stations with limited budgets. ARD’s decentralized federal system--modeled after the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany put in place by the allies--established connections to the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), making possible an even larger pool of collaboration and money for commissioning new works.¹⁰⁸

Within a few years, West Germany could boast many broadcasting institutions that were independent from political or commercial sponsorship and in control of all aspects of music programming and distribution.¹⁰⁹ Unlike the more than one thousand

Organizations: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 5,” reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 605f; 608f.

¹⁰⁷ The stations *Sender Freies Berlin* (SFB) and *Saarländischer Rundfunk* (SR, in Saarbrücken) were added to the ARD network in 1953 and 1957, respectively.

¹⁰⁸ Documents held at *Radio Bremen* define the EBU as “a voluntary link-up between almost all the West European radio stations for the purpose of relaying occasions of special interest and major cultural events” [RB].

private radio stations in the United States--stations dependent on advertising contracts with local and national sponsors--German stations enjoyed large state subsidies.¹¹⁰ State-supported broadcasting centers in West Germany played a seminal role in the development of an autonomous contemporary music environment during the postwar years. For example, already in October 1945, Karl Amadeus Hartmann's Munich-based new music festival *Musica Viva* had enjoyed its first successes, and received help from the local radio. *Radio Munich* set the precedent for disseminating new music to a larger public when they broadcast live from the festival. Furthermore, by recording and later broadcasting *Musica Viva* concerts the radio could begin to make unfamiliar music accessible to a large audience.

All of the ARD stations became institutions of public law (*öffentlich-rechtlich*, similar to public broadcasting in the United States), and functioned under the guidelines of a specific educational commitment. From the early days of the new broadcast system, new music directors reached out to their audience while enjoying a certain amount of artistic freedom. While they had the means and facilities to bring the music to life through their house orchestras, festivals, recording, and broadcasting power, the directors

¹⁰⁹ In fact, public radio enjoyed a near monopoly until private stations were introduced in 1984. See Beate Schneider, "Musik im Hörfunk und Fernsehen," in *Musikszene Deutschland*, ed. Richard Jakoby (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1997), 116.

¹¹⁰ In 1947, a *Melos* article on radio in the U.S. reported that in the year 1945 alone, American businesses spent 412 million dollars on radio advertising, while listeners paid nothing for radio service. H. W. Heinsheimer, "Musik im amerikanischen Rundfunk," *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947): 332-35. Heinsheimer (who emigrated to the United States in 1938) made a point of mentioning that only 30% of American radio time actually featured music, and that the taste of the audience alone determined what kind of music would be played. For Germans, the mix of advertising and art ("Reklame und Kunst") was distasteful.

also accepted a pedagogical obligation to prepare the listener for the unfamiliar music they were about to hear. The educational commitment (*Bildungsauftrag*) was spelled out during the 1950s in the “Rules and Duties of Broadcasts” as “serving the entire population through education, instruction and entertainment.”¹¹¹ Since contemporary music’s survival rate seems to have depended on audience preparation, the *Bildungsauftrag* was of particular importance for living composers. Thus radio broadcasts became not only distributors of new music, but vehicles for information within a pedagogical forum.¹¹² But the reciprocal relationship between commission-granting broadcast producers and living composers needing studio space and rehearsal time mattered little to listeners who lacked tools for appreciating new music. Furthermore, many later radio broadcast program directors were composers themselves, and their commitment to new music was unshakable. In particular, Hans Otte at *Radio Bremen* (from 1959 until 1984) and Ernstalbrecht Stiebler at Frankfurt’s *Hessischer Rundfunk* (from 1970 until 1995) came to have a lasting influence on new music in West Germany.

The nature of radio broadcasting in the occupied zones often had a direct impact on musical life in those areas. For example, Hans Otte (b. 1926 in East Prussia), composer and later new music program director at *Radio Bremen*, recalled that while living in the Thuringian town of Meiningen in the Russian-occupied zone during the late

¹¹¹ “Grundsätze und Pflichten für Sendungen,” in von der Grün, “Wer macht das Programm?,” 26.

¹¹² Dibelius lists five primary methods used by new music broadcasts for preparing the listener. Dibelius, “Rundfunk und Neue Musik,” in *Neue Musik im geteilten Deutschland: Dokumente aus den fünfziger Jahren*, eds. Ulrich Dibelius and Frank Schneider (Berlin: Henschel-Verlag, 1993), 227f.

1940s, he “overheard” a radio broadcast from the American zone to the south (Bavaria). On that particular evening the new music radio show featured two little-known works: Arnold Schoenberg’s *Fünf Stücke für Orchester, op. 16*, and Igor Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps*. These works had been banned during the Third Reich and were now suppressed in the new Soviet zone as well. Hearing these compositions for the first time, Otte decided to move to a western zone that allowed such music to be performed, composed, and celebrated; already in the eastern territories, Russian restrictions on personal behavior resembled Nazi censorship.¹¹³

As we shall see, the educational commitment and financial autonomy of radio stations in West Germany were critical to the development of contemporary venues of support for many living composers. But by the late 1950s, little evidence remained that showed how closely linked the development of the broadcasting system had once been to the Allied commitment to “reeducation.”

Cultural Exchange: Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt

In many ways, the musicologist and music critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901-88) is a German counterpart in the cultural alliance we have already observed through the activities of John Evarts and Everett Helm. As an employee of U.S.

¹¹³ Otte: “Ich mußte in das Land gehen wo diese Musik gespielt werden kann.” Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998. The East German composer Paul-Heinz Dittrich related similar experiences in Leipzig and Weimar during the 1950s. Dittrich interview with the author, 11 May 1998.

enterprises in Germany, a cultural ambassador to the U.S. through the State Department, and a spokesman for American music in the German press, Stuckenschmidt served reeducation in multiple roles.

In December 1934, Stuckenschmidt was forbidden by Germany's new government--for political and cultural reasons--to continue his professional activities. The critic's positive newspaper review of the premiere of the fifth movement of Berg's *Lulu Symphony* was the cause of his work ban.¹¹⁴ Stuckenschmidt fled to Prague, but the work ban caught up with him. When the Germans occupied Prague in March 1939, Stuckenschmidt lost his passport and thus his last chance for emigration. In 1941 he was forced to choose between arrest and voluntary military service; he chose the latter. After a period of military training in 1942, Stuckenschmidt was denied a position at the propaganda section in Potsdam.¹¹⁵ His only option was to join the German army as an English and French interpreter; he was taken as an American prisoner near the end of the war. Soon after his release in April 1946, Stuckenschmidt received his clearance and was allowed to work again, since Nazi censorship of his professional activities proved his

¹¹⁴ This was largely because he was suspected of being "undoubtedly influenced by Jews" ("zweifelloes jüdischerseits beeinflusste Richtung"). Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 141.

¹¹⁵ Letter to Stuckenschmidt from Werner Stephan, "Ministerialrat, Persönlicher Referent des Pressechefs der Reichsregierung und Staatssekretärs im Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda," 16 March 1942. Stephan wrote that Stuckenschmidt's political position and musical views were questionable, and that he therefore had no chance of employment as a music journalist under the Nazi regime's Ministry of Propaganda. The letter closed with the obligatory "Heil Hitler!" [HHS/BAdK].

distance from party beliefs.¹¹⁶ Before the war, Stuckenschmidt had worked as a German correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*, and his international reputation soon established his place in the postwar reconstruction of musical life. By May 1946 the U.S. command in Berlin requested that Stuckenschmidt direct the Studio for New Music at RIAS. As a radio journalist, Stuckenschmidt was granted an interzone pass and permission by the U.S. Military Government of Hesse to participate in the second IFNM in Darmstadt in 1947. Stuckenschmidt reviewed the IFNM events for the American-run newspaper *Neue Zeitung* on 8 August 1947.¹¹⁷

In early 1949, Music Officer John Evarts informed Stuckenschmidt that the U.S. State Department desired Stuckenschmidt's services as a cultural ambassador in the United States.¹¹⁸ To Stuckenschmidt's surprise, as a recognized leader in the areas of music, press and radio, he was the State Department's first choice as a representative of

¹¹⁶ As Pamela Potter has pointed out, Stuckenschmidt was "heralded after 1945 as a defender of modern music and a victim of Nazi censorship" despite his professional activities during the Nazi era. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 153.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Gerhard Singer (Theater and Music Control Officer, Office of Military Government for Greater Hesse, APO 633 U.S. Army, Wiesbaden and Darmstadt Outpost) to Steinecke, 4 June 1947. The letter gave clearance and rights to perform ("Aufführungsrecht erteilt") to Stuckenschmidt, Hermann Scherchen, Wolfgang Fortner, Hermann Heiss, Heinrich Strobel, and eleven others. A previous letter of this kind, with the same content but a different list of names, granted permission for participation in the first IFNM (also from Singer to Steinecke, dated 12 August 1946) [IMD].

¹¹⁸ The United States' Cultural Exchange Program was outlined in a policy statement (SWNCC 269/8) titled: "Interchange of Persons and Materials, Visits of German Nationals to the United States and of Persons from the United States to Germany (24 October 1946)," reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 611f.

German musical life.¹¹⁹ The purpose of the visit was to “revive international cultural relations” (as described by JCS 1779 in 1947, cited above) by talking to musicians and university professors, and by learning about the infrastructure for music in America.¹²⁰ As a chosen German expert acquainting himself with American practices and way of life, Stuckenschmidt was fully funded by the United States Government on his trip.¹²¹ On 25 February 1949 he sailed for New York on a steamship full of American soldiers for a two-month visit. The result of this trip was a series of articles published in German newspapers (primarily *Neue Zeitung*) about musical life in America. Stuckenschmidt’s impressions of American musical life as expressed in these articles illustrate some of what was known about American music in mid-century Germany from the perspective of one of that country’s most prominent writers on music.

In an article about American opera, for instance, Stuckenschmidt emphasized the perils of private patronage, claiming that opera was only possible with large amounts of public or state funding (as was the case in Germany).¹²² He wrote that in the United

¹¹⁹ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 192ff.

¹²⁰ Though the State Department sponsored Americans’ cultural trips to Germany (such as the Walden Quartet in 1948), Willett comments that “the traffic tended to be in the other direction.” For the most part, Germans were sent to the United States so they could become familiar with the American way of life, and not the other way around.” Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 18f. Willett also notes that German visitors to the United States were often aware of an anti-intellectual climate, even in the universities.

¹²¹ German cultural visitors of this type became “temporary United States Government employees acting under orders of Military Government” for the duration of their stay in the United States. See “Cultural Exchange Objectives and Implementation Methods (February 1949),” reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 614ff.

¹²² “Die Musikbühne der Weltstadt: Amerikanische Operprobleme,” *Neue Zeitung* (8 April 1949) [IMD].

States, few ensembles and institutions received financial aid from public sources, and what they received was small. Stuckenschmidt predicted: "It still could take a long time until this situation is altered."¹²³ He discussed the (European) repertoire of the Metropolitan and City Center Opera companies in New York, and reviewed a number of American productions of German, Italian, French and Russian operas. He observed that American singers desired European vocal training and performance experience on prestigious European stages. Only in a second article on the opera situation in America did Stuckenschmidt mention operas by American composers, namely William Grant Still's *Troubled Island*, and Gian-Carlo Menotti's *The Medium* and *The Old Maiden and the Thief*.¹²⁴ Stuckenschmidt praised Menotti's *Medium*, calling it simply the best opera performance he attended while in America.¹²⁵ Yet he also called Menotti's composing "reactionary," and emphasized the negative influence of Broadway musicals on developments in American opera--a view that, according to Stuckenschmidt, was shared by Kurt Weill, whom Stuckenschmidt visited in New York.¹²⁶ Stuckenschmidt judged Still's opera more harshly than Menotti's, calling it "neither good taste, nor good theater," and adding that the music itself made the opera even less enjoyable.¹²⁷ He criticized the

¹²³ "Und es kann noch lange Zeit dauern, bis dieser Zustand geändert wird." Ibid.

¹²⁴ "Moderner Geist in der amerikanischen Oper," *Neue Zeitung* (15 May 1949) [IMD].

¹²⁵ "Die beste Opernaufführung, die ich überhaupt in Amerika sah und hörte, war die von Gian-Carlo Menottis *The Medium*." Ibid.

¹²⁶ Weill had lived in the United States since 1935.

¹²⁷ "Das ist alles in allem weder guter Geschmack noch gutes Theater. Und die Musik tut ein Übriges, es ungenießbar zu machen." Ibid.

City Center Opera for what he considered a flaunting of its liberal stance by premiering--with much publicity--the work of a black composer. Stuckenschmidt missed the creative energy of black music, and complained that Still's score relied too much on late-romantic harmonic and emotional conventions. For the German visitor, the instrumental "orgies" of the black "Bee Bop" [*sic*] orchestras were much more intriguing.¹²⁸ These descriptions of the popular power of Broadway musicals and new jazz idioms were Stuckenschmidt's only references to music outside the European classical tradition. Yet he recognized that "in this country one lives very fast," and that the views change rapidly, compared to the slow march of history in Europe.¹²⁹

Another series of articles written by Stuckenschmidt during his America tour described music on the west coast, in particular the San Francisco Bay Area.¹³⁰ Roger Sessions, a frequent visitor at Stuckenschmidt's Berlin home between 1930 and 1933, met the visitor's train in Berkeley.¹³¹ Stuckenschmidt spent a day at Mills College in Oakland with Darius and Madeline Milhaud, and another day at the University of

¹²⁸ "Still ist Neger, und es ehrt die liberale Gesinnung der City-Center-Opera-Leute, daß sie das Werk eines Farbigen als große Premiere herausstellen. Doch von der schöpferischen Kraft der Negerkunst ist [. . .] wenig zu spüren. [. . .] Da sind die instrumentalen Orgien des schwarzen Orchesters, das am Broadway den "Bee Bop," die neueste und lauteste Form synkopierter Tanzmusik, schwül und virtuos in ein verblüfftes Publikum schmettert, weit aufschlußreicher." *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ "In diesem Lande lebt man sehr schnell, und auch die Ansichten wandeln sich mit verblüffender Geschwindigkeit." *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ "Impressionen von einer Reise durch die USA," *Neue Zeitung* (26 and 27 April 1949) [IMD].

¹³¹ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 197ff.

California in Berkeley with Sessions.¹³² With Milhaud and Sessions, Stuckenschmidt discussed current musical issues in California including Thomas Mann's recently-published *Doktor Faustus* (the first English translation was published in 1949) and Schoenberg's influential but controversial twelve-tone method. The presence of German and Austrian immigrants such as Thomas Mann, Arnold Schoenberg, Theodor W. Adorno and Ernst Křenek in California clearly enhanced cultural life for west coast artists and intellectuals. In Los Angeles, Stuckenschmidt mostly visited European colleagues and friends such as Thomas Mann, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky.¹³³

Stuckenschmidt's comparisons of musical life on the east and west coasts perpetuated views of the west coast as "provincial," and he suggested that musicians on the west coast did not belong to a social class burdened by tradition like their cousins on the east coast.¹³⁴ Stuckenschmidt also compared the orchestra sound of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra with orchestras he heard on the east coast (he mentioned Boston, Philadelphia and New York). For him, the SFO was less refined, but clearer and more expressive, allowing the audience to listen to the music and not to the novelties and

¹³² Stuckenschmidt remarked that he last saw Milhaud at the premiere of Stravinsky's *Persephone* in Paris in 1935. Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 197.

¹³³ A notable exception was a visit with George Antheil, whom Stuckenschmidt had also known before the war.

¹³⁴ Stuckenschmidt mentioned this in the context of Roger Sessions' professional activities in California, and Sessions' claim that he hoped to leave California soon.

nuances of the virtuosic American instrumental sound that he heard in the midwest and on the east coast.¹³⁵

Back in Germany, Stuckenschmidt was treated as an expert on American musical life. In a review of the German premiere of the University of Illinois-based Walden String Quartet in Berlin (June 1949), Stuckenschmidt discussed the music of Charles Ives and Wallingford Riegger.¹³⁶ While introducing Ives's still unfamiliar music, Stuckenschmidt wrote that all of his music was under the spell of searching, of experiment, and that despite obvious signs of genius, Ives was a dilettante.¹³⁷ Riegger, on the other hand, who had received some of his musical training at the Berlin Conservatory, was called the leading American modernist today.¹³⁸ As a "local employee" for the U.S. High Commission, Stuckenschmidt also lectured on American music and musical life at America Houses throughout West Germany. One lectures was in Gießen, a medium-

¹³⁵ "Die Farben sind weniger raffiniert, dafür aber klarer; es macht einen menschlicheren Eindruck. Man hört wieder einmal auf Beethoven, nicht auf eine neue Nuance des Streicher- oder Bläserklangs." Stuckenschmidt, "Impressionen von einer Reise durch die USA," *Neue Zeitung* (26 April 1949) [IMD].

¹³⁶ Stuckenschmidt, "Kammermusik in Amerika," *Neue Zeitung* (12 June 1949).

¹³⁷ "Alle seine Musik steht im Zeichen des Suchens, des Experiments." Ibid. As early as 1949, Stuckenschmidt considered Ives "experimental," whereas a year later he called Sessions a "radical-experimentalist" (as opposed to the "classicists."). See Stuckenschmidt's article in *Neue Zeitung* (2 April 1950) on concert by the Berliner Philharmonic's special concert of contemporary American music, featuring works by Diamond, Copland, Barber and Piston [SIM].

¹³⁸ "[Riegger] gilt heute als der führende amerikanische Modernist." "Kammermusik in Amerika," *Neue Zeitung* (12 June 1949) [IMD]. Riegger's music was especially favored by the conductor Hermann Scherchen, Stuckenschmidt's close friend at the time.

sized university town near Frankfurt, in September of 1949.¹³⁹ A reviewer of this lecture discussed Stuckenschmidt's emphasis on the high quality of music performance and scholarship in America, which he attributed in part to the large number of intellectual immigrants from Europe. Again, Stuckenschmidt seems not to have mentioned any American composers, performers or conductors by name. He discussed the orchestral situation in America, mentioning performances he attended by Toscanini and Bruno Walter, confirming that J.S. Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Richard Strauss, and Tchaikovsky were the composers most frequently performed by American orchestras. In his discussion of American opera companies Stuckenschmidt again lamented the lack of patronage in America: he described musicians' dependence on insufficient private funding and the almost complete absence of state support.¹⁴⁰ In conclusion, Stuckenschmidt noted the important role of music at colleges and universities, and highlighted the practical emphasis music schools placed on training professional musicians rather than focusing only on abstract skills in history and theory as was common in European universities at the time.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Stuckenschmidt gave a similar, if not identical, lecture at the America House in Heidelberg, also in September of 1949 (and most likely in many other cities as well). Review of lecture, "Amerikanisches Musikleben der Gegenwart," *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* (6 September 1949) [IMD]. In this lecture, Stuckenschmidt allegedly stated that America only had two opera houses (the Met and the City-Center Opera). In the same year, Ernst Křenek wrote that wrote that the United States had only one real opera scene, and that it was in New Orleans. Ernst Křenek, *Musik im goldenen Westen: Das Tonschaffen der USA* (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1949), 35.

¹⁴⁰ Compare with Stuckenschmidt's article on opera in America, *Neue Zeitung* (8 April 1949), cited above.

¹⁴¹ By February 1949, the American zones of West Germany and the U.S. sector of Berlin had seven college-level German music schools and schools of fine arts, with a total

Stuckenschmidt worked for the United States Information Agency in Germany until 1955, when the American-subsidized newspaper *Neue Zeitung*, for which he had been writing for nearly a decade, was discontinued.¹⁴² Up to that time, the U.S. Information Agency had paid for Stuckenschmidt's trips to concerts around Germany to review them for *Neue Zeitung*. For example, on 21 September 1954, he received a payment of DM 244.75 from the U.S. High Commission for Germany for his round-trip mileage from Berlin to Bayreuth. According to an Efficiency Report for Local Employees of the U.S. High Commission (for the fiscal year June 1953-May 1954), Stuckenschmidt's substantial salary for work on *Neue Zeitung* shortly before his dismissal was DM 25,200 per year (about \$6,000).¹⁴³

enrollment of 2,227 students. *Germany Documents*, 571. The information in the above paragraph regarding Stuckenschmidt's America House lecture stems from: "Europäer erlebt amerikanische Musik: Professor Stuckenschmidt im Amerika-haus," *Gießener Freie Presse* (23 September 1949) [IMD]. In a similar lecture presented in Berlin a few months earlier, Stuckenschmidt remarked that that Americans feared the State's influence on the arts. See Gertrud Pliquet, "Musikalische Impressionen aus USA," *Sozialdemokrat* (28 July 1949) [IMD].

¹⁴² Letter from the Foreign Service of the United States of America, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, Berlin Element, Administrative Division to Stuckenschmidt (16 December 1954): "Due to the discontinuance of *Neue Zeitung* with the issue of January 30, 1955, I regret to inform you that your limited appointment with the U.S. Information Agency will be terminated effective February 5, 1955" [HHS/BAdK, in U.S. Government File No. 712].

¹⁴³ Dollar/DM conversion rates for 1953-54 were provided by Pascal Frommeld, Bankgesellschaft Berlin, in personal communication with the author, on 5 February 1999. Stuckenschmidt's payment for work done for the U.S. High Commission for Germany during the period of reeducation is partially documented in [HHS/BAdK].

Stuckenschmidt's salary was substantial for the mid-1950s. I have compared this salary with a modest household budget in the West German town of Gießen in 1954: a family of five persons could rent an apartment for DM 138/month (about \$33), three pounds of bread cost DM 1.30 (about 30 cents), fifteen pounds of potatoes cost DM 1.35 (about 32 cents), one pound of coffee cost DM 4.70 (about \$1.12), and one pair of shoes

Viewing America, "A Country Without Traditions"

Stuckenschmidt was not the only one constructing images of musical life in the United States. During the occupation and after, many newspapers printed articles on American music in an effort to inform the public about what American art music had to offer. An article in the Bremen newspaper blamed its readers for not knowing more: "There is hardly an educated European who hasn't yet read an American book, but there are many who know nothing about music-making in America."¹⁴⁴ Despite the cultural repositioning that went on during the postwar era, most depictions of the United States, Americans, and American culture were based on century-old stereotypes, and reeducation could not erase them.¹⁴⁵ One writer claimed that thanks to "the great European legacy powerfully spreading its roots in the fertile soil of the New World," Americans were only now becoming a "music-friendly people," no longer just a country obsessed with technical progress.¹⁴⁶ In West Germany, American art as an imported product within the

cost DM 18.85 (about \$4.50). Luise Gans interview with the author and supporting documentation, 9 July 1998.

¹⁴⁴ "So gibt es wohl keinen gebildeten Europäer, der noch kein amerikanisches Buch gelesen hat, aber es gibt viele, die nichts über das Musikschaffen in Amerika wissen." H. Oswald, "Amerikanische Musik der Gegenwart," *Bremer Nachrichten* (16 September 1950) [IMD]. The article introduced Barber, Copland, Gershwin, Harris, Piston, Schuman, Still, and others.

¹⁴⁵ See Dan Diner, *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 1996).

¹⁴⁶ "Die Amerikaner sind zu einer musikfreudigen Nation geworden. Bisher war Amerika nur das Land des technischen Fortschritts. [. . .] Das große europäische Erbe breitet seine Wurzeln in dem fruchtbaren Boden der neuen Welt kraftvoll aus." "Musik in Amerika," *Frankfurter Rundschau* (6 October 1948) [IMD].

frame of a “cultural Marshall Plan” propagated an utopia of creative freedom for autonomous individuals.¹⁴⁷ In this context, American music seemed young, innocent, and fresh, but also naive, second-rate, and historically irresponsible. The United States was seen as free from tradition, while Europe was burdened by tradition.¹⁴⁸ H. W.

¹⁴⁷ See Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago and London, 1983), 192. The rise of abstract expressionist painting played a large role in the spread of American art throughout the world following W.W. II, though the U.S. government’s relationship to this new art remained ambivalent at best. For more information on the United States’ efforts to establish a positive cultural reputation around the world, see Dore Ashton, *American Art Since 1945* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1982), 33f.

¹⁴⁸ From many such characterizations, I offer the following examples. A reviewer of a Berlin performance of Roy Harris’s *Third Symphony* in *Der Sozialdemokrat* (13 April 1949), titled “Beethoven in America” (“Beethoven amerikanisch”), remarked: “Roy Harris is an American, unburdened by a large musical inheritance such as ours” (“Roy Harris ist ein Amerikaner, unbelastet durch ein großes musikalisches Erbe in unserem Sinne”). After a Berlin Philharmonic concert with music by Piston, Copland, Barber and Diamond, a critic summarized American music as: “still more becoming than being; not deeply rooted in what has been” (“Noch ist sie mehr Werden als Sein, nicht im Gewesenen verfestigt”), *Der Tagesspiegel* (6 April 1950). A review in *Der Tag* (6 April 1950) referred to the same music as “unburdened by the past” (“von der Vergangenheit Unbelasteten”). Other reviews of the same concert referred to the music as “conventional modernism,” “intellectually simple,” and remarked that “despite the lack of tradition and the independence from European music, a self-influenced, independent art has failed to evolve” (“Aber aus der Traditionslosigkeit und der Abhängigkeit [*sic*] von der europäischen Musik hat sich noch keine eigengeprägte, selbständige Kunst entwickelt”).

Even as late as 1970, these stereotypes persisted. For example, after a Berlin performance of Copland’s *Clarinet Concerto* and *Third Symphony*, a critic remarked that “the American symphony still carries the mysticism of the Wild West” (“Die amerikanische Symphonik hat noch immer den Mystizismus des Wilden Westens an sich”), Klaus Lüpfer, “Typisches aus Amerika,” *Spandauer Volksblatt* (2 October 1970). Another critic remarked that Copland’s works demonstrated “a typical characteristic of American compositions,” namely “a different relationship to music than European compositions, which are burdened by tradition and knowledge” (“[Coplands Werke] zeigen einige typische Eigenschaften der amerikanischen Kompositionen. Sie haben ein anderes Verhältnis zur Musik als die europäischen, durch Tradition und Wissen belasteten Kompositionen”). “Aus der Neuen Welt,” *Dem Abend* (1 October 1970) [all in BPA].

Heinsheimer, who surveyed the radio broadcasting system in the United States for *Melos* in 1947, excused the crass business aspect of sponsorship through advertising because “the musical development of the United States, unlike other countries, doesn’t look back over a long tradition.”¹⁴⁹ Another article on American music in *Melos* pondered “the highly developed commercialization of artistic life.”¹⁵⁰ A scholar on postwar German-American relations has written:

To many outside observers the mass culture symbols of American affluence projected an image of the United States as not only materialistic but crude, without *Kultur*. From the eighteenth century onwards, conservatives and radicals had regarded European civilization as superior to American culture which was considered utilitarian and vulgar. [. . .] The writer Carl Zuckmayer, returning from America after the war, described it as a country without traditions from which Germans could learn nothing.¹⁵¹

The view of America as lacking tradition was perpetuated in part by German returning emigrant musicians and musicologists who spoke on American musical life

¹⁴⁹ “Die musikalische Entwicklung Amerikas blickt nicht wie die anderer Länder auf eine lange Tradition zurück.” H. W. Heinsheimer, “Musik im amerikanischen Rundfunk,” *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947): 333. Heinsheimer went on to say that “for the majority of inhabitants of this country, music is a previously unexplored, new terrain.”

¹⁵⁰ “Die hochentwickelte Kommerzialisierung des Kunstlebens.” Artur Holde, “Musik--jenseits des Ozeans: Streiflichter vom amerikanischen Musikleben der Gegenwart,” *Melos* 14/10-11 (August-September 1947): 289.

¹⁵¹ Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 12. After visiting Germany in 1950, Edgard Varèse remarked on views of American music there, saying that Germans still did not accept Americans as a cultured people. Varèse interview with Harold C. Schonberg, “U.S. Role Abroad: Varèse Says Our Influences Must Be Cultural, Too,” *New York Times* (8 October 1950): X7.

after the war.¹⁵² After living in the United States since 1938, Heinsheimer wrote that America's audience for new music was naive and indiscriminate, entirely without prejudices, and uncommonly polite in the face of radical new composition.¹⁵³ In Germany, reeducation programs suffered because of Germans' enduring skepticism about the historical validity--and quality--of cultural traditions in the United States.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

The final years of the war had been catastrophic for Germany's cultural infrastructure: by 1945, nearly sixty opera houses alone had been destroyed.¹⁵⁵ But a number of cultural initiatives soon established a lively new music community throughout Germany. The following table shows new initiatives founded in Germany after the war:

¹⁵² For example, Dr. Hans Rosenwald, speaking in Berlin in August of 1949, said that the absence of tradition made practicing musicology in America a challenge ("Wie Rosenwald ausführte, sei bei der Traditionslosigkeit in Amerika die Lage der Musikwissenschaft, die dort erst 1936 in Erscheinung trat, sehr schwierig"). He also stated that in America, one could not assume any sort of pre-existing knowledge on the part of the audience ("[. . .] keine Vorkenntnisse von den Hörern verlangt werden können"). "Schwierige Lage der Musikwissenschaft in den USA," *US Press, Tägliche Rundschau Berlin* (18 August 1949) [IMD].

¹⁵³ "Überhaupt ist das Interesse an neuer Musik groß: es ist ein naives und unverdorbenes Interesse am Neuen, ein wenig wahllos bei der Masse des Konsums, aber ohne jedes Vorurteil; jeder ist bereit zu hören, zu lernen, und wenn es zu einer Ablehnung kommt, ist es ein schweigender Protest. Skandale um neue Musik, auch wenn es radikale und schwer verdauliche Werke sind, gibt es nie." H. W. Heinsheimer, "Zwischen 1914-1947: Amerikanisches Musikleben im Aufstieg," *Melos* 14/9 (July 1947): 254.

¹⁵⁴ See Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 82.

¹⁵⁵ "Traurige Bilanz," *Melos* (May/June 1947): 220.

Table 1.7: New Music Initiatives Formed Between 1945 and 1958¹⁵⁶

| | |
|------|---|
| 1945 | <i>Musica Viva</i> , Munich (BR) |
| 1946 | <i>Studio für Neue Musik</i> , Munich |
| 1946 | <i>Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik</i> (IFNM), Darmstadt |
| 1946 | “Tage für Neue Musik” (HR), Frankfurt |
| 1947 | <i>Arbeitstagung des Instituts für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung</i> , Darmstadt |
| 1948 | <i>Tage neuer Kammermusik</i> , Braunschweig |
| 1950 | <i>Internationales Jugend-Festspieltreffen</i> , Bayreuth |
| 1951 | <i>Berliner Festwochen</i> |
| 1951 | <i>Das Neue Werk</i> , Hamburg (NDR) |
| 1951 | <i>Musik der Zeit</i> , Cologne (WDR) |
| 1954 | <i>Ulmer Konzerte</i> |
| 1954 | <i>Musik unserer Zeit</i> , Stuttgart (SDR) |
| 1955 | <i>Musik der Gegenwart</i> , Berlin (SFB) |
| 1958 | <i>Tage der Neuen Musik</i> , Hannover |
| 1958 | <i>Ars Nova</i> , Nürnberg |
| 1958 | <i>Studio für Neue Musik</i> , Würzburg |

By 1950, the independent republic of West Germany had its cultural infrastructure in place. Contemporary composition there balanced on the brink of serialism, and the stage was set for a gradual infiltration of American experimentalism to challenge opinions about American culture’s ambivalent relationship to Europe and vice versa. The story unfolded at music festivals, where the Old World and the New World met on musical ground. The next chapter examines the role of American music at one of the new music initiatives listed in Table 1.1, the Holiday Courses for New Music, founded in 1946 in the town of Darmstadt.

¹⁵⁶ In addition to those initiatives mentioned above, a number of initiatives established during the 1920s and 1930s and discontinued during the war resumed activity between 1946 and 1950, including the *Donaueschinger Musiktage* (SWF), *Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (ISCM chapter), *Kasseler Musiktage*, and the *Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik*.

CHAPTER TWO

DARMSTADT IN THE 1950s

Darmstadt, our first stop [in 1956], was a sad city, badly damaged by the war, and still dominated by American military who had little to do except drink.¹

Introduction: Darmstadt and the U.S. Zone

One of Germany's most influential postwar new music communities formed in the small city of Darmstadt, some twenty-five miles south of Frankfurt, in 1946. There the music critic Wolfgang Steinecke (1910-61) established the Holiday Courses for New Music (*Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*; hereafter IFNM), an annual summer series of composition and instrumental courses, workshops, master classes, lectures, and performances.² Darmstadt lay in the heart of Hesse, a region governed by the United

¹ Gretchen Finney, *Facts and Memories* (New York: C. F. Peters, 1990), 211. Gretchen Finney's husband, the composer Ross Lee Finney, remembered Darmstadt as "a pain in the neck, mostly because of the American military presence, but also because of the arrogance that I encountered at the musical establishments." Ross Lee Finney, *Profile of a Lifetime* (New York: C. F. Peters, 1992), 169.

² Originally called *Kranichsteiner Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*, the courses were later renamed to emphasize internationalism. Currently, the most exhaustive sources on IFNM history are *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse*, ed. Rudolf Stephan, et al. (Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996); Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946-1966*, 3 Volumes (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997); and Heinz-Klaus

States after 1945. Because the war had brought extensive damage to southern Hesse, Darmstadt lost its status as the capital of this region: in October 1945 the Americans selected another town to become the Hesse's new capital.³ Situated on the banks of the Rhein river, Wiesbaden was not a historical seat of democratic government but rather a summer residence for nobles and aristocrats. Since the turn of the century Wiesbaden had been primarily a resort town. For that reason, unlike the three historical government towns in Hesse--the mercantile center Frankfurt, Kassel in the north, and Darmstadt in the south--Wiesbaden emerged from the war relatively unscathed, making it a prime location for the new democratic government, as well as for many military offices of the American zone.

The U.S. zone of occupied Germany was financially and legally stable compared to the others, which suffered "transitional crises" due to changes in government and monetary reform.⁴ Darmstadt's location in the American zone was fortunate for Steinecke, who benefited from an American military government that had not been financially devastated by years of war. On the contrary, the prosperity of the United States in the late 1940s and early 1950s would come to have a direct impact on the development of new music centers in the U.S. zone. The cultural politics of reeducation

Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Darmstadt-Dokumente 1; Musik-Konzepte Sonderband* (Munich: edition text+kritik, 1999).

³ Nearly eighty percent of Darmstadt had been destroyed and over 11,000 people were killed during a British Air Force air raid on the night of 11-12 September 1944. The war ended for Darmstadt with the American occupation of the city on 25 March 1945. In addition to those who lost their lives, 70,000 of 115,000 people were left homeless. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 77.

⁴ Eschenburg, *Jahre der Besatzung, 1945-1949*, 84.

could only succeed with the active involvement of German citizens, and Wolfgang Steinecke heeded the call to action.⁵

During reeducation, OMGUS reviewed all activities in public cultural life in their zone, and like other cultural initiatives, the Darmstadt new music courses were integrally connected to U.S. policies. For example, early IFNM programs were stamped with American publishing licenses.⁶ Furthermore, IFNM participants and observers had to receive a clearance issued by OMGUS and the Music and Theater Branch before traveling to Darmstadt.⁷ And requests by Steinecke and his employees to the military government for money, performance space, bedding and food were frequent, and frequently granted.⁸ In fact, in 1946, the piano first used at the summer courses had been confiscated from the Nazis during the war. The instrument was donated by American soldiers, who

⁵ “Die Kulturpolitik sollte zwar zur Umerziehung der Deutschen dienen, indes konnte die angestrebte ‘Reeducation’ nur funktionieren, wenn sie von deutscher Seite mitgetragen wurde. [. . .] Schließlich nutzten die Amerikaner die Kulturpolitik als den Bereich, in dem man sich großzügig zeigen und Sympatien sichern konnte. [. . .] Von amerikanischer Seite wurde das Programm der Kulturverwaltung indirekt fördernd unterstützt, z.B. durch Beteiligung an den Sammelaktionen für den kulturellen Wiederaufbau.” Elke Gerberding, “Darmstädter Kulturpolitik der Nachkriegszeit,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 31.

⁶ See Chapter One for information on licensing during the reeducation era.

⁷ For example, letter from Gerhard Singer to Steinecke, 12 August 1946; and letter from Singer to Steinecke, 4 June 1947 (cited in Chapter One) [IMD].

⁸ This is documented in letters from Steinecke, especially in 1948 and 1949 after the German currency reform of 1948 [IMD]. In addition, Gerberding has written: “Auch von amerikanischer Seite wurde die Initiative begrüßt und insbesondere die internationale Ausrichtung der Kurse geschätzt. Die Amerikaner spendeten für die Ferienkurse Lebensmittel, entliehen Möbel, um Veranstaltungsräume in geeigneter Form auszustatten und waren die Hauptgeldgeber bei dem 1949 eingerichteten Patenning für Teilnehmer der Ferienkurse.” Gerberding, “Darmstädter Kulturpolitik der Nachkriegszeit,” 34.

transported the Steinway grand to *Jagdschloß Kranichstein*--the location of the first three IFNM--on the back of a military jeep.⁹

Insofar as institutions and performance venues are examined as factors in the history of composition since 1945, English-language texts sometimes portray Darmstadt's IFNM as a summer camp focused solely on electronic music and European serialism.¹⁰

Recent publications on early IFNM history, such as Gianmario Borio's and Hermann Danuser's *Im Zenit der Moderne* (1997), offer a more balanced picture of the variety IFNM offered. Pioneers of early modernism--including the then largely unknown music

⁹ This story was first told to me by Wilhelm Schlüter, archivist at [IMD], on 27 October 1997. Schlüter later wrote: "Vor langen Jahren erzählte mir der damalige Klavierstimmer der Ferienkurse, daß 'die Amerikaner 1946 einen Steinway-Flügel bei einem während des Dritten Reiches politisch Aktiven beschlagnahmten und diesen in das Jagdschloß Kranichstein verbrachten' (das Schloß war ja der Veranstaltungsort der Ferienkurse von 1946 bis 1948). Erst viele Jahre später wurde dieser Flügel, sozusagen als 'Findelkind,' in das Inventar der Stadt Darmstadt aufgenommen. Eine andere Quelle als diese mündliche Überlieferung kann ich Ihnen leider nicht nennen." Correspondence with the author, 7 September 1998. The instrument is pictured in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 25.

¹⁰ For example Eric Salzman, *Twentieth Century Music: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974); John Rockwell, *All American Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983); Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Masterguides, 1985); Paul Griffiths, *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Music* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1986); Grout and Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 4th ed. (New York, London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1988); Norman Lebrecht, *The Companion to 20th Century Music* (New York, London: Simon and Schuster, 1992); Robert P. Morgan, ed., *Modern Times: From W. W. I to the Present* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993); Elliott Schwartz and Daniel Godfrey, *Music Since 1945: Issues, Materials, and Literature* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993); Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994); and Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After: Directions Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Many publications on the postwar era highlight the development of new compositional styles through interaction between specific composers. For example, see Jean Jacques Nattiez, ed. *The Boulez-Cage Correspondence*. Trans., ed. Robert Samuels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

of Bartók, Berg, Debussy, Hindemith, Honegger, Křenek, Messiaen, Milhaud, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Webern--found here an eager audience. IFNM also provided fertile ground for the European avant-garde to explore a new musical language, and composers like Pierre Boulez, Bruno Maderna, Luigi Nono, Henri Pousseur, and Karlheinz Stockhausen did indeed often dominate western European music discourse during the 1950s. Lesser known is that in the early years, the IFNM were actively supported by American officers working for the occupying military government's Theater and Music Branch, as outlined in Chapter One. As the first IFNM director, Steinecke encouraged young Europeans like Boulez, Maderna, Nono, and Stockhausen. But he also brought innovative Americans like John Cage and David Tudor to the IFNM, as well as German émigrés living in the United States like Wolfgang Edward Rebner and Stefan Wolpe, who could report on musical life there. Eventually a network of mutual support helped create for American composers a controversial--but influential--presence in Germany. Steinecke himself, John Evarts, Everett Helm, and Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt all contributed to this network. In the context of cultural exchange, initiated both because of Cold War policies and American composers' willingness to pursue foreign patronage, this chapter describes events at the IFNM that led to recognition of American *experimental* music in West Germany.

European Visitors from the States: Varèse, Rebner, and Wolpe

Contact with American music officers at the IFNM was complemented by the presence of musicians and composers from the United States. Like Evarts and Helm, Stuckenschmidt provided an important connection between the two continents. Thanks, perhaps, to his affiliation with American-funded cultural enterprises such as the Berlin radio station RIAS and the American-sponsored newspaper *Neue Zeitung*, he was often a first address for American composers coming to Germany. Before visiting Germany during the 1950s, both Stefan Wolpe and John Cage appealed to Stuckenschmidt for help in securing performances.¹¹ During his U.S. tour as a cultural ambassador in 1949, he met Edgard Varèse in New York, who, like the visual artist Marcel Duchamp, had come to America in 1915, long before the large wave of European immigrants arrived in the 1930s and 1940s.¹² Stuckenschmidt recommended Varèse to Steinecke, who immediately invited the composer to lecture at the 1950 IFNM.¹³ The U.S. State

¹¹ Letter from Cage to Stuckenschmidt, 5 June 1958 [HHS/BAAdK]; also letters from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt: 18 August 1955 (and Stuckenschmidt's reply on 15 September 1955), 1 October 1955, 3 February 1956 (and Stuckenschmidt's reply on 9 February 1956) [HHS/BAAdK].

¹² Varèse later wrote to Stuckenschmidt that "the war of 1914 was disastrous to my success as a composer and to my career as a conductor." He added, "in the end I cannot feel too sorry, because I think it is America that gave me the idea of a way of renewing the language of music." Letter from Varèse to Stuckenschmidt, 5 November 1955 [HHS/BAAdK].

¹³ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 222. Here Stuckenschmidt claims that he himself paved the way for Varèse's trip by acquiring the financial help of American military officers. Steinecke received Varèse's New York address from Stuckenschmidt. Letter from Steinecke to Stuckenschmidt (thanking him for the address), 25 February 1950 [HHS/BAAdK]. The following letters discuss the specific plans for Varèse's IFNM

Department sponsored Varèse's trip to Germany in 1950, as it had sponsored Stuckenschmidt's tour of the United States in 1949.¹⁴ In Germany, John Evarts secured additional money for Varèse through the High Commission.¹⁵ The fifth IFNM took place in mid-August 1950; on the first day, Varèse lectured on "The Sound-World of Electronic Music." Hermann Scherchen conducted young participants of IFNM in the first European performance of Varèse's *Ionisation*, probably the first composition for percussion ensemble ever heard in Germany.¹⁶ After Varèse's return to New York, the State Department requested a written report on his visit to Germany.¹⁷ Shortly thereafter Varèse told the *New York Times* that "there is in Germany a greater interest in American

participation: from Varèse to Steinecke, 9 March 1950; from Varèse to Steinecke, 29 May 1950; from Steinecke to Varèse, 12 June 1950 [all IMD].

¹⁴ When Ernst Křenek traveled from Los Angeles to Darmstadt in 1950, John Evarts helped secure funds in Germany for him as well. Letter from Steinecke to Křenek, 25 April 1950 [IMD; cited by Schlüter in letter to the author, 7 September 1998].

¹⁵ Letter from Steinecke to Varèse discussing funding options for trip to Darmstadt, 3 March 1950 [IMD]. While in Germany, Varèse gave lectures in Frankfurt, Munich, and Berlin for the Cultural Relations Division of the Information Service. See also Reinhold Brinkmann, "Varèse in Darmstadt," *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 87-93.

¹⁶ Both the musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger and the composer Dieter Schnebel attended Varèse's composition courses in Darmstadt in 1950. Schnebel described the first performance of *Ionisation*, performed with Schoenberg's *Survivor From Warsaw* on 20 August 1950, as a scandal (the audience booed and hissed during the performance). Interviews with the author, Metzger, 22 July 1998; Schnebel, 4 February 1998.

¹⁷ Letter from Varèse to Steinecke, 27 September 1950 [IMD]. This report (if it exists at all) has yet to be located.

music than many of us suppose.”¹⁸ But he also suggested a fundamental obstacle in the reception of American music:

The Germans will listen to, but not accept, any suggestions as long as they are not convinced that they are coming from a *Kulturvolk*. And we are not entirely accepted today in Germany as a *Kulturvolk*. This we must fight for. [. . .] The Europeans believe in the cultural elite, the artistic elite. We must show that we too are of the elite. But here in this country many don't realize that art is more important than baseball.¹⁹

While Varèse saw Darmstadt as a chance for Americans to join an international cultural elite, Steinecke saw Varèse's potential as a new beacon of the avant-garde, and invited the composer to return to the IFNM in 1951. But given Varèse's precarious financial situation and since the State Department had “no budget for cultural or educational activities any longer,” Varèse was unable to return “for a pleasure trip.”²⁰ Nevertheless, Steinecke continued to invite Varèse to attend the IFNM.²¹ Beginning in 1957, Steinecke engaged the composer Earle Brown, who had frequent contact with Varèse in New York, to acquire further information about Varèse and assist communication with him.²² The last time Steinecke invited Varèse to Darmstadt was

¹⁸ Edgard Varèse, Interview with Harold C. Schonberg, “U.S. Role Abroad: Varèse Says Our Influence Must Be Cultural, Too,” *New York Times* (8 October 1950): X7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Letter from Varèse to Steinecke, 10 April 1951 [IMD].

²¹ Steinecke invited Varèse in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959, and 1961.

²² Letter from Steinecke to Earle Brown, 24 February 1957 [IMD]. At the time, Steinecke was considering Varèse for a position as a permanent artistic advisor for the IFNM. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 267-83.

shortly before Steinecke's death in 1961. Though Varèse spoke fondly of his Darmstadt visit, he refused each invitation, and never visited the IFNM again.²³

At the early IFNM, returning emigrant composers and musicologists who spoke on American music both sustained and challenged views of America as a country without culture. During the first twelve years of the summer courses, IFNM participants enjoyed no fewer than eleven lectures on American music:

Table 2.1: IFNM Lectures on American Music, 1946-58

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1946 (4 September): | "Twelve-Tone Music in the USA," Dr. Karl H. Wörner |
| 1946 (20 September): | "America's Contemporary Music," Holger E. Hagen |
| 1949 (1 July): | "New Music in the USA," Dr. Everett B. Helm ²⁴ |
| 1951 (29 June): | "The Situation for New Music in the USA," Helm |
| 1952 (17 July): | "Charles Ives: A Phenomenon of New Music in the USA," Dr. Leo Schrade |
| 1954 (13 August): | "American Experimental Music," Wolfgang Edward Rebner |
| 1956 (19 July): | "On New (and Not So New) Music in America," Stefan Wolpe (with Tudor) |
| 1956 (21 July): | "Charles Ives and Erik Satie," Helm |

²³ Varèse wrote several rejection letters to Steinecke, for example, on 7 April 1952, and 5 March 1955 [IMD]. For detailed information on Varèse's professional opportunities in Europe during the 1950s, see Helga de la Motte-Haber, ed., *Edgard Varèse: Die Befreiung des Klangs* (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1992); and de la Motte-Haber and Klaus Angermann, eds., *Edgard Varèse: Dokumentation zu Leben und Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990).

²⁴ A number of Helm's unpublished texts and correspondence are held in the Everett Helm Collection at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana. Undated typescripts of lectures and radio broadcasts indicate what Helm might have discussed in these lectures. However, the texts held at Lilly were written after 1954. I obtained an undated typescript of a text labeled *Ives u. Satie: Eine Gegenüberstellung* (WDR) from the Lilly Library. It is likely that this was the same text that Helm used for his IFNM lecture in 1956 (also, on 4 October 1956, Helm held a lecture at Berlin's America House listed as *Charles Ives und Erik Satie--Musikvortrag mit Schallplattenbeispielen* [AHB]).

- 1958 (6 September): "Changes," John Cage
 1958 (8 September): "Indeterminacy," John Cage
 1958 (9 September): "Communication," John Cage

The earliest postwar speaker on American music at the IFNM was Stuckenschmidt's long-time friend, the musicologist Karl Wörner (1910-69). In his music history text of 1949, Wörner perpetuated stereotypes associated with American music by announcing that the American way of life was joyous, powerful, loud, victorious, acknowledged no conventions, and was the very creed of freedom. And, as an illustration of this upbeat American spirit, Wörner continued: "Not one of Stephen Foster's 201 songs and instrumental movements was written in a minor key."²⁵ The second speaker on American music, Holger Hagen, was a German conductor who had spent the war years in the United States.²⁶ Like Helm and Evarts, Hagen was employed

²⁵ "Der Amerikaner hat seinen eigenen Lebensstil. Und er hat sein eigenes Lebensgefühl. Eine Seite, die nach außen am auffallendsten sichtbar wird, ist die vitale Daseinsfreude. Sie ist lebensfroh, kraftvoll und laut, bewegt, bejahend und übermütig, sie ist problemlos, heiter und ausgelassen. Sie hat etwas selbstverständlich Gewinnendes und Sieghaftes, einen unbezähmbaren Unternehmungsgeist. Sie ist in ihren Äußerungen nicht zu dämmern, sie erkennt keine Konvention an. Sie ist das Bekenntnis zur Freiheit (verg. Whitmans "Song of the Open Road"). All das wird man in der Musik wiederfinden. Von den 201 Liedern und Instrumentalsätzen Stephen Fosters steht keines in Moll." Karl H. Wörner, *Musik der Gegenwart: Geschichte der Neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, 1949), 201. I have yet not located a copy of Wörner's 1946 IFNM lecture--a copy is not preserved at [IMD]. His comments on "12-Tone Music in the United States," the topic of his 1946 lecture, may have been quite different from these more general comments on American music, published three years later.

²⁶ I have not located Hagen's lecture or any information regarding its contents. Hagen was born in Halle (now in the East German region of Sachsen-Anhalt) in 1915. His father was the composer Oscar Hagen. The younger Hagen emigrated to the U.S. during the 1930s and studied with Bruno Walter in New York. See also Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, "Der Rundfunk in Darmstadt," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 121-28; and Dieter Franck, "Kultur statt Kalorien," in *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945-1949* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1982), 106.

as an American Music Officer in Hesse from 1945 until 1948, where he helped establish *Radio Frankfurt*. In 1952, the German musicologist Leo Schrade (1903-64), who had emigrated to the United States in 1937, came from Yale University to lecture on Charles Ives.²⁷ While none of these lectures left a strong mark in the midst of a growing interest in serialism, one that was delivered in 1954 stands out as crucial to the development of a German narrative about American music, a narrative stretching from Charles Ives to Henry Cowell to Edgard Varèse to John Cage. To my knowledge, Wolfgang Edward Rebner's lecture titled "American Experimental Music" was the first suggestion anywhere that these four composers were linked in an American experimental "tradition."²⁸ Without defining the term, Rebner implied an aesthetic link between these four composers and pulled together loose historical strands to suggest a musical lineage among them. Even in the United States, the notion of an American experimental tradition did not surface until the late 1950s.

Wolfgang Rebner, born in 1910 in Frankfurt, was the son of violinist Adolph Rebner and a student of Paul Hindemith.²⁹ He left Germany in 1939. During and after the war he worked as a film studio pianist and composer in Hollywood, and during the

²⁷ This lecture is also not held at [IMD]. Schrade taught at Yale from 1938-58. His treatment of Ives can be surveyed in his article "Charles E. Ives: 1874-1954," *Yale Review* 44 (1955), 535-45.

²⁸ The original typescript of Rebner's lecture *Amerikanische Experimentalmusik* is held at IMD [Inventory Number 1911/55]. The lecture in its original German has been published in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 178-89. See Appendix D for the author's complete translation of Rebner's lecture.

²⁹ For Rebner's recollections of his relationship with Hindemith, see "Mein Lehrer Hindemith," in *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 4 (Frankfurt, 1974/75): 111-18.

late 1940s and early 1950s his music was sometimes performed--and he occasionally conducted--in Peter Yates's "Evenings on the Roof" concert series.³⁰ By 1952, Rebner was a member of the graduate committee of the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music. While on tour in Europe from 1952-53 Rebner reestablished musical contacts in Germany, and his compositions were played in Frankfurt, Cologne, Bremen, and recorded by *Radio Frankfurt* and elsewhere.³¹ His piano piece *Studies in Intervals* was performed at IFNM in 1953, and it was probably that summer that Steinecke and Rebner finalized plans for his IFNM participation the following year. Earlier in 1953 Rebner had written to Steinecke that he would like to attend and participate in the IFNM, and that such international musical exchange was needed in the United States. To his dismay, Los Angeles voters were not even willing to approve the allocation of public funds for

³⁰ About the 'Evenings on the Roof' concerts Rebner commented in a letter to Lawrence Morton in 1983: "Spiritually it was my home; economically, my hobby. It assured me that I had a profession, not just a job." Cited by Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939-1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 108. During the 1950s, Rebner nominated Peter Yates for Darmstadt's Schoenberg Award. Ernst Křenek also signed the nomination letter, seconding Rebner's suggestion (handwritten letter from Rebner and Křenek to Steinecke, 25 August 1954 [IMD]).

³¹ See *Pan Pipes* (January 1953): 65; *Pan Pipes* (January 1954): 57.

building a concert hall for their homeless philharmonic orchestra.³² In 1955 Rebner moved to Munich where he taught at the Richard Strauss Conservatory.³³

In his Darmstadt lecture on American experimental music, Rebner pointed out--perhaps for the first time in Germany--experimental composers' emphasis on the nature of *sound* rather than *system*, thus introducing an experiential, intuitive cousin to the formalist abstraction of total serialism. His unconventional text wove together the work of Ives, Cowell, Varèse, and Cage with praise of technological advances in the United States. In some ways, Rebner perpetuated stereotypes about the United States in his description of Ives as a "rugged individual" with an "elite, rebellious American spirit," and by defining American innovation through its preoccupation with technology.³⁴ He

³² The correspondence between Rebner and Steinecke at [IMD] holds only six letters written between 28 May 1953 and 15 July 1955. In the first of these, Rebner complained to Steinecke about the contemporary music situation in California, and wrote that he was both interested in and envious of Steinecke's IFNM. Letter from Rebner to Steinecke, 28 May 1953 [IMD].

³³ Rebner's name appeared frequently in *Pan Pipes of SAI* in December 1950, January 1952, January 1953, and January 1954. Perhaps in an attempt to downplay his German roots, Rebner's name appeared in those reviews as *Edward W. Rebner* and not *Wolfgang Edward Rebner* as it is typed on the cover of the manuscript of his 1954 IFNM lecture. Dorothy Lamb Crawford also refers to him as *Edward Rebner* (Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof*, 81, 108). However, in his letters to Steinecke, Rebner signed *Edward Wolfgang Rebner* only while he was still living in Los Angeles (letter from Rebner to Steinecke, 28 May 1953). After he had moved to Munich in 1955, he signed simply *Wolfgang Rebner* (letter from Rebner to Steinecke, 1 June 1955). The letter written with Křenek while in Darmstadt was signed *Wolfgang E. Rebner* (letter from Rebner to Steinecke, 25 August 1954), while another letter written in Germany (undated, probably winter 1954-55) was signed *Wolfgang Rebner* [all: IMD]. It seems that Rebner gradually shed his American name (*Edward*) in favor of his German name (*Wolfgang*) when he moved back to Germany. Rebner died in Munich on 26 January 1993.

³⁴ Borio suggests that this lecture was also particularly important in keeping the spirit of the absent Varèse alive at the IFNM. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 274f.

cited sources of radical new sounds, including contemporary jazz, percussion ensembles, *musique concrète*, proto-electronic instruments such as the theremin and rhythmicon, magnetic tape manipulation used in Disney cartoons, and satirical instrumental techniques in Spike Jones's "Musical Depreciation Hour." Rebner also introduced the first recorded examples of Cowell's and Cage's piano music at the IFNM.³⁵ Rebner's inclusion of Henry Cowell's music provided a rare opportunity to hear his work in Germany. Despite Cowell's frequent presence on the continent before the Second World War, he was relatively unknown in Germany during the 1940s and 1950s, and his music remained almost completely absent from new music festivals there until fairly recently.³⁶ Rather than presenting Cowell and the others as amateurs eager to subvert conventions, Rebner praised these composers for expanding a limited sound world. In April 1955, Rebner

³⁵ Apparently Rebner also performed Christian Wolff's *For Prepared Piano* during his 1954 IFNM residency, though there is no indication in his manuscript that he played it during his lecture. See *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, Vol. 1 (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1959), 94; and Dörte Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution: Zu Christian Wolff," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 425-32.

³⁶ However, as part of an America House lecture tour in September 1956, Cowell gave a lecture-recital at Darmstadt's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches-Institut* (later America House). On 26 September Cowell visited the *Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut* where he played *Sinister Resonance* and *Aeolian Harp* on the institute's piano. These were recorded, presumably by Schlüter's predecessor Hanns G. Demmel (recordings are now housed at IMD: archive numbers 9508/56 and 9509/56). Hommel interview with the author on 3 April 1998; letter from Schlüter to the author, 7 September 1998.

Rebner had previously published an article on Henry Cowell in *Time* magazine. An article on Henry Cowell, titled "Pioneer at 56," was printed in *Time* on 30 November 1953 (no author's name appears). The *Time* article opens with a description of a 1923 performance by Cowell in Leipzig. Rebner might have been aware of Cowell's pre-war concert tours in Europe, and probably met Cowell later in Los Angeles. Steinecke arranged for a translation of Rebner's *Time* article to be published in the local Darmstadt newspaper one day after his IFNM lecture, in the *Darmstädter Echo* on 14 August 1954. See Borio and Danuser, *In Zenit der Moderne*, 275.

gave his lecture on American experimental music at Munich's America House. His lecture was received with skepticism, and though Rebner was praised for his intelligent and instructive presentation, the subject matter was dismissed by a local newspaper critic as a "sensational fairy tale about American musical pioneers."³⁷

The German emigrant composer Stefan Wolpe (1902-72) had been living in the United States since 1938, and was also eager to become part of the IFNM circle. With that in mind, he corresponded with both Stuckenschmidt and Steinecke in 1955 about the possibility of coming to Darmstadt; at the time, his financial situation was perilous.³⁸ After receiving an invitation from Steinecke to teach at the 1956 IFNM, Wolpe wrote again to Stuckenschmidt requesting additional help,³⁹ the two were old acquaintances

³⁷ "In sensationellen Märchen von den amerikanischen Musik-Pionieren, die auszogen, um das Geräusch-Gruseln zu lehren, fungieren als Hauptfiguren: Charles Ives [. . .], George Antheil [. . .], Henry Cowell [. . .], John Cage and Edgar Varèse [. . .]." "Amerikanische Experimental-Musik: Die Klang Wüste lebt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (21 April 1955) [IMD].

³⁸ Letter from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt, 18 August 1955; also letter from Stuckenschmidt to Wolpe, 15 September 1955 (Stuckenschmidt mentions that he had talked with Tudor about Wolpe's situation) [HHS/BAdK]. Steinecke wrote to Wolpe in early January 1956 with suggestions for Wolpe's participation in the IFNM. Letter from Steinecke to Wolpe, 26 January 1956 [IMD].

³⁹ Letter from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt, 3 February 1956 [HHS/BAdK]. A few months later, Wolpe announced to Stuckenschmidt that he had received a Fulbright Fellowship as a research scholar to come to Germany for a full year; Wolpe had not been in Germany since 1933. Letter from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt, May or June 1956 (undated) [HHS/BAdK]. Steinecke even received official notification of Wolpe's being granted a Fulbright: letter from U. S. Educational Commission in Germany (Fulbright Commission) to Steinecke, 26 February 1957. The letter mentions that Wolpe "ist seit Oktober 1956 als Fulbright-Forschungsstipendiat an der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik in Berlin tätig. . . Das Stipendium läuft am 31.7.57 ab" [IMD].

from the Berlin *Novembergruppe* during the 1920s.⁴⁰ In response, Stuckenschmidt sent Wolpe a list of people in charge of new music programs at radio stations throughout Germany.⁴¹ Wolpe's IFNM appearance and the Fulbright Fellowship he received for a residency in Berlin (1956-57) were important for his livelihood since Black Mountain College in North Carolina where he sometimes taught was nearly bankrupt by 1956.⁴² Black Mountain College had been a source of income for many experimental musicians in New York, including David Tudor and John Cage, who also began to reach out more actively for European patronage during the 1950s.

Steinecke asked Wolpe to give two lectures, one on American *experimental music* and one on *new music* in the United States.⁴³ For both men, these categories represented two different branches of American music. Despite this distinction, Wolpe's only lecture "On New (and not-so-New) Music in America" portrayed a broad spectrum of classical

⁴⁰ Wolpe even performed a piano piece by Stuckenschmidt in a *Novembergruppe* recital on 2 May 1927 (program dated 21 April 1927; concert was postponed until 2 May). See "Stefan Wolpe: Von Berlin nach New York," Harry Vogt, ed. (Cologne: WDR, 1988), 50. This program has been reproduced in other publications as well, including Stuckenschmidt's autobiography, and "Stefan Wolpe und die musikalische Avant-garde," (Bauhaus-Archiv, January 1990): 39.

⁴¹ Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Wolpe, 9 February 1956 [HHS/BAdK].

⁴² In fact, Wolpe resigned his position at Black Mountain College before leaving for Darmstadt in 1956. See Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 208.

⁴³ Steinecke indicated this difference in letters to Wolpe written on 26 January 1956 and 14 February 1956: "Wenn Sie mir für jeden Vortrag ein Thema für das Programm formulieren würden (also einmal aus dem Gebiet der wichtigen *neuen* Musik in USA, zum anderen über *experimentellere* Dinge)." Also a letter from Wolpe to Steinecke, written on 25 January 1956, makes this distinction: "Ihre Vorschläge über *sowohl wichtige neue als auch experimentelle Musik in America* zu sprechen interessieren mich, sind von Wichtigkeit" (all emphases mine) [IMD].

composition in America and included music by Babbitt, Copland, Perle, Riegger, Rochberg, Sessions, and Weber. But Wolpe's discussion of the "New York School"--Earle Brown, John Cage, Morton Feldman, and Christian Wolff--extended the developing historical narrative introduced by Rebner. Wolpe emphasized these composers' use of silence, indeterminacy, and chance.⁴⁴ Essentially an appeal for allowing the "unknown" to reenter composed music, Wolpe's lecture argued the importance of these techniques for renewing the language of music. Already the first sentence--"not everyone keeps in step with the tempo of music's historical changes"--characterized Wolpe's position.⁴⁵ During the lecture the pianist David Tudor, Wolpe's former composition student, played brief excerpts from several new piano works, while other examples were presented on record.⁴⁶ Wolpe's examples underscored the notion of America as a land of unlimited

⁴⁴ Wolpe knew the New York School composers in New York; both David Tudor and Morton Feldman were students of Wolpe's at one time. For a detailed discussion of Wolpe's lecture, see Austin Clarkson's translation and commentary in *Journal of Music Theory* 28/1 (Spring 1984): 1-45. I am quoting Wolpe's lecture as it was published in *Stefan Wolpe: Von Berlin nach New York* (Kölner Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, 1988), 88-103. Sections of Wolpe's lecture have also been published in *MusikTexte* 5/57 (July 1984): 30-2.

⁴⁵ Wolpe, "On New (and Not so New) Music in America," in *Stefan Wolpe: Von Berlin nach New York*, 88.

⁴⁶ Christian Wolff described how Tudor was unhappy about having to play short excerpts out of context. After Wolpe described Wolff's music as very sparse and silent, Tudor played the most dense and active section he could locate in the score. Christian Wolff, "Wie er das schaffte: An David Tudor denken," *MusikTexte* 69/70 (April 1997): 51. A letter from Merce Cunningham at Black Mountain College to John Cage in New York in 1953 indicates that there may have been growing tension between Tudor and Wolpe in the years leading up to the IFNM appearance [JCC]. Wolpe might have been disappointed in Tudor for becoming so faithful to the music of Cage and the others, rather than specializing in Wolpe's own music. See Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College*, 206.

possibilities, and claimed that the “official style” in America was slowly becoming “radicalized” while the acceptance of a single compositional direction was dissolving.

Like Rebner, Wolpe described the spectrum of musical sound in America, and claimed that musical expression was in a process of regeneration, and now included the following:

The cold, the shabby, the hard, the sudden, the unverified, the fixed, the confused, the joking, the excessive, the dense, the abandoned, the most universal, the unlayered, the flat, the extraordinary, the layered, the most magnified, the dissipated, the ragged, the unorderedly, nothing, much, the never-ending, the constantly interrupted, the shocking and the ever increasing opposites, the simultaneous, and noise.⁴⁷

In short, Wolpe concluded: “Everything is possible. Everything is open. That is the historical situation.”⁴⁸ As described by both Rebner and Wolpe in the mid-1950s, the sonic choices of certain American composers challenged German definitions of art music,

Wolpe’s recorded examples during the lecture were excerpts from: Varèse, *Ionisation* (1931); Copland, *Quartet for Piano and Strings*, second movement (1950); Wolpe, *Quartet for Trumpet, Tenor Saxophone, Percussion and Piano*, first movement (1950/1954); Gunther Schuller, *Five Pieces for Five Horns* (1952) and *Recitative and Rondo for Violin and Piano* (1953); Mayer Kupfermann, *Chamber Symphony*, first movement (1950); Roger Sessions, *Symphony No. 2*, first movement (1944-46); and Varèse, *Intégrales* (1925). Tudor played excerpts from the following works: Keith Robinson, *Twelve Pieces for Piano* (1951); Earle Brown, *Perspectives for Piano* (1952); Christian Wolff, *Piece for Piano*; Morton Feldman, *Piano Piece*; John Cage, *Music of Changes* (1951); and Wolpe, *Two Studies for Piano* (1948) and *Battle Piece* (1943).

⁴⁷ “Den Ausdruck regenerieren: Das Kalte, das Schäbige, das Harte, das Plötzliche, das Unbelegte, das Starre, das Konfuse, den Witz, das Übermaß, die Dichtigkeit, das Fallenlassen, Allgemeinstes, Unschichtiges, Flaches, Außerordentliches, Verschichtetes, Potenziertestes, Loses, Zerfetztes, Unordenliches, Nichts, Viel, Unaufhörliches, dauernd Unterbrochenes, den Schock und die immer größeren Gegensätze, das Simultane und das Geräusch.” Wolpe, “On New (and Not so New) Music in America,” in *Stefan Wolpe, Von Berlin nach New York*, 89.

⁴⁸ “Alles ist möglich. Alles liegt offen. Das ist die geschichtliche Situation.” *Ibid.*

and the radical ideas introduced in these lectures incited ideological debates on American music during the 1960s and 1970s.

David Tudor and John Cage: A Well-Prepared Shock

In a decision that would have important consequences for the position of American music in West Germany, Steinecke had requested that pianist David Tudor (1926-96) accompany Stefan Wolpe to Darmstadt.⁴⁹ By 1956 Tudor was no stranger to the German new music community. He and John Cage had performed in Germany two years earlier, which is when Steinecke first met them both; their first performance in West Germany was on 17 October 1954 in Donaueschingen.⁵⁰ Heinrich Strobel, the new music director in Baden-Baden and the person responsible for programming the Donaueschingen festival, invited Cage and Tudor, probably upon Pierre Boulez's recommendation.⁵¹ In Donaueschingen, Cage and Tudor performed a number of acoustic

⁴⁹ Letter from Steinecke to Wolpe, 26 January 1956 [IMD]. Tudor's IFNM engagement in 1956 included working with both Pierre Boulez and Bruno Maderna.

⁵⁰ I have not confirmed the date of Steinecke's first meeting with Cage and Tudor in Cologne, but it was probably on 19 October 1954, when Cage and Tudor performed at WDR's *Musik der Zeit* festival. In 1956, Steinecke wrote to Wolpe at Black Mountain College: "Bitte grüßen Sie Tudor herzlichst (in Köln lernte ich ihn mit John Cage kennen) und seien Sie selbst vielmals begrüßt." Letter from Steinecke to Wolpe, 26 January 1956 [IMD].

⁵¹ Boulez, who was active in both Baden-Baden and Donaueschingen during the 1950s, had known Cage since 1949, and traveled to New York in 1952. Their correspondence was most frequent between 1949 and 1954. See Jean Jacques Nattiez, ed. *The Boulez-Cage Correspondence*, Transl., ed. Robert Samuels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

and electroacoustic compositions from Cage's "Music for Tape Project," and also played recordings of Brown's *Octet* and Cage's *Williams Mix*. Two days later Cage and Tudor performed a similar program at the opening of the WDR's *Musik der Zeit* festival for new music in Cologne.⁵² The connection to Cologne would come to be an important bridge to the European avant-garde during the 1960s.

For Tudor, Karlheinz Stockhausen was also an important connection. Like Steinecke, Stockhausen helped Tudor arrange additional performances throughout Germany up until around 1960.⁵³ During the early 1950s, Tudor regularly performed works by European composers, but by 1960 he promoted almost exclusively American music.⁵⁴ And though Cage's ideas were met with skepticism in Germany, most critics acknowledged Tudor's exceptional gift as a performer, and his absolutely serious and

⁵² Cage's and Tudor's European tour in 1954 included performances in Zurich on 18 October, in Cologne on 19 October, at the *École Normale de Musique* in Paris on 22 October, at a radio station in Brussels on 26 October, and at London's Institute for Contemporary Arts on 29 October. Attendees of their Donaueschingen debut included Josef Anton Riedl and Stuckenschmidt. Heinz Klaus Metzger attended the Paris performance. Cage and Stockhausen first met during this tour as well, on 19 October 1954 in Cologne. See Michael Kurtz, *Stockhausen: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), 73-5.

⁵³ "From Piano to Electronics: Interview with David Tudor by Victor Schonfield," *Music and Musicians* 20/12 (August 1972): 25.

⁵⁴ Tudor said: "In 1958 I was coming over [to Germany] again, I had to make a decision about what to play, and I decided not to offer the Boulez pieces. The reason was that if I did, I knew everyone would take them for preference, and what I really wanted to do was make the work of these Americans known, because the music of Christian Wolff and Cage and Earle Brown had a freedom which none of the others had." *Ibid.*

virtuosic performances did much to boost Cage's position in Germany.⁵⁵ Tudor attended the IFNM four times between 1956 and 1961, and his influence there was great.⁵⁶

Tudor accepted Steinecke's first invitation with a telegram on 14 February 1956, and Steinecke responded immediately, posting a reply on the same day. Sensitive to the pressing issue of money for American musicians, and emphasizing that the IFNM relied on idealism since it lacked the large budget of radio stations, Steinecke offered to arrange recording dates at the HR in Frankfurt, for which Tudor would be well paid. Steinecke also offered Tudor an honorarium of up to DM 800 (about \$190) for the IFNM engagement.⁵⁷ A few weeks later Steinecke told Tudor that he had secured recording

⁵⁵ See Inge Schlösser, "Kleines Zwölf-Ton-Mosaik," *Darmstädter Echo* (25 July 1956); and Schlösser, "Zu neuen Interpretationsweisen: Einblick in ein Seminar, Der Klavierkurs David Tudors," *Darmstädter Echo* (19 July 1956) [IMD].

⁵⁶ Tudor was also scheduled to attend the IFNM in 1957, and recital and seminar programs had already been arranged (including a first German performance of Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI*, premiered in April 1957 by Tudor in New York), but in early July Tudor canceled his appearance because of illness. The plans and cancellation were discussed in letters from both Tudor and Steinecke, between 12 February 1957 and 8 July 1957 [IMD].

Today, Tudor is highly respected as a composer. Since his death in 1996 a number of performances, radio broadcasts, and publications in Germany have honored his work. For example, see Tudor double-issue of *MusikTexte* 69/70 (April 1997).

⁵⁷ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 14 February 1956: "Was die finanziellen Dinge betrifft, so bitte ich Sie zuerst, zu bedenken, daß das Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut kein Radio ist, und daß Darmstadt zwar eine mutige, aber kleine Stadt ist. Alles was wir und alle hier tun, ist durch viel Idealismus zustande gekommen. Die Dozenten der Kurse, also auch Sie, sind als Gast der Stadt Darmstadt eingeladen, frei im Seminar Marienhöhe zu wohnen, so daß Sie hier für Unterkunft und Verpflegung gar keine Auslagen haben. Als Honorar könnte ich für die Mitwirkung beim Kurs und in den Studiokonzerten bis zu 800 DM höchstens ermöglichen, eine Summe, die Ihnen sicher klein erscheinen wird, die aber das Äußerste darstellt, was bei dem kleinen Darmstädter Etat zu erreichen ist. Aber ich kann es ermöglichen, daß während der Zeit Ihres Darmstädter Aufenthalts beim Hessischen Rundfunk noch Aufnahmen gemacht werden, so daß durch Honorare von Frankfurt der Aufenthalt hier ergiebiger werden kann" [IMD].

dates at both HR and at WDR in Cologne, and he gave him names of other radio producers in Baden-Baden and Munich whom Tudor could contact for more assistance.⁵⁸ In return for the IFNM engagement, Tudor promised Steinecke the first German performance of Cage's *Music of Changes* (1951), as well as compositions by Earle Brown, Morton Feldman, and Christian Wolff.⁵⁹ Tudor also asked about deductions from his honorarium; Steinecke wrote that a special arrangement had been made so that American performers' earnings would no longer be taxed in Germany.⁶⁰ Throughout the

⁵⁸ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 27 February 1956: "Meinem Brief vom 14. 2. lass ich heute noch einige Zeilen nachfolgen, da ich inzwischen sowohl in Frankfurt mit dem Rundfunk wie auch mit Herrn Dr. Eimert vom Kölner Rundfunk in Ihrem Interesse gesprochen habe: in Köln und Frankfurt können Sie demnach im Juli--in Verbindung mit Ihrem Darmstädter Aufenthalt--mit Aufnahmen rechnen. Soll ich auch mit Herrn Dr. Strobel in Baden-Baden und evtl. mit Karl Amadeus Hartmann in München sprechen?" [IMD].

⁵⁹ Letter from Tudor to Steinecke, 8 March 1956: "In the studio-concerts, besides works of Stefan Wolpe, I am anxious to present the *Klavierstücke* 1 to 8 (or 5 to 8) of Stockhausen, and the *Music of Changes* by John Cage (which is 40 minutes long!). The *Music of Changes* I consider an important work and will be much in the foreground in my seminars, and it has not yet been heard in Europe. In addition to these I can offer new works of the Americans Christian Wolff, Morton Feldman, and Earle Brown" [IMD]. In 1956 Tudor did not perform *Music of Changes* in a recital; he did however play excerpts during Wolpe's lecture. In 1958 he performed the piece during Cage's lecture "Changes" (see below).

⁶⁰ Letter from Tudor to Steinecke, 14 May 1956: "A word about the finances: am I correct in assuming that the full fee is now 1400 Marks? When I was last in Germany a 25% tax was deducted--is it still, and what is the exact amount of the tax, if it is not 25%? The *Südwestfunk* arranged to have the fee sent to the U.S. as transportation money, thereby avoiding payment of the tax; is this procedure possible for the *Musikinstitut*, and if not will I be able to recover the amount of the tax from the tax-office while I am in Germany? I will appreciate knowing about this, as my financial state while abroad will be precarious" [IMD]. Steinecke responded to Tudor on 13 June 1956: "Das vereinbarte Honorar erhalten Sie voll ausbezahlt; es besteht seit zwei Jahren ein Abkommen zwischen USA und Deutschland, demzufolge die Steuer nicht in Deutschland mehr abgezogen wird" [IMD].

exchange, Steinecke encouraged Tudor to attend the IFNM and to answer his letters quickly while making a considerable effort to provide additional funding for the pianist. By 1956, about five years after the U.S. Music Branch had withdrawn much of its cultural funding, an informal network of financial assistance and mutual support between radio stations and contemporary music festivals continued to bring Americans to the continent.⁶¹ And Steinecke's dedication to helping musicians like Tudor, by offering them contacts, commissions, and European exposure, proved to be inexhaustible.

By 1954, two years before Tudor appeared in Darmstadt and four years before Cage's own IFNM debut, the implications of John Cage's radical compositional techniques were beginning to be recognized in Germany.⁶² In that year, Karl Wörner revised his 1949 music history text, in which he had surveyed American music in less than ten pages. Now Wörner's new narrative commented on "the extremes between academicism and experiment in American composition." He wrote:

Is there an *American* music? [. . .] This music knows little of constrictions, but threatens to break through the forms of traditional European cohesion, even when [American composers] voluntarily choose them. [The music] has no ideas, no rules, yet the search for them constitutes [this music's] most impressive moments. Thus the extremes between academicism and experiment.⁶³

⁶¹ A similar practice was described by Hans Otte in Bremen who would take advantage of concert tours traveling between Berlin and Cologne, and Walter Zimmermann who would do the same in Cologne, between Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam.

⁶² Before Cage's Donaueschingen debut in 1954, German listeners had opportunities to hear his music. For example, two of Cage's *Constructions* had been presented in radio broadcasts at WDR in Cologne by Herbert Eimert in November 1952 (Eimert had received tapes from Boulez). See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 202.

⁶³ "Gibt es eine *amerikanische* Musik? [. . .] Die Musik weiß wenig von Fesselung, droht stets die Formen traditioneller (europäischer) Bindung zu durchbrechen, auch wo sie sie

Though Wörner had not changed his tune completely, he appeared to be acknowledging something of interest for Europeans in the experimental nature of some American music. Wörner knew that not all American composers threatened to break the traditional forms of European art music; yet his word choices emphasized those who did. In his 1954 book Wörner also mentioned Cage a number of times, acknowledging his historical significance for the first time in a German music history text. By the time Cage arrived in Darmstadt in 1958, where his performances with Tudor and his provocative lectures stunned IFNM participants, a new perspective on American music was being established, one that focused its attention primarily on experimentalism.

Cage's influence in Germany is closely connected to his controversial presence in Darmstadt in 1958, even though he had performed in Donaueschingen and Cologne in October 1954.⁶⁴ His music had already been heard at IFNM during Rebner's lecture on American experimental music in August 1954 and during Wolpe's lecture in 1956. Cage's and Steinecke's correspondence began in 1954, when the composer announced to Steinecke that he and Tudor had been invited by Strobel to perform as a piano duo in Donaueschingen. Because Strobel had made Cage promise not to schedule any European performances *before* the Donaueschingen debut, Cage asked Steinecke to arrange a

freiwillig wählt. Sie hat keine Idee, kein Gesetz, wenn auch das Suchen nach ihm zu ihren eindrucksvollsten Momenten gehört. Daher auch die Extreme zwischen Akademismus und Experiment." Wörner, *Neue Musik in der Entscheidung* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1954), 178. Wörner did not mention Cage at all in his 1949 text, but in 1954, he wrote about Cage's prepared piano and tape music compositions.

⁶⁴ Some Germans even claim that the story of American music's influence in general in Germany begins with Cage's visit to IFNM in 1958. Rudolf Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

Darmstadt performance *after* the October performance in Donaueschingen--which was impossible, since the IFNM took place in the summer, not in the fall. Cage's first letter concluded as follows:

Mr. Tudor and I are not primarily a two-piano team. I am essentially a composer, whereas Mr. Tudor is an extraordinary virtuoso. His repertoire includes works by Pierre Boulez, Christian Wolff, Earle Brown, Morton Feldman and myself, besides more familiar composers. He is devoted to advanced contemporary music.

My hopes and intentions with regard to this coming trip are not only connected with the performance of new American music but I am also anxious to become acquainted with new works by European composers.⁶⁵

In 1958, when Boulez suddenly canceled his IFNM appearance that summer, Steinecke filled the position by inviting Cage to accompany Tudor to the IFNM.⁶⁶ According to the composer Edward Steuermann, Steinecke considered aleatoric music a reaction to the totally predetermined music favored by many European composers.⁶⁷ Earle Brown, who also attended the IFNM for the first time in 1958 called Steinecke "a wonderfully open-minded person," and said that "he was willing to go as far out in the

⁶⁵ Letter from Cage to Steinecke, 30 March 1954 [IMD]. Cage began his letter by stating: "Mr. Everett Helm was kind enough to give me your address." Most likely Helm gave Cage Steinecke's address during Helm's trip to the U.S. in early 1954. Cage later wrote to Steinecke that he and Tudor would be in Frankfurt making a recording at HR, and asked if it would be possible to organize an ISCM concert in Darmstadt. Letter from Cage to Steinecke, letter not dated, but stamped "received: 16 August 1954" [IMD].

⁶⁶ As early as March of 1958, Steinecke was already working out financial details for Cage's visit. Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 22 March 1958 [IMD].

⁶⁷ Steuermann: "First, there was a kind of super-serialism, the 'totally predetermined' music; then, as Dr. Steinecke told me, as a *reaction to all of that*, the aleatoric music; and probably something else by now." See Benjamin Boretz and Edward T. Cone, *Perspectives on American Composers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), 211.

avant-garde as was necessary."⁶⁸ Brown recalled that there was a great deal of collegial interaction between American and European composers, and in 1958 he looked forward to being in Darmstadt.⁶⁹

Before his trip Cage, like Wolpe, appealed to Stuckenschmidt for help in securing more performances in Germany.⁷⁰ Additional appearances during this tour were necessary for Cage's financial situation, which was difficult during the 1950s. In 1955, Cage's total income from lectures, royalties, accompanying, and tours equaled \$1,591.17, which was not nearly enough to cover his total expenses of \$2,227.22. In 1956 his resources were so limited that he received three checks for \$75 each from the Musician's

⁶⁸ Earle Brown interview with Richard Duffalo, in *Trackings: Composers Speak with Richard Duffalo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 104.

⁶⁹ Letter from Brown to Steinecke, 15 April 1958: "I look forward very much to being in Darmstadt in September. It seems that there will be a great caravan of avant-garde Americans coming to Europe in September" [IMD].

⁷⁰ Letter from Cage to Stuckenschmidt, 5 June 1958: "Dear Prof. Stuckenschmidt, This is a note to let you know that David Tudor and I will be in Europe during September and October of this year. We will participate in the events at Darmstadt (Sept. 2-13), the *journées internationales* at Brussels (Oct. 5-10), a weekend devoted to American Music at Attingham (Oct. 17-18). Sept. 22, we will perform for the Fylkingen Society in Stockholm. From the 15th to the 19th of Sept. we will probably be in Cologne. I also write to ask you suggestions as to other engagements for us. I have written a *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* which was performed May 15 in New York. The orchestra may be any number of instruments, and the piece itself can last any desired length of time. David Tudor plays the solo part, and Merce Cunningham, who conducted here, will also be available. The other works we offer are for one or two pianos, and, in the event there are other pianists who would work with us, for three or more. Carolyn Brown, who dances with Merce Cunningham will also be in Europe. Where a theater is available, we can offer an evening of dance with music performed by Tudor and myself. With friendliest greetings, Cordially, John Cage" [HHS/BAdK]. Cage did manage to organize one performance with Cunningham and Carolyn Brown during his tour, at the ninth festival of *Das neue Werk* (NDR, Hamburg) on 28 October 1958.

Emergency Fund.⁷¹ Foreign concert engagements provided an important source of income. Though IFNM's budget was small, the honorarium must have seemed generous to Cage and Tudor at the time: Steinecke offered Cage DM 200 (about \$48) for each of three lectures, plus an additional DM 300 (about \$72) for his participation in concerts, for a total of DM 900 (about \$215).⁷² Cage later received an additional DM 150 (about \$36) from Steinecke for a commissioned essay ("History of Experimental Music in the United States," see below).⁷³ Tudor received DM 1,000 (about \$238) for his participation in ten seminars, plus DM 300 (about \$72) for his participation in concerts with Cage. Free room and board for the duration of the artists' engagement was also included.⁷⁴ Cage and

⁷¹ These figures are all documented at [JCC].

⁷² Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 22 March 1958: "Da Mr. Cage bei Ihnen wohnt, brauche ich wohl nicht besonders an ihn zu schreiben, und ich darf Sie bitten, mit ihm über meinen Brief zu sprechen und ihm auch meine besten Grüße auszurichten. Ich freue mich sehr, daß er in diesem Jahr mit Ihnen nach Darmstadt kommen kann und bei den Ferienkursen mitwirkt. Als Honorar kann ich für Mr. Cage vorschlagen: 3 Vorträge je 200 DM, zusammen also 600 DM, dazu 300 DM für die Mitwirkung im Konzert. Dasselbe kann ich Ihnen anbieten, dazu allerdings 1000 DM für die 10 Seminare des Klavierkurses, den wir vereinbart haben. Natürlich sind Mr. Cage und Sie, wie bisher eingeladen, während der Ferienkurse frei hier zu wohnen" [IMD]. Since Tudor and Cage both lived at the artists' commune in Stony Point, New York, Steinecke mostly wrote only to Tudor, even when discussing details for Cage's trip.

⁷³ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 29 April 1959: "Schließlich möchte ich Sie noch bitten, John Cage herzlich dafür zu danken, daß er mir den Artikel 'Zur Geschichte der experimentalen Musik in den USA' für die *Darmstädter Beiträge* gegeben hat. Heinz Klaus Metzger hat den Artikel sehr gut übersetzt, und er wird in der diesjährigen Publikation veröffentlicht werden. Ich finde es wichtig, daß damit der weiterwährende Kontakt mit John Cage betont wird, und ich hoffe, daß sich auch später neue Möglichkeiten der Zusammenarbeit ergeben. Ich kann für den Artikel ein Honorar von 150 DM einsetzen. Ich glaube, daß es das Einfachste wäre, wenn Sie für Herrn Cage den Betrag hier in Empfang nehmen, wenn Sie in Darmstadt sind" [IMD].

⁷⁴ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 29 April 1959 [IMD].

Tudor were also to receive an additional fee from HR for a second IFNM concert that September, a concert officially sponsored by the radio station.⁷⁵ According to the correspondence and Steinecke's pre-calculations, through their IFNM engagement and its payment of some DM 2,250 (about \$536), Cage and Tudor together earned a sum exceeding a third of Cage's entire income in 1955.

In addition to Tudor's piano seminars, Tudor and Cage presented a recital of recent two-piano compositions by Cage, Feldman, Brown and Wolff, and Cage gave three lectures. In the first of these, "Changes" (with a Tudor performance of *Music of Changes*), Cage talked about his own work and new compositional procedures. The second lecture, titled "Indeterminacy," provided a forum for critiquing several works of his colleagues, including Stockhausen, Brown, and Wolff. Cage also set himself apart from his European colleagues--who tended to justify their compositions theoretically--by stating a basic trait of the experimental nature of the music he preferred: "Being unforeseen, this action is not concerned with its excuse."⁷⁶ Cage argued for "music in space," again emphasizing a new parameter that was investigated in depth by Stockhausen in his lecture "Musik im Raum," held four days earlier.⁷⁷ Cage's final

⁷⁵ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 7 April 1958: "Dieses 2. Konzert [am 11. Sept.] ist eine Veranstaltung des *Hessischen Rundfunks*, und Sie erhalten hierfür vom *Hessischen Rundfunk* noch ein besonderes Honorar" [IMD]. As far as I know, this date was eventually changed, for Cage and Tudor did not present a concert on 11 September; the second concert was probably on Saturday, 6 September. Beginning in 1957, HR's *Tage für Neue Musik* (est. 1946) took place during the IFNM, so it was possible to offer more concerts without the musicians' fee having to come out of the IFNM budget. I have not yet been able to determine the amount of the fee.

⁷⁶ See Cage, *Silence* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 39.

⁷⁷ Cage, *Silence*, 40.

lecture, "Communication," described the music scene in the United States mostly through a series of questions and quotations. This lecture caused the greatest scandal among critics not only because of the rhetorical nature of the text, but because the text's structure, derived through chance operations, required Cage frequently to light a cigarette.⁷⁸

Cage's "Communication" introduced a critical view of musical life in America, one that was adopted by many sympathetic listeners, and one that colors the German view of American music even today. For this reason I quote Cage's lecture at length:

In the United States there are as many ways of writing music as there are composers. There is also no available information as to what is going on. There is no magazine concerned with modern music. Publishers are not inquisitive. The societies which actively exist (Broadcast Music Inc., American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers) are concerned with economics, currently engaged in an important lawsuit.⁷⁹ In New York City, the League of Composers and the International Society for Contemporary Music have fused, the new organization representing the current interest in consolidating the acquisitions of Schoenberg and Stravinsky. This circle has, no doubt, an avant-garde, but it is a cautious one, refusing risk. Its most accomplished and adventurous representative is probably Milton Babbitt, who, in certain works, has applied serial method to the several aspects of sound. The works for magnetic tape by Luening and Ussachevsky, Louis and Bebe Barron, are not properly termed avant-garde, since they maintain conventions and accepted values. The young study with neo-classicists, so that the spirit of the avant-garde, infecting them, induces a certain dodecaphony. In this social darkness, therefore, the work of Earle Brown, Morton Feldman, and Christian Wolff continues to present a brilliant light, for the reason that at the several points of notation, performance, and audition, action is provocative. None of these uses serial method. [. . .]

⁷⁸ Music critics could not agree on the number of cigarettes Cage smoked during the lecture.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the lawsuit mentioned by Cage, see "Musik zwischen den Monopolen," *Deutsche Zeitung* (13 October 1956) [IMD].

The American avant-garde, recognizing the provocative character of certain European works, of Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Henri Pousseur, Bo Nilsson, Bengt Hambraeus, has in its concerts presented them in performances, notably by David Tudor, pianist. That these works are serial in method diminishes somewhat the interest they enjoin. But the thoroughness of the method's application bringing a situation removed from conventional expectation frequently opens the ear. However, the European works present a harmoniousness, a drama, or a poetry which, referring more to their composers than to their hearers, moves in directions not shared by the American ones. Many of the American works envisage each auditor as central, so that the physical circumstances of a concert do not oppose audience to performers but dispose the latter around-among [*sic*] the former, bringing a unique acoustical experience to each pair of ears. Admittedly, a situation of this complexity is beyond control, yet it resembles a listener's situation before and after a concert--daily experience, that is. It appears such a continuum is not part of the European objective, since it dissolves the difference between "art" and "life."⁸⁰

Cage portrayed the United States as a place where musical experiment was frequent, but gaining recognition from new music societies for experimental composition was not. In his audience were people who would figure prominently in the story of American music in Germany for the next three decades, and people who would soon declare themselves friends or foes of Cage's radical approach to music, opinion-shaping music critics, and people who later held both influential positions of authority as well as the purse strings for cultural patronage.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Cage, *Silence*, 52f.

⁸¹ I list here only some [in List of Attendees for 1958, IMD]: Instructors (*Dozenten*): Luciano Berio, Severino Gazzelloni, Rudolf Kolisch, Bruno Maderna, Luigi Nono, Henri Pousseur, Edward Steuermann, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Karl H. Wömer; Enrolled Participants (*Teilnehmer*): Tadeusz Baird, Earle Brown, Herbert Brün, Sylvano Bussotti, Cornelius Cardew, Christoph Caskel, Daniel Charles, Peter Maxwell Davies, Franco Evangelisti, Christobal Halffter, Heinz-Klaus Jungheinrich, Mauricio Kagel, Erhard Karkoschka, Helmut Lachenmann, György Ligeti, Gertrude Meyer-Denkman, Fritz Muggler, Bo Nilsson, Nam June Paik, Krzysztof

Conclusion: Experimental Music Enters German New Music Discourse

Though a stylistic variety of contemporary American music was performed during the first ten years of the IFNM (see Table 2.2), only some of this music influenced German aesthetic debate in the years to come.

Table 2.2: Performances of American Music at IFNM, 1946-56

- 1946: Roy Harris, *Piano Suite*
 1948: Walter Piston, *Quintet for Flute and String Quartet*;
 Quincy Porter, *Third String Quartet*
 1949: Copland, *Sonata for Violin and Piano*; Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; Ives, *Second String Quartet*; Riegger, *First String Quartet*; William Bergsma, *Music on a Quiet Theme*
 1950: Edgard Varèse, *Ionisation*; David Diamond, *Sonata for Piano*
 1953: Roger Sessions, *Duo for Violin and Piano*; Varèse, *Density 21.5*;
 Samuel Barber, *Piano Sonata*
 1954: Examples from Ives, Cowell, Varèse and Cage (during Rebner's lecture);
 Schuller, *Dramatic Overture for Orchestra*;
 Sessions, *Turn, O Liberated* for chorus and two pianos
 1955: Everett Helm, *Eight Minutes for Two Pianos*
 1956: Examples of Babbitt, Brown, Cage, Carter, Copland, Feldman, Kupferman, Robinson, Schuller, Sessions, Simons, Varèse, Wolff, and Wolpe (during Wolpe's lecture); Ives, *The Unanswered Question*

In some instances, an emphasis on experimental music can be linked directly to Steinecke himself. But Steinecke proved ecumenical in the cause of representing American music. He devoted as much energy to establishing contact with Aaron Copland

Penderecki, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Iannis Xenakis, Isang Yun; Guests, Assistants, Artists, Journalists (*Gäste, Mitwirkende, Künstler, Pressevertreter*): Claus-Henning Bachmann, Ernest Bour, Ulrich Dibelius, John Evarts, Everett Helm, Paul Jacobs, Alfons and Aloys Kontarsky, Heinz Klaus Metzger, Ernst Thomas, Otto Tomek, and Bernd Alois Zimmermann.

and William Schuman as he did to tracking down Cage and Varèse scores.⁸² He commissioned lectures and essays on American experimentalism, but also offered a summer appointment to Milton Babbitt--a composer already considered "academic" in Germany. Steinecke's efforts were not always rewarded; neither Schuman nor Copland ever visited IFNM, and Babbitt did not attend until 1964, at a time when interest in his music there was limited.⁸³ As we will see in Chapter Three, since American experimental composers--many of whom sought their primary means of support outside of academic and state-subsidized cultural institutions--were more dependent on foreign patronage during the 1950s than other American composers, they were also more likely to embrace Steinecke's generosity. Some of this music received continued exposure and became a powerful source of both inspiration and anxiety in Germany during the 1950s, while other American music faded from the scene.

In 1959, Steinecke requested that a draft of Cage's essay, "History of Experimental Music in the United States," commissioned by Steinecke, be sent to the German musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger for translation. In his letter Steinecke added that it was very important to him that Cage's article be published along with a photo of Cage, because he hoped "to emphasize how important it is for Darmstadt that you were here."⁸⁴ Cage wrote the text at Steinecke's request for publication in the 1959 issue of

⁸² This is indicated by much of Steinecke's correspondence, including a letter from Steinecke to Helm, 5 April 1949 [IMD].

⁸³ Babbitt's connection to IFNM will be examined in Chapter Four.

⁸⁴ "Es liegt mir sehr daran, daß gerade Ihr Artikel in dem Buch erscheint, zusammen mit einem Foto, denn ich möchte dadurch unterstreichen, wie wichtig es für Darmstadt ist, daß Sie hier gewesen sind." Letter from Steinecke to Cage, 16 February 1959 [IMD]. In

Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik.⁸⁵ No English version of the essay was published until 1961, in Cage's collection of writings called *Silence*. The text Cage supplied to Metzger for translation continued in the critical vein he had begun in his lecture "Communication" one year before, thus reemphasizing for a German audience an "outsider" position for experimentalists in America. As Cage's first translator into German, Metzger cannot be underestimated as a mediator of Cage's ideas in Germany.⁸⁶

Cage wrote:

Why, since the climate for experimentation in America is so good, why is American experimental music so lacking in strength politically (I mean unsupported by those with money [individuals and foundations], unpublished, undiscussed, ignored), and why is there so little of it that is truly uncompromising? I think the answer is this: Until 1950 about all the energy for furthering music in America was concentrated either in the League of Composers or in the ISCM (another way of saying Boulanger and Stravinsky on the one hand and Schoenberg on the other). The New Music Society of Henry Cowell was independent and therefore not politically strong. Anything that was vividly experimental was discouraged by the League and the ISCM. So that a long period of contemporary music history in America was devoid of performances of works by Ives and Varèse. Now the scene changes, but the last few years

this letter Steinecke asked Cage if it would be possible to get a score and parts to *First Construction (in Metal)* for a performance at the 1959 IFNM.

⁸⁵ The *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* was established by Steinecke in 1958 as an annual publication reviewing events at the IFNM.

⁸⁶ For example, Metzger's German translation of this essay used the provocative word *eindringen*--to invade, penetrate, infiltrate, intrude, or enter forcibly--for Cage's more neutral *are being introduced into*, thus implying some sort of intent to invade or subvert on Cage's part. The polemical language of Metzger's translations contributed to views of Cage as a revolutionary trying to destroy conventions. See *Darmstädter Beiträge* (1959), 53. Recently Metzger has said that, in retrospect, he finds his translation somewhat inaccurate (Metzger: "Das sind sehr merkwürdige Übersetzungen, die ich damals gemacht habe, ein ganz manieristischer Stil. Es ist eigentlich gar nicht die Cagesche Sprache, sondern ein völlig anderer, deutscher Stil. Ich meine, wenn ich heute Cage übersetzte, würde ich versuchen, seinen Stil wiederzugeben"). Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

have been quiet. The League and the ISCM fused and, so doing, gave no concerts at all. We may trust that new life will spring up, since society like nature abhors a vacuum.⁸⁷

While this remark did little to dispel views of the United States as a cultural void, it did suggest that experimentalists were in dire need of patronage. This suggestion was met with generosity in some areas. Steinecke's enthusiasm went so far as to initiate plans for a *Darmstädter Beiträge* issue devoted solely to Cage, plans eventually dropped because of conflicts in interest between the issue's organizer Luigi Nono and Cage himself.⁸⁸ Stuckenschmidt's view of Cage, on the other hand, remained ambivalent; though his initial reactions to Cage's performances were negative, he was interested in the debate surrounding Cage's definition of music.⁸⁹ Another--yet rare--reaction was the

⁸⁷ Cage, *Silence*, 73f.

⁸⁸ Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 243f.

⁸⁹ Stuckenschmidt first heard Cage's music during his 1949 tour of the United States. In May of that year Stuckenschmidt attended a concert of Cage's prepared piano music at Columbia University. He described the concert as tedious and not very enjoyable. After less than an hour Stuckenschmidt left the concert with Paul Hindemith. They went to a lobster restaurant around the corner. At the restaurant, Hindemith drew a picture of a lobster playing a piano in Stuckenschmidt's signature book, and wrote next to it: "A prepared lobster playing a prepared piano for prepared listeners: there's nothing better than a Festival of Modern Music, especially when the 'Lobster Pond' [probably the name of the restaurant] isn't too far from Cage." Reprinted in Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 208f.

In his review of Cage's IFNM lectures, Stuckenschmidt remarked that Cage's performances were just recreations of Dada ideas. Stuckenschmidt, "Der Heiligenberg der Neuen Musik: Lagebericht von den Darmstädter Ferienkursen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (13 September 1958); reprinted in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 426-30. Later Stuckenschmidt wrote to Steinecke, on 21 January 1959: "Leider werde ich diesen Sommer gar nicht nach Darmstadt kommen, obwohl mich doch die Saat der Cage-Verrücktheiten so sehr interessiert hätte!" Stuckenschmidt wrote again to Steinecke on 30 December 1959: "Die ungeheuerliche Primitivierung der Kompositionsprozesses, die sich als unerwartete Folge serieller und ähnlicher Methoden

attempt to pull Cage into a narrative tradition of western art music, as did the prominent Darmstadt critic Wolf Eberhard von Lewinski in a lecture titled “American Students of Schoenberg,” given at the German-American Institute in Darmstadt in early 1959.⁹⁰

For the most part however, the challenge to established musical convention set up by the arrival in Germany of compositions of the New York School was rejected entirely by the musical establishment--including most of the new music community--as mere dilettantism, provocation, and even subversion. Cage's limited yet growing influence during the 1950s was perceived by many composers in both the United States and Europe as a real threat. Some, however, were more than willing to pick up the gauntlet. The coming decade and its alternative venues was perhaps best foreshadowed by the usually outspoken, Heinz-Klaus Metzger. A brilliant critical theorist in the slowly growing group of German Cage disciples, Metzger expressed to Cage a sentiment shared by few in Germany, when he wrote simply: “Europe needs you.”⁹¹ The struggle to satisfy that need would characterize the role of American music in West Germany during the 1960s.

herausgestellt hat, muß einer neuen Beschäftigung mit wirklich kompositorischer Technik weichen. Das einzige Verdienst Cages besteht darin, daß er Primitivismus und Anti-Komposition zu Ende gedacht hat” [both HHS/BAdK]. Nevertheless, Stuckenschmidt invited Cage to Berlin during the winter term 1962/63 to come to the TU's “Music in the Age of Technical Science.” Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Cage, 27 June 1962 [JCC].

⁹⁰ See review, “Neue amerikanische Musik: Streiflichter auf die Schoenberg-Schüler,” *Darmstädter Echo* (7 March 1959) [IMD]. Lewinski discussed and played recordings of Cage's *Seasons Quartet* and also works by Ross Lee Finney, Lou Harrison, Ben Weber, and Adolph Weiss.

⁹¹ Letter from Metzger (and Sylvano Bussotti) to Cage, 22 May 1959 [JCC].

CHAPTER THREE

CONTRADICTIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD: IDENTIFYING AMERICAN EXPERIMENTALISM

The inventiveness once necessary for survival may also be a part of the national dream.

John Steinbeck, "Paradox and Dream,"
America and the Americans (1966)

Introduction

Descriptions of American experimental music, an idea that may have first emerged in Darmstadt during the 1950s, sometimes measured composers' importance by their distance from European musical developments. In both the United States and West Germany, the word *experimental* as it applies to American music has an inconsistent and complicated history. In 1990, David Nicholls suggested the existence of an American experimental *tradition*, showing a historical connection between figures such as Ives, Cowell, Ruggles, Seeger, Crawford, and Cage through self-organized networks of patronage, performance, and publishing, and because some of these composers enjoyed student-teacher relationships. Nicholls emphasized that these composers associated with each other out of necessity, since many had worked outside official cultural venues since

the 1920s.¹ From the historical distance available at the end of the century, an experimental line of American composition may be seen clearly in the details of American music narratives. Yet a consistent identification of American experimental music can rarely be found before 1965, and many pieces that are said to belong to the puzzle, upon closer examination, do not fit snugly into any clear image of American experimental music.

While defining an American experimental tradition in music lies beyond the scope of this dissertation, a historiographical study of the *idea* of American experimental music seems overdue.² This chapter examines that idea: American experimental music as a

¹ See David Nicholls, *American Experimental Music, 1890-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

² Some of the major sources on American experimental music in English and German include the following (in chronological order): Wolfgang Edward Rebner, "Amerikanische Experimentalmusik," in *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946-1966*, Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, eds. (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), 178-89 (see Appendix D for the author's English translation); John Cage, "Experimental Music: Doctrine (1955)," reprinted in *Silence* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 13-17; Cage, "Experimental Music (1957)," reprinted in *Silence*, 7-12; Cage, "History of Experimental Music in the United States (1959)," commissioned by Steinecke for publication in the 1959 *Darmstädter Beiträge*, reprinted in *Silence*, 67-75; Peter Yates, "Introductory Essay," in *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography Volume 1*, eds. John Edmunds and Gordon Bolzner (New York Public Library, 1959), 9-22; Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (New York: Schirmer, 1974); Joaquim M. Benitez, "Avant-Garde or Experimental? Classifying Contemporary Music," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 9/1 (1978): 53-76; John Rockwell, *All-American Music: Composition in the Late Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983); Friedrich Hommel, "Andere Fünfziger Jahre? Familienbild mit Ives, Cowell, Varèse und Cage," in *Die Musik der Fünfziger Jahre: Versuch einer Revision*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: Schott, 1985), 39-47; Rockwell, "Experimental Music," in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* Vol. 2, H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds. (London, New York: Macmillan, 1986), 91-5; Niksa Gligo, "Die musikalische Avantgarde als ahistorische Utopie: Die gescheiterten Implikationen der experimentellen Musik," *Acta Musicologica* 61 (February 1989): 217-

distinctive style, tradition, or branch of American composition. Moreover, since Chapter Two showed that some composers who appeared in Darmstadt were in dire need of support, Chapter Three will also survey conditions in the United States that made foreign patronage for American composers between the 1950s and the 1970s especially welcome. For these composers especially, opportunities abroad were often preferable to those at home. Compelling evidence shows that, however distasteful American composers may have found some European musicians' attitudes of superiority, through the 1960s, the United States still looked to Europe for approval in some cultural arenas.

Innovators, Extremists, and Experimentalists

Henry Cowell published his collection of essays, *American Composers on American Music* (1933), at a time when establishing a position on musical nationalism seemed essential to American composers who were struggling to create an image independent from European influence. Cowell called his symposium "an experiment unprecedented in musical history," for he allowed composers to speak for themselves and about each other.³ Though the book was compiled during a time of patriotic self-

37; David Nicholls, *American Experimental Music, 1890-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Christopher Shultis, *Silencing the Sounding Self: John Cage and the American Experimental Tradition* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); and Volker Straebel, "Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, 1950-1980," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 9. 2nd Rev. Ludwig Finscher, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1998), 1375-79.

³ Cowell, "Introduction," in *American Composers on American Music* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1933), v.

examination for the American arts, Cowell looked to American musical independence in search of compositional innovation.⁴ But in the early to middle 1930s, other more pressing social and economical factors made radical innovation seem secondary to nationalism in the arts. Cowell's "Trends in American Music," the first essay in the collection, catalogued a number of American composers in a way that drew attention to the composers' relationship with Europe, whether close or distant. Cowell's eight categories can be summarized as follows:

Table 3.1: Henry Cowell's Eight Categories of American Composers, 1933⁵

1. "Americans who have developed indigenous materials or are specially [sic] interested in expressing some phase of the American spirit in their works" (Ives, Ruggles, Seeger, Harris, Brant, Ruth Crawford, Cowell)
2. "Foreign-born composers who have made America their home, and who have developed indigenous tendencies in their works" (Ornstein, Varèse, Rudhyar, Salzedo, Slonimsky, Schillinger)
3. "Americans who are in many respects original but who are influenced by modern Teutonic music" (Weiss, Riegger, Becker, Strang)
4. "Americans who also are often somewhat original but who follow either modern French or 'neoclassical' tendencies" (Sessions, Antheil, Blitzstein, Thomson)
5. "Americans who do not attempt to develop original ideas or materials but who take those which they already find in America and adapt them to a European style" (Copland, Gershwin, Bloch)
6. "Americans who work along more or less conservative lines and make no attempt to write anything departing from general types of European music" (Hanson, Farwell, Piston)
7. "Foreign-born Americans who continue to compose in European fashion" (Loeffler, Dukelsky, Saminsky)

⁴ See H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), 197-201; Ernst Křenek, *Musik im goldenen Westen: Das Tonschaffen der USA* (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1949), 8.

⁵ Henry Cowell, "Trends in American Music," in *American Composers on American Music*, 3-13.

8. "Young composers who give promise of developing originally and becoming independently American" (Brant, Vivian Fine, Lahn Adohmyan, Elie Siegmeister)⁶

In his descriptions of these groups, except for the eighth category in which "originality" was connected to the quality of being "American," Cowell did not allude to an indigenous American tendency toward experimentalism, nor any specific group who composed for the sake of innovation; the idea of "experimental music" had not yet been established. On the contrary, he referred to experimentalism inconsistently, calling Bernard Hermann, for example, "an experimenter, but in the direction of making the orchestra into a more satisfactory medium for polyphony," or T. Carl Whitmer, whose conservative style, in Cowell's opinion, was derived through Whitmer's own "experiments."⁷ Charles Seeger was singled out as "one of the first in America to experiment with independent materials," while Harris was said to "research" and Varèse to "explore" new sound possibilities.⁸ Clearly Cowell was not attempting to make a case for the "experimental" as a guiding force in new American composition. The closest he came to suggesting "experimental music" in the manner that has since come to be known was in describing Jerome Morross, "a vigorous experimenter, [. . .] not afraid to go as far as his imagination can carry him in exploring new orchestral sounds, slides, and rhythms." Cowell continued that Morross was "not much interested in melodic contour

⁶ In addition to the composers included in these eight categories, Cowell gave special mention to William Grant Still and several composers for whom he found no adequate place in the list.

⁷ Cowell, "Trends in American Music," *American Composers on American Music*, 10, 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4f.

or counterpoint, but rather in sound itself, and the rhythm of sounds reiterated or periodically changed.”⁹ The interest in *sound itself* did not occur to Cowell in 1933 as a defining trait of a group of American composers. Within just a few years, however, Cowell was publishing radical compositions in his *New Music* editions. For example, in 1936, in his *New Music* Orchestra Series, Cowell published Harold G. Davidson’s new piece *Auto Accident* for percussion ensemble, which included in its specifications a description of “two glass plates, each resting on a wash bowl or crock, with a hammer or mallet in readiness to break them.” After smashing the plates “the bowls containing the broken glass are to be emptied on a hard surface, table or floor.”¹⁰ As a flexible and prolific supporter of new music and as a composer himself, Cowell embraced innovative ideas and provided spaces for their dissemination.

Following the Second World War, innovation became linked to the idea of experimentation, but to some degree, American classical musicians remained divided along stylistic lines. Gunther Schuller (b. 1925) remembered: “In the great feuds of the 1930s and 1940s between the neoclassicists (Stravinsky, Copland, Hindemith) and the twelve-tone camp (Schoenberg and his followers), composers--especially young composers--were expected to take one side of the other.”¹¹ For a young composer like Morton Feldman (1926-87), having to take sides between French-influenced Stravinskian

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰ See Rita Mead, *Henry Cowell’s New Music: the Society, the Music Editions, and the Recordings* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 336f.

¹¹ Gunther Schuller, “Schoenberg’s Influence,” in *The Arnold Schoenberg Companion*, Walter B. Bailey, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 259.

neoclassicism and German-influenced Schoenbergian serialism was unacceptable.¹² For him, and for a few like-minded composers, Edgard Varèse seemed to offer a third alternative, a way of thinking about musical composition that emphasized “sound itself” rather than material or form.¹³ For those in search of an alternative model, the choice was clear, and Varèse came to be acknowledged as “the patron saint of experimental music.”¹⁴ For some composers, the dichotomy succumbed to a tripartite view of contemporary American classical music. But for others, the distinctions were not so clear. Writing in 1956, Roger Sessions himself used the phrase “superficial experimentalism” to dismiss a compositional trend he called “primitivism.” “Primitivism, he wrote, “is expressed in superficial experimentalism, not to be confused, in its basic concepts, with experimentalism concerned with the problems of contemporary music and culture. [. . .] One cannot entirely ignore this trend, however, a current always existing in one form or

¹² Feldman: “When I was a kid, there was a big controversy in America between Nicolas Nabokov and Stravinsky, René Leibowitz and Schoenberg, and it was an awful situation. I was like an orphan child with divorced and separated parents.” Morton Feldman, “Darmstadt Lecture 1984,” in *Morton Feldman: Essays*, Walter Zimmermann, ed. (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1985), 181.

¹³ Roger Reynolds described how he saw Varèse as an alternative to neoclassical or serial models: “I came to New York several times [during the 1950s] to meet with Varèse and try to explain to him my understanding of his harmonic practice and so on which, of course, he abjured--with some force! He didn’t agree with anything that I had said, analytically, and this in a way also was a powerful influence--the notion of a man who made music moment by moment, whose concern was with the definition of each instantaneous sound was quite the opposite from the kind of approaches that [Ross Lee] Finney had, which was very much for the long line, for the overall form, and [Roberto] Gerhard’s which was an holistic structural approach.” Roger Reynolds, Interview with Harvey Sollberger, in *Profile of a Composer: Roger Reynolds* (New York: C. F. Peters, 1982), 22.

¹⁴ Leonard B. Meyer, *Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 83.

another, though never achieving importance.”¹⁵ It remains unclear how Sessions identified experimental music; for him, the term seemed to indicate any music that did not follow conventions of American neoclassicism.

In New York during the 1950s, beyond divisions between neoclassicism and serialism, a growing split between “academic” composers and “experimental” composers came to be understood under the rubrics of “uptown” and “downtown” schools of composition.¹⁶ Uptown composers were centered at the Columbia-Princeton electronic music studio, and were considered rational, chromatic, academic serialists. They included professionally established composers like Milton Babbitt and Charles Wuorinen. On the other hand, music by downtown composers often included interdisciplinary collaborations performed in alternative spaces such as museums, galleries, and private lofts. This group came to be recognized as the core of mid-century American experimental music, orbiting around John Cage. Despite these distinctions, however, Cage sometimes enjoyed the support of American composers from outside his immediate milieu. For example, Virgil Thomson had known and supported Cage since the late 1930s, and wrote letters of support for Cage’s Guggenheim grant applications.¹⁷ In 1968 Cage received a scholarship of two installments of \$5,000 each from the Thome Music

¹⁵ Sessions, *Reflections on the Music Life in the United States* (New York: Merlin Press, 1956), 152.

¹⁶ See, for example, John Rockwell, “New York; Avant-Garde Music,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, Vol. 13, Stanley Sadie and H. Wiley Hitchcock, eds. (London: Macmillan, 1986), 362.

¹⁷ See Virgil Thomson, *Virgil Thomson* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), 352ff.

Fund; the advisory committee included Thomson himself, Milton Babbitt, Leonard Bernstein, Douglas Moore, Gunther Schuller, and Aaron Copland.¹⁸ Though many musicians acknowledged a stylistic conflict in American classical music, personal and professional connections between them often blurred the lines between the camps.

A composer such as Elliott Carter is likewise difficult to locate within a dichotomous view of American composition during the 1950s and 1960s. Despite his strong ties to French-influenced composers in the United States, he often spoke up for the experimentalists. In an essay on the implications of Henry Pleasants' book *The Agony of Modern Music* (1955), Carter commented on the "apparently growing conservatism of concert life" in the United States. Carter complained that more money had been spent publicizing Pleasants' book--aimed, apparently, at convincing audiences and sponsors to support modern music even less than they already did--than had ever been spent on a single piece of modern music in the United States. Carter believed that neoclassicism was still considered the most representative American style of composition. That opinion contradicted Stefan Wolpe, who had claimed in his IFNM lecture in 1956 that the official style of composition in America was becoming radicalized. Carter added that a "great outcry" occurred when Wolpe received a commission of one thousand dollars from the League of Composers and the ISCM, for the more "conservative elements of the organization" considered Wolpe's work too "extreme."¹⁹ Carter used the term "extreme" to describe composers associated with Varèse and those composers chosen to represent

¹⁸ Documents held at [JCC].

¹⁹ Carter, "The Agony of Modern Music," 56.

American music at the Donaueschingen festivals in Germany during the 1950s—including Cage, Brown, and Wolff.²⁰

Five years after Wolfgang Edward Rebner's IFNM lecture on American experimental music, Rebner's colleague in Los Angeles Peter Yates (1909-76) also examined the idea of American experimental music. In his "Introductory Essay" for *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography*, published by the New York Public Library in 1959, Yates named fifteen diverse American composers "experimentalists:" Henry Brant, John Cage, Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, Roy Harris, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, Charles Ives, Harry Partch, Wallingford Riegger, Carl Ruggles, Roger Sessions, Virgil Thomson, and Edgard Varèse. By doing so, Yates turned a deaf ear to stylistic divisions between neoclassicists and serialists, uptown composers and downtown composers. He emphasized "continental individuality" and praised the "exceptional" rather than the "routine."²¹ The main difference he noted between composers such as Cage, Partch and Harrison--the "more native extreme of American experimentalism"--and the others was that those three "lay outside the direction of European music."²² In hindsight the grouping of these fifteen

²⁰ Elliott Carter, "The Agony of Modern Music, 1955," in *Elliott Carter: Collected Essays and Lectures, 1937-1995*, Jonathan W. Bernard, ed. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 53-7. By 1955, the only American compositions performed at the Donaueschingen festivals had been: Everett Helm, *Concerto for 5 Solo Instruments, Percussion, and String Orchestra*; Christian Wolff, *For Pianos II*; John Cage, *12'55.6078" for two pianists*, and *Williams Mix*; and Earle Brown, *Octet*.

²¹ Yates, "Introductory Essay," *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography* Vol. 1, John Edmunds and Gordon Boelzner, eds. (New York Public Library, 1959), 9-22.

²² Yates, "Introductory Essay," 11.

composers may seem odd, but Yates did not make his decisions arbitrarily, nor were his choices based on ignorance. To the contrary, for many years he was one of the rare affirmative voices in America for both Cage and Partch. By 1961, Yates was the self-proclaimed “western representative for the Experimentalists.”²³ It is all the more curious that Yates’s fifteen American “experimentalists” formed such a diverse group. Since Yates corresponded frequently with John Cage around the time when he wrote his “Introductory Essay,” it is noteworthy that Yates did not comment on Cage’s own view of experimental music as expressed in Cage’s essay “A History of Experimental Music in the United States,” commissioned by Wolfgang Steinecke for publication in 1959.²⁴ Perhaps Yates did not read Cage’s essay until it was published in English in *Silence* two years later; until then, Cage’s text had been available only in Heinz-Klaus Metzger’s German translation.²⁵

Cage did not define “experimentalism” or “American experimental music” in his essay written for Steinecke. Instead, he defined “the nature of an experimental action” as

²³ Letter from Yates to Cage, 21 August 1961: “Meanwhile I have been making myself a lecturer by demand as western representative for the Experimentalists, especially you, Partch, Lou [Harrison], and Varèse, each in your different ways with Ives always in the background” [JCC].

²⁴ Cage and Yates correspondence, ca. 1960 [JCC]. And as early as 1954, Yates had referred to Cage as an “experimentalist.” See Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939-1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 128.

²⁵ See *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, Vol. 1, Wolfgang Steinecke, ed. (Mainz: Schott, 1959), 46-53.

“an action the outcome of which is not foreseen.”²⁶ Like Yates, Cage discussed Varèse, Ives, Cowell, Ruggles, and Partch. But unlike Yates, Cage dismissed these composers as *not* experimental on the grounds that they predetermined too much of the musical outcome of the performers’ actions. However, a conflict of interest lies just below the surface of Cage’s essay: it seems that he wanted to allow room for his colleagues’ creative spirit to be acknowledged, claiming that “America has an intellectual climate suitable for radical experimentation.” In mentioning the work of Henry Brant, Ruth Crawford, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhannes, Leo Ornstein, Dane Rudhyar, and others, Cage, acknowledged the need for a class beyond neoclassicism and dodecaphony.²⁷ One year earlier, Cage had admitted that he used the term *experimental*: “to describe all the music that especially interests me and to which I am devoted.”²⁸

Composers and writers on contemporary music continued to disagree on the definition of experimentalism and also on the degree to which such radical music was recognized, supported, or left to fend for itself in the United States. For the second edition of his *American Composers on American Music*, published in 1962, Henry Cowell added a new introduction that breathed optimism:

It seemed to me even then [1933] that to be American was to honor difference, and to welcome the experimental, the fresh and the new, instead of trying to establish in advance the road our creative life should

²⁶ Cage, *Silence*, 69.

²⁷ Cage, *Silence*, 73.

²⁸ Cage, “Experimental Music,” *Silence*, 7. This text was written as an address to a meeting of The Music Teachers National Association in Chicago (winter 1957), and was first published accompanying the recording of Cage’s Twenty-Five Year Retrospective Concert (New York, 1958).

follow. [. . .] It has, of course, taken a long time for the composers who felt impelled to compose outside the old traditions of Europe to achieve the solid ground of wide recognition in their own country. Today, however, there is no question but that those who were most determined and uninhibited in their “experimentalism,” and who seemed so shockingly untamed in the 1920s, are now widely thought of as representing the ‘essence’ of America.²⁹

Aside from Charles Ives, whose work was performed more and more often in the early 1960s, it is not clear to whom Cowell was referring. And in 1933, as we have seen (see Table 3.1), Cowell had included Ives in a group of composers singled out for nationalistic traits, not for “uninhibited experimentalism.” Cowell’s suggestion that the experimental might be recognized as the essence of America was fiercely, though indirectly denied by Peter Yates, who addressed the then emerging arts foundations in 1963:

Our concentration camp for the nonconforming artist is silence, a polite exclusion, no jobs, no grants, no performance, no distribution, therefore no reputation and no income, modified by the saving intervention of a minority who provide occasional jobs, occasional grants or gifts, occasional performance, but can’t overcome the largest problem, distribution. [. . .] If you want to find the artist who is worth supporting, look for the rugged nonconformist who puts in most of his time working at his art, who may have been shoved off the gravy-train; an artist radical to life, whose individuality disturbs us; one to whom the future may turn with reverence but who is now ostracized by the committees [. . .] Look for the man who is so busy doing his job that he can’t be bothered filling out several pages of foot-long applications. Look for the man, not the degree.³⁰

²⁹ Cowell, “Introduction to Second Edition,” in *American Composers on American Music* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962), viif; x.

³⁰ Yates, “An Open Letter to the Foundations,” *Arts and Architecture* (August 1963): 32.

This strong statement from a man who had for decades, like Cowell, promoted performances of new American music, painted a bleak picture of American experimental composers' situation in the United States. While Cowell speculated about new possibilities for the music he favored, Yates remained pessimistic about the lack of recognition and appreciation for contemporary American composers. These opposing views are difficult to reconcile. In 1965, Yates criticized the first "Rockefeller Brothers' Panel Report on the Future of Theater, Dance, and Music in America" as a naive and inadequate attempt to provide increased funding for the arts. For Yates, it was too little, too late. He wrote: "American experimental music--its leading composers, if not starving, are not conspicuously thriving--is taking leadership throughout the world; it is still resisted, with ignorance and suspicion, by impresarios and entrepreneurs, as well as by many musicians and their audiences in the United States."³¹ By 1965, the term "American experimental music," as used by Yates to emphasize an "outsider" position, had been clearly established. At least to him, experimentalists were working outside of official venues and systems of support. To what degree the outsider position was truly a quality necessary for identification with experimentalism, or how, precisely, outsiderism was to be defined, is not yet clear. As we shall see, American composers themselves, speaking overseas, sometimes reinforced such stereotypes, even though most of them had academic backgrounds and received some support from cultural institutions. In America, locating experimental music historically and finding an economic place for its creators would prove difficult at best.

³¹ Yates, "A Comment on the Rockefeller Brother's Panel Report," *Arts in Society* 3/3 (1965): 364.

Nonconforming Artists at Home: A Polite Exclusion?

For American composers competition for funding in the United States was “bitter” at best.³² Responding to the question “can composers make a living by composing?” in a survey conducted by the German new music journal *Melos* in 1969, Aaron Copland answered:

In the United States, it is possible for some few composers in the field of serious music to earn their living solely from composition. Almost invariably, however, this presumes a considerable list of works already composed and available. Naturally such a composer would normally be forty years old or older. His income would be derived from four sources: payments of performance rights [from] societies such as the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers; royalties from the sale and rental of one’s music from the publisher thereof; income from the sale of recordings; and commissions offered for the writing of specific works. In the United States, a large source of income may be the sale of music to schools, colleges and universities. There are literally hundreds of choruses of excellent quality and school orchestras of more than usual competence. In many cases, the sale of works suitable for performance by such organizations would far out-distance the sale of contemporary music to the general public.

By and large, however, it should be pointed out that the great majority of serious composers in the United States earn their living through other sources than those outlined above--mostly through teaching in schools, conservatories, and privately.³³

³² See Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof*, 261.

³³ Aaron Copland, “Rundfrage: Kann ein Komponist vom Komponieren leben?” *Melos* 4 (April 1969): 156. Copland’s statement was printed in both English and German; no translator’s name was given.

For composers over forty who either were not able to acquire a teaching position or did not wish to do so, the means of professional survival in the United States remained meager, where teaching was *the* American musical occupation, or, in the words of one American music historian, “the American musician’s bread and butter.”³⁴ To be sure, academic positions provided some American experimental composers a regular income. But that option paled in comparison to the professional opportunities available through radio stations in Germany. For composers who made their primary living as professional performers--such as John Cage, Philip Glass, Steve Reich, Terry Riley, Frederic Rzewski, David Tudor, and La Monte Young--venues in Europe offered higher fees, more publicity, recording opportunities, and resources to realize large-scale works.

Certainly the means of survival for American composers had always been precarious. But especially at mid-century, some composers had trouble finding recognition. In the early 1940s, for example, the WPA in San Francisco refused to give John Cage work on the grounds that he “wasn’t a composer.”³⁵ During the 1950s, Earle Brown wrote to Wolfgang Steinecke that his chances for being awarded the Guggenheim Fellowship for which he had applied were slim, given the policies of the Guggenheim committee.³⁶ Even performance venues devoted to contemporary music were frequently

³⁴ See Richard Crawford, *American Musical Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 48.

³⁵ See Geoff Smith and Nicola Walker Smith, *New Voices: American Composers Talk about Their Music* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 79.

³⁶ Letter from Brown to Steinecke, 26 February 1957 [IMD]. Almost a decade later, Brown received a Guggenheim (1965-66), as did Morton Feldman for the following year (1966-67).

under the control of boards of directors who more often than not took their cues from Europe. And it was not until European patrons and prominent composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen acknowledged the significance of Cage's ideas that some directors of American performance venues considered it necessary to deal with him as well.

Beyond the sincere wish to promote culture for its own sake, major cultural decisions made in the United States during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s were directly linked to Cold War politics. In part as a result of international embarrassment, the United States established its National Endowment for the Arts in 1965.³⁷ Pressure to do so had been growing for a long time; as early as 1948, improving the United States' cultural image abroad became a primary goal of American propaganda.³⁸ During the Truman and Eisenhower eras in particular, America's international reputation was still being undermined by a perceived cultural deficiency. By 1960, in the minds of some scholars today, the Cold War had been "recast as a cultural competition rather than a military

³⁷ Catherine Cameron writes: "The success of the cultural campaign overseas reinforced the impetus for the federal government to get involved in cultural financing at home. As an added incentive, the findings of investigative commissions on the arts revealed the extent of economic hardships endured by professional artists. [. . .] This led to a number of new forms of public and private support--the federal and state arts councils, the two federal endowments for the arts and humanities, a national arts center in Washington, D.C., and unprecedented federal money for the expansion of universities." Catherine M. Cameron, *Dialectics in the Arts: The Rise of Experimentalism in American Music* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 120; see also Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and Christopher Lasch, *The Agony of the American Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

³⁸ Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, 193. This attitude of the majority in Congress would help to explain the increased funding of State Department tours in 1949 and 1950 (such as the Walden String Quartet's, Varèse's, and Stuckenschmidt's; see Chapter One).

one.”³⁹ Despite increased international pressure to show support of its national arts, the United States government cultural agencies steered clear of performers who seemed too avant-garde, despite the fame they sometimes achieved abroad.⁴⁰ Some venues however were willing to give experimental music a chance after it had gained recognition in Europe.

³⁹ Sally Banes, *Greenwich Village 1963: Avant-Garde Performance and the Effervescent Body* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 5.

⁴⁰ The problem persisted for dancers as well. When the Merce Cunningham Dance Company went on their first world tour in 1964, Peter Yates pointed out that “unlike many less distinguished groups, the Cunningham company is not traveling with the help of any government agency; it is subsidized by proceeds of the sale of paintings and sculpture donated by American artists.” Yates, “Music Column,” *Arts and Architecture* (September 1964): 41. And during the late 1960s, while working with many experimental composers such as Cage, Tudor, Behrman, and Mumma, Cunningham was denied state funding to attend a dance festival in France. His company was able to attend the festival with the financial assistance of the Spanish painter Joan Miró, who paid their travel costs with the money he earned through the sale of one painting. After he had already returned to the U.S., Cunningham was awarded the top prize for choreography at the festival. In defense of the State Department’s refusal to support the company’s attendance, a government official remarked that “there was not much interest in Cunningham’s kind of thing in Europe.” See Calvin Tomkins, *The Bride and the Bachelors: Five Masters of the Avant-Garde* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), 269f.

During the 1950s and 1960s however, the State Department funded many jazz musicians and groups to tour foreign countries as cultural ambassadors for the United States, including Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, Dizzy Gillespie, Dave Brubeck, and others. Leonard Feather wrote in 1960: “In 1956 the United States Government for the first time took official cognizance of jazz. Realizing that the global interest in America’s foremost musical export might be turned to patriotic advantage, the State Department authorized the American National Theater Academy to send a big band under Dizzy Gillespie on a tour of the Near and Middle East.” Leonard Feather, *The Encyclopedia of Jazz*, reprint. (New York: Da Capo, 1984), 49-50. See also Dizzy Gillespie and Al Fraser, *To Be or Not to Bop* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 413-27; Ronald Radano, *New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton’s Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 15-16; and Ingrid Monson, personal communication with the author, 16 April 1999.

Lawrence Morton's Monday Evening Concerts in Los Angeles, a concert series specializing in new music, was reluctant to give unconventional composers like Cage opportunities to have their music heard alongside that of their contemporaries.⁴¹ In 1958, the board of directors rejected Yates' request to program compositions by Cage. When Yates finally organized a Cage concert, it was primarily because Morton felt increasing pressure to do so: he had become aware of Cage's increasing stature among European composers.⁴² Even by 1960, a reverence for European culture was so ingrained that the music of Karlheinz Stockhausen was featured at Evenings on the Roof concerts years before the music of Cage, even long after America's cultural self-esteem had been boosted by Abstract Expressionism's prominence in the international art market. When Cage finally performed in the series during the winter of 1961-62, he not only conducted the orchestra for no fee, but he had to personally underwrite the musicians' fees as well.⁴³

⁴¹ Peter Yates' Evenings on the Roof concert series was renamed Monday Evening Concerts in 1954 when Lawrence Morton became the new director. During the 1930s, Yates called Los Angeles "a veritable Sahara of artistic incomprehension." See Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (forthcoming, Norton, 2000), 1073.

⁴² Letter from Yates to Peyton Houston, early 1960: "Next November I shall present Cage and his pianist friend David Tudor for the Monday Evenings. Last year when I proposed some of his music, everybody laughed and dismissed the subject. This year they want him in person . . . His fame is rebounding to us from Europe." Quoted in Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof*, 186f. Crawford also wrote: "Peter Yates's efforts on behalf of John Cage in MEC board meetings met with enthusiasm, now that Cage's influence upon European composers was becoming more evident" (199); and "Lawrence Morton considered Cage less important than the Europeans; yet he realized that Cage's growing influence among the European composers, and Stockhausen's and Boulez's recognition of this, meant that MEC must program his work. He fiercely resisted Yates's suggestions to put Cage and his followers in the repertoire until 1961" (261).

⁴³ Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof*, 199f. Cage's *Aria* and *Fontana Mix* had been performed during a post-season concert by Luciano Berio, Cathy Berberian, and Severino Gazzelloni in May 1960.

Informal international competition led to frustration about the lack of patronage at home and was coupled with a general distaste for what was seen as European composers' arrogance. In the mid-1960s, Virgil Thomson acknowledged Cage's influence abroad, but framed the nature of international exchange--in fact, a "war"--with confrontational language:

My column [in the New York *Herald Tribune*], which came to an end in 1954, reported little of the modern-music war that went on throughout the Eisenhower decade. That war, which was fought between Europe and America for world control over music's advanced positions, was won by Europe. Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, and their aides now occupy lots of space in the world's press, ride high, make money, and instruct the young. John Cage and his associates enjoy honor at home and some in Asia; but they are virtually without influence in Europe save on those leaders just mentioned, the ones who early seized there all the paying posts. These posts are nearly all in Germany, where state-supported radio establishments are rich and where music publishers are the world's most prosperous and best organized.⁴⁴

The "modern music war" between Europe and America "for world control over music's advanced positions" mattered little to composers who were, in Yates's words, "starving." As we shall see in Chapter Four, a composer such as Milton Babbitt, one well established in an American academic setting, was more deliberate in his rejection of European support, collaboration, and interaction. On the other hand, experimental composers--composers so far removed from the European tradition that they have often been accused of either rejection or total ignorance of that tradition--pragmatically allowed a place to be carved for their music in an Old World now known for generous state-support of contemporary music.

⁴⁴ Thomson, *Virgil Thomson*, 419.

Around 1960, the network of young musicians influenced by Cowell, Varèse, and Cage expanded in part through relationships formed in central Europe. Perhaps for some of the reasons outlined above, many American composers and musicians, including Alvin Lucier (b. 1931), Christian Wolff (b. 1934), David Behrman (b. 1937), Alvin Curran (b. 1938), and Frederic Rzewski (b. 1938) traveled abroad frequently. Many of them first traveled to Europe as young academics or recent college graduates; there they often encountered new ideas associated with American experimental music, ideas they then sometimes pursued at home, despite experimental music's absence from college music curricula. For example, Wolff and Rzewski, both students at Harvard, first met in Darmstadt in 1956, the year Stefan Wolpe and David Tudor first visited the IFNM.⁴⁵ After returning to Harvard, along with their fellow student David Behrman, Wolff and Rzewski gained control of Harvard's student composition club, and spent part of the club's budget to invite Tudor to play a concert of Cage's music in Cambridge.⁴⁶ When Tudor came up from New York for the concert he brought with him Brown, Cage, and

⁴⁵ Rzewski said that he first met Wolff in Darmstadt in 1956. At Harvard, Wolff studied Classics, which explains why he would not have known many composition students. Rzewski also met Wolpe and Metzger in Darmstadt in 1956. Rzewski interview with the author, 2 April 1998.

⁴⁶ Rzewski knew Behrman previously from Harvard and before, but Behrman did not attend IFNM in 1956. Rzewski interview with the author, 2 April 1998; Behrman interview with the author, 7 March 1999. For more information on Behrman and Rzewski at Harvard, see Howard Pollack, *Harvard Composers: Walter Piston and His Students from Elliott Carter to Frederic Rzewski* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 370-96.

Feldman.⁴⁷ At Harvard the young composers also presented a recording--acquired from the composer himself in Darmstadt--of Stockhausen's recent tape piece *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1956).⁴⁸ In 1959, Behrman too went to Europe, on a Paine Fellowship from Harvard University to study composition with Henri Pousseur; there he gained contact with experimental circles in Cologne. After college, Wolff was stationed in Stuttgart with the U.S. army from 1959 until 1961. During this time he again visited IFNM and like Behrman he too was drawn to the new music scene in Cologne; he also visited the German composer Dieter Schnebel, a central figure among German Cage-supporters, in the southern German town of Kaiserslautern.⁴⁹ Rzewski had studied piano and composition at Harvard and Princeton with Randall Thompson, Walter Piston, Roger Sessions, and Milton Babbitt, and with Luigi Dallapiccola in Florence, but he turned his back on academia after graduation. Yet he continued to benefit from institutional support: he spent two years in Italy on a Fulbright fellowship (1960-62), and two years in Berlin on a Ford Foundation grant (1963-65).⁵⁰ Lucier also lived in Italy (from 1960-61)

⁴⁷ Behrman interview with the author, 7 March 1999. Behrman also discussed the circumstances of Tudor's Harvard performance during his "Conversations on Collaboration" with Gordon Mumma at Mills College in Oakland, CA, on 1 March 1999.

⁴⁸ Rzewski interview with the author, 2 April 1998.

⁴⁹ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997; also Dieter Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998. (Schnebel: "Ich war in dieser Zeit von 1956 bis 1963 in Kaiserslautern in der Pfalz, und da war das amerikanische Militärhauptquartier, und da bekam ich eines Tages Besuch von einem jungen amerikanischen Soldat, und der hat mir gesagt, er sei Christian Wolff.")

⁵⁰ As a frequent IFNM visitor, Rzewski enjoyed close contact with many influential musicians in Germany since the late 1950s. Throughout the 1960s he performed frequently in both Cologne (where he also gave courses at the *Kölner Kurse für Neue Musik*) and Bremen (at *pro musica nova*). In Germany Rzewski was known as a great

after finishing his master's degree at Brandeis University. In Venice he attended performances by Cage, Cunningham and Tudor. During the summer of 1961 Lucier drove from Italy to Darmstadt with Rzewski to attend the IFNM. There they heard Tudor's last performances in Darmstadt, including pieces by Behrman, Brecht, Cage, Riley, Young, and others.⁵¹ For this group of American composers, all born during the 1930s, traveling to Europe was a catalyst for change.

But the problem of American artists seeking support in Europe or settling there for extended residencies, was troubling to people who were struggling to gain a place for experimental music in performance venues at home. Again, it was Peter Yates who protested the Eurocentric stance of concert organizers in the United States. He wrote: "Our first duty to art in the United States, throughout the continent, is to serve the native artist, the creator, the performer." Yates insisted that "we must discover the native artist, the local artist, and give him a place to work where he lives."⁵² Distressed by the situation that had "native artists" depending on foreign venues, Yates asked: "what is [the living artist] doing in Europe on his Fulbright? Is he being encouraged to sell American

virtuoso, and he filled the void left by David Tudor, who after the early 1960s devoted his creative energies almost exclusively to composition. Like Tudor, Rzewski recorded a number of works at *Radio Bremen* during the 1960s under the sponsorship and supervision of Hans Otte [see Chapter Five]. Rzewski also gave the premieres of Stockhausen's *Klavierstück X* (1962) and *Plus-Minus* (1964). In Rome in 1966, with the Americans Alvin Curran and Richard Teitelbaum, Rzewski founded the influential live-electronic music ensemble *Musica Elettronica Viva* (MEV). When MEV toured West Germany during the late 1960s, it caused a sensation among composers born after the war.

⁵¹ Lucier, *Alvin Lucier: Reflections, Interviews, Scores, Writings* (Cologne: MusikTexte, 1995), 26ff.

⁵² Peter Yates, "An Open Letter to the Foundations," *Arts and Architecture* (August 1963): 9.

music, styles, composers, to the natives?"⁵³ For the time being though, some young experimental American composers were not necessarily looking for a place to work where they lived. Impressed by the amount of new music activity in central Europe, they took advantage of opportunities offered there.

By the late 1960s, increasing tolerance for counter-cultures helped improve the situation for many American composers. That a composer such as Feldman, whose formal education had culminated in a high school diploma, obtained an influential position in a educational institution in the United States (at SUNY Buffalo) during the early 1970s was significant for many composers whose professional lives were centered outside the walls of academe. Perhaps some viewed Feldman's position at Buffalo as a further opportunity to have an ally in the "enemy" camp. On his own academic career, Wolff remarked:

When I went up to Harvard [in the 50s] and ended up teaching a bit, I think they were all a little pleased that they had an ally--on alien territory. But the fact is, in this country, that's one of the places where things are happening. [. . .] Initially it was a matter of finding some way to make a living. [. . .] That's the reason I got into the academic thing, because I could just see no way of sustaining a living through my music. Cage was well into his 1940s before he became modestly self-sufficient. [. . .] Feldman got a very good deal [at SUNY Buffalo] and he did it almost entirely on his own terms.⁵⁴

The idea of the college campus as "alien territory" for a group of composers that included Harvard, Princeton, and Brandeis graduates raises many questions. Wolff

⁵³ Peter Yates, "An Open Letter to the Foundations," 9.

⁵⁴ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997.

suggests that this group of experimental composers was dissatisfied with the state of patronage and employment in the United States, and that an experimental attitude counted more than institutional affiliation.⁵⁵ During the late 1960s and 1970s a number of other experimental composers obtained academic positions--primarily in California--including Robert Ashley, David Behrman, Gordon Mumma, Pauline Oliveros, and Terry Riley. A belief that experimental composers worked outside a musical establishment still exists today, even though many of them studied at prestigious institutions, received official grants and fellowships, and became university instructors themselves.⁵⁶ The reputation of American experimental composers as “outsiders” remains an enduring emblem of this group, and one that connects later generations of experimentalists with their non-conforming forefathers. For example, in a recent book on the history of Tanglewood, the only discussion of Ives, Varèse, Cowell and Cage appears conspicuously in a chapter called “Intruders in the Temple.”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Recent scholarship shows an attempt to reconcile experimentalists with their academic backgrounds. For example, see Pollack, *Harvard Composers*, 370-96.

⁵⁶ It is worth noting, however, that academic appointments for these composers tended to be at institutions known for a tolerance for experimentation, such as SUNY Buffalo, Mills College, and UC San Diego. As in Germany, it was often the work of one composer who could develop a progressive reputation for an institution and bring in friends, colleagues, and collaborators from the informal experimental music network. Gordon Mumma was invited by William Brooks to take up an appointment at the UC Santa Cruz in the fall of 1973 for the purpose of setting up an electronic facility. Mumma said that Brooks was interested in people who “did real stuff” and not just those with prestigious educations (Mumma holds neither a high school nor a college degree). Mumma interview with the author, 9 March 1999.

⁵⁷ Andrew L. Pincus, *Tanglewood: The Clash Between Tradition and Change* (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1998).

A further example of the internal American dilemma--still influenced by America's colonial past--occurred in 1970, shortly before Pierre Boulez became the director of the New York Philharmonic. Angered by Boulez's failure to program one single work by an American composer in the series of nineteen compositions to be performed that year at the Ojai Festival in Southern California, Robert Ashley and Alvin Lucier wrote an open letter to Lawrence Morton, who had been the artistic director of the festival since the late 1960s.⁵⁸ The letter was signed by nineteen American composers, including Jon Appleton, Larry Austin, David Behrman, Morton Feldman, Gordon Mumma, Pauline Oliveros, Terry Riley, Frederic Rzewski, David Tudor, and La Monte Young. The letter expressed deep frustration with a situation that left many American composers feeling like second-class citizens in their own home. The heart of the matter, they wrote, was that "the programming represents the same old imperialistic thinking we have had to put up with for years in this country due to the predominance of all those European conductors of our fine orchestras who have kept themselves isolated from our musical ideas so that they can maintain the illusion of European superiority and thereby retain control over much of our musical resources."⁵⁹ Morton dismissed the letter, telling the *New York Times* that "the letter is so full of envy, jealousy, and most of all, chauvinism that it does not merit a reply." Morton added: "the signatories constitute a special group which I think is not qualified to speak for American music in general. If it

⁵⁸ The Ojai Music Festival was a spring series of weekend concerts initiated in 1947 at Ojai, California (near Los Angeles). At Morton's request, Boulez directed the Ojai Festival in 1970.

⁵⁹ The letter was partially quoted in Raymond Ericson, "Is Boulez 'Imperialistic'?", *New York Times* (21 June 1970).

had included Copland, Babbitt and Carter [. . .] it would have carried more weight.”⁶⁰

That those who signed the letter constituted a special group of American composers was immediately clear to Morton. In Europe, by 1970, they were widely considered the only--most typical, and most innovative --representatives worth hearing. But by Morton, an influential promoter of new music in the United States, they were not considered to represent American artistic ideas at all. At home, it would seem, even their collective voice carried no weight. Their official exclusion was hinted at by Morton, who segregated American composers into two groups: those who were qualified to speak for American music, including Copland, Babbitt, and Carter, and those who were not.

Many American composers' relationship with Europe and European cultural history revealed national pride and international insecurity. Nevertheless, the deeply-rooted ambivalence toward European tradition and the contradiction implied by succumbing to--or actively embracing--West German patronage while trying to dismantle at home the “illusion of European superiority” perpetuated a conflict that engaged many American experimentalists.

⁶⁰ Ericson, “Is Boulez ‘Imperialistic’?,” *New York Times* (21 June 1970). See also Sebastian Claren, *Neither: Die Musik Morton Feldmans* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1995), 619 (unpublished).

Experimentalism Abroad: German Ambivalence

As early as 1949, Stuckenschmidt called Charles Ives experimental.⁶¹ One year later, following his first tour of the United States, he wrote that two main groups of composers existed in the United States: “classicists” (including Copland and Piston) and “experimenters.” Stuckenschmidt located David Diamond somewhere between the two categories, since Diamond’s compositional pedigree included training in the “classical” camp (at the Eastman School of Music and with Nadia Boulanger) as well as lessons from the “radical-experimental” Roger Sessions.⁶² Like Cowell’s and Sessions’, Stuckenschmidt’s use of the term ‘experimental’ remained inconsistent and ill-defined. During the 1950s and 1960s in Germany, *experimentelle Musik* often referred both to serialism and to *musique concrète*. Konrad Boehmer has written that the term “experimental music” came about to describe serial music between 1950 and 1955, and was used in Germany to distinguish between music that critics were ready to accept as *modern* music and music they considered *avant-garde*. According to Boehmer, during this time “experimental music” was used as a polemical label for both serial and electronic music; the term itself suggested that the music was not “music” in the conventional sense.⁶³ Similarly, Klaus Ebbeke has written that during the 1950s and

⁶¹ Stuckenschmidt, “Kammermusik in Amerika,” *Neue Zeitung* (12 June 1949) [IMD].

⁶² Stuckenschmidt, Preview of Berlin Philharmonic concert featuring works by Diamond, Copland, Barber, and Piston, *Neue Zeitung* (2 April 1950) [BPA].

⁶³ “Der Begriff ‘experimentelle Musik’ entstand im Zuge der Entwicklung serieller Musik etwa zwischen 1950 und 1955 und diente dazu, einen Unterschied zu konstruieren zwischen dem, was die Musikkritik als moderne Musik zu akzeptieren bereit war, und dem, was für sie unter Avantgardemusik rangierte. [. . .] Als ‘experimentelle Musik’

1960s in Germany, the term “experimental” included all music that fell outside of “neoclassical” modernism.⁶⁴

A series of articles by Donald V. Mehus, published in many German newspapers in 1958, divided American composers into five discrete subgroups: Americanists (Gershwin, Copland, Harris), traditionalists (Piston, Barber), eclecticists (Sessions, Creston, Schuman, Thomson, Menotti), dodecaphonists (Riegger), and experimentalists (Antheil, Cowell, Cage, Partch).⁶⁵ The editorial decision to include only the experimental techniques of Cowell’s tone clusters and Cage’s prepared piano in the title of one of these

wurde in jener Zeit polemisch die serielle und elektronische bezeichnet, wobei der Begriff suggerierte, daß es sich hier nicht um Musik im herkömmlichen Sinn des Wortes handele.” Konrad Boehmer, “Experimentelle Musik,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Suppl. ed., Vol. 16 (1979), 155.

⁶⁴ This explanation is consistent with Stuckenschmidt’s use of the term in 1950 (see above). Ebbeke: “Der Begriff ‘experimentelle’ Musik, der in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren all jene Musik faßte, die sich außerhalb einer ‘neoklassizistischen’ Moderne bewegte, muß heute eine Eingrenzung erfahren.” Klaus Ebbeke, “Experimentelle Musik,” in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad 1990*, Rudolf Stephan and Wsewolod Saderatzkij, eds. (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994), 209.

⁶⁵ Mehus implied, but did not directly state that these divisions came from Gilbert Chase, *America’s Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955). See Mehus, “Tonbündel und präpariertes Klavier: Kleiner Streifzug durch die Richtungen der Musik in den USA,” *Hannoversche Presse* (13 March 1958) [IMD]. See also Mehus, “Amerikas musikalische Pioniere: Bestrebungen einer eigenständigen Tonkunst in den USA,” *Frankfurter Neue Presse* (27 April 1958); and Mehus, “Moderne amerikanische Musik,” *Saarbrücker Zeitung* (11 June 1958) [IMD]. Other articles around this time began making a distinction between American symphonic composers--“in the German tradition”--and others. Those “in the German tradition” included Barber, Copland, Creston, Dello Joio, Diamond, Hanson, Harris, Piston, Riegger, Schuman, Sessions, and Randall Thompson, despite the fact that many of them had been trained in France. See Paul Henry Lang, “Amerikas Komponisten sinfonischer Musik,” *Spandauer Volksblatt* (31 August 1958); and Lang, “Die Symphonie in Amerika: Über die deutsche Tradition zum eigenen musikalischen Stil,” *Musikalische Jugend* (October 1958) [IMD].

articles (“Tone Clusters and Prepared Piano: A Short Expedition Through the Directions of Music in the United States”) reveals a widespread attitude among West German new music specialists toward American music at the time, one that increasingly considered American experimental music to be the single most important classical musical trend in the United States. Mehus emphasized the creative importance of the experimentalists, implying that they were the only composers who were inventing new compositional forms, novel sound effects and sound combinations, and new instruments and instrumental techniques.⁶⁶

While Yates was defining experimentalism broadly on the North American continent, the first German translation of a comprehensive text on music in the United States, Gilbert Chase’s *America’s Music* (1955), went on the market in West Germany.⁶⁷ Chase’s historical overview provided a more balanced, detailed picture of America’s diverse musical life, a picture that contradicted German views of music in the United States as lacking development, support, history, and tradition. One of the book’s reviewers wrote that it was written in the spirit of “pragmatic sobriety” providing the European reader--especially the musically curious layman--with a broad overview of

⁶⁶ “Wir können den Streifzug durch die moderne amerikanische Musik nicht abschließen, ohne die manchmal umstrittenen Experimentalisten zu erwähnen. Meistens veranlaßten sie durch das ‘Neuartige’ zwar nur einen ‘Sturm im Wasserglas,’ doch sollten Umfang und Wert ihrer Arbeiten nicht unterschätzt werden. Sie haben neue Kompositionsformen geschaffen, neuartige Toneffekte und Kombinationen entwickelt, sogar Instrumente erfunden oder vorhandene verändert.” Mehus, “Tonbündel und präpariertes Klavier: Kleiner Streifzug durch die Richtungen der Musik in den USA,” *Hannoversche Presse* (13 March 1958) [IMD].

⁶⁷ Chase, *Die Musik Amerikas: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Gisela Barteis, trans. (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1959).

American music as well as new data on an area of music which up until then had lacked such resources. But the reviewer also expressed a dominant opinion when he remarked that one could only rightly judge the value of historically young American music in comparison with older European cultures if one dropped the measure of *quality* and allowed *vitality* to be considered.⁶⁸ Despite the wealth of information made available by Chase's book, German critics continued to describe America's musical life as a business, lacking adequate state funding and tradition.⁶⁹ Such reports often reveal how new music had been assimilated into German society on many levels, for German commentators had trouble understanding contemporary music's conspicuous absence from the public arena in the United States. For example, about the radio networks in America, a critic explained in Munich's widely circulated *Süddeutsche Zeitung*:

It is understandable that under such prerequisites--underestimating the intellectual capacity of the audience, catering to the business-above-all mentality of the sponsors--programs of avant-garde music, discussions about musical problems, interviews with composers, etc., are rare on the radio, and do not exist at all on television broadcasting. The modest

⁶⁸ "Der Wert des aus dem Geiste pragmatischer Nüchternheit verfaßten Buches liegt darin, daß es dem europäischen Leser, zumal dem musikalisch interessierten Laien, umfassende Information über ein Gebiet gibt, das er so in Gänze, im großen und im kleinen zu übersehen bisher nicht Gelegenheit hatte." And: "Was diese historisch junge Musik neben den älteren abendländischen Kulturen bedeuten kann, ist nur abzuschätzen, wenn man den Maßstab der Qualität fallen läßt und das Recht der Vitalität gelten läßt." Werner Oehlmann, "Musik in Amerika: Zu dem Werk von Gilbert Chase," *Der Tagesspiegel* (27 September 1959) [IMD]. See also Heinz Pringsheim, "Die Musik Amerikas," *Deutsche Woche* (11 March 1959) [IMD]. This reviewer concludes his article: "America's only true music is the folk music which culminates in jazz" ("Nur die im Jazz kulminierende Volksmusik ist echte amerikanische Musik").

⁶⁹ "Weder an Tradition noch an Sentimentalität gebunden, hat sich in den Vereinigten Staaten ein größtenteils ohne staatlichen oder städtischen Subsidien-Zuschuß funktionierender Musik-'Betrieb' entwickelt." Robert Breuer, "Amerikas musikalische Welt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (5 February 1961) [IMD].

attempts that are granted to composers of new sounds, experimentalists, and twelve-tone-technicians, take place more or less behind closed doors for a small circle of interested listeners.⁷⁰

In early July 1960, Everett Helm gave a lecture on American music at the Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University in Frankfurt. A reviewer of Helm's lecture marveled that Helm did not feature any examples of music by John Cage, whom Helm referred to as belonging to a group of "exoticists." The critic remarked: "Helm didn't play one single example of the modern extremists, of whom, in particular, John Cage has become quite well-known in Europe. It seems as if musical avant-gardism proceeds more in Europe than in America."⁷¹ For many West Germans, the United States seemed to be overlooking what was right in front of them: the historical significance of Cage's innovations. When Stockhausen toured twenty-seven American universities for six weeks during November and December of 1958, he spoke out frequently on Cage's

⁷⁰ "Daß unter solchen Vorbedingungen--Unterschätzung der geistigen Kapazität der Hörerschaft, Entgegenkommen an die Business-über-Alles-Mentalität der Sponsors--Programme avantgardistischer Musik, Diskussionen über musikalische Probleme, Interviews mit Komponisten usw. im Rundfunk zu den Seltenheiten, im Bildfunk zu nicht-existierenden Darbietungen zählen, ist durchaus verständlich. Die bescheidenen Versuche, die Neutöner, Experimentalisten, Zwölftontechniker usw. wagen dürfen, werden daher hinter mehr oder weniger verschlossenen Türen vor einem kleinen Kreis interessierter Zuhörer unternommen." Robert Breuer, "Amerikas musikalische Welt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (5 February 1961) [IMD].

⁷¹ "Von den modernen Extremisten--besonders John Cage ist in Europa bekannt geworden--gab Helm keinerlei Klangproben. Es hat den Anschein, als ob der Avantgardismus in der Musik eher in Europa als in Amerika zu Werke gehe." H. W. "Neue Musik in Amerika," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (2 July 1960) [IMD]. See also "Wenig Raum für Neue Musik: Über das Musikleben in den USA, Vortrag in der Universität," *Frankfurter Neue Presse* (5 July 1960) [IMD].

importance.⁷² Like others before him, Stockhausen was shocked by the lack of funding for culture in the United States.⁷³ Furthermore, he wrote indignantly, “in a city like Los Angeles, with over four million inhabitants, there is not one single large theater, not one professional orchestra” but just “cinemas, cinemas, more cinemas, restaurants, and swimming pools.” For Stockhausen, most disturbing of all was that “despite all the fantastic technical possibilities, the wealth of the country, and the wonderful quality of the musicians, contemporary music is practically dead; in America, in the praised land of progress.”⁷⁴

In 1960, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt returned to the United States for the first time since his 1949 tour.⁷⁵ As he had in 1949, he wrote articles on American musical life for German newspapers.⁷⁶ Stuckenschmidt was asked to give a lecture at the Goethe

⁷² The American composer Donald Scavarda also recalled hearing about Cage’s importance from Stockhausen, who visited the University of Michigan in 1958. Telephone conversation with Scavarda, 15 November 1998. See also Jonathan Cott, *Stockhausen: Conversations with the Composer* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 114.

⁷³ When Stockhausen visited Los Angeles in 1958, he was astounded that some professional musicians performing in the Monday Evening Concerts played for no fee at all. Stockhausen, “Amerikareise 1958,” *Melos* (Summer 1960): 206.

⁷⁴ “In einer Stadt wie Los Angeles mit über vier Millionen Einwohnern gibt es kein einziges großes Theater, kein ständig angestelltes Orchester. Kinos, Kinos, und noch mal Kinos, Restaurants, Schwimmbassins! Bei all den phantastischen technischen Möglichkeiten, dem Reichtum des Landes, der wunderbaren Qualität der Musiker ist Gegenwartsmusik praktisch tot: in Amerika, im gelobten Land des Fortschritts.” Stockhausen, “Amerikareise 1958,” 207.

⁷⁵ Stuckenschmidt was in New York from 26 February until 31 March 1960. See Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 322f.

⁷⁶ For example, see Stuckenschmidt, “Sehr bunte Musikpalette: Amerikanische Programme von Gabrieli bis Boulez.” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (25 April 1960) [IMD].

Institute in New York, and the radio station SFB in Berlin commissioned a special broadcast on American music for “Voice of America.”⁷⁷ He observed trends in American musical life since his last visit; for one, he claimed that American record catalogues contained more music by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and even Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Bartók than “in all European record stores put together.”⁷⁸ While in New York, Stuckenschmidt attended a concert of Cage’s and Cowell’s music in Greenwich Village, where the “downtown” scene flourished.⁷⁹ He later wrote that none of the participants in Cage’s piece seemed to know what the others were doing, and concluded that with this composition, Cage “liquidated the traditional definition of art.”⁸⁰ When he visited the *New York Times* office the following day, Stuckenschmidt’s colleagues in the music division were bewildered that the German visitor would spend his time with such events

⁷⁷ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 320. The fact that Stuckenschmidt lectured at the Goethe Institute implies that this institution--and therefore indirectly the West German government--at least partially financed the 1960 trip.

⁷⁸ “Man blättere in einem der amerikanischen LP-Kataloge, und man findet mehr Bach, mehr Mozart, mehr Beethoven, ja mehr Schönberg, Strawinsky, Bartók als in allen europäischen Plattenläden zusammen.” Stuckenschmidt, “Sehr bunte Musikpalette,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (25 April 1960) [IMD]. In 1960, *Melos* reported on a *Musical America* article that provided statistics on performed repertoire in the United States. During the 1959/60 season, Prokofiev led Stravinsky, followed by Bartók, Hindemith, Shostakovich, Kodály, Ernest Bloch and Honegger. The order for the American composers was: Barber, Copland, Schuman, Gershwin, Harris, Creston, Cowell, and Foss. See *Melos* 27/9 (September 1960).

⁷⁹ “Composer’s Showcase, Cowell and Cage” at Circle on the Square Theater on 7 March 1960. Cage, Tudor, Cunningham, Carolyn Brown, and a few others performed Cage’s *Theater Piece* (1960), which was later performed in Munich and other towns in Germany as part of Cage’s and Cunningham’s European tour in 1960.

⁸⁰ Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren*, 322.

to which no one in America paid any attention. Stuckenschmidt was perplexed by this reaction, mistakenly assuming that Cage would be as current and controversial an issue in Cage's home country as in West Germany. Though Cage's growing reputation in Europe was being "rebounded" across the Atlantic, the *New York Times* writer implied that many in the United States already seemed to consider his ideas obsolete.⁸¹ In his review of the concert written for *Melos*, Stuckenschmidt commented on the curious reception Cage's music received in New York, writing that "the provincial seriousness with which such music is presented and received in Germany [. . .] is lacking here."⁸² Stuckenschmidt's comment reads more like a criticism of Cage's supporters in Germany (who perhaps took Cage's music too seriously) than of Cage's audience in New York (who regarded the performance with cool reserve). The characterization of German Cage fans as "provincial" implied that they lacked the sophistication necessary to distinguish between real art and this "bizarre kind of entertainment."⁸³ Stuckenschmidt acknowledged Cage's fame in Europe, but denied him any originality, claiming that Cage's ideas reproduced those of European Dadaists during the First World War.⁸⁴ Despite this misunderstanding, Stuckenschmidt invited Cage to Berlin just two years later.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Ibid. During his first trip to the U.S. in 1949, Stuckenschmidt had noted how quickly trends came and went in the United States (see Chapter One).

⁸² "Es fehlt, und damit erst wird solche Kunst legitim, der provinzielle Ernst, mit dem dergleichen in Deutschland geboten und aufgenommen wird." Stuckenschmidt, "Die Dadaisten von Greenwich Village," *Melos* 27/9 (September 1960): 277.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ "Cage als schöpferische Potenz zu nehmen ist so falsch und beschränkt-akademisch wie seine Ablehnung vom Gralshüter-Standpunkt." Ibid. The original printing of this sentence mistakenly exchanged the work "als" for "die." Stuckenschmidt published a

Conclusion

As Wolfgang Steinecke and Stefan Wolpe indicated in 1956, *new music* in the United States and *experimental music* in the United States implied two different strands of American music. But for many American composers from diverse backgrounds, the effort to gain recognition and respect both at home and abroad posed an irreconcilable conflict. However, some West German patrons reacted to what they considered both inadequate funding for the arts in the United States and inadequate recognition for experimental composers at home. For Germans who continued to observe, absorb, and interpret music from the United States through a polemical and slanted view of American culture, identifying experimentalism proved both uncomplicated and useful. The clear dichotomies between uptown and downtown, academic and experimental composers seemed accurate enough. No matter on what side of the aesthetic “fence” one might have happened to stand, it was clear which branch of contemporary American music was worthy of both enthusiasm and support, argument and controversy, and which best embodied images of Americans as free-thinking innovators. Events in Darmstadt and elsewhere in West Germany during the 1960s furthered the cause of both camps, and provided American experimental composers professional opportunities unavailable in the United States.

correction in *Melos* 27/11 (November 1960), 351, in which he wrote: “It is important to me to be free of the suspicion that I would take Cage to have creative potential” (“Ich lege Wert darauf, von dem Verdacht frei zu sein, ich nähme Cage als schöpferische Potenz”).

⁸⁵ Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Cage, 27 June 1962, inviting Cage to lecture at the public symposium on “Music in the Age of Technical Science” during the winter term 1962/1963 at the Technische Universität in Berlin [JCC].

CHAPTER FOUR

DARMSTADT IN THE 1960s

The Darmstadt Summer School has become an excellent Academy, and problems like Notation and Electronic Sound are competently handled in a rather academic way. What has got lost is the vital interest in new and serious experimental music.¹

Introduction: Changes at IFNM

During the 1950s, Wolfgang Steinecke made Darmstadt's summer courses into a venue of world renown in new music circles. But while IFNM participants were still enjoying the diversity of international courses under Steinecke's direction and the flurry of debate caused by Cage's 1958 appearance, a change was just around the corner. Steinecke's accidental death after being hit by a car in 1961 forced the city of Darmstadt to quickly choose a new director, and the city council's choice retailed the now-legendary IFNM. The music critic Ernst Thomas nipped Steinecke's unleashed experimentalism in the bud, altering the direction of the IFNM.² One IFNM visitor

¹ Cornelius Cardew, "New Music Has Found Its Feet," *The Financial Times* (31 July 1964).

² Thomas was originally from Leipzig, but had worked as the head music critic for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in Frankfurt and in the new music department at SWF in Baden-Baden before his Darmstadt appointment. He served as IFNM director from 1962-80, and died on 3 November 1997. Heinz-Klaus Metzger said that Thomas was so

remembered that once Thomas took over “he immediately threw out the entire experimental group” and created a taboo around the work of the New York School.³ A conflict erupted during the IFNM in 1970 due in part to Thomas’s leadership and what was perceived by some as an unjustified exclusion of American experimental music. This chapter examines the contrast between Steinecke’s final three years as IFNM director and Thomas’s IFNM from 1962-70.

Steinecke’s Final Years

During his last three years as IFNM director (1959-61), Steinecke welcomed performances of and discussions about experimental music, including compositions influenced by Cage. Cage’s compositional influence in West Germany can be viewed in three ways: his ideas led to greater freedom in the use of musical material; to new ways of working with musical time; and to the introduction of conceptual composition and compositions based on process.⁴ Several articles published in the late 1950s, many based

conservative that he didn’t believe that Debussy was a good composer because his music was too radical. Metzger remarked: “How could someone like that become the IFNM director?” Metzger added: “Maybe Cage went too far for him as well” (“Vielleicht ging ihm Cage auch zu weit”). Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

³ Oehlschlägel: “Thomas wurde dann [Steinecke’s] Nachfolger und hat sofort die gesamte experimentelle Ecke rausgeschmissen.” Reinhard Oehlschlägel/Gisela Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

⁴ Dieter Schnebel wrote: “Cages Wirkung ging in drei Richtungen: Erstens führte sie zu größerer Freiheit im Umgang mit dem Material. [. . .] Ein zweites wichtiges Moment, das Cage in die europäische Musik hineintrug, war ein neuer Umgang mit der Zeit. [. . .] Eine dritte wesentliche Einwirkung kam von seinen Ideen konzepthafter oder prozessualer

on lectures held at IFNM, showed this influence and the theoretical struggle surrounding it.

By 1958, musical connections between Karlheinz Stockhausen and the New York School became evident.⁵ In 1959, Stockhausen's 1958 IFNM lecture "Music in Space" ("*Musik im Raum*") was published in the new music journal *Die Reihe* along with Cage's lecture "Indeterminacy," also written for the 1958 IFNM.⁶ For a short time, Stockhausen contributed to the lasting presence of Cage's ideas in Darmstadt.⁷ Stockhausen even suggested that Steinecke program a concert of Cage's *First Construction (in Metal)* and Varèse's *Ionisation* for the 1959 IFNM.⁸ On 19 September 1958, Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*, a highly indeterminate work, had been premiered in Cologne, where Stockhausen lived. To the delight of Steinecke and Stockhausen's composition

Komposition." Dieter Schnebel, "Die Tradition des Fortschritts und der Fortschritt der Tradition: Ein Erfahrungsbericht (1985/1989)," in *Dieter Schnebel: Anschläge--Ausschläge, Texte zur Neuen Musik* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1993), 117f.

⁵ Stockhausen's interaction with American experimental music could be the subject of another dissertation. However, it should be noted here that such interaction did not only take place in Darmstadt, but also in Cologne, and in the United States on many occasions. See Michael Kurtz, *Stockhausen: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992).

⁶ Cage's lecture appears in German translation by Hans G. Helms. In 1960, an essay by Christian Wolff, titled "Über Form," in which Wolff discussed Cage's ideas in detail, was also published in *Die Reihe*.

⁷ The German musicologist Rudolf Frisius remembered: "I experienced the aftermath of Cage in 1959, and it was considerably due to Stockhausen" ("Ich habe die Nachwirkung von Cage in 1959 mitbekommen, sie waren erheblich wegen Stockhausen"). Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

⁸ See Pascal Decroupet, "L'air du temps? Geräuschmusik in Darmstadt in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahren Darmstädter Ferienkurse* (Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996), 323. Performances of American music at the 1959 IFNM included works by Brown, Cage, and Varèse.

students (including David Behrman, Sylvano Bussotti, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, and La Monte Young), Stockhausen discussed Cage's piece in his 1959 IFNM seminars and lectures, where David Tudor was available for "advice" during the three-week courses.⁹ The 1960 issue of *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, which reported on the events of 1959, revealed an interest in the possibilities of experimental performance, such as the inclusion of improvisation and theatrical action in musical compositions.¹⁰ Stockhausen's contribution "Music and Graphic" included reproductions of graphic scores by Sylvano Bussotti (*Piano Piece for David Tudor*), Cornelius Cardew (*Klavierstück 1960*), Mauricio Kagel (*Transición II*), Stockhausen himself (*Zyklus*), and John Cage (*Concert for Piano and Orchestra*).¹¹ The European works showed how Cage's ideas had taken root since 1958, and what notational variety had resulted from Brown's, Cage's, Feldman's, and Wolff's extension of the musical score. When asked

⁹ The lecture was accompanied by a recording of the Cologne performance, provided by Cornelius Cardew. The composition courses Stockhausen held in 1959 were his first at the IFNM. Among the first-time IFNM participants that year were David Behrman, Rudolf Frisius, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, and La Monte Young, many of whom first met in Darmstadt. See also Kurtz, *Stockhausen: A Biography*, 96.

¹⁰ As mentioned in Chapter Two, the *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* was an annual publication established by Steinecke in 1958 to review IFNM events.

¹¹ All of the pieces discussed by Stockhausen displayed individual approaches to indeterminate notation (symbols, graphs, time-space grids) while retaining some elements of conventional notation (note heads, clefs, and staves). Musical examples of each are included in Stockhausen, "Musik und Graphik," in *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1960), 5-26. See also Kurtz, *Stockhausen*, 96. "Musik und Graphik" was based on a lecture Stockhausen delivered at IFNM on 25 August 1959. Composed at the high point of his contact with Cage and the New York School, Stockhausen's *Zyklus* revealed his interest in graphic scores and indeterminacy. See Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After: Directions After 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 140.

nearly twenty years later why he spoke up for Cage during the late 1950s, Stockhausen remarked:

That's mainly because at that time Cage was so suppressed. He was always put down. In his own country just as much as over here. But I felt that he was like a badly needed fresh wind and when I went on my first lecture tour through the United States in 1958 I always mentioned Cage in my talks. For I really liked the influence he was then exerting on certain young American composers like Earle Brown, Christian Wolff, and Morton Feldman. I also convinced Dr. Strobel of South-Western Radio Baden-Baden [SWF] and several other people to perform this American. Because he had something new to offer.¹²

At the same time, Stockhausen denied Cage's influence on European use of "open form," insisting that Cage's ideas came from American painters' appropriation of French abstraction, and not from Eastern philosophy. Stockhausen wrote that it was wrong "to trace the European tendencies of 'open forms' back to American influences; the sources clearly are to be found in the European tendencies of mathematics and natural science."¹³ Furthermore, Stockhausen added that most avant-garde composers, including Nono, Maderna, and Pousseur, "found [Cage's] experiments interesting from a combinatorial point of view but banal and dilettantish if considered music."¹⁴ Stockhausen's article in

¹² Stockhausen in interview (in English) with Dr. Ekbert Faas in August 1976, reprinted in *Feedback Papers* 16 (August 1978): 433.

¹³ Letter from Stockhausen letter to Dr. Ekbert Faas, 26 May 1976; reprinted in *Feedback Papers* 16 (August 1978): 429.

¹⁴ Stockhausen in interview with Faas, August 1976, reprinted in *Feedback Papers* 16 (August 1978): 430. See also Decroupet: "Die Notation und die weiteren in dieser Komposition enthaltenen Überlegungen zur Einbeziehung von Entscheidungsfreiheiten seitens des Interpreten setzten Stockhausen im Sommer nach dem legendären Auftritt John Cages (1958) stärker denn je dem Verdacht aus, eine ästhetische Wende vollzogen zu haben vom sogenannten rein strukturellen Musikdenken serieller Prägung zur

the *Beiträge* was followed by an essay by Pierre Boulez on his *Third Piano Sonata*, a work using open form, though Boulez attributed his interest in indeterminacy to the nineteenth-century French poet Stéphane Mallarmé and not to Cage.¹⁵ In the *Beiträge*, alongside these contemporary debates, Steinecke included a translation of excerpts from a lecture Edgard Varèse gave at Princeton in 1959. By doing so, Steinecke extended Varèse's spiritual presence in Darmstadt into the next decade, despite his physical absence from the IFNM.¹⁶

A lecture written by the Italian composer Luigi Nono (1924-90), "Past and Present in the Music of Today," also appeared in the 1960 *Beiträge*.¹⁷ In response to the positive reception of American ideas in some circles, Nono criticized European composers' attempts to assume an ahistorical stance through "anarchy" and what he called the

Zufallspoetik Cages." Pascal Decroupet, "L'air du temps?," *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 321.

¹⁵ See Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After*, 106; and Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), 562. Boulez's essay was a revision of a lecture he gave before a performance of his *Third Piano Sonata* at the 1959 IFNM.

¹⁶ Other essays included in the 1960 *Beiträge* discussed the music of Kurt Weill, music in Sweden, György Ligeti writing on the music of Anton Webern, and Werner Meyer-Eppler on systems of electronic sound transformation.

¹⁷ Nono's essay was based on a lecture held at the 1959 IFNM, and was translated into German by the composer Helmut Lachenmann. Because of its "great resonance," the essay was also reprinted in *Melos* 27/3 (March 1960): 69-75. Nono attended the IFNM regularly beginning in 1950. In 1952 he joined the Italian Communist party; he married Nuria Schoenberg, Arnold Schoenberg's daughter, three years later. Nono's political views influenced his compositions, and in part because of his strong link to communism during the Cold War, his music remains widely unknown in the United States.

“fiction of a tabula rasa.”¹⁸ Nono’s essay rebutted Cage’s 1958 IFNM lectures, challenging the New York School’s emphasis on indeterminacy: “Today we are talked into believing that improvisation is a liberation, a guarantor of the freedom of one’s self. And on the other side, of course, that order is restraint, a containment of self.” Nono continued: “This alternative, as Cage and his circle have tried to establish it in Darmstadt, is a confused and confusing juggling of terms, and it conceals, especially for the younger beginners, the seduction of mistaking speculation for composition.”¹⁹ Nono felt that his European colleagues attempted to free themselves from their cultural heritage and historical responsibility. “With vain innocence,” he wrote, “they are delivering the supposedly collapsing European thinking from its *Katzenjammer*.”²⁰ Unlike two years earlier, when Cage remained an unnamed irritant in Boulez’s lecture “Alea,” Nono now dealt with Cage directly and acknowledged his ideas as strong--though confused--

¹⁸ “Das ist das Programm, und es erinnert uns an die anarchische Gebärde eines Bombenwurfs, als einzige und letzte Möglichkeit, die Fiktion einer Tabula rasa zu schaffen, als verzweifelte Reaktion auf eine Lage, die historisch und innerlich immer noch nicht bewältigt zu sein scheint.” Nono, “Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von Heute,” *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* (1960): 42. Nono compared the desperate attempt to establish a clean slate (artificially creating tabula rasa) with dropping a bomb.

¹⁹ “Heute will man uns Improvisation als Befreiung einreden, als Garanten der Freiheit des Ichs. Und dagegen natürlich: Ordnung als Zwang, als Fesselung des Ichs. Diese Alternative, wie sie in Darmstadt John Cage und sein Kreis aufzustellen versucht haben, ist nicht nur ein verwirrtes und verwirrendes Jonglieren mit Begriffen, sondern birgt gerade für die jungen Anfänger die Verführung in sich, Komposition mit Spekulation zu verwechseln.” Nono, “Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von Heute,” 46.

²⁰ *Katzenjammer* cannot be adequately translated. Often described as “blues” or “hangover,” *Katzenjammer* indicates malaise or a general feeling of distress (Nono: “In selbstgefälliger Unschuld ist man dabei, das angeblich zusammenbrechende europäische Denken von seinem Katzenjammer zu erlösen”). Nono, “Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von Heute,” 44.

influences on European composition.²¹ Though he acknowledged Cage's ideas, he also rejected them. Yet Nono considered Cage's unusual compositional methods worthy of debate despite the unusual sounds his methods produced. German new music circles traditionally thrived on lively aesthetic discourse, and Nono's claim that Cage's music represented a "theoretical formulation" allowed Cage to enter current discussions on new music. The Italian composer brought Cage's music into the company of Adorno's philosophy, Stockhausen's systems, and Nono's own politics.

As definitions of art music as a structured balance between form and content came under question in West Germany around 1960, a collective crisis of faith inspired reconsiderations of new music's past, present and future. The theory of dialectical processes stemming from the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)--in which a new stage of a developmental process (*Aufhebung*) could be achieved through a fusion of two opposite entities--was frequently used as a framework for explaining syntheses of predetermined and indeterminate musics. In 1960, the musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger, who engaged in public debates with Theodor W. Adorno on "the aging of new music" and "the aging of the philosophy of new music" during the 1950s, wrote that "the old dialectical saying that one must absorb the strengths

²¹ "Für diese Grundkonzeption finden sich heute zwei theoretische Formulierungen, die in ihrem Aufbau verschieden, aber in ihren Konsequenzen gleich sind. Sie stammen von zwei Männern der amerikanischen Kultur, Joseph Schillinger--eigentlich russischer Herkunft--und John Cage, und üben in den letzten Jahren direkt und indirekt einen verwirrenden Einfluß in Europa aus." Nono, "Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von Heute," 42. In Boulez's absence, Metzger delivered the lecture "Alea" in German translation in 1957. Pierre Boulez, "Alea," *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, Vol. 1 (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1958), 44-56.

of one's opponent if one wants to conquer him" ran into trouble when European composers began assimilating Cage's methods of "purposelessness" and non-intention.²² In West Germany, dialectical thinking--especially as interpreted by Adorno--strongly shaped the way composers, musicologists, and critics thought about new music; in the United States, it did not. American experimental composers, who indirectly contributed to the aesthetic crisis gripping West Germany's new music community around 1960, avoided such debates, refusing to let a crisis in theory equal a crisis in the creation of sound. In 1961, Alvin Lucier overheard a conversation between Adorno and Stockhausen following an IFNM seminar performance by David Tudor. According to Lucier's report, "Adorno and Stockhausen were having a big argument about the aesthetics of this music and Tudor, who is such a shy person, just looked at them--it was a big European argument--and said quietly to Adorno, 'I'm afraid you just don't understand this music.'"²³

Steinecke had written to Tudor in early 1961 and invited him to return to Darmstadt that summer. They discussed Tudor's repertoire in a series of letters; Steinecke wanted him to perform pieces by George Brecht, John Cage, Toshi Ichiyanagi,

²² "Die alte dialektische Rede, man müsse die Kräfte des Gegners in sich aufnehmen, wenn man ihn besiegen wolle, ward befolgt, aber die Elimination des Zwecks hat sich, unmerklich zuerst, doch in der internen Komplexion der Werke dann notwendig, reproduziert, so daß auch in der Komposition selber alles 'purposeless' werden mußte, wie Cage es für seine Musik ausdrücklich definiert: Schallereignisse, die nichts als Schallereignisse sind, ohne Anspruch auf besondere Distinktion vor anderen, wie man sie auf der Straße hört." Heinz-Klaus Metzger, "Kölner Manifest (1960)," in *Musik Wozu? Literatur zu Noten*, Rainer Riehn, ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980), 10-11. For a discussion of the context of the first reading of this text, see Chapter Five.

²³ Alvin Lucier, *Texte* (Cologne: MusikTexte, 1995), 28. See also Alvin Lucier, "Denken in Pyramiden: An David Tudor erinnern," *MusikTexte* 69/70 (April 1997): 86.

and La Monte Young.²⁴ On the evening of 6 September 1961, Tudor's late-night concert shocked IFNM audiences with works by Behrman, Brecht, Cage, Riley, Young and others, works reflecting experimental practices emerging in New York and elsewhere. For example, Tudor's performance of La Monte Young's piece *566 for Henry Flynt* (1960)--which had Tudor sitting cross-legged on the floor and hitting a tam-tam 566 times with a stick at the rate of approximately one per second--drove someone to call an ambulance.²⁵ But Tudor's performances like this one were peripheral to the overall

²⁴ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 2 March 1961: "Sehr gern hätte ich es, wenn Sie in diesem Rahmen auch die Klavierstücke von Georges [sic] Brecht, La Monte Young, Toshi Ichiyangi spielen würden. Auch *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs* von John Cage möchte ich gern in das Programm dieses Abends hineinnehmen" [IMD]. Steinecke offered Tudor free food, lodging, and a fee of DM 2,500. On 3 August 1961, Tudor wrote to Steinecke discussing pieces by Behrman, Brecht, Bussotti, Cage, Ichiyangi, Kagel, and Young. Tudor then sent Steinecke the following telegram on 5 August 1961: "Program *Widow Cage 26'55.988*" *For pianist and string-player* intermission Behrman [sic] *Incidental Music* George Brecht *Stanzas* Toshi Ichiyangi *(To Henry Flynt)* (April 1960) Young *Envelope* Terry Riley Kenji Kobayashi Violinist In Cage Ichiyangi Riley Please Put Bussotti on another Concert No Kagel. Tudor." Tudor wrote to Steinecke about program changes on 16 August 1961: "We have three works that we play together [with violinist Kenji Kobayashi]: one an older work of Cage, which however will be its first European performance with a string-player; another, a new piece by Ichiyangi (first European performance); lastly, a work by a young Californian composer, Terry Riley, who has for years been associated with La Monte Young, and organized a concert-series with him in Los Angeles. Unfortunately I've had to abandon the bandoneon piece of Kagel for the moment; there are so many demands on my time that I haven't been able to study either the instrument or the piece sufficiently to present it as yet" [all: IMD].

²⁵ The emergency squad came, observed the situation, and departed, while Tudor continued playing. Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998. Kyle Gann describes the piece *Arabic numeral (any integer) for Henry Flynt*: "A sound is supposed to be repeated some number of times and the title of a performance is intended to be that number. Traditionally, this piece has been played as a massive cluster on the piano or as the beating of a gong or cooking utensil." Kyle Gann, *American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 188f. Young's piece aims to demonstrate the physical and acoustical impossibility of repeating a sound exactly.

IFNM program.²⁶ Stockhausen's composition courses were more in the spotlight, as were Olivier Messiaen's twelve seminars on rhythm and Adorno's lecture on "informal music."

In part of his lecture on "informal music" (titled "Vers une musique informelle"), Adorno discussed aesthetic theories for music influenced by Cage.²⁷ For him, "informal music was an art of freedom," music that no longer reflected a concept of a "work of art" (*Werkbegriff*) based on nineteenth-century models.²⁸ With his former student Heinz-Klaus Metzger, Adorno considered the political implications of Cage's music. Adorno said that Cage's music affirmed social conditions while exhausting its liberating possibilities in the framework of new music. Metzger insisted that Cage's staged anarchy

²⁶ Some IFNM visitors considered Tudor's performances mere "happenings." Otto Tomek wrote: "Auch die aufkommende Fluxus-Bewegung fand im Programm der Ferienkurse nur geringen Widerhall. Es gab Ansätze zu happening-artigen Events wie 1961 in dem denkwürdigen David-Tudor-Nachtprogramm oder in Kurt Schwertzik's *Liebesträumen*." Otto Tomek, "Legende oder Wirklichkeit," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 304.

²⁷ A discussion of Adorno's theory would go beyond the scope of this study. For a detailed examination of the concept of "Informal Music" and its connection to Adorno, indeterminacy, chance, and the redefinition of the *Werkbegriff*, see Gianmario Borio, *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960: Entwurf einer Theorie der informellen Musik* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1993), 58-91; also Borio, "Informelle Kunst oder 'Werk in Bewegung'?" in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946-1966* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), 458-69.

²⁸ Borio: "Informelle Musik ist für Adorno eine Kunst der Freiheit: Sie hat sich von allen vorgegebenen, traditionsabhängigen Formen, aber auch von allen abstrakten, heteronomen, von außen nach bloßem Kalkül aufgezwungenen Formen befreit; sie generiert Form ausgehend von der inneren Tendenz des Einzelereignisses." Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 466.

called for political action.²⁹ Such debates formed a backdrop for West German Cage reception during the 1960s, and were partly responsible for views that shaped discussions of his music in Germany through the 1970s.³⁰

According to the Darmstadt scholar Pascal Decroupet, establishing a valid definition of music (*Musikbegriff*) during the early 1960s bore on decisions about what would be performed at the IFNM.³¹ To be sure, Steinecke's definition of music was

²⁹ Borio: "In einem Aufsatz für *Incontri musicali* (1959), der die Diskussion über die von Cage fokussierten ästhetischen Fragen eröffnete, übernahm Heinz-Klaus Metzger manche Denkfiguren des Frankfurter Philosophen in Hinblick auf die Bestimmung des utopischen Moments bei Cage. Die Übernahme schließt zugleich eine Verschiebung der Argumentation ein. Während nach Adorno das emanzipatorische Potential von Cages Musik sich in der Genugtuung über die tolerierte Enklave der Neuen Musik erschöpft und letztlich in Affirmation der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse umschlägt, besitzt die von Cage veranstaltete Anarchie für Metzger den keineswegs sekundären Aspekt eines verkappten Aufrufs zur politischen Aktion." Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 459. Borio goes on to say that Adorno did not concern himself with the question of whether or not Cage's actions were intended to imply or establish a fundamental change in musical modes of communication (461). See also Metzger, "Das Altern der Philosophie der Neuen Music (1957)," in *Musik Wozu: Literatur zu Noten*, ed. Rainer Riehn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980), 61-89; and Wulf Konold, "Adorno--Metzger: Rückblick auf eine Kontroverse," in *Nicht Versöhnt: Musikästhetik nach Adorno*, ed. Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1987), 91-110.

³⁰ For example, some scholars, critics, and composers in Germany believed that Cage's music carried a hidden political agenda. Despite the impact of Metzger's translations and his critique of Adorno, Rudolf Stephan claimed that Metzger's debates were peripheral, not central to musicological discourse. Stephan knew Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Metzger's partner, who was Stephan's assistant at the university where Stephan taught) in Berlin during the late 1960s. Stephan interview with the author, 25 November 1997.

³¹ "Die Frage, die sich nunmehr stellte, war jene nach dem gültigen Musikbegriff, der auch darüber entschied, ob ein Werk in Darmstadt aufgeführt werden sollte oder nicht. Während Steinecke den von ihm geschätzten Interpreten bei der Gestaltung ihrer Programme durchaus freie Hand ließ--sonst wäre es wohl nie zu solchen Aufführungen bei den Ferienkurse gekommen--, unterband sein Nachfolger Ernst Thomas solches tunlichst. Eine der Folgen war, daß weder Cage noch Tudor jemals wieder nach Darmstadt kamen, solange Thomas die Ferienkurseleitung innehatte." Decroupet, in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 275.

broader than that of others, indeed his attitude was rare, especially among musicians of his generation. Many musicologists criticized Cage's (and others') scores for not revealing the actual sound of the piece in the expected way.³² For them, unplanned, arbitrary, or accidental sounds could not be considered valid elements in a work of art, where criteria of beauty, balance, and perfection depended on artistic control. While many regarded "negativity as a paradigm of the avant-garde," the terms *informal art* and *tachism* were often used to describe Cage, Fluxus, and early forms of minimalism, and sometimes replaced the term *experimental*.³³ These terms pointed to historical definitions of *L'Art Informel* or *Tachism* as direct, expressive, intuitive, spontaneous, undisciplined art--art based on lyrical abstraction, physical gesture, and raw material. Informal art opposed all manifestations of disciplined art.³⁴ The actions of Tachist painters, much like the actions of composers during this time, brought "sublime confusion in both form and

³² "Die Partitur sagt nichts über die Musik." Rudolf Stephan interview with the author, 25 November 1997. Stephan also said that for precisely this reason, one could find whatever one was looking for in Cage's music if one just looked hard enough; Cage could be used for any political argument. Rudolf Frisius, the first musicologist to complete a dissertation under Stephan's supervision (in 1968), commented that musicology was so conservative during the 1950s and 1960s, that he was not allowed to write a doctoral thesis on new music (when he presented his idea to Dr. Stephan, Stephan said, "wouldn't you rather write on Bruckner?"). German systematic musicology accepted new ideas only very slowly. Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

³³ See Borio, *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960*, 15-22; also Lothar Knessl, "Die Große Freiheit im Käfig der Graphik," *Melos* 27/5 (May 1960): 151f.

³⁴ Borio also relates this phenomenon to Umberto Eco's "Opera aperta," published in 1962. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 458ff. Also, Borio, *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960*, 88ff. For definitions of Tachism and L'Art Informel, see H. H. Arnason, *History of Modern Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 417.

content” during the 1960s. Since this time, the ideas of *action* and *process* have been linked with definitions of experimental music.³⁵

The German composer Helmut Lachenmann, active in Darmstadt since the late 1950s, suggests that many European composers--including Luciano Berio, Mauricio Kagel, György Ligeti, Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, and Dieter Schnebel--were trying to move beyond serialism around 1960.³⁶ Compositional development during this period indicates that many were freed by examples set by the American composers. During the 1960s, Kagel, Ligeti, and other European composers explored instrumental theater, sound mass composition, live-electronic technology, improvisation, and unconventional vocal and instrumental sounds.³⁷ Some saw the use of percussion as an

³⁵ See, for example Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1974); also, Arnason, *History of Modern Art*, 484. The similarities between Tachism/Informal Art and Abstract Expressionism/Action Painting should be noted here. For further information on American abstract art, see Dore Ashton, *American Art Since 1945* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1982); Irving Sandler, *The Triumph of American Painting: A History of Abstract Expressionism* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970); and Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980).

Recent cultural studies scholars have identified *process* as a common trait in many strains of American art since the 1950s. Belgrad, for example, tests “the existence of a coherent aesthetic of spontaneity and its social significance.” He makes a strong case for his claim that “a will to explore and record the spontaneous creative act characterized the most significant developments in American art and literature after World War II. ‘Gesture’ painting and ‘beat’ writing are perhaps the best known examples of this phenomenon. But the impulse to valorize spontaneous improvisation runs like a long thread through the cultural fabric of the period.” See Daniel Belgrad, *The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1.

³⁶ Helmut Lachenmann, “On Structuralism,” *Contemporary Music Review: New Developments in Contemporary Germany* 12/1 (1995): 95.

³⁷ Otto Tomek, “In Darmstadt Nichts Neues? Legende und Wirklichkeit,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 299.

example of “noise music,” representing a sound world originating from America and directly linked to Varèse and Cage.³⁸ During the 1960s, the German new music scene was enhanced by the presence of permanent resident foreigners and frequent visitors such as Cornelius Cardew, Kagel, Ligeti, Nam June Paik, and Isang Yun. For many of them, Cage’s visit to Darmstadt in 1958 had signaled the start of a “post-serialist” era.³⁹

Steinecke died after being struck by an automobile on 23 December 1961, but the 1962 IFNM had been mostly planned by him in the months before his death. In a letter to Tudor written just a few days before the accident, Steinecke invited the pianist to visit the IFNM in 1962 for a fifth Darmstadt residency. Steinecke added that Stockhausen hoped that Tudor would perform his *Klavierstück X*.⁴⁰ On 19 January 1962, Tudor received an official notice of Steinecke’s death from Darmstadt’s municipal council.⁴¹ Without Steinecke’s enthusiasm urging him to attend the IFNM, however, Tudor turned his attention to composition, and did not travel to Darmstadt in 1962, or indeed ever again. Though admired throughout the world as a phenomenal performer of new music, Tudor was never again invited to the IFNM after Steinecke’s death. A few years later, the British composer Cornelius Cardew nostalgically recalled that at Steinecke’s IFNM, “no

³⁸ Pascal Decroupet, “L’air du temps?,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 322.

³⁹ See Borio, *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960*, 23f.

⁴⁰ Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 15 December 1961 [IMD]. Stockhausen’s *Klavierstück X* was premiered later by Frederic Rzewski.

⁴¹ Letter from Darmstadt city council member H. W. Sabais (*Obermagistratsrat*) to Tudor, 19 January 1962: “Dear Mr. Tudor: You will know that Dr. Steinecke died so sudden in consequence of a terrible street accident. With this letter we should like you to know that the *Ferienkurse* will take place at any rate” [IMD].

one was excluded.” He added: “Today, the programs are chosen rather more carefully, but tendentiously.”⁴² In the eyes of some, the new director put at risk IFNM’s reputation as a unique site for uninhibited musical exploration.

Thomas’s IFNM

IFNM’s new era began with Thomas’s official appointment on 1 October 1962, but Thomas had been involved with IFNM since Steinecke’s death. Three years earlier, while working as the head music critic for the influential and widely-circulated newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Thomas had dismissed John Cage’s “dangerous doctrines” and “primitive philosophy” because he felt that they stood for “producing reflection on that which exists unmediated in nature anyhow.” He continued: “A neo-naturalism? How old-fashioned! If the opposites of spirit and nature, of constructing and allowing-things-to-happen are removed, composing is easy. Cage believes so, and his imitators indulge themselves.” Finally, Thomas summarized Cage’s contributions as “dilettantism.”⁴³ Thomas kept this opinion of Cage through the 1960s,

⁴² Cornelius Cardew, “New Music Has Found Its Feet,” *The Financial Times* (31 July 1964).

⁴³ “Dafür steht dann John Cages primitive Philosophie, daß Reflexion hervorbringe, was in der Natur ohnedies unvermittelt existiere. Ein Neo-Naturalismus? Wie abgeschmackt! Wenn die Gegensätze von Geist und Natur, Konstruktion und Geschehenlassen aufgehoben sind, ist das Komponieren leicht. Cage glaubt es, die Nachahmer ergötzen sich. Es gibt dafür ein ebenso vieldeutiges wie eindeutiges Wort: Dilettantismus.” Ernst Thomas, “Klänge für das Auge? Gefährliche Doktrinen auf den Darmstädter Ferienkurse,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (1 September 1959) [IMD].

an opinion he extended to include some American composers associated with Cage, and an opinion of which he apparently made no secret.

The change in IFNM leadership altered the balance in West Germany's new music community. In some cases, IFNM no longer offered a chance for American composers to meet their European colleagues. While several American composers continued their participation throughout the 1960s, they were often considered inadequate representatives of new American music. Though some IFNM participants wanted more information about controversial musical concepts from New York, Thomas soon banned the music of John Cage, stating that such a "charlatan" would not set foot inside the IFNM as long as Thomas was director.⁴⁴ Thomas realized that after Cage's 1958 IFNM visit, West German new music specialists began taking sides in a widespread debate on the value of experimental music.⁴⁵ In an effort to slow the growing polarization of the new music

⁴⁴ Ernst Thomas as quoted by Reinhard Oehlschlägel: "Dieser Scharlatan kommt mir hier nicht wieder über die Schwelle des Hauses." Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998. The composer Walter Zimmermann, who visited Darmstadt for the first time in 1969, said that Thomas was still calling Cage a "charlatan" in that year: "Das Vorurteil überlebte ziemlich lang, in dem Gefolge war die ganze experimentelle Musik, auch Christian Wolff und Feldman, mitgemeint." Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. Friedrich Hommel, Thomas's successor as director of the IFNM, claimed that Thomas did not want American composers to visit the IFNM because he could not speak English. Hommel interview with the author, 3 April 1998.

⁴⁵ For descriptions and documentation of that debate, see Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 189-91; Ulrich Dibelius, "John Cage oder Gibt es kritische Musik?" *Melos* 10 (October 1968): 377-83; Gisela Gronemeyer, "Anything I Say Will Be Misunderstood: Wie John Cage in der Bundesrepublik rezipiert wurde," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (1992): 5-12; Reinhard Oehlschlägel, "Avantgardist, Scharlatan, Klassiker: Wie John Cage in Mitteleuropa rezipiert worden ist," *MusikTexte* 140/41 (August 1991): 88-94.

community, Thomas sealed the Pandora's box opened by Steinecke.⁴⁶ During the late 1950s, some composers and critics in West Germany rejected Cage because they believed that if the elements of a composition were not consciously constructed, the result was not music. A composer's control of compositional material determined a composition's quality. Those who believed so supported Thomas's unofficial Cage-ban, which was welcomed by many and challenged by some, but left few in the West German new music community indifferent.⁴⁷

In early 1962, soon after Steinecke's death, the thirty-six year-old American composer Morton Feldman was invited to attend the IFNM as a student. The composition instructors listed in the 1962 brochure included Boulez, Heiss, Ligeti, Maderna, Nono, Pousseur, Stockhausen, and Wolpe.⁴⁸ By 1962 Feldman taught students of his own and considered himself an established composer. Insulted by the implication that he deserved only student status, he returned the application form with a sarcastic note

⁴⁶ Thomas couldn't seal it completely however: during the 1964 IFNM, Mauricio Kagel premiered his controversial *pandorasbox bandoneonpiece 1960*. Ligeti also presented compositions bordering on performance art in Darmstadt during the 1960s. See Joachim Noller, "Fluxus und die Musik der sechziger Jahre: Über vernachlässigte Aspekte am Beispiel Kagels und Stockhausen," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (September 1985): 15. Kagel had lived in Cologne since 1957.

⁴⁷ Despite the ban, which Heinrich Strobel in Baden-Baden also unofficially supported, advertisements for the score of Cage's *Music of Changes* (which became available through Peters Edition in Frankfurt beginning in December 1960) appeared in Strobel's new music journal *Melos*, published by Schott Verlag in Mainz. See *Melos* 27/12 (December 1960): 396.

⁴⁸ A former student of Feldman's, the German composer Michael von Biel, attended the IFNM in 1961, 1962 and 1963 as a student. Michael von Biel's Darmstadt "Anmeldungen" from 31 July 1961, 29 May 1962, and (undated) 1963 [IMD].

taped to it, written on his trademark graph paper.⁴⁹ Feldman later insisted that his letter was meant to be a joke. As we will see in Chapter Seven, it would come back to haunt him in 1984 just as his popularity in West Germany was growing.⁵⁰ The Feldman incident was an isolated event. But between 1961 and 1974, Cage's music was not performed in official IFNM concerts. Feldman's music was not performed there between 1958 and 1970, nor was Wolff's between 1958 and 1972.⁵¹ As a result, many believed that Thomas's musical perspective was too narrow.⁵²

Earle Brown and Milton Babbitt: "Token Americans"?

During the decade of the 1960s, the American composer Earle Brown participated in the IFNM seven times.⁵³ In fact, he was the only representative of the New York

⁴⁹ Letter from Feldman to IFNM staff, 12 March 1962: "Dear Sir: The only thing I could possibly think of studying is how to eat with Maderna. Regards, Morton Feldman" [IMD].

⁵⁰ Feldman's *Theater am Turm* Seminar, February 1984, Frankfurt. Unpublished transcription by Gerhard Westerath: TAT 3/68f (see Chapter Seven).

⁵¹ Otto Tomek claims that Feldman's music was performed in Darmstadt during the 1960s. See Tomek, "In Darmstadt nichts Neues?," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 305. I have only found evidence of a performance of Feldman's *First Principles* (1967) by Hans Zender and the HR orchestra in 1970. For a list of works performed between 1962 and 1972, see *Ferienkurse '72*, Vol. 13 (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1973), 112.

⁵² See Decroupet in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 275.

⁵³ Brown attended the IFNM in 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1967, and 1969.

School in Darmstadt during the early Thomas era.⁵⁴ The following list shows Brown's activities in Darmstadt during the 1960s:

Table 4.1: Earle Brown's Performances and Lectures at IFNM, 1960-69

| | |
|------|--|
| 1961 | <i>Available Forms I</i> [IFNM commission; premiere] |
| 1962 | <i>Available Forms I</i> (1961) [repeat performance] |
| 1963 | <i>Musik for Cello and Piano</i> (1954/55) [performance] |
| 1963 | <i>Hodograph I</i> (1959) [performance] |
| 1964 | Lecture for Congress on "Notation of New Music" |
| 1964 | <i>December 1952</i> (1952) [performance] |
| 1965 | Lecture for Congress on "Form in New Music" |
| 1967 | Lecture on "The Compositional Process" |
| 1969 | <i>Corroboree</i> (1963/64) [performance] |

Brown's IFNM connections were particularly important for his international reputation as an orchestral composer. His influential indeterminate orchestral piece *Available Forms I*, for example, was commissioned by the city of Darmstadt for the 1961 IFNM. Moreover, Brown's work with the Italian composer and conductor Bruno Maderna, who led many performances of Brown's music in Darmstadt, made a crucial link between the European and American avant-garde during the 1960s. Many years later, Brown described the importance of European patronage for his music: "We all were writing piano music for David Tudor in the early days, and finally I was writing an

⁵⁴ The "New York School" refers to a loosely connected group of musicians in the early 1950s including John Cage, Morton Feldman, Earle Brown, Christian Wolff, and pianist (later composer) David Tudor, and should not to be confused with art historical definitions of the New York School painters. These musicians were not associated with a "school" in any sense of the word. Furthermore, the term usually implies collaboration with choreographer Merce Cunningham, artists Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, and Abstract Expressionist painters. As a historical construct the term is admittedly problematic, since the composers themselves have claimed that their interaction, though often intense and significant for the development of indeterminacy and chance, was short-lived and by no means exclusive. By the early 1960s, the term, implying a group, was no longer applicable.

orchestra piece and John [Cage] said, 'Why are you doing that? Who is going to play it?' I said, 'I don't know, but I've got to write it anyway. Maybe someone will play it someday.' Brown believed that he had "orchestral ears," and that the orchestra was his "main poetic sonic image."⁵⁵ European commissions allowed him to realize a number of chamber orchestra pieces as well. Already in the late 1950s, realizing the significance of a venue like IFNM, Brown had written to Steinecke: "It is a very important thing that this music can be heard when it is written and that the ideas can be known when they are new." Brown continued: "There are thousands of galleries which exhibit new paintings but Darmstadt seems to be the only place which knows the importance of exhibiting the new music . . . thank you."⁵⁶

Despite Brown's frequent appearances in Darmstadt during the early Thomas era, many considered him an unsatisfactory representative of the New York School, and his lectures, courses, and performances did not leave a lasting impression on those who saw them.⁵⁷ In other words, though a strong presence in Darmstadt during the 1960s, Brown now tends to be overlooked, and the influence of American experimental composers in those years to be denied. Today Brown is often dismissed by both Germans and

⁵⁵ Interview Brown with the author, 23 June 1997. Similarly, Walter Piston commented: "When I returned from France I felt pretty gloomy about the situation of the composer in America. I knew conductors were not interested in what we composers were doing. So I was writing only chamber music." Boretz and Cone, *Perspectives on American Composers*, 162.

⁵⁶ Letter from Brown to Steinecke, 7 January 1959 [IMD].

⁵⁷ Rudolf Stephan said that Brown's music was uninteresting and not influential. Stephan interview with the author, 25 November 1997.

Americans as “too European.”⁵⁸ He himself remarked that he could not imagine his music without Europe.⁵⁹ Brown spent a considerable amount of time in Europe during the 1960s; perhaps his sophisticated, diplomatic disposition strayed too far from Germans’ idea of rough, independent American artists.

German musicologist Rudolf Frisius, who visited the IFNM as often as he could afford during the 1960s, commented that once Cage was shunned by Thomas, “they just sent the academics.”⁶⁰ Among them were Lejaren Hiller, a computer music specialist from the University of Illinois, who lectured at the IFNM in 1963, 1965 and 1969, and Milton Babbitt from Princeton University, who visited the IFNM for the first time in 1964, giving a series of lectures titled “The Structure of Musical Systems.” Both Steinecke and Thomas wrote to Babbitt often between 1958 and 1966. Contacting him first in the “Cage year” of 1958, Steinecke requesting information from Babbitt on his chamber works; Steinecke hoped to have performances of Babbitt’s music that summer.⁶¹ No such performances took place in 1958.⁶² In December of that year,

⁵⁸ Christian Wolff said: “Brown was somehow closer to Europeans” (Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997). Rudolf Frisius remarked that Brown was treated like a European composer in Germany, and recalled that even Cage called Brown a European composer (“Cage nannte Brown einen europäischen Komponisten, Brown wurde so behandelt hier”). Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998. In 1996, Brown was invited back to attend the fifty-year anniversary of the IFNM; he received a standing ovation when he conducted *Available Forms I*. Brown interview with the author, 23 June 1997.

⁵⁹ Brown interview with the author, 23 June 1997.

⁶⁰ Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998. He felt that Lukas Foss’s performances and the German premiere of *In C* (both in 1969) were exceptions.

⁶¹ Letter from Steinecke to Babbitt, 3 April 1958 [IMD].

Steinecke offered Babbitt a teaching position with a total of ten seminars for the following summer.⁶³ When he got no reply, he contacted Babbitt again in early 1959 requesting both scores and the composer's presence in Darmstadt.⁶⁴ Babbitt sent an apologetic telegram on 10 March, and an explanatory letter one day later; Babbitt was recovering from an automobile accident, and was unable to travel. He added that his teaching duties at Princeton kept him from leaving for a long period of time.⁶⁵ Never one to be discouraged, Steinecke invited Babbitt to teach in Darmstadt in July of 1960.⁶⁶ But Steinecke's wish was realized only by his successor. During the summer of 1963, Thomas again invited Babbitt to teach in Darmstadt.⁶⁷ And Babbitt accepted the invitation--albeit tentatively.⁶⁸ Thomas promised Babbitt twelve one-and-a-half-hour seminars, to be held in English, for which Babbitt would receive a fee of DM 1,800 (about \$453).⁶⁹ In the meantime, Thomas arranged a performance of Babbitt's *Vision and*

⁶² Letter from Babbitt to Steinecke, discussing problems with his publisher, 19 June 1958 [IMD].

⁶³ Letter from Steinecke to Babbitt, 11 December 1958 [IMD].

⁶⁴ Letter from Steinecke to Babbitt, 17 February 1959 [IMD].

⁶⁵ Letter from Babbitt to Steinecke, 11 March 1959 [IMD].

⁶⁶ Letter from Steinecke to Babbitt, 29 April 1959 [IMD]. The [IMD] correspondence does not hold an answer to this invitation.

⁶⁷ Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 31 July 1963 [IMD].

⁶⁸ Letter from Babbitt to Thomas, 11 September 1963 [IMD].

⁶⁹ The arrangement included free room and board. Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 1 November 1963 [IMD].

Prayer (1961) with the singer Bethany Beardslee.⁷⁰ Babbitt's travel costs to Darmstadt were covered by three sources: Princeton University, the Institute for International Education, and the German Consulate.⁷¹

As it turned out, by the summer of 1964, Babbitt's theoretical approach seemed outdated to many at IFNM: Darmstadt's serialist phase was now part of history. Some IFNM participants considered Babbitt a "substitute American" (*Ersatzamerikaner*) or a "token American" (*Pflichtamerikaner*) merely filling a national quota.⁷² Frisius, who attended the IFNM in 1964, recalled that Babbitt's seminars did not fall on sympathetic ears.⁷³ Nonetheless, his courses were considered more interesting than his concerts. Reviewing the 1964 IFNM, Cornelius Cardew recalled that Babbitt's lectures were well worth hearing.⁷⁴ One year later, Babbitt expressed regret that he could not return to Darmstadt.⁷⁵ But for enthusiasts of American experimental music, the more interesting new works performed at the IFNM during the summer of 1964 might have been those by European composers open to experimental ideas, including Dieter Schnebel (*Glossolalie*),

⁷⁰ Babbitt acknowledged this possibility on 26 April 1964 [IMD].

⁷¹ Verified by Wilhelm Schlüter at [IMD] in letter to the author, 7 October 1998.

⁷² This opinion was voiced openly at a conference on Darmstadt history in Mainz in March 1998. Both Rudolf Frisius and Friedrich Hommel later repeated this view. Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998; Hommel interview with the author, 3 April 1998.

⁷³ Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

⁷⁴ Cardew, "New Music Has Found Its Feet," *The Financial Times* (31 July 1964).

⁷⁵ Letter from Babbitt to Stuckenschmidt, 7 March 1965 [HHS/BAAdK].

Hans G. Helms (*Golem*), Ligeti (*Aventures*), and Kagel (*Sonant*). That summer Earle Brown also lectured on graphic notation and indeterminate performance practices.

Shortly after the summer courses of 1964, Thomas extended yet another invitation to Babbitt, who declined, citing lack of funding.⁷⁶ Thomas was so intent on bringing Babbitt back that he managed to raise an unusually high amount of money to cover Babbitt's expenses: Thomas tempted the composer with a fee of DM 4,000 (about \$1000) to cover all costs.⁷⁷ Again Babbitt declined, stating that prior obligations at home, including a commission from the Cleveland Orchestra, prevented him from traveling.⁷⁸ Like his optimistic predecessor, Thomas would not give up, inviting Babbitt again for 1966.⁷⁹ After receiving no answer, Thomas offered to help Babbitt apply for a Fulbright Travel Grant to cover the cost of the trip.⁸⁰ Babbitt's final letter to Thomas, written in January 1966, bears witness to the situation for composers in America during the mid-1960s, and suggests the missed opportunity for international exchange that Steinecke had hoped IFNM would provide:

⁷⁶ Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 4 November 1964. Apparently Babbitt told Thomas that he would be interested in returning the following summer; letter from Babbitt to Thomas, 22 January 1965 [IMD].

⁷⁷ Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 5 February 1965 [IMD].

⁷⁸ Undated letter from Babbitt to Thomas, probably late February 1965 [IMD].

⁷⁹ Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 17 March 1965 [IMD].

⁸⁰ Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 25 October 1965 [IMD]. This letter remained unanswered, and Thomas again wrote to Babbitt concerning the summer of 1966. Letter from Thomas to Babbitt, 5 January 1966 [IMD].

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Again I must ask your forgiveness for my unforgivable delay in answering your letter. My only justification is the very complex struggle I have had with myself in attempting to arrive at a decision, and--then--to formulate the explanation for this decision, an explanation which I so strongly feel I owe you.

I feel certain you must know how much, on the one hand, I have appreciated and profited from your great considerateness and generosity, and on the other hand, have felt keenly the ambiguous position of an American composer in Europe at this time. I have had to try to decide whether I, in all aware modesty, could best serve not only my own interests (which, admittedly, do concern me increasingly) but those of the younger American composers who are suffering, almost without exception, and almost as greatly as did I, the absence of publishers, of genuine collegueship with their European contemporaries, the lack of representation by performance in Europe that they provide for their European contemporaries, and--in sum--the great gulf that musically separates our two continents. So, with a reluctance which I hope you are fully aware of, I feel obliged to conclude that whatever I represent and can contribute, I would do best to represent and contribute here at this particular moment in our musical development. For me, this is a sacrifice of the great pleasure that I know I would have again in seeing you and in spending two more exciting weeks in Darmstadt, but I see no alternative. I hope only that you will find it possible to make your promised trip here and allow me to try to repay something of your great hospitality.

I hope the time is not too far distant when I will be able to face the musical situation that exists between our two cultures with greater equanimity and, perhaps, even optimism. If so, I can hope only that you will still feel it possible generously to invite me again.⁸¹

Babbitt chose not to use his many invitations to Darmstadt as chances to promote his own music and that of his American colleagues. But the many offers from Darmstadt--seven opportunities within eight years--showed a sincere attempt by both Steinecke and Thomas to bridge the "great gulf that musically separates the two continents." When Babbitt did attend IFNM in 1964, he might have been met with both anti-American

⁸¹ Letter from Babbitt to Thomas, 9 January 1966 [IMD]. It seems that this letter ended the correspondence between Thomas and Babbitt.

sentiments unleashed by the Cage controversy, and also composers and critics who were openly pro-Cage, a position Babbitt may have found perplexing or even distasteful. The tone of his letter suggests that he did not wish to accept foreign patronage at a time when European composers dominated America's contemporary musical life and American composers suffered for want of support. Insufficient patronage and recognition for composers in the United States drove some to embrace engagements abroad, but for the time, Babbitt was not one of them.

In 1966, the year of Babbitt's final letter, the Contemporary Chamber Players from the University of Illinois were in residence at IFNM. Four works by Varèse were performed--the first since 1959.⁸² In 1969 Lukas Foss attended the IFNM and conducted a number of American compositions, including his own *Baroque Variations* (1967), a piece for electronics and orchestra by Morton Subotnick, and Terry Riley's *In C* (1964).⁸³ Riley's piece departed radically from compositional trends in Germany during the 1960s, but did not cause much controversy in Darmstadt. *In C* was dismissed as uninteresting, "considered by the majority a curiosity, and quickly forgotten."⁸⁴ Despite rare

⁸² Varèse died on 6 November 1965. The German premiere of *Ecuatorial* in 1966 was performed by the HR orchestra conducted by Andrzej Markowski. Thomas finally managed to put on a performance of *Ecuatorial*, a work which Steinecke had wanted to have performed. A concert had actually been arranged for the 1961 IFNM, but Varèse apparently withdrew when he found out that Michael Gielen would be conducting the piece instead of Pierre Boulez. Letter from Varèse to Steinecke, 3 May 1961 [IMD].

⁸³ *In C* was performed by Caskel, Gavrilov, Gießer, Palm, Böttner, and participants of the summer courses. Ernstalbrecht Stiebler remarked that minimalism was never well received in Darmstadt. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

⁸⁴ "Terry Rileys *In C* blieb zunächst ohne jede erkennbare Nachwirkung. Das Werk wurde mehrheitlich als Kuriosum bewertet und schnell vergessen." Otto Tomek, "In Darmstadt nichts Neues?," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 304.

performances such as Riley's *In C*, serialist and post-serialist composition still dominated musical style in Darmstadt. The Berlin composer Erhard Grosskopf (b. 1934) recalled the climate at IFNM as dogmatic. When asked about the IFNM reception of one of his pieces in 1965, the Berlin flutist Eberhard Blum told Grosskopf that "they criticized that one could hear octaves and fifths."⁸⁵ In 1969, Grosskopf went to Darmstadt for a performance of his *Violin Concerto*. The composer summed up the IFNM in that summer by saying "Stockhausen was the absolute Pope," thus naming one reason for the conflict that was brewing.⁸⁶

Crisis in Darmstadt, 1970

By the summer of 1970 the ripples begun by the 1968 student rebellions in central Europe had turned into a tidal wave, and they began to affect West German culture.⁸⁷ As in the United States, individuals and institutions of authority were openly challenged. In Darmstadt, discontent with Thomas grew, and many participants began to envision an alternative distribution of power. Christian Wolff, who first taught at the IFNM in 1972,

⁸⁵ "Man hätte kritisiert, daß Oktaven und Quinten zu erkennen seien." Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

⁸⁶ "Stockhausen war der absolute Pabst." Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

⁸⁷ Numerous political events in 1968--including outrage over the Vietnam War, the Soviet suppression of the Prague "spring," the assassination attempt on student protest leader Rudi Dutschke in West Berlin, and growing criticism of the biased news reports of the Springer Press--led to protests and demonstrations throughout West Germany.

commented that IFNM “was very hierarchically set up, there was a star system.”⁸⁸ The young composer Ernstalbrecht Stiebler recalled hearing people criticize Thomas for systematically “locking Cage out,” and that many students wanted to hear music by the “excluded” Americans. Stiebler added that some participants were accused of being radical leftists “just because we saw the New York School as being locked out.”⁸⁹ Along with a “lack of internationalism,” Rudolf Frisius also mentioned the underrepresentation of Cage and other American experimental composers as a main reason for unrest. Furthermore, as he saw it, the American composers who were represented in IFNM concerts (such as Babbitt, Brown, Foss, and Hiller) only offered an “emergency solution.”⁹⁰ The frequent Darmstadt visitor Reinhard Oehlschlägel, who first attended the summer courses as a music critic for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* around 1966, later remarked that one of the reasons for his own restlessness was that he wished for an end to the suppression of the “Cage shock,” and that he hoped for open and productive discussions on this topic.⁹¹ Even Friedrich Hommel, Thomas’s long-time friend and later successor at IFNM, felt that Thomas favored German composers and fostered an “anti-

⁸⁸ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997.

⁸⁹ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. Stiebler insisted that a main point of departure for the whole conflict was the lack of American music in Darmstadt.

⁹⁰ Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

⁹¹ See Klaus Trapp, “Darmstadt und die 68er,” *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 371. Trapp is paraphrasing Oehlschlägel in “Krise der Darmstädter Ferienkurse,” *Dissonanz* 7 (April 1971).

intellectual” atmosphere.⁹² Looking back in the century’s later years, the composer and musician Rainer Riehn said simply that the Thomas era was the low point in Darmstadt history.⁹³

In order to discuss ways of changing the Darmstadt summer courses for the better, IFNM participants arranged a plenary meeting (*Vollversammlung*) in 1970 during which they elected five delegates and five alternates to more fully represent participants’ interests rather than those of the organizers.⁹⁴ The delegate committee planned to meet throughout the year when IFNM was not in session. After the first assembly in Darmstadt, the group arranged to meet in Donaueschingen during the annual new music festival in mid-October.⁹⁵ During the plenary session the course participants and delegates developed a list of music and issues they wanted to see included in future IFNM. The list included all ideas thrown out as possibilities during the first meeting, and

⁹² Hommel interview with the author, 3 April 1998.

⁹³ Riehn: “Thomas’s Zeit war der Tiefpunkt.” Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

⁹⁴ The delegate committee included the British composer Tim Souster, the German composer Nicolaus A. Huber, the artist Mary Bauermeister-Stockhausen, percussionist Christoph Caskel (whose position between Thomas and the students was somewhat ambivalent), and Reinhard Oehlschlägel. Alternates included the Korean composer Junsang Bahk, and the Germans Rudolf Frisius (former student of Rudolf Stephan), composer Peter Michael Hamel, composer Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, and music critic Max E. Keller.

⁹⁵ Unpublished document (hereafter [DOC1970]) produced as a result of the first Participant’s Conferences held during the 1970 IFNM on 1 September and 2 September. This document included the list of suggestions compiled by the group, and also contains the names and addresses of the delegates. The document was originally prepared by Rudolf Frisius [IMD].

did not represent a consensus of any kind. Drawn up as a proposal of ideas for change, the document contained the following suggestions:⁹⁶

Table 4.2: Suggestions Listed by IFNM Course Participants and Delegates, 1970

- I. Greater weight on composition seminars/composers' forums (including: "teamwork" or collective direction of courses; collective composition)
- II. Instructors, Performances, and Groups (suggestions included the following individuals from the U.S.: David Behrman, John Cage, Morton Feldman, Alvin Lucier, Max Neuhaus, Pauline Oliveros, Harry Partch, Michael Ranta, Terry Riley, David Tudor, Christian Wolff, and La Monte Young)
- III. Groups "for practical improvisation and performance;" with importance placed in unconventional instrumentarium, live-electronics: Sonic Arts Union (Ashley, Behrman, Lucier, Mumma)
- IV. Electronic Music
 - James Tenney (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara)
 - Invitations to Synthesizer Companies (including American companies MOOG, CBS, and Tonus Inc.)
- V. Greater consideration of "Border Areas" (Border Crossing)
 - music and film (including Helms, Kagel, Paik, and Riedl)
 - musical theater (including Schnebel)
 - happenings (including Kaprow, Paik, Stockhausen, La Monte Young, Higgins)
 - pop-music and new music
 - radio-plays (Jackson Mac Low)
- VI. Scholarly Aspects of New Music
 - including Group of Socialist Music Students (from Frankfurt)
 - Sound Psychology (including music and drugs, listening to music under the influence of drugs)
- VII. Suggestions for better organization and information:
 - including public presentation of recordings, larger score exhibitions, inclusion of other radio station besides HR and SWF
- VIII. Possibilities for greater democratization should be seized

⁹⁶ Copied from "Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik 1970, Resumé [sic] von Wünschen und Vorschlägen der Teilnehmer" [DOC1970] [IMD]. I have summarized the list here, including only those items that related to the United States, ideas linked to American experimentalism, or particularly radical suggestions; it is not a complete transcription of the document.

- IX. Suggestions for creating a budget
- X. Suggestions by course participants (to be sent to the delegates)
- XI. Next meeting of the delegate committee (open to the public)

These suggestions included more than a few points sure to be rejected by the administration of the IFNM.⁹⁷ One result of this spontaneous activism was that Thomas and the city of Darmstadt decided to hold the IFNM every two years rather than to continue the annual schedule established by Steinecke. Thomas justified the change by citing budgetary concerns and the hope that the alternative schedule would increase the quality of composition and performance.⁹⁸ Each IFNM was extended from two to three weeks, making it difficult for most people to attend the entire festival. Thus the continuity of the delegation's planning committee was successfully hindered. Such decisions further agitated the group poised for an ideological battle.⁹⁹

The elected delegates and alternates were meant to counter Thomas's authority. As a result, Thomas appointed an advisory board (*Programmbeirat*) in 1970 to assist musical decisions; before this time, the administrative structure of IFNM did not support an advisory board. The new council included three long-time participants and instructors at IFNM: Cologne-based percussionist Christoph Caskel, cellist Siegfried Palm, and

⁹⁷ In particular, the thought of discussing the topic of "drugs and music" was utterly out of the question for Thomas, as was allowing the participation of a radical political group like the Frankfurt Group of Socialist Music Students.

⁹⁸ Klaus Trapp, "Die siebziger Jahre," *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 403.

⁹⁹ In an attempt to offer an alternative to Darmstadt, Reinhard Oehlschlägel tried to initiate a week of music in Frankfurt (under the auspices of *Hessischer Rundfunk*) called *Frankfurter Forum der experimentellen Musik* in early 1972. The project failed for lack of financial support.

pianist Aloys Kontarsky. They first met in 1971 to discuss the following year's plans.¹⁰⁰ But in 1970, the course participants considered these men incapable of representing the students' musical interests, interests that included growing social, political, and geographical frames of reference. Together with its list of suggestions, the group formally offered reasons for dissatisfaction:

During the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse 1970*, spontaneous criticism was raised by the participants. This led to a plenary assembly on 1 September 1970. During this meeting, criticism and constructive suggestions for change were expressed, and an elected group summarized those suggestions as follows:

The concerned participants wished for a more manifold, more international offering of courses and concerts, and for more participation in designing the courses.

For this purpose, on 2 September 1970, they voted for a committee (5 members, 5 substitutes), which should tune the further proceedings of the courses to the wishes of the participants. This committee will be in contact with the director of the courses, Mr. Thomas.¹⁰¹

The documents outlined many reasons for such drastic, nevertheless democratic action.¹⁰² Like others, Oehlschlägel remembered the absence of American experimental

¹⁰⁰ See Christoph Caskel, "Die Arbeit des Programmbeirats," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 411-14.

¹⁰¹ "Während der Darmstädter Ferienkurse 1970 erhob sich spontane Kritik der Teilnehmer. Sie führte zu einer Vollversammlung am 1.9.1970. Dort wurden Kritik und konstruktive Änderungsvorschläge geäußert, die eine gewählte Gruppe schriftlich zusammenfaßte: Gewünscht wurden ein vielfältigeres, stärker internationales Angebot an Kursen und Konzerten sowie eine stärkere Mitwirkung der betroffenen Teilnehmer an der Gestaltung der Kurse. Dazu wählten die Teilnehmer am 2.9.1970 einen Ausschuß (5 Mitglieder, 5 Stellvertreter), der den weiteren Ablauf der Kurse auf die Wünsche der Teilnehmer abstimmen soll. Dieser Ausschuß wird sich mit dem Leiter der Ferienkurse, Herrn Thomas, in Verbindung setzen" [DOC1970] [IMD].

¹⁰² By allowing all participants to speak freely and offer suggestions, the delegation considered their methods more democratic than those administrative structures currently in place in Darmstadt.

music from the summer courses as a major point of irritation, recalling that the course participants “criticized the lack of information about the further development of experimental music in the United States.”¹⁰³ Another sore point was that many considered the IFNM a “one man show.” Participants attacked both Thomas’s decision-making power and Stockhausen’s star status and control of IFNM resources.¹⁰⁴ The reproach was not missed by Stockhausen, who voiced his opinion in a later meeting. He had the names of suggested composition instructors written on a chalk board and then claimed that all of them had either been his student or had stolen his ideas. Stockhausen found none of them worthy of the IFNM. His list included Cage, Feldman, Kagel, Rzewski, Schnebel, and many others.¹⁰⁵

At first, Thomas was reluctant to meet with the participants, which further agitated the group.¹⁰⁶ Some of the delegates did eventually meet with him during the

¹⁰³ “Im Sommer 1970 kam es bei den Darmstädter Ferienkursen zu einer Kritik der Ferienkurspolitik durch die Kursteilnehmer, bei der unter anderem der Mangel an Informationen über die Weiterentwicklung der experimentellen Musik in den USA beklagt wurde. Es wurde eine Liste von Komponisten aufgestellt, von denen mehrere Jahre lang in Darmstadt nichts mehr zu hören war. Auf dieser Liste waren unter anderen auch John Cage, Morton Feldman and Christian Wolff verzeichnet.” Reinhard Oehlschlägel, “Avantgardist, Scharlatan, Klassiker: Wie John Cage in Mitteleuropa rezipiert worden ist,” *MusikTexte* 40/41 (August 1991): 90.

¹⁰⁴ In 1967 and 1968 Thomas allowed Stockhausen to realize large-scale projects titled *Ensemble* (a four-hour collaborative concert including works written for this occasion by twelve composers) and *Musik für ein Haus* (a collaboration similar to *Ensemble*).

¹⁰⁵ Oehlschlägel, during Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Oehlschlägel felt that Thomas was afraid of the students and avoided them completely. Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

1970 IFNM, and he proved fairly open to many of their suggestions.¹⁰⁷ As in the plenary session, Cage, Feldman, and other American composers were important topics during this talk. But Thomas resisted inviting Cage back to Darmstadt. Friedrich Hommel, a critic for a Frankfurt newspaper, publicly attacked Oehlschlägel, writing that the agitators were communists intent on destroying the IFNM.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, many of the participants involved in the protest actions were politically radical and positioned to the left. Rudolf Frisius's career was later threatened because of his suspected political connections during this time.¹⁰⁹ The conflict escalated, with ideological lines partly drawn around American experimental music. In Chapter Six we will observe how the conflict continued in Darmstadt in 1972.

Conclusion

In 1970, Thomas first responded to IFNM participants' constructive criticism by trying to thwart change. Many of the changes he did initiate only frustrated the activists more. His actions and attitude, coupled with his open scorn for Cage and some of his

¹⁰⁷ Klaus Trapp, "Darmstadt und die 68er-Bewegung," *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 370. Oehlschlägel attended this meeting with the Zurich music critic Fritz Muggler.

¹⁰⁸ Oehlschlägel said that Stockhausen also accused him of being a communist. Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998. Like Thomas, Hommel also worked at SWF in Baden-Baden, and in 1982 he became the IFNM's third director. Oehlschlägel and Hommel worked together at the FAZ.

¹⁰⁹ Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

colleagues, make him a prime target in historical discussions of IFNM's growing pains.¹¹⁰ However, like Steinecke, Thomas worked to establish international ties for and with living composers, as his correspondence with Milton Babbitt shows. But the years of his IFNM leadership, especially between 1962 and 1972, were clouded by criticism and controversy. While the fifteen years of Steinecke's IFNM had passed in a time of peace, rebirth, and rediscovery, Thomas took up his IFNM appointment when aesthetic polarization and political radicalism were on the rise with a younger generation. Authority figures of all kinds were openly chided as enemies of change, and for artists, the effort to remain politically neutral came under sharp criticism. At IFNM during the late 1960s, American experimentalism became a rallying point.

At the same time, a number of other performance venues continued to examine ideas brought to light by Cage's compositions. German new music history texts rightly present Darmstadt as a center for new music activity. But as a result, a view has been maintained that Cage was almost totally absent from West Germany between 1958 and 1990. Though Cage indeed appeared "like a hit and run driver" who unleashed aesthetic confusion wherever he appeared, his music was by no means removed from West Germany during those thirty-two years.¹¹¹ Cage's absence from the IFNM after 1958 was

¹¹⁰ In my interviews with Frisius, Oehlschlägel, Stiebler, and others, my questions about the Thomas years at IFNM were often met with vigorously expressed opinions about Thomas's character and personality, and his political, social, and musical views.

¹¹¹ See Appendix E for a list of Cage performances and radio broadcasts during the 1960s; both Schnebel and Heinz-Klaus Metzger published articles on Cage during the 1960s as well. In 1990, after an absence of thirty-two years, Cage returned to Darmstadt as a celebrity. His performances were highly publicized and well-attended.

In an interview, Cage said that when he asked Tudor how he should position himself toward institutions at which he was appearing, Tudor remarked, "like a hit and run driver." See interview with Cage in Geoff Smith and Nicola Walker Smith, *New*

indeed conspicuous, but a number of venues, examined in Chapter Five, were established during the 1960s in Cologne, Bremen, Berlin, and Munich, and can be viewed historically as alternatives to Darmstadt's dominance in new music circles. These alternative venues provided a bridge to the 1970s, exposing a new generation of young German composers to ideas rooted in American experimentalism.

Voices: American Composers Talk About Their Music (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1995), 73.

CHAPTER FIVE

ALTERNATIVE VENUES

[It's about] a couple of individuals, organizational talent of individuals who consistently dedicated themselves to finding alternatives.¹

Introduction

During the 1960s, some West German composers embraced indeterminacy, chance operations, graphic notation, and musical-theatrical events--or "happenings"--from the United States as alternatives to the aesthetic debates and discussions of serialism taking place in Darmstadt. At the same time, John Cage's music received limited, but consistent attention in Germany throughout the decade. Despite the absence of his music from official programs in Darmstadt and Donaueschingen, Cage's work could sometimes be heard on the radio and in performances throughout West Germany.² The German composer Ernstalbrecht Stiebler voiced a frequent opinion when he said that Cage's music, which seemed "at first so anti-western, was more at home in western Europe than in Cage's home country, in the United States, whose commercialized concert life offered

¹ "Otte, Bachauer, Riedl, ein paar Individuen, organisatorisches Talent von Individuen, sie haben sich konsequent eingesetzt für Alternativen." Walter Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

² See Appendix E.

him fewer opportunities.”³ For like-minded West German composers, the music of Cage, Feldman, Brown, Wolff, Young, and others provided fresh compositional models.⁴

Nevertheless, performances of American experimental music during the 1960s in West Germany were limited to a few venues organized by supporters such as Mary Bauermeister in Cologne, Hans Otte in Bremen, and Josef Anton Riedl in Munich. As alternative performance scenes emerged in a number of cities, these and other venues--both home-grown enterprises with shoestring budgets and state-supported institutions like public radio stations--continued to provide for West Germans contact with radical American ideas. This chapter surveys the contexts for performance of American experimental music beyond Darmstadt during the 1960s.

³ “Trotz der Verbannung aus Darmstadt und Donaueschingen wurde Cage in Europa regelmäßig aufgeführt. Dieses zunächst so ‘anti-westliche Werk’ war im westlichen Europa mehr zu Hause als in Cages Heimat, in den USA, deren kommerzialisiertes Konzertleben ihm weniger Chancen bieten konnte.” Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, “Ostwestbedenken,” in *Anarchic Harmony*, Stefan Schädler and Walter Zimmermann, eds. (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1992), 17.

⁴ For example, when asked why he consistently performed American music, Dieter Schnebel remarked, “By the end of the 1960s I had the feeling that serialism had run itself into the ground” (“Ich hatte das Gefühl Ende der 60er Jahre, daß der Serialismus sich totlief”). Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998. Ernstalbrecht Stiebler expressed similar dissatisfaction with serial techniques. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

Cologne: The Bauermeister Studio and Fluxus

The specifically un-American thing about [Mary Bauermeister's] studio concerts was probably the inclusion of the ideas of the Cage circle in the massively social-critical, dialectically and ideologically flanked thinking of the European--in particular the Cologne--avant-garde.⁵

On 16 June 1960, at eleven o'clock in the evening, musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger publicly delivered a lecture he called "The Cologne Manifesto."⁶ The language of Metzger's manifesto showed his careful study of Adorno's negative dialectics. But his polemical text closed with a revolutionary call for musical action, an ideological plea to accept Cage's challenge, as interpreted by Metzger, to kick in the doors of the concert halls from the inside. For Metzger, the rigidity of European culture left little alternative but rebellion.⁷ The Cologne Manifesto followed a performance during which the Korean

⁵ "Das spezifisch Un-Amerikanische der Atelierkonzerte war wohl die Einbeziehung der Ideen aus dem Cage-Kreis in das massiv gesellschaftskritische, dialektisch und ideologisch flankierte Denken der europäischen, speziell der Kölner Avantgarde." Robert von Zahn, "Refüsierte Gesänge: Musik im Atelier Bauermeister," in *Intermedial, Kontrovers, Experimentell: Das Atelier Mary Bauermeister in Köln, 1960-62* (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1993), 119 (hereafter: *Bauermeister*).

⁶ In the audience that evening were Sylvano Bussotti, Hans G. Helms, Witold Lutosławski, Fritz Muggler, and many others. Metzger also read the document in Darmstadt during the 1960 IFNM later that summer, in Venice in the fall of 1960, and in Stockholm in 1961. "Cologne Manifesto" ("Kölner Manifest") has been published in Heinz-Klaus Metzger, *Musik Wozu: Literatur zu Noten*, Rainer Riehn, ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980), 9-14.

⁷ Just a few weeks earlier, Metzger wrote to Cage: "There continues to be a basic hostility between life and work, which necessarily spoils completely both of them, as it has always been the very best European tradition." Letter from Metzger to Cage, 3 May 1960 [JCC]. See also Zahn, "Refüsierte Gesänge," in *Bauermeister*, 114. Zahn wrote: "Metzger ging von zutiefst negativen urkritischen Prämissen aus und postulierte den endgültigen Untergang der Musikkultur unter dem Diktat der gesellschaftlich Mächtigen. Auch die Komponisten der Avantgarde hatten, laut Metzger, nicht erkannt, daß der derzeitige Stand

artist Nam June Paik “paraphrased Artaud and Rimbaud with actions,” threw eggs against a wall, played and attacked a prepared piano, and “warned--symbolically--against the union of stupidity and diligence caused by the German economic miracle.”⁸ On the previous evening, audiences heard performances of new compositions by George Brecht, John Cage, Christian Wolff, and La Monte Young. The visual artist Mary Bauermeister (b. 1934) provided the Cologne studio where she lived and worked as the location for these and other radical events. But why did Metzger write a “Cologne Manifesto” and not a “Darmstadt Manifesto,” or one on behalf of another musical center in Germany, many of which experienced considerable aesthetic change around 1960? The location for Metzger’s first reading was carefully chosen. In 1960, the annual festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) took place in Cologne from June 10-19.⁹ Dissatisfied with the music scheduled for performance at the ISCM festival,

ihrer Kunst der ihrer Auflösung sei. Protest war Pflicht, Utopien waren abzulehnen. [. . .] Gleichwohl ist Metzgers Manifest 1960 als Zuwendung zur Ästhetik des Cage-Kreises und Abkehr vom Serialismus verstanden worden--mehr als dem Kritiker vielleicht recht war.”

⁸ This was Paik’s infamous *hommage à john cage*. See *Bauermeister*, 30ff. Ernst Thomas wrote a review of the evening for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. A few months later, during the performance of his piece *etude for piano*, Paik cut off John Cage’s neck tie (6 October 1960). Nam June Paik first attended the IFNM in 1957, and spent much of his early career as a composer in West Germany; he was also an important figure who connected the American and German avant-garde. In 1972, Paik wrote to Hans Otte in Bremen: “In New York, which is known for the amazing lack of sympathy towards Germany, I have been one of the lone voices advocating the ‘other Germany’ since 1964.” Letter from Paik to Hans Otte, 23 July 1972 [RB].

⁹ The only American works performed at the ten-day festival were Roger Sessions’ *Fourth Symphony* (14 June 1960) and Arthur Berger’s *String Quartet 1958* (15 June 1960). Other works included Berio’s *Quaderni per Orchestra*, Boulez’s *Pli Selon Pli*, Kagel’s *Anagrama*, Milhaud’s *Eighth Symphony*, Nono’s *Cori di Didone*, Schoenberg’s *Five Pieces for Orchestra op. 16*, Stockhausen’s *Kontakte*, Webern’s *Five Pieces for*

Bauermeister and her colleagues organized a “counter”-festival (*Contre-Festival zum Kölner IGM-Fest*) in her downtown studio, including a number of readings, happenings, and musical performances.¹⁰ Soon Bauermeister’s studio was known as a regular venue for experimental music performances.

In the spring of 1960, Bauermeister had asked David Tudor to perform in her studio during the ISCM counter-festival that summer. Aside from performances of Berio, Boulez, Kagel, Ligeti, Nono, Pousseur, and Stockhausen, she explained, the festival would feature “so much terrible music.”¹¹ But many foreign composers came to Cologne out of interest in the European avant-garde; that city had been a center for serialism and electronic music for much of the previous decade. The young Frederic Rzewski, recently graduated from Princeton and on his way to Rome, visited Cologne in 1960 because of the ISCM festival.¹² There he heard about Bauermeister’s alternative festival. Soon he

String Orchestra, Isang Yun’s *Third String Quartet*, and also music by Berg, Blacher, Dallapiccola, Davies, Eimert, Fortner, Hartmann, Ligeti, Stravinsky, B. A. Zimmermann, and others. See ISCM concert schedule published in *Melos* 27/5 (May 1960): 157f.

¹⁰ I am not sure if or how the performers at the studio events were paid. In addition, it should be noted here that Jean Pierre Wilhelm’s *Galerie 22* in Düsseldorf and Anneliese and Rolf Jährling’s *Galerie Parnass* in Wuppertal had a similar clientele and also sponsored experimental performances during this period. Tudor gave a number of concerts at these and other West German galleries in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Metzger and Riehn also mentioned *Galerie Stuhnke* (in Düsseldorf?) as particularly important for Tudor performances during this time. Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

¹¹ Undated letter quoted in *Bauermeister*, 24. Metzger was also involved in planning the performance held on 16 June 1960. See *Bauermeister*, 27. Cornelius Cardew, a frequent guest at Bauermeister’s studio, helped connect Cage and Bauermeister through a conversation Cardew held with Tudor in London in 1960. *Bauermeister*, 16; 182.

¹² Rzewski interview with the author, 2 April 1998.

was part of both the regular audience and performing network at Bauermeister's studio, as was David Behrman, who studied in Europe with Henri Pousseur and Stockhausen on a Harvard Paine Fellowship from 1959-60.¹³ From the end of the ISCM festival in Cologne through the year 1962, events at Bauermeister's loft provided a forum in which American experimentalists and their colleagues abroad could interact. With the help of Cornelius Cardew, who told David Tudor that Bauermeister was the only person in West Germany capable of sponsoring a performance of this sort, Bauermeister even organized a Cologne debut for Merce Cunningham during his first European tour.¹⁴ For two years, Bauermeister fostered the further development of American-influenced performance art.¹⁵

¹³ Behrman interview with the author, 7 March 1999.

¹⁴ The performance took place in the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium on 5 October 1960. See *Bauermeister*, 45. Bauermeister arranged for Cunningham's visit to Cologne as part of his tour with Carolyn Brown, Cage and Tudor in 1960, which included performances at the Tenth *Berliner Festwochen* (in the Hebbel Theater, 28-30 September), as well as appearances at the Venice Biennale, Munich's Week of Modern Dance (in the *Kammerspiele*, 2-3 October), and in Stockholm. See Thomas Thorausch, "Irritationen und Kritik: Reaktionen auf den Tanzabend von Merce Cunningham und Carolyn Brown in Berlin und Köln, 1960," *Bauermeister*, 172ff. An excerpt of the Berlin performance was broadcast on ARD television stations on 4 October 1960. The clip showed Cage and Tudor deriving sounds with unconventional objects during the dance performance, similar to performance techniques seen in Darmstadt in 1958. After the clip, a television commentator remarked: "Dearest viewers, I certainly hope that you aren't too shocked. This is something ultra-modern, which has inspired laughter, applause, and protest. [. . .] And apparently, that's the way it should be. The ultra-moderns belong in festivals, it gives [the festivals] sensation, color, riots and excitement." From "Vorhang auf," Broadcast on 4 October 1960 by *Sender Freies Berlin* (Archive No. 201660/1); quoted in *Bauermeister*, 177. ("Hoffentlich haben Sie sich nicht erschrocken, liebe Zuschauer. Das hier ist etwas ultramodernes, das Gelächter, Beifall und Protest hervorgerufen hat. [. . .] Auch so etwas muß wohl sein. Die Ultramodernen gehören auf ein Festival, es gibt ihnen Sensation, Farbe, förderlichen Krawall und Erregung.")

¹⁵ See Zahn, "Refüsierte Gesänge," *Bauermeister*, 104f. Historians usually consider performance art to stem from "An Event" performed at Black Mountain College by John Cage, Merce Cunningham, David Tudor, Robert Rauschenberg, Charles Olson, and M. C.

Her choice of American repertoire, swayed by the musical tastes of Cardew, Metzger, and Tudor, favored Cage and composers associated with him. Christian Wolff, who visited and performed in some Bauermeister events in 1960, commented that she created “a very lively scene which involved a kind of back and forth between Americans and Europeans,” and a more permanent venue than the few summer weeks in Darmstadt could offer.¹⁶

Table 5.1: Performances of American Music at Bauermeister’s Studio, 1960-62¹⁷

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 26 March 1960: | Performance by Cornelius Cardew and David Behrman, pianos: Morton Feldman, <i>Piano Piece (1959/60)</i> ; <i>Piano Three Hands</i> John Cage, <i>Music for Piano</i> |
| 15 June: | “Counter-Festival” during Cologne ISCM-Festival, Tudor: La Monte Young, <i>Poem for Chairs, Tables, Benches etc.</i> John Cage, <i>Water Music; Variations</i> George Brecht, <i>Card-Piece for Voice; Candle-Piece for radios</i> Christian Wolff, <i>For Pianist</i> |
| 5 October: | Performance by Cunningham and Carolyn Brown, accompanied by Cage and Tudor: Cage, <i>Suite for Two (from Music for Pianos)</i> ; <i>Winter Music; Variations; Music Walk with Dancers</i> Wolff, <i>Untitled Solo (from For Piano I)</i> ; <i>Lavish Escapade from For Piano II</i> ; <i>Changeling</i> |

Richards during the summer of 1952. See Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time* (London: Penguin Books, 1980), 74f; and Sally Banes, *Greenwich Village 1963: Avant-Garde Performance and the Effervescent Body* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 26ff.

¹⁶ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997. Bauermeister was also an IFNM participant. In 1961 she attended Stockhausen’s composition courses, and in 1970 she became an elected delegate during the student plenary session (see Chapter Four). A romantic relationship developed between Stockhausen and Bauermeister in 1960, and they married in San Francisco in 1967.

¹⁷ These performances are listed in *Bauermeister*.

- 6 October: Earle Brown, *Hands Birds from Folio*
Performance by Cage, Cardew, Helms, Kagel, Paik,
Tudor, and others:¹⁸
Cage, *Cartridge Music with Solo for Voice 2; Music
for Amplified Toy Pianos*
La Monte Young, *Poem*
- 15 June 1961: Cornelius Cardew, piano:
Feldman, Cage, Wolff, Brown, Young (and others)
- 30 September: The 25-Year Retrospective Concert of the Music of
John Cage (listening session of recording made
during Cage's concert at Town Hall in New York
on 15 May 1958)
- 14 October: Tudor and Kobayashi:
Cage, *26'55.987" for Pianist and String Player*
Wolff, *Duo for Violinist and Pianist*
Terry Riley, *Envelope*
- 26 September 1962: The Generation of Music 4, organized by Michael
von Biel:
Feldman, *Projection 4; Piano Three Hands*
Cage, *Variations; 59 1/2 Seconds for a String
Player*
- 28 September: same as Sept. 26
- 11 November: Dick Higgins, *The Broadway Opera*

After the war, some German visual artists and composers born during the 1930s found it unacceptable that the "old continuities" should just go on.¹⁹ Mary Bauermeister cited the postwar trauma as a main influence on the creative life of artists her age. In the years 1957-59, she recalled, she and others of her generation still experienced the postwar era. Bauermeister said: "This is how I always interpreted tachism--that when we were children we saw a world break apart, destroyed by bombs. Cologne remained only as bricks and large piles of rubble and mortar. Everything that used to have a form was now

¹⁸ Frederic Rzewski was in the audience that night, as well as Christian Wolff, who assisted in the performance of Cage's *Cartridge Music*.

¹⁹ Heinz-Klaus Metzger in Bernd Leukert, "Musik aus Trümmern: Darmstadt um 1949," *MusikTexte* 45 (July 1992): 24.

broken. [. . .] No houses stood anymore, so we didn't trust them anymore either. So we started over from scratch."²⁰ The war's real and symbolic destruction of the past eliminated barriers to uninhibited experimentation. Some scholars suggest that Cage's music was particularly apt in this context, since many young European artists felt that his work began from a "Zero" point (*vom Null als Basis*), appropriate to the artistic impotence and helplessness that many Europeans felt after the war.²¹ In this context, American music's "lack of tradition" was seen as an advantage. But Bauermeister was only eleven years old during the Zero Hour, and her need for an artistic fresh start was also influenced by the cultural landscape of West Germany during the 1950s, a landscape dotted not only with the "old continuities," but new artistic methods. Cage's attempts to reduce personal expression, his reflections on the nature of silence, and his experiments in simultaneity found particular resonance among those who believed that artistic production as it had existed before the war was neither appropriate nor possible.

In 1961 Bauermeister took part in Stockhausen's composition courses in Darmstadt. In October of that year, her studio provided the composer with a performance

²⁰ "1957/58/59 Nachkriegszeit. Wichtige Erfahrung--so habe ich immer den Tachismus interpretiert--, daß wir als Kinder eine Welt zerbrechen sahen, von Bomben zerstört. Köln bestand nur noch aus Ziegelsteinen und großen Haufen von Schrott und Mörtel. Alles, was Gestalt gehabt hatte, war kaputt. [. . .] Es stand ja kein Haus mehr. Also vertraute man dem auch nicht. Also fingen wir ganz von vorne an." *Bauermeister*, 15f.

Throughout Germany, destroyed buildings, ruins and rubble were visible in public places well into the 1960s.

²¹ Wilfried Dörstel, "Knollengewächs und Rangierstellt: Europäische konkrete Kunst und amerikanische Konkretismus im Atelier Mary Bauermeister," *Bauermeister*, 147. Dörstel is quoting Richard Kostelanetz, "John Cage im Gespräch zu Musik, Kunst und geistigen Fragen unserer Zeit" (Cologne, 1989), 77.

space for his radical theater piece *Originale*, a work that revealed the degree to which Stockhausen had assimilated Cage's ideas, and a work that Stockhausen probably could not have presented in Darmstadt at the time.²² Stockhausen had seen Cage's performances in Darmstadt in 1958, as well as a number of the performances in Bauermeister's studio, including those on 15 June 1960, 18 June 1960, 6 October 1960, and 14 October 1961.²³ Similarities between Cage's *Theater Piece* (1960) and Stockhausen's *Originale* (1961) have caused some historians to claim a direct link between the two works.²⁴ As with Cage's work, some critics dismissed Stockhausen's *Originale* as "absurd theater," placing it in a theater genre developed during the 1950s and implying that it was nothing new. Other critics found that similarities in the outer appearance of such pieces actually revealed fundamental differences between the American postwar avant-garde and Stockhausen.²⁵ Echoing the ambivalence coloring

²² See Dörstel, in *Bauermeister*, 197. Before Stockhausen's *Originale* was performed for five days at the Judson Hall in New York in September 1964, the American artists George Maciunas and Henry Flynt led a picket and demonstration against the performance ("Action Against Cultural Imperialism," on 30 August 1964), charging Stockhausen with musical racism and cultural imperialism, and also protesting the typical European/North American art of the ruling classes. Protest flyer "Picket Stockhausen Concert!" reprinted in Thomas Kellein, *Fluxus* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson Press, 1995), 28. David Tudor participated in the Cologne premiere of *Originale*, and Allen Ginsberg and David Behrman performed in the New York version. See Dörstel in *Bauermeister*, 205; and Harold Schonberg, "Music: Stockhausen's *Originale* Given at Judson," *New York Times* (9 September 1964).

²³ Dörstel, in *Bauermeister*, 197.

²⁴ Dörstel, in *Bauermeister*, 197.

²⁵ Dörstel, in *Bauermeister*, 202. See also Peter Niklas Wilson, "Stockhausen, der Epigone? Karlheinz Stockhausen und die amerikanische Avantgarde," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 5 (May 1988): 6-11.

West Germans' reception of American music, during the late 1950s Stockhausen himself called the music of Cage and others "more relaxed, generous and simple" but also "more primitive, undeveloped, and playful" than European music.²⁶ Unable to reconcile the inherent contradictions between freedom and control in Cage's music, Stockhausen eventually moved in new musical directions and rejected Cage and other American composers almost entirely. While Stockhausen's experimental detour took a new path, Nam June Paik's and others' radical events at Bauermeister's studio forged ahead. Due in part to Paik's performances, for a brief time during the 1960s, terms such as "neo-dada," "post-happening," "artistic nihilism" and "Fluxus" frequented newspaper articles and eclipsed earlier discussions of *L'Art Informel*, tachism, and experimentalism. A new artistic movement had gained momentum and could no longer be overlooked.

Bauermeister's performance space quickly became known to interested parties. In New York, the Lithuanian-born graphic artist, architect, and self-proclaimed art historian George Maciunas had established the AG Gallery in part to feature performance events, including works by Cage, Dick Higgins, Toshi Ichiyanagi, Jackson Mac Low, and La Monte Young. Maciunas hoped to branch out in Europe, to organize events in various cities featuring New York artists and others who shared an interest in performance art. In the fall of 1961 Maciunas moved from New York to Wiesbaden to escape his gallery debts and to work as a graphic designer for the United States Air Force, which had a

²⁶ "Hört man solche Musik, so hat sie der augenblicklich avancierteren europäischen ein Wesentliches entgegensetzen: sie erscheint ungezwungener, großzügiger, einfacher; aber auch primitiver, ungeformter, verspielter." Stockhausen, during radio broadcast on Cage (1957), as quoted in Wilson, "Stockhausen, der Epigone?," 8.

military base in Wiesbaden, the capital of Hesse, near Frankfurt and Darmstadt.

Maciunas's colleague Dick Higgins explained Maciunas's move to Germany:

George Maciunas's idea was to get together with people in Germany who were doing the same kind of thing, and to do something like a book and something like a magazine. [. . .] It needed a name, so George Maciunas chose a very funny word for 'change'--fluxus. To let people know about this kind of book, he decided to give some fluxus concerts there, so the newspapers would write about them and people would find out about his books. So in September 1962 the first of the fluxus concerts happened in a little city where George Maciunas was living, in Wiesbaden. Dick [Higgins] went there from New York, with Alison [Knowles] his artist wife, and they took with them lots of pieces by other American people who had been finding and sharing fluxus kinds of things. The concerts certainly did get written about! They were on television, too.²⁷

Through Nam June Paik, Maciunas met a number of artists living in Germany, and he soon heard of Bauermeister's studio events.²⁸ In the spring of 1962 Maciunas, the self-appointed "chairman" of the Fluxus "non-movement," wrote to Bauermeister asking

²⁷ Dick Higgins, "A Child's History of Fluxus," in *Horizons: The Poetics and Theory of the Intermedia* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 87f; as quoted in Sally Banes, *Greenwich Village 1963*, 62f. An important antecedent to Fluxus events in West Germany was a series of concerts organized by La Monte Young at Yoko Ono's New York Loft from December 1960 to June 1961. See Barbara Moore, "Fluxus," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, Vol. 2, H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds. (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 145.

The first edition of *An Anthology* was published by Heiner Friedrich in 1963 (La Monte Young and Jackson MacLow hold the copyright for the second edition published in 1970). The first edition was designed by Maciunas and edited by Young between 1961 and 1963, and the collection contained scores by George Brecht, Earle Brown, John Cage, Henry Flynt, Dick Higgins, Toshi Ichiyangi, Terry Jennings, Jackson MacLow, Yoko Ono, Nam June Paik, Terry Riley, Diter Rot, Emmett Williams, Christian Wolff, La Monte Young, and others.

²⁸ Paik introduced Maciunas to the Americans Benjamin Patterson and Emmett Williams, as well as to Bauermeister, Stockhausen, and Wolf Vostell. See Owen F. Smith, "Fluxus: A Brief History and Other Fictions," in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, Elizabeth Armstrong and Joan Rothfuss, eds. (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1993), 25. Maciunas died in 1978.

if he and his group could hold a festival in her studio that summer, claiming that “it would be a good beginning for a Fluxus series.”²⁹ As a Fluxus historian wrote: “Maciunas knew that for a short period in the history of the arts, the Cologne studio was *the* European performance venue for John Cage’s music.”³⁰ In June 1962, Maciunas gave a lecture titled “Neo-Dada in the United States” in the *Galerie Parnass* in the town of Wuppertal near Cologne. There Maciunas laid out views of an American art that pushed limits and challenged conventions. And though Fluxus resisted establishing a historical movement, it did define a group of central works, including compositions by George Brecht, Maciunas himself, György Ligeti (in particular, his *Poème Symphonique* for one hundred metronomes of 1962), Jackson MacLow, Ben Patterson, Nam June Paik, Emmett Williams and La Monte Young.³¹ Maciunas’s first large-scale Fluxus festival, held in Wiesbaden in September 1962, featured music by both American and European artists.³²

²⁹ See Kellein, *Fluxus*, 10; Letter from George Maciunas to Mary Bauermeister, undated, in *Bauermeister*, 74. Emmett Williams called Fluxus a “non-movement;” in 1964 Maciunas called it a “collective.” See Emmett Williams and Ann Noël, eds., *Mr. Fluxus: A Collective Portrait of George Maciunas, 1931-1978* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 9, 42.

³⁰ “Für John Cages Musik, und davon weiß Maciunas, ist das Kölner ‘Atelier’ für einen kurzen Augenblick in der Geschichte der Künste gleichsam *das* europäische Aufführungszentrum.” Dörstel in *Bauermeister*, 146.

³¹ For a list of Fluxus pieces, see “Conditions for Performing Fluxus: Published Compositions, Films and Tapes,” (no date, ca. 1965), one-page text by Maciunas; reprinted in Kellein, *Fluxus*, 60.

³² For a list of American works performed during the Wiesbaden festival, see September 1962 in Appendix C.

Fluxus artists combined different art forms to create multi-media performances based on spontaneous *action*.³³ The artistic and musical collective activity that became known as Fluxus during the early 1960s offered an energetic intersection of conceptual art and theater, and appeared in Germany at a moment of aesthetic flux. A writer on Fluxus history explained: "One of the sparks for the European Fluxus activities was the encounter between American *lack of style* and European *fatigue with style*." Furthermore, Fluxus provided a connection between "American *bricolage* and European fantasy, American insouciance and European logic."³⁴ In the eyes of some West Germans, Fluxus adopted the experimental role that had been attributed to American music during the 1950s.

Fluxus constituted a loosely defined--but clearly unified--movement associated with a group of artists expressing anti-art and anti-art market sentiments and ambivalent political messages.³⁵ Despite the political ambiguity, some of the artists, like the composers Everett Helm and John Evarts before them, tapped the American army's

³³ These performances were often referred to by the participants as "action music" or "action concerts." See Joachim Noller, "Fluxus und die Musik der sechziger Jahre: Über vernachlässigte Aspekte am Beispiel Kagels und Stockhausen," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (September 1985): 14-19; and Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 273. David Cope defined Fluxus as "a group of avant-garde and post avant-garde composer of the 1960s with intentional direction toward danger and boredom as viable concepts within art." David Cope, *New Directions in Music* (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1971), 121.

³⁴ Tomas Schmit, as quoted in Andreas Huyssen, "Back to the Future: Fluxus in Context," in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 142. *Bricolage* is French for a "do-it-yourself" attitude.

³⁵ Maciunas wrote that Fluxus rejected "the institutionalizing of serious art." See *Mr. Fluxus*, 42. Despite Maciunas's pro-Soviet position and the political implications of their performance style, Fluxus never became an overtly political performance arena.

resources to their own advantage. Since Fluxus as a group did not exist before Maciunas came to Wiesbaden, one could almost claim that without the U.S. army, the U.S. occupation of Germany, and the context of the Cold War that brought American and non-American artists together in unusual ways, there might have been no Fluxus movement. Another of the Fluxus group, Emmett Williams, wrote contemporary music reviews for the American military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* in Darmstadt.³⁶ Andreas Huyssen, a scholar on contemporary Germany culture, art, and memory, wrote:

At a time when the Central Intelligence Agency, in order to stem the paranoically feared influence of Soviet cultural politics on America's allies, secretly funded all kinds of cultural activities in Western Europe, including the importation of American-style modernism (the New York School), a couple of American artists very unconspiratorially used the American bases of the United States military forces in West Germany to undermine the domination of the very modernism that Cold War cultural politics was promoting as the proper free art of the West. Emmett Williams, based in Darmstadt, worked for the American Army paper *Stars and Stripes*, and George Maciunas made a living by doing design and signs for American PX stores at the Wiesbaden Air Force base.³⁷

Like a number of American musical trends that achieved historical significance on the European continent, Fluxus assumed an important role in German cultural history-- indeed, was "eagerly absorbed especially in West Germany," at least from a certain perspective, one focused on American experimentalism.³⁸ Since Fluxus's debt to Cage

³⁶ See, for example, Emmett Williams, "The New Music: do re mi fa beep!" in *Stars and Stripes* (9 December 1959): 12f [IMD].

³⁷ Huyssen, in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 147. The "New York School" mentioned by Huyssen refers to Abstract Expressionist painters and not to the composers Brown, Cage, Feldman, and Wolff.

³⁸ See Huyssen in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 144; Owen F. Smith, "Fluxus: A Brief History and Other Fictions," in *Ibid.*, 30; and Douglas Kahn, *Ibid.*, 103ff.

was incontestable, by extension, many West German Cage supporters became Fluxus fans as well.³⁹ In addition to the many artists involved in Fluxus, even Heinz-Klaus Metzger served on the German section of the “editorial committee” for Maciunas’s planned Fluxus publications. The second Fluxus publication was to include texts by Adorno, Bauermeister, Metzger, Schnebel, Stockhausen, and many other Fluxus fans in Germany.⁴⁰ Like Tudor and Rzewski, Maciunas mediated among American, European, and Asian artists during a decade that provided a bridge between West Germany’s first contact with American experimental ideas in the 1950s and its wider acceptance of those ideas in the 1970s.

³⁹ Sally Banes has written that “both Happenings and Fluxus developed out of ideas from John Cage’s class in ‘Composition of Experimental Music,’ which he taught at the New School for Social Research from 1956 to 1960.” Banes, *Greenwich Village 1963*, 56. George Brecht, who attended Cage’s courses at the New School for Social Research, provided a crucial link between Cage and Fluxus. Brecht’s notes from these classes have been published in Germany by Dieter Daniels and Hermann Braun, eds., as *Notebooks I-II-III* (Cologne, 1991).

⁴⁰ Two pages of brochure/prospectus for Fluxus “Yearboxes” (Version I, 1962), reprinted in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 43. Fluxus’s official address at the time was on J. S. Bach Street in Wiesbaden.

Fluxus-related art objects soon became prestigious commodities in Germany: by March of 1970, the *Galerie Heiner Friedrich* in Munich (on the fashionable Maximilianstraße 15) was selling works by La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela. The art work products they displayed included a forty-five minute tape edition of Young’s composition *The Well Tuned Piano* (selling for \$1000), drawings, records, a copy of *An Anthology* including works by Young, and a Special Tape Edition of Young’s music (limited to two copies) for \$7000. This information is based on documents housed in the 1972 file at [RB]. Despite their anti-museum stance, Fluxus pieces are now displayed in major modern art collections around the world, including the *Staatsgalerie Stuttgart*, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco, and many others.

Bremen: Hans Otte and *pro musica nova*

Along with RIAS in Berlin, *Radio Frankfurt*, *Radio Munich*, and *Radio Stuttgart*, *Radio Bremen* was one of the first radio stations established in the American zone after the war, and it joined the ARD working pool in 1950.⁴¹ In 1945 the American military designated a hospital building near the outskirts of the northern German city-state of Bremen as the site for the new radio station.⁴² In the early years, *Radio Bremen* followed reeducation guidelines and featured programs like those on RIAS in Berlin (see Chapter One). In 1959, Hans Otte, a thirty-two year-old composer and pianist, became the music director at *Radio Bremen*. Changes in Darmstadt during the 1960s allowed small venues like *Radio Bremen* to assume leadership in new music performances. Otte became an important promoter of American music while Steinecke was still alive, but the value of his position at a state-supported radio station grew after Ernst Thomas took over in Darmstadt and support for experimental music in some parts of Germany declined.⁴³

⁴¹ The city-state of Bremen became the fourth administrative sector of the American zone (already including Bavaria, Greater Hesse, and Württemberg-Baden) on 22 January 1947. See Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Die Besatzer und die Deutschen: Amerikanische Zone, 1945-1948* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1980), 119. See Appendix B for a map of Germany including the postwar occupation zones.

⁴² Conversation with Marita Emigholz, Hans Otte's successor at *Radio Bremen*, on 8 February 1998. Though much of northern Germany was occupied by British troops after the war, the city-state of Bremen was under American military control.

⁴³ Despite Otte's importance as a promoter of new American music and as the source of commissions for a number of American compositions, I had never heard his name mentioned in connection with American experimental music until I began my interviews for this study. Many of my interviewees mentioned Otte as *the* most important mediator of American music in West Germany. People who urged me to interview Otte included Gisela Gronemeyer and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Christian Wolff,

Hans Otte was born in East Prussia on 3 December 1926.⁴⁴ He began his music studies at the conservatory in Breslau (now Bratislava, Poland) when he was twelve years old. Since musicians were often called to deal with broadcast technology and radar during the war, near the end of the Second World War Otte was drafted into the navy as a radar specialist and stationed on a mine-searching boat in the Baltic Sea. Following the war, Otte moved to a western zone.⁴⁵ Professionally trained as a pianist, as a composer Otte was, for the most part, self-taught, and he paid little attention to the serialist developments from other composers of his generation. While completing music studies in Stuttgart he won an educational fellowship from the U.S. High Commissioner of Germany, including a stipend for travel to the United States and for tuition at Yale University. At Yale, Otte studied composition with Paul Hindemith during the academic year 1950-51. Otte first heard John Cage's music in 1950 when Cage and Tudor participated in a symposium on American music in New Haven.⁴⁶ After returning to Germany Otte continued his piano studies with Walter Giesecking in Stuttgart and worked as a pianist. In 1959, he was summoned to direct *Radio Bremen's* music department,

and Walter Zimmermann. Alvin Curran called Hans Otte the most important patron of American music in West Germany. Curran interview with the author, 8 March 1999.

⁴⁴ Otte was fond of telling people that his birthday coincided with Anton Webern's. Otte interview with the author, 7 February 1998.

⁴⁵ Otte remembered that he decided to move to West Germany after hearing a broadcast of the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky on AFN (see Chapter One).

⁴⁶ Otte later said that at the time, he didn't understand the music at all ("Ich habe das überhaupt nicht verstanden, diese Art von Sprache, die mir heute so vertraut ist"). Otte quoted in Ute Schalz-Laurenze, "Auf der Suche nach dem Innern der Klänge: Zu den Kompositionen Hans Ottes," in *Rencontre: Hans Otte zum 70. Geburtstag* (Program Booklet, Bremen 1996), 11.

where he initiated the new music festival *pro musica nova* in 1961 along with the *pro musica antiqua* festival, a festival dedicated to early music.⁴⁷ He held his position at *Radio Bremen* until his retirement in 1984.

The first *pro musica nova* festival in 1961 divided the modern repertoire into five successive evenings: the “Second Viennese School” (Webern, Berg, Schoenberg); the “Classics of Modernism” (Stravinsky, Bartók, Hindemith); the “New Generation of Composers” (Franco Evangelisti, Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, Bo Nilsson, Henri Pousseur, and Helms/Otte); an evening concert of Stockhausen’s music; and finally, an evening on *Musique concrète* and experimental film (Luc Ferrari, Michel Philippot, Pierre Schaeffer, Iannis Xenakis, and others).⁴⁸ But Otte quickly left prewar modernism behind, and his new music festival soon became known for the sponsorship and performance of new--and especially experimental--American music in West Germany. Like Bauermeister’s, Otte’s choices of American music emphasized Cage and his followers during the 1960s.

Taking advantage of the autonomy of his position, Otte sought frequent contact with Cage and Tudor during the 1960s. After hearing a radio broadcast about Cage on

⁴⁷ Though *pro musica nova* also took place in 1962, the festival subsequently occurred every two years; the two festivals still alternate annually.

When I asked Otte why he was offered the position at *Radio Bremen* although he had no prior radio experience he remarked that it was common in those days for composers to acquire good jobs at broadcasting stations. Otte interview with the author, 7 February 1998.

⁴⁸ The concert titled “New Generation of Composers,” on 4 May 1961, was also supposed to include a premiere performance of John Cage’s *Music for Carillon IV*; the performance was canceled for lack of the proper instrument in Bremen. See Appendix C for dates of American music performances at *pro musica nova*.

WDR in 1959, Otte invited the Americans to perform in Bremen.⁴⁹ As it turned out, a Bremen performance by the piano duo was impossible during their 1960 tour, but Otte was able to engage Tudor for a recording session of Cage's *Music for Piano* and *Winter Music* at *Radio Bremen* following Tudor's IFNM obligations during September of 1959.⁵⁰ After hearing that Cage and Tudor had performed Cage's *Cartridge Music* at Bauermeister's Cologne studio (on 6 October 1960), Otte scheduled a first recording of that work at *Radio Bremen*. Tudor's early recordings of Cage compositions were among the first recordings Otte produced there.⁵¹ In 1961, Otte brought Tudor to *pro musica nova*, where the pianist premiered Stockhausen's *Klavierstück IX*, but no American

⁴⁹ The radio broadcast Otte heard was probably Heinz-Klaus Metzger's "musical night program" on WDR in 1959: "Music Set Free: Demonstrated with John Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*" (Musikalische Nachtprogramm: "Freigelassene Musik: Demonstriert an John Cages *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*"). Cage's *Music of Changes* and *Aria* with *Fontana Mix* were also broadcast on WDR during the 1959-60 season.

⁵⁰ Tudor recorded these pieces (which were unpublished at the time) on 5 October 1959. Otte arranged for a number of other recordings of new American music during the 1960s: Rzewski recorded his own *Poème 1959* on 12 December 1963; William Pearson recorded Cage's *Solo for Voice II* on 22 April 1964; the Società Cameristica Italiana recorded Cage's *String Quartet* on 2 November 1964; Rzewski and Otte recorded Rzewski's *Komposition für 2 Spieler* on two pianos on 2 February 1965; and the ensemble Musica Elettronica Viva (MEV) recorded Alvin Curran's *La Lista del giorno* on 26 November 1967 [RB]. This is *not* a complete list of recordings of American music produced by Otte at *Radio Bremen* during the 1960s.

⁵¹ At the time, Cage's music was considered so provocative, and recording such music was seen as so subversive, that Otte's job at *Radio Bremen* was threatened as a result. The supervisor who threatened to fire Otte if Otte brought Cage's music back to Bremen was soon transferred to another radio station. Otte recalled that when he encountered the same man many years later, after Cage had become widely accepted in Germany, the man apologized, remarking "I was wrong about Cage." Otte interview with the author, 7 February 1998.

works.⁵² Just a few weeks later, in June 1961, Otte wrote to Tudor in Cologne inviting him to the 1962 *pro musica nova*, having heard that Tudor would be in Darmstadt that summer; soon after, Otte also pursued the idea of producing a film on Cage.⁵³ He hoped that both Tudor and Cage would visit *pro musica nova*, and that Tudor would play a program of the music of Ives and others. In January 1963, Cage wrote that Tudor would not have time to learn “early American modern music” requested by Otte.⁵⁴ That winter Cage appeared at a symposium in Berlin; Otte wrote to Cage that “now everyone is talking about” the American’s visit.⁵⁵ Though he tried, Otte was unable to organize a performance at *Radio Bremen* during Cage’s 1963 European tour, or any time during the 1960s.

Instead, Otte’s commissions and engagements provided connections between many other young musicians and composers, both German and American. For example, in 1963, he gave Rzewski a new score by the young German composer Ernstalbrecht

⁵² During the same concert, on 5 May 1961, Tudor also participated in performances of Stockhausen’s *Refrain* (1959) and *Kontakte* (1960) with Stockhausen and the percussionist Christoph Caskel.

⁵³ Letter from Otte to David Tudor, 8 June 1961; letter from Otte to Cage, 12 January 1962 [RB]. As documented in Chapter Four, Tudor was scheduled to attend the IFNM in 1962, but did not do so after Steinecke’s death.

⁵⁴ Letter from Cage to Otte, 26 December 1962 [RB].

⁵⁵ “Es tut mir außerordentlich leid: aus den verschiedensten Gründen werden wir in diesem Jahr keine Produktionen anlässlich Ihres Europaaufenthaltes machen können. [. . .] Ich gratuliere zu Ihrem Berlin-Konzert, das jetzt ja in aller Munde ist.” Letter from Otte to Cage, 23 January 1963 [RB]. In June 1962, Stuckenschmidt had invited Cage to appear at a public symposium on “Music in the Age of Technical Science” during the winter term 1962/63 at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin. Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Cage, 27 June 1962 [JCC]. I have not yet determined the exact date of Cage’s performance and/or lecture at the TU.

Stiebler, who had attended the IFNM since 1958 and was deeply affected by the music of Cage and Feldman (he directed the new music division at HR in Frankfurt from 1970 until 1995; see Chapter Seven). In 1967, Otte offered Stiebler his first professional commission.⁵⁶ Early on Otte also invited Earle Brown to attend *pro musica nova*. Brown agreed to come, offering to conduct a concert of American works.⁵⁷ In 1964 Brown accepted a commission from Otte for his piece *Corroboree*.⁵⁸ In 1966 both Rzewski and the American singer Cathy Berberian performed at *pro musica nova*. Berberian earned DM 2,500 (about \$625) for performances of Cage's *Aria and Fontana Mix* and her own composition, *Stripsody* (1966).⁵⁹ Otte met Dieter Schnebel, another German composer close to American experimentalists, in 1964 at a reception after the premiere of Stockhausen's *Carré* in Hamburg.⁶⁰ A few years later, Otte scheduled the premiere of

⁵⁶ Letter from Stiebler to Otte, 10 December 1963, and others 1963-64 [RB]. Also letter from Stiebler to Otte, 17 April 1967: "Selbstverständlich bin ich mit der Summe zufrieden; Sie sind immerhin der erste, der mir einen Kommissionsauftrag gibt" [RB]. Stiebler received DM 1,500 for the commission.

⁵⁷ "Please also consider the possibility of my conducting a concert of American (and other) 'indeterminate' music for small chamber group. . . it would be a very interesting concert." Letter from Brown to Otte, 22 August 1963 [RB].

⁵⁸ Letter from Brown to Otte, 11 February 1964 [RB]. Brown received DM 1,500 (about \$375) for the commission. This sum is included in a list of "pre-calculations" at [RB]. According to the list, Adorno was also scheduled to attend and to receive DM 1,000 (about \$250) for his participation in *pro musica nova*.

⁵⁹ Fee list for 1966 [RB].

⁶⁰ In his letter, Schnebel reminded Otte that they first met while sitting at the same table with Schnebel's close friend Heinz-Klaus Metzger. Schnebel also asked Otte to allow Rzewski and Sylvano Bussotti play one of his works at *pro musica nova*. Letter from Schnebel to Otte, 24 February 1964 [RB]. Schnebel lived in Frankfurt from 1963 until 1970, and was also an avid promoter of Cage's music.

Schnebel's *Deutsche Messe*. Schnebel told Otte that *pro musica nova* the best forum for the performance, since more established festivals--in Donaueschingen, for example--still clung to concepts of "official music" as defined by the outmoded German *Werkbegriff*.⁶¹ In 1968, the composer Rainer Riehn also praised Otte, writing that *pro musica nova* was the only remaining acceptable German new music festival.⁶² As seen in Chapter Four, Riehn was a strong critic of Ernst Thomas in Darmstadt. Germans who were most frustrated with IFNM during the 1960s--like Riehn, Schnebel, and Stiebler--were often those who most appreciated Otte.

By 1969 Otte seemed close to realizing a long-held dream: to attract John Cage to a *pro musica nova* festival. Letters from Otte to Cage in 1969 reveal his impatience to feature Cage and Tudor at a festival in the very near future. For example, in early 1969, Otte wrote to Cage: "There is a rumor going around Europe, that John Cage, David Tudor, Merce and Cunningham [*sic*] once again will be stepping onto our continent in May 1970."⁶³ Then in November of that year, Otte wrote:

⁶¹ "Der SWF ist für Donaueschingen auch nicht mehr dafür interessiert, worüber ich froh bin--wäre doch in Zeitnot gekommen. Außerdem ist Bremen der bessere Rahmen; in Donaueschingen hielten's die Leute doch für offizielle Musik." Letter from Schnebel to Otte, 12 December 1966 [RB].

⁶² "Dem einzigen noch akzeptablen deutschen Festival mit moderner Musik." Letter from Rainer Riehn to Otte, 21 April 1968 [RB]. Riehn had first become aware of experimental music in 1958 or 1959, when he heard a radio program by Metzger featuring Rzewski playing Cage's *Cartridge Music* on WDR. Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998. Riehn's experience is similar to Otte's experience of first hearing Cage's music on a radio broadcast on WDR, also around 1960.

⁶³ "Es geht ein Gerücht in Europa herum: John Cage, David Tudor, Merce and Cunningham würden im Mai 1970 unser Festland wieder betreten." Letter from Otte to Cage, 4 March 1969 [RB].

Johnest Cage:

du [*sic*] you think it is wise to make a new sound-festival without John Cage, David Tudor? Isn't there any impossible possibility having you here in Bremen for our next *pro musica nova* in May 1970? And--if you could not come "live," could we have tapes of your work or films? Please give me a word and my soul would be saved! Little Europe needs Cage more than ever.

Yours faithfully,
Hans Otte⁶⁴

In December of 1969, Rainer Riehn wrote to Otte for confirmation of the rumor that Cage and Tudor were coming to Bremen.⁶⁵ A few months later, Riehn sent Otte a list of compositions that his new music group *Ensemble Musica Negativa* could perform at *pro musica nova*; the American composers on the list included Brown, Cage, Feldman, Ives, Rzewski, Varèse, and Wolff.⁶⁶ Riehn established the ensemble in 1969, named in honor of Adorno, whose recent death had shocked the West German intellectual community, including new music circles.⁶⁷ *Ensemble Musica Negativa* was created for recording Cage's *Atlas Eclipticalis* (with *Winter Music* and *Cartridge Music*) and Dieter Schnebel's *Glossolalie*, financed in part by *Deutsche Grammophon* as part of the label's

⁶⁴ Letter from Otte to Cage (who was in residence at the University of California in Davis), 20 November 1969 [RB]. Otte's letter was in English.

⁶⁵ Letter from Riehn to Otte, 20 December 1969 [RB].

⁶⁶ This list of possible works to be performed at *pro musica nova* by Riehn's group *Ensemble Musica Negativa* was included in a letter from Riehn to Otte, 2 March 1970 [RB].

⁶⁷ "Damals war gerade Adorno gestorben, und wir standen noch ganz unter dem Eindruck seiner Negativen Dialektik, und so kam der Name zustande." Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

Avant-Garde Series.⁶⁸ Riehn's ensemble partly specialized in the music of American experimentalists, which explained his eagerness to perform at *pro musica nova*, and also his interest in seeing Cage perform there.

In addition to *Radio Bremen's pro musica nova*, a number of other radio stations sponsored new music festivals during the 1960s.⁶⁹ However, *pro musica nova* offered something different. Although--or perhaps *because*--*Radio Bremen* had the smallest budget and smallest audience of all of the ARD stations and did not sponsor resident ensembles and orchestras like the other stations, Otte chose to present unconventional chamber music, especially from the United States. A comparison of music by American composers played on West German ARD stations between 1961 and 1963 illustrates quite different programming objectives. For example, the following radio stations represented American music with works by the following American composers:

Table 5.2: American Music on Selected West German Radio Stations, 1961-63

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| BR (Munich): | Barber, Copland, and Creston |
| HR (Frankfurt): | Barber, Bernstein, and Copland |
| NDR (Hamburg): | Antheil, Barber, Bernstein, Copland, Dello Joio, Foss, Ives, Piston, Schuller, Schuman, Sessions |
| SR (Saarbrücken): | Barber, Copland, Creston, Diamond, Finney, and Piston |
| WDR (Cologne): | Cage, Copland, Feldman, Gershwin, Ives, Menotti, Rochberg, Schuman, Sessions |

⁶⁸ Deutsche Grammophon STEREO 137009. Riehn said that the record company provided the money, and he had to organize the rest. He was able to pay each musician only about DM 220. Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

⁶⁹ These included SDR's *Tage zeitgenössischer Musik* in Stuttgart, NDR's *Tage der Neuen Musik* in Hannover, SWF's series in Donaueschingen, and HR's *Tage für Neue Musik* in Frankfurt.

Out of the five stations surveyed here, clearly WDR in Cologne, one of the largest and richest stations, offered the most varied program. During the same two years, *Radio Bremen* represented American music with commercial and in-house recordings (*Produktionen*) of the following pieces only:

Table 5.3: American Music on Radio Bremen, 1961-63

Earle Brown, *Folio*;
 John Cage and Lou Harrison, *Double Music, Percussion Quartet*
 John Cage, *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs, A Flower, She is Asleep, Solo for Voice 1, Aria, Solo for Voice 2, Solo for Voice 2 With Cartridge Music*
 Henry Cowell, *Dynamic Motion, Antinomy, Advertisement, Tiger, Piece for Piano with Strings, Aeolian Harp, The Banshee*
 Charles Ives, *Sonata No. 4 for Violin and Piano, Concord Sonata, 67th Psalm, 7 Songs*
 Edgard Varèse, *Octandre*

This difference in programming, of both regular radio broadcasts and *pro musica nova*, soon gained Otte a reputation as a champion of American experimental music, as shown by the enthusiasm of German composers like Riehn, Schnebel, and Stiebler during the 1960s. Otte clearly tapped into a historical tradition that stemmed from Ives, Cowell, Varèse and Cage, as spelled out by Wolfgang Edward Rebner in his Darmstadt lecture of 1954. Moreover, Otte promptly put his radio productions--including studio recordings, live recordings, and radio shows with text and music commissioned by Otte--into international exchange through other radio stations. Though other ARD stations also did the same, this exchange was particularly important for a small station with only a limited circle of listeners, and it came to be a crucial factor in American experimental music's wide exposure throughout Europe, and in some cases, throughout the world. Despite *Radio Bremen's* limitations, Otte's programming decisions had wide influence because,

as part of the European Broadcasting Union, *Radio Bremen* reached an international audience beyond its local broadcasting range. The EBU also provided *Radio Bremen* more funds to pay performers' fees. In 1968, the *pro musica nova* festival was broadcast by the West German stations of the ARD and by radio stations in Athens, Belgrad, Bern, Brussels, Budapest, Buenos-Aires, Copenhagen, Dornbirn/Vorarlberg (Austria), Helsinki, Hilversum, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, London, Madrid, Montreal, Moscow, Oslo, Paris, Prague, Rome, Stockholm, Tokyo, Warsaw, and Zagreb.⁷⁰

Like Wolfgang Steinecke, Otte was willing to take risks. Bremen's geographical distance from the centers of aesthetic debate such as Cologne, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt proved liberating; like the Americans he favored, Otte's isolation could be seen as an advantage. Otte commissioned approximately 130 works for *Radio Bremen*, including new compositions from many American composers. Between 1961 and 1978, those composers included Robert Ashley, Joan La Barbara, David Behrman and Katherine Morton, George Brecht, Earle Brown, Alvin Lucier, John McGuire, Meredith Monk, Charlotte Moorman, Gordon Mumma, Max Neuhaus, Terry Riley, and Christian Wolff. Recognition of his patronage of controversial composers grew, and Otte's support of American experimental music remained consistent throughout his career.

⁷⁰ See Chapter One for a description of ARD and the EBU. In the audience for Otte's 1968 festival was John Evarts, the former music and theater officer during the postwar U.S. occupation of Germany, who worked for the Paris branch of UNESCO during the late 1960s. Letter from Evarts to Otte, 7 May 1968 (Evarts thanked Otte for the "lovely evening at his home" after the festival) [RB].

Munich: Josef Anton Riedl

The situation for new music in Munich during the mid-1960s was somewhat symptomatic for Germany as a whole. As in other cities, Munich's postwar new music venues were expected to familiarize the public with unknown composers of the recent past, such as Berg, Hindemith, Mahler, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Webern. In Munich, Karl Amadeus Hartmann's *Musica Viva* concert series carried the burden of reeducation in the area of new music. *Musica Viva* presented well-rehearsed performances of pieces like *Petrushka* (in 1962), Bartók's *First Piano Concerto* (in 1963), Debussy's *Images pour orchestre*, three movements for orchestra from Berg's *Lyric Suite* and Stravinsky's *The Flood* (all in 1964), and Mahler's *Tenth Symphony* (in 1965).⁷¹ Such concerts were often accompanied by detailed program notes, including analytical essays with musical examples hand-written by the young musicologist Rudolf Stephan. On 8 February 1963, Bruno Maderna conducted compositions by Luigi Nono and Earle Brown. Hans G. Helms, Cologne resident and a frequent visitor of both the IFNM and Mary Bauermeister's studio events, wrote an essay for Maderna's concert called "About Earle Brown and American Music." As a context for Brown's piece "for four-handed orchestra" (*Available Forms II* requires two conductors), Helms portrayed American classical music:

Concert-goers can blame a large part of the fact that the American musical avant-garde is always presented as John Cage on European music

⁷¹ The version of the Mahler symphony was arranged by Deryck Cooke. In 1964 and 1965, Ernst Thomas's name appears in the program booklet as editor. Thomas shared the duties of director of *Musica Viva* with Wolfgang Fortner from 1964-78, which corresponded in part with his appointment as IFNM director (1962-80).

criticism's lack of understanding and on false information. Any American who composes--even if what he or she composes is different--is reduced to a product of Cage's imagination, to Cage's pupil. [. . .] Over there [in America], there is a tradition of respectlessness for the aesthetic inheritance of Europe, a tradition that is mostly kept silent here [in Europe]. A certain Billings wrote music that would have had difficulty winning the applause of his contemporary, Beethoven. [. . .] In the 1920s and 30s something happened in America which I once referred to as the "emancipation of noise." Composers like Henry Cowell, William Russell, John Cage and the incomparable Edgard Varèse discovered that percussion instruments were able to compete with others. Also, Varèse wrote the first of those pieces that now are called electronic music. [. . .] The heirs, the pieces by Cage and Brown, reflect moments on which the American constitution is founded and that which it is supposed to guarantee: freedom and reason. But beyond that, they are fundamentally different.⁷²

Though American experimental music did not appear frequently in *Musica Viva* concerts, Helms' accompanying essay targeted a big topic: the German reception of Cage as a key to the German reception of American music. Though older generations still resisted Cage's ideas, it was not unusual in West Germany during the 1960s and 70s for many styles of American classical music to be connected somehow with Cage, with

⁷² "Dem Unverstand eines erheblichen Teils der europäischen Musikkritik und mißlicher Information haben hiesige Konzertbesucher es zu danken, daß ihnen die musikalische Avantgarde Amerikas immerdar als John Cage vor Ohren und Augen tritt. Wer Amerikaner ist und komponiert--sei es auch noch so anders--, wird zu einer Ausgeburt der Cage'schen Phantasie, zu Cage's Schüler degradiert. [. . .] Drüben gibt es eine hier meist unterschlagene Tradition der Unehrebarkeit gegen das ästhetische Erbgut Europas. Ein gewisser Billings schrieb Musik, die schwerlich den Beifall seines Zeitgenossen Beethoven gefunden hätte. [. . .] In den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren geschah in Amerika, was ich einmal die 'Emanzipation der Geräusche' genannt habe. Das Schlagzeug wurde von Komponisten wie Henry Cowell, William Russell, John Cage und dem unvergleichlichen Edgard Varèse als dem übrigen konkurriblen Instrumentar entdeckt. Analog dazu schrieb Varèse die ersten jener Stücke, die heute elektronische Musik heißen. [. . .] Bei den Erben, in John Cages und Earle Browns Werken sind eben jene Momente reflektiert, worauf die amerikanische Verfassung begründet ist und was sie garantieren soll: Freiheit und Vernunft. Des weiteren sind sie grundverschieden." Hans G. Helms, "Über Earle Brown und amerikanische Musik," in Program Booklet for *Musica Viva*, Munich, 8 February 1963.

America's "lack of tradition," and most of all, with freedom. By the mid-1960s many young composers in Germany demanded a wider, more unflinching look at the entire spectrum of international contemporary music. As we have seen in Darmstadt, German Cage followers rejected the programming decisions made by their elders who held influential positions in the cultural infrastructure. In Munich as elsewhere, new music festivals did not feature enough music by experimental composers--including not only the Americans, but also Schnebel, Cardew, Paik and Ichihyanagi--to satisfy some Germans in the new music scene. In Munich, the composer Josef Anton Riedl took matters into his own hands.

In 1960 Riedl established an alternative to *Musica Viva*, a parallel concert series that would offer music absent from the official concerts. Much like Mary Bauermeister's alternative events in Cologne, Riedl's *Neue Musik München--Klang-Aktionen* was established to perform music of an experimental nature neglected by other Munich venues.⁷³ Riedl later remarked that his *Neue Musik München*, which was partly paid for out of Munich's cultural budget, "had the goal of introducing lesser or unknown music in Munich, new music that was ignored or hardly acknowledged by other Munich concert programmers, and that included border-crossing genres (multimedia, installations, new instruments, visual art, literature) and represented international trends of more

⁷³ "Die als Konzertprojekte konzipierten Klang-Aktionen verfolgen seit ihrem Bestehen das Ziel, die eher unbekannt, von anderen Münchener Konzertreihen nicht berücksichtigte Neue Musik der mehr experimentellen Richtung mit internationalen Interpreten vorzustellen." In Martin Thrun, ed., *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren: Eine Dokumentation zum deutschen Musikleben* (Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994), 179.

experimental directions.”⁷⁴ In 1967, Riedl established a performing ensemble and venue *Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie* for similar reasons. When naming American composers who fell into the category of “more experimental directions” Riedl listed Cage, Cowell, Feldman, Harrison, Oliveros, Partch, Reich, Riley, Tudor, Wolff, and Young.

Like Otte, Riedl was a composer, and one with an unconventional background.⁷⁵ He explored environmental sounds, percussion music, and electronic composition before coming into direct contact with American composers, and he too became an important performer and supporter of experimental music. His earliest musical experiences involved spontaneous comparisons of the sonorities and pitches of various kitchen dishes and utensils. In 1951 he wrote the first European composition for percussion alone, *Stück für Schlagzeug*. As a young man, Riedl first encountered works by avant-garde American composers-- including new percussion music--by borrowing scores and recordings from Munich’s America House; he was also allowed to use electronic equipment and space there for self-organized concerts.⁷⁶ When he first saw Cage and Tudor perform, in Donaueschingen in 1954, he dismissed their techniques of deriving unconventional

⁷⁴ “Die zunächst sporadisch stattfindenden Veranstaltungen der *Jeunesses Musicales*, die Neue Musik betrafen, löste ich 1960 durch die Veranstaltungsreihe *Neue Musik München* (finanziell getragen vom Jugendkulturwerk der Stadt, später vom Kulturreferat der Stadt und Jugendkulturwerk) ab. Die Reihe machte sich zur Aufgabe, in München wenig bekannte, unbekannt, von anderen Münchner Veranstaltern wenig oder nicht berücksichtigte Neue Musik einschließlich Grenzüberschreitendes (Multimedia, Installation, neue Instrumente, bildende Kunst, Literatur) verschiedenster internationaler Strömungen der mehr experimentellen Richtung vorzustellen.” Riedl, “Neue Musik München, Siemens-Studio für elektronische Musik und *Musica Viva* (1953-63),” in *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart: Musica Viva, 1945-1995*, Renate Ulm, ed. (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1995), 71.

⁷⁵ Otte featured compositions by Riedl at *pro musica nova* in 1964 and 1970.

sounds from a conventional instrument; for example, Cage and Tudor derived sound from the pianos by playing parts other than the keyboard. After all, Riedl thought, now that the electronic production of sound was possible, such theatrical actions were no longer necessary for the creation of new sounds.⁷⁷ However, the concert did help Riedl develop his own musical “impudence” (*Frechheit*), and it taught him that a composer did not have to limit himself because of his audience.⁷⁸ From 1959 until 1966 Riedl directed one of the largest and most advanced electronic music facilities in Western Europe, the Siemens-Studio for Electronic Music in Munich, sponsored by the West German-based electronics corporation Siemens. Around 1960, he met Cage and Tudor while they were passing through Munich on their way to Zagreb; soon he organized a concert for them which included *Theater Piece* with Merce Cunningham and Carolyn Brown.⁷⁹ Beginning in the early 1960s, then, Riedl enjoyed steady contact with Cage and remained an important organizer of experimental music performances in Munich, and later in the capital city of Bonn.

⁷⁶ Riedl interview with the author, 10 July 1998.

⁷⁷ Riedl interview with the author, 10 July 1998. He told me that he had “missed the point” in 1954. He later realized that the theatrical action was part of Cage’s whole performance concept and not just a means to an end.

⁷⁸ “Ich war von dieser Freiheit, die da kreierte wurde mit dem Umgang mit dem Material, auch dem Umgang mit dem Publikum natürlich fasziniert. [Die Aufführung] hat mir für meine eigene Frechheit weitergeholfen, was man im Rahmen des traditionellen Konzerts dem Publikum zumuten kann. Man muß nicht so viel Rücksicht auf das Publikum nehmen.” Riedl interview with the author, 10 July 1998.

⁷⁹ The performances probably happened at Munich’s Week for Modern Dance on 2-3 October 1960, during the same tour as the October 1960 performances by Cage, Tudor, Cunningham and Brown at Bauermeister’s studio in Cologne.

West Berlin: The Island State

Though West Berlin lacked one single person who advocated for American experimental music as avidly as Bauermeister, Otte, or Riedl during the 1960s, the city was certainly a center of avant-garde cultural activity. Following the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the cultural exchange programs of the Ford Foundation and later the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program brought many American composers to the walled city. Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt kept a close watch on the contemporary music scene as he approached retirement from his professional post at Berlin's Technical University. New music ensembles like Erhard Grosskopf's *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin* and alternative performance spaces like René Block's multi-media gallery kept American experimental music present in West Berlin.⁸⁰

On 5 May 1966, a text accompanying a presentation by Gunther Schuller at the America House in Berlin asked: "Does contemporary American music follow its own path? Does it represent another world, independent from European developments and tendencies?" The notes continued: "One of the most prominent American composers at the present time, who is currently living in Berlin as a guest of the Ford Foundation, will examine these questions."⁸¹ The Ford Foundation's Artists-in-Residence program in

⁸⁰ René Block established his gallery in West Berlin around 1964. It provided a performance space similar to Bauermeister's in Cologne during the 1960s. Ursula Block interview with the author, 23 July 1998.

⁸¹ Program text, Schuller presentation in Berlin, 5 May 1966 [AHB].

West Berlin had been initiated in 1962 with promised support for three years in the sum of DM eight million (approximately two million dollars).⁸² At the same time, a Colloquium for Literature (*Literarisches Colloquium*) and an Institute for Comparative Musicology and Ethnomusicology (*Internationales Institut für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*) were also established in West Berlin. The Berlin Artist Program (*Berliner Künstlerprogramm*) was officially founded in 1963 by the Ford Foundation. After 1966, DAAD's Artist-in-Residence Program (*Berliner Künstlerprogramm des Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*) maintained sole administrative and financial control of the Artists-in-Residence program. The program served the United States' cultural objective--similar to the goals of reeducation--of keeping West Berlin from being isolated from artistic developments in the rest of the world.⁸³ As an enclave within the borders of East Germany, West Berlin was in danger of losing cultural contacts in the West. Each year, the residency program invited approximately twenty creative persons from the areas of visual art, literature, film, dance, and music from around the world to enrich and internationalize Berlin's cultural life. The Berlin America House benefited from contact with American artists, and often worked together with the Ford Foundation and DAAD programs for maximum exposure. To prevent West Berlin from being overpowered by Soviet ideology during the 1960s, the America House in Berlin

⁸² See "Tagesspiegel Meldung vom 10 August 1965," in *Blickwechsel: 25 Jahre Berliner Künstlerprogramm* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1988), 58.

⁸³ Berlin was formally divided on 2 December 1948 and West Berlin ratified its own constitution on 1 October 1949 (See *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945-1949*, Dieter Franck, ed. [Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1982], 199). See also "Das Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAAD," *Informations Heft* (Berlin 1992), 4; and *Blickwechsel: 25 Jahre Berliner Künstlerprogramm*, 14.

continued programs emphasizing democracy and freedom as it had done during the late 1940s and 1950s. The dissemination of American ideas remained a top priority for the Ford Foundation, DAAD, and America House programs, and contributed to an enduring presence of the American avant-garde in West Berlin during the 1960s.

Table 5.4: Selected List of West Berlin's America House Musical Events, 1960s⁸⁴

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 10 May 1961: | Lecture with Recorded Examples by Mr. Richard G. Campbell, "The Music of America: Cultural Foundation and Creative Elements." (Subtitled: The Twentieth Century, Part 2, 1930 to the present. The Search for an "American" Style and a Modern Style of the Times) |
| September: | Exhibition: From America's World of Opera |
| 17 October: | Lecture by Dr. Lejaren A. Hiller, University of Illinois "Technical Procedures of Electronic Music" |
| 7 November: | Lecture: Cool Jazz and Poetry of the Beat Generation |
| 1 June 1962: | Lecture by Buckminster Fuller |
| 28 September: | Lecture with Music Examples by Lukas Foss, "The Element of Improvisation in European and American Music" |
| 2 April 1963: | Lecture in English with Music Illustrations, Henry D. Cowell, "Styles in Contemporary American Music" |
| 7 June: | Lecture with Music Examples by Gunther Schuller, "Relationships between Jazz and Classical Music" |
| 9 October: | Lecture in English "Darius Milhaud"--A European Composer in America |
| 10 March 1964: | Podium Discussion on Support of New Music in Germany and the US, including Stuckenschmidt and Elliott Carter |
| 14 April: | In connection with premiere of Sessions' <i>Montezuma</i> , Public Conversation with Roger Sessions and Stuckenschmidt |
| 20 Feb. 1965: | Ford Foundation Junior Artists in Residence: Piano Recital by Frederic Rzewski |
| 5 May 1966: | Presentation by Gunther Schuller |
| 14 November: | Lecture by Prof. Dr. Siegfried Borris, "New Music and Music Education in the U.S." |

⁸⁴ Programs held at [AHB].

- 3 May 1967: Lecture by Larry Austin, "Improvisation and Open Style"
 25 September: Lecture by Virgil Thomson, "Stravinsky's Operas"

When the Ford Foundation began inviting American composers to Berlin, Elliott Carter was one of the first chosen.⁸⁵ He took three of his American students with him to Berlin: Joel Chadabe, Alvin Curran, and Frederic Rzewski.⁸⁶ Chadabe and Curran remained in Berlin with Carter through the calendar year of 1964; Rzewski remained from late 1963 until early 1966.⁸⁷ Another early guest of the Ford Foundation program was Roger Sessions, who had lived in Berlin from 1931 until 1933. In 1964, he attended the premiere of his opera *Montezuma* (1941-63) given by the German Opera in West Berlin; the opera was not performed in the United States until 1976.⁸⁸ By the early

⁸⁵ Carter wrote his *Piano Concerto* during his year in Berlin. On 1 October 1964, Rzewski played the solo piano part in Carter's *Double Concerto for Cembalo and Piano*. Christian Wolff commented that Carter is one of the few American "academic" composers who had strong European connections. Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997.

⁸⁶ Alvin Curran interview with the author, 8 March 1999.

⁸⁷ Rzewski told me that he never received a Ford Foundation grant, but his name appears on a list of grantees given to me by Ingrid Beirer of the *Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAADs* on 12 January 1998. Rzewski had met Helen Carter, Elliott Carter's wife, around 1959 in a concert somewhere in New York, and he said that she convinced the Rzewskis to travel with the Carters to Berlin. Rzewski interview with the author, 2 April 1998. Curran, Rzewski, and Gordon Mumma (who had been to the Venice Biennale with the Ann Arbor-based ONCE group) all met in Berlin in 1964, and collaborated frequently in the following decades.

⁸⁸ See *Blickwechsel: 25 Jahre Berliner-Künstlerprogramm*, 40. Peter Nestler, one of the directors of the program, wrote that Nicolas Nabokov was largely responsible for the invitations to Elliott Carter, Gunther Schuller, and Roger Sessions. Peter Nestler, "Das Berliner Künstlerprogramm: Vorläufe und Anfänge," *Blickwechsel*, 60. Between 1964 and 1992, American composers and musicians David Behrman, Glenn Branca, Earle Brown, John Cage, Joel Chadabe, John Chowning, Philip Corner, Alvin Curran, Morton

1970s however, the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program favored almost exclusively experimental composers:

Table 5.5: American Composers Performed in Connection with the DAAD Artist-in-Residence Program, Berlin 1965-74

| | |
|-------|---|
| 1965: | Bolcom, Rzewski, Schuller |
| 1967: | Cage |
| 1968: | Brown, Schuller |
| 1969: | Carter, Schuller |
| 1970: | ----- |
| 1971: | Brown, Cage (3), ⁸⁹ Curran, Feldman (4), Ives, Rzewski, Wolff |
| 1972: | Brown, Cage (9), Eastman, Feldman (4), Ives (2), Lucier, Reich, Riley, Tudor (2), Wolff, Young |
| 1973: | Behrman, Brown, Cage, James Fulkerson (3), Katherine Morton, Reich, Rzewski, Wolff |
| 1974: | Brown, Cage (2), Carter, Joel Chadabe, Crumb, Curran (2), Eastman, Feldman, Foss, Hiller, Reich (3), Riley, Varèse, Wolff (2) |

In the late 1960s, the flutist Eberhard Blum, the composer Erhard Grosskopf and the American composer Gerald Humel formed the New Music Group of Berlin (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*).⁹⁰ Like Rainer Riehn's *Ensemble Musica Negativa*, they dedicated themselves in part to performing American experimental music, often working with support from, and in close conjunction with West Berlin's America House, the Academy

Feldman, Bill Fontana, James Fulkerson, Diamanda Galas, Peter Garland, Peter Gordon, Dick Higgins, Shelley Hirsch, Joe Jones, Joan La Barbara, Steve Lacy, Alvin Lucier, Robert Moran, Lawrence "Butch" Morris, David Moss, Max Neuhaus, Steve Reich, Terry Riley, Frederic Rzewski, Gunther Schuller, Roger Sessions, Igor Stravinsky, Morton Subotnick, Cecil Taylor, Robert Taylor, Richard Teitelbaum, Christian Wolff, and La Monte Young all participated in the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program in West Berlin. Documents held at *DAAD Berliner Künstlerprogramm*.

⁸⁹ Numbers beside the names indicate on how many separate dates music by one composer was presented during one calendar year.

⁹⁰ The American composer Gerald Humel (b. 1931) moved from Ann Arbor, Michigan to Berlin in 1960.

of the Arts, and the DAAD Artist-in-Residence Program. Unlike many IFNM participants during the late 1960s, *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin* considered Earle Brown to be closely connected to American experimentalism, and they performed much of his music with that of Cage and others.

Table 5.6: Performances of American Music by *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin* in Berlin Venues Between 1968-71

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| 8 June 1968: | Earle Brown, <i>Hodograph 1</i> |
| 9 February 1969: | John Cage, <i>Variations 1</i> |
| 6 March: | Cage, <i>Variations 1</i> |
| 28 April: | Brown, <i>December 1952</i> |
| 26 November: | Brown, <i>December 1952</i> |
| 14 December: | Cage, <i>Water Music; Indeterminacy; Where are you Going? And What are you Doing?; Solo for Voice</i> |
| 1 February 1970: | Brown, <i>December 1952</i> ; Morton Feldman, <i>Last Pieces</i> |
| 19 June: | George Crumb, <i>Eleven Echoes of Autumn</i> ; Feldman, <i>Two Pieces for Chamber Ensemble</i> |
| 23 February 1971: | Christian Wolff, <i>Pairs</i> ; Morton Feldman, <i>Durations I; Extensions I</i> ; John Cage, <i>Variations I</i> ; Earle Brown, from <i>Folio</i> ; George Crumb, <i>Eleven Echoes of Autumn</i> |
| 12 March: | Earle Brown, from <i>Folio</i> |
| 25 July: | Earle Brown, <i>String Quartet</i> , Christian Wolff, <i>Pairs, Version for 4 Groups</i> |

During the winter term of 1962-63, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt had invited Cage to lecture at Berlin's Technical University as part of a public series titled "Music in the Age of Technical Science."⁹¹ Given the controversial nature of Cage's appearances in Germany up to this point, Stuckenschmidt was taking a risk by inviting Cage to West Berlin. But Stuckenschmidt was a highly respected music critic, musicologist, and

⁹¹ Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Cage, 27 June 1962 [JCC]; also letter from Cage to Otte, 26 December 1962 [RB].

professor, and even though he remained guarded about Cage's artistic worth, his support gave Cage credibility that he could not have achieved another way. A few years later, in mid-October 1968, the Technical University and the Academy of the Arts sponsored a festival entitled "International Week for Experimental Music" focusing on developments in electronic music. Lejaren Hiller visited the festival, and Cage's *Imaginary Landscape No. 3* was performed on 10 October. But Stuckenschmidt grew increasingly distraught over Cage's influence in Europe. As early as 1964 Stuckenschmidt wrote to Heinrich Strobel, his old friend at SWF in Baden-Baden that the poverty of artistic ideas in Europe made him yearn for an educated, sophisticated reaction to it all, and that he was annoyed with the "intellectual liquidation" through Pop Art, New Realism, and the "Cage Group" including Stockhausen.⁹² Strobel too blamed the decline of European music on Cage, and planned to use his influence at the new music journal *Melos*, which he edited, in order to exhibit Cage followers' "foolishness" in its entirety.⁹³ Though Stuckenschmidt retired from the Technical University in 1967 and Heinrich Strobel retired in 1969, they continued to follow avant-garde developments. In 1969 Stuckenschmidt again wrote to Strobel, this time hoping that the music of tomorrow would be better than the music of

⁹² Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Strobel, 30 December 1964: "Es gibt Stoff genug angesichts der armseligen Lage der Künste in Europa. Ich bin durch die Geistes-Liquidation der Pop Art, des Neuen Realismus und der Cage-Gruppe (einschließlich Stockhausen) so weit, mich nach einer gebildeten und anspruchsvollen Reaktion zu sehnen" [HHS/BAdK].

⁹³ "Ich vernehme mit Wohlbehagen, daß Du des Unfuges, den die Adepten von Mr. Cage seit Jahren aufstellen, ebenso satt bist wie wir alle. Diese Umstände haben Herrn Baruch und mich veranlasst, diese Jahr ein Spezial-*Melos*heft zu versuchen, in dem dieser ganze Blödsinn einmal dargelegt werden soll." Letter from Strobel to Stuckenschmidt, 7 January 1965 [HHS/BAdK].

today: "I am left almost disgusted these days by some of the new performances I witnessed here [in Berlin]." Stuckenschmidt continued: "I don't resent any composer for lack of inspiration, but the return to barbarism frightens me."⁹⁴ He went on to describe the events of a "happening" at the Technical University on 13 December, which he attended but left, aghast, after an hour. On the following day another concert included "pieces by John Cage already heard hundreds of times," according to Stuckenschmidt, who could not bring himself to attend.⁹⁵ By the end of the decade, what had been radical in the Bauermeister studio in 1960 on a small scale for a subculture of new music insiders was now being used on a larger scale by protesters to challenge the music establishment. Strobel responded to Stuckenschmidt in January 1970 with a bit more reserve:

Thank you very much for your information about the "fools'" concerts. I too believe that quite a lot of it is nonsense. On the other hand, I have to concern myself with these things, especially to keep Donaueschingen, for which I am still responsible, from declining into some senior citizens' club with symphony concerts. We have to take certain risks, even if they turn out to be washouts.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ "Hoffentlich wird die Musik von morgen besser als die von heute. Ich bin von einigen neuen Darbietungen, die ich hier erlebte, fast nur noch angewidert. Mangel an Inspiration nehme ich keinem Komponisten übel. Aber die Rückkehr zur Barbarei erschreckt mich." Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Strobel, 23 December 1969 [HHS/BAAdK].

⁹⁵ Letter from Stuckenschmidt to Strobel, 23 December 1969 [HHS/BAAdK].

⁹⁶ "Vielen Dank für Deine Informationen über die 'Narren'-Konzerte. Auch ich glaube, daß dabei allerhand Unfug gemacht wird. Andererseits muß ich mich aber mit diesen Dingen beschäftigen, damit vor allem Donaueschingen, für das ich nach wie vor verantwortlich bin, nicht zu einem Altherrenklub wird der mit Sinfoniekonzerten absinkt. Wir müssen gewisse Risiken eingehen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß es Pleiten sind." Letter from Strobel to Stuckenschmidt, 7 January 1970 [HHS/BAAdK].

During the late 1960s, Strobel's reputation was at stake among younger musicians. For example, in 1967, Konrad Boehmer referred to Strobel as "the Pope of Baden-Baden." Letter from Konrad Boehmer to Otte, 15 November 1967 [RB].

Strobel's programming of American music at his annual October Donaueschingen festivals showed restrained risk-taking. During the 1960s he allowed only three performances of American works in Donaueschingen: Gunther Schuller's *Contrasts* (in 1961), Earle Brown's *String Quartet* (in 1965), and Cathy Berberian's *Stripsody* (in 1968).⁹⁷ Two years after Strobel's death, Cage's work was included in the Donaueschingen festival for the first time since his German debut there in 1954: Hans G. Helms' film of Cage's *Birdcage--73'20.958" for a composer* was premiered at Donaueschingen on 21 October 1972. The exchanges between Strobel and Stuckenschmidt around 1970 underscore the generational aspect of what was happening in West Germany both on an artistic and administrative level. While many younger composers and musicians lobbied for change, administrators often belonged to an older generation and remained skeptical about unconventional new music; at the same time they were under pressure to represent new artistic trends at their festivals.

⁹⁷ The jazz section of the Donaueschingen festivals was more open to experimentation, inviting Archie Shepp in 1967, Sun Ra in 1970 (for the premiere of the commissioned work *Black Forest*), and Don Cherry in 1971 (for the premiere of the commissioned work *Humus*). Because of the strict divisions between so-called serious music (*Ernste Musik*) and entertaining music (*Unterhaltungsmusik*, which included all jazz composition) in the German radio system, music by Shepp, Sun Ra, and Cherry would not have been part of Strobel's and Stuckenschmidt's musical frame of reference.

Conclusion: A Generational Conflict

During the 1960s in West Germany, young composers' key experiences were no longer taking place only in Darmstadt, and experimental music flourished, albeit modestly, in Cologne, Bremen, Munich, and Berlin. During the 1960s, experimental new music groups such as Rainer Riehn's *Ensemble Musica Negativa*, Josef Anton Riedl's *Musik/Film/Dia/Licht/Galerie*, and the ensemble *Gruppe Neue Music Berlin* were pushing performance boundaries, and venues such as Mary Bauermeister's studio and *pro musica nova* festivals provided stages for unconventional concerts. Still, a generational conflict--exacerbated by ideological and aesthetic conflicts--was brewing in new music circles. When the contexts for new music changed, so did the reception of new music, and as American experimental music's influence caught hold of some German musicians, theorists, and critics, a new, younger audience took their seats. By 1970, public confrontations in Darmstadt and elsewhere signaled a coming period of musical exploration.

In 1970, however, some avant-garde music had to struggle just to survive. Just before Ernstalbrecht Stiebler arrived in Frankfurt to assume his post at HR in 1970, new music concerts sponsored by that radio station were blocked by rowdy protesting students; the concerts became so volatile that the series had to be canceled.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. A HR-sponsored new music series in Frankfurt (called *Musica Viva*) was partially canceled because of disturbances

Inflammatory rhetoric curbed discussions of contemporary music. Stiebler remarked that audience relations were catastrophic because many activists felt that new music symbolized political relationships; it didn't matter if the music was by Steve Reich or Arnold Schoenberg, some younger audiences rejected new music as a sign for the bourgeois world.⁹⁹ Josef Anton Riedl saw his Munich concerts disrupted by young people who hindered performances, as did Otte, whose Bremen concerts were interrupted or canceled because of chaotic audience uprisings.¹⁰⁰ Increasingly, students and protesters disturbed new music concerts--considered elitist and not "contemporary" at all--in the same manner in which they disturbed university lectures, legal trials, and other official public events. Their aim was to bring contemporary political issues into the majority's field of view and to force a confrontation--and ideally, a socialist restructuring

after the rebellions in 1968 and following. Likewise, Stockhausen's first biographer in the English language, Jonathan Cott, remarked that the student disruption of the Amsterdam performance of *Stimmung* in 1969, as well as the reaction of the press (including HR), gave rise to a politically polarized situation in which Stockhausen was considered too authoritarian by some, and too anarchic by others. See Jonathan Cott, *Stockhausen: Conversations with the Composer* (London: Pan Books, 1974), 102f.

In Berlin too, tensions grew. In 1970, during the *Arbeitstage für Musik*, a Feldman concert (given by poet and pianist Gerhard Rühm) in the Academy of the Arts was disturbed by audience members, as were presentations by Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan on the destruction of the *Werkbegriff* and on the meaning of improvisation in avant-garde composition. See Walter Bachauer, "Zwischen Parkett und Büfett die Wacht am Tönestrom, Von der Improvisation zur Eskalation der Agonie: Theorie und Praxis der Berliner 'Arbeitstage für Neue Musik,'" *Die Welt* (21 September 1970). See also Dahlhaus's article "Komposition und Improvisation," in *Philharmonische Blätter* 6 (1971/72), 12-14 [BPA].

⁹⁹ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

¹⁰⁰ "Das Konzert wurde gestört, aber nicht in einer unsympatischen Weise." Riedl interview with the author, 10 July 1998. Otte remarked that the concerts were called "bourgeois shit" ("bürgerliche Scheiße") by protesters. Hans Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998.

of society--which they considered long overdue. By 1972, European and American composers alike were openly responding to the political and social challenge through their musical choices.¹⁰¹ Increasingly, musicians found themselves unable to ignore the growing belief that avant-garde composition was esoteric and elitist, and some composers adopted political agendas in response to popular opinions and social pressure.¹⁰² Many agreed that “the intellectuals, and artists too, must finally connect their creative imagination firmly to the lives of the people.”¹⁰³ Through the charged political climate of the Vietnam war era, roughly from 1961 until 1975, different aesthetic “camps” in Germany became even more polarized than before. Despite American composers’ resistance to political scrutiny, German interpretations of some American music as inherently subversive were not entirely off-target. In West Germany, the controversial

¹⁰¹ See Bernd Leukert, *Die gesellschaftliche Isolation und das Selbstverständnis des Komponisten der Gegenwart* (Social Isolation and Self-Understanding of Contemporary Composers) (Ph.D. Dissertation, Frankfurt, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1982).

¹⁰² “Viele Musiker sehen sich nicht in der Lage, die überkommene esoterisch-avantgardistische Kompositionshaltung mit den neuen Ansprüchen in Einklang zu bringen.” Frauke M. Heß, *Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzerte der achtziger Jahre* (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1994), 30.

In 1969, Luigi Nono published an essay titled “Music and Revolution,” in which he divided musicians into five groups depending on their degree of political involvement. Even among politically active musicians, Nono’s position was radical. See *Luigi Nono: Texte, Studien zu seiner Musik*. Jürg Stenzl, ed. (Zurich: Atlantis, 1975), 107-15. See also Heß, *Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzerte der achtziger Jahre*, 33.

¹⁰³ “Die Intellektuellen und Künstler müssen endlich auch ihre schöpferische Phantasie fest mit dem Leben des Volkes verbinden.” Letter Rudi Dutschke to his assassin in prison, Josef Bachmann, 7 December 1968. Exhibition, *Freie Universität Berlin*, Henry Ford Bau, 21 January 1998.

reception of John Cage and American experimental music managed to keep American ideas of autonomy and interdependence central in new music circles during the 1970s.

CHAPTER SIX

1972: A SECOND *NACHHOLBEDARF*¹

If one took the “bourgeois” work of art as a symbol of repression and exploitation, then it was easy to attribute the open, process-oriented position of music to a new, grass-roots democratic social structure.²

Introduction: American Music and the Vietnam Era

In 1972, a German music teacher named Gertrude Meyer-Denkman wrote a music education text on how to use contemporary music in lessons for children.³ She had first encountered American experimental music during the summer of 1957 while taking piano lessons from David Tudor in Darmstadt, and she participated in the IFNM again in

¹ As outlined in Chapter One, *Nachholbedarf* means the desire to “catch up” on something missed, or something lacking in one’s own history or environment. In connection with the reception of Cage’s music in West Germany, Gisela Gronemeyer called the year 1972 a “first breakthrough.” See Gisela Gronemeyer, “Anything I Say Will Be Misunderstood: Wie John Cage in der Bundesrepublik rezipiert wurde,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (1992): 8.

² “Wenn man das ‘bürgerliche’ Kunstwerk als Symbol für Repression und Ausbeutung verstand, lag es nah, die offene, prozeßhafte Anlage von Musik einer neuen, als basisdemokratisch verstandenen Gesellschaftsordnung zuzuweisen.” Klaus Trapp, “Darmstadt und die 68er-Bewegung,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse* (Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996), 369.

³ Gertrude Meyer-Denkman, *Struktur und Praxis Neuer Musik im Unterricht* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1972).

1958.⁴ Studying John Cage's music that year influenced her pedagogical work and her way of thinking about music.⁵ In particular, Cage's idea of music as *action* or as *process* helped her develop a theory of music education.⁶ Meyer-Denkman's method book, "Structure and Practice of New Music in Instruction," was published with an epigraph by Theodor W. Adorno and an introduction by the musicologist and experimental German composer Dieter Schnebel. She included musical examples illustrating graphic notation, indeterminacy, and chance procedures--both European and American--and she analyzed works by Brown, Cage, Kagel, Stockhausen, and Wolff. The appearance of Meyer-Denkman's book shows that by 1972 Cage's ideas had been absorbed in West Germany beyond Darmstadt and new music circles, beyond the alternative venues of the 1960s, even beyond composition and performance, into the discipline of music education.

Due in part to the worldwide energy crisis, the mid-1970s saw the start of a recession in Western Europe. By the end of 1974, the West German state was supporting one million unemployed workers.⁷ Since 1970, prices had been increasing and unemployment growing, but between 1970 and 1972, wages were higher than they had

⁴ Meyer-Denkman, "Aufforderung zur Mitentscheidung: Fragmente aus einem Gespräch mit Walter Zimmermann," *MusikTexte* (December 1992): 126.

⁵ "Für mich war die erste Begegnung mit John Cage, der 1958 zum ersten Mal in Darmstadt-Heiligenberg war, eigentlich ausschlaggebend für mein späteres Tun und Denken." Meyer-Denkman, "Aufforderung zur Mitentscheidung," 125.

⁶ Meyer-Denkman, "Aufforderung zur Mitentscheidung," 126.

⁷ Irmgard Wilharm, ed., *Deutsche Geschichte 1962-1983* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), 105.

been since the war.⁸ The United States' military action in Vietnam forced many Germans to redefine their position on a superpower whose behavior many found increasingly unacceptable. Since the end of the Second World War, America had reigned as a "protector of the freedom of the people" in West Germany, but its reputation suffered as the Vietnam War continued. Especially in Berlin, where western interests justified the United States' continued presence as a military power, Germans argued the validity of loyalty and rebellion.⁹ Yet despite anti-American sentiments in Germany during the Vietnam War, performances of American music increased dramatically--in fact, nearly tripled--during the early 1970s.¹⁰ This chapter considers performances of American experimental music in West Germany during 1972 in the following contexts:

- Hans Otte's *pro musica nova* in Bremen (5-8 May)
- Walter Bachauer's *Woche der avantgardistischen Musik* in Berlin (11-18 July)
- IFNM in Darmstadt (19 July-6 August)
- Steve Reich and Musicians performance in Germany (January through July)

⁸ Wilharm, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 104.

⁹ "Mit den wachsenden Informationen über den amerikanischen Krieg in Vietnam und den dagegen gerichteten Demonstrationen in den USA wurde das Bild der amerikanischen Verbündeten als Beschützer der Freiheit der Völker, und damit ein Stück Selbstverständnis der Nachkriegsgeneration in der Bundesrepublik, zerstört. [. . .] Mit den Demonstrationen setzte vor allem in Berlin, das in besonderer Weise an der Schutzmacht USA orientiert war, eine Polarisierung der Bevölkerung und eine Ausgrenzung der Kritiker ein." Wilharm, *Deutsche Geschichte 1962-1983*, 92. Dieter Schnebel pointed out that the anti-Americanism of this period was political, not cultural. Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998.

¹⁰ For example, I found evidence of some 27 performances of American music throughout West Germany in 1971, and at least 72 performances of American music in 1972 (see Appendix C).

Besides the events examined in this chapter, a number of other festivals during 1972 featured American experimental works.¹¹ Also, John Cage's sixtieth birthday in September of that year was taken as an opportunity to perform his music often.

In this study of American music's influence and reception in West Germany, the year 1972 stands out as both a beginning and an end: a beginning for broader acceptance of experimental ideas introduced in the 1950s, and the end of strict stylistic boundaries. While the West German new music community confronted its own failure to communicate with a larger audience, a few festival directors favored American music on their programs, music that seemed to speak to the times, and music that had wide influence and appeal in new music circles, and increasingly, beyond those circles. Changes in musical attitudes during the early 1970s challenged West Germany's musical Eurocentrism.

¹¹ They included the *Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik* in April in Witten, WDR's *7 Tage elektronische Musik* in June in Cologne, and Josef Anton Riedl's "Music-Film-Slides-Light Festival" as part of the Art Program for the 1972 Olympic Summer Games in August and September in Munich. All of these events allowed Germans further exposure to a very specific kind of American music. See Appendix C for a list of American compositions performed during these festivals.

Hans Otte's *pro musica nova* in Bremen, 1972

*europe needs cage please give answer*¹²

The program Hans Otte sponsored for *Radio Bremen's pro musica nova* festival in 1972 illustrates why some consider him the most determined supporter of American experimental music.¹³ Since 1961, perhaps because of its relative youth and its distance from new music centers like Cologne, Baden-Baden and Frankfurt, *pro musica nova* seemed fresh, honest and true to experimentalism, and not burdened by administrative politics as was Darmstadt by 1972. Unlike the IFNM, *pro musica nova* did not suffer from having become too established. To the contrary, its size, small budget, and the optimism of its director sheltered the festival from outside cultural pressure. The "aging of the avant-garde" posed no threat here, because Otte kept up-to-date with multi-media innovations and commissioned new compositions.¹⁴ Living up to this reputation, Otte staged an impressive show in 1972.

¹² Telegram from Otte to Cage, 3 May 1971. Reprinted in program booklet for *pro musica nova* May 1972, published by *Radio Bremen*, 1972.

¹³ "Otte war der dezidierteste." Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. Stiebler also remarked: "Der Ursprung ist natürlich Bremen gewesen, von Hans Otte." Oehlschlägel also said that Otte was the first major supporter of American experimental music ("Otte war der erste"). Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

¹⁴ See Heinz-Klaus Metzger, "Das Altern der Philosophie der Neuen Music (1957)," in *Musik Wozu: Literatur zu Noten*, Rainer Riehn, ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980), 61-89; and Wulf Konold, "Adorno--Metzger: Rückblick auf eine Kontroverse," in *Nicht Versöhnt: Musikästhetik nach Adorno*, Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1987), 91-110.

More than a year in advance, Otte began planning the next *pro musica nova* festival, which would take place in May 1972. Early in 1971 he secured funding from a number of sources and used the money to lure Cage to Bremen. Otte wrote to Cage:

The EBU has done *Radio Bremen*--tiny, poverty-stricken *Radio Bremen*--the honour of delegating to it (in the course of the *pro musica nova* concert series) a John Cage concert, which would be relayed live over all the European radio stations in May 1972. To this end, we have been granted 10,000 DMS (c. \$4000) for the express purpose of inviting you, and of course David Tudor, from the USA to North Germany for the event which should if possible take place on either Monday 8th or Monday 15th May, 1972. [. . .] A few days back, I heard *HPSCHD* for the first time. This ravishing production again makes clear how many years ahead of the whole "musical" scene you are.¹⁵

¹⁵ Letter from Otte to Cage (in English), 1 February 1971 [RB]. Cage responded ten days later: "Thank you for your letter and all that you are doing. However, circumstances are greatly changed: David Tudor is now a composer in his own right, and he concentrates beautifully on circuitry, both audio and video, rarely touching the piano. We are the best of friends but we don't give concerts together as we did formerly. Recently I gave performances in Paris without him and I was not happy with the way the music was played. For my own part, I devote myself to composition (currently the orchestration of *Cheap Imitation*) and to my writing (currently experiments away from syntax). I therefore give as few concerts and accept so few engagements as possible. I am not as well physically as I was ten years ago. I still travel with the Cunningham Dance Co. and so does David Tudor. What I now prefer to concerts are events uninterrupted by intermissions etc. *HPSCHD* was for example a 5 hr event with 100 films, 8000 slides, 52 tape machines, 7 harpsichords (it was very expensive to produce). The audience free to move, go in or out. This becomes a social and architectural problem which can fail (as Musicians in Paris did) if there is not enough room and if the performers do not sympathize with my notion that many musics may be heard at one and the same time.* (*It seems to me that many still wish to have the public's attention focused on one thing at a time.) Christian Wolff may be reached through the Music Dept. of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. All my friendliest greetings and best wishes, John Cage." Letter from Cage to Otte, 11 February 1971 (reproduced in program booklet for *pro musica nova* 1972, *Radio Bremen*). Other letters from Cage to Otte in the spring of 1971 (also reproduced in 1972 *pro musica nova* program booklet) discussed possible repertoire and the logistics of performances with Tudor.

When Cage finally agreed to attend the festival, Otte shared his delight with the composer: “Let me thank you for all, what you do for *Radio Bremen*, this little almost blushing broadcasting station.”¹⁶ Otte’s letters to American composers often pointed out the small budget of *Radio Bremen*. In a letter to Alvin Lucier laying out details for the Sonic Arts Union (Robert Ashley, David Behrman, Alvin Lucier, and Gordon Mumma all received commissions and invitations to perform during the 1972 festival), Otte called his station “the free, independent, small, poor, only veritable broadcasting station of the *Freie and Hansestadt Bremen!*”¹⁷ Yet Otte’s patronage went beyond *pro musica nova* commissions. Months before the festival, during their first European tour, Otte brought the Sonic Arts Union to Bremen and recorded *Turn in the Road*.¹⁸ On 24 January 1972, he recorded Steve Reich and Musicians (the name of Reich’s ensemble) playing Reich’s *Four Organs* (1970). Shortly after the 1972 festival, on 19 June, Otte also recorded part of Philip Glass’s yet unpublished *Music in Twelve Parts* (1971-74).

Publicity for the 1972 event focused on Otte’s star guest. For example, Otte wrote to a publishing firm in the United States: “We are preparing our festival *pro musica nova*

¹⁶ Letter from Otte to Cage, 11 February 1972 [RB].

¹⁷ Letter from Otte to Lucier, 9 February 1972 [RB]. Otte had heard recordings of the Sonic Arts Union before inviting them to Bremen. Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998.

¹⁸ The recording was made on 27 April 1971. *Turn in the Road* seems to have consisted of different parts, listed as following in the Recording Archives at *Radio Bremen*: “The Entrance” (Robert Ashley, 1965), “Fancy Free” (Ashley, 1970), “Swarm” and “The Duke of York” (Alvin Lucier, 1971) [RB]. A few days earlier the pianist Peter Roggenkamp recorded Feldman’s *Last Pieces* (1959) at *Radio Bremen*, on 24 April 1971 [RB].

which is dedicated to new American tendencies, especially to John Cage.”¹⁹ Before the festival began, Otte received letters from around the world requesting programs, tickets, and hotel reservations.²⁰ He contacted radio producers and “Cage specialists,” announcing his plans, inviting music critics, and raising money.²¹ Not only did Otte seek out support from other radio stations--including the BBC--to finance Cage’s and Tudor’s visit, but he also received requests from around the world for recordings of the festival for radio distribution.²² Broadcasts on radio stations within West Germany and as far away as Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Tokyo, and Toronto greatly increased the exposure of these American musicians far beyond central Europe.²³ Attendees included Ernstalbrecht

¹⁹ Letter from Otte to Eye-Editions, Carl Solway and Alice Weston in Cincinnati, 4 October 1971 [RB].

²⁰ For example, files at *Radio Bremen* contain letters from Radio Tokyo (requesting tapes for its “serious music division,” on 4 May 1972) and South African Broadcasting Corporation (similar requests, on 2 May 1972) [RB]. Further requests are reproduced in the program booklet for the 1972 *pro musica nova*.

²¹ Form letter from Otte, to be sent to several addresses, 17 February 1971 [RB].

²² Letter from Otte to Hans Keller (BBC), 21 October 1970; and letter from G. W. Baruch (SWF) to Otte, 14 April 1972 [RB].

²³ Lists held at *Radio Bremen* show that radio stations in the following cities and countries requested tapes of these concerts: Cage/Tudor (Brussels, Toronto, Tokyo, Madrid, Norway, Lausanne, Zagreb, Hilversum, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, Bern/Lugano, Reykjavik, Jerusalem, Prague, Belgrad, plus the German stations WDR, SDR, RIAS, HR, SFB, SWF, SR); Società Cameristica Italiana (Brussels, Toronto, Tokyo, Madrid, Lausanne, Johannesburg, Zagreb, Hilversum, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, Bern/Zurich, Bern/Lugano, Jerusalem, Prague, Belgrad, WDR, SDR, HR, SFB, SR); Sonic Arts Union (Brussels, Toronto, Tokyo, Madrid, Lausanne, Zagreb, Hilversum, Denmark, Italy, Zurich, Bern/Lugano, Jerusalem, Prague, Belgrad, WDR, RIAS, HR, SFB, SR, Vienna); Steve Reich (Brussels, Toronto, Tokyo, Zagreb, Hilversum, Jerusalem, Prague, Belgrad, WDR, SR, Deutsche Welle); and La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela (Brussels, Toronto, Tokyo, Zagreb, Hilversum, Zurich, Lugano, Jerusalem, Prague, Belgrad, SDR, SR, RIAS, HR, Vienna).

Stiebler, Walter Zimmermann, Nam June Paik, Rudolf Frisius, Helmut Lachenmann, and Cologne critics Monika Lichtenfeld and Wolfgang Becker. Walter Bachauer came as a representative of RIAS in Berlin. A list of participating radio employees included Dr. Siegfried Goslich (BR), Dr. Haerting (*Deutsche Welle*), Reinhard Oehlschlägel (DF), Heinz Enke (HR), Dr. Bernard Hansen (NDR), Dr. Christoph Bitter (SR), Walter Harth (SFB), Dr. Clytus Gottwald (SDR), and Dr. Otto Tomek (SWF). Hans G. Helms helped organize travel for Cage and Tudor from New York to Bremen.²⁴

Table 6.1: *pro musica nova* Festival Schedule, May 1972
(American music events appear in bold type)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 5 May: | Cage, Mureau, and Tudor, <i>Rainforest</i> |
| 6 May: | Exhibition opening: "Hearing and Seeing: Texts--Pictures--Environments," including works by Cage, Dick Higgins, La Monte Young , Mauricio Kagel, Hans Otte, Nam June Paik, Dieter Schnebel, and Karlheinz Stockhausen; opening accompanied by performance of Cage's <i>Music for Marcel Duchamp</i> |
| 3:30 p.m.: | Christian Wolff, <i>Lines, for String Quartet</i> (premiere), Helmut Lachenmann, <i>Gran Torso</i> , and Carlos Farinas, <i>Tatomaité</i> |
| 6:00 p.m.: | Hans Otte, <i>apropos</i> (Commentary); Sonic Arts Union: Ashley, <i>In Sara Mencken Christ and Beethoven There Were Men and Women</i>, Lucier, <i>The Bird of Bremen Flies Through the Houses of the Burghers</i>, Mumma, <i>Ambivex</i> (for pairs of performing appendages), and Behrman/Katherine Morton, <i>Pools of Phase Locked Loops</i> |
| 9:00 p.m.: | Nam June Paik, <i>Reading; Experimental Television; Sonata for Piano, Candle and TV</i> |
| 7 May, | |
| 11:00 a.m.: | La Monte Young, Tape Concert, <i>Map of 49's Dream the</i> |

²⁴ Telegram from Helms to Otte, 4 May 1972: "Urgent. Please meet Cage and Tudor Thursday May 4 Airport Lufthansa 800 at 10:20 for help with customs. Regards, Helms" [RB].

- Two Systems of Eleven, Dorian Blues, Sunday Morning Blues, The Well-Tuned Piano***
- 4:00 p.m.: **Laura Dean and Co. with Reich's Ensemble; Reich and Musicians, *Drumming***
- 8 May,
- 4:30 p.m.: **New Music and Radio, Discussion by ARD program directors**
- 9:00 p.m.: **Cage, *Mesostics Re Merce Cunningham and Tudor, Untitled (New Electronic Piece)***²⁵

Otte estimated a total budget of DM 68,000 (about \$21,328) for the four-day festival.²⁶ He spent over half of that money--nearly twelve thousand dollars--on commissions and fees for American composers. Otte offered Cage and Tudor DM 6,700 (about \$2,101) each, while prominent guests such as Helmut Lachenmann or Nam June Paik received only DM 3,000 (about \$940).²⁷ The ensemble Steve Reich and Musicians (including twelve people) and the Laura Dean Dance Company (with four dancers) received a total of DM 8,100 (about \$2,540), and the Sonic Arts Union were given a lump sum of DM 6,000 (about \$1,880) as well as DM 2,000 (about \$627) for their individual commissions. Otte expected the first of two Cage-Tudor concerts to be the hit of the festival: he ordered one thousand tickets, while only four hundred were printed for the

²⁵ This concert was billed in the program as "UER/EBU-Konzert im Rahmen der Sendereihe Musik des XX. Jahrhunderts," indicating that it had been sponsored by--and would be broadcast on--EBU member stations.

²⁶ Listed in document labeled "Nova--Finanzierung," dated 5 November 1971 and signed by Otte, for 1972 *pro musica nova* [RB]. This is somewhat less than his budget in 1970, which was DM 94,750 (about \$25,000) for artist honoraria and DM 7,126 (about \$1,952) for travel and lodging costs. All exchange rates in this chapter are based on Kassa-Mittelkurse U.S. Dollar-DM exchange rate averages provided by Pascal Frommeld at Bankgesellschaft Berlin AG on 22 February 1999.

²⁷ Honorarium lists at [RB].

Steve Reich concert, and only 230 for the joint concert between the Sonic Arts Union and Otte himself.²⁸

Two pieces performed during the 1972 *pro musica nova* festival in Bremen represent the extremes of post-serialist composition in Europe on the one hand, and of post-Cagean composition in the United States during the early 1970s on the other. The composers' attitudes and the ideas expressed in these works show the maturing of the generation of composers born during the 1930s. Helmut Lachenmann (b. 1935), a former student of Luigi Nono, completed his *Gran Torso* for string quartet in 1972; Otte commissioned the piece for *pro musica nova*.²⁹ Christian Wolff, an American composer of Lachenmann's generation and a former student of John Cage, composed his *Lines* for string quartet in 1972; the piece was also commissioned by Otte.³⁰ The Società Cameristica Italiana premiered both works at *pro musica nova* in Bremen's Focke Museum on the evening of 6 May 1972.³¹ Lachenmann's *Gran Torso* commented on

²⁸ Otte also ordered 160 tickets for the Società Cameristica Italiana concert, 230 for the La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela concert, 200 tickets for Nam June Paik's event, 400 tickets for the Reich/Dean performance, and 230 tickets for the final Cage-Tudor concert. Tickets for all events cost DM 3 (about 95 cents). All of this information is based on finance records (document titled "Kartendruck für Veranstaltungen *pro musica nova* 1972) in the 1972 file binder [RB]. Information on how many tickets were sold for each concert was not available.

²⁹ Lachenmann received DM 2,500 (about \$785) for *Gran Torso* [RB].

³⁰ Wolff received DM 2,500 (about \$785) for the piece (listed on document "Nova--Finanzierung," dated 5 November 1971 and signed by Otte, for 1972 *pro musica nova* [RB]). *Lines* was also performed at IFNM in July 1972.

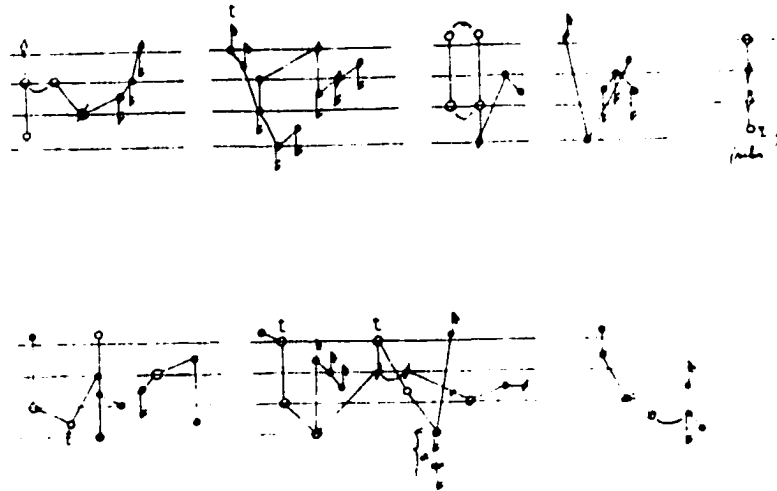
³¹ A third commissioned piece on the program was Carlos Farinas' *Tatomaité*. The members of the Venice-based string quartet Società Cameristica Italiana were Ivan Rayower and Umberto Oliveti (violins), Emilio Poggioni (viola), and Italo Gomez (cello).

traditional and expanded instrumental techniques, performance practice, and the genre of the string quartet. The score's notational complexity stood in strong opposition to Wolff's, even though Lachenmann too incorporated several indeterminate elements (see Example 6.1).

Handwritten musical score for Helmut Lachenmann's *Gran Torso* for String Quartet, opening. The score is written for four string players (I, II, B., C.) and features complex notation including various time signatures (1/4, 6/4, 4/4, 3/4), dynamic markings (pp, ff, p, f), and performance instructions such as "Griffbrett", "Stieg", and "Arbeitsweise des Repertoire". The notation is dense and includes many annotations and markings.

Example 6.1: Helmut Lachenmann, *Gran Torso* for String Quartet, opening

In contrast, Wolff's piece was highly indeterminate, written in graphic notation deciphered only by extensive prose commentary (see Example 6.2). *Lines* depended almost entirely on spontaneous interaction between the players. Wolff's quartet questioned the composer's subjectivity, authority, and ownership of a fluid work. *Lines* also showed Wolff exploring music as social interaction guided by simple graphic diagrams.



Example 6.2: Christian Wolff, *Lines for String Quartet*, excerpt (page 7)

One review of the concert explained that Lachenmann wanted “to document the fact that any further new possibilities of playing a string quartet have nearly exhausted themselves, and that composing has gotten itself into a problematic dead end.”³² For Wolff, the way out was through human interaction and improvisation. Some audience members that evening felt that the two quartets illustrated the dichotomy between the momentous weight of European composition and the open-ended possibilities of American experimental music. Convinced that European music had reached a state of crisis, the young West German composer Walter Zimmermann (b. 1949) claimed that his encounter with American composition at *pro musica nova* in 1972 gave him “unbelievable hope” through “a counterbalance to that warped, self-embracing new

³² “Er will dokumentieren, daß sich neue Möglichkeiten des Streichquartettspiels heute beinahe erschöpft haben, daß das Komponieren in eine ausweglose Problematik geraten ist.” Erich Limmert, “Die Avantgardisten treffen sich in Bremen,” *Melos* 5 (1972): 295.

music, that which only functions to serve a certain audience.” For him, Lachenmann’s piece was an end, not a beginning.³³

Several months after the success of the 1972 festival, Otte announced to Cage that “now Europe finally appreciates what it has in John Cage,” and added that the Cage-Tudor concerts were “still a great talking point here.” Otte concluded: “Our little radio station is very proud that following the UER/EBU concert which was broadcast all over Europe, no less than twenty-four stations all over the world have ordered copies of the concert with *Mureau* and *Rainforest* from *Radio Bremen*; I hope this news will be satisfying for you and David.”³⁴ One year later Otte wrote again, urging Cage to revisit Bremen the following spring. Otte offered Cage what sounded like a permanent invitation: “please give notice--doors are open, keys in my hand.”³⁵

Cage did not revisit *pro musica nova*, but Otte continued seeking out new names and new sounds, often with Cage’s help.³⁶ For example, Cage told the percussionist Max Neuhaus that Otte was a good source of support in Europe.³⁷ A few years later Cage

³³ “Das war ein Schlüsselerlebnis für mich, wirklich. Also, ich hab’ hier eine unglaubliche Hoffnung gespürt in dieser ganzen . . . als Gegengewicht zu dieser verquollenen und in sich kreisenden, nur noch auf gewisses Publikum hinfunktionierenden Neuen Musik, dieser frühen ‘70er Jahre auch, nicht? Es war ja auch eine wirkliche Krise, und das wurde ja auch formuliert.” Interview with Reinhard Oehlschlägel, in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 527.

³⁴ Letter from Otte to Cage, 6 December 1972 [RB].

³⁵ Letter from Otte to Cage, 5 December 1973 [RB].

³⁶ Otte frequently asked Cage what was new in American art music. Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998.

³⁷ “Dear Hans Otte, I had a talk with John Cage yesterday. The first in a long time. He urged me to contact you. Saying you were one of the most active and open-minded. Can

urged the composer Joan La Barbara to contact Otte as well.³⁸ In 1976 Otte helped La Monte Young apply for a DAAD Artist-in-Residence fellowship to Berlin.³⁹ That same year Otte provided honoraria for performances of Young's *The Well-Tuned Piano* (DM 4,000; about \$1,600), Terry Riley's *The Shri Camel Trinity* (DM 3,000; about \$1,200), Max Neuhaus's *Underwater Music* (DM 3,000), and Allan Kaprow's *Durations (Ice Event)* (DM 3,000). He also wrote to Meredith Monk: "I have only one record of you and I just love it!," and he invited her to *pro musica nova* in 1978.⁴⁰ Monk's management service informed Otte that Monk and her group had been "wanting to perform in Germany for some time now, and [they] are so pleased by your invitation."⁴¹ Around the same time, after seeing a performance of *Einstein on the Beach* in Hamburg, Otte pursued Philip Glass, offering him a commission for 1978.⁴²

Otte's untiring enthusiasm for American experimental music recalls Steinecke's efforts to bring American music to Darmstadt. Like Steinecke, Otte avoided ideological and aesthetic debates, supporting experimental music despite conflicts surrounding it in

we do a 'Public Supply'?" Letter from Max Neuhaus to Otte, 16 October 1974 [RB]. *Public Supply* was a piece by Neuhaus that had to take place at a radio station.

³⁸ "Mr. John Cage, with whom I have recently been working, suggested you might be interested in presenting me in Bremen in a concert of my work." Letter from Joan La Barbara to Otte, 14 October 1976 [RB].

³⁹ Letter from Young to Otte, 12 August 1976; and from Young to Otte, 3 November 1976 [RB].

⁴⁰ Letter from Otte to Meredith Monk, 22 October 1976 [RB].

⁴¹ Letter from New Arts Management to Otte, 1 November 1976 [RB].

⁴² Letter from Otte to Philip Glass, 20 October 1976 [RB].

other parts of West Germany. Especially for the development of live electronic music, Otte gave much-needed support: Gordon Mumma, a recipient of some of that support, even called him a hero.⁴³

Walter Bachauer's *Woche der avantgardistischen Musik Berlin 1972*

In July 1972, RIAS radio employee Walter Bachauer hosted an eight-day "Week of Avant-Garde Music Berlin 1972," a festival subtitled "Play, Sound, Electronics, Light."⁴⁴ The ambitious series of events served to direct more current cultural information toward West Berlin, to explore potential ways of communicating with a new, untapped audience, and to dislodge the barriers separating traditional-folk, popular, and avant-garde musics. After attending Otte's *pro musica nova* in 1972 and observing Otte's emphasis on the American avant-garde, Bachauer created a festival that likewise offered Berlin a chance to make up for lost time. He took advantage of simultaneous European tours of Cage, Tudor, Steve Reich, and other Americans who happened to be in Europe during the summer of 1972 like Feldman and Rzewski. Above all, he hoped to improve

⁴³ Mumma wrote: "Like most endeavors, electronic music has its heroes. Besides illustrious composers and performers, there are the guiding spirits of glamorous or well-conceived festivals, such as [. . .] Hans Otte, who for years has directed the prestigious *pro musica nova* in Bremen." Mumma, "Live Electronic Music," in *The Development and Practice of Electronic Music*, Jon H. Appleton and Ronald C. Perera, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975), 318.

⁴⁴ The subtitle (*Spiel, Klang, Elektronik, Licht*) recalls Riedl's *Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie* in Munich (see Chapter Five).

Berlin's cultural life, which, despite the large amount of subsidized cultural activity there since the 1960s, some felt was inadequate.⁴⁵

Several cultural institutions in Berlin, including the Academy of the Arts, the Berlin *Festspiele*, and the radio stations SFB and RIAS sponsored the eleven concerts. Moreover, the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program, an organization dedicated to bringing foreign--especially American--culture to West Berlin during the Cold War, supported Bachauer's concerts as well. As long as it was trapped by the Berlin Wall, West Berlin enjoyed a large cultural budget: according to one source, Bachauer had DM 200,000 (almost \$64,000) at his disposal for organizing the performances and for commissioning five works.⁴⁶ To put this sum in perspective, it equaled more than half the amount distributed by the National Endowment for the Arts for Contemporary Music Projects in the entire United States in 1972, and nearly two-thirds the amount distributed by the NEA as direct aid to individuals in music.⁴⁷ Following the *pro musica nova* model, Bachauer presented daily concerts (which often continued into the late hours of the night) as well as exhibitions, tape demonstrations from three continents, and three different seminar

⁴⁵ Bachauer, "DAAD-Komponistenprogramm--Ein Versuch wider die musikalische Provinz," in *10 Jahre Berliner Künstlerprogramm*, 56. Cornelius Cardew also wrote about what he felt to be Berlin's unsatisfactory cultural life. See Cardew, "A Critical Concert," in *Stockhausen Serves Imperialism and Other Articles* (London: Latimer, 1974), 64.

⁴⁶ See Stuckenschmidt, "HPSCHD und Anderes," *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (17 Augst 1972).

⁴⁷ The NEA allocated \$123,000 for Contemporary Music Projects (commissions, production, and research awards) in 1972. See *New Dimensions in the Arts, 1971-1972: National Endowment for the Arts* (Washington D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 87. In 1972, Direct Aid to Individuals in Music equaled \$95,000. See Dick Netzer, *The Subsidized Muse: Public Support for the Arts in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 220.

series.⁴⁸ Like Otte, Bachauer framed his festival with Cage and Tudor, who gave the first concert (Cage's *Mureau* and Tudor's *Rainforest*, listed in the program without titles as "An Event"), as well as the last (Cage's and Lejaren Hiller's enormous *HPSCHD* installed in Berlin's Philharmonic Hall).⁴⁹ Three concerts featured works by Morton Feldman.⁵⁰ Most critics agreed that the performance of Steve Reich's *Drumming* was the high point of the festival. As happened often in the early 1970s, unruly audiences disturbed some of the concerts, many of which lasted five hours or more.⁵¹

Who was Walter Bachauer, and why did he, like Otte and Riedl, later Stiebler and Zimmermann, offer a stage to so many American experimental composers?⁵² An Austrian-born music critic, Bachauer had moved to Berlin in 1963 to study musicology at the Free University; he began working for RIAS a year later. In 1970 he became a music

⁴⁸ Stuckenschmidt, "Cage, Computer, Kommunikation," *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (21 July 1972). This article was also published in Stuckenschmidt, *Die Musik eines halben Jahrhunderts, 1925-1975: Essay und Kritik* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1976), 294-97.

⁴⁹ Tudor, Cardew, Rzewski, Hiller, and Cage himself participated in *HPSCHD*.

⁵⁰ In the second concert, the Gentle Fire Group from London played a piano trio by Feldman, in the fourth concert Cornelius Cardew played several of Feldman's solo piano compositions, and in the seventh concert, Feldman's *Pianos and Voices* (commissioned by Bachauer for this occasion) was performed by Feldman, Cage, Tudor, Cardew and Rzewski.

⁵¹ Burde, "Berlin: Woche der avantgardistischen Musik 1972," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 133/9 (1972): 518.

⁵² Much of the following biographical information comes from *RIAS Berlin: Eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), 402. In 1980, Bachauer moved to Hollywood to work with Francis Ford Coppola; he collaborated with Coppola and Philip Glass on the film "Koyaanisqatsi." Soon after, he returned to Berlin. Bachauer committed suicide in February 1989.

editor at RIAS, where he brought to life the influential *Metamusik* festivals in 1974, 1976 and 1978. He traveled extensively, especially in the United States and in Asia, and engaged with popular and non-western music to a degree unprecedented at the time for a German new music specialist. On 3 December 1971, Bachauer heard the world premiere of Steve Reich's *Drumming* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.⁵³ Summaries of Bachauer's professional contributions highlight his role in promoting American minimalists like Philip Glass and Steve Reich in West Germany.⁵⁴

Despite his connections to the radio, and therefore to official new music venues, Bachauer opposed the "temples of serialism." He believed that the music establishment now recognized flexible definitions of art but had not yet come to terms with that flexibility.⁵⁵ Bachauer hoped to "win back the audience" for classical music, and the growing appeal of minimalism fit well in his plan. Stuckenschmidt criticized Bachauer for thinking that the solution resided in the United States, the home of most of the performers and composers invited to his 1972 festival.⁵⁶ Another critic wrote that

⁵³ Walter Bachauer, "Metastories: Non-fiction von der anderen Seite des Festivals," *Metamusik-Festival 1 und 2: Berlin 1974 und 1976* (Berliner Festspiele: Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAAD in Verbindung mit RIAS Berlin, 1977).

⁵⁴ "Sein besonderes Engagement galt den Komponisten der amerikanischen 'minimal music,' wie Steve Reich und Phil Glass, deren Werke er in Deutschland vorstellte und durchsetzte." In *RIAS Berlin*, 402. The influential gallery and record store owner Ursula Block in West Berlin gained contact with many American composers (including Glass, Reich, Cage, and others) during the 1970s due to their presence in Berlin at Bachauer's *Metamusik* festival. Ursula Block interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

⁵⁵ See Wolfgang Burde, "Gelächter als Begleitung: Woche der avantgardistischen Musik eröffnet," *Der Tagesspiegel* (13 July 1972).

⁵⁶ "Um Rückgewinn des Publikums gehe es. [Bachauer] findet 'die vitalen Traditionen musikalischer Suggestion in Europa so gut wie vernichtet.' [. . .] Doch offenbar liegt das

Bachauer strove to provide alternatives to the “lobbyists of Cologne and Donaueschingen” and to “elitist” European music, but to do this, he thought he needed the help of the “progressive” American avant-garde.⁵⁷ In his program notes for the first concert, Bachauer justified his position: “This age of new music has become an era of music’s total pluralism, and there are no more definitions for its limits, no doctrines for the impossibility of an ideological coexistence of different modes of expression.”⁵⁸ By featuring diverse musical styles in his festivals, Bachauer hoped to accomplish what had been impossible in Darmstadt. He introduced new musical trends--especially those involving collective composition, improvisation, and home-made electronic circuitry--favored by some young musicians. Some critics interpreted Bachauer’s agenda as a wish to introduce the American avant-garde as radical option to IFNM-influenced

Heil eher in Nordamerika, von wo er die Mehrheit seiner Mitwirkenden geholt hat.” Stuckenschmidt, “Cage, Computer, Kommunikation: Acht Tage avantgardistischer Musik in Berlin,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (21 July 1972).

⁵⁷ See Dietmar Polaczek, “In Amerika ist auch die Musik gigantisch: Die ‘Woche der avantgardistischen Musik’ in Berlin,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (24 July 1972).

⁵⁸ “Wenn Walter Bachauer, verantwortlich für die Auswahl der Veranstaltungen, im Programmheft, das den Titel ‘Spiel, Klang, Elektronik, Licht’ trägt, schreibt, daß ‘dieses Zeitalter der neuen Musik zur Epoche ihres totalen Pluralismus geworden ist, es eine sichere Definition ihrer Grenzen nicht mehr gibt, aber auch keine Doktrin für die Unmöglichkeit ideologischer Koexistenz verschiedener Ausdrucksformen,’ so bewiesen in der ersten Produktion der Reihe experimenteller Klänge und Formen John Cage und David Tudor die Legitimität eines solchen Satzes.” Bachauer, quoted by Hans Otto Spingel, “Urlaut und letztes technisches Raffinement: Das erste Konzert der neuen Festspielreihe ‘Woche der avantgardistischen Musik’ in der Akademie,” *Die Welt* (13 July 1972).

complexity.⁵⁹ Indeed Bachauer hoped to create a festival that would become as well known as the new music festivals in Royan and Darmstadt.⁶⁰

The American music that Bachauer programmed, full of technological optimism, met various types of criticism.⁶¹ Stuckenschmidt, for example, insisted that Cage's popularity had been waning--not growing--since Cage's appearance in Berlin in 1963 (when Stuckenschmidt invited Cage to speak at the Technical University's symposium on music and technology). Yet, according to the reviews, the first Cage-Tudor concert at Bachauer's festival in 1972 was packed with people sitting crowded together on the steps inside the hall.⁶² Despite Cage's apparent popularity, Stuckenschmidt doubted that Bachauer's stylistically diverse festival would ever be able to sustain a public. Between 1972 and 1978, Bachauer proved him wrong. But Cage and plurality were only two points of criticism; Steve Reich was third. While Reich grew more popular, critics wondered if this music could have any value at all if it attracted so many people; they

⁵⁹ "Einmal sollten darin die amerikanischen Avantgardisten bekannt gemacht und einer neuen Beurteilung zugeführt werden. Zum zweiten ziele die Auswahl auf eine ganz bestimmte Richtung, die sich als eine Art Gegenbewegung zu den Darmstädter Musiktagen, als eine Antwort auf die kunstvollen, komplizierten, bisweilen mathematischen Konstruktionen der seriellen Musik versteht." Rudolph Ganz, "Sinnenorgie und Zwang zur Versenkung: Woche der avantgardistischen Musik in Berlin stellte Amerikaner vor," *Weser Kurier* (Bremen, 23 July 1972).

⁶⁰ Bachauer, as quoted in *Blickwechsel: 25 Jahre Berliner-Künstlerprogramm* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1988), 120.

⁶¹ Spingel, "Urlaut und letztes technisches Raffinement," *Die Welt* (13 July 1972).

⁶² *Ibid.*

predicted that the excitement he generated would soon be forgotten.⁶³ The question of an *audience* for new music seems to have occurred to many critics for the first time in the course of reviewing these concerts, and that question would continue to sway opinions on minimalism in West Germany. The stormy reception of Bachauer's festival--and Bachauer's timely reasons for programming the music he did--attest to the pivotal role American experimental music played in 1972.

Darmstadt Between Revolution and Restoration

Though the number of new music initiatives and ensembles in West Germany increased dramatically during the 1970s (see Appendix F), Darmstadt's IFNM still clung to its historical authority, administrative autonomy, and elite reputation. Brief overviews of both the public debate spurred by the 1970 student uprising and the continuation of the conflict two years later provide a context for Christian Wolff's seminars at the 1972 IFNM.

Reviews written after the 1970 IFNM, which had been disrupted by a small student revolt, emphasized that the IFNM thrived on self-criticism and perpetual redefinition.⁶⁴ Darmstadt's "new-old crisis" seemed to be that young composers did not

⁶³ Spingel, "Die musikalische Überraschung kam aus Paris: Woche der Avantgarde, mit äußerster Geschicklichkeit traktierten die Herren ihre Instrumente," *Die Welt* (19 July 1972).

⁶⁴ Wolf-Eberhard von Lewinski, "Darmstadt 1970: Die neue alte Krise der Kranichsteiner," *Melos* 11 (November 1970): 465-67.

demonstrate sufficient *quality* to compete with their elders; at least this is how the administration justified its steady interest in an established composer like Stockhausen. Wolf Eberhard von Lewinski, the main music critic in Darmstadt since the 1950s, wrote of the 1970 crisis:

More important than presenting individual works is observing that the Darmstadt summer courses have finally reached a turning point, a turning point marked not only by composers, but by listeners as well. For the first time there was a constructive revolution: a committee was created to formulate and present new suggestions for future courses, with the hope that the director of the courses will be able, also financially, to realize good suggestions.⁶⁵

In 1970, critics targeted the annual courses presented by Ernst Thomas's "favorites" like Stockhausen and Ligeti, and by performers like Gavrilov, Kontarsky and Palm. Some students wanted more variety, but Thomas resisted, since he saw pluralism as a threat: according to Lewinski, Thomas said that "a broad scale of [musical] information can be beneficial, but it can also deteriorate into a fatal pluralism that causes more confusion than anything else."⁶⁶ Boulez was quoted as saying that it was important to requestion and rethink the basis of composing today before "paying further tribute to

⁶⁵ "Wichtiger als die Darstellung einzelner weiterer Werke ist die Beobachtung, daß die Darmstädter Ferienkurse nun endgültig an einem Wendepunkt angelangt sind, den nicht nur die Komponisten bezeichnen, sondern auch die Hörer. Erstmals gab es eine konstruktiv ansetzende Revolution in Form der Bildung eines Komitees, das für die Zukunft neue Vorschläge zur Gestaltung der Ferienkurse ausarbeiten und vorlegen will, in der Hoffnung, daß die Leitung der Ferienkurse auch von der finanziellen Seite her in der Lage ist, sinnvolle Vorschläge zu realisieren." Lewinski, "Darmstadt 1970," 466.

⁶⁶ "Breite Information kann gut sein, aber sie kann auch in einen fatalen Pluralismus ausarten, der mehr Verwirrung stiftet als Unterrichtung bietet." Thomas as quoted by Lewinski, "Darmstadt 1970," 466.

the dangerous and pointless overproduction [of music] according to the fads of the day.”⁶⁷ Lewinski’s report was thoughtful and fair, yet he sensed the danger of continuing on the route favored by Thomas, and felt that it would still be better “if Darmstadt’s summer courses went to ruin on the path of experimentalism than through exhaustion.”⁶⁸ Many young people shared Lewinski’s opinion.

In the summer of 1972, the IFNM was still recovering from damage sustained in 1970: IFNM participants, the director, and the press nursed their wounds and faced one another again. The new music journal *Melos*, published by the Schott edition in Mainz and edited by Heinrich Strobel, provided a forum for public discourse on the Darmstadt controversy. In this forum, Lewinski described an embarrassing situation: Thomas had forbidden some of the delegates and alternates--voted to represent the students during the first meeting in 1970--to attend or participate in the 1972 courses. An article written by Reinhard Oehlschlägel and published in *Melos*, possibly identical to a pamphlet circulated during the 1972 IFNM, outlined the events of 1970, the reasons for criticism of Thomas, and the terms of change. Oehlschlägel acknowledged that some of the 1970 demands had indeed been met. For instance, he praised the broader stylistic range offered in the 1972 composition course schedule, including the composers Mauricio Kagel, Iannis

⁶⁷ “Pierre Boulez sagte uns, daß er unter dieser Voraussetzung seinerseits nach Darmstadt zurückkehre, da er es für wesentlich halte daß man die Grundlagen des fragwürdig gewordenen Komponierens in unserer Zeit gründlich prüfe, über das Komponieren neu nachdenke, bevor man der in seinen Augen ebenso gefährlichen wie unsinnigen Überproduktivität nach Tagesmoden weiteren Tribut zolle.” Lewinski, “Darmstadt 1970,” 466.

⁶⁸ “Jedenfalls wäre es noch immer besser, wenn Darmstadts Ferienkurse auf experimentellem Wege zugrunde gingen als durch Ermattung.” Lewinski, “Darmstadt 1970,” 467.

Xenakis, and Christian Wolff “as a representative of the American experimentalists.”⁶⁹

But he also criticized Thomas for resisting further reforms. Oehlschlägel noted the problem of translation: the delegates wanted professional translators to be employed during the summer courses to increase the number--and enhance the experience--of students from non-English, non-French, and non-German speaking countries. Another major point not yet addressed by the administration was the “demand for a discussion on new perspectives of a political music aesthetic.”⁷⁰ Oehlschlägel also listed other problems.⁷¹ The pamphlet carried the names of five of the delegates and alternates--himself, Rudolf Frisius, Nicolaus A. Huber, Max E. Keller, and Ernstalbrecht Stiebler.⁷² As a result, at least four of these people--Frisius, Keller, Stiebler, and Oehlschlägel

⁶⁹ “Die Verpflichtung von Kagel, Xenakis, Wolff (als einem Vertreter der amerikanischen Experimentellen) entspricht dem Willen der Teilnehmer von 1970.” Reinhard Oehlschlägel, “Die Darmstädter Delegation von 1970 zieht das Fazit,” *Melos* 39 (1972): 360.

⁷⁰ “Kaum berücksichtigt ist die Forderung nach Diskussion neuer Ansätze einer politischen Musikästhetik.” Oehlschlägel, “Die Darmstädter Delegation von 1970 zieht das Fazit,” 360.

⁷¹ These problems included: too many performances of already well-know and/or recorded works (and by established composers such as Kagel, Ligeti, Stockhausen, and Xenakis); a too limited number of performers; the lack of press conferences and the general disregard for the inclusion of music critics; and Thomas’s refusal to allow the organizational help of the delegation. The delegation also called for the resignation of the advisory board (Caskel, Kontarsky and Palm) and the election of a new one. Oehlschlägel, “Die Darmstädter Delegation von 1970 zieht das Fazit,” 360f.

⁷² Frisius told me that Oehlschlägel wrote the text and did not consult with him before submitting it for publication. Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

himself--were forbidden to attend IFNM events in 1972.⁷³ On 30 July 1972, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, employed at HR in Frankfurt since 1969, received a letter from the Darmstadt director stating that Thomas and his advisory board (*Programmbeirat*; Caskel, Kontarsky, and Palm) regretted that Stiebler “signed a pamphlet against the course director and the advisory board, a pamphlet containing untruths and mean-spirited manipulations, and [that you] have supported the attempt to agitate course participants and to poison the working atmosphere.” Thomas prohibited Stiebler from visiting the IFNM and from entering the Georg Büchner School (the location of many events and courses).⁷⁴ That evening Thomas held an open meeting with students and explained the reasons for his decision.⁷⁵ One day later, Stiebler received a retraction. The letter explained that because of Stiebler’s preexisting obligations to the radio and his planned participation in Dieter Schnebel’s piece *Atemzüge*, Thomas was prepared to grant Stiebler

⁷³ Some say Huber was part of the group also. The exact details of what led to the lockout of the four listed above are not yet clear. The lockout was possibly linked to the distribution of a pamphlet during the 1972 IFNM (possibly identical to Oehlschlägel’s article cited here). Frisius insisted that he never signed anything inflammatory. When I showed him a copy of Oehlschlägel’s published article, he said that *it* was indeed the reason for the lockout, and that he had not seen it before the controversy. Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998.

⁷⁴ The letter read as follows: “Sehr geehrter Stiebler, Zu unserem Bedauern haben wir festgestellt, daß Sie ein gegen die Kursleitung und den Programmbeirat gerichtetes, Unwahrheiten in der Sache und böswillige Verdrehungen enthaltendes Pamphlet unterzeichnet und damit den Versuch unterstützt haben, die Teilnehmer aufzuwiegeln und die Arbeitsatmosphäre zu vergiften. Wir sehen uns daher genötigt, Ihnen ab sofort den Besuch sämtlicher Veranstaltungen der Ferienkurse, auch der öffentlichen, sowie das Betreten der Georg-Büchner-Schule zu untersagen. [Signed] Ernst Thomas, Direktor; Programmbeirat: Christoph Caskel, Aloys Kontarsky, Siegfried Palm.” I obtained a copy of this letter and the one mentioned below from Ursula Stiebler (unpublished).

⁷⁵ Klaus Trapp, “Darmstadt und die 68-er Bewegung,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 373.

permission to visit all IFNM events.⁷⁶ But Thomas urgently requested that in the future [Stiebler] would refrain from taking part in any activities that went beyond the duties of a journalist.⁷⁷ While Stiebler and Keller regained permission to participate, Oehlschlägel and Frisius attended events despite the prohibition and were silently tolerated by Thomas.⁷⁸

Aloys Kontarsky and Ernst Thomas responded to the delegation's demands in *Melos*. Kontarsky saw the criticisms as politically-motivated, unjust attacks aimed at manipulating IFNM participants with untruths.⁷⁹ Furthermore, he wrote, the Darmstadt events were created for the students, not for the press.⁸⁰ *Melos* asked Thomas whether the "lock out" of some delegates was a direct response to criticism of his leadership

⁷⁶ The performance of Schnebel's *Atemzüge* took place on 1 August 1972. Schnebel did not attend because he was upset by the tense atmosphere in Darmstadt that year. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

⁷⁷ The second letter contained the following text: "Sehr geehrter Herr Stiebler, Auf Grund Ihrer Verpflichtung durch den WDR und Ihrer Bereitschaft, bei der Aufführung von Schnebels *Atemzüge* mitzuwirken, sind wir bereit, Ihnen den Besuch sämtlicher Veranstaltungen der Ferienkurse, auch der öffentlichen, sowie das Betreten der Georg-Büchner-Schule, wieder zu gestatten. Wir bitten Sie jedoch dringend, sich künftig jeder Aktivität zu enthalten, die über Ihre publizistische Tätigkeit hinausgeht. Mit freundlichen Grüßen, Kursleitung, Ernst Thomas, Direktor; Programmbeirat, Aloys Kontarsky."

⁷⁸ Thomas commented that his tolerating their presence--despite their being forbidden to attend the events--was a sign of the Darmstadt administration's "liberalism." "Ernst Thomas antwortet auf aktuelle Fragen," *Melos* 39 (1972): 362.

⁷⁹ "Die scheinbar harmlosen Formulierungen enthalten nachweislich unwahre Informationen und werden von uns als ein Versuch angesehen, die Teilnehmer zu manipulieren." Aloys Kontarsky, "Antwort," *Melos* 39 (1972): 361.

⁸⁰ "Wir haben die Programme für die Teilnehmer, nicht für die Presse, aufgestellt." Kontarsky, "Antwort," 361.

abilities, a question implying that Thomas had acted undemocratically by silencing dissenting opinions. Thomas answered that he was trying to avoid the chaos he endured in 1970, when “so-called delegates” produced that “not-at-all harmless paper” (the list of demands). He also contended that the delegates aimed to agitate the course participants, to disturb the atmosphere, and to turn the IFNM into a battleground.⁸¹ Thomas added that such activity was inappropriate for music journalists, who should observe and report but not initiate activity. Their lack of objectivity, as he had explained in his second letter to Stiebler, justified the “lock out.”⁸²

The attempts in 1970 and 1972 to democratize IFNM failed in part because the IFNM participants could not maintain consistent political activity from year to year.⁸³ Furthermore, the delegation was elected in 1970 by less than half of the students.⁸⁴ In 1972, a large majority of the students were new, and thus lacked a context for the old

⁸¹ “Und zwar zu dem Zweck, die Teilnehmer aufzuwiegeln, den Arbeitsfrieden zu stören und Darmstadt eine Konfliktsituation zwischen Kursteilnehmern und der Kursleitung aufzuschwätzen.” Thomas, “Ernst Thomas antwortet auf aktuelle Fragen,” *Melos* 39 (1972): 362.

⁸² “Ich habe deutlich gesagt, daß ein solches Verhalten mit den Grundsätzen eines seriösen Journalismus nicht vereinbar ist. Wir haben deshalb die Zulassung der Herren Frisius und Oehlschlägel davon abhängig gemacht, daß sie sich jeder Aktivität enthalten, die über den Rahmen einer publizistischen Tätigkeit hinausgeht. Beide haben diese Bedingungen nicht eingehalten. Ich bin selbst seit 25 Jahren publizistisch tätig. Man wird mir glauben, daß mir der Entschluß, Journalisten auszuschließen, sehr schwer gefallen ist.” *Ibid.*, 362.

⁸³ Though the 1970 uprising did have some positive results, one sign of its failure was that the advisory board remained in place until Thomas’s retirement in 1980.

⁸⁴ Klaus Trapp, “Die siebziger Jahre,” 371.

problems. They proved incapable of, or uninterested in, electing a new delegation.⁸⁵ Indeed, many of the issues pressed by the delegates were issues apparent only to IFNM regulars like Frisius and Stiebler, who had attended since the late 1950s, Bauermeister, who had attended since the early 60s, or Oehlschlägel, who had attended since the mid-60s. For most foreign students the expensive trip to Darmstadt provided a unique opportunity for musical enrichment, and whatever the content of the courses, most students would not engage in what seemed like an internal conflict in the German new music community. Nonetheless, the endless debates, opinions, manifestos and predictions printed in the German-language music press suggest that new music discourse still revolved around this small town in Hesse as the heart of an avant-garde.

Amidst the “pamphlets and protests,” the American composer Christian Wolff arrived in Darmstadt in the summer of 1972, reestablishing the presence of American experimental music at IFNM, and offering the first major series of composition seminars taught by an American composer since Milton Babbitt’s visit in 1964.⁸⁶ The cellist Siegfried Palm, a member of Thomas’s advisory board, had met Wolff during Palm’s residency at Dartmouth College in 1971, and it was Palm who referred Thomas to Wolff.⁸⁷ Attempting both to increase stylistic diversity as demanded during the meetings

⁸⁵ See Thomas, in *Melos* (1972): 362. Participant statistics listed in the 1972 *Beiträge* show that out of two hundred participants, 159 were attending the summer courses for the first time (approximately 80%). In 1974, out of 156 participants, 119 were first-time visitors (76.4 %)

⁸⁶ See Christoph Caskel, “Die Arbeit des Programmbeirats,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 411.

⁸⁷ See Dörte Schmidt, “Music Before Revolution: Christian Wolff als Dozent und Programmbeirat,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 426.

in 1970 and to override persisting taboos surrounding American music, Thomas immediately invited Wolff to Darmstadt.⁸⁸

Wolff's IFNM engagement included composition seminars and performances of his compositions *Snow Drop* (1970) and *Lines* (1972).⁸⁹ In his introduction to his first seminar, Wolff touched on themes often associated with American experimentalism: isolation, non-conformism, and lack of patronage.⁹⁰ He connected personal freedom with a symbol that was familiar to his listeners: the wild, vast landscape of North America. American composers' supposed indifference to history, tradition, and established musical systems remained prominent assumptions about American classical music. Wolff saw the freedom associated with a lack of patronage as a major difference between experimental composers and other composers in the United States. But he neither implied that some composers lacked patronage *because* they were composing radical music, nor did he suggest that some composers wrote radical music *because* they were free from specific obligations to venues of support. Admitting that there were both advantages and

⁸⁸ In Germany, Wolff was called "German-American" by some. See Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution," 429f. In fact, Wolff was born in France.

⁸⁹ Other American music during the 1972 IFNM included Lukas Foss's *Echo I, II, and III* and William Albright's *Pneuma* and *Melisma*. The "instrumental studios" (a series of courses) included performances of Earle Brown's *Corroboree* and Cage's *Amores* (Kontarsky led the rehearsals of these pieces). Other Americans attending and performing their own work included James Dashow, Peter Gena, Stanley Hoffman, David Johnson, Ronald Perera, and Alvin Singleton. Of the approximately two hundred course participants in 1972, twenty (10%) were from the United States.

⁹⁰ See Appendix G for a transcription of the beginning of Wolff's first seminar. All of Wolff's seminars in 1972 and 1974 were recorded and are preserved on tape at IMD. They have not been transcribed or published.

disadvantages to the condition of artistic freedom, Wolff placed himself firmly in the American experimental tradition, and continued to do so through the music he discussed.⁹¹

Rudolf Frisius attended Wolff's courses in 1972, and later remarked that "for the first time" since Thomas had been in control, something came from the American experimentalists, and not from the academic side of American music: "the college music didn't interest us."⁹² Along with his discussion of Cage's new compositions, Wolff introduced the recent work of his friends and colleagues Alvin Lucier and Pauline Oliveros (b. 1932), two composers who experimented with live electronics and group improvisations. In the company of IFNM's study groups, which investigated "political music," "collective composition," and "tonality in new music," Wolff's 1972 seminars were not received as particularly political.⁹³ Furthermore, preserving the *Werkbegriff* and the autonomy of art remained on the minds of more traditionally-minded Darmstadt observers and participants. In a lecture given at IFNM in 1972, musicologist Carl Dahlhaus (b. 1928) addressed current issues:

⁹¹ See Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution," 427.

⁹² Frisius interview with the author, 22 May 1998. However, as mentioned in Chapter Three, Lucier, Oliveros, and Wolff were all college employees at the time: in 1972, Oliveros was on the faculty at the University of California in San Diego (following a position at Mills College), Wolff was employed at Dartmouth College (in the Classics department), and Lucier was on the faculty at Wesleyan University (following a position at Brandeis). Frisius's statement reveals a perception of difference between Cage-influenced composers and academic serialists like Babbitt.

⁹³ See Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution," 428.

The alternative authority to the politicization of music, the theory of the isolated, self-contained work of art which invites aesthetic contemplation instead of demanding political action or pseudo-action, seems to have fallen into intellectual bankruptcy. Other than half-heartedly and evasively, no one wants to stand by the classical-romantic maxim of the autonomy of art, a maxim that even the non-Marxists place under suspicion of ideology.⁹⁴

At the same time, Heinz-Klaus Metzger described Wolff and his music in loaded political terms in his essay "Attempt at a Pre-Revolutionary Music," published as liner notes for a record titled "Music Before Revolution."⁹⁵ Metzger's chose words like "destruction," "hierarchical," "domination," "class structure of society," "negation," "violence of dominating relationships," and music as a "product of a social history" to describe Wolff and his music, words that clearly underscored Metzger's political views. Metzger wrote: "while still in the blossoming years of his youth, while he was still studying with Cage, Wolff destroyed an American dream, namely the one of the inherent anarchy of music."⁹⁶ Metzger was not the only one to draw Wolff's music into an

⁹⁴ "Die Gegeninstanz zur Politisierung der Musik, die Theorie des isolierten, in sich geschlossenen Werkes, das zu ästhetischer Kontemplation einlädt, statt politische Aktionen oder Pseudo-Aktionen herauszufordern, scheint in intellektuellen Konkurs geraten zu sein. Niemand mag sich anders als halbherzig und mit Winkelzügen zu der klassizistisch-romantischen Maxime von der Autonomie der Kunst bekennen, einer Maxime, die sogar bei Nicht-Marxisten unter Ideologieverdacht steht." Carl Dahlhaus, "Politische und ästhetische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik," in *Ferienkurse '72*, Vol. 13, Ernst Thomas, ed. (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1973), 16. This article was based on a lecture Dahlhaus held during the 1972 IFNM.

⁹⁵ EMI 1 C 165-28954/57Y (1972). The recording was made in Cologne in June and July 1971. It included Morton Feldman's *Between Categories* (1969), *The Straits of Magellan* (1961), and *For Franz Kline* (1962).

⁹⁶ "[Wolff] zerstörte schon in der Blüte seiner Jünglingsjahre, als er noch bei Cage studierte, einen amerikanischen Traum, denjenigen nämlich von der inhärenten Anarchie der Musik." Heinz-Klaus Metzger, "Versuch über prärevolutionäre Musik," in "Music

ideological framework. Wolff recalled that when Hans G. Helms sent him a script for a radio broadcast Helms had written about Wolff's earlier music, Wolff was pleased with the analysis--"a kind of Marxist analysis"--for he had just entered his own "political phase" around 1969. But Wolff maintained that politics had not motivated his musical decisions during the 1950s.⁹⁷ On ideological interpretations of American music, Wolff said "people like Metzger and Helms like to have things to write about--they like controversy and they like dialectic--and we were serving it up to them on a plate."⁹⁸ Wolff admitted that "in that sense, they viewed the Americans as politically open, free." He added that he and his American colleagues "didn't worry so much about justifying what we did, theoretically or historically."⁹⁹ This attitude sustained German views of American composers as inventive pragmatists, accountable only to themselves. In 1972, aesthetic and political theories, suggested here by Dahlhaus, Metzger and Helms,

Before Revolution" (EMI I C 165-28954/57Y (1971). Cited in Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution," 427.

⁹⁷ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997. In 1974, Hans G. Helms completed his doctoral thesis in Bremen on "The Ideological Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany" ("Die ideologische Lage in der BRD").

⁹⁸ A conversation between Earle Brown and Metzger in 1972 illustrates this point. When Metzger posited: "There is no music that isn't of a political nature," Brown replied: "There is no music that can't be used for politics, but the motives for that music's creation can be completely unpolitical." (Metzger: "Ich würde sagen: es gibt keine Musik, die nicht politischer Natur ist." Brown: "Es gibt keine Musik, die nicht für Politik gebraucht werden kann, doch können die Motive für ihre Entstehung durchaus unpolitisch sein.") Earle Brown, Morton Feldman, Heinz-Klaus Metzger, "Aus einer Diskussion," in *Morton Feldman: Musik-Konzepte* 48/49, Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds. (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1986), 150.

⁹⁹ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997. Gordon Mumma also referred to the "political implications the Germans love to find" as "profoundly important" to their understanding of American music. Mumma interview with the author and Ralf Dietrich, 9 March 1999.

struggled to contain Wolff's music much in the way Adorno and Metzger had argued over Cage and Tudor twelve years earlier (see Chapter Four).

In 1972, Wolff discussed Cage almost exclusively in terms of the political nature of Cage's new composition, the massive *Song Books*, emphasizing that Cage composed the piece while studying social change in China. In the foreword to his new book, *M: Writings '67-'72*, Cage had outlined his recent interest in Mao Tse-Tung, an interest shared by many American and European artists in the early 1970s. Cage's criticisms of the United States--for its excessive waste of the world's resources, for example--reflected a mistrust of American values during the Vietnam era. Cage admired Mao's study of anarchy and praised current developments in China.¹⁰⁰ He compared the Chinese Revolution to "the Thoreau-influenced social actions of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and the Danes in their response to Hitler's invasion."¹⁰¹ In this context, a musical idea that had been in the air since the 1960s now took on an overt political meaning: "the next steps were social, and they are still being taken: we need first of all a music in which not only are sounds just sounds but in which people are just people."¹⁰² In the early 1970s,

¹⁰⁰ For Cage and many other artists (including Cardew, Grosskopf, Rzewski, and Wolff) who leaned toward revolutionary Maoism during the early 1970s, sympathy for Red China came to an end when details of the Cultural Revolution became known in the West. Grosskopf commented that in West Berlin, many preferred Maoism simply because of the proximity to East Germany--Berliners experienced the shortcomings of Stalinist-influenced communism up close. According to Grosskopf, the political period in West Germany ended with the end of the Vietnam War. At that time, many internal German problems, including ecological crises, became more urgent. Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

¹⁰¹ Cage, *M: Writings '67-'72* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 5.

many American composers born during the 1930s, including Ashley, Behrman, Curran, Lucier, Mumma, Oliveros, Rzewski, and Wolff, refined this idea and created a body of work through spontaneous music-making and collective composition. Despite Cage's interest in social reform and its implications in art, his musical anarchy contradicted Marxist ideas of class collectivity. Wolff's discussions of composers Oliveros and Lucier found more resonance.

In mid-1973, Ernst Thomas invited Wolff to return for the 1974 IFNM. Wolff accepted, but added that he would prefer to conduct sessions with one or more of his American colleagues. He suggested bringing David Behrman, Fredenc Rzewski, or Gordon Mumma ("an extraordinary electronic engineer"), and emphasized that extending an extra invitation "would help bring more American composers to Darmstadt."¹⁰³ Thomas agreed to invite Mumma and offered him a fee of DM 1,000 (about \$368).¹⁰⁴ Thomas later told Wolff that he looked forward to having Mumma participate in 1974.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Letter from Wolff to Thomas, 14 July 1973 [IMD].

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Thomas to Wolff, 8 October 1973 [IMD].

¹⁰⁵ "Es freut mich sehr, daß Herr Mumma nach Darmstadt kommt." Letter from Thomas to Wolff, 25 February 1974 [IMD]. Mumma ended up only giving one lecture at the IFNM in 1974, during which he said: "The United States has a long history of individualist creative artists. [. . .] Some, like the composer Charles Ives, are widely known. Though the universities still tend to nourish conformity, the individualists survive. The individualists, even the crackpots, are a source of pride to almost everyone. They are the source of our most fertile innovation." Gordon Mumma, "Witchcraft, Cybersonics, Folkloric Virtuosity," in *Ferienkurse '74*, Vol. 14 (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1975), 72 [published in original English].

Wolff's 1974 seminars were more political than two years before, and his courses examined music's role as a social and political phenomenon.¹⁰⁶ Frequent collaboration with both Cornelius Cardew and Frederic Rzewski during this period strongly influenced his aesthetic views. In his 1974 seminars he introduced recent compositions based on political texts, such as Rzewski's *Attica* (1972, with a text written by a prisoner during a prison uprising in Attica, New York), Cardew's *The Great Learning* (1968-79, based on texts by Confucius, in translation by Ezra Pound), and Wolff's own *Changing the System* (1972-73, based on texts from revolutionary China). *Changing the System* inspired a spontaneous discussion on the relationship between musical form and political meaning. Another discussion centered on political texts circulating at the IFNM, including a Marxist manifesto distributed by the West German "Initiative for the Founding of a Union for Socialist Creators of Culture," and a flyer written during IFNM that criticized Wolff's political position.¹⁰⁷ Wolff's final session led to discussions on what some saw as the musical regression implied by using tonal centers and regular, pulsing rhythms in new compositions.¹⁰⁸ Students weighed the value of popular music as a model for avant-garde music, and argued about audiences' perceptions of accessibility and obscurity. For example, Wolff's students considered free jazz--especially by Chicago's Association for

¹⁰⁶ Information on Wolff's 1974 seminars was obtained from the five tapes housed at [IMD]. As in his seminars in 1972, Wolff translated most of what he said into both German and French.

¹⁰⁷ Wolff later collaborated with the Berlin composer Erhard Grosskopf, a member of the "Initiative."

¹⁰⁸ For many of Wolff's German students, the idea of a musical *regression* would have been closely connected to the concept of *progress* as spelled out in Hegel's philosophical interpretation of history. See Chapter Four.

the Advancement of Creative Musicians--as “non-accessible jazz” limited to a small audience. On the other hand, Terry Riley’s recent compositions represented for them a newly “accessible” avant-garde appealing to a large audience more familiar with rock music.¹⁰⁹ In the summer of 1974 the question of music’s role in political debates--and music’s ability to bring about social change--was openly asked. But such topics were otherwise rare in Darmstadt. In the years to come, IFNM omitted minimal music, popular music, and jazz composers from its dominant aesthetic discourse. Following the 1974 IFNM, Wolff was not invited to return to Darmstadt until 1994. He later summarized his IFNM experience:

1972 and 1974 were like night and day. People were unhappy with the situation but nobody was doing much about it. But by 1974, the place had just sort of blown up. [. . .] [Students] were really up in arms, they boycotted stuff and had demonstrations and they ran petitions, sort of the typical late 1960s, early 1970s scene. [. . .] In 1974 it was really rather unpleasant because it was very polarized between the old guard and the young turks. I was in the middle and got very much on the wrong side of the director Thomas, who was a very conservative character, he was very inflexible, he just couldn’t see that there were problems at all.¹¹⁰

In some ways, Wolff’s visits culminated American music’s role in IFNM history.

The Darmstadt scholar Dörte Schmidt connected this role with German struggles to explain, assimilate, or reconcile the consequences of experimental music. She wrote:

Wolff’s courses in Darmstadt in 1972 and 1974 illuminate [. . .] the Darmstadt crisis of 1970 and the aesthetic discussions that followed, because they showed *a change in what one understood of the word*

¹⁰⁹ Rzewski was one of few experimental composers who crossed both the color line and stylistic boundaries between minimalism and free jazz. Beginning around 1970 he collaborated regularly with Anthony Braxton, Steve Lacy, and George Lewis.

¹¹⁰ Wolff interview with the author, 26 June 1997.

“experimental:” musical material and technical aspects of composing were no longer the subject of experiment, rather the musical actions themselves. During the 1950s in Germany Brown, Cage, Feldman and Wolff were seen as a closed group. Now their differences were beginning to be observed.¹¹¹ [emphasis mine]

Like Cage’s visit in 1958 and Feldman’s visit later in 1984, Wolff’s IFNM visits in 1972 and 1974 marked consequential moments in the relationship between American experimental composers and the German new music community. While views of American music might have persisted just as they had for decades, the changing face of culture, entertainment, audience, and politics in West Germany, allowed the niche for experimentalism to expand. That expansion was due in part to the arrival of minimalism, a relatively new style stemming clearly--for West Germans, at least--from the American experimental tradition.

Minimalism: Steve Reich and Musicians on Tour

When Terry Riley’s repetitive yet indeterminate composition *In C* (1964) was performed at the IFNM in 1969, the music fell on deaf ears. It was not until three years later that the

¹¹¹ “Wolffs Kurse in Darmstadt 1972 und 1974 sind für die sich in der Darmstädter Krise von 1970 artikulierende--jedoch durchaus nicht auf Darmstadt begrenzte--Situation und die darauffolgenden ästhetischen Diskussionen sehr aufschlußreich, denn sie zeigen eine Veränderung dessen, was man unter ‘experimentell’ verstand: Gegenstand des Experiments waren nicht mehr das musikalische Material und die technischen Aspekte des Komponierens, sondern wurde nun das musikalische Handeln selbst. Hatte man Brown, Cage, Feldman, Wolff in den 50er Jahren in Deutschland als geschlossene Gruppe gesehen, begann man nun zunehmend Unterschiede wahrzunehmen.” Schmidt, “Music Before Revolution,” 426.

implications of American minimalism began to be discussed openly in West Germany. In 1972, Steve Reich and Musicians, the name for Reich's performing ensemble, gave five concerts in West Germany:¹¹²

Table 6.2: Performances by Steve Reich and Musicians in West Germany, 1972

| | |
|-------------|--|
| January: | Kunsthalle, Hamburg (<i>Four Organs</i>) |
| | Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf (<i>Four Organs</i>) |
| 28 January: | <i>Musik der Zeit</i> Festival, WDR Cologne (<i>Four Organs</i> ; <i>Piano Phase</i> ; <i>Pendulum Music</i> ; <i>Phase Patterns</i> [and <i>Drumming Part 1 and 2?</i>]) |
| 7 May: | <i>pro musica nova</i> , Bremen (<i>Drumming</i>) |
| 13 July: | <i>Woche der avantgardistischen Musik</i> Berlin (<i>Four Organs</i> ; <i>Drumming</i>) |

These performances--and especially those of Reich's new piece *Drumming* (1971), a one-to-two hour showpiece for some eight-to-twelve performers--sparked heated debates on the value and meaning of minimalism.¹¹³

Hans Otte's willingness to support American composers helped Reich establish a strong foothold in Germany.¹¹⁴ During the spring of 1971, Reich appealed to Otte for

¹¹² In a recent public interview, Reich said that it was not until opportunities for playing in Europe arose in 1972 that he found that he was "actually able to pay the rent." Steve Reich, in University Musical Society Master of Arts Interview Series, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 9 April 1999.

¹¹³ The score of *Drumming* does not prescribe a set number of players, and its duration is flexible. Though Reich wrote to Otte that he would perform *Drumming* in Bremen with eight musicians (see letter below, 12 July 1971), he listed twelve performers for the Bremen performance in Steve Reich, *Writings About Music* (New York: New York University Press, 1974), 75.

¹¹⁴ For example, a minimalism scholar has written: "Contacts in Germany led to the 1974 release of *Drumming* on the prestigious *Deutsche Grammophon* label" (See K. Robert Schwarz, *Minimalists* [London: Phaidon Press, 1996], 78). The German record label *Deutsche Grammophon* recorded *Drumming* in January 1974 for release that fall. In 1972, Reich had put out a limited edition of a live recording made of his 1972 Town Hall

support, writing: "We have not as yet performed in Germany, and perhaps you could help us arrange our first concert there."¹¹⁵ A few months later, Reich wrote again: "As I mentioned in my letter a few days ago, we have heard very good things about you from our friends in the Sonic Arts Group and also from Frederic Rzewski. So we are anxious to come and meet you and play some music for you."¹¹⁶ Reich hoped to perform in Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen and perhaps in the Berlin Academy of the Arts in late 1971; in another letter Reich spelled out the logistics for Otte.¹¹⁷ Just as word of Steinecke's

performance of the piece. Five hundred of those records were sold with a full score, signed and numbered by the composer.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Reich to Otte, 14 April 1971 [RB].

¹¹⁶ Letter from Reich to Otte, 25 June 1971 [RB]. Later, Reich wrote: "As I have told you already, I keep hearing wonderful things about you and your work for new music from my friends in the Sonic Arts Group. I am looking forward to meeting you--either in January or May." Letter from Reich to Otte, 12 July 1971. Reproduced in program booklet for *pro musica nova* May 1972.

¹¹⁷ Later, Reich outlined his plans as follows: "As I may have told you, I have several concerts arranged in January [1972] in France and England and also on January 28 at the *Westdeutscher Rundfunk Köln* who are having their festival of new music in January. So you see I will definitely be coming to Germany in January. As I see it, we have two possibilities. Firstly, you could have my musicians and I play for you in January either on January 22, 23, or 24, or if you prefer, after we are in Cologne on January 30 or 31. As I mentioned, we will be 8 musicians and can play for you my new 2 hour long piece *Drumming*--which we will not be playing at the WDR. As I mentioned, our price, which includes all travel, hotel and everything else is usually \$1500, but if you find this too high, we can, I am sure, work something out. Secondly, if you prefer, we could come in May for your festival, but since we have no other concerts arranged yet for this time in Europe, it would be necessary for you to pay for the round trip air transportation for my smaller ensemble of 5 musicians. That is, it would cost you \$2000 for the transportation of my musicians and our instruments and equipment. We could then, I think, only charge you a very small token fee of \$500 for our concert. It would, however, be impossible to play for you in May unless you can pay the \$2000 for the air fares. If you can do this, please let me know soon as I will then try and arrange some other work for us in May as this will be necessary for us to survive financially." Letter from Reich to Otte, 12 July 1971. Reproduced in program booklet for *pro musica nova* 1972.

patronage of American experimentalists had spread quickly through experimental circles in the United States in the mid-1950s, so did news of Otte's willingness to provide similar support in the early 1970s. Reich praised Otte's support of experimental composers, writing: "Your 'poor little city-station' is doing more for new American music than any other organization in Europe that I know of."¹¹⁸

Reich's *Drumming* had been premiered at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on 3 December 1971; it was performed again at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on 11 December 1971 and shortly thereafter at Town Hall. The "packed house" at MOMA gave the composer a standing ovation at the end of the evening.¹¹⁹ The Bremen performance of the piece in 1972 included American musicians such as Joan La Barbara, and English musicians Michael Nyman, Gavin Bryars, and Cornelius Cardew; Frederic Rzewski took part in other German performances of the piece. In addition to inviting Reich to attend the *pro musica nova* festival in May 1972, Otte also arranged for in-house recordings of Reich's *Four Organs* and *Piano Phase* to be produced at *Radio Bremen* in January of that same year.

A review of *pro musica nova* in 1972 carried the headline: "Steve Reich's Success at Bremen's *pro musica nova*: Will New Music Once Again Become Listenable?" The reviewer brought up a criticism that was sometimes made against Reich during the early reception of his work in Germany, namely, that *Drumming* stood for "musical fascism" because the rigidity of the aural result suppressed social criticism and manipulated the

¹¹⁸ Letter from Reich to Otte, 17 October 1971 [RB].

¹¹⁹ Letter from Laura Dean to Otte, 7 December 1971 [RB].

listener's emotions.¹²⁰ Reich's first West German performances in 1972 caused the most heated debates about American music since Cage and Tudor visited the continent in the 1950s. Ernstalbrecht Stiebler recalled that many Germans who admired the New York School composers opposed Reich and minimalism at first.¹²¹ The amount of controversy surrounding performances of *Drumming* marked yet another major milestone in the reception of American music, and new music in general. While reviewing Reich's Berlin performance in July 1972, the music journalist Wolfgang Burde--often an island of praise for experimental music in a sea of negative reviews--admitted that, despite its shortcomings, *Drumming* actually sounded good.¹²² Burde described the mostly negative reactions to Reich's piece by new music critics attending the premiere in Bremen, remarking that judging this piece on a value system used for other new music was

¹²⁰ " 'Faschistisch' ist allerdings in den Augen sogenannter Avantgarde-Kritiker auch die Musik von Steve Reich, weil sie den Menschen angeblich in eine Empfindungs- und nicht in eine gesellschaftskritische Denkrichtung dränge. [. . .] Öffentlich nicht diskutiert wurde auch der 'lautstarke Protest deutscher Komponisten' (Otte), die sich in Bremen 'unterrepräsentiert' fühlten. Otte: 'Vielleicht hat diese Veranstaltung gerade auf diejenigen, die sich vorher beklagt haben, einen heilsamen Effekt gehabt.' " Helmut Lesch, "Wird Neue Musik wieder anhörbar?" AZ (10/11 May 1972) [RB].

¹²¹ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. Stiebler himself first heard Reich in Bremen in 1972, and later provided Reich with his first commission (for HR): Reich's *Octet* was premiered in Frankfurt on 21 June 1979.

¹²² "Den Mangel aller konzentrierenden Arbeit vielmehr weniger sinnfällig, weniger zur unmittelbaren Kommunikation, zum gelasseneren Lebensgefühl beitragen zu können, diesen Mangel macht das Stück offenbar zu seinem Gegenstand und realisiert ihn--daran ist gar kein Zweifel--mit Lustgewinn für alle, die es hören." Wolfgang Burde, "Trommeln, Buntheit, Exotik: Steve Reich in der 'Woche der avantgardistischen Musik,'" *Der Tagesspiegel* (15 July 1972).

useless.¹²³ Hans Otto Spingel, an irritated critic discussing the work's success in Berlin, referred to Steve Reich and Musicians as "slick professionals." While complaining that Reich's "pretty conservative music" had been the high point of the week, he criticized the Academy of the Arts for programming such a "hit." "Music is supposed to be made here," he wrote, "under auspices that want to disregard notions of public success and commercial forces."¹²⁴ Another critic used Reich's music to poke fun at leading avant-garde styles: not only was Reich's music tonal ("in the eyes of orthodox avant-gardists, a horrible, unforgivable sin!"), he wrote, but it did something that had been systematically abandoned in the last decades, it engaged both the ear and the intellect equally.¹²⁵ But the

¹²³ "Was in Bremen, auf dem Festival *pro musica nova* (Gottfried Eberle hat sich an dieser Stelle positiv zu dem Stück geäußert) die Kommentatoren avancierter Musik zu oft hochmütigen Notizen anregte-- 'Ich habe den Eindruck, man versucht der Artikulation der Zeit dadurch zu entgehen, daß man sie totschißt' (Clytus Gottwald)--war auch in der "Woche der avantgardistischen Musik" Gegenstand erregter Pausengespräche. Und in der Tat ist diesem Stück, nähert man sich ihm in wertender Absicht, nur schwer beizukommen. [. . .] Es scheint sinnlos also, Reichs *Drumming* um jeden Preis und zuerst an konzentriert ausgearbeiteten Musikwerken messen zu wollen." Wolfgang Burde, "Trommeln, Buntheit, Exotik," *Der Tagesspiegel* (15 July 1972).

¹²⁴ "Ausgekochte Professionals." "Komisch ist nur, wenn man das Foyer der Akademie vor, während und nach den Konzerten der Woche--und an diesem Abend besonders: Roch man doch, das Werk bereits gehört habend und kennend, den Erfolg in Berlin bereits vorher--in eine musikalische Börse, in eine Maklerlobby verwandelt sieht. Musik soll doch hier gemacht werden, unter Auspizien, die die Begriffe des äußeren Erfolges, der kommerziellen Zwänge außer acht lassen wollen." Hans Otto Spingel, "Schmeicheleien aus der Provence: Steve Reichs Rhapsodie *Drumming* in der Akademie der Künste," *Die Welt* (15 July 1972).

¹²⁵ "Steve Reich hat an einem spröden Material verwirklicht, was einstmals gute Tradition war, aber in den letzten Jahrzehnten geradezu systematisch verschüttet wurde: Ohr und Intellekt wurden gleichzeitig beschäftigt. [. . .] Sie ist sogar tonal--eine gräßliche, unvergebbare Sünde in den Augen orthodoxer Avantgardisten!" Wilfried W. Bruchhäuser, "Tief Luft geholt und Hoffnung geschöpft: 'Woche der avantgardistischen Musik Berlin 1972' im Studio der Akademie," *Berliner Morgenpost* (15 July 1972).

attitude of German new music critics in general proved incompatible with Reich's enjoyable music, and some composers too were uneasy with the implications of compromise inherent in minimalism's tonal, pulsing sound.¹²⁶ Though most German composers shunned "popularity," they also marveled at minimalism's ability to communicate. Following the alienation of contemporary music audiences through the extreme abstraction of serial music, some composers and critics alike welcomed the possibilities of a new style. Even Stuckenschmidt admitted: "For the first time in a long while we have something here that one immediately wants to hear again."¹²⁷

Minimalism seemed to answer some of the questions raised by politically active composers during the early 1970s as to how to involve more players, including amateurs, and how to reach a wider audience. By 1974, the question of tonality's role in music's political voice was on many people's minds, and swayed the reception of minimalism: many began to see minimalism as new music's popular cousin. A discussion during Wolff's first IFNM session on 22 July 1974 illustrates the changing concerns of the new music community. After a session on Rzewski's *Coming Together* (1972), a tonal and rhythmically regular piece with a clearly spoken text about the prison uprising in Attica, Wolff played a recording of Glass's *Music in Similar Motion* (1969). IFNM documents indicate that this was the first time Glass's music had been heard at Darmstadt. *Music in Similar Motion* provoked a heated discussion about the "pop" elements in Glass's music,

¹²⁶ In my interviews, both Stiebler and Schnebel discussed their initial skepticism about minimal music.

¹²⁷ "Seit langem einmal etwas, das man gleich wieder hören möchte." Stuckenschmidt, "Das Trommeln des Steve Reich," *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (15 July 1972).

as well as discussions of class, audience, and the elitism of new music. Around the same time, in July 1974, Glass gave a concert in Cologne. Monika Lichtenfeld reviewed the concert, writing: “There is no trace in this music of the concrete and socially-critical contents into the distribution of which European musicians lately put such an effort.”¹²⁸ Despite the political implications of music that appealed to a wide variety of listeners rather than just to an elite, educated minority, minimalism’s distance from social protest was duly noted, and what was interpreted as an allegiance to the capitalist market became a strike against Glass in particular. For example, even European composers whose ears had been open to radical American ideas remained guarded about minimalism because of its undesirable connection to popular music, commerce, and profit. Selective praise was served up with much justification. Reflecting on minimalism’s impact in Germany, the composer Dieter Schnebel commented many years later:

My avant-garde colleagues for example, just cursed American minimalism. And I found that to be too short-sighted. Well, I’m also no great fan of Philip Glass or others. But what Terry Riley did for any number of instruments in 1964 with *In C*, or what Steve Reich did in *Drumming* in 1970, that was a new way. That was also a development of compositional techniques that didn’t exist before. Just because all of that no longer fit into a particular aesthetic or because it used seemingly traditional sounds, one still couldn’t say that it was of the past. This music is not ‘from yesterday.’ Fine, in America, with Glass, this music has approached pop music. But I find Glass’s early music very new, especially in it’s rhythmic aspects, even a piece like the opera *Einstein on the Beach* of 1975/76: that is a work of genius. What he does today, on the other hand, is cheap commerce. But again, that is a very American problem. If musicians are successful--and this applies especially to the American art

¹²⁸ “Von konkreten, etwa gesellschaftskritischen Inhalten, um deren Vermittlung sich europäische Musiker in jüngster Zeit verstärkt bemühen, ist in dieser Musik freilich nichts zu finden.” Monika Lichtenfeld, “Musik unter der Lupe zu hören: Amerikanische Avantgarde-Musiker in der Kölner Ausstellung ‘Projekt ‘74’,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (24 July 1974) [IMD].

market, but I fear that this will also soon happen here--the market expects that they stay with the brand product they have developed, and that they maybe even popularize it. This is what has happened with Glass.¹²⁹

Schnebel lived in Munich from 1970 until 1977, where he formed a new music group (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Neue Musik*) at the high school where he taught. Every year this group gave one or two concerts sponsored by Josef Anton Riedl. Schnebel often programmed Cage and other American composers, in particular Feldman, Reich, Riley, Rzewski, Wolff, and Young.¹³⁰ Despite his reserve, he also relished the possibilities of minimal music, and despite his colleagues' skepticism, he performed much of this music with his group in Munich.¹³¹ Schnebel recalled:

¹²⁹ "Meine Avantgarde-Kollegen haben beispielsweise die amerikanische minimal-music einfach verteufelt. Und das fand ich zu kurzichtig. Gut, ich bin auch kein Fan von Philip Glass oder anderen. Aber was Terry Riley 1964 in seinem *In C* für beliebig viele Instrumente gemacht hat oder Steve Reich in *Drumming* von 1970, das war ein neuer Weg. Das war auch eine Entwicklung von Kompositionstechniken, die es bisher nicht gab. Bloß, weil das alles nicht mehr in eine bestimmte Ästhetik paßte oder scheinbar traditionelle Klänge verwendete, kann man nicht sagen, das ist von gestern. Diese Musik ist nicht von gestern. Gut, in Amerika hat sie sich etwa bei Glass der Popmusik angenähert. Aber ich finde die frühe Musik von Glass sehr neu, vor allem im Rhythmischen, auch noch so ein Stück wie die Oper *Einstein on the Beach* von 1975/76 ist ein genialer Wurf. Was er heute macht, ist dagegen billiger Kommerz. Aber das ist wieder ein sehr amerikanisches Problem. Wenn Musiker Erfolg haben--und das betrifft besonders die amerikanische Kunstszene, ich befürchte allerdings, daß das allmählich auch bei uns so weit kommt--erwartet der Markt, daß sie bei ihrem Markenartikel bleiben, ihn vielleicht sogar popularisieren. Das ist bei Glass geschehen." Dieter Schnebel in interview with Gisela Nauck, "Avantgarde in einer Postmodernen Situation," *Positionen* 5 (1990): 14.

¹³⁰ Schnebel remarked: "Ich habe mich sehr für Musik aus Amerika eingesetzt, und habe auch dann meistens auch Kommentare gegeben." Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998.

¹³¹ "Ich habe mich dann [. . .] weiter für die amerikanische Musik interessiert, und dann kam die minimal music auch auf, und ich fand das sehr faszinierend. Es gab bei den Europäern eine Aversion dagegen, und sie haben sich immer furchtbar darüber aufgeregt,

At the end of the 1960s I had the feeling that serialism was petering out. [. . .] Little by little, I found it all so tedious and boring. And what Riley or Reich brought, that was fresh. [. . .] The German and the European new music scene in general just seemed so old-fashioned to me, so hardened, nothing was coming anymore. And then young Americans came, who chose a path that would never occur to a European. In Europe, the situation is such that you grow up in a centuries-old music tradition and that conditions you and you are rooted in it. The avant-garde music of the 1950s and 60s was a consequential continuation of Schoenberg and Webern. But then it suddenly just didn't really go much further, and all the while, Steve Reich was going somewhere totally different.¹³²

The German composer Erhard Grosskopf also helped the spread of minimalism in Berlin. Grosskopf met Earle Brown in 1971 while Brown lived in Berlin on a DAAD Artist-in-Residence fellowship. Brown brought with him to Berlin a recording of Steve Reich's early tape pieces *It's Gonna Rain* (1965) and *Come Out* (1966), which he gave to Grosskopf. Grosskopf became a self-appointed "agent" for minimal music, introducing Walter Bachauer and the Dutch composer Louis Andriessen to the new sound.¹³³ In

daß es tonal ist. Sie haben nur C-Dur gehört und haben nicht gehört, was auf rhythmischem Gebiet Aufregendes passierte." Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998.

¹³² "Ich hatte das Gefühl Ende der sechziger Jahre, daß der Serialismus sich totlief. [. . .] Ich fand das allmählich öde und langweilig. Und dann, das, was Riley oder Reich brachten, das hatte eine Frische. [. . .] Mir schien einfach diese deutsche und diese allgemein europäische Szene der Neuen Musik, die kam mir plötzlich so altmodisch, so verhärtet vor, da kam nichts mehr . . . und da kamen junge Amerikaner, die einen Weg gingen, an den ein Europäer nie dran denken würde. Die Situation in Europa ist halt so: man wächst in einer jahrhundertelangen Musiktradition auf, und das prägt einen, und man ist sehr drin verhaftet, und die Avantgarde-Musik der 50er und 60er Jahre ist eine konsequente Fortsetzung von Schoenberg und Webern. Und da ging's plötzlich auch nicht so richtig weiter, während dabei Steve Reich plötzlich ganz woanders hin ging." Schnebel interview with the author, 4 February 1998.

¹³³ Grosskopf: "Ich war ein Agent für minimal music, fand es wirklich neu, habe es Leute gezeigt die es nicht kannten, z.B. Walter Bachauer. Er hat sofort Reich eingeladen nach Berlin." Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

December of that year, Bachauer visited New York where he saw the premiere of Reich's *Drumming*. As we have seen, Bachauer immediately invited Reich to perform in Berlin in 1972, and he also featured minimalism in his *Metamusik* festivals throughout the 1970s. Louis Andriessen in turn influenced a growing school of minimalism in Holland, and has become one of the most prominent European minimalist composers.

Conclusion: An Audience for the Avant-Garde?

Minimalism established a niche for experimentalism within the music market on both sides of the Atlantic. But growing acceptance of American experimental music in West Germany provided a historical framework within which minimalist composers could easily be located. Festivals featuring music by Cage, Feldman, Reich, Riley, Rzewski, Tudor, Wolff and La Monte Young in Bremen, Berlin, and elsewhere in 1972 celebrated these composers as representatives of an American music tradition worth cultivating. In exchange for their presence at new music venues they were offered wide exposure, recording opportunities, and publicity. Because a highly selective view of American music increasingly favored experimentalism to the exclusion of all else, for people like Otte, Riedl, and Bachauer, extending support to a new wave of American composers closely linked to Cage was a logical next step. By the end of 1972, it was

Schwarz partly credits Rzewski with the spread of minimalism in Europe, writing that Rzewski "had brought the recording of Terry Riley's *In C* to Amsterdam in 1971, and Andriessen was immediately drawn to its repetitive jazz licks, its steady pulse, and its participatory, democratic approach to musical form." Schwarz, *Minimalists*, 206.

clear that German new music moved toward a musical syncretism more prevalent up to that time in the United States than in Europe. As the tonal breakthrough of minimalism came to be widely accepted and the Vietnam era became part of history, political agendas were dropped by most composers. When the social battles of the 1970s appeared to end in defeat for those who desired greater change, new music turned both inward and toward the past for inspiration. In a new musical era, the unlikely figure of Morton Feldman--connected in unique ways to Cage, minimalism, and the Old World--slowly emerged as a star of American experimentalism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FELDMAN AND GERMANY

Feldman's music seems to sound from other worlds, it is beyond comprehension within our consciousness that labors under European categories of thought. [. . .] [It] still seems to spread the American legend of the land of unlimited possibilities.¹

Introduction: Early Feldman Reception in Germany

Since 1984, the West German new music community has shown unprecedented interest in the music of Morton Feldman. His rise to the status of a cult figure shows Germany's ambivalent relationship with American music--and American experimental composers' ambivalent acceptance of German patronage. This chapter traces Feldman's connection to Germany, the ways in which his music was received there, and the key events of 1984 that led to his prominent position in German new music circles.

Feldman, born in New York in 1926, studied composition with Stefan Wolpe and Wallingford Riegger. After graduating from high school, he joined his parents' garment

¹ "Die Musik Feldmans scheint aus anderen Welten herüberzutönen, sie ist mit unserem in europäischen Denkkategorien befangenen Bewußtsein nicht zu fassen. Seine Töne kennen weder Raum noch Zeit. Sie kolportieren offenbar auf eine recht subtile, ästhetische Weise immer noch die amerikanische Legende vom Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten." Heinz Zeitsch, "Zwischen Bewegung und Erstarrung: Zu den 33. Internationalen Ferienkursen für Neue Musik in Darmstadt," *Musica* 6 (November-December 1986): 546.

business and composed in his free time. He met John Cage at the American premiere of Anton Webern's *Symphony, Op. 21* (1928), played by the New York Philharmonic on 26 January 1950.² Soon after, he moved into the same New York building where Cage lived, on Grand Street overlooking the East River. Here he met painters and musicians in Cage's circle of friends. Feldman gained a certain notoriety for his innovations in graphic notation and open or mobile form in the 1950s, and for his process pieces of the 1960s, but his audience remained small and located primarily in downtown New York. However, the late 1960s brought changes for Feldman. In 1966 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship that made it possible for him to compose full time; at the same time, he left the family business. From 1971-72 Feldman held a one-year DAAD Artist-in-Residence stipend to West Berlin. In 1972, he was appointed a full-time faculty position at the State University of New York in Buffalo, where he remained until his death in 1987. Upon acceptance of the Edgard Varèse Chair of composition at SUNY Buffalo, he entered an academic climate for the first time in his life: Feldman never

² The other works on the program were Cherubini's *Overture to Anacréon*, Rachmaninoff's *Symphonic Dances*, and Beethoven's *Piano Concerto No. 5*. See "Mitropoulos Conducts Symphony by Von Webern," *Musical America* (February 1950): 269. Both Cage and Feldman left the concert after the Webern symphony and spoke to each other in the lobby. Feldman has described this first meeting in: Feldman, "Autobiography," in *Morton Feldman: Essays* (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1985), 36f; *John Cage/Morton Feldman Radio Happenings 1-5*, Gisela Gronemeyer and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, eds. (Cologne: MusikTexte, 1993), 95ff; John Dwyer, "I Met Heine on the Rue Fürstemberg: In Conversation with Morton Feldman," *Buffalo Evening News* (21 April 1973): B6f; Thomas Moore, "We Must Pursue Anxiety: An Interview with Morton Feldman," *Sonus 4/2* (Spring 1984): 14ff; Alan Beckett, "Morton Feldman," *International Times 3* (November 1966): 15f.

attended college.³ Just a few years earlier, Feldman had criticized composition professors for taking the side of “the Germanic musical tradition,” revealing in part his distaste for the dominance of serialism in music schools.⁴ However, his position at SUNY Buffalo coincided with his achieving critical acclaim in West Germany.

Feldman’s music was first heard publicly in West Germany at a new music festival in Donaueschingen on 17 October 1954, when Cage played Feldman’s only electronic composition, *Intersection*, part of Cage’s collective Tape Music Project. In 1956, David Tudor recorded Feldman’s *Intermissions 5* at NDR in Hamburg; the recording was broadcast during the 1957-58 season. During Stefan Wolpe’s IFNM lecture “On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America” during the summer of 1956, Tudor performed Feldman’s *Piano Piece*. When Cage and Tudor played Feldman’s *Two Pianos* at the IFNM two years later, the young composer Ernstalbrecht Stiebler was awestruck. And the next month, in October 1958, Cage and Tudor included a Feldman piece for two pianos (possibly *Two Pianos*) as a dance accompaniment for Merce Cunningham and Carolyn Brown at NDR’s *Das neue Werk* new music festival in Hamburg. Heinz-Klaus Metzger remembered hearing Feldman during the 1950s:

When I try to recall my first Feldman experience . . . virtuosic, short pieces . . . not meditative but virtuosic. From the very beginning I found it very striking, back then, a composer who made music that was so

³ This academic position was originally intended to be called the Charles Ives Chair; Feldman insisted on the name change. See Paula Kopstick Ames, “Piano,” in *The Music of Morton Feldman*, Thomas DeLio, ed. (New York: Excelsior Music Publishing, 1996), 142.

⁴ Morton Feldman, “Boola Boola,” *The Composer* 22 (winter 1966-67): 13f. Reprinted in *Morton Feldman: Essays*, Walter Zimmermann, ed. (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1985), 51 (hereafter, *Essays*).

different. The acrobatic *Intersections 3*, and also totally quiet things with a couple of tones. And then the early reception through young American composers in Cologne. For example, Wolff said he was very influenced first by Boulez with nine tones, then he was influenced by Cage with five tones, and now he was under the influence of Feldman with only four tones, a process of concentration on the essentials. And then someone like Kagel in the late 1950s was very excited about Feldman. [Kagel] came to Germany in 1958. [There is] no trace of Feldman in his music, but he loved it.⁵

During the 1960s, a number of Feldman's piano pieces were performed in Cologne, often by Frederic Rzewski and Cornelius Cardew. But in the shadow of the controversy unleashed by Cage's 1958 lectures, Feldman was still considered, along with Brown and Wolff, merely a member of the musical New York School. His status as a Cage disciple held fast until the postwar generation had been challenged by a younger group who readily accepted Cage's methods and were eager to examine the work of other experimental composers, as we have seen in Chapter Six. Later, some new music specialists felt that Feldman's music had been unfairly overshadowed by the turmoil surrounding Cage, and that it emerged and was discovered during the "deficient" situation

⁵ "Wenn ich versuche, mich daran zu erinnern, an meine ersten Feldman-Erlebnisse . . . virtuose, kurze Stücke . . . nicht meditativ, sondern virtuos. Es hat mich von Anfang an sehr frappiert. Damals, als ein Komponist, der so verschiedene Musik macht. Akrobatische *Intersections 3*, und auch ganz stille Sachen mit ein paar Tönen. Und dann die erste Rezeption durch junge amerikanische Komponisten in Köln. Zum Beispiel Wolff hat gesagt, er war sehr beeinflusst erst von Boulez mit neun Tönen, dann unter Einfluß von Cage mit fünf Tönen, und jetzt unter dem Einfluß von Feldman mit nur vier Tönen. Ein Konzentrationsprozess auf's Essenzielle. Und dann jemand in den späten 50er Jahren, Kagel, war sehr begeistert über Feldman. Kam 1958 nach Deutschland. Keine Spur von Feldman in Kagels Musik, aber er hat es geliebt." Metzger/Riehn interview with the author, 22 July 1998.

for new music in the mid-1970s.⁶ An independent interest in Feldman's music took root after Feldman began his year-long West Berlin residency in the fall of 1971.

Feldman in West Berlin, 1971-72

I personally feel that the DAAD is the most important cultural project existing anywhere today. My residence in Berlin was the most productive year in my life, and what makes me happy is not only because of the music I composed in that time, but the fact that much of it was commissioned by various German radio and festival organizations.⁷

Feldman's residency in West Berlin from September 1971 until October 1972 signaled a turning point in his professional career, and also in German attitudes toward contemporary American music. Though Feldman's experience outside the United States before this time had been minimal, as early as 1964, H. Wiley Hitchcock wrote that Feldman's music was "much better known and more frequently heard in Europe than here."⁸ In 1964 Everett Helm published an article in *Melos* titled "Experimental Music in

⁶ "Nachdem man [Feldman] in Europa lange im Schatten John Cages übersehen hatte, ermöglichte es die defizitäre Situation der zeitgenössischen Musik Mitte der siebziger Jahre, den Komponisten Morton Feldman zu entdecken und einzuladen. So konnte man denn die faszinierende Lehrerpersönlichkeit kennenlernen, die den Meisterschülern die alten Ansprüche der Neuen Musik widerspruchsvoll aus der Hand schlug." Bernd Leukert, "Die Musik ist immer schon da: Zum Tode des amerikanischen Komponisten Morton Feldman," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (7 September 1987).

⁷ Feldman, in 1975, reflecting on his year in Berlin. In *10 Jahren Berliner Künstlerprogram*, 62.

⁸ Hitchcock wrote the same about Earle Brown. "Current Chronicle, United States: New York," *Musical Quarterly* 50/1 (January 1964): 91.

the United States.” He devoted several paragraphs to Feldman’s use of indeterminacy, and compared his “inexactness” (*Ungenauigkeit*) to the attitude of contemporary American painters and their avoidance of strict methodology and systems. Feldman himself described the New York abstract expressionist painters as “not fighting the traditional historical position, not fighting authority, not fighting religion; this is what gives it that uniquely American tone; it did not inherit the polemical continuity of European art.”⁹ As described by Helm, Feldman offered Germans just what they expected from an American experimentalist: a composer who disregarded convention in favor of his own artistic reality.

As time went on, Hitchcock’s 1964 claim turned out to be prophetic. On a Guggenheim grant Feldman traveled to England, where he lectured during the spring of 1966. At the time, Earle Brown was living in Paris and he invited Feldman to the continent for a visit--the composer’s first trip to mainland Europe.¹⁰ A few years later, Brown again drew Feldman to Europe. From 1970 until 1971, Brown lived in Berlin with the support of a DAAD Artist-in-Residence grant. Brown later commented that unlike Darmstadt, with its concentrated, close-knit musical community, West Berlin made him feel completely isolated. Nonetheless, he told Feldman that he should try his

⁹ Feldman, “After Modernism” (1971), reprinted in *Essays*, 101.

¹⁰ Brown remembered: “The first time Morty ever went to Europe, I drove him there from London. I’m not sure exactly what year it was, it must have been after 1965. I got a Guggenheim in 1965 and I bought a French car, and I think I had it in London and we were both seeing our publisher, and I introduced him to some of my friends in London and then I was going back to my hotel in France. We got in my car one morning and drove to Paris, and I think that’s the first time [. . .] that he ever was on the continent.” Brown interview with the author, 23 June 1997.

luck with a DAAD grant because residency in West Berlin could provide opportunities for Feldman's work to become known in Europe.¹¹ Feldman accepted the invitation.¹²

The DAAD program required neither teaching nor any other obligation from visiting artists. Feldman had time to compose, to attend concerts, and to make contact with composers and musicians. In West Berlin in 1971, Feldman's music still enjoyed nothing more than an underground reputation.¹³ One of the first people Feldman met there was the German composer Erhard Grosskopf (b. 1934), who soon became an important promoter of Feldman's music. The two met at the premiere of Grosskopf's spatial-electronic piece *Hörmusik*, performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra on 30

¹¹ Brown said that Feldman wrote to him while Brown was living in Berlin and asked if he thought that Feldman could "stand it" there. Brown interview with the author, 23 June 1997. Even though many American composers felt that Europe provided special opportunities during this period, they were not always encouraged by their European colleagues. For example, in 1972, the German composer Gottfried von Einem remarked: "Unfortunately, the advice that American composers should try their luck in Europe is misleading because Europe is crawling with geniuses, so a real talent hardly has a chance, especially not in the realm of highly-endowed radio broadcasting stations" ("Der Ratschlag, daß amerikanische Komponisten ihr Glück in Europa versuchen sollen, ist leider trügerisch, denn in Europa wimmelt es so von Genies, daß eine echte Begabung kaum Chancen hat, vor allem nicht im Dunstkreis hochdotiertester Rundfunkanstalten"). In "Neue Musik im Ghetto des Campus: Presse-Gespräch mit Gottfried von Einem über die US-Musiksituation," *Die Presse* (6 December 1972) [IMD].

¹² Rather than having to apply for the grant, prospective artists-in-residence had to be invited by the DAAD board. It is likely that Feldman was invited on Brown's recommendation.

¹³ "Feldman war ein Geheimtip, hatte schon einen Underground-Ruf." Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997. Hans Otte had programmed a number of Feldman compositions at the 1970 *pro musica nova* festival in Bremen; these performances were broadcast on radio stations in Belgium, Belgrad, Bucharest, Frankfurt, Helsinki, Madrid, Poland, Stuttgart, and Toronto [RB].

September 1971.¹⁴ Feldman was in the audience, and approached the composer after the performance. The two became close friends, meeting often and listening to music together. On 24 November 1971, with Grosskopf's organizational help, the first all-Feldman concert in Germany--a program of compositions for one to four pianos--took place at the Academy of the Arts.¹⁵ In comparing Feldman's music with that of Earle Brown, Grosskopf recalled that Brown's work was "easier to explain" and that he had had no doubt back then that Feldman's music was "something special."¹⁶ Following Feldman's debut concert, the Academy of the Arts and the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program sponsored an evening of his music at West Berlin's America House. During this

¹⁴ *Hörmusik* was performed on a program with Stravinsky's *Mass* and *Requiem Canticles*. Grosskopf remarked that his piece, which had been commissioned for the *Berliner Festwochen* and was conducted by Michael Gielen, took on political overtones during rehearsals. According to Grosskopf, the generally conservative musicians in the orchestra felt attacked, as if the composer was trying to "destroy the orchestra" by dividing the ensemble into five groups and separating them throughout the hall. Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

¹⁵ The concert was done under the auspices of the *Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAADs*. The program included Feldman's *Piano piece* (1952), *Intermission 5*, *Intersection 3*, *Two piano pieces* (1956), *Last Pieces* (1959), *Piano Piece* (1963), *Piano-Three Hands* (1951), *Two Pianos* (1951), *Two Pieces for Three Pianos* (1966), and *Piece for Four Pianos* (1951). The piece for four pianos was performed by Feldman, the British composer John Tilbury, the Austrian writer Gerhard Rühm, and the Japanese pianist Yukiko Sugawara. After this first major concert, a Berlin-based music publisher approached Feldman and asked if he already had a publisher (Feldman was currently under contract with Universal Edition in London; Grosskopf did not recall which publisher approached Feldman). Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

¹⁶ "Ich hatte damals keine Zweifel, daß es besonders ist." Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

second event, Feldman introduced his recent compositions and played tape-recorded examples of his work, including a series of new pieces, *The Viola in My Life*.¹⁷

A controversial performance of Feldman's *Pianos and Voices* at Walter Bachauer's festival *Week of Avant-Garde Music* in Berlin in 1972 earned strong but divided reactions from the audience.¹⁸ One critic, who felt that the piece demonstrated "lack of imagination and substance," remarked that listening to the composition "wasn't worth the effort."¹⁹ Another critic attributed the work's failure to its demand for

¹⁷ "Im Zusammenarbeit mit dem Berliner Künstlerprogramm des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes, "An Evening with Morton Feldman." "Der bekannte amerikanische Avantgarde-Komponist, seit September 1971 Gast des Berliner Künstlerprogramms, diskutiert Tonbandaufnahmen seiner Werke." Program held at [AHB]. Other events at the Berlin America House during December 1971 included: a performance by The Dorian Woodwind Quintet (including a piece by George Perle); Colloquium, "New Psychotherapeutic Approaches to Children and Adolescents;" Film Evening, "Paint Your Wagon;" Discussion, "Die USA im 20. Jahrhundert;" Lecture, "The American Indian in Transition;" and a public meeting on "The Future of Urban America" with Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Indiana [AHB].

¹⁸ In *Pianos and Voices* each part is the same for each player, but the players can progress from sonority to sonority however they choose (in a very slow tempo). During the Berlin performance, Cage's version was about twenty minutes longer than everyone else's, therefore causing the audience to think that Cage was intentionally ruining the piece, and causing the other players to become nervous. Some versions of this story recount that Feldman was angry with Cage for his radically slow tempo. But Grosskopf remembered that after the concert, Feldman said that Cage was the only one who played the piece correctly, and that Feldman himself got nervous and rushed, with the other performers following. Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997. See also description by Stuckenschmidt, "Sphärenklang auf zehn Pedalen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (18 July 1972).

¹⁹ "Einfallsmangel und Substanzlosigkeit;" "Das magere klangliche Ergebnis [. . .] lohnte den Aufwand keineswegs." In "Kunst-Pause sorgten für Pfiffe," *Spandauer Volksblatt* (18 July 1972).

undivided attention.²⁰ Despite skeptical reviews, Feldman enjoyed many performances of his work and received a number of commissions during his residency in Berlin. Not only did the commissions allow him to write works for orchestra, but these works gave Feldman a chance to expand the scale of his music.²¹ When asked to sum up his year in Berlin, Feldman remarked in his typical tongue-in-cheek fashion:

Now I finally know the reason for all of these German masterpieces. Life in Germany is so boring. You have to write masterpieces just to stay interesting. Within six months I finished the piece for three clarinets, piano and cello which I had begun in London, wrote a twenty minute piece for chorus and orchestra, and two pieces for five pianos, both of which last forty-five minutes.²²

German performances of his music gave Feldman new motivation. As Grosskopf remembered it: "Feldman began to see a real possibility [that his] orchestral works could

²⁰ "[Feldmans Musik stieß] auf wenig Gegenliebe beim Publikum, weil es ungeteilte Aufmerksamkeit heischt." Hans Otto Spingel, "Feine Sachen vor Mitternacht: Faszinierende und verstörende Berliner Woche der avantgardistischen Musik," *Badische Zeitung* (27 July 1972).

²¹ Claren wrote: "Bei fast allen Kompositionen der folgenden Jahre handelt es sich entweder um Auftragswerke oder um Kompositionen, die für eine bestimmte, feststehende Interpretation geschrieben sind; dies ist eine äußerliches Zeichen dafür, daß man Feldman nun zum ersten Mal in seiner Laufbahn als Komponist die seiner künstlerischen Bedeutung entsprechende öffentliche Anerkennung entgegengebracht hat." Sebastian Claren, *Neither: Die Musik Morton Feldmans* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1995), 620 (unpublished).

²² "Jetzt weiß ich endlich den Grund für alle diese deutschen Meisterwerke. Das Leben in Deutschland ist so langweilig. Man muß Meisterwerke schreiben, um interessant zu bleiben. In sechs Monaten habe ich das Stück für drei Klarinetten, Klavier und Cello [*Three Clarinets, Cello and Piano*], das ich in London begonnen hatte, abgeschlossen, ein 20 Minuten Stück für Chor und Orchester [*Chorus and Orchestra I*] und zwei Stücke für fünf Klaviere, die jeweils 45 Minuten dauern [*Five Pianos and Pianos and Voices*] geschrieben." Feldman in Richard Bernas and Jack Adrian, "Counterpoint: The Brink of Silence," in *Music and Musicians* 20/10 (June 1972): 7; quoted in Claren, *Neither: Die Musik Morton Feldmans*, 620.

be performed; only then did he actually begin writing orchestral works in the first place.”²³ According to Grosskopf, Feldman did not want to write for a “drawer” and was very much concerned that his music be heard.²⁴ As with Brown, performances of Feldman’s orchestral compositions in West Germany were fundamental to the success of his work there.²⁵

Listening to Feldman’s music challenged German listeners during the 1970s.²⁶

Many shared the opinion of one critic, who wrote that “one always hears the same thing,

²³ “Feldman hat damals angefangen, ein reale Möglichkeit zu sehen, daß Orchesterstücke gespielt werden, dann hat er angefangen, überhaupt wirklich Orchesterstücke zu schreiben weil die Möglichkeit da war, sie aufzuführen.” Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997. Robert Ashley also has commented on the lack of opportunities to perform orchestral works or operas in the United States: “American composers have no hope of ever hearing their music played by an orchestra. It’s a totally fictitious activity. I think one reason people in my generation have been so radical about that problem is because it got to be such an embarrassment. [. . .] You have to invent the circumstances for your music now.” Ashley, “About *Perfect Lives*,” in *Perfect Lives: An Opera* (New York: Burning Books, 1991), 173f. See also Earle Brown’s and Walter Piston’s comments on writing for orchestra in Chapter Four.

²⁴ Feldman claimed that he was trying to lose his audience by greatly expanding the scale of his works, but by doing so he actually gained a new audience. Grosskopf’s statement above contradicts a belief that Feldman didn’t care about his audience. Both Earle Brown and Eberhard Blum insisted that Feldman made deliberate career choices in order to increase his exposure, especially in Europe.

²⁵ Blum remarked: “With the orchestral works we really realized what it [his music] was” (“Bei den Orchesterwerken haben wir gemerkt, was das ist”). Blum interview with the author, 14 October 1997.

²⁶ Grosskopf remarked that playing Feldman’s music was also a new experience for musicians: “Die Musiker haben gelernt, seine Musik zu spielen. Am Anfang war Feldman zu spielen wirklich etwas Neues. Es gibt eine Tradition. Sie haben gemerkt, daß es sich lohnt, sich mit der Musik auseinanderzusetzen.” Grosskopf interview with the author, 10 December 1997.

namely, almost nothing.”²⁷ Bernd Leukert (b. 1947), now a new music program editor at Frankfurt’s public radio station (HR), said that musicians of his generation had been trained in a system that emphasized extremely analytical listening, and their ears were structurally lost when first confronted with Feldman’s longer pieces.²⁸ Moreover, because Feldman didn’t fit comfortably into the political climate of German intellectual discourse in the early 1970s, according to Leukert, critical reactions to his music were delayed.²⁹ Finally, Feldman seemed to disregard both the audience’s and the new music specialists’ expectations. The music was shocking, but in a new way. During his year in Berlin, a reviewer of a concert in the West German city of Saarbrücken remarked that Feldman didn’t tax his listeners with tedious pieces of compositional “work.” The critic predicted: “It should be possible to find an audience for this music as well.”³⁰

²⁷ “Immer hört man das gleiche, nämlich fast nichts.” In “Bei Feldmans Konzert wagte keiner zu atmen,” *Berliner Morgenpost* (26 November 1971).

²⁸ “Das war am Anfang schwierig, als wir die ersten längeren Stücke von Feldman gehört haben, weil wir natürlich auf etwas gewartet haben.” Leukert added that Feldman’s music demanded a style of listening that was not focused only on structural elements (“nicht ein Hören, das die Struktur erfahren soll [. . .], was wir von Adorno bekamen”). Leukert interview with the author, 24 September 1997. During the 1970s Leukert studied musicology, German literature, medieval studies, and philosophy in Frankfurt. Stiebler also commented on the difficulty of listening to Feldman’s music at first. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

²⁹ Leukert interview with the author, 24 September, 1997.

³⁰ “Was als kompositorische Erfindung wahrnehmbar bleibt, steht bei Feldmann [*sic*] immer in einem intuitiv genau ausgemessenen Verhältnis zur Dauer des Stückes. Nie ermüdet er den Hörer für eine Sekunde mit einem Stück kompositorischer ‘Arbeit.’ [. . .] Eine Hörerschaft sollte auch hier zu finden sein.” A.B., “Von Zeit und den musikalischen Instrumenten: Zur Erstaufführung einer Komposition von Morton Feldmann [*sic*] in Saarbrücken,” *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (25 November 1971): 33.

Years before the advent of “new simplicity” around 1977 in Germany, Feldman was praised for a conservative quality missing from the music of other American experimentalists. In an article called “Progress Through Nostalgia” (1973), Gerhard Koch described Feldman’s music as having old-fashioned, retrospective qualities, and as being more connected to the idea of the musical score than Cage’s, since “Feldman hasn’t yet dismissed the idea of the musical work of art” (*Werkbegriff*).³¹ At a time when stylistic diversity, musical quotation, and borrowing from non-Western traditions were gaining acceptance, Feldman continued to write music for traditional instruments that preserved “stylistic purity.”³² With the increase of musical pluralism in West Germany during the early 1970s, the concept of an avant-garde--and the habitual progressive development of Western music--became obscured, if not lost entirely. Between 1974 and 1978 festivals like Bachauer’s stylistically diverse *Metamusik* flourished, but after 1977, classical composition in West Germany seemed to be looking more and more toward the past. Feldman avoided the musical globalism of some of his colleagues, and his music was seen to belong to a contemplative movement. Wolfgang Burde described Feldman’s music as a kind of historical commentary: “A tender ‘mood art’ has been heard here, whose mastery, whose character, and above all, whose formal balance is unsurpassable;

³¹ “Von diesen Exponenten, aber sogar auch von Cage selber unterscheidet sich der 1926 geborene Morton Feldman dadurch, daß er den Begriff des musikalischen Kunstwerks noch nicht ganz ad acta gelegt hat. [. . .] Feldman hält fast ein wenig altmodisch, und darin auch nicht ganz unautoritär, an der kodifizierten Partitur und an deren Befolgung fest.” Gerhard R. Koch, “Fortschritt in Nostalgie: Morton Feldman Uraufführung in Köln,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (19 April 1973).

³² Wolfgang Burde, “Klavierabend Morton Feldman,” *Der Tagesspiegel* (26 November 1971); “Stilreinheit.” Helmut Kühn, “Woche der avantgardistischen Musik,” *Musica* 26/5 (1972): 463.

the vocabulary, however, and the expressive horizon of the piece [*I Met Heine On the Rue Fürstemberg* (1971)] have a more historical character, [they] refer to the early history of avant-garde music.”³³ Burde suggested that Feldman offered a welcome move back into the concert hall after the “moving out to the hills or streets” in the politically-motivated music of many younger musicians during the late 1960s and early 1970s.³⁴ On 22 January 1977, Feldman’s *Elemental Procedures* was performed at WDR’s *Musik der Zeit* concert series in Cologne. Feldman’s inclusion in this concert, titled “New Simplicity” (*Neue Einfachheit*), announced his music’s place in a conservative trend.

A Golden Age for Music Support in West Germany: The 1980s

Statistics compiled at the end of 1981 showed that West Germany had a population of some sixty-one million inhabitants in the space of 248,700 square kilometers, or approximately the size of Minnesota.³⁵ In 1980 alone, West Germany’s

³³ “Eine zarte Stimmungskunst wurde hier hörbar, deren Meisterschaft, deren Prägegrad, deren Formbalance vor allem unübertrefflich ist. Das Vokabularium indes und der Ausdruckshorizont des Stückes haben eher historisierende Züge, verweisen auf die Frühgeschichte der Avantgardemusik.” Wolfgang Burde, “Berlin: Karlheinz Stockhausens *Hymnen* und andere Ereignisse,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 133/7 (1972): 388.

³⁴ Wolff in Darmstadt 1972, Tape 5 [IMD]. Feldman’s last composition using graphic notation and indeterminate form, *In Search of an Orchestration*, was composed in 1967. His increasingly determinate music stood in contrast to the increasingly radical music of composers like Wolff, Rzewski, Oliveros, and others during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

³⁵ Karla Fohrbeck, *Musik, Statistik, Kulturpolitik* (Cologne: Du Pont, 1982), 26.

eighty-three professional orchestras received state subsidies of DM 320 million (about \$112.5 million), some fifty-five musical theaters received a state subsidy of DM 645 million (about \$226.7 million), and the some one hundred music festivals received a state subsidy of DM 25 million (\$8.8 million).³⁶ These three areas alone constituted sixty-two percent of public funding for music in West Germany (\$348 million).³⁷ Another three million Marks (about \$1.1 million) contributed to the support of individual musicians and composers through prizes and stipends.³⁸ During the 1980-81 concert season, more than twenty million West Germans attended concerts and musical theater performances; twenty-four percent of them visited state-subsidized “classical” (*Ernst*) music concerts while twenty-nine percent attended “popular” (*Unterhaltung*) performances. Another forty-eight percent attended state-supported musical theater performances (opera, operetta, ballet, etc.).³⁹ During the 1981-82 season, fifty-four percent of larger music

³⁶ Ibid., 36. The 1984 average U.S. Dollar-DM conversion rates in this chapter are based on *Kassa-Mittelkurse* rates provided by Pascal Frommeld at the Bankgesellschaft Berlin AG on 22 February 1999.

³⁷ The last amount equaled half the sum the U. S. federal government spent on culture in the fiscal year 1980. The U.S.’s federal infrastructure for culture (which included the Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, the Institute of Museum Services, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) spent \$700 million in 1980. See Joseph Wesley Zeigler, *Arts in Crisis: The National Endowment for the Arts versus America* (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 1994), 45.

³⁸ By comparison, in 1981, the NEA distributed \$442,500 for new music performance grants. See *NEA: Annual Report 1981* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 318.

³⁹ Fohrbeck, *Musik, Statistik, Kulturpolitik*, 64.

festivals focused at least in part on contemporary music.⁴⁰ The crossover between a new music public and the contemporary jazz public contributed to an intellectual special interest group, to which *Kultur* radio broadcasts often catered.⁴¹

Public radio stations continued to produce new music (through direct support of composers with commissions, performances, and in-house recordings), to disseminate that music, and to solicit and publish critical and educational information about it. New music broadcasts were directed toward engaged interest groups and “active” listeners.⁴² In particular, in-house recordings of new music (*Eigenproduktionen*), often co-produced with other ARD member stations, created a body of non-mainstream works that could be broadcast again and again. During the late 1970s, leaders in the production of recordings were Wolfgang Becker-Carsten at Cologne’s WDR (632 works), Hans Otte at *Radio Bremen* (218 works), and Ernstalbrecht Stiebler at Frankfurt’s HR (152 works).⁴³ It has been estimated that some one thousand composers were living in West Germany in 1981, and for them, public radio was by far the most important source of income. In contrast, approximately three thousand conductors and choir directors (along with some ten thousand professional instrumentalists) depended almost entirely on state-supported

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 224f.

⁴¹ Fifty percent of the contemporary jazz audience also expressed interest in modern theater, forty-nine percent in modern painting, and forty-nine percent in new music. *Ibid.*, 233.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 208. The statistics were taken from a total of 1,904 works.

public theaters and orchestras.⁴⁴ Where the public radio stations had large budgets, as in Munich (BR), Frankfurt (HR), and Cologne (WDR), the radio stations supported two orchestras each. Since the war, Cologne had been a central location for the production and performance of new music; through the initiative of Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Frankfurt became a rival of Cologne during the 1970s and early 1980s.

In the United States, it was widely understood that universities filled the role played by public radio stations in other countries, offering composers and musicians a steady income and a venue for performance of new works. But in 1981, Feldman wrote to the flutist Eberhard Blum in Berlin that the new music scene in Buffalo was “dead,” meaning perhaps that the performance opportunities there were still somehow inadequate.⁴⁵ One year earlier, national and regional radio stations in the United States had earned some 800 million dollars--more than the entire U.S. federal budget for culture in the same year--through advertising alone.⁴⁶ But stations that depended on advertising had to reach a certain number of listeners in order to survive. Few if any could afford to risk alienating their audience or their sponsors by broadcasting atonal, avant-garde, or

⁴⁴ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁵ Letter from Feldman to Blum, 8 April 1981, displayed at exhibition in Gütersloh, autumn 1997 [Blum's private correspondence]. In early 1980, Tom Johnson, an American composer who was professionally active in Germany, wrote in the *Village Voice* that “the West German government provides approximately 45 times as much financial assistance to artistic activities as the American government does, and that it subsidizes about 40 festivals of new music every year.” Tom Johnson, “The European Avant-Garde Marches On,” *Village Voice* (4 February 1980).

⁴⁶ Peter Figlestahler (New York), “Die Situation des amerikanischen Radios,” *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (26 February 1981) [IMD].

abstract music. That situation led Feldman and others to embrace professional performance opportunities abroad as often as possible.

In 1982, Wilfried Gruhn expressed regret that Feldman was omitted from most German-language biographical and music encyclopedias, and that the 1981 *Bielefelder Katalog* (an annual catalogue of all classical recordings currently available in Germany) listed no Feldman recordings except for one piece on a collection of contemporary piano music.⁴⁷ Just a few years later, the situation changed dramatically. The year 1984 saw three public events in West Germany--in Frankfurt, Cologne, and Darmstadt--seriously exploring Feldman's work. One year later, Walter Zimmermann published the first book on Feldman, a collection of his writings and essays, lectures, and articles.⁴⁸

Frankfurt (1): Ernstalbrecht Stiebler and *Hessischer Rundfunk*

During the 1970s and 80s, HR's new music program director Ernstalbrecht Stiebler established Frankfurt am Main, a city of culture and commerce, as a center of activity for experimental music. In particular, Stiebler favored Cage, Feldman, and the Italian composer Giacinto Scelsi (1905-88). Stiebler was born in Berlin in 1934, and his family was evacuated to Lower Saxony (near Hannover) during the war. He was

⁴⁷ "In den meisten deutschsprachigen Lexika und Enzyklopädien sucht man M. Feldman vergebens [. . .] An Platteneinspielungen nennt der Bielefelder Katalog (1981) nur einen kleinen Titel auf einer Sammelplatte mit Neuer Klaviermusik. Ein Unbekannter also, ein Außenseiter der Neuen Musik?" Wilfried Gruhn, "Gedanken zur kompositorischen Arbeit Morton Feldmans," *Musik und Bildung* 14 (March 1982): 147.

⁴⁸ Walter Zimmermann, ed., *Morton Feldman: Essays* (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1985).

educated in Hamburg, specializing in music education, a vocation he soon came to dislike strongly.⁴⁹ In 1958, Stiebler visited Darmstadt for the first time; there he saw John Cage and heard the music of the New York School. Invited to participate in Stockhausen's composition course at IFNM, he was dissatisfied with the amount of calculation involved in Stockhausen's serialism. During the 1958 IFNM, however, Feldman's music impressed him greatly, and Stiebler saw in it a model for resisting Stockhausen's insistence on measured complexity.⁵⁰ In 1969, Stiebler took up a post in the new music department at Frankfurt's radio station *Hessischer Rundfunk*, where he then worked until 1995.⁵¹ During the 1970 IFNM plenary session for the IFNM participants, Stiebler was elected to the delegate committee. He agreed that Ernst Thomas's ban on American experimental music was a mistake. Later at HR, Stiebler supported the music of American experimental composers, including Cage, Curran, Feldman, Oliveros, Rzewski, Reich, and Teitelbaum, as well as German composers who were open to American experimentalism including Dieter Schnebel and Walter Zimmermann.⁵² Stiebler's efforts made Frankfurt a prime location for hearing Feldman's music during the 1980s.⁵³

⁴⁹ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Stiebler ridiculed the mathematical systems, as did Rudolf Stephan: "Alle haben sich zur Tode gerechnet, drei Stunden gerechnet für drei Minuten Musik!" Stephan interview with the author, 25 November 1997.

⁵¹ Stiebler said that he was hired at HR with Dieter Schnebel's help. Another candidate for the position was Reinhard Oehlschlägel. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997; Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

⁵² For example, Stiebler commissioned Schnebel's *Schubert-Phantasie G-Dur* and Reich's *Septet* in 1979, Richard Teitelbaum's *run some by you* in 1983, Riley's *The Song of the Emerald Runner* in 1984, Schnebel's *Re-Visionen* in 1989, Wolff's *Rukus* and Lucier's *String Quartet* in 1991, a new work by John Cage in 1992 (Cage received a fee

From the start of his radio career Stiebler, like Hans Otte, deliberately recorded a lot of new music, and he also initiated new music concert series and festivals.⁵⁴ For the most part, he could program, record, and broadcast what he chose, and he often featured Feldman--because the music appealed to him.⁵⁵ He later remarked that "of all the ARD stations, [HR was] perhaps the one that advocated the earliest and most consistently for Feldman."⁵⁶ In 1977, Stiebler established HR's "Weekends for New Music" in Frankfurt, a series that lasted from 1977 until 1985. During the 1980s, these annual three-day weekends included seven to twelve concerts. Stiebler's American "Weekends" featured Alvin Curran, Steve Reich, Richard Teitelbaum, and Christian Wolff. Stiebler also presented "Weekends" on the music of Schnebel and Zimmermann. From 1984 until 1988, Stiebler staged HR studio productions that were open to the public, during which six orchestra concerts with HR's Radio Symphony Orchestra accompanied introductory

of DM 12,000 for the commission, making it the highest fee listed at HR), a new work by La Monte Young in 1993 (Young received a fee of DM 10,000), and a new work by James Tenney in 1995 (Tenney received a fee of DM 5,000), and many others. Based on document *Kompositionsaufträge* (1977-98) at HR.

⁵³ See Appendix I for a list of American music and Feldman holdings at *Hessischer Rundfunk*. See also Lotte Thaler, "Komponisten die Treue halten: Neue Musik in Frankfurt," in *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren* Vol. 2. Martin Thrun, ed. (Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994), 139-46.

⁵⁴ For example, in 1973, Stiebler helped organize a series of new music concerts in the music conservatory in Frankfurt (*Neue Musik in der Hochschule*). In 1976, again through HR, Stiebler established a series of new music concerts in the oldest Frankfurt art museum (*Neue Musik im Städel*).

⁵⁵ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

⁵⁶ "Wir sind vielleicht von den ARD-Rundfunkanstalten die, die am ehesten und am konsequentesten sich für Feldman eingesetzt haben." Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

lectures and forum discussions--these featured Feldman, Erhard Grosskopf, Werner Heider, Giacinto Scelsi, Mathias Spahlinger, and several others. And in 1989, Stiebler initiated the *Forum Neue Musik* series of concerts in HR's new radio concert hall, a hall with state-of-the-art broadcasting and recording capabilities, and with acoustics particularly kind to *pianissimo* tones.⁵⁷ In addition to supporting the composers, Stiebler provided work for new music journalists and musicologists such as Rudolf Frisius, Heinz-Klaus Metzger, and Stefan Schädler, independent authors who wrote extensively on Cage and Feldman. By saturating Frankfurt's music market with new music initiatives and experimental music, Stiebler provided alternatives to Ernst Thomas's--and later Friedrich Hommel's--programs in Darmstadt.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Stiebler commented that it was particularly rewarding to hear Feldman's and Scelsi's music in HR's new concert hall because of the sensitive acoustics. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. Further information on Frankfurt's concert life stems from Thrun, ed, *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren*, 72f; 142ff.

⁵⁸ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

Frankfurt (2): *Theater am Turm*, 1984

In February 1984, Feldman was invited to teach a week-long seminar, in combination with a number of performances, in Frankfurt's *Theater am Turm* (hereafter: TAT). The Feldman events, collectively titled "The Future of Local Music," were organized by TAT's dramaturge Stefan Schädler, a close friend of Walter Zimmermann's. Though the city of Frankfurt subsidized TAT, Stiebler provided additional financial support for Schädler by recording the concerts and rebroadcasting them on HR. Feldman's week-long seminar, costing each registered participant DM 20 (about \$7), was advertised as "a discussion forum for musicians and composers about the question's of today's music and about the status of compositional competence."⁵⁹ The week opened with a public seminar given by Feldman, and was followed by daily workshops.⁶⁰ The schedule for the TAT Feldman events was as follows:⁶¹

Table 7.1: *Theater am Turm* Schedule for Feldman Seminar, February 1984

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 6 February: | Beginning of the Seminar "The Future of Local Music" under the direction of Morton Feldman |
| 7 February: | Seminar/Workshop continued |
| 8 February: | Seminar/Workshop continued |
| 9 February: | Seminar/Workshop continued |

⁵⁹ Copy of advertisement given to me by Westerath. Participants included Daniel Franke, Bernd Leukert, Chris Newman, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Gerhard Westerath, Walter Zimmermann, and about nine others.

⁶⁰ The workshops were taped and later transcribed by Westerath under contract for TAT. From Westerath's three-hundred page transcription, I prepared an index: TAT 3/150, for example, indicates that I am citing Westerath's transcription, section (tape) three, page 150.

⁶¹ This information is based on photocopies of the TAT programs given to me by Westerath.

- 10 February: Seminar/Workshop continued
- 11 February: Feldman Concert: *The King of Denmark* (1964), *Why Patterns?* (1978), *For John Cage* (1982) (Eberhard Blum, Nils Vigeland, Jan Williams, P. Ciao Chen and Michael Obst)
- 12 February: Feldman Concert: *Crippled Symmetry* (1983) (Blum, Vigeland, Williams)

During the daily meetings Feldman discussed his own compositions as well as compositions by the seminar's participants, including Walter Zimmermann. Feldman talked at length about composers and many other topics.⁶² He presented a dichotomous view of the world in which opposing poles worked in conflict, and he often pointed out differences between American and European composers.⁶³ He explored tradition and change, pragmatism, and the "emptiness" of American art.⁶⁴ For Feldman, America provided a symbolic "loneliness" integral to the experience of Russian-Jewish immigrants.⁶⁵ Despite his distaste for Darmstadt, which he called an institution that "sold ideas," Feldman's TAT seminar led to his appearance at IFNM later that year.⁶⁶

In 1984, Feldman could still feel bitter about being invited to IFNM as a student in 1962. Early on during Feldman's TAT seminar, it became clear that the twenty-two-

⁶² For example, Feldman discussed Stravinsky and Schoenberg, Webern and Varèse, Stockhausen and Boulez, Bach, Beethoven, Cage, Debussy, Mahler, Berg, Xenakis, and Steve Reich. He also explored painting, philosophy, orchestration, metaphor, New York, timbre, instrumentation, program music, material and memory, and teaching.

⁶³ TAT 3/58, 5/101, 5/112, 10/251.

⁶⁴ TAT 7/162, 8/186, 8/192.

⁶⁵ TAT 8/192.

⁶⁶ TAT 6/137.

year-old misunderstanding had kept Feldman from being invited to IFNM to hear his *Second String Quartet*, which would be performed in Darmstadt that July. Zimmermann had urged Friedrich Hommel, IFNM's new director, to invite Feldman. But Hommel found Feldman's caustic 1962 letter in the IMD files, and he assumed that Feldman would not accept a new invitation. However, Feldman was so eager to visit the IFNM that he even offered to pay for the trip himself. On Tuesday, 7 February, the following conversation took place between Feldman (MF), Zimmermann (WZ), and Schädler (SS):

- WZ: . . . I told Hommel, you know, who organizes Darmstadt . . .
- MF: I don't know him, somebody new?
- WZ: I told him that you should definitely be there and then he found an old letter in the correspondence you wrote about fifteen years ago.
- MF: What? You know I was told last night [. . .] and I got very upset. [. . .] Well, I'll tell you the contents of the letter.
- WZ: Who . . . you met Hommel?
- MF: No, that nice fellow from the radio told me.
- WZ: Oh.
- MF: What's his name?
- WZ: Stiebler.
- MF: Yes. And he told me the story and I got very upset. And then when I woke up in the morning I remembered what happened. About fifteen, even longer than fifteen years ago, maybe twenty years ago, I got an application in the mail from someone who evidently had me on a mailing list, [they] sent me an application that I should go to school in Darmstadt, you see. And I should enroll and make reservations for, if I want to come for, you know. I got this letter. So I wrote back, I said: "the only reason for me to go to school in Darmstadt is to have Maderna teach me how to make a good spaghetti sauce." As a joke.
- WZ: Maderna making a good spaghetti sauce . . .
- MF: Bruno Maderna. They sent me this thing. And they have it in the office [after] all these years, you see what I'm saying?
- WZ: And now it sounds like you refuse to come there as a teacher some day.
- MF: Yes, and they have nothing . . . that's the story now [. . .] and they have this stupid remark of mine and it had to do with filling out an application to go to school in Darmstadt. To enroll in Darmstadt. I was insulted.
- SS: And that's the reason why [you are] not coming?

WZ: That's why he [Feldman] didn't get invited, because he once wrote the letter that he doesn't want to come. But maybe Hommel doesn't know anymore that this letter was an answer to . . . not asking you for being professor but being a student.

MF: Exactly! And I should make reservations, and I should send so much money in advance. I mean it wasn't a nasty letter I wrote back, but it was funny, I mean, it's just . . . So tell him!

WZ: I will tell him.

MF: Because they are going to do my *String Quartet*, I just heard.

WZ: Yes?

MF: The second one, the long one.

WZ: They do it in the summer with John Cage's.

MF: [. . .] So if he wants me, I'll come.

WZ: I met him yesterday.

MF: If he has no money, I'll lend it to him.⁶⁷

Following Feldman's seminar, a reviewer for the newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* wrote that despite "America's chronic jealousy of the old continent's tradition," nowhere was "freedom" to compose more abundant than in the "land of unlimited possibilities."⁶⁸ Bernd Leukert of HR, who attended part of Feldman's TAT seminar, wrote in the other major Frankfurt newspaper, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, that Feldman criticized European composers for not being able to make a single move without perpetuating an existing tradition, or establishing a new one.⁶⁹ That two of the

⁶⁷ TAT 3/68f. I removed several unclear phrases from Westerath's transcription (the omissions do not change the tone or content of the conversation).

⁶⁸ "Denn von Schubert bis Boulez, so argumentiert er in selbstbewußtem Trotz gegen die chronische amerikanische Eifersucht auf die Tradition des alten Kontinents, habe die musikalische Entwicklung Europas immer nur in einer jeweils neuen Synthese stattgefunden. Die Freiheit des Komponierens, losgebunden vom Gängelband der Überlieferung. Auch diese Freiheit also ist wohl nirgendwo größer als im Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten." Thomas Delekat, "Time und Timing: Dem Komponisten Morton Feldman zuhörend," *Frankfurter Rundschau* (3 March 1984).

⁶⁹ "Daß mit Adorno der letzte der interessanten Leute Europas gestorben sei, betont Morton Feldman mehrmals. Was Amerikanern gegenüber Europa häufig zu schaffen

largest German newspapers with international circulations reviewed Feldman's seminars and quoted him at some length signals the level of prominence given him by the West German music press in 1984, even though his ideas were often controversial and not widely shared.

Soon after the TAT seminar was over, Walter Zimmermann took steps to ensure that a transcription made from the taped sessions would be published. Since Zimmermann was editing a volume of Feldman's collected writings, he hoped to include at least part of the transcription in his book.⁷⁰ However, TAT directors Stefan Schädler and Peter Hahn hoped to publish the entire transcription in German translation. At first, they refused to let Zimmermann publish excerpts before they finished their publication. Disappointed by that response, Zimmermann underscored his deep involvement in the subject in a letter:

I have known Morton personally for a long time. Already ten years ago I published an interview with him in my book *Desert Plants*. Without seeming arrogant, allow me to call myself a specialist on his music. [. . .] The workshop was in part as intense as it was because I was constantly there and constantly challenging him to talk about aspects of his work, to get to the core of his aesthetic. On the side, I recorded the workshop with my own recorder and partly on my own tapes, since TAT's technicians didn't seem capable of arranging a recording, at least not in the first days. If I hadn't done this, there wouldn't be any tapes now at all. But I don't want to be petty. Just this: I was not aware, of course, of taking

macht, wendet er aggressiv gegen die Europäer: keinen Schritt tun zu können, ohne damit eine Tradition zu begründen oder eine bestehende fortzuführen, ist eine kontinentale Zwangsvorstellung, über die man nur noch lachen kann. Kunst sinnstiftend zu begreifen ist dem amerikanischen Frühavantgardisten zumindest fremd." Bernd Leukert, "Diskretion und Rätsel: Der Komponist Morton Feldman," *FAZ* (4 April 1984).

⁷⁰ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

something away from TAT by giving the tapes to one of the participants, one who agreed to transcribe them.⁷¹

Following a battle with TAT, and supported by Feldman himself, Zimmermann was allowed to publish “30 Anecdotes and Drawings” in his book.⁷² Feldman’s involvement in the dispute shows that it was important to him to have this document of his ideas be made available to a wider German public at that time.⁷³ Zimmermann’s

⁷¹ “Ich bin mit Morton seit langem persönlich bekannt. Bereits vor 10 Jahren veröffentlichte ich ein Interview mit ihm in meinem Buch *Desert Plants*. Ich darf mich hier, ohne arrogant zu scheinen, als einen der Kenner seiner Musik bezeichnen. Und so wundert es niemand, daß Morton sich derart entäußerte, wissend, daß ich eine Veröffentlichung vorhabe. Der Workshop lief nicht zuletzt derart intensiv ab, da ich ständig anwesend, ihn ständig zu Aspekten seines Denkens herausforderte, ihn zum Kern seiner Ästhetik vordringen verhalf. Nebenbei habe ich den Workshop mit meinem eigenen Recorder und teilweise eigenen Kassetten aufgenommen, da es der Technik des TAT anscheinend in den ersten Tagen nicht gelang, eine Aufnahmesituation zu schaffen. Hätte ich dies nicht getan, wären jetzt gar keine Bänder da. Nun will ich nicht kleinlich sein. Nur soviel: Mir war natürlich nicht bewußt, dem TAT irgendwas wegzunehmen, wenn ich die Bänder an einen Teilnehmer abgegeben habe, der sich bereit erklärt, die Bänder zu transkribieren.” Letter from Zimmermann to Peter Hahn, Director of TAT, 11 April 1984. Copy of letter given to me by Westerath.

⁷² The conflict with TAT is indicated in part by Zimmermann’s letter to Peter Hahn, TAT Director, on 11 April 1984. Feldman wrote to Hahn that he had given Zimmermann permission to publish parts of the transcription. He wrote: “To: Peter Hahn, Dir. of TAT, from Morton Feldman: 1) I understand that Walter Zimmermann asks for thirty (30) quotes from the workshop, and that these statements will be in English. 2) I don’t feel that this would in any way duplicate what you plan to do. 3) My ideas are not that well known in Germany, and [I] welcome your project of publishing the workshop in German. 4) I also feel that Walter’s excerpts and your complete translation of the workshop will stimulate much interest. Walter, of course will always mention the source of his quotes. With all best wishes, Morton Feldman, April 12 1984.” A copy of this letter was given to me by Westerath.

⁷³ An undated, typed letter to Hahn from around this time (spring 1984) also indicates Feldman’s eagerness to have the project move forward: “The transcript that Gerhard Westerath made from the workshop is the necessary first step towards documenting the TAT workshop. It is, however, not acceptable to be printed as it is now. It’s verbatim looseness has to be organized and edited to arrive at a continuity of thought that is

publication of Feldman's texts both in English and in German translation, together with a transcription of Feldman's Darmstadt lecture later that year, provided the public with a wealth of information on Feldman's life, music, and attitudes. Hahn and Schädler eventually abandoned their plan to translate and publish the entire transcription. Other than Zimmermann's "Thirty Anecdotes and Drawings," the TAT transcription has not been published. But by mid-1984, interest in his music in West Germany assured Feldman's IFNM success in August of that year. Months before Feldman went to Darmstadt, Zimmermann offered a Feldman festival of his own at Beginner Studio in Cologne.

Walter Zimmermann: Self-Reliance, *Desert Plants*, and Beginner Studio

During the past twenty-five years, the German composer Walter Zimmermann (b. 1949) has championed American experimental music in West Germany. "Inventive by necessity," he has engaged in an ongoing effort to disseminate American music--

readable for a wider public. After going through the transcript with Gerhard Westerath I know that it will take at least three weeks of work to prepare the transcript for publication. This cannot be done by anyone but me. I propose to do it between now and the summer. However, for me to devote this much time to the project I must be sure that it will reach the audience that I feel has an interest in it. In other words, I would like you to give me a written guarantee that the revised transcript will be translated into German (Gerhard Westerath is willing and competent to do this), that it will appear in print, and that an effective method of distribution will be found. All of this should be done before a deadline is to be agreed upon. Let me, again, express my interest in this project and encourage you to take the necessary steps. All best wishes, Morton Feldman." A copy of this letter was given to me by Westerath. I have found no evidence that Feldman ever edited the text in the way he proposed here, indicating that Hahn never sent the guarantee requested by Feldman.

especially Feldman's.⁷⁴ Zimmermann was born in the northern Bavarian region of Franconia (Franken) near Nürnberg in 1949, making him the youngest composer in this study. His father, a high school music teacher before the war, played five instruments.⁷⁵ After the war, Bavaria became part of the American-occupied zone.⁷⁶ As a young man, Zimmermann taped radio broadcasts of new music concerts, especially those from Munich's *Musica Viva* series.⁷⁷ After hearing a live performance of Dvorák's *Ninth Symphony*, "From the New World," Zimmermann first felt the impulse to compose.⁷⁸ His earliest exposure to avant-garde music came through composer Werner Heider's *ars nova* ensemble; Zimmermann's piano teacher Ernst Gröschel played with the group. Soon Zimmermann became the group's youngest member and began playing European avant-garde music. Heider remains one of the few composition teachers Zimmermann credits. In Nürnberg, Zimmermann first heard Frederic Rzewski's Rome-based live electronic group MEV and Josef Anton Riedl's Munich-based ensemble *Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie*. MEV's performance was one of Zimmermann's first impressions of American

⁷⁴ Oehlschlägel: "[Zimmermann ist] in der Not erfinderisch." Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

⁷⁵ Much of this biographical information comes from a published conversation between Zimmermann and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, published in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik* (Kerpen: Beginner Press, 1981), 520-46.

⁷⁶ Zimmermann discusses the atmosphere of the American Zone in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 531f.

⁷⁷ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. Zimmermann told Oehlschlägel that he first heard Ives around 1964 on the radio in a broadcast of a Munich performance of *Three Places in New England*. Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 522.

⁷⁸ Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 522.

experimental music, and he appreciated the idea of music created through a collective effort, music not owned by a single author.⁷⁹ In 1972, Zimmermann drove from Cologne to Bremen and “camped out” for the duration of Otte’s legendary *pro musica nova* festival. There he saw concerts by Cage, Tudor, Reich, and the Sonic Arts Union, and was immediately struck by the contrast between the European avant-garde and the American experimentalists--he felt that the former represented “the end” while the structural and sonic possibilities of the latter seemed “limitless.”⁸⁰ He later said that the concerts provided a ray of hope in what he perceived as the European avant-garde’s condition of crisis.⁸¹

Zimmermann wrote an essay on Charles Ives, called “Self Reliance,” that revealed his close affinity to the attitude of that composer.⁸² He dedicated the essay to his father, who introduced the young Zimmermann to a world of spontaneous, amateur music-making, a folk music culture based on communal activity and cyclic ritual.⁸³ At the end of his essay, Zimmermann quoted Henry Cowell, in a statement that seemed to carry particular weight for Zimmermann himself:

⁷⁹ Indeed, Zimmermann described MEV’s performance as one of the key events in his early development. Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

⁸⁰ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. See also Chapter Six.

⁸¹ Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 527.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 214-17. The essay was also published in *Neuland 1* (1980): 54-8.

⁸³ Zimmermann told me that his childhood was not unlike Ives’s. Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

To experiment and to explore has never been revolutionary for an American; he is unaffectedly at home in the unregulated and the untried. In a vast new country experience is direct, intense and various, and so grass-roots creative activity in the United States has been marked by an exuberance and a diversity that are shocking to sensibilities developed in older cultures whose essence is refinement and selectivity. In all the arts Americans quite naturally bring together elements that elsewhere appear as irreconcilable canons of radically opposed schools of thought. Inherited traditions, with all their subtleties, are necessarily pushed aside when the time comes to reinvigorate art with a transfusion from more immediate experience.⁸⁴

Zimmermann sought to push aside some of his own inherited traditions. In 1974, he traveled to the United States for the first time to attend a computer music course at Colgate University. Once again in Germany, on a rainy autumn day in Cologne, Zimmermann decided to return to the United States to conduct a series of interviews with American composers.⁸⁵ In 1975, Zimmermann flew to New York with a tape recorder, two microphones, a camera, tapes, the addresses of Cage, Feldman, and Wolff, four books, and very little money.⁸⁶ The journey resulted in Zimmermann's interview collection *Desert Plants: Conversations with 23 American Musicians* (*Desert Plants: Gespräche mit 23 amerikanischen Musikern*).⁸⁷ In 1975, Zimmermann interviewed Robert Ashley, Larry Austin, Jim Burton, John Cage, Philip Corner, Morton Feldman,

⁸⁴ Zimmermann is quoting from Henry and Sidney Cowell, *Charles Ives and His Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 5-6.

⁸⁵ "Desert Plants," in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 102.

⁸⁶ The books were Ives, *Memos*, Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans*, Cage, *A Year From Monday*, and Jerome Rothenberg, *America, A Prophecy*.

⁸⁷ The project was realized with the help of Zimmermann's friend Carol Byl, who transcribed the interviews.

Philip Glass, Joan La Barbara, Garrett List, Alvin Lucier, John McGuire, Charles Morrow, Pauline Oliveros, Charlemagne Palestine, Steve Reich, David Rosenboom, Frederic Rzewski, Richard Teitelbaum, James Tenney, Christian Wolff, and La Monte Young. His original plans for the *Desert Plants* project also included an interview with Steve Lacy.⁸⁸ In addition to the composers he interviewed, Zimmermann talked with J. B. Floyd about Conlon Nancarrow and with Ben Johnston about Harry Partch. *Desert Plants* was the first published collection of interviews with exclusively American experimental composers.⁸⁹

In *Desert Plants*, Zimmermann reinforced a quintessential image of the American composer, one based on cultural stereotypes of individuality and freedom, biographical truths of stubbornness and independence, an image reminiscent of Christian Wolff's description of experimentalists in Darmstadt in 1972 (see Chapter 6, and Appendix G). Like Metzger, Otte, Riedl, Schnebel and Stiebler, Zimmermann too was influenced by Cage's political and musical individuality. In Europe, Zimmermann remarked, composers tended to mimic each other or to create ideological alliances.⁹⁰ Despite his training, Zimmermann considered himself primarily a self-taught musician, and he was

⁸⁸ A biographical sketch of Lacy appeared in *Insel Musik*, 116.

⁸⁹ Walter Zimmermann, *Desert Plants: Conversations with 23 American Musicians* (Vancouver: Aesthetic Research Center Publications, 1976). Zimmermann could not convince a publisher to accept the manuscript, so he ended up financing the book himself. *Desert Plants* then sold out within a year. Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. After Zimmermann returned to Cologne, Oehlschlägel attended a book-signing party at Johannes Fritsch's Feedback Studio. Oehlschlägel asked Zimmermann to write some radio broadcasts on a few of the composers (Tenney, Young, etc.) for DF. Oehlschlägel/Gronemeyer interview with the author, 2 June 1998.

⁹⁰ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

inspired by the non-conformism of many of the American composers he met in 1975.⁹¹ He admired the way the experimentalists turned the listener's attention back to music's fundamental elements: he felt that "they removed the tablecloth and allowed people to look just at the table again."⁹² By the time of his first trip to the United States in 1974, Zimmermann had read the writings of Meister Eckhardt and Shunryu Suzuki; in particular, the idea of non-attachment became important in Zimmermann's own work, as he demanded from himself and his music to "always be a Beginner."⁹³ Given mainstream America's interest in meditation, self-discovery, and Eastern spirituality during the early 1970s, Zimmermann's idea of the "beginner" aptly reflected the spirit of the times, and his contact with American experimentalists fed his freedom to move beyond established European compositional methods. Furthermore, Zimmermann suggested a connection

⁹¹ "Ich war ja immer ein Autodidakt!" Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 521. Though when asked by a reporter in 1970 about the validity of conservatory learning versus a self-taught attitude, Zimmermann did not deny the importance of institutionalized learning of the trade. "Interview mit der Abendzeitung Nürnberg, 5. Mai 1970," reprinted in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 14.

⁹² "Sie haben das Tischtuch weggezogen und Leute wieder auf den Tisch schauen lassen." Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. This metaphor recalls Luigi Nono's criticism of European composers' positive reception of American experimental ideas--what he called "the fiction of a tabula rasa"--during the late 1950s (Luigi Nono, "Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von Heute," *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* [1960], 42; for a description of Nono's essay, see Chapter Four). Rudolf Stephan used nearly the same imagery--but in a negative way--to describe the result of Cage's composition: he said the experimentalists "just cleared [the table]" ("nur abräumen") as opposed to composers who "made space in order to put something new there" ("Platz schaffen und etwas Neues hinstellen"). Stephan interview with the author, 25 November 1997.

⁹³ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. Zimmermann is quoting from Shunryu Suzuki's *Zen Mind--Beginner's Mind* (New York and Tokyo, 1970). See also Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 100.

between Buddhist ideas of the “here-and-now” and the ahistorical attitude of American experimentalists.⁹⁴ In his discussion of Shunryu Suzuki’s Zen Buddhist text *Beginner’s Mind*, Zimmermann wrote: “*Beginner’s Mind* is about liberating the historical thinking that is represented in our European (music) history from worries about continuity.”⁹⁵ Zimmermann’s composition titled *Beginner’s Mind* (1975) is divided into thirty sections that correspond to Suzuki’s thirty techniques for moving from the old to the new, from the complex to the simple.⁹⁶

Zimmermann’s project “Island Music” (*Insel Musik*) paved the way for his later egalitarian attitude toward programming music in his Beginner Studio. “Island Music” was an ethnographic study of small, insular cultures and their music.⁹⁷ In 1976, during the research for this project, Zimmermann drove alone from Pittsburgh to Vancouver

⁹⁴ Belgrad comments on Zen’s closeness to the “culture of spontaneity.” See Daniel Belgrad, *The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 167-70; 173-75.

⁹⁵ “Hier wird klar, daß es sich in *Beginner’s Mind* darum dreht, sich vom geschichtlichen Denken, in dem sich unsere europäische (Musik-) Geschichte darstellt, von der Sorge um Kontinuität, zu befreien.” “Beginner’s Mind,” in Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 94.

⁹⁶ Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 94-99.

⁹⁷ The project included music in a Pittsburgh “ghetto,” in the Egyptian Siwa oasis, in the Bavarian hinterland near Fürth, and a discussion of Native American song in the United States. See “Ghetto Blues,” in *Insel Musik*, 146f. Originally Zimmermann and Carol Byl also planned to study the music of a rain forest society in central Columbia. Zimmermann instead investigated the music of the Blackfoot Indians in Browning, Montana during the summer of 1976. See Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 150f; 154. He has undertaken a number of other ethnographic studies, including a study of the migration of Eastern European gypsies in “Die Musik der Zigeuner,” in *Insel Musik*, 168-74. His interest in ethnography was fully realized in his composition *Lokale Musik* (1977-81), for which he conducted field work in southern Germany, collecting early song and dance compilations from villagers and farmers in the region where he grew up.

through Michigan, Minnesota, and Montana. He documented the journey in a diary he published under the title "Continental Divide."⁹⁸ Here it becomes evident that Zimmermann valued what had long been considered by many Europeans a barrier to American artistic production. In the essay, Zimmermann described his awe and envy of American freedom, and he related it directly to the vast landscape of the northern midwest. For example, he wrote that a young woman working at a desolate filling station in the middle of Minnesota was "away from history." Zimmermann added: "I envied that very much, the advantage of just leaving history behind."⁹⁹ In Montana, Zimmermann connected the road's steady rise and fall to "a feeling of timelessness, a feeling that the suggestion of the eternally same moment is so strong, that the feeling of 'where-from' and 'where-to' is suspended for minutes."¹⁰⁰ For Zimmermann, the "here-and-now" of the unchanging landscape rendered historical progress irrelevant.

Back in Germany, Zimmermann introduced European audiences to the music of Conlon Nancarrow. Zimmermann first heard Nancarrow's unique studies for player piano during his 1975 interview tour of the United States. After this trip, Zimmermann planned a "Conlon Nancarrow Video Project"--a documentary film during which viewers

⁹⁸ Published in *Insel Musik*, 156-65.

⁹⁹ "In dem Cafe bei der Tankstelle war ein blondes Mädchen, für mich einfach dagesessen, inmitten von Minnesota, weg von Geschichte, einfach dagesessen. Das habe ich sehr beneidet. Den Vorteil, die Geschichte hinter sich zu lassen." "Continental Divide," Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 157.

¹⁰⁰ "Dieses angenehm Gleiche des Hebens und Senkens, dieser Rhythmus, des Auf und Abs und Aufs und Abs und Aufs für Stunden produziert dieses Gefühl von Zeitlosigkeit, ein Gefühl, daß die Suggestion des ewiggleichen Augenblicks so stark ist, daß das woher und wohin für Minuten aufgehoben ist." Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 160.

could see how Nancarrow composed directly on player piano rolls, and hear the opinions of other American artists (such as Don Albright, Charles Amirkhanian, Cage, Merce Cunningham, J. D. Floyd, Gordon Mumma, Roger Reynolds, and James Tenney) who knew Nancarrow's work.¹⁰¹ In his proposal, Zimmermann wrote: "I hope that the film will make evident at which fundamental definition of composing one can arrive, if one exists insulated from the administered musical landscape."¹⁰² Zimmermann's project was never realized, and today no such comprehensive documentation has been made available about Nancarrow's life and compositional methods.¹⁰³ But in 1976, Zimmermann introduced *pro musica nova* audiences to Nancarrow's music. Zimmermann's connection to Hans Otte in Bremen was important for both composers, and they shared a deep, creative interest in American experimentalism.¹⁰⁴ Zimmermann's presentation of

¹⁰¹ Zimmermann published his proposal in *Insel Musik*, 120f. It was recently reprinted in *Positionen* 33.

¹⁰² "Ich hoffe, daß der Film deutlich macht, zu welcher grundlegenden Definitionen des Komponierens man kommen kann, wenn einer angesichts einer verwalteten Musiklandschaft in Insularität existiert. Dieses Thema wird hier in Deutschland bald aktuell." Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 121.

¹⁰³ The proposal was rejected by Hans G. Helms and Manfred Gräter at the Film Division for New Music at WDR in Cologne. See Gisela Nauck in *Positionen* 33, 42.

¹⁰⁴ Zimmermann received DM 500 (about \$200) for his lecture on Nancarrow's *Studies for Player Piano* [RB]. See Appendix H for a transcription of the correspondence between Zimmermann, Otte, and Nancarrow held at *Radio Bremen*. In 1974, Otte provided the young Zimmermann with one of his first paid commissions. For his composition *In Understanding the Music, the Sound Dies*, Zimmermann received DM 4,000 [RB]. He later published the piece at his own publishing company, called SÜ (the I Ching symbol for "Waiting"). Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 528. In 1974, Otte did not invite any American composers to *pro musica nova*, but many German composers from Cologne participated, including Wolf Vostell, Johannes Fritsch and Rolf Gehlhaar (of the Feedback Studio in Cologne), Zimmermann, and Josef Beuys, all of whom were

Nancarrow's work on 15 May 1976, titled "Conlon Nancarrow, *Studies for Player Piano*," was broadcast on radio stations in Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Athens, Hilversum, Jerusalem, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Zagreb, and national radio stations of Denmark, Australia, Japan, and Korea.¹⁰⁵ This was probably the first time that Nancarrow's music was heard worldwide. Otte was so overwhelmed by Nancarrow's unusual music that he took recordings with him to the next European Broadcasting Union meeting in Geneva. His enthusiasm convinced the committee to give Otte funds for a Nancarrow commission.¹⁰⁶

In late 1977, Zimmermann sought to overcome his feeling of being "displaced" from and by the new music scene by initiating his Beginner Studio concert series in Cologne, establishing himself as promoter and patron of American experimental music, and other music as well.¹⁰⁷ The physical dimensions of his Cologne studio--125 square meters of a former chemical factory in the industrial Zollstock sector--were as modest as the budgetary limitations of the studio's multiple functions: concert hall, music

connected in some way to Fluxus or to other American experimental music. In 1974, while Zimmermann was at Colgate University in New York, Otte wrote a letter of recommendation for the composer, who hoped to attend a music program at Stanford University (letter from Zimmermann to Otte, 14 July 1974 [RB]).

¹⁰⁵ This is according to a hand-written list, *Programmaustausch 1976*, held in files at [RB]. Also listed were the national and international broadcasts of La Monte Young's, Terry Riley's, and Max Neuhaus's concerts [RB].

¹⁰⁶ Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998. Nancarrow's EBU commission, *Study for Player Piano no. 39*, was premiered at *pro musica nova* on 12 May 1980 in a concert including Terry Riley's *In C* and Philip Glass's *Music from the Fourth Series* and *Music from Dance*.

¹⁰⁷ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. Zimmermann had already established a publishing company called Beginner Press.

publishing firm, experimental studio, weekend classroom for improvisational workshops, and communication center.¹⁰⁸ Zimmermann praised the “do-it-yourself” attitude of American experimentalists and modeled his studio after the loft concerts he had visited in the United States.¹⁰⁹ At the time, a private initiative like his was fairly uncommon in West Germany, and the amount of activity Zimmermann drew to Cologne was remarkable.¹¹⁰ A reviewer of an Evan Parker concert held at Beginner Studio remarked that Zimmermann’s goal was “to build a forum for an alternative music culture, at a constant high level of artistic integrity, without bending to musical commercialism.”¹¹¹ Much like Bachauer’s events in Berlin, Zimmermann’s boundary-crossing studio concerts—including early music, free improvisational music, plus all kinds of ethnic, experimental, and electronic musics--were a direct statement against the music market’s

¹⁰⁸ See Max Nyffeler, “Über das Beginner Studio: Ein Minimum an Geld, ein Maximum an Phantasie,” in booklet “Regenbogen Konzerte: 1977-81” (Beginner Studio, 1981): no page numbers (hereafter *Beginner Studio*). According to Nyffeler, Zimmermann’s entire investment for the Studio was DM 10,000 (about \$4,300), and his monthly rent was DM 550 (about \$215). Around 1980, Zimmermann was living on a composition stipend from the *Heinrich Strobel Stiftung* in Freiburg.

¹⁰⁹ Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 536.

¹¹⁰ See Gisela Gronemeyer, “Über das Beginner Studio,” in *Beginner Studio*. She writes that by 1981, Zimmermann had organized over fifty concerts under the auspices of his Studio. However, Oehlschlägel contradicts Gronemeyer, claiming that the LOFT concerts in Munich and those in Berlin’s Cafe Einstein represented similar private initiatives. See Reinhard Oehlschlägel, “Über das Beginner Studio,” in *Beginner Studio*.

¹¹¹ “Ihr Ziel: ein Forum alternativer Musikkultur aufzubauen, immer auf künstlerisch integrem Niveau, ohne Kompromisse an kommerzielles Musikdenken.” Karin Hartig, “Der Konzertsaal ist ein Wohnzimmer . . . Experiment Regenbogen Konzert,” *Kölnische Rundschau* (May 1979). Reprinted in *Beginner Studio*.

deliberate labeling of music styles in order to reach target audiences.¹¹² “The public for the experimental music in the Studio Beginner first had to be created,” Zimmermann remarked, “and we succeeded in building up an audience that is [. . .] just as heterogeneous as the music that is offered.”¹¹³ In short, he described his Beginner Studio project as “an attempt toward the dissemination of experimental music.”¹¹⁴

Johannes Fritsch’s Feedback Studio in Cologne, founded in 1970, gave Zimmermann an alternative model in the Cologne scene from which “the pioneer music, the experiments, the unpredictable” had all but disappeared.¹¹⁵ With his “Rainbow Concerts,” a regular Beginner Studio concert series, Zimmermann intended “to cultivate

¹¹² “Das Studio Beginner will in der weiteren Arbeit die von der Musikindustrie gesetzten Grenzen abbauen, um zu einer Musik zu gelangen, die direkt ist, vom Individuum und nicht vom Musikmarkt geprägt ist. Das heißt, man muß Experimente machen, ein Gleichgewicht von Regionalem und Internationalem herstellen, und Musik von Außenseitern vorstellen, die jegliche Kommerzialisierung verweigern.” Zimmermann, *Insel Musik*, 220.

¹¹³ “Das Publikum für die experimentelle Musik des Studio Beginner mußte erst geschaffen werden, und es ist uns gelungen, ein Publikum aufzubauen, das sich weder aus Schickeria noch aus Neue Musikspezialisten zusammensetzt. Das Publikum ist genauso heterogen wie die Musik, die angeboten wird.” *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ “Ein Versuch zur Verbreitung der experimentellen Musik.” *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ “Die Pioniermusik, die Experimente, das Unerwartete verschwand.” Martin Thrun, *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren*, 163. The Feedback Studio was founded in 1970, and provided a similar forum for performance, improvisation, experimental studio for live electronics, courses, and a communication center. In addition, Fritsch (b. 1941) founded the first German composer’s publishing company, called Feedback Studio Publishing, in Cologne, and published a new music journal, called *Feedback Papers*. The first sixteen issues of *Feedback Papers* (1971-78) included many articles on American composers such as Cage, Ives, Nancarrow, Oliveros, Partch, and others. Zimmermann was a frequent contributor to *Feedback Papers*. Beginning in June 1977, *Feedback Papers* appeared regularly in English and in German. The first bilingual issue was devoted to current discussions of “New Simplicity” in Germany. From 1972-85, the Feedback Studio organized over 100 events (See *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren*, 163).

the status of the loner in order to have an open house for all, and to excite interaction with all that is unconventional and new.”¹¹⁶ Despite Zimmermann’s criticism of established stations, his Beginner Studio concerts received extensive radio support from Reinhard Oehlschlägel at DF, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler at HR, and Wolfgang Becker at WDR.¹¹⁷ Many musicians played for free or for minimal fees.¹¹⁸ The first concert, in December 1977, featured American soprano saxophonist Steve Lacy.¹¹⁹

Between 1977 and 1984, Zimmermann organized over 170 different events and performances in his Beginner Studio. In 1981, Reinhard Oehlschlägel called Zimmermann was “one of the few German composers who didn’t just talk about, or even reject and suppress, the influence of American experimental music in Europe.”¹²⁰ Indeed,

¹¹⁶ “Den Status des Einzelgängers pflegen, um ein offenes Haus für alle und rege Austauschbereitschaft für alles, was unkonventionell und neu ist, zu haben.” Zimmermann as quoted by Dibelius in Ulrich Dibelius, *Moderne Musik II: 1965-1985* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1988), 255.

¹¹⁷ Stiebler and the others helped Zimmermann by recording live concerts and then paying Zimmermann for the right to broadcast them on the radio. Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

¹¹⁸ See Nyffeler in *Beginner Studio*.

¹¹⁹ Steve Lacy had settled in Paris in 1970, and performed frequently with Rzewski. Like Otte in Bremen, who took advantage of foreign musicians’ tours to Berlin, Zimmermann took advantage of what he called the travel triangle for jazz tours to Holland: Amsterdam, Brussels, and Cologne. By tapping into these tours, Zimmermann could arrange extra performances for touring musicians. The opening of the Beginner Studio, according to Reinhard Oehlschlägel, was originally supposed to be celebrated with a lecture by John Cage (the event did not take place, and Steve Lacy played the first concert). Oehlschlägel in *Beginner Studio*.

¹²⁰ “[Zimmermann] ist einer der wenigen deutschen Komponisten, die vom Einfluß der experimentellen amerikanischen Musik auf Europa nicht nur reden oder ihn umgekehrt sogar abwehren, verdrängen.” Oehlschlägel, in *Beginner Studio*. Oehlschlägel and

for someone like Zimmermann “who desired to free himself from the complications of the standard European worry about historical continuity,” experimental music from the United States provided a welcome alternative for his musical world and his music.¹²¹

Zimmermann had heard the Berlin performance of Feldman’s *Pianos and Voices* at Bachauer’s *Woche der avantgardistischen Musik* in Berlin in 1972.¹²² Ten years later, Zimmermann invited the American Kronos Quartet to perform Feldman’s *String Quartet* (1979), Feldman’s first composition that was longer than an hour, at Beginner Studio.¹²³ In April 1984, Beginner Studio organized the second series of events devoted to Feldman’s work in West Germany following the February TAT seminar series in Frankfurt, a series of concerts Zimmermann called “Feldman Portrait.”¹²⁴ Zimmermann

Gisela Gronemeyer established the new music journal *MusikTexte*, with an emphasis on experimental music, in Cologne in 1983.

¹²¹ See Dibelius, *Moderne Musik II*, 252.

¹²² Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

¹²³ The Kronos Quartet concert was the most expensive concert he arranged; the engagement cost about DM 2,000 (\$824), and was paid for in part with radio subsidies. Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

¹²⁴ Zimmermann had planned a Feldman Portrait concert in 1982 as part of a series called “Desert Plants,” during which one composer would be featured every month. The plans included “portrait” concerts of music by Feldman, Georg I. Gurdjieff, Dick Higgins, Hildegard von Bingen, Nicolaus A. Huber, Alison Knowles, Misha Mengelberg, Conlon Nancarrow, Rajeswari Padmanabhan, and Christian Wolff (flyer for Alison Knowles concert on 15 January 1982; copy provided by Zimmermann). On 12 November 1983, Zimmermann’s Rainbow Music Festival in Beginner Studio featured the music of three of Zimmermann’s role models: Hans Otte, Josef Anton Riedl, and Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, in a long evening of concerts called “Sound Set Free.” Program of *Regenbogen-Musikfest*, 11-13 November 1983. On 1 October 1982 Zimmermann featured a “Portrait Concert” of Ernstalbrecht Stiebler’s compositions at Beginner Studio. And on 5 May 1984, Zimmermann featured his former composition teacher Werner Heider.

saw Feldman as strong medicine against a crippled situation in which “since Adorno, composers trust their ideas more than their ears.”¹²⁵ The first concert took place in Frankfurt, but was advertised as part of Zimmermann’s series.

Table 7.2: Feldman Portrait at Beginner Studio in Cologne, 1984

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 12 April: | <i>For Violin and Orchestra</i> (1979) [performed by the RSO Frankfurt at HR’s concert hall in Frankfurt; introductory talk given by Heinz-Klaus Metzger] |
| 14 April: | <i>Bass Clarinet and Percussion</i> (1981) [Michael Riessler and Robyn Schulkovsky]; <i>Triadic Memories</i> (1981) [Herbert Henck]; <i>Untitled Composition for Cello and Piano</i> (1981) [Manuel Gerstner and Deborah Richards] |
| 15 April: | <i>Trio</i> (1980) [Clementi Trio with Deborah Richards on piano]; <i>Three Voices</i> (1982) [Beth Griffith]; <i>Only</i> (1977) [Beth Griffith] |

Except for *Only*, all of the performances were German premieres, and the concerts on 14 and 15 April were recorded live by WDR. The 12 April performance at HR in Frankfurt was followed by a “forum discussion” by Feldman, Heinz-Klaus Metzger, Cristóbal Halffter (the conductor of the concert), Walter Zimmermann, and Bernd Leukert (moderator). These events helped raise interest in Feldman’s IFNM visit in July.

Feldman in Darmstadt, 1984

After nearly twenty years of leadership, IFNM director Ernst Thomas retired in 1980. Friedrich Hommel took over the direction of Darmstadt’s International Music

In 1984, Hans Otte, too featured Feldman at his *pro musica nova* festival; a performance of Feldman’s *Pianos and Voices II* took place on 12 May 1984. The performers were Doris Hays, Herbert Henck, Ursula Oppens, Frederic Rzewski, and Marianne Schroeder.

¹²⁵ “Seit Adorno vertraut eben jeder Komponist mehr seiner Idee als seinem Ohr.” Zimmermann in pre-program booklet (21 March 1984).

Institute and the IFNM in 1982. The thirty-second IFNM in 1984 welcomed some three hundred course participants from thirty-nine countries, and offered premieres of works by Cage, Feldman, Hans-Joachim Hespos, Thomas Heyn, Wolfgang Rihm, and many others.¹²⁶ Even after decades of controversy, strife, and claims that the IFNM had outgrown its purpose, confrontations between the Old World and the New World continued there.¹²⁷ Like Steinecke, Hommel tried to open up the stylistic range by featuring both the works of new serialists (such as the English composer Brian Ferneyhough) as well as a wider range of American-inspired works by both American composers and others. The close proximity of such different music irritated many at the IFNM. In this context, and in the midst of a search for musical progress, Feldman seemed at once both old-fashioned and radical.

¹²⁶ Cage's *Thirty Pieces for String Quartet* was premiered by the Kronos Quartet. See Peter Oswald, "32. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 39 (September 1984): 477.

¹²⁷ For example, on Darmstadt in the 1980s, Eric Salzman wrote: "The Darmstadt controversy can be looked at in many ways. Europeans saw it as the latest eruption in a long history of Europe-vs.-America rivalry. Others thought the issue revolved around profundity (intellectual content) vs. hedonism (sensual pleasure)--but this was perhaps just another variant of the old-world/new-world debate. Many viewed the conflict as having not merely nationalistic but broader and deeper ideological overtones--notably those of progressivism vs. conservatism (although it was often hard to tell which side was which). American observers had a different view: they tended to see the controversy as an 'uptown'-vs.-'downtown' debate--i.e. establishment vs. avant-garde--but in a new context. According to this view, the old modernist music, once provocative and path-breaking, had become neo-conservative, state-supported, and academic; the new impulses, populist and grass-rooted, held the best promise for the future." Eric Salzman, *Twentieth-Century Music: An Introduction*, 3d Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 205.

Yet Feldman's presence in Darmstadt was not the work of Hommel but of Stiebler, who used his influence at HR and his "diplomatic ability" to ensure performances by American experimentalists in Darmstadt.¹²⁸ The IFNM alone did not usually pay the high travel costs from the United States, and Stiebler's generosity with HR funds was rewarded with some programming freedom. In 1984, Stiebler's department at HR paid for Feldman's Darmstadt visit.¹²⁹ Feldman spent nearly six days in Darmstadt, and his visit included a lecture and the European premiere of his *Second String Quartet*, played by the Kronos Quartet in a performance lasting over three hours--without a break--in Darmstadt's *Orangerie*.¹³⁰ The audience on the evening of the quartet performance included Alvin Curran, Wolfgang Rihm, Dieter Schnebel, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Alexander Wolf, and Walter Zimmermann. Over half of the audience stayed until the end of the performance--around midnight--and praised the performers and

¹²⁸ Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997. Zimmermann said that Hommel favored the British composer Brian Ferneyhough and French composers, while Stiebler "covered the whole experimental corner."

¹²⁹ Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997. Hommel told me that during his years as director of IFNM, his budget increased from DM 200,000 to DM 700,000. Nonetheless, HR paid for the Americans' travel to Darmstadt. Hommel interview with the author, 3 April 1998. By way of comparison, when Otte initiated his festival *pro musica antiqua* at *Radio Bremen* in the early 1960s, he had a budget of approximately DM 18,000. Otte interview with the author, 8 February 1998.

¹³⁰ The concert was recorded by HR and broadcast on Tuesday, 31 July 1984 at 7 p.m. The quartet had been premiered in Toronto by the Kronos Quartet on 4 December 1983. A commercial recording has never been released. A review of the Toronto premiere called Feldman "one of the few *sweetly* atonal composers." Arthur Kaptanis, "Review, Toronto, Kronos Quartet, Feldman *String Quartet No. 2* [premiere]," *Musical America* (March 1984): 40.

composer with a standing ovation.¹³¹ Stiebler commissioned an introductory text on Feldman's quartet from Walter Zimmermann, a text explaining that in the last seven years of Feldman's compositional development, the composer had discarded the time frame of the concert ritual, and that he had turned *time* itself into a last moment of freedom.¹³² Zimmermann emphasized "disintegration" and the deliberate ambiguity of Feldman's musical material. Some critics gave special mention to Feldman's *Second String Quartet* as the highlight of that year's IFNM.¹³³ One simply remarked that the "temporal functionalism of western music is abandoned."¹³⁴ After his success at IFNM, Feldman wrote to Eberhard Blum: "Standing ovation in Darmstadt for *String Quartet 2*. Interesting that it happened in Germany."¹³⁵ The composer knew that he had won a new

¹³¹ "Mehr als die Hälfte des Auditoriums harpte bis zur 124. und damit letzten Partiturseite aus und überbrachte dem Komponisten zu mitternächtlicher Stunde stehende Ovationen." Oswald, "32. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik," 477. On the live recording of the performance, the applause and shouts of praise go on for some 5 1/2 minutes after the performance (*Konzertmitschnitt*, HR).

¹³² "In Morton Feldman's Schaffen fällt an den Stücken der letzten sieben Jahre auf, daß sie sich mehr Zeit lassen, daß sie die Zeit eines Konzertrituals überhaupt nicht mehr beachten. Es wird zunehmend deutlich, daß die Zeit verstreicht als letzter Moment von Freiheit." Zimmermann, text on advertisement or program printed by HR. Copy given to me by Gerhard Westerath.

¹³³ Peter Oswald, "Ausufernder Pluralismus: Die 32. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (September 1984): 39.

¹³⁴ "Der zeitliche Funktionalismus der abendländischen Musik ist preisgegeben." Oswald, "32. Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt," 477.

¹³⁵ Letter from Feldman to Blum, 25 August 1984. This letter was displayed at the exhibition "For M.F." in Gütersloh, Fall 1997 [Blum's private correspondence].

audience, and said so in public on several occasions.¹³⁶ In 1984, Bernd Leukert wrote that Feldman “took an avant-garde concept to its extreme, and through that, he became music-historically relevant.”¹³⁷

Conclusion: “On the Eve of His Conquest of the Old World”

During the summer of 1986, Feldman was invited back to Darmstadt. On 24 July he lectured on his new piece *For Christian Wolff*, which Nils Vigeland and Eberhard Blum premiered that summer at IFNM.¹³⁸ The reception of this two-hundred-minute duo for piano and flute failed to match the “sensational success” of his *Second String Quartet* two years earlier, but Feldman’s central position in the West German pantheon of American composers had been secured.¹³⁹ One reviewer praised HR and Stiebler’s leadership for providing the IFNM program welcome contrast.¹⁴⁰ Klaus Trapp felt

¹³⁶ Feldman: “Sobald ich das Publikum los war, schrieb ich eine Reihe von Stücken für eben dieses Publikum, das ich loswerden wollte.” (*Triadic Memories Lecture* in Toronto, 17 April 1982); also: “Ich wußte nicht, daß ich ein neues Publikum bekommen würde, ich wollte nur das alte Publikum loswerden.” (*Current Trends in America Lecture*, South Africa, August 1983). Quoted in Claren, *Neither: Die Musik Morton Feldmans*, 208.

¹³⁷ “Er hat ein avantgardistisches Konzept extrem ausgeformt und ist damit musikgeschichtlich relevant geworden.” Bernd Leukert, “Diskretion und Rätsel: Der Komponist Morton Feldman,” *FAZ* (4 April 1984).

¹³⁸ This lecture has been transcribed by Beal, Claren, van Emmerik, Gasseling, Nieuwenhuizen, and Oberendorf in 1998 (unpublished; held at [IMD]).

¹³⁹ “Sensationellen Erfolg.” Heinz Zietsch, “Zwischen Bewegung und Erstarrung: Zu den 33. Internationale Ferienkursen für Neue Musik in Darmstadt,” *Musica* 6 (November-December 1986): 547.

¹⁴⁰ “Alle Achtung für [. . .] die Programmgestalter und den betreuenden Hessischen Rundfunk, die mit diesem Abend einen extremen stilistischen Kontrapunkt zu der an den

obliged to mention the “stylistic polarity” between American and European musical experience, which he said first became obvious during the IFNM in 1958. Trapp suggested that despite mutual influence over the years, that polarity had been basically maintained but further differentiated--as proven by the Feldman premiere.¹⁴¹ Above all, Feldman’s music, like most American experimental music, demanded from the listener a fundamentally different attitude than the one central Europeans knew.¹⁴² Eleven years later, Universal Edition commercially released a videotape of Feldman’s 1986 Darmstadt lecture, and advertised with the following English text:

Morton Feldman and Darmstadt . . . the very idea of lecturing to all those Europeans must have amused him! For Feldman, one of the New York group of composers, was acutely aware of being an American and was just as aware--critically, ironically, even sarcastically aware--that his fellow composers were European.

Feldman equated being American with being open, unfettered by tradition. For him, serialists (and Darmstadt was *the* serialist stronghold) were typical Europeans, blinkered fellows unable to think freely about music.

vorangegangenen Tagen erklangenen Musik setzten.” Klaus Trapp, “Marathon im Hören von Details: Darmstädter Uraufführung einer Morton-Feldman-Komposition,” *Darmstädter Tagblatt* (25 July 1986).

¹⁴¹ “Die Stilpolarität zwischen amerikanischer und europäischer Schule, wie sie erstmals bei den Ferienkursen 1958 offenbar wurde, als John Cage zusammen mit Morton Feldman, Christian Wolff, und Earle Brown in Darmstadt auftrat, um voraussetzungsloses, ‘unbestimmtes’ Komponieren zu proklamieren, ist trotz gegenseitiger Beeinflussung im Grunde erhalten geblieben, nur weiter ausdifferenziert worden. Das bewies diese Feldman-Uraufführung, die übrigens bei den verbliebenen Hörern einhelligen Beifall fand.” Klaus Trapp, “Marathon im Hören von Details: Darmstädter Uraufführung einer Morton-Feldman-Komposition,” *Darmstädter Tagblatt* (25 July 1986).

¹⁴² “Feldmans Musik verlangt vom Zuhörer eine grundsätzlich andere Einstellung, als wir Mitteleuropäer es gewohnt sind.” Jo Trillig, “Feldmans zeitlose Insel ewiger Ruhe: Darmstädter Ferienkurse und die Kunst, mehr als drei Stunden Flöte zu hören,” *Darmstädter Echo* (25 July 1986).

In the video Feldman is smiling, having a good time, making jokes--but all the while he is making provocative remarks, right under the watchful eyes of the elder composers and musicologists--and to the amusement of quite a few young people.

Feldman's music was performed in Darmstadt since 1956, but in 1986, a year before his death, Feldman still could not have foreseen that less than ten years later his oeuvre would enjoy tremendous prestige in Europe, where recognition for him, along with his open, free-thinking American compatriots, has become unquestioned.

The video is a valuable document showing this American composer on the eve of his conquest of the old world.¹⁴³

Through the colorful figure of Feldman, this text reinforced stereotypes about both American musicians ("open, unfettered by tradition") and European musicians ("blinkerred fellows unable to think freely"), and implies that the deep cultural ambivalence between the United States and West Germany continued to dominate the musical relationship between those countries. Feldman's conflicted relationship with Europe obscured a clear vision of his reception in Germany, and is complicated by his claim in Darmstadt in 1984 that he was "not an American iconoclast" but "a European intellectual."¹⁴⁴ He knew that his biggest fans were Germans, and that they valued artists who fit into a certain intellectual tradition; at the same time he contradicted their notion of experimentalism as a particularly American trait, refusing to be reduced to an "iconoclast." Shortly before his death, at the high point of his popularity in Germany, Feldman expressed his own ambivalent relationship with his home country to a German critic, claiming that he did not know what an American composer was: "It's European

¹⁴³ Advertisement text for video of Feldman's 1986 Darmstadt lecture, released by Universal Edition (first screened on 21 October 1997 at *Festival d'Automne* in Paris), in *IMZ Bulletin* 7-8 (1997), Music in the Media. The author of this text is not named.

¹⁴⁴ "Darmstadt Lecture," in *Essays*, 188.

music we're writing. We're not writing American music. Music didn't begin with Ives." He continued: "In that sense there is no American tradition."¹⁴⁵ The flutist Eberhard Blum, who worked extensively with Feldman in both Buffalo and Germany, and who became a main disseminator of Feldman's music, felt that Feldman deliberately tried to establish himself in Europe.¹⁴⁶ Blum went on to say that European audiences appreciated Feldman's music because they desired "a perfect work of art."¹⁴⁷ Though American experimentalists were known during the 1960s for challenging accepted definitions of

¹⁴⁵ From unpublished taped interview with Konrad Boehmer and Feldman in Middelburg (2 July 1987), quoted by Marion Saxer, ". . . daß es keine Sprache mehr gibt: Zu den späten Streichquartetten Morton Feldmans," *Positionen* 34 (February 1998): 28.

¹⁴⁶ "Feldman hat ziemlich daran gearbeitet, daß er in Europa immer wieder aufgeführt wurde, er wußte schon daß in Amerika für ihn wenig Chancen bestehen, außerhalb der Universitäten. [. . .] [Er] war sehr daran interessiert, in Europa aufgeführt zu werden, hat die Möglichkeiten gepflegt. [Es war ihm] lieber als wenn eine Anfrage aus Amerika kam, weil er wußte, es würde einmal aufgeführt werden und [dann] nie wieder." Blum interview with the author, 14 October 1997. Earle Brown and Christian Wolff expressed similar ideas.

Blum was born in Stettin in 1940. In 1970 he co-founded the ensemble *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*, dedicated in part to the music of American experimental composers, and is a very important figure in the story of Feldman's success in Germany. Blum first met Feldman in Berlin in 1971-72. Before Feldman left Berlin to take up his position at SUNY Buffalo in 1972, he invited Blum to come to Buffalo as a Creative Associate, where Blum worked mostly with the Center for the Creative and Performing Arts, founded by Lukas Foss in 1963. Blum was in-residence as a non-teaching professor at the Center from 1973 until 1976 (and then later for a half-year in 1978). As a member of the Morton Feldman Soloists (with percussionist Jan Williams and pianist Nils Vigeland), Blum later became one of the most important promoters of Feldman's music in Germany, and through his extensive recording project with the Swiss record label Hat Hut Records, produced by Werner X. Uehlinger, Blum has--almost single-handedly--saturated the market with Feldman recordings. For further information, see Eberhard Blum, "Über Morton Feldman sprechen," in *Eberhard Blum, Recordings on CD, 1990-1996* (Berlin: H. Heenemann, 1997), 29-32.

¹⁴⁷ "Es ist die Sehnsucht nach einem vollkommenen Werk." Blum interview with the author, 14 October 1997.

music (*Werkbegriff*), Feldman was praised for reestablishing the authority of a piece of musical art--yet no one doubted his pedigree as an experimentalist. Despite his verbosity, Feldman was heralded as “one of the few important composers of this century who hold back considerably with commentary about their own work, and who don’t tend toward the creation of a theory.”¹⁴⁸

American experimental music is responsible for altering ways of thinking about western classical music in West Germany, and Feldman fit comfortably into a belief held in Germany that American experimental music changed our way of hearing.¹⁴⁹ For example, Bernd Leukert said:

Feldman is very important for us because he represents a fundamental position in the spectrum of the American avant-garde. [. . .] The moment you dispense with drama, with narrative composing, with things that belong to literary composing in traditional music, and when one reduces down to sounds and uncomplicated rhythms, to the most invariable dynamics possible, then one leads to something essential, to timbre and to tension between these sounds. And for us, that was actually a completely new experience, and this experience changed, for example,

¹⁴⁸ “Feldman gehört zu den wenigen bedeutenden Komponisten dieses Jahrhunderts, die sich mit Kommentaren über ihre Werke sehr zurückhalten und die auch nicht zur Theoriebildung neigen.” Martin Erdmann, “Traumbruchstücke, unvermittelt: Neue Kammermusik und Essays von Morton Feldman,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1 (January 1987): 21.

¹⁴⁹ For example, Stefan Schädler wrote: “Daß der Impuls, der hier aus Amerika kam, letztlich zur Auflösung der seriellen Schule führte und eine Neuorientierung auch der europäischen Musik bewirkte, ist so wenig zu übersehen wie die damit einhergehende Veränderung in der Auffassung von Musik überhaupt.” Stefan Schädler, unpublished text (“Amerikanische Musik zwischen Earle Brown, John Cage und Tom Johnson”), Frankfurt. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Schädler wrote a number of radio broadcasts on Feldman for HR’s “Studio für Neue Musik,” including “Variation und Projektion: Musik von John Cage, Morton Feldman, und Christian Wolff zwischen 1950 und 1958” (14 and 21 April 1987), “Zeit und Realität” (12 June 1990), and “Morton Feldman, *Neither*” (19 March 1991).

our notion of time, the way we experience time. That means that when we listen to Feldman we know that our way of listening is being altered.¹⁵⁰

Seven months before Feldman's death in 1987, Stefan Schädler wrote that Feldman's musical development in the last few years "would be unthinkable without Europe, and one could almost say that he made European music aware of itself again." Moreover, Schädler posited that "the resonance that Feldman's music finds here perhaps even indicates--paradoxically--an end of the American supremacy in the field of new music over the last two decades."¹⁵¹ Such interpretations of Feldman's historical importance illustrate West Germany's contradictory view of American music through its continuing search for an avant-garde.

¹⁵⁰ "Feldman ist uns deshalb sehr wichtig, weil er in dem Spektrum der amerikanischen Avantgarde eine fundamentale Position vertritt. Es ist sehr viel von dem westamerikanischen, Zen-buddhistisch beeinflussten Denken John Cages abgefärbt auf Feldman, trotzdem hat es eine ganz eigene Ausprägung, die sich natürlich in der Ästhetik niederschlägt. [. . .] Jede Reduktion führt auf etwas Wesentliches hin. In dem Moment, wo man verzichtet auf Dramatik, auf narratives Komponieren, auf Dinge, die in der traditionellen Musik zum literarischen Komponieren dazu gehören, und [wo man] reduziert auf Klänge und auf unkomplizierte Rhythmik, auf möglichst gleichbleibende Dynamik, dann führt man auf was Wesentliches hin . . . auf die Klangfarben und die Spannung zwischen diesen Klängen. Und das ist eigentlich eine ganz neue Erfahrung gewesen für uns, und diese Erfahrung hat auch zum Beispiel der Zeitbegriff, der Zeiterfahrung verändert. Das heißt, wir wissen, wenn wir Feldman hören, dann verändern wir unsere Hörhaltung." Leukert interview with the author, 24 September 1997.

¹⁵¹ "Die Entwicklung von Feldmans Musik in den letzten Jahren wäre jedenfalls ohne Europa undenkbar, fast könnte man sagen, er habe die europäische Musik wieder auf sich selbst aufmerksam gemacht. Die Resonanz, die Feldmans Musik jetzt auch hier findet, möchte vielleicht--paradoxiert--sogar ein Ende der amerikanischen Suprematie in der neuen Musik der letzten beiden Jahrzehnte anzeigen." Stefan Schädler, "Wie Realität zu notieren ist: Der amerikanische Komponist Morton Feldman und die europäische Avantgarde," *Frankfurter Rundschau* (February 14, 1987), ZB 2.

CONCLUSION

The seven chapters comprising the main body of this dissertation illustrate that in the forty years after W.W. II, American experimentalists received extensive support in West Germany, that such support was important to their careers as composers, and that German new music specialists focused their attention almost exclusively on the experimental branch of American classical music. The reasons that American experimental music gained such a prominent position in West German new music circles now deserve to be summarized.

The cultural infrastructure created in West Germany after the war emphasized autonomy and education, and did not depend on advertising or public opinion. New classical music, including abstract, atonal composition, serialism, electronic music, and experimental performance maintained a financially secure position in public venues like radio stations and new music festivals. In the words of an administrator at the Frankfurt Opera, who authorized funds to commission John Cage's *Europas 1 and 2* for that institution in the mid-1980s: "Because we are a subsidized enterprise, we also have a certain obligation toward the experimental."¹ Furthermore, West Germans who listen to new music often considered it an integral part of their educational process.²

¹ Heinz Klaus Metzger: "Immerhin hat sogar der Verwaltungsdirektor gesagt, der ja nun für die Finanzen zuständig ist, daß wir, weil wir ein subventionierter Betrieb sind, eben auch gewisse Verpflichtungen zum Experiment haben." Bernd Feuchtner, "Es ist für uns

Starting around 1960, composers themselves became patrons. Generous cultural budgets were sometimes controlled by West German composers, and their decisions to channel relatively large sums of money toward American experimental composers went almost completely unchallenged. Such support often resulted in commissions, recordings, and international exposure for American composers. Zimmermann and others confirmed that experimental music found a way into the German new music scene because of the work of a few individuals.³ Since American experimental composers found it hard to find support for their work in the United States, many pursued opportunities abroad. Moreover, some of their German supporters tended to identify closely with the do-it-yourself attitude of American experimental composers.

Some comparatively wealthy venues focused on experimental music. The inclusion or exclusion of American experimental music from particular festivals or radio programs contributed to the reputation of those institutions and performance venues. As we have seen, the exclusion of American experimental music from IFNM during the 1960s and its inclusion at *pro musica nova* at the same time in Bremen suggests a split within the German new music community itself. In Darmstadt between 1970 and 1974,

eine Art Experiment: Ein Gespräch mit Heinz-Klaus Metzger und Rainer Riehn," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 148/12 (December 1987): 37.

² In a recent survey on different types of music, including music from the common practice period, popular music, and jazz, new music scored highest in the category "music serves my education and continuing education" ("Musik dient meiner Bildung und Weiterbildung"). Rainer Dollase, Michael Rüsenberg, and Hans J. Stollenwerk, *Demoskopie im Konzertsaal* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1986), 63.

³ "Hier hat die experimentelle Musik Eingang gefunden wegen Individuen." Zimmermann interview with the author, 17 October 1997.

the lack of experimental music there became a rallying point for some German participants.

The special postwar relationship between the United States and West Germany during the occupation and throughout the Cold War era conditioned West Germans to look to America for new trends and to give special attention to things considered American. At the same time, though the reeducation program established a permanent presence of American culture in West Germany, the United States was still seen through the prism of ambivalence toward the New World. German imagery pictured the U.S. as a “land of unlimited possibilities” featuring wild, vast landscapes, free-thinking dilettantes, and uneducated, uncultured businessmen. Moreover, American experimental composers fit well into the image of Americans as eccentric, non-conforming individualists.⁴

German new music discourse relies heavily on aesthetic theory, but American experimental music resists such theoretical frameworks. Evaluations of American experimental music in West Germany were rooted in West Germans’ understanding of history and musical progress. The German music historian Helga de la Motte-Haber wrote that even through the 1980s, the absence of a categorical system for fair evaluation hindered an adequate reception of American music.⁵ Paradoxically, the difficulty of

⁴ In 1996, the FAZ reviewed a New York festival that featured Feldman, Robert Wilson, and Virgil Thomson: “Beide [Thomson and Feldman] pflegen die künstlerische Exzentrizität--was im Lichte der amerikansichen Musikgeschichte nicht viel bedeutet. Dank einem Charles Ives oder Harry Partch oder Conlon Nancarrow oder John Cage haben komponierende Einzelgänger keinerlei Seltenheitswert im Land, das aus dem Individualismus eine Nebenreligion gemacht hat.” Jordan Mejias, “Die Farben der tönenden Stille,” *FAZ* (26 August 1996).

⁵ “Die ungenaue Kenntnis der Musik der ‘wilden Völker’ ist nur ein äußerer Grund für die damals ungenügende Anverwandlung der Neuen Musik Amerikas. Es fehlten auch

explaining American experimental music might have kept discussions of that music central to German new music discourse. German new music culture, at least in its confrontation with American experimental music, seems to thrive on this kind of dialectical tension between opposites--between the methodological security of a rational structure and the creative chaos unleashed by non-systematic ideas.⁶ I believe that a pattern may be found in West German new music history that supports extreme aesthetic opinions, and that leads to successive bans and outbursts of artistic expression. American experimentalism has played a seminal role in that pattern.

In Germany, the context of experimental music within the United States itself was seldom considered. General knowledge of American music was limited, and as a result, the experimentalists were increasingly seen to represent American music. The dominant narrative of American classical music established by the West German new music community highlights music by American experimental composers while excluding the work of nearly all other American composers. Not only are American experimental composers viewed as central to the story of American music, but they are also considered central to classical composition in this century. A survey of new music programs during the 1990s in Germany reveals an unwavering interest in the music of Cage, Feldman,

die Kategorien, um sie angemessen zu rezipieren. Das Fehlen eines solchen kategorialen Systems macht auch heute in den achtziger Jahren wieder eine angemessene Rezeption der amerikanischen Musik schwierig." Helga de la Motte-Haber, "Aus der Neuen Welt," 117.

⁶ Not surprisingly, Stiebler called this phenomenon "a dialectical process." Stiebler interview with the author, 30 October 1997.

Lucier, Rzewski, Wolff, Young, and others discussed in this study.⁷ For the story told in this dissertation, Feldman's move to the center of new music discourse in the mid-1980s marks a point of arrival. The image reproduced below should serve to illustrate this point (see Figure 8.1, page 339). The drawing, with the Austrian composer Franz Schubert (1797-1828) on the left and the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) on the right, places Feldman in a European continuum.⁸

A secondary theme of this study has been the construction in West Germany of a canon of American music--a canon comprised of composers and collaborators, if not works. Recent German scholarly writings on American music continue to perpetuate a canon comprised of experimental music. For example, in 1998, the ninth volume of the new edition of the German music encyclopedia *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* published a new article on music in the United States. The section on American art music

⁷ For example, an advertisement in *Positionen* (1996) for a small new music festival in the small town of Rümelingen (*Neue Musik Rümelingen*) included works by Feldman, Cage, and Rzewski. A Cologne festival in the fall of 1997 featured the world premiere of Carla Bley's *Escalator Over the Hill* (1968-71), a staging of Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, works by Feldman, and a performance of Conlon Nancarrow's complete *Studies for Player Piano*. In October 1997, the city of Bonn sponsored a festival called "Music of Extended Duration" including music by Thomas Buckner, John Cage, Morton Feldman, Petr Kotik, Roscoe Mitchell, Pauline Oliveros, La Monte Young, and others. A new music festival in a small venue in Berlin (Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, *10 Jahre Zwischentöne*) in May 1998 included music by Cage, Alvin Lucier, James Tenney, and Christian Wolff. These kinds of programs are entirely typical today.

⁸ The 1999 Munich Biennale Festival provides a further example of Feldman's central place in European intellectual and cultural history. Feldman's five-hour *String Quartet No. 2* was the only American work on the festival program, and the program booklet printed Feldman's thoughts on the passage of musical time, again as the only American voice included in the "symposium," next to quotations on time by Saint Augustine, Kant, Hegel, Sartre, Nietzsche, Newton, Heidegger, Hofmannsthal, Wagner, Beckett, Mann, Eggebrecht, Dahlhaus, Schnebel, and several other European composers. "Symposion:

between 1950 and 1980 was written by the Berlin musicologist Volker Straebel.⁹

Straebel's article outlined the most important events, groups and venues in American music during this thirty-year period as the following: the emergence of the New York School; the New York School's connection to the world of abstract visual art; Black Mountain College; Fluxus; studios for electronic music including the San Francisco Tape Music Center; the serial publication of *Source: Music of the Avant-Garde*; the ONCE group; the Merce Cunningham Dance Company; the Sonic Arts Union and live electronic music; minimal music; and "interactive environments" such as mixed-media installations (for example, Tudor's *Rainforest*). To the exclusion of other kinds of composition, Straebel's essay outlined only the history of experimental music in the United States. Straebel dedicated one paragraph (of eleven) to the "elite climate of American universities," naming, but not discussing Milton Babbitt, Elliott Carter, George Crumb, Jacob Druckman, Ross Lee Finney, George Perle, and Charles Wuorinen. The stark contrast between Straebel's and contemporaneous American surveys of music in the United States shows that the notion of which music best represents American music is culturally flexible.¹⁰ In Germany, a historical account of American music is now firmly

Die Zeit, die ist ein Sonderbar Ding," Program for Sixth *Münchener Biennale*, *Wie die Zeit vergeht* (Munich: Münchener Biennale, 1999): 45-7.

⁹ Volker Straebel, "Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, 1950-1980," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 9., 2nd Rev. Ed. Ludwig Finscher, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1998), 1375-79. The article on music in the United States includes separate sections on folk music and jazz, so these areas were not covered by Straebel. The new *MGG* also includes a whole article on jazz.

¹⁰ See, for example, Richard Crawford's article on American art music for the revised edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (forthcoming; article seen by the author in draft form). Crawford's discussion of American art music after W. W. II offers a more balanced view than Straebel's, spending more equal time on composers

in place, one that differs greatly from our own, and one that offers an alternately focused view, from the outside, of music in the United States.

who were employed by academic institutions, the experimental tradition influenced by Cage, and the changing status of composers within the larger context of American music.

Another example of an American view--quite different from the German one that favors experimentalism--comes from a less scholarly source. In 1998 and 1999, the Classical Music Hall of Fame and Museum in Cincinnati, Ohio inducted musical figures including composers Milton Babbitt, Samuel Barber, Béla Bartók, Amy Beach, Leonard Bernstein, Elliott Carter, George Chadwick, Aaron Copland, Duke Ellington, George Gershwin, Charles Griffes, Howard Hanson, Charles Ives, Scott Joplin, John Knowles Paine, Arnold Schoenberg, Gunther Schuller, William Schuman, Roger Sessions, John Philip Sousa, William Grant Still, Igor Stravinsky, and Edgard Varèse. Except for Ives and Varèse, no experimental composers were chosen.



Figure 8.1: Image accompanying a review of a new composition by Manfred Reichert, premiered at “European Music Festival 1997” in Stuttgart¹¹

¹¹ In *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (4 September 1997).

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF THE INTER-ALLIED MUSIC LENDING LIBRARY, BERLIN
(American Holdings)

Note: This typewritten list was found by the author in an unsorted box at the Berlin Philharmonic Archive, in a file folder marked "Katologe für Noten." The document was not dated; other catalogues and letters in the file are dated 1946. Compositions are transcribed here as they appeared in the catalogue, and I have retained all variation in spelling and language. Many of the entries also listed the instrumentation and duration of individual compositions.

*Katalog der Interalliierten Musik-Leihbibliothek Berlin
Abteilung AMERIKA*

I. Kammermusik

a) Soloinstrumente mit Klavier:

Bernstein, Leonhard [sic]: *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano* (1942)

Copland, A.: *Sonata for Violin and Piano*

Diamond, D.: *Sonata for Cello and Piano* (1939)

Ives, Charles: *Fourth Violin Sonata, "Children's Day at the Camp Meeting"*

b) Streichquartette:

Crawford, Ruth: *String Quartett* (1931)

Murphy, H.A.: *String Quartett Nr. 2*

Piston, Walter: *String Quartett Nr. 1*

Porter, Quincy: *String Quartett Nr. 4*

Serly, Tibor: *String Quartett*

Sessions, Roger: *String Quartett in e min* [sic]

Withorne, Emerson: *Quartett for Strings Op. 51*

c) Streichquartett mit Gesang:

Barber, Samuel: *Dover Beach für Bariton u. Streich Qu.*

d) Trio:

Copland, A.: *"Vitebsk" -- Trio f. Piano, Violine u. Cello*
 Donovan, Richard: *Trio f. Piano, Violine u. Cello*
 Loeffler, Charles, M.: *Trio f. Piano, Oboe u. Viola*
 Piston, Walter: *Trio f. Piano, Viol. und Cello*

e) Quintette:

Cole, Ulric: *Quintett f. Piano, 2 Viol. Viola u. Cello*
 Jacobi, F.: *"Hagiographia," Three Biblical Narratives for Stringquartett [sic] and Piano*
 Harris, Roy: *Quintett [sic] for Piano and Strings*
 Diamond, David: *Quintett [sic] for Flute, String Trio and Piano (1938)*
 Bloch, Ernst [sic]: *Quintett [sic] for Piano and Strings*

Streich-Kammer-S.O. Orchester:

Barber, Samuel: *Adagio for Strings*
 Copland, A.: *Music foe [sic] the Theater. Suite in 5 Satzen [sic]*
 Diamond, D.: *"Rounds" for Strings Orchestra*
 Foote, A.: *A Night Piece for Flute and Strings*
 Guion, David: *I. Turkey in the Straw; II. Sheep and Goot [sic]*
 Gould, Morton: *Pavanne for kl. Orchester*
 Kennan, K.: *Night Soliloquy for solo Flute, Piano and Strings*
 National Melodien: *I. La Marseilles v. Rouget de L'Isle; II. The Spangled Star [sic]*
 Porter, Qu.: *Ukranian Suite for Streichorchester*
 Phillips, B.: *Concert Piece for Bassoon and Strings*
 Piston, W.: *Concertino f. Klavier und Kammerorchester*
 Randolph, David: *Dedication, Andante f. Streicher*
 Riegger, Wallingford: *Canon und Fuge für Streicher*
 Rogers, Bernard: *Soliloquy, for Flut [sic] and Strings*
 Schumann [sic], W.: *Symphonie f. Streicher*
 Serly, Tibor: *Sonata Concertante f. Streichorch*
 Taylor, Deems: *Through the Looking Glass für Streichorch. Op. 12 [crossed out]*

Grosses Orchester:

Antheil, G.: *Decatur at Algiers for Orchestra*
 Barber, Samuel: *I. Symphony (in one movement) op. 9; Essay for Orchester [sic] op. 12; 2nd Essay for Orchester op. 17; Ouvertüre zur "The School for Scandal"*
 Berezowsky, N.: *Concerto f. Viola oder Clarinette u. Orchester*
 Bloch, Ernst: *Schelomo Hebraic Rhapsody for Viola-, Cello-, Solo u. Gr. Orch.*
 Bowles, P.: *Danza mexicana f. Orchester (nur Partitur)*
 Copland, A.: *An Outdoor [sic] Ouvertüre f. Orchester (nur Partitur); Appalachian Spring (Balleet for Martha [sic]); El Salon Mexico f. Orchester*

- Creston, Paul: *Symphonie Op. 20 f. Gr. Orchester* (partitur)
 Cowell, Henry: *Odl [sic] American Country Song for Gr. Orchester*
 Dello Joio, Norman: *Suite from Ballet*
 Dowell, E. Mac [sic]: *2. Indian Suite Op. 42 in 5 Sätzen*
 Fuleihan, Anis: *Symphonie for Orchestra*
 Gershwin, George: *Concerto in F f. Piano u. Orchester; Rhapsody in Blue f. Orchester*
 Gilbert, Henry: *Comedy Overture on Negro Themes f. Gr. Orchestra*
 Gould, Morton: *Guaracha. Third Movement from Lain American Symphoniette*
 Griffes, Ch. T.: *The White Peacock f. Gr. Orch.*
 Grofé, Ferde: *On the Trail, aus der "Grand Cnjon Suite" [sic] f. Fr. Orchester*
 Hadley, Henry: *In Bohemia, A Concert Overture*
 Hanson, Howard: *Merry Mount-Partitur*
 Harris, Roy: *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (Partitur); *Third Symphony*
 Kerr, H.: *I. Symphonie in einem Satz*
 Lee, D. K.: *I. Symphonie f. Gr. Orch.*
 Moore, Douglas: *Village Music f. Klavier u. Gr. Orch.*
 Phillips, B.: *Mc. Guffey's Reesers f. gr. Orchester*
 Piston, Walter: *Symphonie f. Gr. Orchester*
 Schumann [sic], Williams [sic]: *American-Festival Overture f. Orchestera [sic]; 3. Symphonie f. Fr. Orchester*
 Searly, Tibor *Concert f. Viola u. Orchester*
 Still, William, [sic] Grant: *Afro-American-Symphony*
 Taylor, Deems: *Casanova Ballet-Music Op. 22; Through the Looking Glass f. gr. Orch.*
 Thomson, Virgil: *The Plow that Broke the Plains, Suite f. Orch.*
 Thompson, R.: *II. Symphonie f. Orchester*

APPENDIX B
 MAP OF GERMANY DURING POST-W.W. II OCCUPATION*



* From Oliver J. Frederiksen, *The American Military Occupation of Germany, 1945-1953* (Historical Division: U.S. Army Europe, 1953), 15.

APPENDIX C

PERFORMANCES OF AMERICAN MUSIC IN WEST GERMANY 1945-86

Note: This list shows all performances of American music I have located at the time of completing this dissertation. While not complete or exhaustive, rather a work in progress, this list represents all performances cited in sources named in the bibliography and in programs, newspapers, and journals surveyed in the course of my research. Several exact dates and details are still missing from this data (indicated with [?]). I also list here compositions that were broadcast on the radio, season by season, between 1957 and 1972; many of these broadcasts (*Sendungen; im Sendeprogramm*) were of live performances or of in-house studio recordings (*Produktionen*).

The list includes but is not limited to: festivals in Berlin, Bremen, Cologne, Darmstadt, Donaueschingen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Munich, Nürnberg, and Witten; ensembles such as the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, and *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*; and performances at venues such as the Hamburg Opera, Berlin's America House and Academy of the Arts, and Cologne studio concerts organized (separately) by Mary Bauermeister, Johannes Fritsch, and Walter Zimmermann.

Musical compositions and names are listed here as they appear in the sources, thus the great variation in titles (i.e. *Third Symphony; 3rd Symphony, Symphony No. 3, and 3. Sinfonie* might all be used for the same composition).

Abbreviations:

| | |
|------|--|
| AHB | America House, Berlin |
| BAdK | Berlin Academy of the Arts (<i>Akademie der Künste</i> ; as an organizing venue, including collaboration with <i>Woche der avantgardistischen Musik; Metamusik; DAAD Künstlerprogramm</i> at various locations) |
| BP | Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra |
| BS | Beginner Studio in Cologne (1977-84) |
| IFNM | International Holiday Courses for New Music, Darmstadt |
| De | New Music Festival, Donaueschingen |
| FB | Feedback Studio, Cologne |
| H | Days for New Music (<i>Tage der Neuen Musik</i>), Hannover |
| HO | Hamburg Opera |
| IKD | Internationale Kammerensemble Darmstadt |
| KKNM | Cologne Courses for New Music (<i>Kölner Kurse für Neue Musik</i>) |
| MB | Mary Bauermeister's Studio (organization only; various locations) |
| MdZ | Music of the Time, WDR (<i>Musik der Zeit</i>) |
| MEV | Musica Elettronica Viva |

| | |
|-----|---|
| MOS | Munich, Olympic Games 1972 (<i>Olympische Spiele</i>) |
| MP | Munich Philharmonic (<i>Münchner Philharmoniker</i>) |
| MV | <i>Musica Viva</i> , Munich |
| PMN | <i>pro musica nova</i> , Bremen |
| RSO | Radio Symphony Orchestra |
| TAT | <i>Theater am Turm</i> , Frankfurt |

See "Abbreviations" (pages xii-xiii) for list of abbreviations for radio stations.

1945

- September 2: (BP) William Grant Still, *Afro-American Symphony* (conducted by Rudolph Dunbar)
- September 3: (BP) repeat of 2 September concert (for the American soldiers)
- December 10: (BP, "For the Occupying Powers") Samuel Barber, *Adagio for Strings* (conducted by John Bitter)

1946

- January 24: (MP) William Schuman, *Amerikanische Festouvertüre*
- March 17: (BP) Barber, *Adagio for Strings* (conducted by Sergiu Celibidache)
- March 18: (BP, for the Occupying Powers) repeat of 17 March concert
- May 29: (MV) William Schuman, *String Quartet no. 2*
- July 28: (De) Walter Piston, *Concertino for Piano and Chamber Orchestra*
- September 15: (IFNM) Roy Harris, *Piano Suite* (Flössner); Gerhard Schwarz, *An die Freunde*
- September 22: (MP) Aaron Copland, *Ouvertüre, "Im Freien" (An Outdoor)*

1947

- [?]: (Ulm) Festival *Neue Musik in Ulmer Volkshochschule* included piece by Piston
- June 1: (MV) works by Diamond (Quintet?), Frederick Jacobi, and William Schuman (*Symphony for String Orchestra*)
- June 1: (Radio Frankfurt's *Woche für Neue Musik*; 1 June-8 June) Harrison Kerr, *First Symphony in One Movement*
- June 4: (Radio Frankfurt's *Woche für Neue Musik*) Walter Piston, *Concertino for Piano and Chamber Orchestra*
- June 19: (MP) Walter Piston, *Second Symphony*
- July 1: (MP) Barber, *Adagio for Strings*
- July 13: (MV) Piston, *Divertimento*
- October [?]: (Wiesbaden) Paul Creston, *First Symphony*

1948

- March 15: (MV) work by Jacobi
- April 27: (Leipzig, *Mittel Deutscher Rundfunk*) Elliott Carter, *Holiday Overture*
- May 28: (MP) Sessions, *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*

- June 12: (BP) Roger Sessions, *Violin Concerto* (conducted by Leopold Ludwig; Patricia Travers, violin)
 July 21: (IFNM) Walter Piston, *Quintet for Flute and String Quartet*; Quincy Porter, *3rd String Quartet* (Geissler, piano, with Darmstadt String Quartet),
 October 10: (MP) Gershwin, *Piano Concerto in F*
 October 21: (MV) Copland, *Music for the Theater*

1949

- April 10/11: (BP, conducted by Celibidache) Roy Harris, *Symphony No. 3*
 June [?]: (Berlin, *Haus am Waldsee*) Walden String Quartet played Ives and Riegger (probably same pieces as at IFNM, see below)
 June 20: (IFNM) Aaron Copland, *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (Köckert, Pinter)
 July 2: (IFNM) Barber, *Adagio for Strings* (Stuttgarter Kammerorchester)
 July 5: (IFNM) Ives, *2nd String Quartet* (Walden String Quartet); Wallingford Riegger, *1st String Quartet* (Walden String Quartet)
 July 10: (IFNM) William Bergsma, *Music On a Quiet Theme* (Orchester des Landestheaters Darmstadt)
 September 2: (BP, conducted by Celibidache) Barber, *Adagio for Strings*
 September 21: (MV) Copland, *An Outdoor Adventure*

1950

- March 1: (HO) Menotti, *The Consul*
 April 4: (BP) Diamond, *Rounds for Strings*; Copland, *Appalachian Spring*; Barber, *Capricorn Concerto for Flute Oboe and Trumpet*; Piston, *Symphony No. 2* (conducted by Celibidache)
 May 21: (BP) Piston, *Toccata for Orchestra* (conducted by Paul Hindemith)
 May 22: (BP) same as May 21
 August 20: (IFNM) Varèse, *Ionisation* (European premiere; Landestheater Darmstadt with Scherchen conducting)
 August 25: (IFNM) David Diamond, *Sonata for Piano*
 September 2: (BP, with Celibidache conducting) Barber, *Adagio for Strings*

1951

- January 13: (HO) Menotti, *The Consul*
 January 17: (BP conducted by Joseph Keilberth; Gerhard Puchelt, piano) Everett Helm, *Piano Concerto* (premiere, sponsored by ISCM)

1952

- [?] (early 1952 or late 1951): Schuman, *Second String Quartet*; Helm, *First String Quartet*; Piston, *Second String Quartet* (RIAS String Quartet, at America House Berlin)
 January 20: (HO) Menotti, *The Telephone*
 July 5: (7th U.S. Army Symphony, Göppingen) Roy Harris, *Third Symphony*; Leroy Anderson, *Jazz Pizzicato*; Morton Gould, *American Salute*

- July 13 (7th U.S. Army Symphony, America House Stuttgart) Foote; *Suite for Strings in E Minor*, Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*; Piston, *Symphony No. 2*
 July 24: (7th Army Symphony, America House Eschwege) Persichetti, *Dance Overture*; Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*; Bennet [sic], *Oklahoma Suite*

1953

- February 3: (AHB) piece by Norman Dello Joio (Marion Perkins, piano)
 June 10: (BP, conducted by Wolfgang Stresemann) Charles Griffes, *The White Peacock*, op. 7 no. 1
 July 19: (IFNM) Roger Sessions, *Duo for Violin and Piano* (German premiere; Kolisch, Willman); Varèse, *Density 21.5* (Redel)
 July 29: (IFNM) Barber, *Sonata for Piano op. 26* (3rd and 4th movements only)
 October 10: (De) Everett Helm, *Concerto for Five Solo Instruments, Percussion and String Orchestra* (premiere; SWF commission)

1954

- July 7: (7th U.S. Army Symphony, [in Austria?]) Barber, *Adagio for Strings*
 August 13: (IFNM) Ives, *Halloween* (Assmann Quartet, during Rebner lecture); Wolff, *Music for Prepared Piano* (Rebner)
 August 22: (IFNM) Gunther Schuller, *Dramatische Ouvertüre für Orchester* (premiere; HR orchestra with Bour conducting)
 August 24: (IFNM) Sessions, *Turn, O Liberated* (German premiere; Landestheater Darmstadt, Franz, Duo Kontarsky)
 October 17: (De) Cage and Tudor in Donaueschingen: *Water Music*, 34'46.776", 31'57.9864" plus electroacoustic pieces from Cage's Music for Tape Project (with Feldman's *Intersection*). [Or, as listed in Häusler: Wolff, *For Pianos II*; Cage, 12'55.6078" for two pianos (actually 34'46.776" for two pianists, shortened at Strobel's request); Brown, *Octet* (on tape); Cage, *Williams Mix* (on tape)]
 October 19: (MdZ) Cage and Tudor in Cologne (same pieces performed as on 10/17 in Donaueschingen, except for Tape Project) Feldman, *Intersection 3*; Wolff, *For Prepared Piano*; Brown, *Perspectives*; Cage, 23'56.176 for two pianos
 November 26: (MdZ) Sessions, *Second String Quartet*

1955

- March 25: (AHB) piece by Dello Joio (Abbey Simon, piano)
 June 1: (IFNM) Everett Helm, *Eight Minutes for Two Pianos* (Kontarskys)

1956

- [Tudor recorded Feldman's *Intermissions 5* at NDR; broadcast during season 1957/58; also recorded other works at WDR, HR [?]; played *Music of Changes* in IFNM seminar? Wolpe's 1956 lecture at Darmstadt included examples from New York School composers played by Tudor]
 March 5: (Cologne RSO, Gielen conducting) Ives, *Two Pieces for Chamber Orchestra*
 March 7: (HO) Gershwin, *Porgy and Bess* (performed eight times during 1956)
 March 23: (Cologne) Bernstein, *Trouble in Tahiti*; Foss, *Der Held von Calveras* [sic]

mid-May [?]: (Berlin RSO; conducted by Moritz von Bornhard) Douglas Moore, *Farm Journal*; Wallingford Riegger, *Music for Orchestra*; Ben Weber, *Konzertstück* [?]; Ulysses Kay, *Serenade*; Henry Cowell, *Symphony No. 11*; and Alan Hovhaness, *Prelude and Quadruple Fugue*

May 11: (AHB) pieces by Barber, Copland (Hilde Somer, piano; at RIAS)

July 22: (IFNM) Ives, *The Unanswered Question* (Hochschule Cologne/Frankfurt [?])

September 26 [or 27 ?]: Henry Cowell gave lecture-recital at Darmstadt Deutsch-Amerikanischen-Institut (America House?)

December 14: (AHB) piece by Dello Joio (Yi-An Chang, piano)

1957

Radio

NDR: season 1957/1958: Hamburg, *Das neue Werk* and/or NDR: Piston, *Sixth Symphony* (NDR-RSO concert); NDR *Neue Musik im 3. Programm*, Cyclical Broadcast: New American Music with Works by Cage, Wolff, Wolpe, Feldman, *Intermission No. 5*; others in *Sendeprogramm* (NDR) Barber, *Cello Sonata*; Carter, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Cello and Cembalo*; Copland, *Danzón cubano*; Piston, *String Quartet*; Ralph Shapey, *Oboe Sonata*; Varèse, *Octandre*

SFB: 1957/58: *Musikalische Nachtprogramm*, *Komponistenportraits*: Everett Helm, on Gian Francesco Malipiero and Darius Milhaud

SDR: 1957/58: *Neue Musik im Sendeprogramm*, Everett Helm, *Die Belagerung von Tottenburg* (Radio Opera)

SWF: 1957/58: *Neue Musik in Sendeprogramm*: Barber, *Souvenirs*, *Cello Concerto*; Varèse, "Chamber Music" [?]; Special Series: Song Cycles by Barber, Copland, Ives, and others; Composers Conducting the SWF: Copland; *Musik-literarische Nachtstudios*: Everett Helm, "Witzbold, Scharlatan, oder Genie--Das Leben Erik Saties"

WDR: 1957/58: *Zeitgenössische Musik in öffentliche Sinfonie Konzerte der WDR*: Roy Harris, *Third Symphony* (Guest Concert by the Philadelphia Orchestra); Gunther Schuller, *Symphony for Brass*; Barber, *Meditation and Raketanz aus "Medea"*, and *Second Essay for Orchestra*; Earle Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano*; Copland, *Billy the Kid*, *El salón Mexico*, *Overture im Freien*; Ives, *Central Park in the Dark*; Piston, *Toccata for Orchestra*, *Suite "The Incredible Flutist"*; Wallingford Riegger, *Music for Orchestra*; William Schuman, *Symphony for Strings*; Varèse, *Density 21.5*

Concerts

[?] Berlin: Barber, *Overture*, *The School of Scandal*

[?] Dortmund: Gershwin, *Piano Concerto*

[?] Kassel: Menotti, *The Medium*

[?] Kiel: Copland, *Billy the Kid*

[?] Krefeld, near Mönchengladbach: William Schuman, *Credendum*

[?] Lübeck: Morton Gould, *Interplay*

[?] Oberhausen: Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*; Gould, *American Concertante*

[?] Stuttgart: Helm, *Concerto for Five Solo Instruments*, *Percussion and Strings*

February 8: (MV) Varèse, *Ionisation*
 February 26: (AHB) piece by Ross Lee Finney
 March 20: (MP) Copland, *Appalachian Spring*
 June 5: (BP, "Amerikanische Woche," conducted by Thomas Scherman; plus June 7
 concerts also) Morton Gould, *Concerto for Tap Dancer*; Paul Creston, *Symphony
 No. 2*
 June 7: (BP., conductor Franz Allers) Chadwick, *Jubilee, first movement from Symphonic
 Sketches*; Virgil Thomson, *Five Poems for baritone and orchestra*; Barber, *Medea's
 Meditation and Dance of Wrath*; Kurt Weill, *Aria from Street Scene*; Menotti, *Aria
 from Die Heilige der Bleeker Street*; Copland, *Rodeo (Four Dance Episodes)*;
 Gershwin, *Four Songs from Porgy and Bess*
 June 12: (BP, conducted by Paul Strauss) Piston, *Suite from The Incredible Flutist*
 July 5: (AHB) "Music by Stefan Wolpe"
 July 18: (IFNM) Varèse, *Density 21.5 (Gazzelloni)*
 July 19: (WDR, KRSO, conducted by Mitropoulos) Schuller, *Symphony for Brass and
 Percussion, op. 16*
 July 20: (IFNM) Schuller, *1st String Quartet* (premiere; Ortleb Quartet)
 July 27: (IFNM) Earle Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano* (premiere;
 Taube/Kontarsky) Varèse, *Octandre (Dresdner Kammerorchester)*
 September 8/9: (BP, conducted by Rudolf Kempe) Barber, *Ouverture Die Lästerschule*;
 September 19: (Düsseldorf, conducted by Eugen Szenkar) Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*
 October 19: (De) Elliott Carter, *Variations for Orchestra*
 December 5: (AHB) organ piece [?] by Sessions

1958

Radio

BR: 1958/59: Cage, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; Ives, *Three Places in New
 England*; Copland, *3rd Symphony*; *The Quiet City*; Piston, *Sixth Symphony*; Virgil
 Thomson, *Louisiana Story*; Carter, *Cello Sonata*
 HR: 1958/59: *Musikliterarisches Nachtprogramm*: Everett Helm, On Charles Ives; Music
 im Radio: Earle Brown, *Penthatis*
 NDR: 1958/59: Copland, *Appalachian Spring (Ballet Suite)*
 RB: 1958/59: Virgil Thomson, *Fourth Piano Sonata*
 SR: 1958/59: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*, *Vanessa, Piano Sonata*; Menotti, *The Medium*;
 Helm, *Second Sonata for Violin and Piano*
 SFB: 1958/59: Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*
 SDR: 1958/59: Barber, *Vanessa; Adagio for Strings*
 SWF: 1958/59: *Nachtprogramm*: "Aussenseiter der Neuen Musik: Satie, Ives;"
 "Moderne Musik aus Amerika (Copland, Creston, Ives, Kirchner, Mann, Piston,
 Porter, Riegger, Sessions)"; Barber, *Cello Concerto; Violin Concerto*; "Souvenirs;"
Capricorn Concerto; Overture: The School of Scandal; Copland: *Statements; El
 salón Mexico; Lincoln Portrait; Rodeo, Short Symphony No. 2, Music for the
 Theater, Quiet City, Old American Songs, Piano Variations, Four Piano Blues*;
 Creston, *Second Symphony, Piano Pieces*; Paul Bowles, *Sonata for Two Pianos*;

Roy Harris, *American Ballads, Toccata for Piano*; Helm, *Concerto for Five Solo Instruments, Percussion and Strings*; Menotti, *Overture to Amelia geht zum Ball, Orchestersuite "Sebastian," Poemetti for piano, Ricercare und Toccata for Piano, Amahl*; Stuckenschmidt Sendung, "Pionier der Zukunftsmusik: Edgard Varèse"
 WDR: 1958/59: *Musikalische Nachtprogramm*, Hans Curjel: "Ives", and Stockhausen: "Musikalische Eindrücke einer Amerikareise (Bericht);" Menotti, *Amelia geht auf den Ball*; Barber, *1. Essay for Orch., Adagio for Strings, Overture to The School of Scandal, Meditation und Rachtanz aus Medea*; Bernstein, *The Age of Anxiety, Symphony for Piano and Orchestra, Fancy Free*; Copland, *El salón Mexico, Appalachian Spring*; Gershwin, *Concerto in F*; Morton Gould, *Spirituals, Latein-amerikanische Sinfonietta, Fall River Legend*; Ives, *The Unanswered Question, Central Park in the Dark, Fourth Violin Sonata*; Menotti, *Sebastian, Madrigal and Instrumentalsätze aus dem Ballett The Unicorn, the Gorgon and The Manticore*; Piston, *Suite from The Incredible Flutist*; Schuller, *Symphony for Brass and Percussion op. 16, Brass Quinter*; Schuman, *Undertow*; Ralph Shapey, *Duo for Viola and Piano*; Varèse, *Arcana, Density 21.5*

Concerts

- [?] Berlin: Creston, *Invocation and Dance op. 58*
- [?] Bielefeld: Gershwin, *Piano Concerto*
- [?] Düsseldorf: Menotti, *The Old Maid and the Thief*
- [?] Frankfurt: Schuller, *Das magische Wesen*
- [?] Oberhausen/Rheinland: Gershwin, *Three Preludes*
- [?] Oldenburg: Copland, *El salón Mexico*
- [?] Trier: Barber, *Medea*
- [?] Ulm: Gershwin, *An American in Paris*
- [?] Wiesbaden: Morton Gould, *Interplay*

March 7, and 11-13: (AHB) pieces by Piston, Persichetti (Nold Trio)

March 25: (Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Ives, *The Unanswered Question*, Varèse, *Intégrales*

March 25: (WDR-RSO, conducted by Maderna) Varèse, *Arcana*

April 18: (MV) Ives, *Three Places in New England* (conducted by Lorin Maazel)

May 11/12: (BP) A. Roy (?), *Ballad for Orchestra* [Roy Harris?]

May 21/22: (HO) American Ballet Theater, Morton Gould, *Fall River Legend; Interplay*

September 3: (IFNM) Earle Brown, *Four Systems for two pianos*, Wolff, *Duo for Pianists, Duo 2*, Feldman, *Two Pianos*, Cage, *Variations, Music for Two Pianos, Winter Music* (German premieres; Cage/Tudor)

September 6: (IFNM) Cage lecture "Changes" with *Music of Changes*

September 8: (IFNM) Cage lecture "Indeterminacy" with Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI* and Cage's *Variations*

September 9: (IFNM) Cage lecture "Communication" with Bo Nilsson's *Quatitäten* and Wolff's *For Piano with Preparations*

September 11: (IFNM) Earle Brown, *Penthatis for Nine Instruments* (premiere; Domaine Musicale/Maderna)

- September 19: (MdZ) Cage, *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (European premiere; broadcast on TV and radio; Tudor and Cage, plus seven other musicians)
 [?] Autumn 1958: (Galerie 22, Düsseldorf) Cage, *Music Walk* (Cage, Tudor and Cardew)
 October 14: (Galerie 22, Düsseldorf) Cage, *Music Walk* (Cage, Tudor and Cardew)
 October 28: (Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*, NDR) Cage, *Suite for Two*; Brown, *Galaxy*; Wolff, *Changeling*; Brown, *Duet from Spring Weather and People*, and (?) Feldman, *Piano Piece '56* (Cage and Tudor, pianos; accompanying Merce Cunningham and Carolyn Brown)
 November 4: (SDR Stuttgart, *Musica Viva* in Heidelberg) Varèse, *Density 21.5*
 December 18/19: (AHB) selections from Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors*

1959

Radio

- BR: 1959/60: Varèse, *Intégrales*; *Zeitgenössische Musik (Sendezyklus)* Barber, *Sonata for Piano, op. 26*; *String Quartet op. 11*; *Second Essay for Orchestra*; *Zeitgenössische Kammermusik (Sendungen)* Copland, *Sonata for Piano*; Ruggles, *Evocation no. 4*; Sendung, Varèse, *Ionisation*
- HR: 1959/60: *Sinfonie Konzert*: Barber, *Overture, School for Scandal, Ballett Suite Medea*; *Studio für Neue Musik*, Sendungen: Everett Helm, *Neue Musik in Jugoslawien (2 Reports)*; Fred K. Prieberg, *Fünfzig Jahre amerikanische Musik*; Horst Koegler, *Elliott Carter und sein Streichquartett*; Kommentierte Kompositionen: Varèse, *Intégrales*; *Zeitgenössische Musik im Sendeprogramm*: Barber, *Sonata for Cello and Piano, op. 6*; Copland, *Ballett Suite Billy the Kid*; Everett Helm, *First and Second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; *Concerto for String Orchestra*; Ives, *2. Sinfonie*; Piston, *Sonatine for Violin and Piano*
- NDR: 1959/60: *Neue Musik im 3. Programm (Sendungen)*: Menotti, *The Consul*; *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm: Musik-Literarische Sendungen*: Metzger, Varèse; *Musik Sendungen*, Ives, *The Unanswered Question*; *Zeitgenössische Musik im Sendeprogramm*: Barber, *Cello Sonata*; Carter, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Cello and Harpsichord*; Helm, *Divertimento for String Orchestra*; Piston, *Toccata for Orchestra, Violin Sonata, First String Quartet, Fourth Symphony*; Schuman, *Symphony for Strings*
- RB: 1959/60: *Das Klavierwerk des 20. Jh.: Sendezyklus*: Cage, *Music for Piano, Winter Music*; Copland, *Sonata 1941*; Ives, *First Sonata*; *Zeitgenössische Musik im Sendeprogramm*: Barber, *Cello Concerto*; *Hermit Songs*; *Adagio for Strings op. 11*; Schuman, *American Festival Overture*; *Musik-Feuilleton*: Fred K. Prieberg: "Seufzer und Stimmen des Alls"/ "Kunst und Zufall", *Vier Sendungen*: 1. *Klassische Interpretation*; 2. *Das kompositorische Würfelspiel*; 3. *Von Cage bis Stockhausen*; 4. *Der neue Interpret*
- SR: 1959/60: *Im Sendeprogramm*: Gershwin: *Porgy und Bess*; Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*; Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; Copland, *Orchestra Variations*; Gershwin, *An American in Paris, Concerto in F, Rhapsody in Blue*; Varèse, *Intégrales*; Barber, *First String Quartet, op. 11*

SFB: 1959/60: *Sendereihe: Musik der Gegenwart*: Barber, *Adagio*; *Capricorn Concerto*; Copland, *El salón Mexico*; Piston, *Toccata*; *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm*: Everett Helm, *Gershwin*; *Ralph Vaughn Williams*

SDR: 1959/60: *im Sendeprogramm*: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; Harris, *Piano Quintet (1937)*; Piston, *Sonatina in B Major for Violin and Piano*; Musik-Studio, Everett Helm, *Musikalische Beobachtung auf einer Jugoslawien-Reise*

SWF: 1959/60: *Sendungen (by generations)*: Piston, *The Incredible Flutist*; *Suite for Orchestra*; *Trio for Flute, Clarinet and Bassoon*; *Sonatina for Violin and Piano*; *Passacaglia for Piano*; Sessions, *Second Sonata for Piano*; Gershwin, *American in Paris*; *Piano Concerto*; Copland, *Short Symphony no. 2*; *Music for the Theater*; *El salón Mexico*; *Suite aus dem Ballett- Rodeo*; *Quiet City*; *Lincoln Portrait*; *Old American Songs*; *Four Piano Blues*; *Variations for Piano*; Carter, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Cello and Harpsichord*; Barber, *Second Essay for Orchestra*, *Adagio for Strings*; *Capricorn Concerto*; *Violin Concerto*; *Cello Concerto*; *Souvenirs*; *Sonata for Cello and Piano*; *Excursions*; *Hermit Songs*; Schuman, *Symphony for String Orchestra*; Menotti, *Sebastian, Suite for Orchestra*; *Ricercare and Toccata for Piano*; Dello Joio, *Third Sonata for Piano*; Rochberg, *Cheltenham Concerto*; Foss, *Second Piano Concerto*; *Musik-Literarische Sendungen*: Stockhausen: Amerika 1958

WDR: 1959/60: *Übertragungen zeitgenössische Musik*: aus Essen: David Diamond: *The World of Paul Klee*; *Musikalische Nachtprogramme*: Metzger, *Freigelassene Musik: Demonstriert an John Cages Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; Kugel: *Henry Cowell and His Theory of Tone Clusters*; im Sendeprogramm: Barber, *Scenes from Vanessa*; Menotti, *Scenes from Die Heilige der Bleeker Street*; Barber, *Essay no. 2; Meditation and Rachtanz der Medea aus "Medea," Overture from The School of Scandal*; *Souvenirs*; *Hermit Songs*; Bernstein, *First Symphony for Piano and Orchestra*; *The Age of Anxiety, Ballett Music (Fancy Free)*; Earle Brown, *Pentathis*; John Cage, *Music of Changes*; *Aria and Fontana Mix*; Carter, *Brass Quintet, String Quartet (1951)*; Copland, *Four Blues for Piano*; Morton Gould, *Latein-amerikanische Sinfonietta*; Ives, *The Unanswered Question*; Piston, *Suite from The Incredible Flutist*; Schuller, *Symphony for Brass and Percussion*; Sessions, *Second Piano Sonata*; Varèse, *Intégrales*; Wolff, *Music for Piano*

Concerts

[?] Aachen: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*

[?] Berlin: Barber, *Essay for Orchestra*; Paul Creston, *Symphony*; Piston, *Violin Concerto*

[?] Bremerhaven: Menotti, *Amelia geht zum Ball*

[?] Düsseldorf: Barber, *Medea-Suite*; Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*

[?] Göttingen: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*, Gershwin, *Piano Concerto*

[?] Hagen: Morton Gould, *Interplay*

[?] Karlsruhe: Quincy Porter, *Viola Concerto*

[?] Mannheim: Bernstein, *The Age of Anxiety*

[?] Overhausen/Rheinland: Menotti, *The Consel*

[?] Recklinghausen: Barber, *Violin Concerto*

[?] Solingen: Gershwin, *Piano Concerto*; *Rhapsody in Blue*

[?] Würzburg: Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*

January 6: (AHB) pieces by Ives, Barber and Bowles (sung by Barry McDaniel)

January 8/9: (Münster) Gershwin, *Piano Concerto; An American in Paris*

January 29: (Baden-Baden) Gershwin, *Concerto in F*

February 13: (AHB) piece by Copland (song recital)

February 18: (AHB) piece by Ives (chamber music)

February 24: (AHB) pieces by Menotti and Piston (7th Army Symphony Orchestra)

March 6: (MV) Varèse, *Intégrales* (conducted by Boulez)

March 18: (BP, conducted by Gerhard Puchelt) Norman Dello Joio, *Variations,*

Chaconne und Finale; and Samuel Barber, *Ballett-Suite, Souvenirs*, op. 28

March 18: (IFNM) Lecture by Dr. Everett B. Helm: "Die Neue Musik Amerikas"

April 16: (AHB) pieces by Bloch, Druckman (chamber music)

April 29: (AHB) works by Piston (chamber music)

June 12/13: (BP, Andre Kostelanetz cond.; Margore Mitchell, piano) Gershwin, *Cuban*

Overture and Piano Concerto in F; Porgy and Bess, a Symphonic Picture

June 14-21: (Düsseldorf/Duisburg) Menotti, *Die alte Junfer und der Dieb*

June 14: (Tübingen) Piston, *String Quartet*

June 19/21/22: (BP., conducted by William Steinberg) Paul Creston, *Invocation and*

Dance, op. 58

August 25: (IFNM) Varèse, *Density 21.5* (Gazzelloni)

August 28: (IFNM) Cage, *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (Cardew played tape)

September 1: (IFNM) Brown, *Hodograph* (Gazzelloni, Tudor, Caskel)

September 1: (BP) Peter Seeger [?] *Von starken Herzen*

September 2: (IFNM) Varèse, *Intégrales* (HR/Maderna)

September 4: (IFNM) Cage, *Aria and Fontana Mix* (German premiere; Berberian)

September 15/16: (BP, conducted by Franz Allers) Barber, *Essay No. 1*; Piston, *Violin*

Concerto (violin, Hugo Kolberg)

October 17: (De) Varèse, *Intégrales* (Ensemble Domaine Musical/Boulez)

October 23: (AHB) pieces by MacDowell and Menotti (piano recital)

October 28: (*Kölner Musikhochschule*) Wolff, *For Pianist*, Cage, *Winter Music* (Tudor)

November 1: (7th Army Symphony, Bingen) Barber, *Second Essay for Orchestra*;

Copland, *Billy the Kid Ballet Suite*

1960

Radio

BR: 1960/61: Varèse, *Octandre, Ionisation; Werkporträt*, Earle Brown

HR: 1960/61: *Sendereihe Studio für Neue Music*, "Bilanz der 50er Jahre:" Cage, *Music for Piano*; Varèse, *Deserts*; Wolff, *For Pianists*; and Broadcast on George Antheil: "Kommentiert Kompositionen" Antheil, *Ballet mécanique, Streicherserenade, Piano Sonata*; Elliott Carter, *Second String Quartet*; Schuller, *Spectra*; music broadcast in other series: Barber, *Overture, Die Lästerschule, String Quartet op. 11, Piano Sonata, Sonata op. 6 for Cello and Piano*; Copland, *Quiet City, Billy the Kid, Danzón cubano*; Helm, *Konzert für Streichorchester, Second Piano Concerto*; Ives, *Second and Third Symphonies*; Piston, *Third Symphony, Sonata for Violin and*

- Piano*; Schuller, *Concerto for Jazz Quartet and Symphony Orchestra*; Schuman, *New England Triptych*
- NDR:** 1960/61: Ives, *Three Places in New England*; Varèse, *Intégrales*; Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; Knoxville, *Summer of 1915*; Copland, *Quiet City*, *El salón Mexico*, *Appalachian Spring*; Henry Cowell, *Twelfth Symphony*; Everett Helm, *Divertimento for String Orchestra*, *Piano Concerto*, *Isomers for Cello and Klavier*; Ives, *The Unanswered Question*; Piston, *First String Quartet*; Riegger, *Dance Rhythms for Orchestra*; Sessions, *Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra* [sic]
- RB:** 1960/61: Cage, *Piano Solo with Fontana Mix*, *Cartridge Music*; Ives, *First Piano Sonata*, *Third Symphony*, *Songs*; Varèse, *Density 21.5*; Barber, *Overture The School of Scandal*; Copland, *Third Symphony*; Quincy Porter, *Poem and Dance*; Sessions, *Violin Concerto*; Barber, *Hermit Songs*; Copland, *Two Blues*; Creston, *Sonata for Alto Saxophone and Piano*; Dello Joio, *Second Piano Sonata*; Übertragung von Köln: Schuller, *Spectra*; Sessions, *Fourth Symphony*; Übertragung von Berlin: Helm, *Second String Quartet*; Übertragung von Stratford Festspiele in Canada: Cage, *Aria and Fontana Mix*; Cowell, *Hymns and Fuguing Tunes*; Otto Luening/Vladimir Ussachevsky, *Suite aus "King Lear"*; Wallingford Riegger, *Music for Orchestra*; Ussachevsky, *Klangstudie*; Varèse, *Deserts*
- SR:** 1960/61: Antheil, *Ballet mécanique*; Bernstein, *Ouverture zu Candide*; Cage, *Aria and Fontana Mix*; Varèse, *Deserts*; Barber, *Sonata for Cello and Piano op. 6*; Carter, *Second String Quartet*; Varèse, *Density 21.5*
- SFB:** 1960/61: Barber, *Essay for Orchestra*; Morton Gould, *Spirituals*; Ives, *Third Symphony*; Schuller, *Spectra*; Varèse, *Intégrales*; Sendung, Helm, "Amerikas Neue Musik"
- SDR:** 1960/61: Everett Helm, *Cambridge Suite*
- SWF:** 1960/61: *Musikliterarische Sendungen*: Helm on Ives, and Stuckenschmidt on Varèse; *Internationale zeitgenössische Musik im Sendeprogramm: Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika*--included works by the following composers (works too numerous to list individually): Barber, Berger, Brown, Cage, Carter, Copland, Cowell, Creston, Dahl, Dello Joio, Dougherty, Foss, Gershwin, Harris, Hofmann, Ives, Kennan, Kirchner, Korngold, Křenek, Lopatnikoff, Martinu, Menotti, Mohaupt, Nabokov, Piston, Porter, Quilter, Riegger, Ruggles, Schoenberg, Schuller, Schuman, Sessions, Shapero, Stravinsky, Taylor, Ussachevsky, Varèse, Weill, and Wolpe. Note the inclusion of European emigrants in this list.
- WDR:** 1960/61: *Sendung*, Metzger on Varèse; Barber, *Vanessa*; Bernstein, *Trouble in Tahiti*; Copland, *The Tender Land*; Gershwin, *Porgy and Bess*; Menotti, *The Consul*, *Amelia Geht zum Ball*, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*; Barber, *Overture The School of Scandal*, *Souvenirs*, *Medea*, *Capricorn Concerto*, *Commando March*; Bernstein, *Music from Fancy Free and West Side Story*; Carter, *Second String Quartet*, *Sonata for Cello and Piano*; Copland, *Music from Rodeo*, *Danzón cubano*, *El salón Mexico*; Morton Gould, *Ballad for Band*, *Latin-American Sinfonietta*, *Spirituals*; Ives, *First and Fourth Sonata for Violin and Piano*; Menotti, *Sebastian*, *Ballett Suite*; Piston, *Turnbridge Fair*, *Suite from Der unglaubliche Flötist*; Sessions, *Fourth Symphony*; Schuller, *Spectra*; Varèse, *Arcana*, *Intégrales*, *Ionisation*

Concerts

- [?] Bremen: Barber, *Second Essay*
- [?] Düsseldorf: Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, Copland, *Concerto in Jazz* [sic]
- [?] Hagen: Barber, *Violincellokonzert op. 22, Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance*, Copland, *El salón Mexico*; Ives, *Three Places in New England*
- [?] Hannover: Menotti, *The Telephone*
- [?] Hof/Saale: Barber, *Medea*
- [?] Kassel: Morton Gould, *Lateinamerikanische Sinfonietta*
- [?] Krefeld/Mönchengladbach: Barber, *Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance*
- [?] Munich: Barber, *Second Essay*, Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*
- [?] Rheydt: Barber, *Medea*
- [?] Saarbrücken: Morton Gould, *Interplay*
- [?] Solingen: Gershwin, *An American in Paris*
- [?] Ulm: Copland, *Ballett-Divertimento*

January 6: (AHB) piece by Ives (*Liederabend*)

January 12/13: (BP conducted by Edouard van Remoortel) Paul Creston, *Second Symphony*

January 27: (SFB) Varèse, *Intégrales*

February 13: (AHB) pieces by Copland and Schuman (7th Army SO)

February 14: (AHB) piece by Bernstein (7th Army SO)

February 15: (Hagen) Gershwin, *Two Songs from Porgy and Bess; Piano Concerto in F*

February 19: (AHB) piece by Copland (chamber music)

March 3: (AHB) pieces by Griffes, Barber (Carroll Chilton, piano)

March 4: (NDR, *Das neue Werk*) Varèse, *Density 21.5*

March 10: (WDR, MdZ) Varèse, *Octandre*

March 25: (Hof) Gershwin, *An American in Paris; Songs from Porgy and Bess*; Copland, *Four Dances from Rodeo*; Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*

March 26: (MB) Feldman, *Piano Piece (1959/60)*; Cage, *Music for Piano*; Feldman, *Piano Three Hands* (Cardew and Behrman)

March 29: (AHB) pieces by Barber, Schuman (*Liederabend*)

April 4: (AHB) piece by Barber (cello recital)

April 7/8: (AHB) songs and arias from *Porgy and Bess*

May 12: (Wuppertal) Barber, *Capricorn Concerto*

May 18: (Düsseldorf--Ballett Abend) Copland, *Concerto in Jazz, Clarinet Concerto*

May 31: (AHB) Lukas Foss, *The Jumping Frog of Calaveras* [sic]

June 1 (BP conducted by John Bitter) Chou Wen-Chung, *And the Fallen Petals*

June 12: (ISCM Festival Cologne) Schuller, *Spectra*

June 14: (ISCM Festival Cologne) Sessions, *Fourth Symphony*

June 15: (MB) La Monte Young, *Poem for Chairs, Tables, Benches etc.*; Cage, *Water Music*; Cage, *Variations*; Brecht, *Card-Piece for Voice*; Wolff, *For Pianist*; Brecht, *Candle-Piece for Radios* (Tudor and others; "Contre-Festival zum Kölner IGNM-Fest")

- June 22: (BP, conducted by Thomas Scherman, violin, Gavrilov) Dello Joio, *Meditation on Ecclesiastes*
- July 7: (Münster) Songs by Barber
- July 8: (IFNM) Elliott Carter, *Second String Quartet* (Juilliard Quartet)
- July 11: (IFNM) Robert Taylor, *Composition for Klavier*
- July 14: (IFNM) Sessions, *From My Diary for Clarinet* (Howard Lebow)
- September 15: (AHB) Jerome Kern, *Show Boat* [scenes from?]
- September 27: (Berlin) Cage, *Suite for Two* (from *Music for Pianos*); *Winter Music*; Wolff, *Untitled Solo* (from *For Piano I*); Brown, *Hands Birds* from *Folio*; Wolff, *Lavish Escapade aus For Piano II*; Wolff, *Changeling*; Cage, *Variations*; Cage, *Music Walk with Dancers* (Tudor and Cage, Cunningham and Carolyn Brown)
- September 28: (Berlin) same as Sept. 27
- September 29: (Berlin) same as Sept. 27
- October 1: (BAAdK) Helm, *Second String Quartet*
- October 2: (Munich) Cage, *Suite for Two* (from *Music for Pianos*); *Winter Music*; Wolff, *Untitled Solo* (from *For Piano I*); Brown, *Hands Birds* from *Folio*; Wolff, *Lavish Escapade* from *For Piano II*; Wolff, *Changeling*; Cage, *Variations*; Cage, *Music Walk with Dancers* (Tudor and Cage, Cunningham and Carolyn Brown)
- October 3: (Munich) same as Oct. 2
- October 5: (MB) same as Oct. 2
- October 6: (MB) Cage, *Cartridge Music with Solo for Voice 2*; Young, *Poem*; Cage, *Music for Amplified Toy Pianos* (Cage, Tudor, Paik, Helms, Cardew, and others)
- October 9: (AHB) pieces by Still, Barber, and Negro Spirituals (*Liederabend*)
- October 21: (AHB) pieces by Sessions and Ives (piano recital)
- December 30/31: (BP) Negro Spirituals

1961

Radio

- BR [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: *Produktionen*: Barber, *Sure on this Shining Night--A Nun Takes the Veil--The Praises of God*; Creston, *Sonata op. 19*; Barber, *Sonata*; Copland, *Suite "Our Town"*
- HR [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: *Produktionen*: Barber, *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*; Copland, *Sonata for Violin and Piano, Episode for Organ*; *Sendungen*: Prieberg on "Leonard Bernstein und die amerikanische Moderne"
- NDR [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: Piston, *Serenata for Orchester*; Barber, *Two Orchestral Pieces from Medea*; *Produktionen*: Schuman, *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra*; Schuller, *Symphony for Brass and Percussion, op. 16*; Ives, *The Unanswered Question*; Sessions, *Divertimento*; Copland, *Variations for Orchestra*; Foss, *Time Cycle*; Antheil, *Menuett und Toccata for Piano*; Dello Joio, *Variations and Capriccio for Violin and Piano*; Piston, *Fifth String Quartet*; *NDR Hannover Produktionen*, Bernstein, *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano*; Ives, *Four Songs for Alto and Piano*
- RB [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: *Produktionen*: Earle Brown, *Folio*; Cage and Lou Harrison, *Double Music, Schlagzeugquartett*; Cage, *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs, A Flower, She is Asleep, Solo for Voice 1, Aria, Solo for Voice 2, Solo for*

Voice 2 With Cartridge Music; Cowell, *Dynamic Motion, Antinomy, Advertisement, Tiger, Piece for Piano with Strings, Aeolian Harp, The Banshee*; Ives, *Sonata No. 4 for Violin and Piano, Concord Sonata, 67th Psalm, Seven Songs*; Varèse, *Octandre*; *Sendereihen: Musik-Essay*: Hans G. Helms, "John Cage, eine Sendung zu seinem 50. Geburtstag"

SR [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; *Produktionen*: David Diamond, *Elegie*; Creston, *Sonata for Sax and Piano, op. 19*; Copland, *Piano Quartet, 2nd Sonata for Violin and Piano*; Finney, *Piano Trio no. 2*; Piston, *Piano Trio in E minor*

SFB [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: *Produktionen*: Menotti, *Sebastian Suite*; *Sendung*, Helm on "Europäische Musiker in jungen America, Amerikanische Musiker in Europa"

SWF [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: Creston, *Second Symphony op. 35*; *Produktionen*: David Behrman, *Canons*; *Sendung*: Helm, "Die neue Musik Amerikas" (Second Part)

WDR [?1961/62 or 1962/63]: *Produktionen*: Cage, 25'55.98788, *Music for a Pianist and Violinist*; Copland, *Piano Variations*; Feldman, *Last Pieces*; Gershwin, *Concerto in F*; Ives, *Second Piano Sonata*; Menotti, *Overture zu Amelia geht zum Ball*; Rochberg, *Dialogues für Clarinet and Piano*; *Sessions*, *Sonata for Violin Solo*; Schuman, *Eighth Symphony*; *Sendungen*, Herbert Eimert: "John Cage zum 50. Birthday;" and Hans G. Helms on Ives, *Second Sonata*; *Nachtprogramm*: Cardew, "Die amerikanische Schule von John Cage", and Křenek, "Die unversicherte Musik: Über Charles Ives;" *WDR Fernsehen Sendungen*: Menotti's *The Medium* (Übernahme von Österreichischen Rundfunk)

Concerts

- [?] Augsburg: Gershwin, *Concerto in F*
- [?] Bamberg: Barber, *Overture, Die Lästerschule*
- [?] Bremen: Barber, *Medea, Second Essay*
- [?] Düsseldorf/Duisburg: Copland, *Die Bluthochzeit*
- [?] Duisburg: Morton Gould, *Interplay "American Concerto"*
- [?] Cologne: Barber, *Second Essay*
- [?] Münster: Menotti, *Das Einhorn, der Drache und der Tigermann*
- [?] Oldenburg: Morton Gould, *Latein-amerikanische Symphonette*
- [?] Trier: Menotti, *Die Alte Jungfer und der Dieb*
- [?] Ulm: Morton Gould, *Südamerik. Impressionen*, Dave Brubeck, *Time Out: Jazz*

March 6: (AHB) piece by Ross Lee Finney (tenor recital)

March 20: (AHB) pieces by Babbitt, Barber, Ives (piano recital)

April 12: (MP) Barber, *Second Essay, op. 17*

April 23: (NDR, *Das neue Werk*) Elliott Carter, *String Quartet* (1951)

April 27: (Darmstadt, *Liederabend*) Ives, *Three Songs*; Gershwin, *Three Songs from Porgy and Bess*; *Negro Spirituals*

May 26: (AHB) piece by Piston (chamber music)

June 6: (ahm [?]) pieces by Barber, Riegger (7th Army SO)

June 14: (ISCM Festival in Cologne) Sessions, *Fourth Symphony*

June 15: (MB) Cornelius Cardew plays: Feldman, Cage, Wolff, Brown, Young

- June 20: (AHB) piece by Sessions (organ recital)
 June 26: (AHB) pieces by Griffes and Harbison (*Liederabend*)
 July 3: (AHB) pieces by Dello Joio, Barber (piano recital)
 August 29: (IFNM) Ives, *67. u. 24. Psalm* (German premiere; Smith Singers [or on Aug. 30?])
 August 31: (IFNM) Ralph Shapey, *Form for Piano* (German premiere; Lebow); Robert Taylor, *String Quartet* (German premiere; Quatuor Parrenin)
 September 6: (IFNM) Tudor's *Nachtprogramm*: Cage, *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs* (German premiere; Tudor/Henius-for voice and closed piano); Cage, *26'55.988* for pianist and string player (German premiere; Kobayashi, Tudor) David Behrman, *Canon for Piano and Percussion* (German premiere; Tudor/Caskel); George Brecht, *Incidental Music* (German premiere, Tudor); La Monte Young, "*To Henry Flynt*" (later title: *Two Sounds*) for Tamtam (German premiere; Tudor); Terry Riley, *Envelope* (German premiere; Kobayashi, Tudor)
 September 9: (IFNM) Brown, *Available Forms* (IFNM commission; premiere; IKD/Maderna)
 September 12: (AHB) piece by George Crumb (cello recital)
 September 30: (MB) The 25-Year Retrospective Concert of the Music of John Cage (recording)
 October 14: (MB) Cage, *26'55.987" for Pianist and String Player*; Wolff, *Duo for Violinist and Pianist*; Riley, *Envelope* (Tudor and Kobayashi)
 October 22: (De) Gunther Schuller, *Contrasts* (premiere, SWF/RSO)
 October 28: (Oldenburg, *Musica Viva*, RB) Cage and Harrison, *Double Music, Percussion Quartet*
 November 1: (AHB) pieces by Barber, Piston, Schuman (European String Quartet--Vienna)
 November 30: (AHB) piece by Piston (piano recital)

1962

Concerts

- [?] Aachen: Barber, *Second Essay, op. 17*
 [?] Berlin RSO: Barber, *Meditation and Rache Tanz aus Medea*
 [?] Bonn: Copland, *Concerto 1926 [sic], Orchestra Variations*
 [?] Braunschweig: Morton Gould, *Interplay*
 [?] Bremerhaven: Schuman, *Amerikanische Festouvertüre*, Barber, *Adagio for Strings*, Ulysses Kay, *Suite for Orchestra, s, El salón Mexico*
 [?] Flensburg: Gershwin, *Concerto in F*
 [?] Gelsenkirchen: Menotti, *Violinkonzert*, Copland, *El salón Mexico*, Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*
 [?] Hannover: Barber, *Second Essay*
 [?] Oldenburg: Bernstein, *Der verlorene Sohn*
 [?] Osnabrück: Menotti, *Amelia geht zum Ball*, Copland, *El salón Mexico*
 [?] Würzburg: Menotti, *The Telephone*

January 7: (HR) Copland, *Sextet for String Quartet, Clarinet and Piano*

- January 20: (Oldenburg, *Musica Viva in Zusammenarbeit with Radio Bremen*) Schuller, *Ikonturen für Kleines Orch*
- February 9: (7th Army Symphony, America House Cologne) Copland, *Quiet City*
- February 19: (AHB) piece by Copland (chamber music concert)
- March 16: (SFB) Varèse, *Hyperprism, Offrandes*
- March 25: (AHB) piece by Piston (trio)
- April 5: (AHB) pieces by Piston and Griffes (chamber music recital)
- April 10: (Mainz) Varèse, *Density, 21.5*
- May 22: (AHB) pieces by Menotti, Gershwin and Copland (piano recital)
- May 29 or 30: (Dortmund: Kulturtage "Deutschland-USA") same as in Aachen, June 3 or 4 (see below)
- June 3 or 4: (Aachen) Copland, *Clarinet Concerto*, Ulysses Kay, *String Trio*, Gunther Schuller, *Movements*, Ives, *Holidays* (first movement, *Washington's Birthday*)
- June 9: (Wuppertal, Galerie Parnass) "Kleines Sommerfest, Après John Cage" (organized by Rolf Jährling, George Maciunas, Benjamin Patterson); included Terry Riley's *Ear Piece* and Dick Higgins' *Constellation no. 2*
- June 16: (*Kammerspiele*, Düsseldorf) "Neo-Dada in der Musik: Fluxus-Performances verschiedener Künstler" (organized by Paik and Maciunas)
- July 11: (IFNM/HR) Brown, *Available Forms I* (1961) (IKD/Maderna)
- 1-23 September: (Wiesbaden, *Hörsaal des Städtischen Museums*, organized by George Maciunas) *FLUXUS Internationale Festspiele Neuester Musik*: Including works by Cage, George Brecht, La Monte Young, Allison Knowles, Terry Riley, Philip Corners, Dick Higgins, and others. (Rzewski played duo-piano concert on Sept. 1; also played own piece on Sept. 2; a piece of his was played on the 9th)
- September 24: (*Deutsch-amerikanische Institute Darmstadt*) Schuller, *Woodwind Quintet*
- September 26 and 28: (MB) Feldman, *Projection 4*, and *Piano Three Hands*; Cage, *Variations*, and *59 1/2 Seconds for a String Player* (The Generation of Music 4, with Michael von Biel)
- September 27: (BP, conducted by Foss) Lukas Foss, *Time Cycle* (first European performance) and Varèse, *Deserts*
- October 24: (NDR) Brown, *Available Forms I*
- November 11: (MB) Dick Higgins, *The Broadway Opera*
- November 15: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*, with guest conductor Hans Otte) Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis*
- November 17: (HR) Varèse, *Offrandes*
- November 21: (SDR and *Musica Viva* in Heidelberg) Earle Brown, *Pentathis*

1963

Radio

- BR: 1963/64: *Produktionen*: Helm, *Sinfonie da camera*; *Concerto for String Orchestra*
- HR: 1963-65: *Produktionen*: Paul Creston, *Songs to Death*; Ives, *Three Page Sonata* and *Songs*; *Sendung*: Über Ives
- NDR: 1963-65: *Produktionen*: Barber, *Knoxville, Summer of 1915, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, op. 14*; Bernstein, *Sinfonie, Jeremiah*; Earle Brown, *Available Forms*; Ives, *Second Symphony, Washington's Birthday*; Piston, *The Incredible*

- Flutist, Concertino for Piano and Chamber Orchestra; Varèse, Deserts; Dello Joio, Variations and Capriccio for Violin and Piano, Third Piano Sonata; Piston, String Quartet no. 5; also NDR Hannover Produktionen: Barber, The Monk and His Cat*
- RB:** 1963-65: *Produktionen: Brown, Corroboree, Music for Cello and Piano; Cage, Quartet for 12 Tom Toms [sic], First Construction (in Metal), Imaginary Landscape No. 1 and 3, Solo for Voice 2, Seven Sonatas and two Interludes, String Quartet in Four Parts; Ives, First Sonata for Violin and Piano, Three-Page Sonata, Piano Piece 22, Three Protests, Largo for Violin, Clarinet and Piano, Trio for Violin, Cello and Piano; Rzewski, Composition for Two Players, Poème 1959; Wolff, For pianists (1960), For 1, 2, or 3 People*
- SR:** 1963-65: *Im Konzert, Barber, Second Essay for Orchestra; Copland, El salón Mexico; Produktionen: Helm, Symphony for String Orchestra; Carter, String Quartet no. 2; Helm, Isòmeres, Seven Pieces for Cello and Piano*
- SFB:** 1963-65: *Produktionen: Carter, Second String Quartet*
- SDR:** 1963-65: *Produktionen: Ives, Symphony No. 2; Diamond, Piano Trio; Bernstein, Sonata for Clarinet and Piano*
- SWF:** 1963-65: *Produktionen: Ives, Three Places in New England; Barber, Sonata op. 6 for Cello and Piano; Copland, Our Town; Sendung by Helm, "Avantgarde in USA"*
- WDR:** 1963-65: *Produktionen: Babbitt, Partitions for Piano; Behrman, From Place to Place; Cage, Double Music, Imaginary Landscapes 1 and 3, She is Asleep, First Construction (in Metal); William Grant Still, Danzas De Panama; Ives, Largo for Violin, Clarinet and Piano, Trio; Peter Seeger, Four Lustige Lieder nach Texten von Max Barthel; Sessions, First Sonata for Piano; Schuller, Seven Studies on a Theme of Paul Klee; Sendungen: Herbert Brün, "Das elektronische Studio der Universität Illinois, Mass [sic] USA--Neue Wege der Komposition mit Hilfe elektronischer Rechenmaschinen;" Helms, on Ives; Krenek, on Ives; Schuller, "Neue Musik in Amerika;" Nachtprogramm, Rzewski on Kagel's "Pandorasbox"*

Concerts

Baden-Baden. Irving Fine, *Childhood Fables for Grownups*

[?1963/64] Berlin: Sessions, *Montezuma*

[?1963/64] Bochum: Helm, *Concerto for Five Solo Instruments, Percussion and String Orchestra*

[?1963/64] Bremen: Schuman, *Judith*; Morton Gould, *American Latin Symphonette*; Sessions, *Black Maskers Suite*

[?1963/64] Cologne: Barber, *Souvenirs*; Foss, commission for percussion and strings [?]

[?1963/64] Dortmund: Schuller, *Movements for Flute and Strings*

[?1963/64] Düsseldorf: Barber, *Cello Concerto op. 22*; Gershwin, *Piano Concerto in F*

[?1963/64] Gelsenkirchen: Barber, *Essay No. 2, op. 17*

[?1963/64] Kassel: Schuller, *Movements for Flute and Strings*

[?1963] Konstanz: Barber, *Adagio for Strings*

[?1963/64] Lübeck: Schuman, *Ballads*

[?1963/64] Munich: Copland, *Dance Panels in Seven Movements*

[?1963/64] Münster: Morton Gould, *Interplay*

[?1963/64] Oldenburg: Morton Gould, *Spirituals*

[?1963/64?] Osnabrück: Menotti, *Die alte Jungfer und der Dieb*
 [?1963/64] Trier: Gershwin, *An American in Paris*

January 11: (WDR, KRSO) Brown, *Available Forms 2 for Orchestra*
 February 2-3: (Düsseldorf, *Staatliche Kunstakademie*, organized by Maciunas and Joseph Beuys) "*Festum Fluxorum Fluxus*" (including works by Cage, Rzewski, Philip Corner, Allison Knowles, Terry Riley, Patterson, Higgins, Williams, Schmit, MacLow, Watts, Maciunas, George Brecht, La Monte Young, and others)
 February 8: (MV) Brown, *Available Forms 2* (conducted by Maderna and Brown)
 February 8: (WDR) Cage, *Amores*
 February 26: (AHB) pieces by Dello Joio, Barber, Copland (*Liederabend*)
 April [?]: (Berlin RSO conducted by Copland) Copland works
 April 2: (AHB) Lecture by Henry Cowell, "Styles in Contemporary American Music"
 April 29: (AHB) piece by Copland (*Liederabend*)
 May 8: (Kassel, *Woche zeitgenössischer Kammermusik*) Barber, *Le clocher chante* (part of *Liederabend*)
 May 11: (AHB) Composition Evening with Gerald Humel and Vincent S. Frohne
 May 27: (AHB) piece by Schuller (NY Brass Quintet)
 July 16: (IFNM) Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano* (1954/55) (Palm and Kontarsky)
 July 25: (IFNM) Brown, *Hodograph I* (1959) (*Ensemble Instrumental Musique Nouvelles* Brussels)
 October 4: (Kassel) Riegger, *Study in Sonority op. 7*
 October 9: (BP, conducted by Henze) Gary Burton, *Ode an die Nachtigal*
 October 25: (KKNM) Feldman, *Piano Piece 1963 For Philip Guston*; Rzewski, *Poem*; Wolff, *For Pianist*; Lucier, *Action Music for Piano, Book 1* (Rzewski, piano)
 November 3: (ZDF television) Menotti, *The Telephone*
 November 15: (WDR, MdZ) Cage, *Fontana Mix*
 November 29: (WDR, MdZ) Schuller, *Threnos; In Memoriam Dimitri Mitropoulos*
 December 18: (KKNM) Wolff, *In Between*; Cage, *Cartridge Music*

1964

Radio

BR: [?1964/65] Roy Harris, *Symphony No. 9*; *Produktionen*: Roy Harris, *Symphony No. 3*; Barber, *Piano Concerto* (also, Broadcast by Helm; and Helms with examples by Cage and Brown); also BR Studio Nürnberg, *Produktionen*: Helm, *Sonatine brevis for Piano*

Concerts

[?1964/65] Aachen: Barber, *Violin Concerto*
 [?1964/65] Berlin: Varèse, *Labyrinth der Wahrheit (Ballett)* [?]
 [?1964/65] Essen: Gershwin, *An American in Paris*
 [?1964/65] Giessen: Menotti, *Amelia geht zum Ball*
 [?1964/65] Heidelberg: Gershwin, *Concerto in F*
 [?1964/65] Hildesheim: Morton Gould, *American Concertette*; Menotti, *Sebastian*
 [?1964/65] Hof, Saale: Piston, *Concertino for Piano*

[?1964/65] Cologne: Copland, *Tanz 1--Tanz 2* [?]; Barber, *Souvenirs*
 [?1964/65] Munich: Copland, *Dance Panels in Seven Movements* and Menotti's *Amelia geht zum Ball*
 [?1964/65] Oldenburg: Menotti, *Das Medium*
 [?1964] Recklinghausen: Gershwin, *Piano Concerto in F*
 [?1964/65] Ulm: Gershwin, *Preludes*
 [?1964/65] (location?) Helm, *Sinfonia da camera*

January 23: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*) Cage/Harrison, *Double Music for Percussion Quartet*; Wolff, *Nine*; Varèse, *Intégrales* (conducted by Kagel)
 January 24: (H; NDR Funkhaus) Cage, *Cartridge Music*
 January 24: (KKNM) Rzewski, *Composition for Two Players*; Young, *Two Sounds* (566 for Harry Flynt?)
 January 24: (SDR, *Kurpfälzische Kammerorchester*) Helm, *Symphony for String Orchestra*
 January 28: (AHB) Elliott Carter, *Eight Etudes and a Fantasy*
 January 29: (KKNM) Behrman, *From Place to Place*; Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts* (Rzewski and Cardew)
 February [?]: (Bremen) Ives, *Third Symphony*
 February 24: (AHB) piece by Helm (piano recital)
 March 4: (Kassel, *Woche zeitgenössischer Kammermusik*) Piston, *String Quartet No. 3*
 March 7: (AHB) pieces by Copland, Barber (*Liederabend*)
 March 15: (Münster, *Studio für Neue Musik*) Schuman, *Festouverture*; Barber, *Adagio for Strings*; Piston, *Concertino for Piano*; Copland, *Rodeo Suite*
 April 15: (Munich) Cage *String Quartet in Four Parts* (Schnebel's group with Rzewski)
 April 19: (Berlin, *Deutschen Oper*) premiere: Roger Sessions, *Montezuma* (1941)
 May 6: (PMN) Brown, *Corroboree* (premiere; Kontarskys)
 May 8: (Munich) Feldman, *Piano Piece for Philip Guston* (Rzewski played); Rzewski, *Poem 1958-59* (*Kölner Ensemble für Neue Musik* with Kagel)
 May 9: (AHB) piece by Carter (chamber music)
 June 16: (Münster) Helm, *Sonata for Flute and Piano*; Hans Joachim Vetter, Referat "Musik in Amerika;" Virgil Thomson, *Five Phrases from the Song of Solomon*; Roy Harris, *Sonata for Violin and Piano*
 June 25: (*Konzert des Rheinischen Kammerorchesters*) Foss, *Auftragskomposition für Percussion and Strings*
 June 30: (Münster) Sessions, *Duo for Violin and Piano*; Cage, *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs*
 July 15: (IFNM) Lukas Foss, *Echoi 1,2,3* (1961-63)
 July 20: (Aachen) "Actions/AgitPop/DéCollage/Happening/Events/Antiart/L'Autrisme/ArtTotal/Refluxus (Fluxus event)
 July 23: (IFNM) Babbitt, *Vision and Prayer* (German premiere, Bethany Beardslee); Brown, *December 1952* (IKD/Brown)
 September 19: (SFB, IKD Konzert) Brown, *Available Forms 1*
 September 30: (BADK, DAAD?) pieces by Babbitt, Ussachevsky and Luening

- October 1: (BAdK, DAAD[?]) Carter, *Double Concerto for Cembalo and Piano* (with Rzewski on piano part, Maderna conducting [?])
 November 6: (SFB, *Musik der Gegenwart*) Roger Sessions: *Montezuma*; Varèse, *Density 21.5*
 November 16: (MdZ; KRSO) Brown, *From Here*

1965

Radio

- BR: 1965-67: *Produktionen*: Barber, *Piano Concerto*; Riegger, *Dance Rhythms*; *Sendung*, Otto Luening, *Die Avantgarde in den USA: Das elektronische Musikzentrum Columbia-Princeton in NY*; Studio Nürnberg *Produktion*: Copland, *Quartet*
 HR: 1965-67: Gunther Schuller, *Seven Studies on Themes of Paul Klee*; *Sendung* by Schnebel on Varèse and Cage
 NDR: 1965-67: *Produktionen*: Brown, *Available Forms 1*; Helm, *Symphony for String Orchestra*; Behrman, *Canons for Piano and Percussion*; Carter, *String Quartet*; NDR Fernsehen, *Portrait: John Cage, Variations 5*, with Merce Cunningham; NDR *Funkhaus Hannover, Produktion* Brown, *December 1952 for Chamber Ensemble*
 RB: 1965-67: *Produktionen*: Berberian, *Stripsody*; Cage, *Variations 1* (Zacher, organ), and *Atlas Eclipticalis*; Feldman, *Durations 2*; *Sendung*: Helms on Ives; *Fernsehen*, *Adorno im Gespräch mit Hans Otte*; Cathy Berberian, *Stripsody*
 SR: 1965-67: *Produktionen*: Barber, *Souvenirs, Balletsuite*; Creston, *Dance Overture, op. 62*; Benjamin Lees, *Symphony no. 2*; Finney, *Piano Trio no. 2*
 SFB: 1965-67: *Produktionen*: Schuller, *Music for Brass Quintet*
 SWF: 1965-67: *Studiokonzert*: Barber, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; Schuller, *Second String Quartet*; Wolff, *For 1, 2, or 3 Players*
 WDR: 1965-57: *Produktionen*: Brown, *Four Systems*; *Sendung*, Everett Helm on Malipiero; Helms, "Pioniere der Neuen Musik Amerikas;" *Fernsehen Aufzeichnungen*, Barber, *Piano Sonata*

Concerts

- [?1965-66] Augsburg: Carter, *Woodwind Quartet*
 [?1965] Darmstadt: 19. *Arbeitstagung für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung*: Ives, *Three Page Sonata*
 [?1965/66] Freiburg, *Musica Viva, Institute für Neue Musik*: Babbitt, *DU, Song Cycle*
 [?1965/66] Münster: Morton Gould, *Valse Burlesque*
 [?1965/66] Wiesbaden: Menotti, *Der Tod des Bischofs Von Brindisi*

January 7: (MdZ) Foss, *Echoi I-IV*

January 25: (NDR Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Behrman, *Canons* (Kontarskys and Caskel)

January 29: (H) Cage, *2 Aphorismen* (as music for film; NDR Funkhaus)

February 18: (AHB) piece by Barber (chamber music)

February 20: (AHB) Rzewski (piano recital of own music)

March 7: (RSO Berlin, SFB) Helm, *Sinfonia da Camera*

March 9: (AHB) piece by Dello Joio (chamber music)

- April 25/26: (BP, conducted by Thomas Schippers) Barber, *Andromaches Abschied*, op. 39
- April 29: (Munich) Barber, *Reincarnations*
- May 12: (BAdK) pieces by Rzewski and William Bolcom (*Ensemble der Domaine Musical and Mitglieder des Berliner Philharmonie und RSO*)
- May 18: (Mainz) Carter, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Cello and Harpsichord*
- May 27: (ZDF Fernsehen) Copland, *Appalachian Spring*
- June 1: (Munich) Cage, *Aria with Fontana Mix* (Berberian)
- June 3: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*) Varèse, *Hyperprism*; Cage, *Amores* (Conducted by Schönbach)
- June 21: (BP, conducted by Foss) Lukas Foss, *Elytres* [? *Fantome*] and Varèse, *Arcana*
- July 18: (IFNM) Ives, *Three Places in New England* (Het Residentie-Orkest/Boulez)
- July 21: (IFNM) Ramon Zupko *Reflexions* (IKD/Maderna)
- July 25: (IFNM) Lejaren A. Hiller, *Machine Music* (Peter Roggenkamp, piano; Heinz Haedler, Rolf Rossmann, percussion)
- October 16: (De) Earle Brown, *String Quartet* (premiere, La Salle Quartet)
- October 28: (KKNM) Cage, *27'10.554*; Feldman, *The King of Denmark* (Max Neuhaus, percussion)
- October 29: (KKNM) Brown, *Musik for Cello and Piano*
- November 9: (NDR, Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Varèse, *Poème électronique*
- December 1: (Munich) Cage, *Fontana Mix*; Brown, *Four Systems*; Feldman, *The King of Denmark* (Max Neuhaus)
- December 2: (AHB) piece by Carter (piano recital)
- December 10: (BAdK) piece by Gunther Schuller ("*Neue Musik*" in *Zusammenarbeit mit dem Komponistenforum in der BAdK*)

1966

Concerts

- [?1966/67] Berlin: Foss, *Piece for Twenty-Four Wind Instruments*
- [?1966/67] Duisburg: Carter, *Sonata for Piano*
- [?1966/67] Frankfurt: Foss, *Time Cycle*; Barber, *Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance*
- [?1966/67] Hamburg: Barber, *Piano Concerto*
- [?1966/67] Kaiserslautern: Morton Gould, *Interplay*
- [?1966/67] Konstanz: Bernstein, *Symphonic Dances from West Side Story*
- May 5: (PMN) Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano*
- May 7: (PMN) Cage, *Aria and Fontana Mix*; Berberian, *Stripsody*; Cardew/Rzewski, *plus-minus (for two players, by Stockhausen)*; Rzewski, *Darstellung für eine Solostimme und vier Tonbandgeräte*
- May 20: (MV) works by Ives (conducted by Maderna)
- May 20: (MdZ) Brown, *Times Five*
- August 26: (IFNM) Varèse, *Octandre*; *Density 21.5*; *Ionisation* (IKD/Maderna)
- September 1: (IFNM) Robert Erickson, *Scapes 2*; Thomas Fredrickson, *Music for the Double Bass Alone*; David Gilbert, *Poem VI* for Alto Flute, Metal and Wood;

Charles Hamm, *Round*; Lejaren A. Hiller, *Primarily Act Three*; Salvatore Martirano, *Underworld* (Contemporary Chamber Players, Illinois [and Ben Johnston's *Knocking Piece*, according to Borio/Danuser])

September 2: (IFNM) Varèse, *Ecuatorial* (HR/Andrzej Markowski)

October 11: (AHB/RIAS) Foss, *Cello Concerto* (Foss conducting)

October 12: (HO) Schuller: *Visitation* (Schuller conducts this premiere of commissioned piece, written in Berlin while on DAAD)

October 21: (AHB) pieces by Menotti, Dello Joio, Creston, Barber (Edward Mobbs, piano)

December 15: (NDR Hamburg, 3. *Programm Fernsehen*) Cage, Documentary film by Klaus Wildenhahn (1966)

1967

Radio

BR: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: William Schuman, *A Song of Orpheus*, *Fantasy for Violincello und Orchestra*; Everett Helm, *Concerto for Double Bass and String Orchestra*; Norman Dello Joio, *Meeting at Night*; Lukas Foss, *Set me as a Seal*; Everett Helm, *Sonate piccola für Klavier*; Walter Piston, *Trio no. 2*

HR: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Brown, *Corroboree*

NDR: 1967-69: *im Konzert*: Diamond, *The World of Paul Klee*; Everett Helm, *Divertimento für Streichorchester*; *Produktionen*: Brown, *Available Forms 1*; Cage, *Music for Piano 1*, *Winter Music*; Carter, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Violoncello and Cembalo*; Varèse, *Déserts*

RB: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Cage, *Variations 3 for Organ*; Alvin Curran, *La Lista del Giorno for theater presentation*; Rzewski/Bryant/Curran/Teitelbaum/Vendor, *Spacecraft*; Rzewski, *Impersonation für elektronische Klänge*; Schuller, *Music for Brass Quintet*

SFB: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Ulysses Kay, *Brass Quartet for Two Trumpets and Two Trombones*; Brown, *Music für Cello and Piano*

SDR: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Piston, *Serenata for Orchestra*

SWF: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Babbitt, *Correspondences*; Feldman, *Structures*; Schuller, *Triplum*; Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis*; Foss, *Echoi*; Wolff, *For Three Peoples*; Cage, *Solo for Voice 1*; Sendung von Dibelius: "John Cage oder: Gibt es Kritische Musik?"

WDR: 1967-69: *Produktionen*: Bolcom, *Session 4*; Cage, *Solo for sliding trombone*; Copland, *Orchestra Variations*; McGuire, *String Quartet*; Rzewski, Bryant, Curran, Teitelbaum, and Vandor, *Spacecraft*

Concerts

[?1967/68] Berlin: (BP) Barber, *Toccata Festiva for Organ and Orchestra op. 36*

[?1967/68] Berlin: (BAdK) Feldman, *The Strait of Magellan*

[?1967/68] Frankfurt: Barber, *Souvenirs op. 28* (ballet); *Frankfurter Vereinigung für Musik*: Cage, *Water Music*; 4'33" (2 Performances)

[?1967/68] Oldenburg: Ballet [?]: Varèse, *Poème électronique*

- January 12: (KKNM) works by Cowell and Ives (pianist Margaret Krimdky Hassell)
 January 13: (SR Saarbrücken-*Musik der Zeit*) Copland, *Orchestra Variations*
 January 25: (AHB) piece von Piston (chamber music)
 January 28: (H) Ives, *Symphony No. 1* (German premiere)
 March 27-April 1: (Darmstadt, *Arbeitstagung für Institut der Neue Musik und Musikerziehung*) Cage, *Solo for Voice 1*
 April 12: (AHB) piece by Barber (*Liederabend*)
 April 26: (WDR, MdZ) Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis*
 May 12: (MV) two works by Foss (according to *Neue Musik in der BRD, Phorien, Time Cycle, Four Songs for Soprano and Orchestra*); Varèse, *Déserts* (conducted by Foss)
 June 6: (BP, conducted by Schuller, piano Joseph Rollino and Paul Sheftel) Schuller, *Concerto for Two Pianos*; Ives, *Three Places in New England*
 June 8: (SDR, *Musik unserer Zeit*) Carter, *Second String Quartet*
 July 3: (SWF *Ars Nova*) Cage, *Solo for voice 1* (*Schola Cantorum, Gottwald*)
 August 29: (IFNM) Stockhausen's *Ensemble* (including music by US composers living in Germany)
 September 26: (BADK) piece by Cage, *Variations 1* (Gerd Zacher, organ)
 October 5: (Berlin, *Rencontre Musicales des DAAD*) Cage, *Fontana Mix* (MEV)
 October 21: (De) Archie Shepp
 November 12: (RSO Berlin) Schuman, *Symphony no. 7*
 November 14: (BR, *Studio Nürnberg, Ars Nova*) Alvin Curran, *La lista del giorno*; Frederic Rzewski, *Zoologischer Garten*; Rzewski, Bryant, Curran, Teitelbaum, and Vandor, *Spacecraft, Collective Improvisation* (MEV)
 December 4: (SWF, *Ars Nova*) Foss, *Echoi*
 December 5: (Freiburg, *Musica Viva*) Foss, *Echoi*
 December 11: (AHB) pieces by Bloch, Riegger, Ben Weber, Everett Helm (Amati Ensemble)
 December 13: (ISCM Cologne, *Hochschule für Musik*) Cage, *Solo for Piano, and Fontana Mix, Indeterminacy*
 December 15: (AHB) piece by Barber (*Liederabend*)

1968

Concerts

- [?1968/69] Bochum: Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis*; *Winter Music*
 [?1968/69] Hamburg: Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*; *Hilfe, Hilfe, die Globolinks*
 [?1968/69] Kaiserslautern: Ballett: Brubeck, *Jazz Variations*; *My Favorite Things*; Stan Kenton, *Dreams and Blues*
 [?1968/69] Munich: Barber, *Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance op. 23a*
 [?1968/69] Oldenburg: Morton Gould, *American Concertette (Interplay)*
 [?1968/69] Recklinghausen: Bernstein, *Symphonic Dances from West Side Story*
 [?1968/69] Wuppertal-Barmen: Schuller, *Die Heimsuchung*

- January 9: (NDR, Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Varèse, *Déserts*
 March 18: (NDR, Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano*

- May 9/10: (BP, conducted by Eugen Jochum) Barber, *Toccata Festiva for Organ and Orchestra*
- May 16: (Freiburg, *Musica Viva*) Babbitt, *Philomel*
- June 6: (BP) Schuller, *Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra* (conducted by Schuller)
- June 7: (MV) Cage, *Solo for Voice 1* (*Stuttgarter Schola Cantorum*, conducted by Clytus Gottwald); also percussion ensemble plays Varèse piece [*Ionisation?*] on same day
- June 8: (BAdK) piece by Brown, *Hodograph 1* (*Gruppe neue Musik Berlin im Konzertsaal des Städt. Konservatoriums*)
- July 1: (SDR *Musik unserer Zeit*) Cage, *Solo for voice 1*
- September 1: (IFNM) Stockhausen's *Musik für ein Haus* (including music by US composers living in Germany)
- September 2: (IFNM) David Johnson, *Tele Fun* and *Intermezzo* (pieces created in electronic music studio WDR)
- October 9: (BAdK) piece by Hiller performed at *Internationale Woche für experimentelle Musik*
- October 10: (BAdK) Cage, *Imaginary Landscapes No. 3*, same event as Oct. 9.
- October 19: (De) Cathy Berberian, *Stripsody*
- October 22: (Mannheim, *Gesellschaft für neue Musik*) Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano*
- November 12: (NDR Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Feldman, *The Swallows of Salagan*
- November 18: (*Musica Viva Heidelberg*, SDR) Foss, *Echoi*
- November 23: (SWF) Babbitt, *Correspondences*; Feldman, *Structures*; Schuller, *Triplum* (conducted by Schuller)
- November 26: (BAdK) pieces by Gunther Schuller (America House, RIAS, und SFB; performance in BAdK)
- December 21: (HO) Menotti, *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, and *Hilfe Hilfe die Globolinks*

1969

Radio

- BR: 1969-71: *Produktionen*, Copland, *Connotations*; Luening, *Woodwind Quintet*, Feldman, *Last Pieces*; Cage, *Variations I*, version for organ
- HR: 1969-71: *Produktionen*: Earle Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano*, Cage, *Solo for Piano*; *Variations II*; *Music for Carillon No. 4*; and *Water Music*; Feldman, *Last Pieces*
- RB: 1969-71: *Produktionen*: Cage, *Variations*; *Solo for Voice*; Alvin Curran, *Madonna and Child for Voice and Tape*; *Rounds*; Feldman, *Christian Wolff in Cambridge*, *Chorus aus Instruments II*; Rzewski, *Jefferson*; Wolff, *Song* (1968/69)
- SFB: 1969 and 1970: *Produktionen*: Cage, *Variations I*; Rzewski, *Speculum Dainae*; Wolff, *For One, Two or Three People*; also Improvisations by MEV were produced
- SDR: 1969-70: *Produktion*: Feldman, *The King of Denmark*
- SWF: 1969-70: *Produktionen*: Copland, *Connotations*; *Music for a Great City*; Foss, *Baroque Variations*; *Elytres for small Orchestra*; Feldman, *The King of Denmark*; *Christian Wolff in Cambridge*; Riley, *In C*, *Version for Two Pianos, Flute and Percussion*

WDR: 1969-71: *Produktionen*: Bernstein, *Overture to Candide*; Brown, *Calder Piece for Four Percussionists*; Cage, 26'1.1499" for a string player played with 27'10.554" for a percussionist; Crumb, *Four Nocturnes for Violin and Piano*; Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts II, Piece for Violin and Piano, Durations*; Foss, *Echoi*; Riley, *In G-C-D-E for Ensemble*; Ralph Shapey, *Brass Quintet*; Wolff, *Play for variable Instrumentarium*; Wolpe, *Solo Piece for Trumpet*

Concerts

[?1969/70] Baden-Baden: Samuel Barber, *Summer Music op. 31*

[?1969/70] Bamberg: Walter Piston, *Fantasy for English Horn, String Orchestra, and Harp*

[?1969/70] Bonn: Brown, *Corroboree*

[?1969/70] Bremerhaven: Barber, *Medea Suite*

[?1969/70] Kiel: Varèse, *Poème électronique*

January 7: (SFB, *Musik der Gegenwart*) Cage, *A Flower for voice and closed piano* (Berberian, and others) [also broadcast on TV]

January 8: (SFB, *Musik der Gegenwart*) Foss, *Cello Concerto*

January 20: (SWF) Wolff, *For Three People*; Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis* (QUzX Ensemble Prague, conducted by Kotik)

January 27: (HR, *Musica Viva*) Cage, *Music for Carillon No. 4* (Josef Anton Riedl, "Aussteuerung")

February 9: (BP conducted by Stanislaw Skrowaczewski; piano, Jacob Lateiner) Elliott Carter, *Piano Concerto* (first European performance[?])

February 9: (Galerie Natubs, Berlin, *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Cage, *Variations 1*

March 4: (*Musica Viva*, Frankfurt, HR) Brown, *Corroboree*

March 6: (BAdK, *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Cage, *Variations 1*

April 10: (Kassel, 3. *Woche für Geistliche Musik der Gegenwart*) Cage, *Variations 1*

April 28: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Brown, *December 1952*

May 21: (BAdK) piece by Gunther Schuller (*Bläserensemble*; in America House)

July 14: (Munich) Cage, *Music for Carillon No. 4*

July 26: (Bad Hersfeld, *Festspielkonzert*) Cage: *Imaginary Landscape No. 3 for Six Percussionists* (with electronic sounds by Kagel)

August 25: (IFNM) Brown, *Corroboree* (Duo Kontarsky)

August 30: (IFNM) Hiller, *Computer Music for percussion and tape* (by Hiller and G. Allan O' Connor); Foss, *Paradigm* (German premiere, Caskel, Böttner, Giesser, Gavrilov, Palm); Riley, *In C* (1964) (German premiere, Caskel, Gavrilov, Giesser, Palm, Böttner, directed by Foss, plus IFNM participants)

September 1: (IFNM) Foss, *Baroque Variations* (HR/Foss); Morton Subtonick, *Lamination for orchestra. and elect. sounds* (HR/Foss)

October 1: (BP, conducted by Foss) Ives, *Orchestral Set II*; Foss, *Baroque Variations*

October 3: (BAdK) piece by Elliott Carter (piano recital by Daniel Chorzempa in America House Berlin)

October 5: (SWF Baden-Baden, *Konzertreihe Ars Nova*) Riley, *In C* (performed by *Ensemble Ad Novum* Warsaw)

- October 7: (BP conducted by Eleazar De Carvalho) Milton Babbitt, *Relata II* (first performance in Europe)
- October 10: (BP, conducted by Foss) Foss, *Baroque Variations*
- October 23: (Munich) Cage, *Solo for Voice, version for Voice and Tape* (with Gottwald und Riedl)
- November 11: (Munich) Wolpe, *Solo Piece for Trumpet*; Ralph Shapey, *For Solo Trumpet*
- November 13: (Munich) Brown, *December 1952* (played by *Ensemble Musik unserer Zeit*)
- November 26: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Brown, *December 1952* (Blum and Siebert)
- November 28: (SWF Baden-Baden, *Ars Nova*) Foss, *Elytres for small orchestra* (RSO SWF, conducted by Foss)
- December 6: (*Das neue Werk*, NDR Hamburg) Foss: *GEOD/Non-Improvisation II* (for 1 principle conductor, 4 sub-conductors & large orchestra)
- December 14: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Cage, *Water Music; Indeterminacy; Where Are You Going? and What Are You Doing?; Solo for Voice*

1970

Concerts

- [?1970/71] Deutsche Oper, Berlin: Zappa, *Susi Cremecheese [sic]*; Morton Subtonick, *When Summoned*
- [?1970/71] Bonn: Cage, *Water Music; Radio Music, Music for Carillon No. 4, 59 1/2 for a string player, Imaginary Landscape No. 3*; Feldman, *Durations 4*
- [?1970/71] Essen: Gunther Schuller, *The Visitation*
- [?1970/71] Cologne: Morton Subotnick, *Unter uns (Wild Bull. Electronic Music)*
- [?1970] (IFNM) Gelhaar, *Beckenstück trajectories* (1969)
- January 10: (BP, conducted by Reinhard Peters) Varèse, *Intégrales*
- January 27: (Frankfurt, *Bund für Volksbildung, Musica Viva, in Verbindung mit dem HR*) Cage, *Variations II*
- February 1: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Brown, *December 1952*; Feldman, *Last Pieces*
- April 3: (*Das neue Werk*, NDR Hamburg) Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts I (for 2 pianos)*; and Cage, *Winter Music*
- April 7: (Frankfurt, *Bund für Volksbildung, Musica Viva, in Verbindung mit dem HR*) Cage, *Solo for voice I* (1958)
- April 17: (Munich, *Ensemble für Neue Musik* from Zurich) Cage, *Water Music; 26'1.1499" for a string player with 27'10.554"*
- April 21: (Munich, Stuttgart Trio) Cage, *Solo for voice I*
- April 23: (Münster) Cage, *Variations I* (with P. M. Hamel, Rolf Gehlhaar, Max Nyffeler)
- April 24: (*Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik*) Wolff, *Play for variable Instrumentarium* (German premiere); and Feldman, *Durations* (German premiere)
- April 24: (MV) Gunther Schuller, *Shapes and Designs* (BR/RSO, conducted by Schuller)
- April 25: (*Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik*) Ralph Shapey, *Brass Quintet*; Cage, *27'10.554" for a percussionist, with 26'1.1499" for a string player*

- April 25: (SFB) Brown, *Moduls I and II for Orchestra* (conducted by Zender); Wolff, *Duet 2*; and Brown, *Calder-Piece*
- May 29: (PMN) Feldman, *Chorus and Instruments 2* (European premiere), and *Christian Wolff in Cambridge* (European premiere) (conducted by Gottwald, w/ Stiebler and Zacher)
- May 30: (SR) Lennon/McCartney, *Yesterday*, Berberian, *He's Got a Ticket to Write [sic]*, and *Stripsody* (all sung by Berberian)
- June 19: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Crumb, *Eleven Echoes of Autumn*; Feldman, *Two Pieces for Kammerensemble* (1961)
- July 13: (*Hochschulkonzert in Cologne: Musik in Etagen und Räumen*) works by Brown, Cage, and Varèse
- September 4: (IFNM) Feldman, *First Principles* (1967) (European premiere; HR/Hans Zender)
- September 7: (Hamburg, *Staatsoper, Simultan-Konzert*) included Varèse, *Poème électronique*
- September 30: (BP, conducted by Copland) Copland, *Clarinet Concerto* and *Third Symphony*, Elliott Carter, *Holiday Overture*, and Ives, *Decoration Day*
- October 9: (SWF, *Konzertreihe Neue Musik, Landesstudio Tübingen*) Feldman, *The King of Denmark* (*Stuttgarter Ensemble for Neue Musik*)
- October 17: (De) Sun Ra, *Black Forest* (premiere of commissioned work)
- October 20: (Munich, *Musik-Film-Dia-Licht*) Cage, *Radio Music*
- November 24: (*Hamburger Gruppe der Deutschen Sektion der IGNM*) Cage, *Radio Music*; *Water Music*; *Texts from Indeterminacy*
- December [?]: (ORF, "die reihe") Works by Ruggles, Brant, Wolpe, Wuorinen, Cage, Feldman, Brown
- December 1: (SFB, RSO Berlin) Feldman, *Out of Last Pieces*
- December 7: (AHB) piece by Carter (chamber music)

1971

Concerts

- [?1971/72; 1972/73] (Deutsche Oper Berlin) Varèse, *Labyrinth der Wahrheit* (Ballet[?])
- [?1971/72] (*Bochumer Symphoniker und Musica Viva Konzerte*) Gunther Schuller, 7 *Studien über Theme von Paul Klee*
- [?1971/72] (*Wellingsbütteler Orgelkonzerte*) Cage, *Variations 1*
- [?1971] (*Studio für Neue Musik, Munich*) Cage, *Radio Music*; *Fontana Mix*
- January 12: (BAAdK; *Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAAD*; in America House) Cage, *Solo for Voice*; Alvin Curran, *Madonna and Child*; Rzewski, *Jefferson*
- January 15: (SDR Stuttgart, *Ensemble Neue Musik Munich*) Cage, *Water Music*
- January 22: (MV) Foss, *GIOD/Non-Improvisation II* (conducted by Foss)
- January 27: (Hannover, *Tage der Neuen Musik*) Cage, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*; *Solo for Voice 1*
- January 31: (*Das neue Werk, NDR Hamburg*) Feldman, *Structures* (1960-62)

- February 23: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*, in America House Berlin: "Amerikanische Avantgarde") Wolff, *Pairs*; Feldman, *Durations I; Extensions I*; Cage, *Variations I*; Brown, from "Folio;" Crumb, *Eleven Echoes of Autumn*
- March 12: (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*) Brown, from "Folio"
- March 25: (Munich) Riley, *Dorian Reeds* (played by John Tilbury)
- April 16: (BADK) music by Cage, Feldman, Brown and Wolff (John Tilbury, piano)
- April 25: (*Wittener Tage für Neue Kammermusik*) Cage, *Variations 5, version for chamber ensemble*, and Foss, *Echoi (Ensemble Musiques Nouvelles* from Brussels, directed by Pierre Bartholomé)
- [?] (*Wittener Kammermusiktagen 1971*) Feldman, *Durations 1 and 2*
- April 26: (SWF, *Konzertreihe Ars Viva; Landesstudio Rheinland-Pfalz*) Feldman, *Christian Wolff in Cambridge (Schola Cantorum Stuttgart*, conducted by Clytus Gottwald)
- June 18: (Mannheim, *Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, IGNM*) Brown, *String Quartet* (1965) (La Salle Quartett)
- July 25: Brown, *String Quartet*, and Wolff, *Pairs, Version for Four Groups (Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin)*
- September 23: (BADK, America House Berlin) Feldman, *Extensions 3*, and Cage, *Variations 1 (Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAAD; as part of the Berliner Festwochen)*
- October 14: (AHB) Ives, *Piano Sonata No. 2* (Peter Roggenkamp, with Eberhard Blum)
- October 17: (De) Don Cherry, *Humus* (premiere of commissioned Work)
- October 26: (Mainz) Crumb, *Eleven Echoes of Autumn* (SWF; *Ars Viva Konzertreihe*)
- November 21: (BADK) Cage, *Amores*; Ives, *Trio* (Gavrilov, Palm, Kontarsky)
- November 21: Feldman, *On Time and the Instrumental Factor* (German premiere; SR/RSO, conducted by Gilbert Amy)
- November 24: (BADK-DAAD) Feldman, *Piano piece* (1952); *Intermission 5; Intersection 3; 2 Piano Pieces* (1956); *Last Pieces; Piano Piece* (1963); *Piano-3 hands; 2 Pianos; 2 pieces for 3 pianos; Piece for 4 pianos* (Rühm, Tilbury, Feldman and Sugawara)
- November 24: Cage, *Fontana Mix, Radio Musik, Experiences 2* (Braunschweig, *Festliche Tage Neuer Kammermusik; Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie*, Riedl)
- December 6: (BADK/AHB) An Evening with Morton Feldman in America House Berlin (including tapes of *Viola in My Life*)
- December 12: Brown, *Music for Cello and Piano* (SR, Palm and Kontarsky)
- December 20: (Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Cage, *String Quartet*

1972

Radio

BR: 1972/73: *Produktion: Feldman, Last Pieces*

HR: 1971-73: *Produktionen: Ulysses Kay, Markings; Feldman, Intermission 6 for Two Pianos; Cage, Music of Changes, Book 4; Feldman, Piano Piece for Philip Guston and Two Piano Pieces; Schuller, Fantasia for Harp; Cage, Cartridge Music*

SFB: 1971-73: *Produktionen: Feldman, Extensions 3, 2 Pianos, Piano Three Hands, Two Pieces for Three Pianos, Piece for Four Pianos; Schuller, Little Brass Music*

SWF: 1971-73: *Produktionen*: Cage, *Amores, Solo and Fontana Mix*, Crumb, *Four Nocturnes for Violin and Piano*, Rzewski, *Second Structure for Flute Solo*
 WDR: 1971-73: *Produktionen*: Cage, *Music of Changes, Book 4, Atlas Eclipticalis, Music for amplified toy pianos, The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs, Aria*; Feldman, *Extension 3, Projections 4, Half a Minute is All I've Time for*; Petr Kotik, *How Empty is my Wilderness*; Riley, *Keyboard Studies, The Persian Surgery Dervishes, A Rainbow in Curved Air, Dorian Reeds*; Rzewski, *Second Structure*; Wolff, *Edges*; Wuorinen, *Duo for Violin and Piano*; La Monte Young, *Komposition 1960 for alto flute*

Concerts

[?1971-73] Bamberg: Cage, 4'33" (version for various winds)
 [?1972/73] (Wellingsbütteler Orgelkonzerte) Feldman, *The King of Denmark*
 [?1972/73] (Munich, *Studio für neue Musik*) Terry Riley, *Straight and Narrow*; Wolff, *Sticks, and Play, and Song*; Riley, *In C*; Wolff, *Accompaniments 1*; Riley, *Keyboard Studies*
 [?1972/73] (Munich, *Verband Münchener Tonkünstler, Studio für Neue Musik*) Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts*; Crumb, *Songs, Drones and Refrains of Death*; Foss, *Paradigm*; Cage, *Theater Pieces*
 [?1972] (IFNM) Stanley Hoffman, *Hexagram*
 [?1972] (Hamburg, IGNM) Feldman, *The King of Denmark*

January [?]: (Kunsthalle Hamburg; Kunsthalle Dusseldorf) Steve Reich, *Four Organs*

January 10-28: (BAAdK) Cage-Objekt 1972

January 28: (MdZ) Reich, *Four Organs, Piano Phase, Phase Patterns, Pendulum Music, Drumming, parts 1 and 2* (Reich and Musicians) (According to Reich, only *Phase Patterns* and *Four Organs* listed were performed at WDR)

January 29: (MdZ) Cage, *Song Books 1 and 2*, Kotik, *There is singularly nothing* (SEM Ensemble)

January 31: (SWF) Rzewski, *Octet* (German premiere), and Cage, *Simultan-Aufführung von: Concert for piano and orchestra, Solo for Voice 2, Fontana Mix* (Riehn's version for four-track tape) (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*, conducted by Riehn)

February 5: (BAAdK, America House, DAAD) Cage, *Fontana Mix, Solos, Aria, Atlas Eclipticalis, Song Books 1 and 2*, La Monte Young, *The Second Dream of the High-Tension line step down . . .*, Julius Eastman, *Macle*, Petr Kotik, *There is singularly nothing* (SEM Ensemble and Jan Williams)

April 1-11: (BAAdK) Cage; as part of "Musik im Kino" im Arsenal

April 3: (HO) Foss, *Die Heile Welt*

April 17: (Frankfurt, *Frankfurter Bund für Volksbildung--Musica Viva*) Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts 5* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)

April 22: (Mannheim, *Tage Zeitgenössischer Musik*, SDR) Brown, *Available Forms 2* (Maderna and Lucas Vis)

April 22: (*Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik*) Cage, *Music for Amplified Toy Pianos* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)

- April 23: (Mannheim, see 22 April) Cage, *Song Books* (Palm, Kontarsky, Clytus Gottwald, and others)
- April 28: (*Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik; Ensemble Musikalische Werkstatt Warsaw*) Feldman, *Half a Minute is All I've Time For*; Riley, *Dorian Reeds* (*Das Ensemble Intermodulation, Cambridge*)
- May 5: (PMN) Cage, Mureau, and Tudor, *Rainforest*
- May 6: (PMN) Cage, *Music for Marcel Duchamp* and Wolff, *Lines, for String Quartet*
- May 6: (PMN) Sonic Arts Union: Ashley, *In Sara Mencken Christ and Beethoven There Were Men and Women*, Lucier, *The Bird of Bremen Flies Through the Houses of the Burghers*, Mumma, *Ambivex for pairs of performing appendages*, and Behrman/Katherine Morton, *Pools of Phase Locked Loops*
- May 7: (BAdK) piece by Feldman played in *Konzert im Studio der BAdK*
- May 7: (PMN) La Monte Young, Tonband Concert, *Map of 49's Dream the Two Systems of Eleven . . .*, *Dorian Blues*, *Sunday Morning Blues*, *The Well-Tuned Piano*
- May 7: (PMN) Laura Dean and Company with Reich's Ensemble, later: Reich and Musicians, *Drumming*
- May 7: (PMN) Cage, *Mesostics Re Merce Cunningham* and Tudor, *Untitled, New Electronic Piece*
- May 9: (BAdK, DAAD) Feldman, *The King of Denmark* (*MusikProjekt, Michael Ranta*).
- May 18: (BAdK; *Tage Neuer Musik, Konzerte der Stadt Bonn im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn*) Cage and Tudor
- June 2: (Berlin, *Rencontre Musicale, DAAD; BAdK*) Feldman, *I Met Heine on the Rue Fürstemberg*
- June 3: (*Saarländische Rundfunk, Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*) Feldman, *I Met Heine on the Rue Fürstemberg*, Cage, *Solo for Voice, Concert for Piano and Orchestra*, (John Tilbury, *Ensemble Nuova Consonanza Rome*, conducted by Marcello Panni)
- June 5: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Riley, *Dorian Mix* (*Ensemble Intermodulation, Cambridge*)
- June 6: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Cage, *Atlas Eclipticalis*, and Lucier, *Chambers* (*Ensemble Gentle Fire*)
- June 6: (BAdK) Cage [?] (*Konzert mit dem Ensemble Instrumental De Musique Contemporaine De Paris in der Opera Comique in Paris*)
- June 7: (WDR *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Brown, *Four Systems*, and Wolff, *Edges* (*Ensemble Gentle Fire*)
- June 8: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Riley, *Dorian Reeds* (*Ensemble Intermodulation*)
- June 9: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Rzewski, *Les Moutons De Panurge* (*Ensemble Intermodulation*)
- June 10: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) La Monte Young/Marian Zazeela, *Klang und Licht/Ornamental Lightyears Tracery* (*Ensemble Intermodulation*), also *Drift Study and Map of 49s Dream* by Zazeela [?]
- June 11: (WDR, *7 Tage elektronische Musik*) Riley, *A Rainbow in Curved Air* (Riley, organ), also *Poggy Nogood and the Phantom Band, The Persian Surgery Dervishes* [?]
- June 13: (*Internationale Orgelwoche Nürnberg 1972*) Cage, *Variations 1*

- July 11-18: (BAdK) Cage/Tudor, Feldman, Wolff, Lucier, Riley, Reich, Ives (as part of "Spiel, Klang, Elektronik, Licht" Woche der avantgardistischen Musik Berlin 1972 (Cage/Tudor Festival) BAdK, Sendesaal Masurenallee Philharmonie)--see individual listings below
- July 11: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Cage, Mureau, and Tudor, *Rainforest*
- July 12: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts for Two Pianos*, Wolff, *Burdocks*, Lucier, *Chambers*, Feldman, *Durations 2*, Riley, *Dorian Mix* (Gentle Fire Group, London)
- July 13: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Reich, *Drumming*; *Four Organs*, *Stamping Dance*, *Piano Phase*, *Phase Patterns* (with Laura Dean)
- July 14: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Feldman, *Vertical Thoughts no. 11*, Wolff, *Duo for Violinist and Pianist*
- July 15: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Rzewski, *Falling Music*, *Coming Together*, *Last Judgment*, *Attica*, *Two Poems*, *Les Moutons De Panurge* (Rzewski and ensemble)
- July 16: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Feldman, *Pianos and Voices (for Five pianists)* (Cage, Feldman, Rzewski, Tudor, Cardew)
- July 18: (BAdK, Woche der avantgardistischen Musik) Cage and Hiller, *HPSCHD* (Cage, Hiller, Tudor, Riedl, Rzewski, Cardew, and others)
- July 25: (IFNM) Wolff, *Snowdrop* (Gerd Zacher and tapes)
- July 27: (IFNM) Frederic Rzewski, *Requiem 1* (HR Ad-hoc-Ensemble, Holliger/B. Kontarsky)
- July 29: (IFNM) Wolff, *Lines* (Henck, Gavrilov, Iwamae, Helmstreit, Schäfer)
- August 5: (IFNM) William Albright, *Pneuma* and *Melisma* (Orgelkurs-Zacher; Timothy Albrecht); Foss, *Echoi 1,2,3*, (Suzanne Stephans, Myers, Schumacher, Sugawara and Caskel)
- August 28: (MOS) Gershwin, *An American in Paris*; *Klavierkonzert in F*; *Porgy and Bess* (concert versions)
- August 29 (MOS) same as August 28
- August 29: (MOS) La Monte Young/Marian Zazeela, *Dream House* and *The Theater of Eternal Music*
- August 30: (MOS) Cage and Tudor, *Birdcage/Monobird 1970/1972*
- August 31: (MOS) Feldman, *Pianos and Voices 2 for Five Pianos and Five Sopranos*; Wolff, *Burdocks*
- September 2: (MOS) Riley, *The Phantom Band* (1967)
- September 2 (in Kiel, but in connection with MOS program) premiere of work by Brown (Hans Zender)
- September 2-4: (HO) Alvin Ailey's Ballett, *Flowers* (with music by Pink Floyd, Blind Faith, Janis Joplin)
- September 30: (BP, conducted by Michel Tabachnik, Cathy Berberian, voice) Varèse, *Amériques*, and Ives, *Robert Browning Overture*
- October 3: (BAdK; DAAD) Brown, *Corroboree (Musik Projekt Berlin)*
- October 4: (BAdK) Cage, *Winter Music (Musik Projekt Berlin)*

- October 5: (SWF, Rottweil) Feldman, *Journey to the End of the Night* and Cage, *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (Ensemble für Neue Musik Zurich)
- October 6: (SR Sinfonieorchester conducted by Zender) Brown, *Time Spans*
- October 10: (BAdK) Elliott Carter, *Wind Quintet*
- October 21: (De) Cage and Helms, *Birdcage--73'20.958'' for a composer* (film)
- October 25/26: (BP, conducted by Seiji Ozawa) Ives, *Central Park in the Dark*
- November 2: (Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Crumb, *Echoes of Time and the River*
- November 6: (FB) John McGuire, *Decay*
- November 8 and 10: (SR) Schuller, *Seven Studies for Orchestra after Paintings by Paul Klee*
- November 26: (SFB) Reynolds, *Threshold for Orchestra* (Quartetto Italiano conducted by Gianpiero Taverna)
- December 8: (BAdK; DAAD) Cage, *Quartet in Four Parts* (La Salle Quartet)
- December 20: (Hamburg, *Das neue Werk*) Cage, *Cheap Imitation*

1973

- [?] (Evangelische Kirche Essen-Heidhausen) Cage, *Variations 3*; Wolff, *For 1, 2, or 3 People*; La Monte Young, *Arabic Numeral for Organ*; Brown, *Four Systems for Organ: November 1952 and December 1952*
- January 19: (MV) piece by Varèse
- January 23: (BAdK) piece by Feldman and Rzewski performed as part of ENKYKLOPADEIA ("ein kollektive Komposition"--Music Workshop Warsaw)
- January 25: (Hannover, *Tage der Neuen Musik*) Feldman, *The King of Denmark*
- January 26: (H) Ives, *Robert Browning Overture*
- January 27: (H) Cage, *Aria*
- March 14: (SFB) Feldman, *Voice and Instruments*
- April 2: (BAdK) Helms/Cage, *Electronic Music* (RIAS Multimedia Werkstatt; Bachauer)
- April 7: (BAdK) Behrman/Catherine Morton; Reich, Rzewski, Wolff (*Treffpunkt Elektronische Musik, Ensemble Musikprojekte Berlin*, Directed by Cardew)
- April 13: (MdZ; WDR, *Beethovenhalle* Bonn, KRSO) Feldman, *Chorus and Orchestra 1*
- April 19: (SR/RSO; in Royan) Feldman, *Cello and Orchestra*
- April 28: (*Wittener Tage für neue Musik*) Feldman, *Half a Minute's All I've Time For*
- May 3: (WDR; *Beethovenhalle* Bonn) Cage, *Birdcage for 18 Schallquellen* (film collage by Helms)
- May 7: (*Konzertreihe Ars Nova* Nürnberg) Feldman, *The Viola in my Life*
- June 1: (SR) Feldman, *Cello and Orchestra* (Siegfried Palm, cello)
- June 2: (SR) Foss, *Time Cycle* (Boston [?] *Musica Viva; Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*)
- June 20: (SWF) Feldman, *Durations 1* (Wittlich, Gaudeamus-Quartett)
- November 30: (MV) piece by Feldman
- December 7: (BAdK) Earle Brown (La Salle Quartet)

1974

- [dates?] (IFNM performances) Cage, *Suite; Sonatas and Interludes* (selections); Feldman, *Three Clarinets, Cello and Piano* (performed in IFNM classes); Gelhaar, *Phase* (SR/Zender); *Solipse* (Palm); Ives, *Trio* (performed in IFNM class); Alvin

Singleton, *Be Natural* (performed in IFNM class); Wolff, *Changing the System* (Suzanne Stephans, Adam Bauer, Oskar Scharf, Sylvestre, Henck, Armbruster, Gavrilov, Nothdorf, Mumma, Wolff)

- January [?]: (SDR; Kunsthalle Dusseldorf) Steve Reich, *Clapping Music*
 January [?]: (Hannover, *Tage der Neuen Musik*) Reich, *Music for Pieces of Wood*
 January 18: (MV) Roger Sessions, *Third Symphony*
 January 26: (H) Reich and Musicians, *Music for Pieces of Wood; Six Pianos; Clapping Music; Music for Mallet Instruments, Voices, and Organ*
 January 30: (BAdK) Elliott Carter (chamber music)
 March 1: (BAdK) works by Crumb, Hiller, Eastman, Feldman and Foss (Center for the Creative and Performing Arts, Buffalo, with Williams and Blum)
 March 6: (BAdK) pieces by Cowell and Cage played by *Gruppe der Neue Musik Berlin*
 March 30: (BAdK) piece by Riley (w/ RIAS)
 April 29: (BAdK) pieces by Alvin Curran, Wolff, and Cage
 June 11: (BAdK) pieces by Brown and Curran (America House)
 July: (Cologne, in connection with Avant-garde Exhibition at Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) Music by Riley, Young, Reich, and Glass
 September 27: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Terry Riley, *The Descending Moonshine Dervishes*
 September 29: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Terry Riley, *A Rainbow in Curved Air*; Wolff, *Songs and Exercises, Part I* (Wolff, Rzewski, Mumma, Behrman, Garrett List and others), and *Accompaniments* (Rzewski)
 October 2: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Wolff, *Songs and Exercises, Part II* (Wolff, Rzewski, Mumma, Garrett List and others), and *Changing the System*
 October 3: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) MEV plays *Improvisation I* (Rzewski, Teitelbaum, Reeve, List, and as guest: Karl Berger)
 October 4: (*Matthäuskirche Berlin, Metamusik*) Seminar: Pauline Oliveros, "Sonic Meditation;" MEV, *Improvisation II*
 October 5: (*Matthäuskirche Berlin, Metamusik*) Pauline Oliveros, "Sonic Meditations"
 October 6: (*Matthäuskirche Berlin, Metamusik*) Oliveros, "Sonic Meditations" (same that evening, in *Nationalgalerie*)
 October 13: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Alvin Curran, *Songs and Views from the Magnetic Garden*
 October 15: (RIAS Studio 10, *Metamusik*) Reich, *Clapping Music, Piano Phase, Music for Pieces of Wood, Violin Phase, Six Pianos, Music for Mallet Instruments, Voices and Organ*
 October 16: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Philip Glass, *Music in Twelve Parts (parts 1-4)*
 October 17: (*Nationalgalerie Berlin, Metamusik*) Glass, *Music in Twelve Parts (parts 5-8)*
 October 20: (De) Cage, *Songbooks I-II* (Gottwald, *Schola Cantorum Stuttgart*)
 October 24/25: (BAdK) Reich [?]
 November 27: (BAdK) Cage [?]
 December 4: (BAdK) Ives, *Piano Sonata No. 2* (Klaus Billig, piano)

December 16: (*Quartier Latin*, Potsdamer Straße 96, Berlin) Benefit Concert for *Volksambulanz in Kreuzberg*; Rzewski, Wolff, Grosskopf and Cardew, and rock musicians

1975

January 29: (BAdK) Varèse [?]

January 30: (H) Cage, *Sonata for Clarinet, Solo; Amores; A Flower; She is Asleep; the Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs; Forever and Sunsmell; Winter Music*; and Ives, *Adeste Fideles; Psalm 24; Let There be Light; Scherzo; From the Steeples and the Mountains; Songs my Mother Taught me; The Cage; Weil' auf mir; De la Drama: Rosamunde, Watchman, Romanzo di Central Park, On the Counter, In Flanders Field, Those Evening Bells, The Things our Fathers Loved; and Sonata No. 2 for Violin and Piano*

February 2: (H) Ives, *Piano Sonata No. 2*; Tom Johnson, *Die Vier Ton Oper*

February 5/6: (BP, conducted by Ozawa) Ives, *Symphony No. 4*

February 8: (HO) Crumb, *Makrokosmos* (Ballet; 15 performances total)

1976

[?] (IFNM performances) Crumb, *Music for a Summer Evening (Makrokosmos 3)* (Duo Kontarsky, Caskel, Toni Roeder); Crumb, *Makrokosmos I* (performed in IFNM class); Feldman, *The King of Denmark* (in IFNM class); Gelhaar, *Fünf Deutsche Tänze* (Electronic Music Studio WDR); Gelhaar, *Rondell* (tape); Ives, *Second Violin Sonata* (performed in IFNM class); Jeffrey Kowalsky, *Interaction I* (in IFNM class)

January 23: (MV) Gunther Schuller, *Concerto for Orchestra* (conducted by Schuller)

February 1: (H) Cage, *Variations I*

February 2: (FB) Zimmermann, *Vortrag über die Arbeiten an seinem Buch "Desert Plants" mit Tonband Beispiele*

February 11: (BP, conducted by Richard Dufallo and Thomas Wilbrand) Ives, *Holiday Symphony*; Ruggles, *The Sun Treader*; Druckman, *Lamia for Soprano and Orchestra* (voice, Jan de Gaetani)

May 14: (MV, Ensemble Neue Werk, Hamburg) Varèse, *Octandre*

May 14: (PMN) La Monte Young, *The Well-Tuned Piano*

May 15: (PMN) Nancarrow, *Studies for Player Piano* (tape presentation, Zimmermann); Riley, *The Shri Camel Trinity*

May 15: (MdZ) John McGuire, *Frieze*

May 16: (PMN) Max Neuhaus, *Underwater Musik*

May 18: (PMN) La Monte Young, *The Well-Tuned Piano*

May 21: (PMN) La Monte Young, *The Well-Tuned Piano*; Allan Kaprow, *Durations/Zeitverläufe (ice event)* [also: May 22 and 23]

September 27: (Berlin) Schuller, *String Quartet No. 1*, Barber, *String Quartet op. 11*, Ives, *String Quartet* (1903-14), Ruth Crawford Seeger, *String Quartet* (1931), Carter, *String Quartet no. 1* (Composers String Quartet, *Berliner Festwochen*)

October 2: (*Metamusik*) from Woodstock: Karl Berger and Ed Blackwell, "Free World Music" (percussion)

- October 8: (*Metamusik*) Steve Reich and Musicians, *Music for Eighteen Musicians*
 October 10: (*Metamusik*) Feldman, *Christian Wolff in Cambridge*, and *Chorus and Instruments*
 October 15: (BAAdK, *Berliner Festwochen*), Reynolds, *Quick Are the Mouths of Earth*, Crumb, *Madrigals, Book 1-4*, Charles Boone, *New York--Downtown Manhattan SoHo*, David del Tredici, [?] (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*, with Gerald Humel)
 October 19: (*Metamusik*) Cage, *Music for Marcel Duchamp*
 October 21: (*Metamusik*) Cage, *First Construction (in Metal)*, Varèse, *Ionisation*
 November 3: (HO) Crumb, *Ballet für Klavier und Stimme, u.a., und Die Stille*

1977

- January 21: (MdZ, "Neue Einfachheit") Cage, *Cheap Imitation (Fassung für 56 Spieler)*
 January 22: (MdZ, "Neue Einfachheit") Feldman, *Elemental Procedures* (Martha Herr-Hanneman, conducted by Lothar Zagrosek)
 January 27: [location?] Varèse, *Ionisation*
 February 26: (BP, conducted by Hans Zender) Varèse, *Ecuatorial*
 May 6: (MV) Cage, *She Is Asleep*; Varèse, *Ionisation (Ensemble Musik unserer Zeit)*
 July 17: (HO) Copland, *Der Fall Hamlet* (Ballet with music by Copland?)
 September 12: (BAAdK) Cowell, *The Banshee, Aeolian Harp, Tiger* (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*)
 September 19: (BAAdK) Antheil, *Second Sonata, The Airplane* (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*)
 October 28: (HO) *Liederabend* with Cathy Berberian
 November 9: (*Hochschule Konzert Cologne*) McGuire, *Pulse Music I*
 December 16: (BS) Steve Lacy (opening concert of Zimmermann's Beginner Studio)

1978

- [?] Cologne: Cage, *Variation VIII* (premiere?)
 [dates?] (IFNM performances) Peter Castine, *90 M.M.*; Gelhaar, *Linear A*; Ives, *Three Page Sonata*; Singleton, *Argoru 4* (all performed in IFNM classes)
- January 24: (BAAdK) Cage, *Wonderful Widow of 18 Springs, A Valentine Out of Season, Water Music*, Feldman, *Voices and viol* [?], Reich, *Clapping Music*, Foss, *Three Airs for Frank O' Hara's Angel* (Five Centuries Ensemble, Buffalo)
 January 30: (H) Cage, *Variations I-Meeting*
 February 23: (BP, conducted by Skrowaczewski) Crumb, *Echoes of Time and The River*
 April 14: (BS) Wolff, *Three Studies*, Ives, *First Sonata* (Herbert Henck, piano)
 April 28: (MV) Cage, *Amores* (*Ensemble Musik unserer Zeit; im Rahmen der Reihe 50 Jahre Neue Musik in München*)
 April 28: (BS) piece by Cage (performed by John English, music for Trombone and Electronics)
 May 4: (PMN) Charlotte Moorman, *Ice Music for Bremen*
 May 4: (BS) Anthony Braxton solo concert
 May 5: (PMN) Meredith Monk, *Selections from Vocal Music (Our Lady of Late, Anthology, Tablet, Songs from the Hill, Dolmen Music)*

- May 6: (PMN) Joan La Barbara (*Circular Song, 12-Song, Ides of March No. 7, Chandra*)
 May 19: (BS) David Behrman and Phill Niblock, experimental music from New York
 May 20/21/22: (BP, conducted by Lorin Maazel) Druckman, *Chiaroscuro*
 June 16: (BS) Rzewski, *Changing the System*; also music by Wolff and others
 between June 26 and August 1 (Sinkkasten, Frankfurt; Theateraula, Unna; Marktplatz,
 Bremen; Onkel Pö's, Hamburg; Garten d. Nationalgalerie, Berlin): Carla Bley Band
 (w/ "Blue" Gene Tyranny)
 September 29: (BS) Behrman and Niblock (Multi-Media Show from New York City)
 October 13: (BS) Takahashi plays Cage
 October 19: (*Metamusik*, Berlin) Feldman, *Neither* (soprano, Martha Herr)
 October 21: (*Metamusik; Nationalgalerie Berlin*) Feldman, *Why Patterns?* (premiere);
Instruments 3; Why Patterns? (repeat) (Feldman, Blum, Williams, De Vries)
 October 27: (BS) John McGuire, *Synthesizer Improvisationen 1*
 November 17: (BS) Richard Teitelbaum, *Synthesizer Improvisationen 2*

1979

- January 20: (MdZ) McGuire, *Pulse Music III*
 February 9: (BAdK) Carter, *A Mirror on Which to Dwell* (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*)
 March 30: (BS) Alvin Curran, *Umwelt-Klänge*
 April 25-28: (BP, conducted by Dennis Russell Davies) Carter, *Variations for Orchestra*
 May 11: (BS) Joan La Barbara
 May 18: (MV) work by Elliott Carter
 June [?] (Bonn) Cage, *Musicircus*
 June 7: (BS) Cage, *Pieces for Prepared Piano* (Doris Thomsen-Gerhardy, piano)
 June 10: (BS) Cage, *Sonatas and Interludes for Prepared Piano* (Thomsen-Gerhardy, p.)
 June 21: (HR) Steve Reich, *Clapping Music, Violin Phase, Music for Mallet Instruments,*
Voices and Organ, Octet (Commissioned by the HR--premiere), *Music for a Large*
Ensemble (Reich and Ensemble, plus *Niederländische Bläserensemble* and
 Reinbert De Leeuw)
 June 23: (*Bühnen der Stadt Cologne*) Dello Joio, *There is a Time; Crumb, Voices and*
Echoes, Paul im Kino, zu Hause, und Unterwegs
 October 4: Leonard Bernstein conducts BP for first time
 October 5: (BS) Tom Johnson, *Nine Bells*
 October 6: (BS) works by Cage
 October 6: (BP, conducted by von Karajan, with Alexis Weissenberg, piano) Gershwin,
Rhapsody in Blue
 October 8: (FB) Tom Johnson, *Lectures with Audience Participation*
 October 20/21: (De) Cage, *Roaratorio*
 November 4: (MdZ) Lejaren Hiller, *Drei Rituale*
 November 7/8: (BP, conducted by Ali Rahbari) Barber, *Essay for Orch. No. 2; Gershwin,*
Piano Concerto in F (piano James Tocco)
 November 10: (BS) New York Minimal Music (Niblock, and others)
 December 14: (BS) *Homage à Cage* (*Musicircus* in Bonn, June 1979--tape presentation)

1980

[?] (IFNM performances) Cage, *Second Construction (Schlagzeug Ensemble Transit Cologne)*; Crumb, *Makrokosmos 2* (performed in IFNM class); Brian Fennelly, *Empirical Rag* (The Warsaw Music Workshop); Lou Harrison, *Song of Queztecóatl* (Schlagzeug Ensemble Transit Cologne); Alden Jenks, *Marrying Music*; John McGuire, *Pulse Music 3* (Electronic Studio WDR, McGuire); Singleton, *Et nunc* (1980) (performed in IFNM class)

[?] (Berlin Festival) Harry Partch, *The Bewitched* (directed by Kenneth Gaburo)

January 30/31: (BP, conducted by Vaclav Neumann) Barber, *Adagio for Strings*

February 1: (NDR Funkhaus, *Das neue Werk*) Crumb, *Makrokosmos II*

February 1: (H) Ives, *3 Pieces for Quarter Tone Piano*

March 7: (BS) jazz piano concert, Joplin, Cecil Taylor, etc. ("From Ragtime to No Time")

March 28: (BS) Bob Ostertag (Electronics)

April 11: (BS) Moondog

April 25: (BS) Alvin Curran

May 9: (BS) Cage, *Composition* (1934); Cowell, *Trio in Nine Short Movements* (1964-65); Wolff, *Three Studies* (1974-76); Ives, *Trio* (*Das Clementi Trio Köln*)

May [12?]: (BAdK) Varèse, *Intégrales* (*Bläserensembles der Hochschule*)

May 12: (PMN) Glass, *Music from Fourth Series*; *Music from Dance*; Nancarrow, *Music for Player Piano No. 39* (premiere; EBU commission); Riley, *In C*

June 2: (FB) Guitar-duo, with works by Ives

October 31 (BS) James Tenney, *Harmonium no. 5* (for String Trio)

November 23: (BS) Oliveros, *Lullaby (for tape and voice)*; *The Pathways of the Grandmothers*

1981

[?] Mönchengladbach: Barber, *Medea's Meditation* (directed by Meidel)

[?] Hannover: Bernstein, *Chichester Psalms* (*Nürnberger Sinfonie*); Bernstein (included in Songfest)

[?] Duisburg: Schuller, *Seven Studies on Themes of Paul Klee*

[?] Bonn: Schuman, *New England* [*Triptych?*]

[?] Stuttgart: Wuorinen, *The Madrigal Art*

[?] Cologne: Five concerts, including Cowell, Ives, Wolff

[?] Stuttgart: Glass: *Satyagrahan* (opera premiere)

January 30: (H; NDR Funkhaus, *Das neue Werk*) Cage, *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*; *Solo für Stimme*; *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs*; *Fontana Mix*

February 13: (MV) Varèse, *Amériques*

May 22: (BS) Varèse, *Octandre*, *Ionisation* (conducted by Eötvös, at *Musikhochschule Cologne*)

June 5: (BS) Philip Corner and Malcolm Goldstein

- September 18: (MdZ) Lou Harrison, *Labyrinth No. 3, Four Movements for Percussion and Orchestra*
- September 20: (MdZ) Reich, *Tehillim* (Reich and Musicians)
- October 4: (MV) Steve Reich, *Music for Eighteen Musicians, Tehillim* (Reich and Musicians)
- October 23: (BS) Joel Chadabe and Jan Williams, computer music
- October 30: (MV) Schuller, *Bassoon Concerto*; George Perle, *A Short Symphony*; Crumb, *Variazioni*
- November 2: (FB, *Konzert im Amerikahaus*) works by Cowell: *The Harps of Life, Advertisement, Tiger*; and Doris Hays, *Sunday Morning, Sunday Nights, Exploitation, "Solos" from Southern Voices, Only*
- November 7: (*Neue Musik in Köln*) Doris Hays, *Tunings*
- November 13: (BS) David Behrman, Richard Teitelbaum, and George Lewis (live electronic and improvised music)
- December 11: (BS) Rzewski, *Les moutons de Panurges*; Riley, *In C*; Tom Johnson, *Counting to Eight* (performed by ensemble from Cologne)
- December 19: (BS) Rzewski, Steve Lacy, Garret List

1982

- [?] Oldenburg: Bernstein, *Chichester Psalms*; Bernstein, *Overture from Candide*
- [?] Baden-Baden: Druckman, *Windows*
- [?] (IFNM performances) Cage, *Music of Changes* (Henck); Cage, *Texts* (read by Hans Otte); Gelhaar, *Polymorph (Nachtstudio)*
- [?] (BS) Feldman, *String Quartet* (Kronos Quartet)
- January 15: (BS) Alison Knowles, *Der Bohnengarten* (performed by Knowles and Philip Corner)
- February 2: (MdZ; "Begegnung mit den USA") "Blue" Gene Tyranny, *The CBCD Variations*
- February 12: (MdZ, "Begegnung mit den USA") Bolcom, *Humoresk for Organ and Orchestra*; Laurie Anderson, *It's Cold Outside, for Tape and Orchestra*; Adams, *Harmonium*
- February 13: (MdZ, "Begegnung mit den USA") Andrea Lockwood, *Malaman, Delta Run*; Jim Pomeroy, *Flute Trio*
- May 7: (PMN) Terry Riley, *Songs for the Ten Voices of the Two Prophets*
- May 8: (PMN) Dick Higgins, *Durchschnittskonzert*
- May 9: (PMN) Cage, *Music of Changes* (Henck); *Composition in Retrospect* (Cage, voice and Henck, piano); and later in day: *Variations I; Variations III; The Harmony of Maine*
- May 10: (PMN) Cage, *A House Full of Music* (premiere)
- May 22: (BS) Varèse, *Octandre; Ionisation*
- June 5: (BS) Philip Corner, Malcolm Goldstein
- June 13: (MV) Ives, *First Sonata* (Henck)
- October 2: (*Konzert Neuer Musik im Deutschlandfunk*) Antheil, *Sonata no. 1*; John McGuire, *48 Variations for Two Pianos* (premiere; Henck and Richards)

- October 8: (BS) Feldman, *Last Pieces* (Thomas Silvestri, p.)
 October 16: (BS) Ingram Marshall, *Gradual Requiem*
 October 29: (BS) Wolff, *Braverman Music* (performed by Rzewski's composition class, Liège)
 October 29: (Alabamahalle, Munich): Ashley, *Perfect Lives*, first three episodes (w/ "Blue")
 October 30: (Alabamahalle, Munich): Ashley, same as day before
 November 24: (*Musikhochschule* Cologne) Charles Amirkhonian, *En boca cerrada--En esta tierra grande; Manana un general con viruela boba; El hijo del poeta surrealista*

1983

- [?] Kiel: Bernstein, *Chichester Psalms; Divertimento*
 [?] Ludwigshafen: Bernstein, *Overture from Candide; Two Meditations from Mass*
 [?] Stuttgart [?]: Bernstein, *Symphony No. 2*
 [?] Stuttgart: Bolcom, *Songs of Innocence and Experience* [?]
 [?] Nürnberg: Corigliano, *Hallucinations*;
 [?] Bonn: Corigliano, *Hallucinations*
 [?] Frankfurt: Crumb, *Sonata for Cello*
 [?] Stuttgart: Lou Harrison, *Symphony on G*
 [?] Berlin: Schuller, *Concerto for Orchestra*
 [?] Mönchengladbach: Schuller, *Seven Studies on Themes of Paul Klee*
- January 27: (H) Ives, *The Unanswered Question*
 January 29: (MdZ) John McGuire, *Music for horns, pianos, and cymbals*
 February 20: (*Ensemble Köln*) Ben Johnston, *Two Sonnets of Shakespeare*
 April 14: (BAdK) Antheil, *Sonata 1932*, Ruth Crawford Seeger, *Diaphonic Suite No. 1*
 May 15: (*Kölner Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*) Cage, *Themes and Variations for a Speaker* (Cage, speaker); Feldman, *For John Cage*; Cage, *Muoyce*
 October 23: (MV) Cowell piece
 13 November: (BS) Free improvisation aus New York: Joseph Celli, Malcolm Goldstein, David Moss; also Arnold Dreyblatt, *Music for excited strings, experimental music from New York*

1984

- [?] Bochum: Bernstein, *Overture from Candide*
 [?] Berlin [?]: Schuller, *Concerto for Orchestra*
 [?] (IFNM performances) Alvin Curran, *Four or Five* (Kronos [?]); Cage, *Thirty Movements for String Quartet* (Kronos); Crumb piece performed by *Ensemble Modern*; Feldman, *Crippled Symmetry* (*Direktempfang, HR2, Studio für Neue Musik, am Mikrophon*, Bernd Leukert, Produktion Stiebler; 21.39-23.15); Philip Glass, *Changes* (Kronos); Riley, *The Song of the Emerald Runner* (Kronos); Ruth Crawford Seeger, *String Quartet* (Kronos)

- February 2: (H) Cage, *Two Pieces for piano; Music of Changes* (Hermann Kretzschmar, piano); Ives, *Three Page Sonata*
- February 11: (TAT) Feldman, *The King of Denmark, Why Patterns? For John Cage* (Blum, Vigeland, Williams, Pi Ciao Chen, Michael Obst)
- February 12: (TAT) Feldman, *Crippled Symmetry* (Blum, Vigeland, Williams)
- February 14: (TAT) John McGuire (Tape Concert)
- February 24: (TAT) Garrett List, *Homage a Man Ray* (with film, music, video)
- February 25: (TAT) Frederic Rzewski, *Konzert mit neuen Werken für Klavier* (Rzewski)
- March 17: (MdZ) Reich, *The Desert Music*
- April 12: (Frankfurt) Feldman, *Violin and Orchestra*
- April 14: (BS) Feldman, *Bass Clarinet and Percussion; Triadic Memories; Untitled Composition for Cello and Piano* (all German premieres)
- April 15: (BS) Feldman, *Trio* (premiere), *Three Voices; Only*
- May 12: (PMN) Klavier Marathon: Richard Teitelbaum, *Solo for Three Pianos*; William Duckworth, *Time Curve Preludes*; Doris Hays, *M.O.M. 'N P.O.P., Part II*; Tom Johnson, *Voicings for Four Pianos*; Richard Kostelanetz, *Ausschnitte aus New York City*; Philip Corner, *Gamelan Rite, Right and Gamelan Concerto for five pianists*; Rzewski, *A machine for Two Pianists*; Oliveros, *Gathering Together, and When the Music Stops*; Feldman, *Pianos and Voices 2*
- May 18: (KGNM) Wolff, *Preludes for Piano* (Rzewski, piano)
- July 25: (IFNM) Feldman, *Second String Quartet* (Kronos)
- November 16: (MV) Ives, *Fourth Symphony* (conductor Eleazar De Carvalho)
- December 2: (MV) work by Cage (*Klangaktionen*; Riedl)
- December 8: (MdZ) Riley, *The Harp of New Albion* (Riley, piano; Krishna Bhatt, sitar), or *Songs for the Fear Messenger* [?]

1985

- [?] Bochum: Barber, *Die natali* (directed by Chmura)
- [?] Frankfurt: Bernstein, *Overture from Candide*
- [?] Münster: Bernstein, *Serenade*
- [?] Wiesbaden: Bernstein, *Symphonic Dances*
- [?] Berlin: Druckman, *Aureole*
- [?] Münster: Schuller, *Concerto festivo*
- January 29: (H) Cage, *Credo in Us*; Crumb, *Black Angels*; Ives, *Sunrise, On the Antipodes; Piano Sonata No. 2* (Kretzschmar)
- January 30: (H) Varèse, *Octandre*
- February 1: (H) Foss, *Baroque Variations*
- May 3: (MdZ) Alvin Curran, *The Electric Rags from The Grand Piano*; Richard Teitelbaum, *Concerto grosso für Bläser, Klavier and Synthesizer* (Anthony Braxton, George Lewis, Teitelbaum)
- May 18: (KGNM Konzert: Raum-Zeit-Stille) Feldman, *Principle Sound für Orgel; Clarinet and String Quartet*
- September 14: (MdZ) John McGuire, *Cadence Music (Ensemble Modern)*

1986

[?] Bremen: Bernstein, *Chichester Psalms*

[?] Dortmund: Bernstein, *Serenade*

[?] Stuttgart: Bernstein, *Serenade*

[?] Flensburg: Copland, *Symphony No. 3*

[?] Berlin: Irving Fine, *Notturmo for Harp and Strings*

[?] (IFNM performances) Cage, *Music for One* (Marianne Schroeder, piano; part of Scelsi *Nachtstudio*); Feldman, *For Christian Wolff* (Blum and Vigeland hours long); Jon Hassell, *Pano da Costa* (Kronos); Bunita Marcus, *The Rug Maker* (Kronos); Riley, *String Quartet: Salome Dances for Peace* (Kronos)

January 29: (H) Cage, *She is Asleep, Quartet for Twelve Tomtoms [sic]; Second Construction; Living Room Music*

January 30: (H) Cage, *Concerto for Prepared Piano and Orchestra* (Kretschmar)

February 2: (H) Cage, *62 Mesostics re Merce Cunningham*; Meredith Monk, *Turtle Dreams* (Video)

May 8: (PMN) Cage, *Song Books 1-2*

May 31: pieces by Cage, and Feldman's *Piano Piece to Philip Guston* (Marianne Schroeder and Eberhard Blum)

APPENDIX D

“AMERICAN EXPERIMENTAL MUSIC”

Wolfgang Edward Rebner¹

Lecture Held at the International Holiday Course for New Music in Darmstadt,
13 August 1954

Translation

Reflections on the experimental can provide the distressing satisfaction that the subject at hand is already antiquated *in statu nascendi*. A pioneer in American aviation once remarked that even the newest types of airplanes are already antiquated by the time their designs are photoprinted, and that the only ray of hope in this dilemma lies in the certainty that the same is also true for the competition.

A purely journalistic definition of the experimental, [for instance] as a sensation without precedence, [as] that “which has not yet been there,” would not be useful for our purposes. We also must consider attempts that achieved and maintained, or will achieve, lasting validity.

The quite inorganic break in the development of quarter-tone music and other divisions of the octave cannot be convincingly justified with practical obstacles alone. [As it] became so significant above all in the work of Bartók, it lay, after all, within an

¹ Notes:

- My translation is based on Rebner’s twelve-page typescript, “Amerikanische Experimentalmusik,” held at IMD [Inventory Number 1911/55]. Rebner’s lecture in its original German has been published in Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946-1966* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), 178-89.
- Insofar as it was clear in the typescript, I have retained Rebner’s paragraph structure.
- I have preserved phrases written in languages other than German (in particular, Latin and French). In cases where Rebner wrote both an English phrase and translated it into German I have included his English only (original English, as original Latin or French, is indicated by italic type).
- Rebner’s hand-written notes and addenda are retained in brackets at the approximate point where they appear on the typescript. Similarly, words or sentences crossed out by Rebner appear ~~with a line through them~~. (Minor addenda and deletions that did not fit comfortably into the grammatical structure of the English text have been omitted.)

evident tendency to form scales synthetically. Yet, already in classical music we can recognize the urge to split half tones--in Mozart's parallel chromaticism, in passing tones, cross-relationships, leading tones, ~~also~~ [often] required by the rhythm. And Schoenberg's democratized sound world, which long ago left behind the realm of the experimental as such, promised eighteen- and twenty-four-note tone rows as an arithmetical consequence as well. Anyone who recalls the complicated and costly attempts during the early postwar period to build pianos, organs and wind instruments which could reproduce quarter-tone music certainly understands why such drastic reorganization had to wait for the fairy-tale prince of electronics for their realization. In the meantime, musical Esperanto has evolved from the half-tone alphabet. This international language has not determined its own obligatory rules of grammar, syntax and polyphony. It would contradict its essence as "liberator from the shackles of tonality" (Schoenberg's words during his last public lecture at the University of Los Angeles [*sic*]). Within this genre [then] every individual attempt becomes a solution, every [solution becomes experiment.]

Western music, the youngest of the arts comparable to it, is compressed in the historical space of the recent past. The development of American music mirrors this cultural occurrence in a condensed form, as a historical "Reader's Digest," so to speak. Just a few years ago (and still often today), it was America's primary preoccupation to find a national trademark for its art. Unanimously, Aaron Copland was named the spokesman for this desired idiom. With some embarrassment, he repeatedly protested against the label forced on him, with the remark that [it was now time] [to preserve] folk music in the local history museum. America's strength rested in its anthropological potpourri.

While Copland did not arrive on the scene until the twenties, the iconoclasm of the recently deceased Charles Ives reaches back before the turn of the century. This completely staunch alchemist, who, by the way, held on to his primary vocation as a business man, is ~~perhaps today in a historical sense~~ the American experimentalist of his time. Uninhibited by prejudices of tradition, this ingenious amateur tackled many areas of composition, admittedly at different levels of success and sometimes including his regional folk music (from New England), creating his own style often in a naive way. As a first example (and as the only one which will not be mechanically reproduced), we would now like to play you the piece *Halloween*, written in the year 190-.² The Assmann Quartet, consisting of [Mr. Klaus Assmann, Mr. Helmut Welz, Mr. Heinrich Schmidt, and Mr. Otto Engel,] honors us here with the great favor of its participation.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Halloween*

Unlike that of his more prominent contemporaries, one cannot divide Ives's work into chronological-stylistic sections. The many songs written before the turn of the century already allowed the use of nearly all conventional slogans of our time for the description of their styles. In the words of a biographer, Ives utilized polytonal and

² Rebner did not provide the full date for Ives's *Halloween* in his manuscript. Borio and Danuser write '1911.' Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 179.

polyrhythmic ideas earlier than Stravinsky, twelve-tone constructions without tonal center before Schoenberg, quarter-tones before Hába, folklorist material beyond its diatonic and metrical borders in anticipation of the concept of Bartók--these are provocative assertions, and one would like to evade their responsibility. Maybe they can be partially verified in the following example from the work *Over the Pavements*. This piece stems from the year 1906, thus five years before *Petrushka*, and is scored for piccolo, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, piano, and percussion.

Musical Example, Charles Ives, *Over the Pavements*

In his orchestra piece *Three Places in New England*, there is even an element of chance at work insofar as here, rhythmic division of the present groups of notes in larger prime numbers are left up to the players, thus no longer guaranteeing vertical sonorities.

The musical examples for today's demonstration were deliberately selected because they represent certain tendencies.

As in the following piece, *The Unanswered Question* for double orchestra written in 1908, behind the facade of Ives's compositional garden, and amazingly often within one single piece, major and minor music flourish side by side.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *The Unanswered Question*

Ives said about his music that it "is not suitable for *nice people*," for civilized, respectable people. However, his second and third symphonies must be excluded from this dictum. They reveal little suggestion of what we are discussing here today. They are, in the unaffected emotional language of the nineteenth century, works of true craft.

Ives speaks in a multitude of idioms, without actually having technically formulated or (invented) [possessed] them. When his accumulation of musical thoughts loses itself in the jungle, he has been accused of apparent arbitrariness and a lack of organizational powers. [Inspiration] Invention can be found next to simple-mindedness, and they are united in diversity. His conception of counterpoint goes beyond the literal definition; Ives confronts phrases and thoughts with one another like cycloptic blocks whose plurality often make the tonal center debatable.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Central Park in the Dark*

Self-proclaimed agents of national interests pronounced Ives, too, to be an original American phenomenon.³ One thinks thereby of the '*rugged individual*,' of his strong independence, and includes him in the elite of a rebellious American spirit. With his joy in the dimensions--which he lets grow and proliferate-- [in the solitude of the outsider], in his carefree, anachronistic "let's go,"⁴ and in the kaleidoscope of styles that do not ask for

³ "Ein Ur-amerikanisches Phänomen."

⁴ "Drauf los."

anyone's forgiveness, he may symbolize the new world. But [just as] two-story houses, squeezed in between the skyscrapers, are also [make up] a part of New York, so does Ives's personal indifference to all public success, and to organized cultural business, testify to the dissemination of a tangible dogma of an unpretentious, supra-national person whose day-job helped him realize his true concern. Though a cosmopolite of talent, he is foremost indebted to the cultural past of his home of New England (America's historical north-east, whose largest states are [which is made up of the states] Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont).

In his *Concord Sonata*--a voluminous four-movement piano piece--he [Ives] summarizes this spiritual affinity in the form of tributes (*hommages*) to the thinkers Emerson, Hawthorne, Alcott and Thoreau.

It is curious to report that in the German version of Copland's book on new music, the title *Concord Sonata* has been translated as *Unison Sonata*. This is an ironic mistake, since this piece, like few others, is dominated by simultaneous sounds [of course he meant the city in Massachusetts].

The title page carries the note: Concord, Mass., 1840-1860, indicating the historical climate.

The piece was written completely under the impression of the chosen subject and contains multiple indices for Ives's philosophical naturalism, a compound of many heterogeneous concepts. [Puritan sobriety vs. bombast--Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, James Joyce's expressive range from Elizabethan English to *American slang*, Latin, French, etc.⁵] The playability of the piece creates certain limitations in the selection of examples.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Concord Sonata* (four examples)

Cowell: One wouldn't do justice to Henry Cowell's many-sided oeuvre if one had to limit one's observations to his attempts to explore additional sound possibilities of the piano. The so-called *tone clusters*--entities comprised of intervals of the second and used by many composers in orchestral pieces as well--already concerned Charles Ives around 1890. (*Concord Sonata* for piano).⁶ Cowell does not hear such conglomerates in their impressionistic stasis only, at times he develops them from factors of a kind of polyphony which seems to resolve into the uncertainty of a collective unison. In connection with

⁵ These phrases were typed in the manuscript after the indication for the examples from the *Concord Sonata*. It is assumed that Rebner spoke freely on the relevance of these elements to Ives's *Sonata*. In his typescript, Rebner indicated where the section would be inserted with an arrow drawn in the main text.

⁶ Borio and Danuser place a musical example here in the text. Rebner wrote in the words "Concord Sonate für Klavier" at this point and wrote in the margin "Concord" at approximately the same line, but he did not indicate a musical example in the standard way, namely with a clear break in the text. See also Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne*, 182.

such universal sounds one might think of the *sext ajoutée* in the form of the triadic five-six chord which has, in popular music, completely superseded the pure triad.

The technical execution of these groups of tones (the *clusters*) lies in the attack with the flat of the hand or the forearm, without [dynamic] preference for single tones.

Around the same time, Cowell also began to manipulate the stringed insides of the piano. With the help of various pedal combinations he sometimes achieved the effect of a kind of *flageolet*, sometimes of dull, muted timbres, and harp or zither-like glissandi. The strings are brought into motion with the fingers, often with additional help from various mechanical means.

Allow us to now demonstrate several examples, recorded by the composer:

Music Example: Henry Cowell, *Advertisement; Antinomy; Sinister Resonance; Banshee; Dynamic Motion; Tiger*

In this direction of experimentation Cowell paves the way for John Cage's "prepared piano," which will be mentioned later. Another experimental work by Cowell is a concerto for "Rhythmicon," an instrument constructed by Theremin according to Cowell's plans, which was originally meant for didactic purposes, and which was to serve to simultaneously reproduce different rhythms. His *Ostinato Pianissimo* for percussion orchestra was premiered in New York under the direction of John Cage in 1943.

The decade following the First World War helped some musical *enfant terrible*, [if] not to celebrity status, then at least to temporary attention. Some of these *enfants* were only terrible during their childhoods, as long as they had to fight the resistance of the *vieillards terribles*. Once the powder of their one-time sensation had been shot, they fell back into stylistically-moderate navigable waters at half-speed. The "desire-to-be-different-at-any-price," as it were like a *jus primae noctis* of originality, had become a goal in itself, and was supplanted by a newly-awakened longing for tradition.

One of the "*bad boys of music*"--this was the title of his autobiography--was George Antheil, whose *Ballet mécanique* became a *succès de scandale*.⁷ In the words of Thomas Mann, back then in Paris the way to success was through notoriety. His ballet, premiered in 1926, had an orchestra scoring for ten pianos, mechanical piano, xylophone, anvils, electrical bells, automobile horns, and an airplane motor (for pianissimo effects). Shortly before, the Frankfurt Opera had performed the world premiere of Antheil's opera *Transatlantique*.⁸

The undiminished attraction that percussion instruments still exercise over composers today is supported by constant technical improvements of the individual instruments. In New York, a permanent percussion ensemble was founded which commissions composition, and Louisville recently premiered the opera *The Transposed*

⁷ Antheil's autobiography was titled in the singular: *Bad Boy of Music*.

⁸ *Transatlantique*, composed after the 1926 premiere of *Ballet mécanique*, was premiered in Frankfurt on 25 May 1930. See Paul Griffiths, *20th Century Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 19.

Heads, during which, in the words of the composer Peggy Glanville-Hicks, “the percussion section takes the place of the first violins.” Certainly many of these novelties can be traced back to jazz music, while others developed in radio and film [popular music, classical music⁹]. Works like Bartók’s *Sonata for Piano and Percussion*, Stravinsky’s *A Soldier’s Tale*, and Milhaud’s *Percussion Concerto* individually fostered the emancipation of the medium.

More recently, the academic road to music has gone through the study of natural sciences. For an experimental figure of the power of Edgard Varèse, it was not insignificant if [that] he first studied mathematics and physics. The titles of his major works--[terms like] *Ionisation*, *Intégrales*, *Density 21.5* (meaning the density of platinum), *Octandre*--[these titles] are taken from a world of ideas and point towards a constant *on revient toujours*.

Varèse’s music education is also worth mentioning: it began with d’Indy, Roussel and Widor, and continued with Busoni and Mahler. He has lived in America since 1919, where he was granted the “Rose Red sleep” of a whole generation because of his uncompromising nature.¹⁰ His most important works have been recorded only very recently.

As in inorganic chemistry, Varèse tries to isolate basic elements from their freely occurring states and to display them separately. This *pars pro toto* of his procedure allows a parallel with [those] of Webern and Stravinsky.

Varèse makes a scientific virtue of the necessity of the heterogeneous brass family. For him, timbre is not so much tone color as it is specific weight and intensity. The development of chords in the closest position aims not at tone cluster effects, but results in plastic gradations of superimposed levels of tones, somewhat comparable to parallel mineral veins in a mass of stone. The form-giving ostinato figures develop in a Stravinskian way; the motivic organization of *Intégrales*, composed in 1926, could cause one to think one recognizes his father figure, Gustav Mahler.

Musical Example: Edgard Varèse, *Intégrales*

Varèse’s music is neither static nor does it allow tracking of a motoric lapse of time. It moves less than it oscillates, accumulates, ferments, and simmers, all *quasi senza tempo*. Its rhythms do not unite themselves to a metric pulse. In his *Ionisation*, through the exclusive use of percussion instruments with indeterminate and variable pitches, Varèse achieves an effect of intermediate tones within the tempered tonal center. One

⁹ The words “U.-Musik, E.-Musik” were hand-written in the margin, with an arrow showing point of insertion in the text. In German, U-Musik, or *Unterhaltungsmusik*, generally refers to popular and entertaining music, while E-Musik, or *Ernste Musik*, indicates “serious” composition, or classical concert music. Jazz is widely considered “U.-Musik.”

¹⁰ Rebner’s metaphor refers to the fairy tale “Rose Red” by the Grimm Brothers.

believes Varèse that his esoteric titles, at least for him, carry more value than as mere curiosities.

Musical Example: *Octandre*

Insofar as technical means of proof in art can be decisive, experimental music certainly has developed logically and consistently. A desensualization of sound, a sound asceticism of the mechanical means of expression rebels against the need for frivolity of past decades. The moment in Ravel's *Boléro* when the overtones run like a ribbon parallel to the spectrum of the melody always seemed to me like a refined symbol of the strongest physical desire in music. Since then, it has become the concern of many composers to represent only the essentials of the sound, its skeleton, so to speak. But depending on individual talent, here too, an obedient means to an end can also degenerate into an end in itself.

In his flute piece *Density 21.5*, Varèse foresaw characteristic attributes of electronic music. He too aimed for the elimination of subjective elements, strove for more an x-ray than a photograph of his idea, more silhouette than portrait.

Musical Example: Edgard Varèse, *Density 21.5*

It is telling that some music festivals contrast contemporary musical works with those of the Dutch Renaissance and of the ancient Orient. The argument between high priests and laymen, or between intellectual synthesis and primitivism, has repeatedly surfaced throughout history. How tempting it is to speculate about a new relaxation of the orthodox materials, or about a conscious intimacy of the future statements!

Most likely, most recent attempts in the new ordering of materials do not immediately reach the state of theoretical registration [might not yet have reached the state of theoretical registration]. Here, formal organization--trying to achieve a general binding force ever since the classical era--has to move within dimensions and obey principles which traditional music did not need or allow. When the formal functions of interval relationships and row modifications are eliminated, then rhythm and sonority--dynamics and tone character--can take over these functions. Still, idiosyncrasies of the material and organization of the smallest unit must define the form here, too.

In the following examples by John Cage, one may recognize principles of accumulative repetition, of density, and of contrast. At times, density seems to replace polyphony.

Musical Example, John Cage?¹¹

[*M. Concrète*] While the occasional reorganizing of traditional material is conditioned by history and people, the most recently developed genre of *musique concrète* has declined such traditional methods of recycling. It means a farewell to many

¹¹ Rebner does not indicate what the example was.

technical, yes, even to some ethical presuppositions of Western music. While it used to be necessary above all to be a good swimmer, around the turn of the century they started looking for new bodies of water as well. [And] Today the question is being raised whether or not water is even still an appropriate fluid [for swimming] at all. ~~The opposition of the terms "abstract" and "concrete" cannot be anymore sharply defined in music than that of "impressionism" and "expressionism," terms borrowed from painting.~~ *Musique concrète* sometimes seems like program music without a program, like visual associations not based on sensual or practical experiences. But still, someone who enjoys contradictions would be inclined to recognize spiritual predecessors of *musique concrète* in the aural paintings of Richard Strauss's tone poems--for example in *Bürger als Edelmann*, the *Symphonia domestica*, and *Don Quixote*. ~~Today's avant-garde, tomorrow's cliché.~~ In America, *musique concrète* no doubt has its forerunners in popular and commercial music. In his *Musical Depreciation Hour* the scurrilous bandleader Spike Jones gave the fatal blow to tacky, sentimental music, by relating unpius sound caricatures of favorite hit tunes and sound effects of the coarsest kind.

To the curious, the sound archives and sound laboratory of Walt Disney's music department offers some instructive hours. It looked like a tinkerer's workshop, a torture chamber or a lumber room¹²--yet each of the sound effects created there was registered exactly according to its character and oscillation frequency. One could transpose it (or record it synthetically directly on film, if one wished), without having to take a detour with the microphone. For example, the voices of the mice from *Cinderella* were first recorded with four baritone voices, not without having calculated ahead of time for the reproduction with which speed-up coefficients would achieve a certain desired transposition in a higher register, which was supposed to imitate the chirping of the mice. [The] voluminous film [sound] archives contain systematic[ally set-up] combinations of individual sounds of every imaginable kind, especially of percussive effects. The so-called *sweeteners*, which of course here serve as accents of the visual plot, are arbitrarily post-recorded onto the track of the actual recording of the orchestra. This printing of layers of several negatives on top of one another makes it possible not only to control the dynamics of the components and their mix after the recording: through a shifting of the film parts, [achieving] echo effects are also made possible, or even the simulation of rhythmic alterations. (The speed of the running of the film makes unlimited [rhythmic] combinations possible.)

After a lengthy association with these achievements, one eventually starts wondering ~~why~~ [whether] the musical means of expression must stay limited to the instruments of the symphony orchestra. Mechanical reproduction, partly also exceedingly high tuning frequencies [over 440], impairs the individual character of [some] ~~of these~~ instruments to such an extent that they seem similar to one another. The playing techniques of articulation and attack (of wind instruments) must cope with the sensitive microphone [i.e., adapt to them].

According to experience, the avant-garde of today develops into the *cliché* of tomorrow. It is imaginable that here [and today] the processes will reverse [or at least

¹² "Rumpelkammer."

complement] one another. Electronic string instruments, whose resonant bodies have been rendered superfluous by loud speaker amplification, the electric guitar, the novachord and the theremin have been contributing controversially now for years to marketable musical products. The film industry likes to make use of these penetrating sounds in order to describe anxiety neuroses. But a change in the meaning of our associations of ideas has yet to be achieved.

The desire for new instrumental colors, which has dominated Western music since the introduction of the clarinet, is only a partial concern of mechanized music. The renunciation of the temporary convention of tempered tuning, and the inclusion of chance as an element of art [signal a more radical break with tradition] draw a stronger dividing line among conventions

Mozart invented a playful musical dice game, in which one could haphazardly piece together, measure for measure, a waltz melody. ~~Otherwise~~ Since then, the factor of unpredictability has no longer been a voluntary artistic ally. Is a work like *Imaginary Landscape* [by John Cage] for twelve radios perhaps an attempt to bring the forgotten gift of improvisation back to the public? Of course, here, no two versions could ever be identical, every performance in itself becomes a surprise. A literary comparison equivalent to such a process would, for instance, be the instruction of an author to his readers to insert the arts sections of their [respective] daily newspaper into certain parts of his book!

The tendencies demonstrated, and not so much their symptoms, are what should be taken seriously here. ["Piano Concerto"]

At last year's Paris conference on *musique concrète*, the so-called *relief cinématique* and *relief statique* were demonstrated. [Here] Similar to the principle of stereo photography, sound is projected through several loud speakers distributed throughout the hall. Through movement of a control mechanism, the illusion can be evoked that the origin of the sound source was able to change its location and thus to speak to the ear from many different directions successively or simultaneously. Again, it was the film industry which, in connection with *cinemascope*, *cinerama* and 3-D, made stereophonic sound reproduction its own.

How the mobility of the location simulates this spatial mode of projection opens wide perspectives of sound perception. We know the surprising effect that occurs when two vehicles [automobiles] pass each other going in opposite directions and when one of them sounds its horn or bells¹³ (as with the American ice cream trucks). By merely driving by, one can vary and modulate a diatonic phrase in a rather interesting way. It would be a bold step further if one could continue such research with a jet plane into the supersonic realm. The Greek dictum *Panta rhei*--everything is in motion--would receive an up-to-date meaning, and many a static moment in music would be overcome.

John Cage's intention was also to enhance the sonic diversity of the piano by placing mute-like objects made of various materials on the strings. By doing so he influenced not only the timbre, but also the pitch of a respective group of strings. His train of thought seems to be consistent to me, and in its evolutionary manner convincing.

¹³ "Glockenspiel."

Ever since the traditional art of piano-building degenerated into mass production, the playing and technique of the instrument has changed. On many pianos, ~~certain~~ some attacks and legato effects are ~~not~~ [barely] still possible. The logical conclusion is that the piano is also good for organized percussive effects of indeterminate pitch.

Musical Example, John Cage Pa. [?]¹⁴

Through this, the piano affiliates itself with the marimba family and the Hungarian cymbalom. As stated in the [conference] reports, *musique concrète* searches for new “musically useful” sounds. The criteria of usefulness is a question of taste and subject to change over time. But it is also a question of ethics. Up until now, some sound effects and sound colors considered slightly off-color¹⁵ were denied entrance to concert halls; among them, from the area of jazz music, several eccentric mutes, *cup mute*, *harmon mute*, “wa wa,” etc., certain percussion combinations, *temple blocks*, *flexatone*, and the so-called *slap tongue*, the slow vibrato and glissando techniques of the clarinet family, the *slap bass*, and many others.

A parodistic or grotesque association of ideas underlies most of these sounds [derivative sounds]. For a long time, they have been tools in the hands of those who misused them in the creation of a public taste for their own profit. The hand of a master can temporarily help them [the disreputed] gain respectability. [The vulgar as mass product has forced the artist into spiritual exile.] [~~The guarantee of a durable art lies first of all in the dignity of its binding statement. The race for the palm for the most original symptom of decay is on.~~] [But] The artist must not let himself be appointed the role of the court jester or the *conférenciers* by a society that neither needs nor trusts him. The battle for dignity and the reputation of his profession must remain his personal and collective concern. To this end, no experiment would be too daring.

¹⁴ Again, Rebner gives no clue in the manuscript as to what the example might have been. He wrote in the letters “Pa.,” perhaps indicating an example from one of Cage’s prepared piano pieces.

¹⁵ “Nicht ganz salonfähig.”

APPENDIX E

CAGE PERFORMANCES IN WEST GERMANY, 1960-69
(Including Radio Broadcasts)

Note: This list is extracted from Appendix C. Though the list is small, it should serve to challenge a general belief that Cage's music was not heard in Germany after his 1958 appearance in Darmstadt. Abbreviations are the same as in Appendix C.

1960

Radio

HR: 1960/61: *Sendereihe Studio für Neue Music*, "Bilanz der 50er Jahre:" Cage, *Music for Piano*

RB: 1960/61: Cage, *Piano Solo with Fontana Mix*, *Cartridge Music*; *Übertragung von Stratford Festspiele in Canada: Aria and Fontana Mix*

SR: 1960/61: Cage, *Aria and Fontana Mix*

SWF: 1960/61: *Internationale zeitgenössische Musik*: USA section--included works by Cage

Concerts

March 26: (MB) *Music for Piano* (Cardew and Behrman, pianos)

June 15: (MB) *Water Music; Variations* (Tudor and others)

September 27: (Berlin) *Suite for Two* (from *Music for Pianos*); *Winter Music; Variations; Music Walk with Dancers* (Tudor, Cage, Cunningham and Carolyn Brown)

September 28: (Berlin) same as 27 September

September 29: (Berlin) same as 27 September

October 2: (Munich) same as 27 September

October 3: (Munich) same as 27 September

October 5: (MB) same as 27 September

October 6: (MB) *Cartridge Music with Solo for Voice 2; Music for Amplified Toy Pianos* (Cage, Tudor, Paik, Helms, Cardew, and others)

1961

Radio

RB: 1961/62, or 1962/63: *Produktionen*: Cage and Lou Harrison, *Double Music*, *Schlagzeugquartett*; Cage, *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs*, *A Flower*, *She is Asleep*, *Solo for Voice 1*, *Aria*, *Solo for Voice 2*, *Solo for Voice 2 With*

Cartridge Music; Sendereihe, Musik-Essay: Hans G. Helms, "John Cage, eine Sendung zu seinem 50. Geburtstag"

WDR: 1961/62, or 1962/63: *Produktionen*: Cage, 25'55.98788, *Music for a Pianist and Violinist; Nachtprogramm*: broadcast by Cardew, "Die amerikanische Schule von John Cage"

Concerts

June 15: (MB) Cage pieces (Cardew, piano)

September 6: (IFNM) *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs*: 26'55.988 for pianist and string player

September 26: (MB) *Variations; 59 1/2 Seconds for a String Player* (The Generation of Music 4; Michael von Biel)

September 28: (MB) same as 26 September

September 30: (MB) The 25-Year Retrospective Concert of the Music of John Cage (recording played for an audience)

October 14: (MB) 26'55.987" for pianist and string player

October 28: (Oldenburg, *Musica Viva*, with Radio Bremen) Cage and Harrison, *Double Music, Percussion Quartet*

1962

[?] (PMN) works by Cage (*Solo for Voice* [?]) and exhibition with scores by Cage and Brown

1-23 September: (Wiesbaden, *Hörsaal des Städtischen Museums*, organized by George Maciunas) *Fluxus Internationale Festspiele Neuester Musik*; included works by Cage

September 26 and 28: (MB) Cage, *Variations; Cage, 59 1/2 Seconds for a String Player* (The Generation of Music 4, Michael von Biel)

November 15: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*, with guest conductor Hans Otte) *Atlas Eclipticalis*

1963

Radio

RB: 1963-65: *Produktionen: Quartet for Twelve Tom Toms [sic], First Construction (in Metal), Imaginary Landscape No. 1 and 3, Solo for Voice 2, Seven Sonatas and Two Interludes, String Quartet in Four Parts*

WDR: 1963-1965: *Produktionen: Cage, Double Music, Imaginary Landscapes 1 and 3, She is Asleep, First Construction (in Metal)*

Concerts

February 2-3: (Düsseldorf, *Staatliche Kunstakademie*, organized by Maciunas and Joseph Beuys) *Festum Fluxorum Fluxus*, including works by Cage

February 8: (WDR) *Amores*

November 15: (MdZ) *Fontana Mix*

December 18: (KKNM) *Cartridge Music*

1964

Radio

BR: 1964/65: Broadcast by Helms, with examples of Cage's music

Concerts

January 23: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*) Cage/Harrison, *Double Music for Percussion Quartet*;

January 24: (H; NDR Funkhaus) *Cartridge Music*

April 15: (Munich) *String Quartet in Four Parts* (Schnebel's group, with Rzewski)

June 30: (Münster) *The Wonderful Widow of Eighteen Springs*

1965

Radio

HR: 1965-67: Broadcast by Schnebel: "Über Cage"

NDR: 1965-67: *Produktion: Porträt: John Cage, Variations 5*

RB: 1965-67: *Produktion: Cage, Variations 1* (Gerd Zacher, organ), and *Atlas Eclipticalis*

Concerts

January 29: (H; NDR Funkhaus) *Two Aphorisms* (as music for film)

June 1: (Munich) *Aria with Fontana Mix* (with Berberian)

June 3: (Bochum, *Musica Viva*) *Amores* (with Schönbach)

October 28: (KKNM) *27'10.554* (Max Neuhaus, percussion)

December 1: (Munich) *Fontana Mix* (with Neuhaus)

1966

May 7: (PMN) *Aria and Fontana Mix*

December 15: (NDR Hamburg, 3. Programm) Television Documentary Film on John Cage by Klaus Wildenhahn (1966)

1967

Radio

NDR: 1967-69: *Produktionen: Music for Piano 1, Winter Music*

RB: 1967-69: *Produktionen: Variations 3 for Organ*

SWF: 1967-69: *Produktionen: Atlas Eclipticalis, Solo for Voice 1*; Broadcast by Dibelius: "John Cage oder: Gibt es Kritische Musik?"

Concerts

[?1967/68] (*Frankfurter Vereinigung für Musik*) *Water Music*; 4'33"

March 27-April 1: (Darmstadt, *Arbeitstagung für Institut der Neue Musik und Musikerziehung*) *Solo for Voice 1*

April 26: (WDR, MdZ) *Atlas Eclipticalis*

July 3: (SWF, *Ars Nova*) *Solo for voice 1* (Schola Cantorum, Gottwald)

September 26: (BAdK) *Variations 1* (Gerd Zacher, organ)

October 5: (Berlin, *Rencontres Musicales des DAAD*) *Fontana Mix* (played by MEV)

December 13: (ISCM Cologne, *Hochschule für Musik*) *Solo for Piano; Fontana Mix; Indeterminacy*

1968

[? 1968/69] (Bochum) *Atlas Eclipticalis; Winter Music*

June 7: (MV) *Solo for Voice I* (Stuttgarter Schola Cantorum, with Gottwald)

July 1: (SDR, *Musik unserer Zeit*) *Solo for voice I*

October 10: (BAdK, TU Berlin) *Imaginary Landscapes No. 3*

1969

Radio

BR: 1969-71: *Variations I, version for organ*

HR: 1969-71: *Produktion: Solo for Piano; Variations II; Music for Carillon No. 4; Water Music*

RB: 1969-71: *Produktionen: Variations; Solo for Voice*

SFB: 1969 and 1970: *Produktion: Variations I*

WDR: 1969-71: *Produktionen: 26'1.1499" for a string player with 27'10.554" for a percussionist*

Concerts

January 7: (SFB, *Musik der Gegenwart*) *A Flower for voice and closed piano* (Berberian, and others) [also broadcast on TV]

January 20: (SWF) *Atlas Eclipticalis*

January 27: (HR, *Musica Viva*) *Music for Carillon No. 4* (Riedl, *Aussteuerung*)

February 9: (Berlin) *Variations I* (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*)

March 6: (BAdK) *Variations I* (*Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*)

April 10: (Kassel, *3. Woche für Geistliche Musik der Gegenwart*) *Variations I*

July 14: (Munich) *Music for Carillon No. 4*

July 26: (Bad Hersfeld) *Imaginary Landscape No. 3 for Six Percussionists*

October 23: (Munich) *Solo for Voice, version for Stimme and Tonband* (Gottwald; Riedl)

December 14: (Berlin) *Water Music; Indeterminacy; Where Are You Going? and What Are You Doing?; Solo for Voice*

APPENDIX F

NEW MUSIC INITIATIVES FORMED IN WEST GERMANY
DURING THE 1960s AND 1970s

Note: Ensembles and concert venues central to this dissertation are written in bold type. These lists are taken from information found in: Thrun, Martin, ed. *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren: Eine Dokumentation zum deutschen Musikleben*. Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994.

The 1960s:

- 1960 Studio für Neue Musik (Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, Hamburg)
- 1960 **Neue Musik München: Klang-Aktion [Josef Anton Riedl]**
- 1960 Ensemble für Neue Musik der Hochschule für Musik und Theater (Hannover)
- 1960 Schola Cantorum Stuttgart [Clytus Gottwald]
- 1961 **pro musica nova (Bremen)**
- 1962 Neue Musik Paul-Gerhardt-Kirche (Cologne)
- 1963 Studio Neue Musik (Berlin)
- 1963 Gesellschaft für Neue Musik e.V. Mannheim
- 1964 Horizonte-Konzerte des Instituts für Neue Musik (Freiburg--previously Musica Viva)
- 1964 Musica Viva Konzerte (Lübeck)
- 1965 Neue Musik in der Kirche (Kassel)
- 1965 **Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin (with Universal Ensemble Berlin)**
- 1966 Konzertreihe "Ars Nova" (Baden-Baden)
- 1966 Bläservereinigung Berlin (1/2 new music)
- 1966 Colloquium musicale (Erlangen) [Carla Henius and Werner Heider, u.a.]
- 1967 Musik-Biennale Berlin--Internationales Fest für zeitgenössische Musik
- 1967 **Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie (Munich) [Josef Anton Riedl]**
- 1968 Messiaen Feste (Düsseldorf)
- 1968 Confronto--Neue Musik und Jazz (Erlangen) [Werner Heider]
- 1968 **ars nova ensemble (Nürnberg) [Heider]**
- 1969 Neue Musik in Delmenhorst (Niedersachsen)
- 1969 Institut für Neue Musik der Musikhochschule des Saarlandes
- 1969 Rascher Saxophone Quartett (Tübingen)

The 1970s:

- 1970 **Tage für Neue Musik (Darmstadt and Hessischer Rundfunk, Frankfurt)**
- 1970 Musik im 20. Jahrhundert (Saarbrücken)
- 1970 Neue Reihe-Musik im 20. Jahrhundert (Freiburg)
- 1970 **Feedback Studio (Cologne)**
- 1970/71 Workshop "Neue Musik" (Leverkusen)
- 1970 Ensemble "das Neue Werk" (Hamburg)
- 1970 Mainzer Ensemble für Neue Musik
- 1970 Brass Philharmonic Stuttgart
- 1970 Junges Philharmonisches Orchester Stuttgart
- 1970 Markusvocalensemble (Stuttgart)
- 1971 Studio Konzerte für (alte und) Neue Musik (Aachen)
- 1971 Heinrich Strobel Stiftung des SWFs e. V.--Experimentalstudio (Baden Baden)
- 1971 Varius Ensemble (Hamburg)
- 1971 Ensemble Trial and Error (Cologne)
- 1972 Bergisch-Schlesische Musiktage
- 1972 Tage Neuer Musik (Bonn)
- 1972 3 Mal Neu--Neue Musik in Düsseldorf
- 1972 Ensemble EXVOCO (Stuttgart)
- 1973 Bayerisches Tonkünstlerfest
- 1973 Music Avantgarde (Mannheim)
- 1973 Römerbad--Musiktage Badenweiler
- 1973 **Neue Musik an der Hochschule (Frankfurt)**
- 1973 Hanns Eisler Chor e. V. Berlin--Ensemble für Neue Chormusik
- 1973 Ensemble 13 (Karlsruhe)
- 1974 Arbeitskreis Neue Musik e. V. (Wolfsburg)
- 1974 Ensemble des Instituts für Neue Musik (Freiburg/Bayern)
- 1975 Studienwoche für junge Komponisten
- 1975 Aulakonzerte Neue Musik (Cologne)
- 1976 Sinziger Orgelwoche (für Neue Geistliche Musik)
- 1976 Tage der Neuen Musik (Würzburg)
- 1976 **Neue Musik im Städel (Frankfurt)**
- 1976 Hohe-Ufer-Konzerte (Hannover)
- 1976 TAM--Theater am Marienplatz (Krefeld)
- 1976 Musica nova, Gesellschaft für neue Musik und neuen Jazz (Stuttgart)
- 1977 Duisburger Akzente
- 1977 **Weekend "Neue Musik in Frankfurt" (HR)**
- 1977 Interessenverband Deutscher Komponisten e. V.--Symposium und Konzerte (Hamburg)
- 1977 Fortbildungszentrum für Neue Musik (Lüneburg)
- 1977 **Walter Zimmermann's Beginner Studio (Cologne)**
- 1977 Studio in Planetarium Stuttgart e. V.
- 1977 **Dieter Schnebel's Ensemble: Die Maulwerker (Berlin)**

- 1977 **musica viva ensemble (Dresden)**
- 1978 **Insel Musik (Berlin)**
- 1978 **Stuttgarter Sommerkurse für Neue Musik und Neuen Jazz**
- 1978/79 **Reihe Neue Musik (Essen)**
- 1978 **Forum für Neue Musik (Gelsenkirchen)**
- 1978 **Frau und Musik (Cologne)**
- 1978 **Ensemble Insel Musik**
- 1978 **Junge Musik (Leipzig)**
- 1979 **Konzert-Zyklen des Sekretariats für gemeinsame Kulturarbeit in Nordrhein-Westfalen**
- 1979 **Ensembliä/Ensembletta (Mönchengladbach)**
- 1979 **Kongresse Weltmusik (Vlotho)**
- 1979 **Musikfrauen e.V. (Berlin)**
- 1979 **Bremer Podium--Konzertreihe für Neue Kammermusik (Bremen)**
- 1979/80 **Neue Musik--Veranstaltungen der Hamburgischen Staatsoper (Hamburg)**
- 1979 **Glasmusik (Kassel)**
- 1979 **Ensemble Konfrontation (Halle)**
- 1979 **Trio Basso (Cologne)**

APPENDIX G

CHRISTIAN WOLFF'S COMPOSITION SEMINAR AT
IFNM ON 28 JULY 1972

Note: This excerpt was transcribed by the author from a taped recording of Wolff's IFNM seminars at [IMD].

Wolff: "The question that came to me when I was asked to speak about American music was, you know, is there such a thing as American music, is there anything that would characterize American music as such? Well, the first thing that comes to mind is that there is an extraordinary variety available in terms of music in America, from the most esoteric avant-garde music to all kinds of popular music. As you well know, the whole rock-and-roll scene, and the blues and the country scene, and so on. So we have a great deal of music, and obviously I'm only competent to speak about a very small part of that, which is more or less the avant-garde, or the experimental, or the new music. I suppose it could be said that each of these different kinds of music are very well represented. I mean they're represented with a high degree of quality, whether you happen to like them or not. Rock groups are good, some of them very good. The blues of course and the country music are indigenous, and even the academic serialism has reached a state of refinement that is quite staggering. However I won't be concerned with those things at the moment.

"As far as what seems to me characteristic at least of the avant-garde music, or the experimental music, very roughly, is a quality of *freedom*. And I wondered why that should be so. And two, maybe three ideas came to mind about it. One is that it must have something to do with the spaciousness of the country, just the geographical character of it, or at least with the myth of its spaciousness. It's becoming smaller and smaller all the time, of course. But it is a country in which there has always been a sense that there is

more room than we have right around us, you can always move out to somewhere else. And that on the one hand, and on the other hand, the sense that the nature which makes up that space is more or less, though often very beautiful, is more or less hostile. This is true even in those parts of the country that were first settled in New England, which is extremely rocky, for instance. It's very hard to grow things there, it's very hard to keep the land open, it's always growing over again. So that is a general characteristic. And in response to that, there's been a tradition, or at least, again, the myth of a tradition, of individual self-sufficiency, and independence, and that is what I mean by freedom. It's the kind of freedom that grows up from that attitude. There's a remark, and I forget whether its by Emerson or Thoreau, but it says that "anyone who wants to be man has to be a non-conformist" [Wolff then translates this sentence into German]. So that's in the background.

"And perhaps I should also add, in relation specifically to avant-garde music, and to bring us more into the realities of the present, that the freedom has also come about by virtue of the fact that the avant-garde has until fairly recently existed in a kind of social vacuum, that is to say, it has not been taken up or supported by any of the normal social agencies, be they academic, or be they the concert world. The normal, establishment musical life has until fairly recently, and even now only in very tentative ways, has made no effort whatsoever to do anything for this kind of music. So the composers of this kind of music have always felt a kind of indifference to, or [. . .] lack of pressure from certain social demands. They didn't feel that they had to write music that would be pleasing to a particular kind of establishment. This isn't to say that they didn't feel economic pressures, I mean they weren't free in that sense, but they were artistically or aesthetically free. Now maybe that's enough. I think if you reflect on that a little bit you can see there are both advantages and disadvantages to that condition, and it's probably time to begin to think about the disadvantages. It's obviously a very good atmosphere in which to grow up, and in which to find what you need to find, and what you can do musically, but on the other hand [. . .] you pay a very great price for this sense of isolation, of being cut off [. . .].

“The other point I’d like to raise, just generally, about American music, is this: it’s just to remind ourselves about the United States as a country, and its condition. It’s the country which represents the most spectacular developments of Western capitalism, and America represents roughly six percent of the world’s population, and it consumes roughly sixty percent of the world’s products [Wolff says that these are statistics from the sixties]. Then the other fact about the United States I think we should have in the back of our minds is that they have been conducting a war of extraordinary stupidity and inhumanity. A question then is, to what extent are those considerations relevant to a discussion of American music.”

APPENDIX H

CONLON NANCARROW, HANS OTTE AND WALTER ZIMMERMANN:
CORRESPONDENCE, 1976(held at *Radio Bremen*)1. Zimmermann to Otte, 22 January 1976

“As we discussed, I am sending you a 19 cm copy of the first studies for player piano by Conlon Nancarrow. His most recent works are in the mail to me. Nancarrow lives in Mexico, is American, 63 years old, and has written music for (2) player pianos for the last 25 years. The material is expanded with every new study. As one hears, he began with piano rag music, and soon [ineligible handwriting]. I have never heard piano music expanded in such a way (Stockhausen’s *Klavierstück X* pales next to the last piece on the tape). In case you decide to include Nancarrow in *pro musica nova* ‘67, I [?] you to [?] as follows:

“Conlon Nancarrow, Studies for Player Piano, Taped Concert presented by Walter Zimmermann.”

For the program booklet I could send you Gordon Mumma’s introduction to Nancarrow.¹

Until soon,
Walter Zimmermann

P.S. Would it be possible to do the recording of *Beginner’s Mind* in the week between 8 and 11 June, 1976? I will write you later about my book *Desert Plants*.²

¹ Gordon Mumma’s essay on Nancarrow was first published as “Critical Material,” in *Conlon Nancarrow: Selected Studies for Player Piano*, Peter Garland, ed. (Berkeley: Soundings Press, 1977); it was later published in German in *Neuland* 1 (1980): 123-26. The essay first appeared in German translation (by Nigel Whittaker) in Program Booklet for Hans Otte’s *pro musica nova* (Radio Bremen, 6-12 May 1980): 20-3.

² Zimmermann’s letter was handwritten, in German. All other letters were written in English.

2. Otte to Nancarrow, 23 January 1976:

“Dear Mr. Nancarrow,

Walter Zimmermann has informed me about your compositions and have [*sic*] heard these tapes we decided immediately to present them within our next festival for avant-garde music, May 15, 1976.

I have never heard music like yours in my life and like to thank you. It is simply phantastic [*sic*]!

Please agree that we can present and broadcast your works and please let me know the financial conditions.

Also give me a hint: Where can we receive the tapes (copies of the originals)? We like to ‘show’ your music technically at the best manner.

Thank you in advance.

Yours, very truly,

Hans Otte”

3. Nancarrow to Otte, 29 January 1976:

“Dear Mr. Otte:

Thank you for your letter.

You have my permission to broadcast my music. As to financial conditions I leave it to you, whatever you think is reasonable.

You asked about copies of the original tapes. I suppose you mean the rolls for the pianos. If that is what you mean I am afraid it is out of the question. In the first place they are for my pianos the way I have them fixed. Also, I have only one copy of each roll.

Sincerely,

Conlon Nancarrow”

4. Otte to Nancarrow, 6 February 1976:

“Dear Mr. Nancarrow,

Thank you so much for your friendly letter.

Because the tapes I did not mean the rolls for the piano but the tapes of the recording. Do you have good copies of them?

Also, please let me know: Are you a member of the GEMA³ or Acap [*sic*]? If not, I would send you in addition to our fee of DM 1,000 for the performing rights another DM 250.

Thank you in advance for your answer.

With best wishes, Yours Hans Otte”

³ GEMA is the German equivalent of BMI or ASCAP.

5. Nancarrow to Otte, 16 February 1976:

“Dear Mr. Otte:

Thank you for your letter of Feb. 6.

No, I am not a member of ASCAP or any other. The amount you suggested for payment seems reasonable.

Yes, I have copies of the tape I sent to you. I hope you understand that you can use the tape as much as you want, but that I keep the rights to it.

Sincerely,

Conlon Nancarrow”⁴

6. Otte to Nancarrow, 3 March 1976:

“Dear Mr. Nancarrow,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 16 1976 and the informations.

I would be very grateful if you could send us the tape-copies as soon as possible in order to prepare things well and in time.

With wishes and kindest regards,

Yours

Hans Otte”

7. Nancarrow to Otte, 18 March 1976:

“Dear Mr. Otte:

I am sorry about the misunderstanding. I thought you were going to use the tape I sent Mr. Zimmermann. In any case I just sent you a copy of the same tape.

I just received another letter from Mr. Zimmermann asking about more tapes for your broadcast. I answered him that it was probably too late to discuss it, but that if you were interested I could send more tapes.

I hope you receive the tape soon, and I offer my apologies.

Sincerely,

Conlon Nancarrow”

⁴ On the same day, a Detlef Gojowy wrote to Nancarrow (via Zimmermann, in Cologne), announcing that Otte had contracted him to compile the program booklet for the festival, and requesting biographical information and information about Nancarrow’s work. Letter from Gojowy to Nancarrow c/o Zimmermann, 16 February 1976 [RB].

8. Nancarrow to Otte, 7 April 1976:

"Dear Mr. Otte:

I am sorry but there is a new problem regarding the tape I sent you.

For some time New World Records has had some tapes of mine. They were considering them for a record. Now they are putting out the record. Unfortunately the record will have two pieces which are on the tape I sent you, namely #27 and #36.

It is too late for me to send you another tape. I think the best solution would be for you to go ahead and play the tape I sent you, but not to pay me. I assume there would be no difficulty that way. If you have already sent me the money I will return it, if that arrangement seems satisfactory.

Sincerely,
Conlon Nancarrow"

9. Otte to Nancarrow, 21 June 1976:

"The presentation of your music here at our festival has been a complete success. Congratulations!

As I just returned from the working party session of the EBU (European Broadcasting Union) I have to ask you: Are you interested in writing a new piece in commission of this EBU that means: of all European Radio Stations? This Union realizes a great number of concerts in Europe and after I told the members of this working group they all like to hear your music and agreed to offer you a commission for one of the concerts in the season 79/80 or 80/81.

Please give me notice what you think about this proposition. I--personally--would be delighted to hear your "Yes" and will tell you about the financial conditions immediately.

All the best to you,
Hans Otte"

APPENDIX I

PRODUCTIONS OF AMERICAN MUSIC AND FELDMAN RECORDINGS
HELD AT *HESSISCHER RUNDFUNK*, FRANKFURT

1. List of Number of Recordings (in order of frequency) of music by thirty-one American composers produced at HR, listed in HR's recording archive.¹

John Cage: approx. 146
 Morton Feldman: approx. 72
 Charles Ives: approx. 65
 Christian Wolff: 30
 Steve Reich: 22
 Samuel Barber: 15
 Earle Brown: 15
 Aaron Copland: 14
 Edgard Varèse: 14
 Alvin Lucier: 11
 Terry Riley: 11
 Henry Cowell: 10
 Conlon Nancarrow: 10
 Elliott Carter: 9
 Louis Moreau Gottschalk: 9
 Moondog (Louis Hardin): 9
 Edward MacDowell: 8
 Meredith Monk: 8
 George Crumb: 6
 La Monte Young: 4
 Philip Glass: 3
 Lou Harrison: 3
 Charles Ruggles: 3
 Amy Beach: 2
 Walter Piston: 2
 Milton Babbitt: 1
 William Bolcom: 1

¹ Several of these recordings were co-produced with other ARD stations, including WDR, SWF, SDR, and DF. I surveyed the holdings for only these 31 American composers while doing research at HR on 1 September 1997.

Howard Hanson: 1
 Roy Harris: 1
 George Rochberg: 1
 William Schuman: 1

2. Chronological List of Feldman Recordings held at HR (including in-house productions, recordings made at HR-sponsored concerts, commercial recordings, and recordings made at other radio stations). Individual compositions are listed with date of acquisition and/or recording. This list roughly spans Ernstalbrecht Stiebler's years of employment at HR.

- 6 March 1970: *Intersection 3* (Gerd Zacher, Grammophon)
 15 June 1970: *The King of Denmark* (Neuhaus)
 7 August 1970: *The King of Denmark* (Neuhaus)
 4 September 1970: *First Principles* (RSO/HR)
 22 September 1970: *Chorus and Instruments 2* (Lucier and Chamber Choir of the University of Brandeis)
 22 September 1970: *Christian Wolff in Cambridge* (Lucier and Chamber Choir of Univ. of Brandeis)
 18 June 1971: *Last Pieces* (Erika Radermacher)
 16 April 1972: *Vertical Thoughts 5* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)
 2 June 1972: *Intermission 6*
 11 May 1973: *Piano Piece (1964)* (Hübner)
 4 April 1974: *The Viola in My Life 2* (*Ars Nova Ensemble*, Nürnberg)
 4 April 1975: *Rothko Chapel* (NDR)
 7 April 1976: *On Time and the Instrumental Factor* (RSO Frankfurt)
 13 November 1976: *Instruments (1974)*
 6 October 1978: *Last Pieces* (Frederick Page)
 15 May 1979: *Four Songs to e.e. cummings* (*Ensemble Kaleidocollage*)
 9 November 1982: *For Franz Kline* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)
 9 November 1982: *Christian Wolff in Cambridge* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)
 9 November 1982: *The Straits of Magellan* (*Ensemble Musica Negativa*)
 13 January 1984: *Intermission 6*
 13 January 1984: *Two Intermissions* (Thomas Silvestri)
 11 February 1984: *For John Cage* (Recording of concert at TAT)
 11 February 1984: *Why Patterns?* (Recording of performance at TAT, Blum, Vigeland, Williams)
 11 February 1984: *The King of Denmark* (Williams)
 12 February 1984: *Crippled Symmetry* (Recording of performance at TAT, Blum, Vigeland, Williams)
 12 April 1984: *Violin and Orchestra* (Zukofsky, RSO)
 13 June 1984: *Trio* (Clementi Trio)
 13 May 1985: *Untitled Composition for Cello and Piano* (Gerstner and Richards)

- 12 November 1985: *Principal Sound* (Recorded Live in Concert, William Albright, organ)
- 21 July 1986: *For Christian Wolff* (Premiere, recorded live in Darmstadt)
- 12 August 1986: *Piano (1977)* (Schädler, piano)
- 5 May 1987: *Piano Piece (1963)* (Schroeder, piano)
- 1 December 1987: *For Philip Guston* (Live recording of concert at Städel Museum)
- 27 March 1988: *Piano (1977)* (Schroeder, piano)
- 3 May 1988: *Projection 1* (Uitti, cello)
- 3 May 1988: *Intersection 4* (Uitti, cello)
- 13 August 1988: *Intermission 5* (Live recording of concert in Darmstadt, Yvar Mikhashoff)
- 29 November 1988: *Four Instruments* (Live recording of concert in Städel)
- 22 January 1989: *Quartet (Piano, Violin, Viola, Cello)* (Live recording in Würzburg)
- 3 February 1989: *Principal Sound* (live recording)
- 6 February 1989: *Flute and Orchestra (Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Saarbrücken)*
- 10 February 1989: *For John Cage* (Zukofsky and Schroeder)
- 31 March 1989: *Why Patterns?* (Blum, Schroeder, Schulkowsky, recorded live at HR)
- 1 April 1989: *Intersection 4* (Michael Bach, recorded live in Darmstadt)
- 23 May 1989: *Intersection 4* (Michael Bach)
- 23 May 1989: *Projection 1* (Michael Bach)
- 17 June 1989: *Extensions 3* (Aki Takahashi, recorded live at HR)
- 24 June 1989: *Intermission 5* (Schroeder, recorded live at HR)
- 24 June 1989: *Piano Piece (1963)* (Schroeder, recorded live at HR)
- 25 October 1989: *Piano Piece 1956 B* (Takahashi, recorded live at HR)
- 25 October 1989: *Piano Piece 1964* (Takahashi, recorded live at HR)
- 25 October 1989: *Piano piece 1955* (Takahashi, recorded live at HR)
- 25 October 1989: *Palais de Mari* (Takahashi, recorded live at HR)
- 22 February 1990: *Neither* (Sarah Leonard and RSO Frankfurt, recorded live at HR)
- 10 May 1990: *Voice and Instruments* (recorded live at HR)
- 13 May 1990: *Voices and Instruments* (recorded live at HR)
- 31 May 1990: *Piano Four Hands* (recorded live at HR)
- 31 May 1990: *Only* (Nan Hughes, recorded live at HR)
- 31 May 1990: *Voice, Violin and Piano* (Continuum Ensemble, recorded live at HR)
- [?] October 1990: *Rothko Chapel* (Intercord Records)
- [?] 10 1990: *Why Patterns?* (California EAR Unit)
- 5 October 1990: *Coptic Light*
- 28 February 1991: *Intermission 6* (Elisabeth Krämer, recorded live at Frankfurt Musikhochschule)
- 1 March 1991: *Projection 2* (HR Ensemble für Neue Musik, recorded live at Musikhochschule)
- 23 May 1991: *For Samuel Beckett (Ensemble Modern, recorded live at HR)*
- 23 May 1991: *Piece for Four Pianos (Ensemble Modern)*
- 25 May 1991: *Piece for Four Pianos* (Members of Ensemble Modern, recorded live at HR)

- 15 July 1991: *The Viola in my Life 1* (*Ensemble Recherche Freiburg*, recorded live at HR)
- 1 August 1991: *Intersection 4* (Uitti, Recorded live at HR)
- [?] August 1991: *Projection 1* (Uitti, Hat Hut Records)
- [?] August 1991: *Duration 2* (Vigeland and Uitti, Hat Hut Records)
- [?] August 1991: *Extension 3* (Vigeland, recorded live at HR)
- 13 August 1991: *Intersection 4* (Uitti, Hat Hut Records, recorded in HR Studio 2)
- 13 August 1991: *Extensions 3* (Vigeland, Hat Hut Records, recorded in HR Studio 2))
- 13 August 1991: *Projection 1* (Uitti, recorded live at HR)
- 11 October 1991: *Structures for String Quartet* (Arditti Quartet, recorded live at HR)
- 26 March 1992: *Intermission 6* (Siegfried Mauser, Alfons Kontarsky, recorded live at HR)
- 26 March 1992: *Why Patterns?* (*Ensemble l'Art pour l'Art*, recorded live at HR)
- 27 March 1992: *Intermission 5* (Siegfried Mauser, Alfons Kontarsky, recorded live at HR)
- 27 March 1992: *Why Patterns?* (*Ensemble l'Art pour l'Art*)
- 13 June 1992: *The Turfan Fragments* (RSO, recorded live at HR)
- 12 June 1993: *Coptic Light* (RSO Frankfurt, Friedrich Cerha, recorded live at HR)
- [?] December 1993: *Intersection 2* (Blum, Schleiermacher, Williams, Hat Hut Records, recorded in HR Studio)
- [?] December 1993: *Intersection 3* (Blum, Schleiermacher, Williams, Hat Hut)
- [?] December 1993: *The King of Denmark* (Williams, Hat Hut Records, HR Studio)
- [?] December 1993: *Orchestra* (RSO Lucas Vis, recorded live at HR)
- [?] February 1994: *Piano, Violin, Viola, Cello* (Hat Hut Records, HR Sendesaal, Ives Ensemble)
- 30 September 1994: *Flute and Orchestra* (Recorded live at HR)
- [date?] *Principle Sound* (recorded live at HR)
- [date?] *Durations 2* (Uitti, Vigeland, recorded at HR)
- [date?] *Routine Investigations*
- [date?] *Piano piece 1956 A* (Aki Takahashi)

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 Ernstalbrecht Stiebler. 30 October 1997 (Frankfurt)
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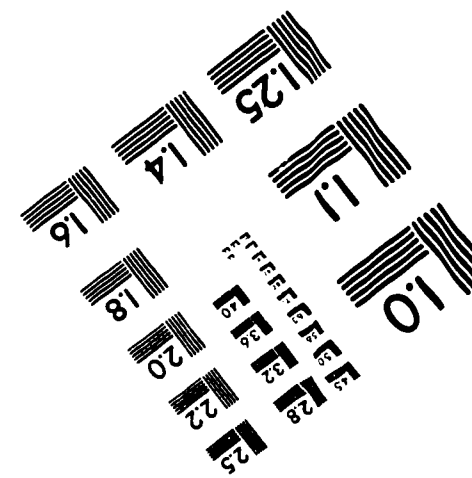
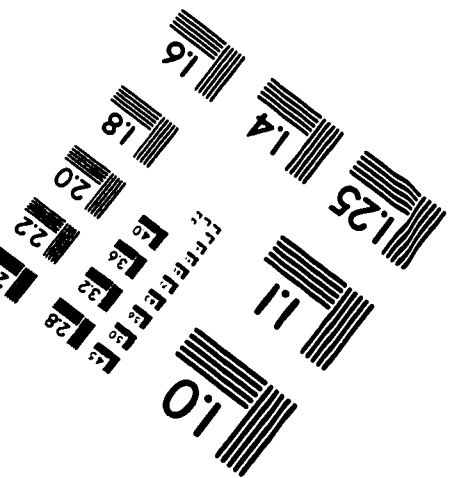
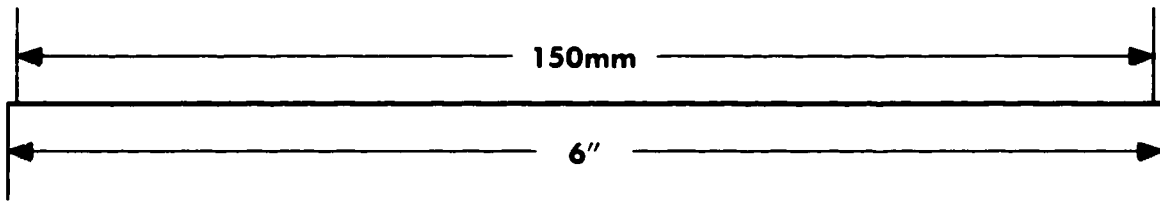
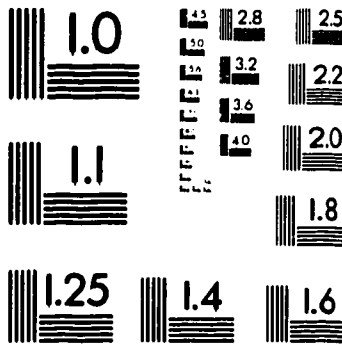
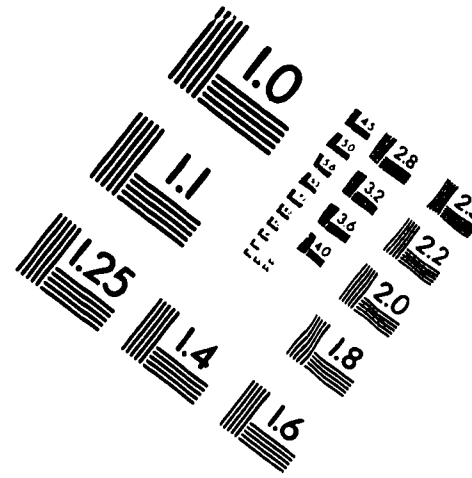
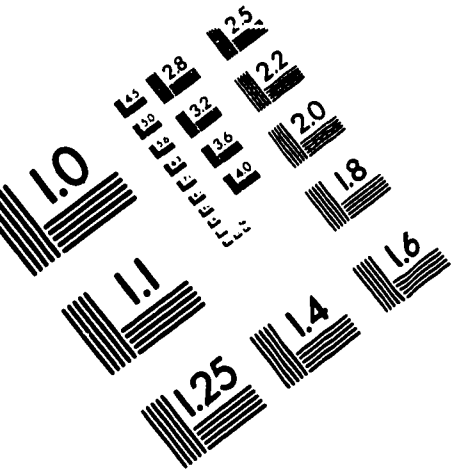
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