Berlin, Harlem, Vienna:
Conflicting Ideas of *Heimat* in Alexander Zemlinsky's late songs, 1929–1938

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2019

Declaration of Authorship

I, Mirjam Barbara Frank, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed _____

16 September 2019

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the lack of stylistic consistency in Zemlinsky's late songs, 1929-1938, demands an investigative approach which foregrounds the inherently plural nature of the interwar cultures in Germany and Austria, and their conflicted relationship with inherited traditions. Point of departure is Zemlinsky's stay in Weimar Berlin, where he wrote the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20 (1929). The set, if interrogated through what Hannah Arendt calls the 'web of relationships' (*The Human Condition*, 1958), even reveals elements of 'authentic' jazz, among other things. Only few years later, from 1933, Zemlinsky was forced to move to Vienna, where he wrote the *Six Songs*, Op.22 (1934) and the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 (1937/8). Both sets, if read against the complicated political situation of the Austro-Fascist regime and its impact on culture and the arts, work towards a defamiliarization of Zemlinsky's inherited compositional heritage – or *Heimat*. I argue that the engagement with the idea of *Heimat*, musically and historically speaking, provides an eminently fitting conceptual framework for an exploration of a highly complex and plural period, as well as the music that came out of it. Stylistic devices including jazz and altered *Volk* themes only come to the fore if both music and its cultural contexts are interrogated through a different set of materials, one that complements the well-known connections of Zemlinsky's with the 'usual suspects', i.e., Brahms, Mahler and Schoenberg. These materials include the African-American jazz cultures in Weimar Berlin, inherited traditions of (folk) song and the symphony and the tensions arising from these, as well as less visible figures like August Eigner, Anna Nußbaum and Wilhelm Grosz. Put together, these details along with Zemlinsky's fragmented song writing help to reconsider our presumed narratives of a supposedly well-understood period and its music. This thesis thus offers new insight on an era that is presumably well documented, yet almost always through the same central figures and established narratives. Further, it contributes towards an understanding of the concept of *Heimat*, usually seen as idealistic Austro-German phenomenon, as a much more global phenomenon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ich sehe das Neue nahen, es ist das Alte. – Bertolt Brecht

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Julian Johnson. Not only did he convince me to keep pursuing this complex topic during times when I was doubtful, but his invaluable support throughout the past four years, as well as his inspiring intellectual input have greatly influenced the way that I think about music (and the world).

My studies have been generously facilitated by the Reid Scholarship through Royal Holloway, University of London. I would like to thank Jon Hughes and Mark Berry for providing helpful suggestions on the complex histories of interwar Berlin and Vienna.

I am very grateful to Silvia Kargl from the *Alexander Zemlinsky Fonds* in Vienna for her guidance regarding Louise's and Alexander's estate, to Anita Mayer-Hirzberger and Christian Glanz from the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien for their views on the particularities of Austro-Fascist Vienna, to Joseph Toltz for his advice on the Wilhelm Grosz estate, and to Antony Beaumont for allowing me some insight into decades worth of research on Zemlinsky and his music.

Further, I would like to thank the staff at the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Muskfreunde Wien, the Literaturhaus Wien, the Arnold Schönberg Center, and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

I owe very special thanks to Anna Nessy Perlberg (1928-2017), daughter of soprano Julia Nessy, and Anna's publisher Nancy Sayre, both of whom I have had inspiring conversations with regarding Julia's career in Prague and beyond.

I am particularly grateful to those who informed my way of thinking about music in more practice-oriented ways: Johann Peter Gampl, with whom I have spent many hours at the piano, singing, playing and discussing music from Bach to Zemlinsky; the Arnold Schoenberg Chor in Vienna, which I have sung with since 2013, as well as the team at the Hep Cat Club, who, without knowing it, inspired me to make jazz a central topic of this thesis.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my friends and family, who encouraged and supported me during all these years. Many thanks to my parents for being patient even when I did not deserve it; to Christoph for spotting many a punctuation error in my footnotes and bibliography; to Morris Brim for many inspiring discussions about the wide world of music, and to Daniel for inviting me into his wondrous world of drawing and sketching. Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank Augustus for his unfailing support during the final stages of this project. Danke!

This thesis is for everyone, from *A* to *Z*.

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This information was correct as of 10 September 2019.

INTRODUCTION

> *The realm of human affairs, strictly speaking, consists of the web of human relationships which exists wherever men live together. The disclosure of the 'who' through speech, and the setting of a new beginning through action, always fall into an already existing web (…).*[1]

According to Hannah Arendt's philosophy in *The Human Condition*, histories are narratives that emerge from actions. These actions and how they unfold, in turn, are dependent on their specific 'web of relationships': as such, they become 'enacted stories'.[2] 'These stories may then be recorded in documents and monuments, they may be visible in use objects or art works, they may be told and retold and worked into all kinds of material.'[3] Music, as an artistic medium, makes audible the paths of this endless web of past and present relations. Arendt's philosophical model from 1958 understands history as something multi-dimensional, i.e., a web, which, by definition, resists linearity and causal determination. As such, the narratives through which histories or stories are received are of an inherently plural nature, and thus resist neat categorisation.

In a similar way, this thesis argues that the somewhat artificial division of musical styles can at times be more of a hindrance than a helpful analytical approach. Categorising a composer's work according to isolated stylistic movements or historical periods can divert the focus from asking what music 'does', or what it has to say. For example, when Antony Beaumont writes that 'the post-war generation knew [Alexander Zemlinsky and Franz Schreker] only as footnotes in the history of the Second Viennese School', he implies that their works should find the recognition they deserve as 'equals' if not members of the Schoenberg – Berg – Webern group.[4] This somewhat one-dimensional way of categorising, which of course is a result of the post-war view on music history, makes it all too easy to ignore Zemlinsky's status as a well-respected

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[1] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 183-84.
[2] Ibid., 181.
[3] Ibid., 184.
[4] Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), 469.
Throughout this study, both the 2005 German edition and the 2000 English original will be referenced. For the later German translation, Beaumont added significant detail and revised some sections. These are not available in an updated English version.

musical figure of his age. According to Rudolf Stephan Hoffmann, it was actually rather difficult around the turn of the nineteenth century to determine 'whether Zemlinsky was a member of the "Mahler-Clique", or Mahler a member of the "Zemlinsky Clique".'[5] Like Beaumont, Marc D. Moskovitz sees Zemlinsky's 'proximity to Mahler and later to Schoenberg', which may be correct but is also limiting when trying to grasp the entirety of his complex plural style.[6] Hartmut Krones observes that Zemlinsky's 'musical language in every respect must be regarded as firmly grounded in the great Viennese tradition. This ground he would never leave during his lifetime.'[7] Krones further notes that '[f]or musical postmodernism, the 'premodern' Zemlinsky turned into an interesting case, a postromantic 'missing link' between triadic and twelve-tone sounds, *Jugendstil* and expressionism at the same time.'[8] Krones thus acknowledges the in-between nature of Zemlinsky's music, but searches for its connections exclusively in the realm of the widely explored Viennese traditions. Yet, what if one of the main reasons for the apparent neglect and at times ungraspable nature of Zemlinsky's music is precisely the fact that these pieces only make sense in a wider context, including, but not exclusively, in the relation of his style to Brahms and Mahler on the one hand, and the Second Viennese School on the other hand? This thesis proposes that if history is viewed as something plural rather than linear, musical styles function in a similar way. Similar to Hoffmann's observation, which questions the Mahler–Zemlinsky relation as a strictly hierarchical one, i.e., as one where the younger composer is solely devoted to his role model or 'predecessor', the development of styles is reciprocal rather than linear. As such, the contexts defining the shape of the music are as multi-layered as its contemporary present. By reconsidering Zemlinsky's late song writing through the lens of plurality, the very stylistic elements that 'do not fit' can be read as central musical

[5] Rudolf Stephan Hoffmann qtd. in Werner Loll, *Zwischen Tradition und Avant Garde: Die Kammermusik Alexander Zemlinskys* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), 18. '[...] ob Zemlinsky der "Mahler-Clique" oder Mahler der "Zemlinsky-Clique" zuzurechnen ist.' All translations from the German, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

[6] Marc D. Moskovitz, *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 309.

[7] Hartmut Krones, ed., *Alexander Zemlinsky: Ästhetik, Stil und Umfeld* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 13. '[…] sodaß man seine musikalische Sprache in jeder Hinsicht als auf dem Boden der großen Wiener Tradition stehend bezeichnen muß. Und diesen Boden sollte er sein ganzes Leben nicht verlassen'.

[8] Ibid., 14. 'Für die Postmoderne wurde der 'praemoderne' Zemlinsky gleichsam ein interessanter Fall, ein postromantisches 'missing link' zwischen Dreiklang und Zwölfklang, Jugendstil und Expressionismus zugleich.'

elements, rather than as mere superficialities adding colour and texture.[9] The relationship of these elements with their own complex web of histories only comes to the fore if contradictions are embraced instead of silenced in the hope of resolving them into neat categories.

Uwe Sommer remarked that the 'productive eclecticism and the placing of heterogeneous forms of expression' are characteristic for the late music of Alexander Zemlinsky.[10] Rather than arriving at a uniform compositional procedure, such as a strict execution of the twelve-tone technique, Zemlinsky ingeniously interweaves a variety of musical styles and expressive modes. He juxtaposes sparse and dense textures, rhythmic dissonances and vertical clarity, continuously developing motives and disconnected elements. The result is a strong sense of simultaneity that allows for inherently multifaceted song sets like the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 (1938), where poetry, musical styles and material create a unique sound world. As such, these works produce their very own networks.[11] This simultaneity of musical material was first recognised and commended by Adorno, who stated that 'in artists like Zemlinsky the significant factor is precisely the absence of force; he surrenders himself to the so-called trends of the age and becomes their spokesman.'[12] His observation, first published in 1963, stands up for a music that includes seemingly unrelated and plural materials in its complex compositional web. It thus directly links with Arendt's understanding of history as a plural phenomenon, and of course also with Mahler's kaleidoscopic and oftentimes contradictory mix of styles. With regard to Mahler, Dahlhaus poignantly stated that '[t]his rift between formal coherence and discontinuous style (a rift that is less a shortcoming than one of those problems that breathe life into works of music) has implications which left their mark on the debates kindled by Mahler's seemingly casual

[9] For example, in his analysis of *Der Kreidekreis,* Beaumont concludes that Zemlinsky's music, even if superficially employing some of the more popular elements, by and large dismisses entertainment styles. He closes his account with the statement that 'Zemlinsky come[s] into his true element [… when] Emperor and Empress ascend the Dragon Throne to a rich tableau of post-Romantic orchestral colour, complete with Straussian whooping horns and extravagant harp *glissandos* […].' Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 376. These observations mostly hinge on the tendency of placing Zemlinsky with pre-1920 aesthetic schools. Therefore, 'jazz' and other 'unfitting' means are not further examined, but taken as somewhat awkward experiments.

[10] Uwe Sommer, *Alexander Zemlinsky. Der König Kandaules* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1996), 12. '(…) produktiver Eklektizismus und die Vermittlung heterogener Ausdrucksformen.'

[11] Throughout this thesis, the work titles will be given in the language that they were first published in. For this reason, the two last song sets are labelled *Six* and *Twelve Songs*, respectively, seeing that they were posthumously published in the United States.

[12] T. W. Adorno, 'Zemlinsky', in *Quasi una Fantasia,* trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1998), 128.

attitude to banal and trite material.'[13] Just like Mahler, who was perceived as 'retrograde' by his modernist contemporaries for his seemingly arbitrary use of 'banalities', Zemlinsky was similarly accused of being somewhat stuck in tradition, unable to follow the latest approaches to composing.[14] It took half a century for his music to find its way to an appreciative audience. In 1990, Werner Loll observed that '[i]t cannot be a coincidence that the revival of interest in Zemlinsky's music (…) happened at a time when instead of the material as category, the term of musical thought gained central significance (…).'[15] Ever since the rediscovery of Zemlinsky's 'new simplicity' in the 1970s, the distinctiveness of his polyglot style has been acknowledged and, as a result, the composer's operas, in particular, have seen noteworthy revivals.[16]

The continuous remodelling of the smallest musical elements, the juxtaposition of familiar and foreign themes, as well as the inversion and reinterpretation of established compositional functions characterise Zemlinsky's compositional technique, particularly that of his late years. This thesis focuses largely on Zemlinsky's songs written between 1929 and 1938: the *Symphonische Gesänge,* Op.20 (1929), consisting of seven orchestral songs set to poems from writers of the Harlem Renaissance, *Six Songs*, Op.22 (1934), songs for voice and piano featuring texts by Christian Morgenstern and J.W. von Goethe, and *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 (1937–38). The latter constitutes Zemlinsky's most multi-faceted song collection, and uses poetry from Ancient Indian writers Kalidasa and Amaru, from established German poets Stefan George and Goethe, as well as from Harlem-Renaissance poets. The first of several reasons for choosing this particular selection of songs, rather than the late operas or chamber pieces, lies in their obvious neglect within Zemlinsky scholarship. Considering the fact that Zemlinsky's music experienced its revival because of its intricate polyglot style in the 1970s and

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[13] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music,* trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 365.

[14] For the Mahler reception, compare with T. W. Adorno, 'Mahler', in *Quasi una Fantasia*, 98.
On the Zemlinsky reception, particularly with regard to the late rediscovery of his music, compare with Otto Kolleritsch, 'Zur Rezeption des wiederentdeckten Alexander Zemlinsky', in Krones, ed., *Alexander Zemlinsky: Ästhetik, Stil und Umfeld,* 323-332.

[15] Loll, *Zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, 17. 'Es kann kein Zufall sein, daß das Wiederaufleben des Interesses an Zemlinskys Musik (...) in eine Zeit fiel, in der an Stelle der Kategorie des Materials der Begriff des musikalischen Gedankens zentrale Bedeutung zu gelangen begann (...).'

[16] Ibid., 21. 'die Neue Einfachheit'. Zemlinsky's 1906 opera *Der Traumgörge* was first performed in 1980. *Der König Kandaules* (1936, incomplete. Orchestration completed by Antony Beaumont) was first performed in 1996. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 480, 483.

'80s, it is most surprising that precisely those pieces which are the most eclectic of his oeuvre, and which create the most complex multi-dimensional compositional structures, are still largely neglected, both on the concert stage and in musicological studies.[17] Although Zemlinsky's songs and chamber works have received attention, the latter in a comprehensive study by Werner Loll, general interest in the composer's *Lieder* rather abruptly ends with the *Lyrische Symphonie*, Op.18 (1923).[18] Together with the *Sechs Gesänge nach Gedichten von Maurice Maeterlinck*, Op.13 (1910–13), the symphonic cycle remains Zemlinsky's most frequently performed non-operatic vocal composition today. But in the understanding of history as a non-linear, multi-dimensionally developing nexus of stories, such an abrupt cut must inevitably appear as somewhat artificial, as an interruption of the many threads connecting Zemlinsky's works with their histories. Even Beaumont, in his almost 800-page biography of the composer, dedicates no more than two and a half pages to the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27. He writes that these 'are the most Janus-faced of Zemlinsky's *oeuvre,* rich in musical memoires, yet conceived in a spirit of adventure, of a determination to overcome the prevalent artistic stagnation.'[19] Rather than recognising the work's inherent plurality as a rich source for re-assessing both the music and its historical origins, it is dismissed as slightly awkward, little more than the desperate efforts of a composer facing Austria's imminent *Anschluss* to Nazi Germany.

[17] Loll, *Zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, 21.

[18] One exception is Udo Rademacher's 1996 thesis *Vokales Schaffen an der Schwelle zur neuen Musik: Studien zum Klavierlied Alexander Zemlinskys* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1996), which already in its title implies that Zemlinsky's mode of composing remained with past styles as it did not surpass the 'Threshold to New Music'. His investigations of Zemlinsky's songs, some of which will be discussed in this study, thus adopt the common parameters including Brahmsian and Mahlerian influences as well as Zemlinsky's distinction from the Schoenberg School. Rademacher's study is largely analytical and does not focus on historical contexts. A similar, although less thorough approach to Zemlinsky's orchestral songs *Symphonische Gesänge,* Op.20, has been made by Stanley M. Hoffman in *Extended Tonality and Voice Leading in 'Twelve Songs', Op.27 by Alexander Zemlinsky*, PhD Thesis (Brandeis University, University Microfilms International, 1993). Lorraine Gorrell's book *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, his Songs, and the Second Viennese School* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002) should be seen as an introductory guide to Zemlinsky's songs, rather than an academic study.

[19] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 446.

Rethinking Zemlinsky Scholarship

This thesis proposes that music, where it is made up of such plural compositional means as in Zemlinsky's songs written between 1929 and 1938, needs to be examined through a similarly plural set of approaches. If we assume that none of these larger song sets are rightfully neglected for reasons of 'quality' compared with, say, the composer's late operas and chamber works, that suggests that the 'tools' and perspectives needed for an insightful exploration should be reconsidered. The first of these investigative approaches involves a revisiting of the particularity of the historical background, and its implications for the cultural and artistic scenes of this time-period. Of course, one might object that the eras of late-Weimar Berlin and pre-*Anschluss* Austria have already been exhausted by studies in various disciplines, particularly that of history. But it is striking how little attention has been paid to Austro-Fascism, the far-right regime of Dollfuß and Schuschnigg that was a direct facilitator of the 12 March, 1938 *Anschluss*. This shortcoming applies to Anglophone musicology in general, and Zemlinsky scholarship in particular. For example, in the most comprehensive biography on Zemlinsky, Beaumont describes the *Six Songs*, Op. 22 and *Sinfonietta* (1934) as '[f]irst fruits of his new, more leisurely lifestyle', surely a gross misunderstanding of the realities of Schuschnigg's Austria.[20] Horst Weber's study of Zemlinsky dedicates no more than one short paragraph to the fact that the Zemlinskys spent several years in Vienna before the *Anschluss*.[21] For the most part, his brief analyses of pieces written after 1933 leave out any historical context. Even Uwe Sommer's thorough and insightful study of Zemlinsky's last and posthumously orchestrated opera *Der König Kandaules* only once briefly mentions that the time of its composing coincided with the increasingly restrictive politics of the *Ständestaat*.[22] These and many other accounts thus fail to contextualise

[20] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 410.
[21] Horst Weber, *Alexander Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite, 1977), 39. It is important to remember that Weber's study was the very first attempt at providing an overview of the composer's life and works. At the time of writing, Weber did not have access to all sources available; archival material was difficult to access, and none of it was organised.
[22] Sommer, *Der König Kandaules*, 251.

Zemlinsky's music against the complex environment in which it was imagined.[23] Aside from Zemlinsky scholarship, both historians and German-speaking musicologists have produced nuanced research into Austria's pre-*Anschluss* history, and its political as well as cultural implications.[24] But these important considerations are underrepresented in Anglophone musicology engaging with music in Austria between 1933/4 and 1938. Peter Tregear, for example, who rightly recognises the impossibility of categorising Krenek's music according to a 'neat narrative of stylistic development', only offers a vague summary of the complexities of Austrian history during this period, despite his lengthy discussion of the opera *Karl V* (1933).[25] The lack of interest in Austria's unique political history of course largely relates to the events in Germany from 1933, which, as so often, overshadowed the conditions within its much smaller neighbouring country. Accordingly, more prominent characters, including Schoenberg and Weill, who turned their backs on the German-speaking lands before the implementation of the *Ständestaat* in 1934, have received more attention from musicologists.[26] Moreover, the destinations of many of these refugees were Anglophone countries, and thus their

[23] A noteworthy exception is Tobias Robert Klein's study *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich. Alternative Moderne(n): 'Afrika' in der Kompositionskultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2014). Klein delivers an account of both the Harlem-Renaissance movement and Zemlinsky's Berlin before he commences with an analysis of Op.20. However, none of the musical material is read against this previously established historical context. They appear as separate entities. Klein also points out the frequent errors occurring in Moskovitz's Zemlinsky biography *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony*. See Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich,* 37, footnote 1. Pamela Tancsik's remarkable study of Zemlinsky's years in Prague, *Die Prager Oper heißt Zemlinsky: Theatergeschichte des Neuen Deutschen Theaters Prag in der Ära Zemlinsky von 1911 bis 1927* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), offers a comprehensive account of all productions, including its participants, at the Neues Deutsches Theater during Zemlinsky's time as first *Kapellmeister*. Its encyclopaedic nature provides a rich basis for any contextual study of his works written during the time.

[24] Most notably Hartmut Krones, ed., *Geächtet, verboten, vertrieben: Österreichische Musiker 1934 – 1938 – 1945* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2014); Anita Mayer-Hirzberger, '*... ein Volk von alters her musikbegabt': Der Begriff* '*Musikland Österreich' im Ständestaat* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008); Kenneth Segar and John Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics* (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1991); Emmerich Tálos, ed., 'Austrofaschismus: Politik – Ökonomie – Kultur', in *Politik & Zeitgeschichte,* Band I (Wien: LIT Verlag, 2014). Two issues of the bilingually published journal *Austrian Studies* critically engage with pre-*Anschluss* Austria: Vol. 11 ''Hitler's First Victim'? Memory and Representation in Post-War Austria' (2003) and Vol.14 'Culture and Politics in Red Vienna' (2006).

[25] Peter Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), ix.

[26] There has been hardly any attempt in Anglophone musicology to research some of the lesser known composers and conductors who witnessed the Austrian *Ständestaat* from within. This also includes Hans Gál and Wilhelm Grosz. By contrast, the exile years of German composer Stefan Wolpe have recently been explored by Brigid Cohen in *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

American or British histories began much earlier than those of the post-*Anschluss* exiles.[27]

Fortunately, this gap in research has been recognised by (cultural) historians in recent years. One important contribution is Deborah Holmes's and Lisa Silverman's 2009 volume, *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*, which carefully reassesses the impact of the Austro-Fascist government's strategies on various cultural sectors.[28] In his 2017 book, *Black Vienna,* Janek Wasserman illuminates the ideologies and creative input of the radical right. His contribution constitutes a notable counterpoint to the many accounts of the more 'attractive' leftist movement of 'Red Vienna'.[29] Both studies consider the difficulty of keeping alive the binaries of 'Red' and 'Black', arguing that in many instances both overlapped, and that individuals at times managed to adapt to both sides at once.[30] Another noteworthy historiographic contribution is Edward Timms's in-depth interrogation of Karl Kraus's conflicted political views between the wars through the lens of his extensive satirical writings.[31]

The particularities of the interwar years in Vienna are not dealt with in detail in any of the studies of Zemlinsky's life and later music, neither in German nor English-language musicology. By contrast, Ernst Krenek's affiliation with the *Ständestaat*'s ideals and his musical explorations thereof have been critically examined in Matthias Schmidt's essay collection *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat: Ernst Krenek und das österreichische Volkslied im 20. Jahrhundert* (2007). This is the only larger research project on a single composer that understands Austria's political situation pre-1938 as

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[27] It is also rather striking that both Berg's and Webern's works and biographies, which have received substantial scholarly attention in Anglophone musicology, are only marginally if at all related to Austria's fascist history. Particularly in Webern's case, who firmly believed in the supremacy of a Germanic nation, this void is somewhat surprising. In *Webern and the Transformation of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 219-225, Julian Johnson discusses the composer's leanings towards German Nazi ideology. Margaret Notley engages with Berg's situation with relation to the political landscape in Germany in '1934, Alban Berg, and the Shadow of Politics: Documents of a Troubled Year', in Christopher Hailey, ed., *Alban Berg and his World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 223-268. Although the Austrian *Ständestaat* is mentioned here, the focus is on German politics.

[28] In this context, Lisa Silverman's 2012 study, *Becoming Austrians: Jews and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), is also worth mentioning.

[29] Janek Wasserman, *Black Vienna: The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918-1938* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.)

[30] One example is the 'ambivalent role of the Zsolnay-Verlag', addressed by Edward Timms in 'Cultural Parameters between the Wars: A Reassessment of the Vienna Circles', in Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), 29.

[31] Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: The Post-War Crisis and the Rise of the Swastika* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005).

the fascist state that it was, and foregrounds Krenek's conflicted relationship with it.[32] In a similar way, my thesis seeks to contribute to the existing scholarship on Zemlinsky and his contemporaries in the 1930s by reconsidering the composer's music with regard to the previously ignored political context of Austro-Fascist Vienna between 1933 and 1938. To further clarify the shifting cultural, political and artistic climate, this study begins its investigation with Zemlinsky's short creative period in Weimar Berlin (1927–1933), which immediately preceded his move to Vienna. Including these Berlin years in the discussion allows for a nuanced interrogation of Zemlinsky's use of Harlem-Renaissance poems in two inherently different works, the *Symphonische Gesänge* and the *Twelve Songs.* Further, it once more underlines the fact that neither the event of 1933 nor that of 1938 represent a kind of historical cut, but that both were brought about by complex developments, which had long been in the making.[33]

A historical contextualisation of Zemlinsky's late song writing is vital for two reasons: first, it explores the web of relationships without which Zemlinsky's music could not have been imagined. Second, and this is specific to Zemlinsky scholarship, it addresses the uniqueness of the composer's biography in the 1930s compared with other prominent figures of his circles. Zemlinsky was one of only few composers with a Jewish or Socialist background who did not leave German-speaking Europe directly after Hitler's rise to power.[34] Arnold Schoenberg had departed Berlin for America in 1933; Kurt Weill and Hanns Eisler went into exile the same year.[35] Erich Korngold already had regular commitments in Hollywood in the early 1930s and, while he did not seek permanent residency until 1938, he had long established connections that would allow him to stay if necessary.[36] Two central figures from Zemlinsky's wider circle, Franz

[32] In John L. Stewart, *Ernst Krenek: The Man and His Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 154-177, the author describes in detail the unfortunate situation regarding the rejection of Krenek's opera *Karl V.* While political particularities are discussed, they are presented as interpersonal rather than ideological issues, and Austria appears as opponent of Nazi Germany.

[33] With respect to the situation in Austria, the parallelism of this era is explored in Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*.

[34] Hans Gál, Max Brand and Karl Weigl were in Austria at the time as well.

[35] For Weill's situation see Jürgen Schebera, *Kurt Weill* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), 92-93. For Eisler, see Horst Weber, *'I am not a hero, I am a composer': Hanns Eisler in Hollywood* (Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2012), 11.

[36] Brendan G. Carroll, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold: Das letzte Wunderkind*, trans. Gerold Gruber (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 251-253.

Schreker and Alban Berg, died before the *Anschluss* (in 1934 and 1935 respectively).[37] The increasingly isolated Catholic Anton Webern was shot 'by accident' by a US soldier in Mittersill (Salzburg) in 1945.[38] Unlike all of these, Zemlinsky remained to witness a Vienna that was radically different from the *fin-de-siècle* city of his childhood and early career; a place in which Schoenberg and others chose not to resettle in the mid-1930s. Ernst Krenek, whose song cycle *Reisebuch aus den Österreichischen Alpen* (1929) will be discussed in chapter 1, offers an exception.[39] Yet, as opposed to Zemlinsky, the Catholic Krenek was at first an ardent supporter of the *Ständestaat's* ideologies.[40] Because of his affiliations with the Catholic regime and the more nuanced research available on the composer and his work, Krenek will appear as an important point of reference throughout this thesis.

Quite aside from these considerations of historical contextualisation, there is a wider need to shift the focus away from the 'usual suspects' of the Second Viennese School – Schoenberg, Berg and Webern. If the focus of our investigations remains stationary, including explorations through the same, well-known figures, there is a real danger of simply confirming previous research, rather than complementing it.[41] The categories need to be changed, or at least, supplemented. Consequently, hitherto unexplored 'satellites' of such well known figures will be given a voice in this study, and the role they played in Zemlinsky's wide web of relationships will be uncovered. For this reason, Anna Nußbaum, editor of *Afrika Singt*, and August Eigner, *Heimat* scholar, teacher and poet in Vienna, both receive attention here. Their individual biographies

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[37] Schreker was half-Jewish, Berg had no Jewish background. For Schreker's biography, see Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker (1878-1934): A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For Berg see Herwig Knaus and Wilhelm Sinkovicz, *Alban Berg: Zeitumstände – Lebenslinien* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2008).

[38] Andreas Krause, *Anton Webern und seine Zeit* (Lilienthal: Laaber-Verlag, 2001), 83.

[39] Bruno Walter also left Berlin for Vienna, and often accepted commitments in Salzburg in 1933. He remained in Vienna until the *Anschluss* in 1938, and thus coincided with Zemlinsky. However, seeing that Walter's appearance as composer was only a marginal one, and that there is no evidence of a significant connection between him and Zemlinsky, the conductor's biography will not receive special attention in this thesis. Compare, Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 249-268.

[40] See e.g. Konrad Köstlin, 'Volkslied, Avantgarden und nationales Narrativ', in Matthias Schmidt, ed., *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat: Ernst Krenek und das österreichische Volkslied im 20. Jahrhundert* (Schliengen: Argus, 2007), 42.

[41] Titles of published volumes that exclusively relate Zemlinsky to Schoenberg, whereby the latter is seen as leading modernist, include Otto Kolleritsch, ed., *Tradition im Umkreis der Wiener Schule* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1976), Peter Wessel, *Im Schatten Schönbergs: Rezeptionshistorische und analytische Studien zum Problem der Originalität und Modernität bei Alexander Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), and Gorrell, *Discordant Melody: Alexander Zemlinsky, His Songs and the Second Viennese School.*

are linked to Zemlinsky's through the texts the composer chose to set to music between 1929 and 1938. Further, the wider implications of the Harlem-Renaissance movement and its protagonists to the Weimar Berlin era will be central to the investigations in chapter 1. Wilhelm Grosz, who engaged with the same poetic material as Zemlinsky did in the late-1920s will also be part of the discussion. By adding these figures into the mix, Zemlinsky's late song writing will be illuminated from new, hitherto unexplored angles.

Similar approaches, exemplifying this method to complex historical subjects of twentieth-century Europe, include Derek Sayer's *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History* (2013), the title of which of course nods to Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project* (1927-1940), and Jon Hughes's recent book *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero in Twentieth-Century Germany* (2018). Hughes's study considers Schmeling's status as a kind of 'national hero' across eras which saw a continuous shifting of Germany as both national and conceptual complex. Robert Pyrah's insightful book, *The Burgtheater and Austrian Identity* (2007), has shown how an interrogation of a subject across academic disciplines, questioning formerly fixed categories, enables a way of thinking about history that embraces contradictions instead of reproducing a neatly fabricated linearity. Pyrah's work demonstrates how 'the neat ideological polarities in Austrian politics […] did not map transparently onto culture', and thus 'provide[s] a more nuanced picture than previously available, and mitigates the view of an 'inevitable' drift towards Hitler's 'German' solution in the 1930s.'[42] Pyrah examines the complex bureaucratic apparatus through the lens of (cultural) politics in Vienna during the interwar years while putting a strong emphasis on questions of *Heimat* and Austrian identity. He demonstrates the ambiguous and often contradictory ways in which politics on both national and regional levels sought to use theatre and the arts for their purposes. Coming from the opposite direction, i.e., from the investigation of a singular event, Tamara Levitz's 'microhistorical' study of the 1934 production of Stravinsky's *Perséphone* at the Paris Opera similarly 'focus[es] on the history of *Perséphone* as a performance event resulting from a multitude of actions and conflicting intensions of a disparate team of collaborators.'[43] Her re-evaluation of notions of modernism as well as the neo-classicist style hinge on the interactions

[42] Robert Pyrah, *The Burgtheater and Austrian Identity: Theatre and Cultural Politics in Vienna, 1918-38* (Oxford: Legenda, 2007), 2.
[43] Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 16.

between a fixed group of people, who all contributed to the complicated project of 1934.

Julian Johnson appositely illustrates the importance of a plural approach that is in line with Arendt's web of relationships:

> The result […] looks less like a historical timeline, a graph to be read from left to right or some evolutionary chart of the rise of modern music, and rather more like the map of the London underground or the New York subway. Any of its multiple lines can be traversed in both directions; all of its lines intersect with several others, producing interchanges from one to another; all of the stations co-exist, even though, in any real journey, one moves between them only in time.[44]

Johnson's 'map of musical modernity', spans four centuries rather than the single decade that is the focus of this thesis or, as in Levitz's case, a single event. But given its inherently flexible and potentially infinite nature, this model of mapping (music) history is applicable to both micro- and macro-historical investigations. It foregrounds incongruities and contradictions, without which the tensions that arise during any given time in history cannot be sufficiently contextualised.

It is worth noting that, to date, Zemlinsky's life and work have not been discussed from the same variety of perspectives and scholarly approaches as is the case for many of his contemporaries', including Mahler and Schoenberg – for example, in the way that Schoenberg's American years have more recently been re-evaluated by Sabine Feisst in *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (2011), or the multi-layered fabric of Mahler's music that has been critically examined by Julian Johnson in *Mahler's Voices* (2009). Schmidt's study of Krenek's conflicted relationship with his *Heimat* Austria represents a similarly insightful approach to music read against its wider backgrounds. Other examples are Brigid Cohen's book *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (2012) and Stephen Hinton's examination of *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* (2012), highlighting the subtle shifts of Weill's style of composing from his German years to his American exile. Tregear's 2013 study *Ernst Krenek and the*

[44] Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11.

Politics of Musical Style considers the composer's music through the lens of a complex political environment.

Studies like these, which rethink the work of a composer in a more nuanced relation to the complexity of their environment, and question formerly accepted myths and stereotypes, are key approaches in historical musicology today. Yet, such contextualising studies, particularly ones that foreground the plurality of both history and music, instead of relying on a problematic linearity of developments, are almost entirely absent in the literature on Zemlinsky because much of the basic work remains yet to be done and thus, many of the contexts that define Zemlinsky's music have yet to be uncovered.[45] This means that, rather than theorising the thorough discoveries made in previous scholarship, it is vital to set up the contexts in which these pieces originated. One important reason for the necessity of re-evaluating Zemlinsky's web of relationships is therefore the unreliability of the few historical sources that give direct evidence of the composer's life, i.e., testimonies of figures including Alma Mahler and his second wife Louise Zemlinsky. Unlike Arnold Schoenberg, for example, whose intellectual and compositional processes as well as opinions have been stated in numerous pieces of writing or interviews with the composer himself, such evidence hardly exists in Zemlinsky's estate.[46] While, of course, the readily available source material for Schoenberg should not be regarded as an excuse to ignore alternative historical witnesses, the sheer absence of such documents in Zemlinsky's case all too easily directs the search for source material to testimonies of his second wife, Louise. In an article on Mahler and philosophy, Georg Mohr discusses the importance of critically engaging with the reliability of eyewitness testimonies. He rightly observes that, in the case of Gustav Mahler, recollections by Alma are often taken at face value, and thus at times produce reductive if not misguided research results.[47] Mohr's concerns are

[45] Klein's book, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, provides a detailed analysis of the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20. While it precedes the rather technical part with accounts of both Weimar-Berlin and the Harlem-Renaissance movement, the study unfortunately ceases to link these two sections. The context provided stands alone, without further contextualisation of the music.

[46] The only work of his Zemlinsky ever commented on is the *Lyrische Symphonie,* Op.18. See Weber, *Zemlinsky*, 114. By contrast, Kurt Weill's many statements, both regarding political circumstances and his artistic work give insight into the composer and his world in way that simply does not exist in Zemlinsky's case. This is evident in Schebera, *Kurt Weill*, a biography which mostly hinges on Weill's own observations.

[47] Georg Mohr, '"Die Gedanken sind frei!" Gustav Mahler und die Philosophie seiner Zeit, in Erich Wolfgang Patrsch and Morten Slovik, eds., *Mahler im Kontext – Contextualizing Mahler* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 74-78.

certainly relevant to Zemlinsky scholarship as well. Relying on a single source in the hope of receiving an adequate sketch of Zemlinsky's life most certainly leads to questionable results. Both Beaumont's and Moskovitz's biographies, for example, make all too frequent, uncritical use of such statements by Louise.[48]

The archive of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien* holds Louise Zemlinsky's *Nachlass,* and numerous manuscripts of long radio interviews conducted by Burkhard Laugwitz at the time of the fiftieth anniversary of Zemlinsky's death. The first interview was broadcast in March 1992, the second one in May of the following year, i.e., after Louise's death in October 1992. Thus, she was over 90 years old when she answered Laugwitz's questions, and her time together with the composer was already in the distant past. When comparing Laugwitz's manuscripts with the references of Louise's memories in Beaumont's 2000 biography, it becomes obvious that, at this stage in her life, Zemlinsky's widow had memorised a kind of 'storyboard' she could rewind and repeat as often as she needed. A look through the vast correspondence she left to the archive in Vienna shows that she dedicated the second half of her life almost entirely to Zemlinsky and his legacy. Hence, without accusing Louise Zemlinsky of intentionally rewriting her own or her late husband's history, it is more than plausible that her memory was not thoroughly reliable, especially considering her advanced age in 1992 as well as the problematic circumstances that brought her and Alexander Zemlinsky to the United States.[49] Thus, rather than relying too heavily on a few sources closely related to Zemlinsky's life and work, the use of additional evidence, i.e., of lesser-known figures connected with the composer's larger web of relationships, ultimately deepens a reading of both the period and the music. In this way, my thesis seeks to produce a

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[48] Regarding the *Lyrische Symphonie,* for example, Beaumont states that Louise '[…] was the unnamed dedicatee of his orchestral masterpiece.' *Zemlinsky* (2000), 320. This information apparently stems from a 1990 interview with the elderly widow (see endnote 58, page 503). The way in which it appears in the biography, however, suggests that this information is factual, and that Louise Zemlinsky must have played an important role with regard to the genesis of the work. Yet, considering the lack of further evidence, Zemlinsky's personal reasons can only be speculated about. Moskovitz notes that the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20 were in part inspired by '[…] his blossoming affair with a young singer [i.e., Louise].' *Alexander Zemlinsky: A Lyric Symphony*, 243. In this case it is not clear how the author arrived at this assumption.

[49] In this context, a particularly insightful account of the approaches to eyewitness testimony is given in Alistair Thompson's chapter 'Memory and Remembering in Oral History', in Donald A. Ritchie, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 78-91. Thompson quotes Ulric Neisser, who argues that 'remembering […] is not like playing back a tape or looking at a picture; it is more like telling a story. The consistency and accuracy of memories is therefore an achievement, not a mechanical production.' Ibid., 82.

first contribution to a more detailed and nuanced analysis of Zemlinsky's late song writing that counters a monolithic, one-dimensional understanding of history and its agents.

If, as this study argues, the investigative approach to music must be adapted to its shape and contents, theoretical and analytical means must be adapted too. Zemlinsky's late music is often characterised as tonally obscure, or bi- and multi-tonal, yet never quite ready to leave the realm of tonality.[50] Although he never arrived at atonality, Zemlinsky's reshaping of traditional harmony defies expected functions. For this reason, thorough tonal and functional analyses only make sense where these devices are employed in such a way that the listener may recognise them – either as complying with, opposing or questioning an inherited tradition. Stanley M. Hoffman's doctoral dissertation, for example, carefully analyses the tonal particularities of the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, making sure to consider even the smallest structural elements.[51] This is equally true for Rademacher's analyses of Zemlinsky's piano songs and Sommer's examination of *Der König Kandaules.* All of these studies provide insight into the compositional processes by way of deconstruction. This valuable research can be better understood and complemented if the results are placed within their wider web of relationships. Consequently, it is important to ask what these elements 'do' within the larger structure they are embedded in. To this end, my thesis focuses on the idea of the narrative, and how it is structured by the musical means employed. Such a method, of course, needs a larger conceptual frame within which the individual elements can be placed and organised.

Conceptual Framing: *Heimat* and Narrative Strategies

One productive way of interrogating Zemlinsky's multifaceted songs is through the lens of *Heimat*. Although there is no English equivalent for this German word that at once implies home, familiarity, tradition and comfort, the term 'heritage' perhaps comes

[50] See e.g. Weber, *Zemlinsky*, 128-134. Here, Weber describes the many facets of Zemlinsky's personal style as unique but also as something of an opposition to Schoenberg's advancements.
[51] Hoffman, *Extended Tonality and Voice Leading in 'Twelve Songs', Op.27 by Alexander Zemlinsky*.

closest to its essence.[52] In principle, the larger concept is a universal one, yet, the way in which the term *Heimat* has been (ab)used as a kind of trademark for the Austro-German cultures as something unparalleled is rather unique. The word *Heimat* without further contextualisation immediately evokes nostalgic images of Alpine scenes or German woods. Throughout history, *Heimat* has been used as both inclusive and exclusive concept, as a catalyst for national interests, indeed, even as a term to invent nations, but also as a means to preserve regional customs.[53] I will come back to these larger political and historical concerns shortly. The main reason for using *Heimat* as investigative category here, however, lies in its continuous reflection of its own boundaries by way of narration which, as this thesis argues, is at the heart of Zemlinsky's late song writing. Konrad P. Liessmann understands *Heimat* as a *'Grenzbegriff'* – 'a concept of limits, which always has to define itself against something other.'[54] He observes that '[i]t is the essence of *Heimat* that it creates boundaries – not to separate itself from something concrete, but from *everything* outside of it.'[55] Yet, despite or perhaps because of its liminal qualities, *Heimat* is a complex of dependencies, a web of relationships, between the supernatural (or god), the world as it appears, and the human subject. In this capacity, the search for *Heimat,* both in a conceptual and national or regional understanding, is central to the entire history of German art song, but particularly since the early Romantic period.[56] For the purposes of this study, Karen Joisten's model of *Heimat* as narrative is particularly useful.[57] Joisten understands *Heimat* as a flexible, non-stationary concept, something that only comes to

[52] The *Duden,* one of the most frequently used reference dictionaries of the German language, offers the following description: 'Country, region or place where one [was born and] grew up in, or feels at home because of permanent residency (often as sentimental expression of a strong attachment with a particular area). *Duden*, 'Heimat' <http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Heimat> accessed 27 May 2019. The *Duden* offers two definitions, of which only the first one is relevant in this context. 'Land, Landesteil oder Ort, in dem man [geboren und] aufgewachsen ist oder sich durch ständigen Aufenthalt zu Hause fühlt (oft als gefühlsbetonter Ausdruck enger Verbundenheit gegenüber einer bestimmten Gegend).'

[53] Compare Hermann Bausinger, 'Heimat? Heimat!', in Siegried Reusch, ed., *Der blaue Reiter*, Vol.23 'Heimat' (Stuttgart: omega verlag, 1/2007), 6-10.

[54] Konrad P. Liessmann, 'Die Sehnsucht der Moderne nach Heimat', in Schmidt, ed., *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat*, 21. '(…) Heimat ist ein *Grenzbegriff*, der sich immer gegenüber einem anderen definieren muss.'

[55] Ibid., 22. 'Es gehört zum Wesen der Heimat, dass sie sich abgrenzt – nicht gegen Bestimmtes, sondern gegen *alles* außer ihr.'

[56] Ibid., 19.

[57] Karen Joisten, *Philosophie der Heimat – Heimat der Philosophie* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001).

exist through the act of narration.[58] As such, the narrator himself embodies his own '*Heim–weg',* i.e., he finds his way home by way of telling stories.[59] These stories, in turn, come about through relating the subjective to the world-as-is, i.e., through connecting with the web of relationships. Just like storytelling, the speech-like quality of (art-)song always externalises an internal utterance.[60] A song is a re-telling of an existing story or memory, initially delivered through the poem. This connection with a piece of writing from the past, no matter how recent this past may be, is one significant node of a never-ending network of connections. As opposed to opera, the expressive quality of a song is arguably more immediate, as its dramatic development does not hinge on the agency of interacting characters. Songs may *also,* even if not exclusively, relate to Peter Altenberg's description of his own prose: as condensed '[e]xtrakte des Lebens' (extracts of life).[61] Indeed, as demonstrated in chapter 3 of this study, there is not even a need for dramatic action in song at all. If songs are perceived as utterances, 'extracts' or fragmented narratives, they are able to voice incongruences and pluralities like no other musical genre.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the *Lied* sought to imitate the simplicity of folk song.[62] The very idea of 'folk' as something simple, original and natural is of course a central way of attempting to construct a *Heimat*. In fact, the idealised world of the simple *Volk* resulted from the over-complex structure of aristocratic or bourgeois life.[63] For a fear of losing this imagined simplicity, and with it the 'true folk song', Herder demanded that these should be collected and preserved. In 1778/79, he published his first volume of the kind.[64] Because of its idealistic nature, the search for a *Heimat* and a *Volksseele* is necessarily futile, and its success is, consequently, a utopian

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[58] Ibid., 339.

[59] Ibid. Usually, the German *Heimweg* is spelled as one word. However, Joisten's aim is to underline the necessity of striving or moving towards a kind of home, hence her hyphenation. As this thesis builds on Joisten's model, her slightly idiosyncratic way of spelling is adopted too.

[60] Compare Andreas Dorschel, 'Utopie und Resignation: Schuberts Deutungen des Sehnsuchtsliedes aus Goethes *Wilhelm Meister* von 1826', in Federico Celestini and Andreas Dorschel, eds., *Arbeit am Kanon: Ästhetische Studien zur Musik von Haydn bis Webern* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2010), 46.

[61] Peter Altenberg, 'Selbstbiographie', in *Was der Tag mir zuträgt* (Wiesbaden: matrixverlag, 2009), 62.

[62] Elisabeth Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes: Eine Einführung* (Lilienthal: Laaber-Verlag, 2017), 85-100.

[63] Konrad Köstlin, 'Volkslied, Avantgarden und Nationales Narrativ', in *Echoes from Austria*, 39.

[64] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes*, 78. It is worth noting that, over time, the categories of *Volkslied* and *Lieder im Volkston* (in the manner of folk song) blurred. For example, Johann Abraham Peter Schultz's (1747-1800) 'Der Mond ist aufgegangen' is known as one of the most popular 'folk songs' to date. Compare Ibid., 79.

goal. In his essay on *Heimat* and utopia, Bernhard Schlink underlines exactly that point: '*Heimat* is a non-place, *ou τοποç*. *Heimat* is utopia. (…) the actual *Heimat*-sensation is homesickness.'[65] The idea of 'never quite getting there' of course is most famously composed-out in Schubert's *Winterreise* (1827). Elisabeth Schmierer notes that in *Winterreise,* 'the dialectic between a felicitous vision and a harsh reality […] is predetermined from the outset: Already in the first song, the dream-like memory of bygone happiness alternates with the bitter reality of parting.'[66] 'Fremd bin ich ausgezogen' is set in D minor, and only the fourth stanza in which the wanderer remembers his beloved is set in the major.[67] This snippet of *Heimat* and presumed perfection, in this case represented by '*das Mädchen*', is out of reach. Whether it was once a present-day reality, or if Schubert's wanderer draws on a transfigured memory, of course, remains open. The 'dichotomy between reality and illusion' and the resulting 'corruption of an idyll' of Schubert's *Lieder* are integral to the entire Romantic song tradition.[68] In a nutshell, the relationship of the Romantics with the idea of *Heimat* is almost always a broken one. The 'better place' remains a utopia, and thus unfulfilled.

In 1929, Krenek reshaped this futile or utopian search for an Austrian *Volksseele* in his Schubert-inspired cycle *Reisebuch aus den Österreichischen Alpen.* At times nostalgic, at times enormously sarcastic, the picture of Austria Krenek sketches out in his *Reisebuch* is, as chapter 2 demonstrates, not apparent in Zemlinsky's *Six Songs*, Op.22. Nothing about Zemlinsky's set is explicit, there is no easily traceable journey or *Reise,* and the narratives that voice a *Heim-weg* do not present themselves on the surface at all, at least not to a twenty-first-century audience. What are the threads that connect a song like No.3, 'Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken' (Goethe), with its 1934 environment? What are the possible references that may have prompted a resetting of a poem that many others, including Brahms and Wolf, had previously used? In short, what kind of relationship with a 1934 *Heimat* does 'Feiger Gedanken'

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[65] Bernhard Schlink, *Heimat als Utopie* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2000), 32. 'Heimat ist Nichtort, *ou τοποç.* Heimat ist Utopie. […] das eigentliche Heimatgefühl ist das Heimweh.'

[66] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes*, 109. '[...] immer wieder thematisierte Dialektik zwischen glücklicher Vision und rauher Realität [...] von Beginn an vorgeprägt: Bereits im ersten Lied wechseln traumhafte Erinnerung an vergangenes Glück mit der herben Realität des Abschieds.'

[67] Compare ibid., 110.

[68] Ibid., 111-112. '[...] der Konflikt zwischen Realität und Imagination.'

establish? Here, *Heimat* should be seen in a much wider sense, including a political or ideological home that is far from the alternative realities the (late-)Romantics sought.

Such queries immediately lead to some of the more concrete associations of the term *Heimat*. The idea has often served political agendas and, at least since the rise of fascism in Germany and Austria, has frequently been appropriated for party-political purposes. An understanding of the shifting meanings of the term in both Germany and Austria is important to illustrate its inherent tensions, particularly during the 1930s. *Heimat*, before Hitler's rise to power, was an equally important idea for both right- and left-wing organisations. Particularly during the Weimar years, 'zurück zur Scholle' (back to the country), was seen as a progressive trend to support the rural areas, embraced by Jewish and Christian citizens alike.[69] It was not until the highly successful propaganda-strategies of the Nazis that *Heimat* would forever be branded as a conservative, nationalistic idea. In his article on Jewish life in Germany before 1936, Philipp Nielsen discusses a common misunderstanding regarding the activities of Jews in the realm of *Heimat* and heritage.[70] He observes that 'the perpetrator-victim-parallelism seems to be an inevitable result from the perspective of the National Socialists with regard to the Jewish *Heimat* relationship.'[71] As such, our current understanding of Jewish participation in traditional and regional activities prior to WW2 is still influenced by the right-wing ideology that from the 1930s violently separated Jewish life from other cultural and religious movements in Germany, and thus ignores the plurality of a history that was not defined by these parameters alone. Nielsen states that, for example, one of the first societies for *Heimatpflege* (local heritage society) in Germany, the Pfälzerwaldverein (Society of the Palatinate Forest), 'was founded by a Catholic, a Protestant, and a Jew' in 1902.[72] The society's aims were to protect or even invent local tradition as well as conservation.[73] Thus, the Pfälzerwaldverein's idea of *Heimat* was an inherently local, place-bound and bourgeois one. While, on the whole,

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[69] Compare Philipp Nielsen, ''Blut und Boden': Jüdische Deutsche zwischen Heimat und Deutschtum, 1892-1936', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* 39/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 35-68.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 36. 'Die Opfer-Täter-Parallelität scheint sich beinahe zwingend aus der Perspektive der Nationalsozialisten auf die Beziehung von Juden zur Heimat zu ergeben.' Here, Nielsen also mentions Celia Applegate's study of the Palatinate Forest, which also predominantly discusses Jews as victims but not their active participation in a common German tradition.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

these newly emerging societies for the preservation of *Heimat* were conservative and much more relevant to the countryside than the city, their agendas were by no means congruent with National Socialist ideology. Of course, there were antisemitic voices claiming that the 'urban Jew' (at the time, around 70% of German Jews had settled in cities) was not native to the German countryside and forest. Yet, on the Jewish side, there also was a clear rejection regarding the immigration of Eastern European orthodox Jews, as Germans feared that their liberal attitudes and assimilated lifestyles might be under threat.[74] Thus, this new *Heimat* movement after WW1 may be described as a 'dialectic between modernisation and romanticising' that, on the one hand, was in search of its archaic and steady roots, yet, on the other hand, able to create a common culture outside of national politics.[75]

It is precisely this idea of a supranational *Heimat,* cherishing individual regions and customs including a common language, that may also be found in Zemlinsky's earlier works. *Traumgörge,* written between 1904 and 1906, is set on the Rhine which, along with the forest, has been part of a German '*ur-Heimat*' at least since the early 19th century.[76] The opera's protagonist Görge, the son of a pastor, who leaves his home-village to indulge in the phantasms of his dream-world, eventually realises that his engagement in communal activities in his old *Heimat* is more fulfilling and socially compatible than living in a dreamland.[77] The idea of a heritage defined by both landscape and communal practice was more important to a bourgeois citizen like Zemlinsky than national interests. As such, the Austrian composer's choice of the Rhineland-setting is neither far-fetched nor a mere imitation of Wagnerian themes, but the use of something that was regarded as a common heritage of all German-speakers, just like their language. Thus, exploring the rift that separated Jews from their *Heimaten* in the 1930s inevitably requires an understanding of just how interwoven their lives were with those of non-Jewish Germans and Austrians before these events, and that their biographies were anything but defined by antisemitism alone. Like Nielsen, I argue

[74] Ibid., 37-40, 44. Compare for instance Siegfried Guggenheim's clear aim to assimilate Eastern European Jews in the hope to prevent a new wave of antisemitism.
[75] Ibid., 41. 'Es war genau diese Dialektik zwischen Modernisierung und Romantisierung […]'.
[76] The opera was not performed during Zemlinsky's lifetime. Commissioned by Mahler for the Court Opera in Vienna, it was dropped during the final stages of rehearsing, owing to Mahler's sudden departure. See Peter Dannenberg, 'Vorwort', in Katharina John, ed., *Alexander von Zemlinsky und die Moderne* (Berlin: Nicolai-Verlag, 2009), 9.
[77] Compare Ryan Minor, 'Zemlinsky und das Kollektiv', in Ibid., 58.

that German (-Jewish) history before National Socialism needs to be reconsidered in order to avoid the reductive 'perpetrator-victim-approach'. This binary 'of 'Knackfuss culture' and 'Fontane-Liebermann culture', as Werner Mosse once described it, i.e., non-Jewish chauvinists and liberal Jews, persists. […] 'Knackfuss' and 'Liebermann' could meet in one person. Siegfried Guggenheim, for example, at once was chairman of the *Bodenkulturverein* and active member of the Alliance Israélite Universelle […]'.[78] Similarly, it was no contradiction at all for Zemlinsky to be a member of the Jewish community and, at the same time, write an opera set in the Rhineland. He thus was no exception to other assimilated Jewish artists of this era, most notably Gustav Mahler, whose musical renderings of Goethe's *Faust* and use of the *Wunderhorn* texts underline his commitment to the larger German literary tradition.

At the time Zemlinsky wrote the *Symphonische Gesänge,* this concept of an all-encompassing *Heimat* for every German-speaker was no longer tenable. By 1929, it was clear that Germany was no *Heimat* for everyone previously committed to its customs and heritage: With the end of WW1, *Heimat* was not solely confined to soil and tradition anymore, but now also meant 'blood', i.e., lineage, something which soon would be appropriated by the Nazis towards their aim of Aryanisation.[79] As a result, Zemlinsky and many others had to let go of their old *Heimat* and look for alternatives, which is where Joisten's model of '*Heimat* as narrative' comes into play. If, by definition, narratives express ideas of *Heimat,* the political and social shifts of the 1920s must have resulted in equally shifting forms of narration. With the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, Zemlinsky set out on his journey towards new kinds of musical story-telling.

Although the meaning of *Heimat* overlapped significantly in Germany and Austria before WW2 (and, to an extent, still does today), mainly owing to the fact that both countries share the same language, it is important to point out the local differences as well. Long before the Austro-Fascist period, Gustav Mahler poignantly described the utopian search for *Heimat* in his own country: 'I am without *Heimat* thrice: as a Bohemian among Austrians, as an Austrian among Germans and as a Jew all over the

[78] Nielsen, ''Blut und Boden': Jüdische Deutsche zwischen Heimat und Deutschtum', 68. 'Dennoch besteht die Trennung von 'Knackfuss culture' und 'Fontane-Liebermann culture', wie es Werner Mosse einmal formulierte, also von chauvinistischen nicht-jüdischen und liberalen jüdischen, fort. [...]'Knackfuss' und 'Liebermann' konnten sich in einer Person treffen. Siegfried Guggenheim war gleichzeitig im Vorstand des Bodenkulturvereins und aktiv in der Alliance Israélite Universelle [...].'

[79] Ibid., 55.

world.'[80] Although Mahler's remarks were made before the founding of the First Republic of Austria, i.e., during a time when the Habsburg Empire still consisted of multi-lingual and multi-ethnic regions, the country's leaning towards a Germanic identity weighed even heavier after WW1. The last aspect of *Heimatlosigkeit* Mahler talks about was certainly a global issue, but particularly ingrained in Austria's self-image as an inherently Teutonic state. Needless to say, the exclusion of the Jewish population in a largely Catholic country gradually intensified in the 1930s. Just like in Germany, being Jewish was predominantly associated with an urban, bourgeois and intellectual lifestyle in Austria. For centuries, Jews had populated almost exclusively urban areas. This of course was caused by the fact that, long before a representative number of Jewish families managed to climb the social ladder, they had been deprived of their landownership. Cultivating farmland was made impossible. Consequently, the mostly poor, rural population saw a society in the cities that was remote, ungraspable and potentially wealthier than they were. The result was what Maderthaner and Silverman describe as 'antisemitism by association', i.e., the direction of hatred towards the intellectual left, regardless of their religious backgrounds.[81] Thus, the region of Austria can only be a *Heimat* to those who comply with its ideologies. Jewishness becomes a label for foreignness, in this case anything left of Catholic conservatism.[82] This phenomenon also explains the motives of Hans Nelböck, the assassinator of Moritz Schlick. More than two years after he had murdered his former professor of philosophy in 1936, Nelböck claimed that he had acted because he thought Schlick to be a Jew.[83] This association was easily made through Schlick's philosophical work and social environment. By contrast, the actor Leo Reuss managed to 'dissociate' himself from his Jewish heritage, at least for a while. After he failed to find employment in both Germany and Austria owing to his Jewish background from as early as 1933, he celebrated enormous success by way of a fictional identity: as Tyrolian peasant Kaspar

[80] Gustav Mahler quoted in Schmidt, 'Krenek und das Volkslied', in *Echoes from Austria*, 27. 'Ich bin dreifach heimatlos: als Böhme unter den Österreichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen und als Jude in der ganzen Welt.'

[81] Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lisa Silverman, ''Wiener Kreise': Jewishness, Politics, and Culture in Interwar Vienna', in Holmes and Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna*, 61.

[82] Beaumont states that, as opposed to Schoenberg, Zemlinsky had not been subjected to 'personal insult or injury on account of his non-Aryan background' before Austria's *Anschluss.* See *Zemlinsky* (2000), 391. This assumption ignores the many less obvious forms of antisemitism described above.

[83] Maderthaner and Silverman, ''Wiener Kreise': Jewishness, Politics, and Culture', 59-61.

Brandhofer, to whom he attributed no prior acting experience, Reuss was hailed as 'son of the soil' for his performance in *Fräulein Else* at the Theater in der Josefstadt in 1936.[84] After he revealed his true identity, Reuss was disparaged, which eventually forced him to flee to the United States. The above examples clarify just how rooted the 'blood and soil' ideology was among Austrians in the 1930s, long before the *Anschluss.* Its invented ideology towards a rural, perhaps quaint Alpine state fabricated a national identity that was based on an image of *Volk* which never existed in the first place.

It is not clear whether overt antisemitic offences were directed towards Zemlinsky during these first years of his return. He was surely used to the kinds of 'socially accepted' attacks that had been common decades earlier, often executed by people he was close to, including Alma Mahler. Elias Canetti recalls remarks Alma made in the early 1930s when she was still married to Franz Werfel: '[Walter Gropius is] exactly what one calls Aryan. The only man who, in terms of race, suited me. Otherwise, only short Jews fell in love with me, like Mahler [and, of course, Zemlinsky].'[85] Although Canetti was profoundly disgusted by her attitude, Mahler-Werfel's statement is just one of many examples of how 'normal' antisemitic comments were across the different strata of society. Remembering Nielsen's observations regarding the 'Knackfuss' and 'Lieberman' cultures in Weimar Germany, seemingly mutually exclusive groupings could indeed be supported by a single person, as the example of Guggenheim's activities for both the *Alliance Israelité Universelle* and the conservative *Bodenkulturverein* demonstrated. Accordingly, similar phenomena were rather common in Austria too. Even Ernst Krenek, who did not sympathise with the Nazi regime, when classified as Jew during the Third Reich (Krenek was not Jewish) stated that 'Jews could not be considered the same as 'Austrians' or 'Germans''.[86] As illustrated with the example of Schlick earlier, not only Eastern-European Ashkenazi but also those of the left-leaning intellectual elite were broadly classified as Jewish. It was not so much a sudden development of the 1920s, but a long-established, socially accepted mode of exclusion.

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[84] Edda Fuhrich-Leiser, ''The Miracle of Survival' – The Theater in der Josefstadt under Ernst Lothar (1935-1938)', in *Austria in the Thirties*, 225.

[85] Alma Mahler in Elias Canetti, *Das Augenspiel: Lebensgeschichte 1931-1937* (München: Hanser, 1985), 62. 'Genau was man arisch nennt. Der einzige Mann, der rassisch zu mir gepasst hat. Sonst haben sich immer kleine Juden in mich verliebt, wie der Mahler.'

[86] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), 114.

This explains how, in the 1930s, Jewishness was publicly condemned while, at the same time, Alma Mahler-Werfel could still host her salon at the Hohe Warte in Grinzing, where both high functionaries of the Austro-Fascist regime and Jewish artists like Zemlinsky were among the regular guests.[87]

The field of *Heimatforschung* (*Heimat*-research) has developed considerably in the past decade, particularly in the German-speaking countries. The most obvious reason for the growing interest and critical engagement with the topic is the 'home-and-heritage revival' across Europe, where a wider union is questioned, and countries revert to early-twentieth-century concepts of tradition and nationality as 'innate' qualities that need to be preserved. Thus, an investigation of Zemlinsky's late songs through the lens of *Heimat* is not only relevant with regard to the composer's artistic trajectory in the late-1920s and 1930s. It also contributes towards the historiography of a concept that has shifted multiple times since it first emerged. A differentiated and nuanced analysis of the complex idea of *Heimat* is necessary in order to allow for a discourse that explores the term outside of its often-quoted association with right-wing ideology.

Chapter Structure

Chapter 1 challenges the common view that composers of art music like Zemlinsky or Krenek, who had experienced a scandal-fuelled success with his opera *Jonny spielt auf* (1926), at best managed a European kind of imitation of a genre they only knew through second-hand encounters: jazz. Beaumont claims that Zemlinsky, himself a member of the Jewish community, mostly related to the general idea of a suppressed minority as well as the attractiveness of an exotic and modern genre, when he wrote the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20 (1929).[88] Tobias R. Klein seconds this view with his comment on Krenek's *Jonny* which, according to the author, cannot be considered as a piece of jazz music.[89] If jazz as a wider phenomenon is restricted to its African-American roots, i.e., to original blues music, then surely neither the *Symphonische Gesänge* nor

[87] Susanne Rode-Breymann, 'Alma Mahler-Werfels Wiener Netzwerk', in Bernhard Fetz, ed., *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne* (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018), 80-81.
[88] Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 360.
[89] Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 28.

Jonny have much in common with this musical style from the United States. In order to allow for a productive discussion, however, this chapter establishes a broader definition of how jazz functioned within late-Weimar Berlin cultures. In line with Jonathan O. Wipplinger's illuminating study on jazz in the Weimar era, it argues that a thorough reassessment of Berlin's jazz scene in the late 1920s, as well as of jazz as stylistic category across the arts, offers a nuanced insight into Zemlinsky's 1929 orchestral songs beyond the commonly accepted categories of 'traditional art music' versus the popular genres.[90] Only by reconsidering the complex historical and cultural implications of Zemlinsky's Berlin years, i.e., by exploring the web of relationships, a hitherto sidelined piece like the *Symphonische Gesänge* can be understood as something more meaningful than an odd experiment mixing old and new musical means. In fact, as chapter 1 sets out to demonstrate, the ongoing neglect of Op.20 is as much rooted in its difficult contemporary history as in the current tendency of categorising phenomena of the past, including musical styles, in 'neat' but inflexible ways. This thesis aims to question such an approach by keeping alive the contradictions inherent within Zemlinsky's late vocal works, starting with Op.20. Accordingly, it asks *how* the genre of jazz functions within the *Symphonische Gesänge*, rather than to predetermine its use by a 'classical' composer as an awkward, at best experimental undertaking.

Contrasting with the wider idea of jazz is that of the symphony, already alluded to by the title of Op.20, and a tradition of European art music that was integral to Zemlinsky's understanding of his own compositional heritage. How does a genre that was widely considered to deliver the grand narratives and overarching ideals of its time interact with its counterpart, i.e., with the inherently personal and mundane (short) stories of jazz, with these 'extracts of life', especially since, by 1929, the symphony had already been seen as a dying musical form?[91] Consequently, Zemlinsky's remodelling of a somewhat antiquated genre sets out to serve functions beyond that of a traditional symphony. On the one hand, Op.20 distantly follows in the footsteps of the *Lyrische Symphonie* Op.18 (1923) which, in turn, looked back to Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* (1909). On the other hand, as will be demonstrated, the symphonic idea as it is

[90] Jonathan O. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race and American Culture in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017).
[91] On the decline of the symphonic form in the first half of the twentieth century, see Manuel Gervink, *Die Symphonie in Deutschland und Österreich in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1984), 1-6, 206-208.

presented in Zemlinsky's 1929 work also points towards the latest adaption of this traditional genre: symphonic jazz, which was made popular by conductor and band leader Paul Whiteman in the 1920s.[92]

As a result of these and other musical elements that Zemlinsky reworks in the *Symphonische Gesänge*, tensions arise between inherited traditions and the composing out of mundane and spontaneous imageries. As discussed earlier, art song, both in the larger orchestral and in the piano-accompanied forms, almost always engages with notions of *Volk* and idea(l)s of *Heimat*, whether in straightforward, folk-song derived compositions, or in the more abstract, multi-movement works such as *Das Lied von der Erde* or the *Lyrische Symphonie*. Yet, the dialogue between foreign and familiar things, so central to the genre, needed redefining as the cultural and political climate demanded that *Heimat* was a privilege of a selected group, rather than a universal claim. How, then, are these elements, i.e., the juxtaposition of familiarity and foreignness, manifest in Zemlinsky's 1929 orchestral songs, and what kind of narrative do they unfold?

Chapter 1 closes with an investigation of Krenek's 1929 cycle *Reisebuch aus den Österreichischen Alpen*, Op.62, composed at the same time as Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge.* As opposed to Zemlinsky's work, it deals exclusively with Austrian topics, and presents images of the Austrian Alps, both as satire and as a means to establish notions of an Austrian identity. In many ways, the *Reisebuch* is Krenek's conflicted engagement with his own inherited musical traditions, in this case with the *Volkslied* and Schubertian *Klavierlied*. As chapter 2 sets out to demonstrate, the very same compositional heritage is reworked and challenged in Zemlinsky's *Six Songs* from 1934. Yet, the narratives or, as it were, journey that these songs construct pose questions rather different from Krenek's concerns.

Chapter 2 begins with the event of a song recital given by Alexander Zemlinsky and soprano Julia Nessy at the Musikverein in Vienna on 13 February 1935. The composer used the evening for the Viennese premier of his *Six Songs,* Op.22, which are the central focus of this chapter. As opposed to the exuberant atmosphere that dominated life in Berlin in the 1920s, Austria was in the middle of redefining, indeed reinventing its own (national) identity after the fall of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. The

[92] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 84-114.

Social Democrats, mostly active in urban areas, had controlled much of Vienna's cultural politics before 1934. The city during this period, often known as that of 'Red Vienna', was in ideological opposition with the more rural areas where most of Austria's population lived and the politics of the Christian Socials dominated. With the implementation of the Austro-Fascist *Ständestaat* in 1934, less than a year after Zemlinsky's return to Vienna, the era of the Social Democrats ended. This political change consequently brought about shifts in the artistic and cultural landscapes as well, including the funding situation.[93] These early stages of fascism in Austria were the context for Zemlinsky's first contact with the country as a returning resident. If he wanted his works to be supported by the newly implemented government, they either had to comply with the regime's ideals, or skilfully avoid any association with political themes. Within this climate, not only unknown figures like the Viennese *Heimat* scholar August Eigner, but also established artists and thinkers including Krenek and Kraus were keen to express their loyalties with an Austria that sought to distance its ideologies and goals from those of Nazi Germany – at least on the surface.[94] The case of August Eigner, whose text 'Und einmal gehst du' Zemlinsky set to music during the summer of 1933 in Switzerland, provides an eminently fitting example for an exploration of the grey areas of this complex social and political landscape, i.e., the difficulty of neatly separating the opposites of Red and Black Vienna. As one of the more remote satellites of Zemlinsky's web of relationships, the examination of the Eigner piece gives access to previously hidden considerations about the songs written during this period.

These circumstances provided the backdrop for the *Six Songs,* Op.22 and their 1935 performance. Although very distant from the earlier Harlem settings in both style and content, they are just as topical with respect to their Austro-Fascist environment as the Berlin compositions were in their late-Weimar climate. The fact that Zemlinsky picked up on the larger ideas of *Heimat* and *Volk,* as well as the notion of universality, whether in a Christian or anthroposophical way, reveals Zemlinsky's artistic engagement with his new cultural and political milieu in Vienna. Issues including censorship, increasing antisemitism and its convoluted history, as well as the gradual takeover of

[93] The rise of fascism in Austria is explored in detail in, Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*.
[94] For Karl Kraus, the *Ständestaat* under Dollfuß was the lesser of two evils. At first a supporter of the Social Democrats, he became increasingly disappointed by their failure to govern, as well as their tendency towards a consolidation with Germany. See Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist*, 473-74.

most cultural institutions by the conservative Christians were inescapable in Zemlinsky's 'second Vienna'. An in-depth understanding of these larger shifts within Austria, further illustrated through the changing festival culture, is indispensable towards a nuanced reading of the *Six Songs.* While Op.22, at a first glance, seems to find solace in an inherently German song tradition, using the poetry of Goethe and Morgenstern, and a sometimes melodic and sometimes declamatory vocal line, its subtle tones and inherent tensions distort these implied traditions. This thesis argues that, if heard against Zemlinsky's dense web of relationships, these conflicts cannot be ignored in an interpretation of the *Six Songs*. With this in mind, 'Das bucklichte Männlein' (Wunderhorn Collection), which on the occasion of the 1935 concert was the closing of the set, provides a drastically different ending than that of the final version, 'Auf dem Meere meiner Seele' (Morgenstern). Chapter 2 explores how these versions and the resulting endings can be interpreted, if considered against their fraught socio-political background. On the whole, Zemlinsky's Op.22 appears to be much more rooted in his Austro-German *Lied* tradition than was the case with the *Symphonische Gesänge.* For example, the dichotomy of day and night, or of dream and reality, is an often-recurring theme of the set. The utilisation of this inherited topic in these songs will be interrogated against the idealised otherworldly sphere as represented by the late-Romantic tradition. In what ways does Zemlinsky's use of such material correspond with this older style, and where does it question or even counter it? Further, if read against the rich history of its underlying text, No.3, 'Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken' (Goethe), becomes a political statement, even if not overtly so. Yet, without such contextualisation, the song's urgency is difficult to grasp, and there is a danger of hearing it simply as 'yet another Goethe-setting', following in the footsteps of Hugo Wolf and Johannes Brahms. Chapter 2 reveals that the *Six Songs* employ narrative strategies which voice inherently contemporary concerns. These strategies subtly rework inherited means while questioning their own mystified legacy.

Two years after the premiere of the *Six Songs*, Op.22 at the Musikverein in 1935, Zemlinsky began composing his last larger song set, the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 (1937–38). Chapter 3 begins with an interrogation of the dates of composition, arguing that if Zemlinsky reconsidered the set's closure in 1938, after the *Anschluss*, and thus a full year after writing numbers 1–10, its expressive agency must exceed what Beaumont

describes as nothing more than 'the afterglow of *König Kandaules*'.[95] Without doubt, the *Twelve Songs* represent the most plural of all of Zemlinsky's compositions. Consequently, the web of relationships underlying these pieces is denser and as such harder to decipher than was the case for his earlier compositions. The poetry used in Op.27 ranges from Hans Bethge's rewritings of Ancient Indian poetry to the then-contemporary Harlem Renaissance, but also includes two German authors, Goethe and George. Musically, the songs at times adopt an ascetic, minimal style as in 'Sommer' (No.2) and 'Wandrers Nachtlied' (No.12). Others employ inherently dense and complex textures including 'Harlem Tänzerin' (No.8) and 'Regenzeit' (No.11). Yet another stylistic category is found in 'Elend' (No.7), which obviously reverts to elements of the blues. Rather than levelling-out the differences between the texts used, Zemlinsky thus foregrounds the disparities created by his choice in the first place. Here, it is even more vital than in the previously discussed works to avoid an approach to music analysis that considers tonal and structural devices strictly according to their traditional functions.

Instead, Chapter 3 examines the *Twelve Songs* with respect to their narrative strategies. It suggests that the songs can be divided into three categories: the first one renounces subjectivity altogether. Here, and this mostly goes for the Kalidasa settings, no protagonist appears, and no individual is addressed. Consequently, there is no evident idea of a *Heim-weg* and, as such, the narrative stagnates – it has nowhere to go, no direction to follow. The second narrative layer represents the exact opposite of this absence of subjectivity: the introduction of 'the human condition'. Fundamental concerns found in most art or folk songs are voiced, for example by the musical gesture of the lament, which dominates the musical fabric. In what way, though, is the idea of a *Volk* represented in Op.27? How does it differ from Zemlinsky's earlier works on the one hand, and those of his predecessors, including Mahler and Brahms, as well as his contemporaries, including Weill and Krenek, on the other hand? This chapter sets out to demonstrate that the simultaneity of musical styles as they appear in the *Twelve Songs* is unique to both Zemlinsky's oeuvre, as shown by comparisons with the *Sinfonietta*, Op.23 (1935) and *König Kandaules* Op.26 (1938; incomplete), and also the works of his contemporaries. While Schoenberg and Krenek, for example, experimented with differing styles and genres too, neither of them created a similarly plural juxtaposition

[95] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 445.

of musical means within one set or piece. Lastly, the interplay between familiarity and detachment, i.e., between the two previously established layers, is connected with the aid of a third narrative strategy, which functions as a kind of transition between the other two. It creates subtle relationships between otherwise disjunct elements, yet without forcing the twelve isolated numbers into one coherent frame. This could perhaps be regarded as a direct musical way of expressing the complex web of relationships. The strength of Zemlinsky's last song set written in Austria, before he was forced into American exile, lies in its ability to voice fundamental issues of the 'human condition' through the simultaneity of at times contrasting musical means. As such, the narratives of the *Twelve Songs* resist a linear, overarching idea.

The Conclusion considers the themes explored in the three main chapters of this thesis from a slightly different angle, through the example of Zemlinsky's *Psalm 13*, Op.24, composed in 1935. *Psalm 13* substantiates once more how inherently important it is to understand a piece of music with regard to its contemporary contexts. Its musical language in many ways opposes plurality and the withdrawal from the human subject found in the songs of the same era, which is only in part accounted for by the choice of genre. Here, there is no room for the individual and its conflicted relationship with tradition and *Heimat.* Instead, a powerful collective voice comes to the fore. A strong sense of unanimity is given by Zemlinsky's frequent use of the unison, a musical device that has no equivalent in song compositions for a single voice. *Psalm 13* acts as an opposing pole to the expressive voices of Zemlinsky's song writing of the same era. It is therefore vital to include it in the wider discussion of this thesis, in order to complement the picture. Op.24 provides a kind of negative footprint to the increasingly fragmented songs of Op.20, Op.22 and Op.27. Here, the narrative which is provided by the psalm text is not countered or questioned, but enhanced by the voices of the chorus instead. Yet, the tension created by the inherent conflict of a 'collective outcast' is not resolved. Plurality is replaced by a clear teleology – something entirely avoided in the late songs. The Conclusion once more asks how, between 1929 and 1938, Zemlinsky's compositions engage with the larger idea of freedom through their complex web of relationships.

Chapter I: Harlem in Berlin

Berlin and the Krolloper: 1927 – 1931

Although Zemlinsky had been well-respected by both German and Czech speakers alike during his sixteen years at the Neues Deutsches Theater in Prague (1911-27), the blessings of a 'provincial town' were never enough for the ambitious Viennese composer.[1] Being called to participate in the novel and cutting-edge project that the Krolloper aspired to be from 1927 until 1931, most likely by Otto Klemperer himself, must have seemed like the long-awaited chance for a breakthrough in Berlin, the city favoured by many avant-garde artists.[2] Even better, his old friend, colleague and former student Arnold Schoenberg was in the city too. Paul Stefan poignantly illustrated the attractiveness of the cutting-edge cultural centre of the 1920s: 'If someone like Arnold Schönberg decides to leave Vienna time after time, he certainly does not do so because of the *Goldmark.* Rather, he is headed for a place where smart cultural-politicians manage to capture spirits of his kind, by giving them something to do.'[3] It was certainly not for economic reasons that artists preferred the German metropolis over the provinces, but because of its creative potential. As opposed to Prague, located at the Eastern edge of Central Europe, life in Berlin was dominated by 'avant-garde cultural trends, popular media such as film and radio, youth movements such as the *Wandervögel,* and dance crazes such as the Charleston […]'.[4] One may add to that an

[1] Zemlinsky frequently voiced his dissatisfaction with his situation in Prague in his letter exchange with Schoenberg. In April 1917, for instance, Schoenberg writes: 'Also, believe me: you surely underestimate your position in Prague: […] if you only knew some of those theatres that you prefer to Prague, you would choose otherwise', in Horst Weber, ed., *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, Vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 168. 'Auch glaube mir: du unterschätzt deine Prager Stellung bestimmt. […] aber wenn du manches der Theater genauer kenntest, das du Prag vorziehst, entschiedest du anders.' It is worth noting here how Prague's slightly unfavourable image was more related to its geographical location in the East, somewhat remote from the Central European cities, than its actual vibrancy. Compare Derek Sayer, *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013) for a history of the city that demonstrates Prague's significance as a cultural hotspot also during Zemlinsky's time there.

[2] See Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), 350.

[3] Paul Stefan, 'Der Sommer', in Paul Stefan, ed., *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Vol.7 No.8 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1925), 437-438. 'Wenn aber ein Arnold Schönberg zum so und sovielten Male Wien verläßt, so tut er das sicherlich nicht der Goldmark zuliebe. Er geht vielmehr dahin, wo eine kluge Kulturpolitik Geister seiner Art zu fesseln weiß, indem sie ihnen zu tun gibt.'

[4] Jon Hughes, *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 17.

unprecedented use of drugs across social strata, as well as the proliferation of shady subcultures. Some of this underground life even surfaced into the cityscape, for example the presence of prostitutes in central locations like the Bahnhof Friedrichsstraße.[5] Langston Hughes, acclaimed poet of the Harlem Renaissance, who visited Berlin in 1932, experienced exactly that: 'The pathos of Berlin's low-priced market in bodies depressed me. As a seaman I had been in many ports and had spent a year in Paris working on Rue Pigalle, but I had not seen anywhere people so desperate as these walkers of the night streets in Berlin.'[6] Being used to the street life of Harlem, Hughes's observations clarify just how extreme the cultural clashes were in Weimar Berlin. In many ways, late-1920s Berlin can be understood as a melting pot of extremes that even Vienna, though cosmopolitan and diverse before the end of the Habsburg era, had never quite been during Zemlinsky's early years (1871–1911). Austria-Hungary's multi-cultural mix was mostly the result of the empire's geographical make-up, which naturally resulted in a multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic environment. However, the political landscape across Europe had changed drastically since 1918. Berlin, like Vienna, was now the capital of a young Republic rather than that of an old monarchy. The effects the shifting world order had on Viennese culture between the wars will be discussed in depth in chapter 2. Thus, while Zemlinsky was certainly used to multi-national and polyglot environments as well as myriad cultural and religious groupings in both Vienna and Prague, the intensity of these clashes and frictions between old and new, Prussian order and frivolity, dire circumstances and a dazzling nightlife, was new to him.

On his arrival in Berlin in 1927, two years before composing the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, Zemlinsky was quite sure that he had left behind those theatres that, owing to economic reasons, required him to programme a good portion of sentimental 'entertainment' works.[7] He was looking forward to working in a cutting-edge house that would not only predominantly promote new compositions – maybe even one of his own – but also to new and challenging productions to conduct, and progressive directors

[5] On Berlin's excessive night life and underground scenes, see for instance Mel Gordon, *Voluptuous Panic: The Erotic World of Weimar Berlin* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2008).
[6] Langston Hughes quoted in Jonathan O. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race and American Culture in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 165.
[7] Throughout this thesis, Zemlinsky's initial spelling *Symphonische Gesänge* will be used. The current publication of the Universal Edition uses the nowadays more common spelling *Sinfonische Gesänge*.

and stage designers with whom to work. Moreover, he was about to join the artistic team from the 'new' Krolloper's very first season. The creative personnel comprised distinguished names including Gustav Gründgens, Oskar Schlemmer, Giorgio de Chirico and Caspar Neher.[8] Amongst the 'Kroll-enthusiasts' were Theodor Adorno, Ernst Bloch and Walter Benjamin.[9] The opera's advocates during times of instability, just years after it had opened, included Thomas Mann, Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill and Igor Stravinsky.[10] Hans Curjel, dramaturg and deputy artistic director, stated that Kurt Weill even took up an (unofficial) advisor-role in the house.[11] Yet, having given up his post as music director in Prague, Zemlinsky now had to accept a subordinate role to Otto Klemperer as *Kapellmeister*. His equals were mostly younger conductors like Fritz Zweig. While he participated in successful productions such as *The Tales of Hoffmann* by Offenbach in 1929, Zemlinsky was also obliged to conduct operas that did not coincide with his own taste.[12] On the whole, the 'project Krolloper', despite starting out with such good intentions to become Berlin's modern and cutting-edge house, experienced issues of mismanagement and disparate artistic intentions from quite early on.[13] As is so often the case, Zemlinsky's name hardly shows up in Curjel's thorough account of the achievements and conflicts at the Krolloper, with the exception of the performance listings and reprinted reviews. Yet Zemlinsky's 'absence' is not so much a sign of his insignificance, but of his refusal to take on the typical mannerisms of an 'artistic ego', unlike Otto Klemperer.[14] This becomes clear in H.H. Stuckenschmidt's review of the

[8] Pamela Tansick, *Die Prager Oper heißt Zemlinsky: Theatergeschichte des Neuen Deutschen Theaters Prag in der Ära Zemlinsky von 1911 bis 1927* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), 204.
[9] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 351.
[10] Hans Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper: 1927-1931* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1975), 359-361, 486.
[11] Ibid., 69.
[12] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 353. This applies particularly to some of the Italian repertoire, including *Madame Butterfly* and *Rigoletto,* which Zemlinsky did not approve of.
[13] Some of these tensions are discussed in Eva Weissweiler, *Otto Klemperer: Ein deutsch-jüdisches Künstlerleben* (Cologne: Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2010), 223-229. See also Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, Volume 1, 1885-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper.*
[14] In 1928, Hanns Eisler openly voiced his discontent regarding Klemperer's attitude, stating that 'Otto Klemperer abides no other gods beside him.' Eisler quoted in Weissweiler, *Otto Klemperer*, 206-207. Similar concerns were expressed by Schoenberg, who felt sidelined by the Kroll's choices regarding its artistic personnel. See ibid., 215-216.

1930 Schoenberg double-bill *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand.*[15] The former was led by Zemlinsky, the latter by Klemperer. Although Stuckenschmidt acknowledges Zemlinsky's performance, 'Klemperer makes the strongest impressions, who, with wonderful empathy, forces the performance to run according to his will.'[16] It is precisely this momentum of strong will that Zemlinsky lacked – something which in his music often translates into subtle and nuanced tones, and which Adorno recognised as 'the absence of force'.[17] Zemlinsky expressed this dilemma in a letter he sent to Alma Mahler: 'Certainly I lack the *je ne sais quoi* that one needs – today more than ever – to make one's way. In such a hustle, it's no use just having elbows, one also must know how to use them.'[18] This is just one of many examples that demonstrate Zemlinsky's difficulties in promoting himself and his music in the noisy and competitive realm of opera and art music. In his review of *Hoffmann's Erzählungen* at the Krolloper (13 February 1929) in *B.Z. am Mittag*, the mostly enthusiastic critic Adolf Weißmann confirmed exactly that:

> But this is it: Alexander v. Zemlinsky stands at the podium, in general much underappreciated, with a secure musical instinct, with both firmness and suppleness in the way he leads […]. This is fully acknowledged by the warm applause, which greets him as he enters for the third time.[19]

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[15] Schoenberg was hugely dissatisfied with the Kroll's production of *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand.* He felt that his 'works were destroyed to great degree' ('aufs tiefste geschädigt'). Schonberg quoted in Evan Baker, 'Arnold Schönberg als Regisseur? *Erwartung* und *Die glückliche Hand* an der Krolloper', in Christian Meyer, ed., *Arnold Schönberg in Berlin: Bericht zum Symposium*, (Vienna: Arnold Schönberg Center, 2001), 357.

[16] H.H. Stuckenschmidt's review from *B.Z. am Mittag* (10 June 1930) can be found in Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper,* 289-90. 'Die stärksten Eindrücke gehen von Klemperer aus, der mit wunderbarer Einfühlung die Aufführung unter seinen Willen zwingt.'

[17] T. W. Adorno, 'Zemlinsky', in *Quasi una Fantasia,* trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1998), 128.

[18] Translated letter in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 351. Translation amended. 'Mir fehlt sicherlich das gewisse Etwas, das man haben muss – und heute mehr denn je – um ganz nach Vorne zu kommen. In einem solchen Gedränge nützt es nichts Ellbogen zu haben, man muss sie auch zu gebrauchen wissen.' Zemlinsky quoted in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2005), 501. The exact date of the letter is unknown. Beaumont suggests the 6th March, 1931 (see *Zemlinsky* (2005), 751, endnote 6). Weber proposes 1930, a year earlier. See Horst Weber, *Alexander Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite, 1977), 38, footnote 6.

[19] Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper*, 260. 'Denn das ist es eben: Alexander v. Zemlinsky steht am Pult, im allgemeinen viel zu wenig gewürdigt, von einer Sicherheit des musikalischen Instinkts, von einer Festigkeit und doch Geschmeidigkeit in der Führung [...]. Dies wird auch durch die herzliche Zustimmung, die ihn beim dritten Erscheinen grüßt, voll anerkannt.'

The *B.Z. am Mittag* ('Berlin Paper at Noon') was something of a mixture between 'serious' and tabloid journalism, and had a broad readership from all kinds of backgrounds. It was the first of its kind in Berlin, featuring illustrated articles of a variety of areas of interests: news, politics, entertainment, arts, local issues, economy, sport and travel.[20] At the time of the review, the paper was not affiliated with a particular political party.[21] Bernhard Diebold seconds Weißmann's opinion regarding Zemlinsky's conducting qualities in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (17 February 1929):

> Alexander von Zemlinsky resorts to conducting-magnificence; and discretion is his matter of honour. He dampens [the sound] with his hand. He puts his fingers on his mouth. He speaks to his orchestra, almost inaudibly: up there, gentlemen, up there they are singing. Please do not disturb. Because up there they sing very beautiful, quiet, fine things. Thus speaks the sensitive conductor Zemlinsky… and does not allow his people to spoil the melody. Alexander Zemlinsky with his Sibyl's Face is a keeper of secrets. Silence!!![22]

Diebold's review sheds light on Zemlinsky's work ethics as a highly professional 'servant' of the music he conducted, unwilling to fabricate a noticeable artistic persona. Even more, it shows that Zemlinsky was highly regarded by audience and critics alike, though not for his flamboyance but for his qualities as a sensitive musician. It is precisely this degree of sensitivity that is required for any exploration of his music. Just like his conducting style, Zemlinsky's music resists large gestures and grand statements. Instead, it is the neat arranging of small musical elements, and the subtle shifts of narrative and meaning that define his late compositions.

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[20] Fabian Jauss and Jürgen Wilke, '*B.Z. am Mittag,* Deutschlands erste Boulevardzeitung' in *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte,* Vol. 14 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), 65.

[21] Ibid., 61, 65.
In his biography, Beaumont mentions Weißmann's review (as well as one by Jewish journalist Oskar Bie) together with Zschorlich's, a Nazi sympathizer, somewhat failing to clearly distinguish their hugely differing political agendas. This mixing-up most certainly was not Beaumont's intention, but a lack of context and further explanation to the Weißmann-quote result in such a reading. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 356 and Beaumont, *Alexander Zemlinsky* (2005), 507. Oskar Bie's review from the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* (13 February 1929) is also reprinted in Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper,* 262–263.

[22] Curjel, *Experiment Krolloper*, 266. 'Alexander Zemlinsky begibt sich aller Dirigentenherrlichkeit; und Diskretion ist seine Ehrensache. Er dämpft mit der Hand. Er hält die Finger auf den Mund. Er sagt kaum hörbar zum Orchester: da oben, meine Herren, da oben singen sie eben. Bitte nicht stören. Denn da oben singen sie sehr schöne, leise, feine Sachen. So sagt der sensible Dirigent Zemlinsky... und gestattet seinen Leuten keine Plünderung der Melodie. Alexander von Zemlinsky mit dem Sibyllengesicht wahrt die Geheimnisse. Still!!!'

However, all artistic and interpersonal contradictions aside, the Krolloper was facing an enemy much more menacing than internal differences: the increasing strength of the far-right and National Socialism. On 13 February 1929, Paul Zschorlich published a review of the very same performance of *Hoffmann's Erzählungen* in the *Deutsche Zeitung.* He opens his account with a lengthy paragraph in which he clearly demonstrates his dislike for the entire undertaking of the Krolloper – for reasons of Nationalism and antisemitism rather than artistic ones:

> The Klemperer-ensemble, which for the most part consists of non-Germans, gradually eats its way through the entire operatic inventory. It stages the most popular operas 'in the spirit of the times', which means: in the Jewish spirit. […] If his strong, personal artistic will, however far-removed from the German spirit, ventures on Wagner's work, […] we may prove his incapacity with the success of two large Richard Wagner-Associations, which have publicly protested against the sin towards German cultural assets […]. The protection of Jacques Offenbach, whom we do not count amongst German composers, we leave to the 'Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith'.[23]

It goes without saying that the 'actual' review-section of Zschorlich's article is similarly destructive and just as much based on his antisemitic biases as the above paragraph. Moholy-Nagy's design is simply discredited by way of national background: 'Of course not a German either!'.[24] However, Zemlinsky's achievements as conductor were appreciated, particularly the 'softness' (*'Geschmeidigkeit')* and 'liveliness' (*'Schneidigkeit'*) of his performance.[25] It is of course questionable whether one should feel 'honoured' simply by being spared antisemitic accusations. It is not unlikely that Zschorlich did not know of Zemlinsky's Jewish background in the first place (although Slavic-sounding, just like Zschorlich's own, the name Zemlinsky as such is not associated

[23] Ibid., 263. 'Das Klemperer-Ensemble, das zum größten Teil aus Deutschfremden besteht, frißt nach und nach den ganzen Opernbestand an. Es inszeniert die beliebtesten Opern ‚aus dem Geist der Zeit', das heißt: aus dem jüdischen Geist. [...] Wagt sich sein persönlicher starker, von deutschem Geist jedoch ganz unberührter Kunstwille an Richard Wagners Werk, [...] weisen [wir] seine Unfähigkeit mit dem Erfolg nach, daß breits zwei große Richard Wagner-Verbände gegen die Versündigung an deutschem Kulturgut öffentlich Protest erheben [...]. Den Schutz von Jacques Offenbach, den wir nicht zu den deutschen Komponisten rechnen, überlassen wir dem ‚Zentralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens.'
[24] Ibid., 'Natürlich auch kein Deutscher!'
[25] Ibid.

with Jewish culture).[26] Following the increasingly exclusive framing of *Heimat* along the lines of 'blood and soil' ideology, set out in the Introduction, such reviews once more demonstrate the shifting cultural and political climate.

The first completed composition by Zemlinsky during his stay of a little over five years in Berlin (1927–1933) was the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20.[27] The format of a fully orchestrated work made up of seven movements immediately recalls the composer's successful 1923 *Lyrische Symphonie*; in a similar way, the title suggests inner coherence through lyric material, and the work is scored for voice and orchestra. Yet, a repetition of the earlier success did not occur; neither during Zemlinsky's own lifetime nor thereafter. The *Symphonische Gesänge* were first performed, under unspectacular conditions, in Brno in 1935, when works incorporating blues or jazz genres were no longer tolerated in Nazi Germany.[28] For many reasons, Op.20 remains a seldom-played and little-discussed work of Zemlinsky until this day.[29] The pairing of a 'grand' musical form, already somewhat outdated by the 1920s, with a set of poems depicting outlandish street scenes certainly appears peculiar at first. In the few extant musicological studies, there is little insightful discussion of how the *Symphonische Gesänge* might be read against Zemlinsky's 1929 late-Weimar environment. How do themes of lynch law and Harlem's dubious nightlife converse with symphonic ideas? Is there a way of relating these clashing artistic elements without succumbing to the assumption that Zemlinsky's choice was solely motivated by the trends of the age? In order to reassess the particularities of this hybrid work, it is vital to adjust the investigative parameters. These include the dynamic culture of Weimar-Berlin, which

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[26] Zemlinsky's father, initially Adolf Semlinsky before a name-change to sound more 'Austrian', was from a Catholic family and later converted. His mother Clara Semo, born in Sarajevo in 1827, stemmed from a Sephardic family. Some of her ancestry was even Muslim. Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 1-9.

[27] The orchestration was completed during a stay in Juan le Pins, France, in July 1929. See Tobias R. Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich. Alternative Moderne(n): 'Afrika' in der Kompositionskultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2014), 40.

[28] Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 363.

[29] One may certainly argue that an initial rejection for publication often results in an ongoing neglect of a work, decades later. Even today, the pieces of Zemlinsky that are most frequently performed are the ones that initially received the greatest support. Of course, the reasons for such a phenomenon are manifold, including a less readily accessible musical language, but there is no doubt that a piece's success is inseparably linked to its reception-history. For example, the infamous 1913 *Skandalkonzert* at the Wiener Musikverein that included Schoenberg's *Erwartung* subsequently guaranteed Schoenberg's work, no more and no less 'accessible' than Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge,* a long-lasting claim to fame. Zemlinsky's *Maeterlink Gesänge,* one of his most recognized compositions to date, were also part of that same concert. For the *Skandalkonzert* see Daniel Eder and Frieder Reininghaus, eds., *1913 – Skandalkonzerte*, ÖMZ Vol.68/2 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2013).

already then was being gradually undermined by Nazi ideology. Thus, instead of providing a set of musical analyses of each song in the *Symphonische Gesänge,* as is already given in Tobias R. Klein's study, the following exploration focuses on some of the larger questions provoked by this work, including its engagement with the wider idea of jazz, its narrative strategies and dramaturgical trajectory, the text–music relationship including issues of translation, as well as the (altered) function of inherited musical means.[30]

The Harlem-Renaissance and the Origins of Symphonic Jazz

The Poems of the *Symphonische Gesänge,* Op.20

1.	'Lied aus Dixieland'	**'Song for a Dark Girl' – Langston Hughes**[31] Way Down South in Dixie (Break the heart of me) They hung my black young lover To a cross roads tree. Way Down South in Dixie (Bruised body high in air) I asked the white Lord Jesus What was the use of prayer. Way down South in Dixie (Break the heart of me) Love is a naked shadow On a gnarled and naked tree.
2.	'Lied der Baumwollpacker'	**'Cotton Song' – Jean Toomer**[32] Come, brother, come. Lets lift it; come now, hewit! roll away! Shackles fall upon the Judgment Day But lets not wait for it. God's body's got a soul, Bodies like to roll the soul,

[30] A piece-by-piece analysis can be found in Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 57-104.
[31] Langston Hughes, 'Song for a Dark Girl', in Arnold Rampersad and David Roessl, eds., *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 104.
[32] Jean Toomer 'Cotton Song', in Robert B. Jones and Margery Toomer, eds., *The Collected Poems of Jean Toomer* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1988), 25.

Cant blame God if we dont roll,
Come, brother, roll, roll!

Cotton bales are the fleecy way,
Weary sinner's bare feet trod,
Softly, softly to the throne of God,
"We aint agwine t wait until th Judgment Day!

Nassur; nassur,
Hump.
Eoho, eoho, roll away!
We aint agwine to wait until th Judgment Day!"

God's body's got a soul,
Bodies like to roll the soul,
Cant blame God if we dont roll,
Come, brother, roll, roll!

3. 'Totes braunes Mädel' **A Brown Girl Dead – Countee Cullen**[33]

With two white roses on her breasts,
White candles at head and feet,
Dark Madonna of the grave she rests;
Lord Death has found her sweet.

Her mother pawned her wedding ring
To lay her out in white;
She'd be so proud she'd dance and sing
to see herself tonight.

4. 'Übler Bursche' **Bad Man – Langston Hughes**[34]

I'm a bad man
Cause everybody tells me so.
I'm a bad, bad man.
Everybody tells me so.
I takes my meanness and ma licker
Everywhere I go.

I beats my wife an'
I beats ma side fall too.
Beats my wide an'
Beats my side gall too.
Don't know why I do it but
It keeps me from feelin' blue.

I'm so bad I
Don't even want to be good.
So bad, bad, bad I
Don't even want to be good.
I'm goin' to da devil an'
I wouldn't go to heaven if I could.

[33] Countee Cullen, 'A Brown Girl Dead', in Gerald Early, ed., *My Soul's High Song: The Collected Writings of Countee Cullen, Voice of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Anchor Books, 1991), 82.
[34] Hughes, 'Bad Man', in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes,* 112.

5. ‘Erkenntnis’

Disillusion – Langston Hughes[35]

I would be simple again,
Simple and clean
Like the earth,
Like the rain.

Nor ever know,
Dark Harlem,
The wild laughter
Of your mirth
Nor the salt tears
Of your pain.

Be kind to me,
Oh, great dark city.
Let me forget.
I will not come
To you again.

6. ‘Afrikanischer Tanz’

Danse Africaine – Langston Hughes[36]

The low beating of the tom-toms,
The slow beating of the tom-toms,
Low… slow
Slow… low –
Stirs your blood.
Dance!
A night-veiled girl
Whirls softly into a
Circle of light.
Whirls softly… slowly,
Like a wisp of smoke around the fire –
And the tom-toms beat,
And the tom-toms beat,
And the low beating of the tom-toms
Stirs your blood.

7. ‘Arabeske’

Arabesque – Frank Horne[37]

Down in Georgia
a danglin’ nigger
hangin’ in a tree
. . . kicks holes in the laughing sunlight–

A little red haired
Irish girl . . . grey eyes
and a blue dress–
A little black babe
in a lacy white cap . . .
The soft red lips of the little red head kiss so tenderly

[35] Hughes, ‘Disillusion’, *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, 60.
[36] Ibid., 28.
[37] Frank Horne, ‘Arabesque’, in Charles S. Johnson, ed., *Ebony and Topaz: A Collectanea* (New York: National Urban League, 1927), 99.

the little black head–
grey eyes smile
into black eyes
and the gay sunlight
laughs joyously
in a bust of gold . . .
Down in Georgia
a danglin' nigger
hangin' in a tree
. . . kicks holes in the laughing sunlight–

Fig. 1.1 Overview of the original Harlem-Renaissance poems used in the *Symphonische Gesänge* Op.20. This table only shows the original English texts and German titles. Where individual songs and issues of translation are discussed in this chapter, both German and English versions are juxtaposed.

The poems Zemlinsky chose for the *Symphonische Gesänge*, all penned by writers of the Harlem Renaissance, deal with lynch law, death, slave labour and dark street scenes. Although all are concerned with the broader issues of the African-American community in early twentieth-century North America, they are seven individual 'short' stories, not necessarily related to each other. Accordingly, the songs are not connected through interludes or clearly audible harmonic relationships as in the *Lyrische Symphonie*. Whereas Zemlinsky's 1923 composition builds a coherent narrative in a dialogical manner through the poems of Rabindranath Tagore, the 1929 song set refuses such a unified thematic setup, and chooses plural narratives instead.

The Harlem Renaissance can be summarised as the 'cultural awakening in the black community', with its centre in Harlem, New York, representing 'the fullest flowering of African-American creativity in poetry, prose, drama, the visual arts, and music […]'.[38] The movement was a result of the first migration wave from the Southern States to the Northern cities, and its key aim was to draw attention to racial issues and inequality.[39] As opposed to the blues as it originated in the rural South, the Harlemites, and particularly the poets, addressed these issues to an intellectual audience. Leading figures like Langston Hughes, whose texts Zemlinsky set to music in both Op.20 and in his 1937/8 songs Op.27, had received post-secondary education.[40] These artists worked

[38] Joshua Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman: Two Kings of Jazz* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 39.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Langston Hughes was a student of Columbia University. Compare Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 20.

towards an integration of their thematic material into white Western culture, so as to reach the establishment.[41] Alain Locke, a central spokesman of the Harlem Renaissance, described the movement's goals as follows:

> The mind of the Negro seems suddenly to have slipped from under the tyranny of social intimidation and to be shaking off the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority. By shedding the old chrysalis of the Negro problem we are achieving something like a spiritual emancipation… The day of 'aunties', 'uncles', and 'mammies' is equally gone. Uncle Tom and Sabo have passed on.[42]

The presence of Harlem-Renaissance authors in intellectual circles also explains the increasing interest in their work by left-leaning intellectuals across Europe, particularly those of marginalised Jewish circles.[43] Anna Nußbaum's volume of German translations of these African-American poets will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Although the Harlem Renaissance is mostly associated with its literary works, its impact on orchestral music was huge. Symphonic jazz, a kind of hybrid between the 'highbrow' symphonic genre and the much freer, 'lowbrow' African-American jazz, experienced a real wave of success from the late 1920s onwards, also in Europe.[44] To be sure, in terms of musical style and structure, symphonic jazz has little in common with the symphonies of Brahms or Mahler. Nonetheless, it still relates to the grand genre, which had had its heyday decades earlier, by way of 'relative structural, orchestrational, and textual complexity'.[45] As opposed to the jazz and blues of the streets, the symphonic style of band leaders like Paul Whiteman, a kind of godfather of the style, 'sought not so much to position their music as high culture but rather to mould the musics of Tin Pan Alley, jazz, and the jazz-derived entertainments […] into elegant, glamorous, witty and refined

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[41] There is a lot of dispute about what exactly the movement of the Harlem Renaissance stood for. It is important to clarify that both aesthetics and interests were far from being homogeneous. There were many conflicts and tensions between artists, yet all of them worked towards the emancipation of African-American culture. See George Hutchinson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Harlem Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-3.

[42] Alain Locke quoted in Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman*, 39.

[43] See Jonathan O. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race and American Culture in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 167.

[44] Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman*, 39-41.

[45] John Howland, 'Jazz with Strings: Between Jazz and the Great American Songbook', in David Ake, Charles Hiroshi Garrett and Daniel Goldmark, eds., *Jazz/ Not Jazz* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 113.

popular culture.'[46] In a more cynical tone, one might argue that symphonic jazz was the neat and 'decent' concert-hall product of African-American music for the well-off, white audiences.[47] It was also Whiteman who commissioned *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) by George Gershwin, which confirms the conductor's interest in using jazz in a symphonic context.[48] However, as both Jonathan O. Wipplinger and Joshua Berrett demonstrate, the orchestrated jazz pieces performed by the then enormously popular Whiteman were much more than shallow entertainment works, pleasing the (white) masses. Whiteman undertook serious efforts of bringing African-American musicians into the process of his music-making, among them Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong.[49] Back in the 1920s, the merging of jazz and music of the European concert-hall tradition was seen as the genesis of North America's own original version of classical music. This development, in turn, legitimised African-American music in the country's 'white' venues.[50] Whiteman's good reputation gradually made its way across the Atlantic, into the European capitals including Berlin.

Jazz in the Weimar Era

In his impressions of Weimar Berlin in the 1920s, Hans Janowitz, screenwriter of the cinematic milestone *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920), describes the contradictions but also the excitement of the so-called Roaring Twenties which, in a nutshell, he simply summarises as 'jazz'. His account poignantly illustrates the plural mix of new cultural trends and technology which dominated Berlin life at the time.

> It was the time of the 'Eton crop', it was the time of the 'short skirt', the 'flesh-coloured stockings', it was the time of the run-away sons and the kidnapped daughters, […] it was the time when radio-waves, in an ever-growing rush, washed around the globe with increasing density day after day, a bath of waves, […] it was the time when the first zeppelin took off

[46] Ibid., 112.
[47] Also compare John Howland '"The Blues Get Glorified": Harlem Entertainment, Negro Nuances, and Black Symphonic Jazz', in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol.90 No.3/4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 327.
[48] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 96-97.
[49] Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman*, 41.
[50] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic,* 87.

> above the Atlantic Ocean, the strange time when the 'United States of Europe' seemed to be a utopia, and were belittled as phantasy of the idealist dreamer by so-called political realists […]; it was the time of historical dissonances between East and West […], a chasm of hitherto unknown depth had opened between these two halves of mankind […] it was the time of precisely this glaring dissonance, these churned-up contrasts […], it was the time of the wild pleasures of pranks, of wild nonsense in the realm of order, in short: the true programme of the time was called: Jazz.[51]

Both the title of Janowitz's novel and the above quotation reveal the central importance of the jazz genre in Weimar Berlin. Its ability to voice disparate utterances, 'extracts of life' in the most prosaic sense, seemed to resonate more than most other genres with the plurality of life in Berlin. Janowitz's descriptions suggest that Berlin citizens must have been exposed to the music of African-American origin to a considerable degree. If the essence of this music, i.e., the blues, reached from the night clubs into a composition of a well-established European composer rooted in the late-Romantic and modern traditions, its significance to the cultural life across the social strata in Berlin cannot be ignored. As Wipplinger demonstrates, the exposure of Berlin citizens to 'authentic' (African-) American Jazz in the 1920s and '30s was varied and widespread, and texts from Harlem writers were much *en vogue* amongst intellectuals. Thus, when Beaumont writes that 'Zemlinsky, too, was clearly enthralled [by works of the Harlem Renaissance], but less for the exotic flavour of the poetry than for the parallels he could draw with the European way of life'[52], he neglects not only the public presence of African-American performers like Josephine Baker, James Boucher and Sam Wooding with the *Chocolate Kiddies*, but also the many concerts of Paul Whiteman's orchestra in

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[51] Hans Janowitz, *Jazz: Roman* (Bonn: Weidle, 1999), 6.
'Es war die Zeit des 'Bubikopfes', es war die Zeit des 'kurzen Rockes', der 'fleischfarbenen Strümpfe', es war die Zeit der fortgelaufenen Söhne und entführten Töchter, [...] es war die Zeit, da die Radiowellen, in wachsendem Andrang, täglich dichter und dichter den Erdball umspülten, ein Wellenbad, [...] es war die Zeit des ersten Zeppelinfluges über den Atlantischen Ozean, die komische Zeit, da die 'Vereinigten Staaten von Europa' noch Utopie schienen und als Phantasie idealistischer Träumer von den sogenannten Realpolitikern belächelt wurden [...]; es war die Zeit der historischen Dissonanzen zwischen Ost und West [...], eine Kluft von noch nie erlebter Tiefe war aufgerissen zwischen den beiden Hälften der Menschheit [...] es war die Zeit eben dieser grellen Dissonanz, aufgewühlter Kontraste [...], es war die Zeit der wilden Freude an wilder Lausbüberei, an wildem Unfug im Ordnungsbereich, kurz: das wahre Programm dieser Zeit hieß: Jazz.'

[52] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 360.

Weimar Germany.[53] In fact, it is known that Schreker and Schoenberg visited one of Whiteman's public rehearsals.[54] Whether Zemlinsky joined them is not recorded, but one can easily imagine that he might have been equally curious.[55] Although Whiteman's exclusively white ensemble, paired with an aesthetic that combined jazz tunes with an orchestral sound, is often described as 'non-authentic jazz', its music still brought North-American culture to Europe.[56] In fact, even though Whiteman's music was rather different from the Blues and Charleston of the African-American tradition, it stood for the new music of the United States at the time. The influential music critic and Dadaist Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, (who also wrote a biography of Schoenberg and most likely knew Zemlinsky) wrote in 1926:[57] 'Paul Whiteman […] has to his merit that he made these [jazz] principles acceptable for the concert hall. With his orchestra … he deftly and with the clearest instincts drew symphonic consequences from jazz. […] only some will recognize: here one of the most typical emanations of the *Zeitgeist* of the 20th century's first half has been formed.'[58] While many embraced the fact that Whiteman had managed to make jazz suitable for the concert hall and, thus, in some way acceptable as 'art music', others, including the critics Leopold Schmidt and Klaus Pringsheim, were worried about the popularisation of the 'serious' genre. Kurt Martens, for instance, found that a 'symphonic attempt […]' like ''Rhapsody in Blue' by George Gershwin [… is] an extremely banal matter, filled with romantic platitudes.'[59] Of course, opinions within circles of established composers and intellectuals were similarly divided: while Krenek or Weill adopted aspects of this new musical wave, Adorno was one of its most

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[53] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 17, 52, 55-65, 130. In 1928, Baker gave a performance in Berlin.
[54] Ibid., 89.
[55] Prague, which had been a Central European 'capital' at the time, also welcomed jazz performances during the 1920s. It is thus more than likely that Zemlinsky had been exposed to jazz even before his arrival in Berlin. Compare Derek Sayer, *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 82. Max Brod also commented on the matter. See Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 87.
[56] Joshua Berrett observes that, contrary to what is often assumed, Whiteman regularly collaborated with African-American musicians: 'Much to his credit, Whiteman helped break racial barriers, hiring Don Redman and William Grant Still as arrangers and commissioning Duke Ellington to compose *Blue Bells of Harlem.* In moments of crisis he came to the defense of a Louis Armstrong or an Earl Hines.' Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman*, xiii-xiv.
[57] The *Nachlass* of Louise Zemlinsky at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien holds letters between H.H. Stuckenschmidt and Zemlinsky's second wife.
[58] Stuckenschmidt quoted and translated in Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 93. Taken from H.H. Stuckenschmidt 'Paul Whiteman', *Berliner Tagblatt,* 29 May 1926.
[59] Kurt Martens quoted and translated in Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 96-97. 'Symphonie für Jazz' in *Die schöne Literatur* 30/9 (1929), 418.

passionate critics.[60] Although Zemlinsky never voiced his position publicly, his song settings more than anything reveal that he recognised the genre's capacity to engage with contemporary concerns.

A somewhat prevalent opinion on Weimar jazz coincides with Cornelius Partsch's claim that Germans really only knew their 'own, highly diluted version of jazz.'[61] Such statements are valid in so far as the density of African-American jazz culture as found on the streets of New York, for example, was largely unknown to Europeans. However, they ignore the fact that a representative number of (African-) American acts, like those discussed above, were successfully imported to Germany and, thus, that a cultural exchange between the two countries indeed took place. Even more, the famous Harlem-based record label *Blue Note Records* was founded by two Germans, Alfred Lion and Francis Wolff, in 1939. Their initial interest in jazz was induced by the performances in Weimar Berlin.[62] As Wipplinger observes, these interactions 'link[ed] German jazz history with that of European and African American jazz history.'[63] Consequently, Germans, particularly those living in Berlin, did know about racial issues and African-American music from first-hand experiences, not simply through second-hand narratives. It is thus important to remember that 'the German encounter, engagement and theorization of jazz was in many ways elemental, rather than accidental to Weimar culture.'[64]

Apart from these considerations, the immense poverty and financial losses that hit many families in the first decade after WW1 were visible throughout Berlin. The hugely popular entertainment sector, including the cabaret and jazz scenes, was an important means of distraction.[65] Beaumont's assumption that 'Zemlinsky's music knows little about such [jazz] milieux' is thus misleading in so far as jazz culture was not only present but also hugely popular in Weimar Berlin, including among intellectuals.[66]

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[60] See e.g. Theodor W. Adorno, [as Hektor Rottweiler], 'Über Jazz', in Max Horkheimer, ed., *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, Vol.5 (Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1936), 235-259.
[61] Cornelius Partsch, 'Hannibal ante Portas. Jazz in Weimar' in Stephen Brockmann and Thomas Kniesche, eds., *Dancing on the Volcano. Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 105.
[62] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 1-2.
[63] Ibid., 52.
[64] Ibid., 239.
[65] On the 'distraction industries' see Siegfried Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar Germany*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Verso, 1998).
[66] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 446. This remark refers to 'Misery' (Op.27, 1938), to be examined in chapter 3.

Even Ernst Krenek's opera *Jonny spielt auf* is not, as Klein states, 'genuinely misunderstood as a jazz-piece', if jazz is recognised as a genre defined by a questioning of (musical) modernism, notions of freedom (including race-issues) and a re-assessment of the high- vs. low-brow categories.[67] According to Wipplinger, jazz should be seen as a broad artistic genre, which of course includes the visual arts and literature. As for the latter, the poetry of members of the Harlem Renaissance is an obvious example of so-called jazz-literature. However, in keeping with Wipplinger's argument, Hans Janowitz's novel *Jazz* (1927), which stems from an exclusively white and non-American background, belongs with the wider genre too. One may even want to include Klaus Mann's *Mephisto* (1936), in which the character of black revue-dancer Juliette Martens is a central protagonist, rather than an exotic sidekick.[68] In 1927, Germany's and in fact Europe's first *Jazzklasse* was announced by Bernhard Sekles at Hoch's Conservatory in Frankfurt am Main.[69] Although of course not welcomed by all, 'its very creation and five-year existence are testament to the concrete ways by which jazz changed the cultural landscape of Weimar Germany.'[70] Ernst Krenek, as well as his composer-colleagues Kurt Weill and Franz Schreker, were amongst those who engaged with the jazz cultures Americans had brought to Weimar Germany.[71] If both Zemlinsky's director at the *Musikhochschule*, Franz Schreker, as well as Kurt Weill, with whom he would collaborate in 1931 towards a hugely successful production of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, listened to and talked about this new musical trend, it is rather unlikely that Zemlinsky 'knew nothing' of Berlin's African-American performers and the many jazz concerts that defined the city's nightlife.[72] After all, 'the world had become jazz […]: the world had become jazz only in its spare time… Otherwise, it was diligent and dire, often rainy and weary, even though, heavens [!], it cannot be denied, let us agree, even on the serious side of life, thank God, it was a little jazzed-up.'[73] Janowitz's

[67] Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 28. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 150-154.
[68] See also Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 98, 166,
[69] Ibid., 141.
[70] Ibid., 143.
[71] Ibid., 53.
[72] Louise Zemlinsky apparently stated that the couple went to jazz concerts every now and then. See Stanley M. Hoffman, *Extended Tonality and Voice Leading in 'Twelve Songs', Op.27 by Alexander Zemlinsky*, PhD Thesis (Brandeis University, University Microfilms International, 1993), 80.
[73] Janowitz, *Jazz*, 10. 'Die Welt war Jazz geworden […]: die Welt war Jazz nur in ihrer freien Zeit geworden… Sonst war sie arbeitsam und mühselig, oft verregnet und sorgenumwölbt, wenn auch, mein Gott, es läßt sich nicht leugnen, bleiben wir dabei, auch im Ernst des Lebens, Gott sei Dank, ein bißchen angejazzt.'

observation poignantly describes how the new trends of carefree entertainment, in this case jazz, managed to reach audiences across different social spheres. However, despite its glitz and glamour, life in Weimar Berlin was anything but untroubled. We may thus certainly follow Beaumont's suggestion above and assume that, in addition to the world of Weimar jazz, the verses of Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen and Jean Toomer, all members of the Harlem Renaissance, resonated with Zemlinsky's Berlin experience on yet another level: the oppression of an ethnic minority, in this case Jewish citizens, in a state with growing National Socialist tendencies. However, as shall be demonstrated, the parallel between African-American and Jewish lives is only one of many layers that feed into the plural fabric of the *Symphonische Gesänge*.

In the end, Weimar jazz was no different from how Duke Ellington described it in 1969: 'If 'jazz' means anything at all, which is questionable, it means […] – freedom of expression.'[74] As such, the Weill-Brecht collaboration that produced the popular tunes 'Meckie Messer' and 'Alabama Song' are examples of authentic Weimar jazz.[75] Although quite different from these *Gassenlieder*, I argue that Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, conceptually speaking, should be seen as examples of Weimar jazz too. To some of the younger Austrian and German composers, including Kurt Weill and Wilhelm Grosz, jazz was one kind of counter-approach to the overly analytical and abstract route of Schoenberg's twelve-tone-technique.[76] Zemlinsky, 58 years old at the time of composing Op.20, took neither Weill's and Grosz's paths to theatre songs, nor a Whiteman-like approach to symphonic jazz. Yet, he too 'pitt[ed] an almost sacred symphonic tradition against a profane and racially other jazz.'[77] His music thus fits within jazz as a wider category, where, above all, the modes of narration are radically different from those of the established Austro-German tradition.

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[74] Ellington quoted in Berrett, *Louis Armstrong and Paul Whiteman*, xi.

[75] Compare Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 201.
Zemlinsky's own experience as conductor of the 1931 Berlin production of *Mahagonny* may well have led him to consider the topic and overall motives of his successful 1932 opera *Der Kreidekreis*. Song-like passages, spoken word and the parable as narrative form reveal obvious parallels with Brecht's form of epic theatre. Although very much influenced by Zemlinsky's Weimar-Berlin years, *Der Kreidekreis* in the end keeps an idealistic flavour. It praises *Gerechtigkeit* (equality) as the highest principle of mankind. For detailed discussions of the opera, compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 368-376, Christoph Becher, *Die Variantentechnik am Beispiel Alexander Zemlinskys* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 281-284,309-322, Peter Revers, 'Zur Ostasienrezeption in Alexander Zemlinskys *Kreidekreis*', in Hartmut Krones, ed., *Alexander Zemlinsky: Ästhetik, Stil und Umfeld* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 79-116.

[76] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 150-154

[77] Ibid., 84.

The Anthology *Afrika Singt*

Both increasing political tensions and the flourishing jazz-genre in Weimar Berlin set the stage for Zemlinsky's symphonic vocal work, Op. 20. Apart from his use of Harlem-Renaissance texts, the instrumentation of the *Symphonische Gesänge* includes mandolin and jazz drums. As opposed to the symphonic song cycle Op.18, the individual songs here are isolated short stories, which ultimately make for a song set rather than a cycle. The issues of race and slavery in the United States during the early 20th century was something Zemlinsky most likely became aware of through intellectuals like Anna Nußbaum, who was a kind of ambassador of African-American topics in the German-speaking lands. For the most part, little is known about items that may have been in Zemlinsky's library, or how and for what reasons he acquired the poems for his settings. In the case of the Harlem-Renaissance texts, there is evidence that Marie Pappenheim, author of the text of Schoenberg's *Erwartung,* sent a copy from Vienna of Anna Nußbaum's anthology to the Zemlinskys in Berlin.[78] According to Wipplinger, the now forgotten volume was so *en vogue* among intellectuals at the time that 'in 1930 one found a copy of 'Afrika Singt' on the bookshelf of nearly every cultured German home.'[79] Thus, it may be assumed that prior to making his selection of the seven poems he would set to music, Zemlinsky read and, by and large, agreed with Nußbaum's foreword. For this reason, it is worth quoting passages from the prologue here so as to understand the socialist context in which Nußbaum presented these texts.

> To us, an affirmation of one's race, independent of language, citizenship and religion, seems to be a fertile creative sensation. More: a means for a respectful understanding of other races; a quite noble sentiment, established within human nature, which has nothing to do with the hideous face of a business-political, disastrous 'Nationalism'.[80]

[78] This information comes from interviews with Louise Zemlinsky. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000),360. There is little doubt about the fact that Zemlinsky had a copy of the anthology as it was the only German translation available then.

[79] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic,* 183.

[80] Anna Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt: Eine Auslese neuer Afro-Amerikanischer Lyrik* (Vienna: F.G. Speidel'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929), 8-9. 'Uns scheint Bekenntnis zu seiner Rasse unabhängig von Sprache, Staatsbürgertum und Religion ein fruchtbares schöpferisches Gefühl zu sein. Mehr: ein Mittel zu achtungsvollem Verständnis für andere Rassen; eine im menschlichen Gemüt begründete durchaus edle Empfindung, die mit der Fratze eines geschäftspolitischen, verhängnisvollen 'Nationalismus' nichts zu tun hat.'

Although Nußbaum's application of the term 'race', i.e., her self-evident use of a concept that categorizes people accordingly, may alarm a twenty-first-century readership, one must be careful to interpret her words in their early twentieth-century contemporary context. While the concept of race was then taken for granted without much question, her clear opposition towards a nationalism that sought to exclude selected ethnic groups from society carry far more weight here. Her idea of race is an inclusive one, which objects to the idea of its counterpart, i.e., racism. Nußbaum further makes a point of distinguishing her anthology from the common trends of exoticism:

> It goes without saying that our work was not undertaken for reasons of fashionable goodwill for the foreign and not-yet-discovered, nor for the purpose of glorifying the negro. It is intended as contribution to [finding] truth.[81]

Thus, Nußbaum sought to counter the mere demonstrations of primitive exoticisms she knew from Vienna. Yet, it was not only the curious exhibitions she knew from the festival grounds of the Prater:

> Recently I had the opportunity to get to know the exceptional musical and rhythmic talents of the Negroes […]. For some time, they've been playing, dancing and singing at the Prater. Of course, they've done so according to the demands of the public, above all the frenetic vitality of jazz band melodies, but at personal request they'll also sing their wondrous, old nigger songs, in which a centuries-old longing for freedom, a heartfelt, intimate love of their *Heimat* is expressed. May the best amongst the whites finally find the courage of conviction to raise their voice for justice and

[81] Ibid., 9. 'Überflüssig zu sagen, daß unsere Arbeit nicht aus dem Modewholwollen für Fremdländisches und Noch-Nicht-Dagewesenes unternommen wurde, keine Verhimmelung der Neger beabsichtig. Sie ist als Beitrag zur Wahrheit gedacht.'

> understanding for a race that like everyone has a right to pursue, according to its individuality, a beneficent development in its own, free country.[82]

Owing to her Socialist background, Nußbaum understood that the wish for a *Heimat* is a basic human need, unrelated to Austro-German topics. Nevertheless, the intellectual nature of poetry like Langston Hughes's were her primary interest. Nußbaum's direct correspondences with African-American poets, including Hughes, as well as her efforts in protecting Josephine Baker from right-wing protests in Vienna remain entirely unmentioned in any research on Zemlinsky's Harlem Renaissance compositions.[83] As Wipplinger poignantly puts it, 'Anna Nussbaum and *Afrika Singt* reveal not a one-sided German-Austrian interest, but cooperation, collaboration, and an example of diasporic reciprocity with diverse African American artists and intellectuals like Schuyler, Du Bois, and Hughes.'[84] Both Nußbaum's encounter with African-American jazz and traditional blues at the Prater, and her communications with intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance once more show how widespread and interwoven was the cultural exchange. Thus, the web of relationships of Anna Nußbaum, i.e., her connections with international artistic circles, went far beyond European borders, across the Atlantic. Through his thorough engagement with the volume of translations she produced, Zemlinsky was also part of this wider web.

The title itself, *Afrika Singt,* seems odd at first if we consider that it contains poetry from the Harlem Renaissance, i.e., from North America rather than Africa. Nußbaum provides us with the following explanation:

> We must search for the soul of the negro in the spiritual as well as in worldly songs, in which an oriental-mystical race, enslaved in a foreign

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[82] Nußbaum quoted and translated in Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 178. Translation slightly amended. 'Ich habe kürzlich die Gelegenheit gehabt die außerordentliche musikalische und rhythmische Begabung der Neger, ihr feines Gefühl für Humor und Parodie kennen zu lernen. Sie spielen, tanzen und singen seit einiger Zeit im Prater, natürlich Publikumswünschen entsprechend, vor allem Jazzbandmelodieen [sic] von frenetischer Lebendigkeit, dann aber auch auf persönliche Aufforderung ihre wunderbaren alten Niggersongs, in denen jahrhundertalte Sehnsucht nach Freiheit, eine rührend-innige Liebe zur Heimat sich ausspricht. Mögen die Besten unter den Weißen endlich den Mut ihrer Überzeugung finden, um laut für Gerechtigkeit und Verstehen einer Rasse einzutreten, die wie wir alle Anspruch darauf hat, ihrer Eigenheit gemäß, im eigenen, freien Land einer segensreichen Entwicklung entgegenzugehen.' Anna Nußbaum, 'Negerroman', in *Sozialistische Monatshefte,* Vol. 11 (Vienna, 1922), 661.

[83] Compare Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 177, 180.

[84] Ibid., 181.

> land, rescues itself from the dreadful every-day, by evoking the wonders of Christian paradise or those of the lost *Heimat.*[85]

And further:

> With young voices, Africa sings: the yearning for the magical *ur-Heimat,* which is as old as our earth; the agony of a thousand-year-long oppression abroad; […] but also the recognition of one's own value; […] The problem of race becomes a problem of class. Both will and must find a solution.
>
> Their voices […] deserve to be heard. Their songs: an upsetting cry for help towards freedom and promising witness for the light of an emerging humanity.[86]

Hence, although neither exoticisms nor awkward ideas of race are absent from Nußbaum's commentary, her contribution to a forward-looking, liberal and at the time provocative intellectual movement should not be underestimated.[87] Her main concern, the rise of fascism and racism, comes to the fore as well as the importance to give a voice to suppressed peoples. Thus, she bridges the gap between two supposedly disparate cultures by indirectly drawing parallels between slavery and segregation in the United States on the one hand, and growing antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe on the other. Perhaps her promotion of Harlem-Renaissance writers was even intended as a proposal to European citizens (of Jewish descent) to fight against a rising fascism and for a free society. In her obituary – Anna Nußbaum died unexpectedly in 1931 – Helene Scheu Riesz remembers the important role the teacher, writer and translator had played in pacifist movements as well as in female activism.[88] Hence, it was in the

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[85] Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt*, 9. 'Wir müssen die Seele des Negers in den geistlichen und in den weltlichen Liedern suchen, in denen eine orientalisch-mystische, in fremdem Lande versklavte Rasse sich aus dem furchtbaren Alltag rettet, indem sie Wunder des christlichen Paradieses oder der verlorenen Heimat heraufbeschwört.'

[86] Ibid., 11. 'Mit jungen Stimmen singt Afrika: die Sehnsucht nach der zauberhaften Urheimat, die so alt wie unsere Erde ist; die Qual aus tausendjähriger Bedrückung in der Fremde; […] aber auch die Erkenntnis des eigenen Wertes; […] Das Rassenproblem wird zum Klassenproblem. Beide werden und müssen Lösung finden. Diese Stimmen [...] verdienen gehört zu werden. Ihre Lieder: erschütternder Hilferuf nach Befreiung und verheißungsvolles Zeugnis zum Licht aufstrebender Menschheit.'

[87] Also compare Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich,* 31.

[88] Helene Scheu-Riesz in *Die Österreicherin,* 4/7 (1 July 1931), page number not identifiable. Anna Nußbaum was born in 1887, the exact date is not recorded. Compare 'Frauen in Bewegung: 1848-1938', *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, <http://www.fraueninbewegung.onb.ac.at/Pages/PersonDetail.aspx?p_iPersonenID=8674875> accessed 23 August 2019.

spirit of anti-nationalism as well as socialism that Zemlinsky encountered the anthology *Afrika Singt.* It would go too far to claim that his intentions were congruent with Nußbaum's, but it might be safe to assume that they coincided on key points, including the rejection of nationalism and racism.

The poetry collection is divided into eleven sections: 'I am a Negro', 'The White God', 'The New Home', 'Work', 'You White People', 'The Black Woman', 'Harlem', 'Poet's Dream', 'Love', 'Liberation' and 'Sound of Folk (Blues)'.[89] Just like the wider cultural movement itself, this volume of Harlem-Renaissance texts moves from the stages of slavery towards a new homecoming in (utopian) freedom. Thus, quite distant from the German concept of *Heimat* and heritage, Harlem writers too were fabricating through narrative their ideal of a home and *Geborgenheit*, in this case as a fight for human rights in the hope of overcoming oppression by a white majority. As such, the underlying function of the idea of *Heimat* is underlined as universal and not exclusive to German-speaking cultures. Apart from Langston Hughes, probably the best known amongst the Harlemites, the poets include James Weldon Johnson, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Angelina Weld Grimke, Fenton Johnson, Otto Leland Bohannan, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Jean Toomer, Jessie Fauset, Joseph S. Cotter Jr., Frank Horne, Arna Bontemps, Waring Cuney, Lewis Alexander, Gwendolyn B. Bennet and Helene Johnson. It is worth noting that Nußbaum made an effort to incorporate a representative number of female writers in her anthology.[90]

In Search of the Symphony

According to Beaumont, '[t]here is little about the Symphonic Songs that could at face value be identified as 'symphonic': no readily identifiable sonata-form outline, as in the Second Quartet or the Lyric Symphony, no audible unity of themes and motifs […].' [91] The scholar's assessment of the piece's structure is fitting in so far as the traditional

[89] 'Ich bin ein Neger', 'Der Weisse Gott', 'Die Neue Heimat', 'Arbeit', 'Ihr Weissen', 'Die Schwarze Frau', 'Harlem', 'Dichtertraum', 'Liebe', 'Befreiung', 'Im Volkston (Blues)'. Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt*, 71-74.
[90] Nußbaum's choice must be considered as part of her feminist and socialist attitude. By and large, the movement's best known figures were male artists. That the Harlem Renaissance took on rather different tones in the works of its female writers is shown in Cheryl. A. Wall, *Women of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995).
[91] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 363.

framework of symphonic and sonata forms are indeed difficult to trace, and this is certainly a reasonable viewpoint considering Zemlinsky's compositional history. Yet, going back to the flourishing jazz-culture of Weimar-Berlin, one may approach Zemlinsky's choice of title from a slightly different angle. Symphonic jazz was so central to musical culture during the 1920s and early 1930s that Zemlinsky, working with both poems and stylistic elements of a new genre, may well have sought to remodel or at least widen his idea of symphonic song. This argument becomes more plausible when looking at the development of the symphony in Zemlinsky's own oeuvre. Apart from two early symphonies, written in 1893 and 1897, respectively, Zemlinsky did not engage with the purely instrumental form of the genre. However, as is well known, he was significantly influenced by Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. His 1923 *Lyrische Symphonie* is closely modelled after Mahler's hybrid of symphony and *Gesang*, similarly exploring the themes of *Abschied* (farewell) and eternity. The seven movements are also sung by a male and female voice in alteration. Yet, as opposed to Mahler's *Lied*, the movements of the *Lyrische Symphonie* are connected through orchestral interludes, and thus formal cohesion is solidly established.[92] The narrative trajectory of the cycle is clear from the outset:

> As in the Maeterlinck-*Gesänge*, the texts [by Tagore] are not about real events – they are not about unfulfilled love, for instance, which might be the narrative essence of a novel. […] the desires of both man and woman remain unfulfilled, there is no way out! […] Central topic of the *Lyrische Symphonie* is not 'the experience of life' as such, but its dream – a dream of love as aesthetic event of the artist.[93]

In line with Weber's observation, the *Lyrische Symphonie,* similar to Mahler's *Lied*, seeks a conclusion in a kind of afterlife or after-world. If love, eternity and unity cannot be achieved in life, it must be the artist's highest aim to do so from an aesthetic point of view.[94]

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[92] For more details on the formal structure of the *Lyrische Symphonie*, see Weber, *Alexander Zemlinsky*, 113-125.

[93] Ibid., 125. 'Wie in den Maeterlinck-Gesängen meinen die Texte kein reales Geschehen – etwa eine gescheiterte Liebe, deren Geschichte sich auch als Novelle erzählen ließe. [...] daß das Verlangen des Mannes und der Frau nicht erfüllbar ist, daß es keinen Ausweg gibt! [...] Das Thema der Lyrischen Symphonie ist nicht unmittelbar 'die Erfahrung des Lebens', sondern dessen Traum – ein Traum von Liebe als ästhetische Veranstaltung des Künstlers.'

[94] See also Ibid.

Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge*, composed only six years later, drastically deviate from these principles. The work's scaffold still loosely hinges on the earlier hybrid of symphony and *Gesang*, but its narrative is strikingly different. No longer are the seven movements connected, and the individual songs are vignettes of isolated situations, resisting linearity. As such, the unfolding of their narratives have much more in common with a modern novel like Janowitz's *Jazz* than with the song of the 'whole "dear earth"'.[95] There is no overcoming of reality, not even in the form of dream.

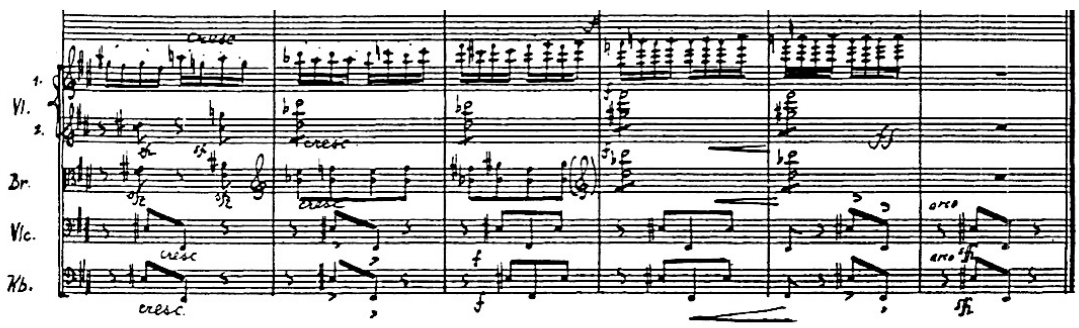
Thus, even if Zemlinsky's symphonic song set, in terms of its orchestration and overall musical language, is much closer to his 1923 *Lyrische Symphonie* than to the orchestral scores of Paul Whiteman, it certainly brings into dialogue, if not conflict, thematic material from entirely different spheres. Wipplinger poignantly observed that '[…] symphony and jazz seemed to exist in worlds apart, yet they were also worlds that seemed to be in a constant state of collision.'[96] Accordingly, with the *Symphonische Gesänge,* Zemlinsky shifted gear from the over-arching ideal of a universal 'homecoming' as presented in his *Lyrische Symphonie* to the significance of the mundane issues of the individual. The late-Romantic Austro-German style of Mahler's *Lied* that so clearly influenced the musical fabric of Op.18 is now mixed with mundane issues like oppression and murder, which are not resolved in a hopeful, let alone redemptive ending.

Zemlinsky's symphonic form thus becomes an act of transition: while he keeps the outer shell intact (Op.20 is comprised of seven songs just like Op.18) there are few common motives between songs – at least not in any straightforward manner – and no real sense of a homecoming at the end of the piece. Nonetheless, each song connects with the preceding one by either a dominant, subdominant or parallel key-relationship.[97] Yet, I argue that the *Symphonische Gesänge* really should *also* be considered as a form of symphonic jazz: surely not in Paul Whiteman's fashion of orchestrating swing tunes, nor comparable to Gershwin's compositions. Yet, just like Whiteman's concert-hall jazz, Zemlinsky's Op.20 introduces topics that otherwise are

[95] Ibid., 115. 'die ganze "liebe Erde"'.
[96] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 84.
[97] Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 364.

far removed from established (white) audiences, and integrates them into a commonly accepted stylistic scaffold. Both Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* and Zemlinsky's own *Lyrische Symphonie* draw on exotic ideas, using Bethge's transcriptions of ancient Chinese poetry and Tagore's Bengali verses respectively. Yet, in both cases the far-Eastern exoticism is used to underline the overarching validity of essential human topics – youth, beauty, solitude, sorrow and farewell. They are not simply telling stories from foreign worlds despite their occasional use of local colour. By contrast, the *Symphonische Gesänge* confront the listener with things unfamiliar, i.e., with the African-American culture of Harlem, New York. Although of course Mahler already blurred the genres to a significant degree by merging the *Gesang* with the symphony, Zemlinsky's 1929 composition further extends the ambiguity of styles. The parallel between Op.20 and symphonic jazz is surely conceptual rather than defined by the musical material. As such, Zemlinsky thinks up a new style that seeks to complement the customary with the new, and ultimately changes its narrative from that of a spiritual homecoming to darker stories of contemporary realism. Zemlinsky, of course, does not become a composer of swing and blues, but by addressing the same worldly themes that are central to the blues, he incorporates its essence in his own plural style, embracing at once his Austro-German traditions and the cross-cultural concerns of the age.

No great unity is reached at the end of the *Symphonische Geänge*. Even though 'Arabeske' mostly keeps within the keys of D and F-sharp, the repetitive sevenths of basses and celli, alternating between E# and F# in the last nine bars, create an inherently unsettling atmosphere (Example 1.1). The set thus closes with a state of unresolved dissonance.



Example 1.1 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.7, bars 101-106, string section.

Hence, homecoming here lies at the opposite end of *Geborgenheit* or rootedness. In complete contrast, the *Lyrische Symphonie* closes its seventh song in what Beaumont refers to as 'perfection or completion' in the key of D major, which satisfyingly resolves the somewhat menacing F# minor of the very beginning – 'Ich bin Friedlos' (I am without peace).[98] Yet, that the two symphonic settings indeed maintain a kind of distant dialogue is established through these framing keys, echoes of which reappear in the beginning and ending of Op.20.[99] In his analysis of the overall structure, Beaumont suggests that the binaries between male and female of Op.18 become in Op.20, 'the antitheses […] of light and darkness, hope and despair, life and death'.[100]

If, as argued above, Zemlinsky's 1929 composition is seen as a hybrid of *Gesang*, symphony and jazz, these binaries dissolve into a much more multifaceted, polyglot fabric of storytelling, less interested in final redemption, or the impossibility thereof, than in the presentation of unresolved individual destinies. Within this fabric, new elements of orchestration such as the use of tom-toms, a woodblock and a mandolin in No.7, coexist alongside a more traditional sound world. Yet, Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge* become difficult to classify if seen through the lens of musical modernism and the styles of the Second Viennese School alone. Instead, the piece's relationship with the symphony, perhaps the largest monument in Zemlinsky's compositional heritage, needs to be approached through its contemporary 1929 context.[101] In fact, Op.20 can be regarded as a confrontation or questioning of the lyrical style of his *Orchesterlieder* from 1923. If redemption and the full closure of a cyclic idea are no longer productive artistic categories, then occurrences of Romantic longing like in No.5 ('Erkenntnis') must be framed differently too.

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[98] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 316.

[99] As stated above, both D and F# define the basis of No.7 whereas No.1 ('Lied aus Dixieland') is roughly kept in D minor.

[100] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 163.

[101] On the general 'crisis' of the symphony in the first half of the twentieth century, see Manuel Gervink, *Die Symphonie in Deutschland und Österreich in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1984).

Defamiliarizing the Familiar

If the framework of Op.20 shifts the particularities of its traditional form, rather than replacing them by an entirely new concept, the narrative strategy of the work changes accordingly. As such, the *Symphonische Gesänge*, despite existing parallels with both the *Lyrische Symphonie* and *Das Lied von der Erde,* tells stories entirely different to those of earlier pieces. Thus, the ways in which Zemlinsky uses well-established musical means must change too. The following sets out to demonstrate how the varied use of the lament, as employed by Zemlinsky in Op.20, achieves this kind of altered narrative.

No.1 ('Lied aus Dixieland') is one of two poems Zemlinsky chose which directly address the brutal act of racist lynching. The second of these is 'Arabeske'. 'Lied aus Dixieland' questions the existence of god – the 'white' god in this case. The original title of the poem is 'Song for a Dark Girl', to be found in the fifth part of *Afrika Singt,* 'Ihr Weissen' (You White People).

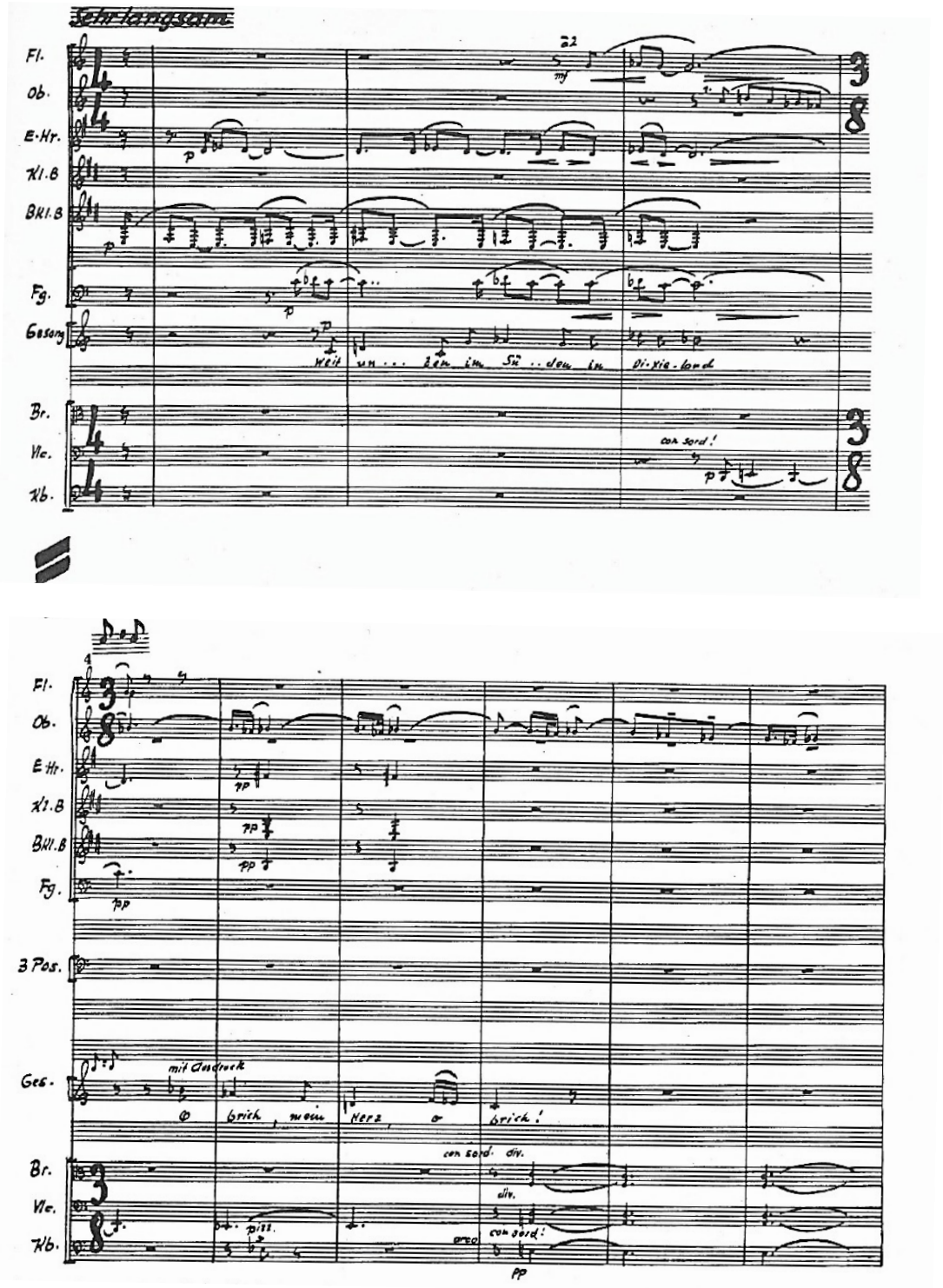
Weit unten im Süden in Dixieland, O brich, mein Herz, o brich, sie haben an einen Baum gehängt, O Ärmster, Liebster, dich.	Way Down South in Dixie (Break the heart of me) They hung my black young lover To a cross roads tree.
Weit unten im Süden in Dixieland Zermalmt, von Wind umweht — Und ich hab den weißen Herrn Jesus gefragt: Wozu, wozu noch Gebet?	Way Down South in Dixie (Bruised body high in air) I asked the white Lord Jesus What was the use of prayer.
Weit unten im Süden im Dixieland Ich leb, ich atme kaum. O liebe — nackter Schatten An einem kahlen Baum.[102]	Way down South in Dixie (Break the heart of me) Love is a naked shadow On a gnarled and naked tree.

With a gentle reference to the first song of Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder,* 'Lied aus Dixieland' begins the *Symphonische Gesänge* with fragments of a lamenting figure. Short, alternating neighbour-note patterns travel from the bass-clarinet, via horn and bassoon, to the vocal line on the last quaver in bar 1, where the lament is further developed. It finally reaches its longest breath when the oboe takes over (Example 1.2, bars 3-9). Both the range and timbre suggest a faint memory of Mahler's 'klagend[es]'

[102] Langston Hughes, 'Song for a Dark Girl'. German translation by Josef Luitpold in Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt, 72.*

lamentoso of oboe and voice in 'Nun will die Sonn' so hell aufgehn'. In 'Chacona, Lamento, Walking Blues: Bass Lines of Music History', Alex Ross illustrates how lamenting figures run like a golden thread through the centuries. He particularly focuses on the descending bassline, also known as lament bass or *passus duriusculus,* exploring various eras from the Renaissance all the way to popular music, but also folk traditions, including the blues, and of course Bach's highly formalised Chaconnes.[103] Considering the history of this powerful musical gesture, Zemlinsky's frequent use of lamenting figures is both a nod to his compositional heritage, first and foremost to J.S. Bach, and a highly topical means of expression across the genres during the 1920s, including jazz. As Ross continues: 'One feature common to many early blues [from the 1910s], whether commercial or rural, is the old downward chromatic slide. It runs in an almost subliminal way through the opening sequence of 'St. Louis Blues' […].'[104] The roots of Zemlinsky's fragmented development of these lamenting gestures are of course to be found in the *affect*-technique of the Baroque, where the listener is constantly reminded of the narrator's unjust fate.[105] Yet, instead of working through the tetrachord circumscribing a perfect fourth in the bassline, as we know it from Purcell's 'Dido's Lament' for instance, Zemlinsky chooses to foreground the gesture in the oboe part and alters the framing interval: although the melody that sets out from B♭ in bars 4-6 eventually arrives a major third lower at G♭, the fleeting moment of the neighbour-note F♭ really extends the interval of the lament to a tritone (Example 1.2). Through its tonal as well as melodic urgency, the young woman's lament in 'Lied aus Dixieland' somehow becomes an accusation that speaks beyond the layers of Hughes's text. Zemlinsky thus makes use of a well-established compositional tool, yet reworks it so as to make it relevant to Hughes's rendering of a lynching scene. Its initial familiarity is distorted as the narrative unfolds. The chromatic 'throbs' we hear as bass-clarinet, *cor anglais*, bassoon and voice enter one by one are not unlike Bach's opening chorus 'Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen' (BWV 12) where the initial weeping-gesture is reaffirmed as each voice of the four-part chorus enters (Example 1.3)

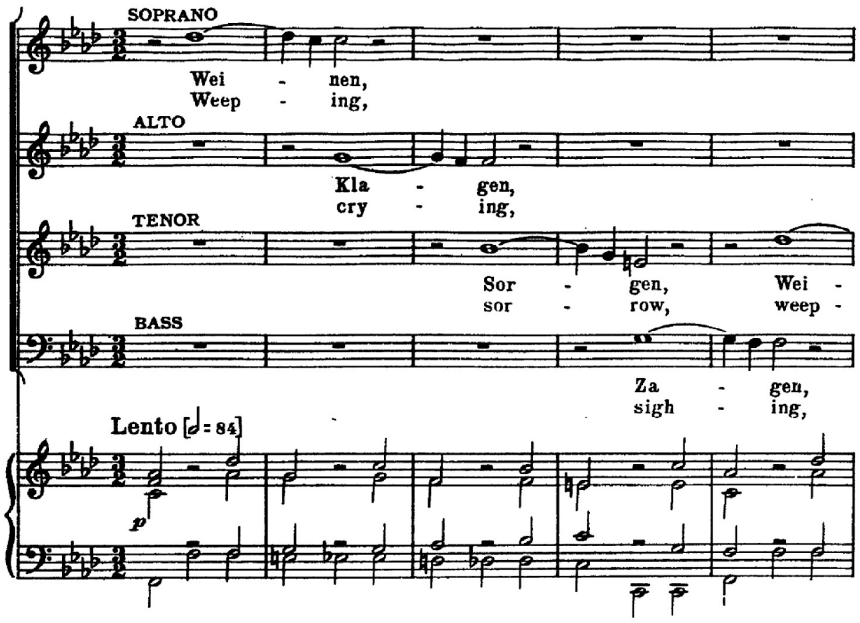
[103] Alex Ross, *Listen to This* (London: Harper Collins, 2011), 22-54.
[104] Ibid., 50.
[105] See also Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky und Steve Reich,* 63.



Example 1.2 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op. 20, No.1, bars 1-9.

Yet, their murky tonality and inherent chromaticism are nothing like the Christian outcry for forgiving. The cosmic pain or *Weltschmerz* so often found in Bach's music here becomes an accusation. *Klage* (lamentation) becomes *An-klage* (accusation). This inherently personal form of the lament of course is central to the genesis of the blues. We may not find its musical likeness in *Symphonische Gesänge,* but surely its directness

and the foregrounding of marginalised people.[106] Thus, just like the blues itself, the laments or *Anklagen* of 'Lied aus Dixieland' give a voice to the *Volk.* They are expressions of the most essential human utterances, of people mourning their lost or, in this case, never-reached *Heimat.*



Example 1.3 J.S. Bach, *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen,* No.2 (Chorus), BWV 12, bars 1-5.

Zemlinsky's technique of defamiliarizing well-established musical means has been thoroughly explored by Christoph Becher. The scholar utilises the term *Variante* (variant) rather than variation in his study in order to clearly differentiate Zemlinsky's technique from the teleological developing variation of Schoenberg's theory.[107] In keeping with the above example of the blues-inspired lament, one might best understand this particular form of altering an inherited compositional device as a technique of defamilarization. The motives or musical elements that appear as *Varianten* do not necessarily appear as logical consequences of the previously introduced musical material, but they resonate with their larger received heritage, i.e., as distorted sounding memory. As such, Zemlinsky's technique may be regarded as a means of story-telling, rather than a way of creating effect. Zemlinsky plays with the

[106] Beaumont sees No.3 'Totes braunes Mädel' as epitaph for his late wife Ida. He also argues that the motive of a dark-skinned girl harks back to gypsy-themes used throughout the 19th century, above all by Brahms. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 361.
[107] Becher, *Die Variantentechnik am Beispiel Zemlinskys*, 15.

concept of 'defamiliarizing the familiar', and vice versa, at almost every turn of his music: 'This [*Variantentechnik*] makes for a somewhat associative remembering of the familiar – the similarities become apparent, even though their allocation to the overall structure remains unsuccessful, and neither are they supported by it [the structure].'[108] By way of loosely associating musical gestures like the lament with both its inherited meaning and contemporary forms like the blues, this technique becomes association and dissociation at once. The memory evoked by the music sounds familiar but, at the same time, strange.

Narrative Strategies: The Dramaturgy of Op.20

Zemlinsky's intricate system of plural narratives becomes clear when zooming out a little, and examining the ways in which the composer places the smaller utterances, for example motivic elements, in the wider context of *Symphonische Gesänge.* No. 5 ('Erkenntnis'/ 'Disillusion') despite its location towards the end, represents the gravitational centre of *Symphonische Gesänge*, something which one might recall from his 1923 *Lyrische Symphonie* where the protagonist of the fifth movement, 'Befrei' mich von den Banden deiner Süße, Lieb', also asks to be freed from his ties. In Op.20, these ties are the dark streets of Harlem, whereas in Op.18 it is the bonds of a suffocating kind of love that need to be broken. Similarly to the *Lyrische Symphonie*, the fifth song here assumes a central function with regard to the set's dramaturgical trajectory.

Ich möchte wieder einfach sein, wie Erde, wie Regen, einfach und rein.	I would be simple again, Simple and clean Like the earth, Like the rain.

[108] Ibid., 77. 'Damit ist ein eher assoziatives Erinnern an Bekanntes gegeben – die Ähnlichkeiten werden bewußt, ohne daß deren Zuordnung zur Tektonik gelänge bzw. durch diese gestützt würde.'

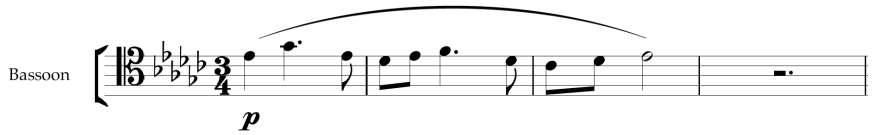
O hätt ich nie gekannt,	Nor ever know,
dunkles Harlem,	Dark Harlem,
das wilde Lachen	The wild laughter
deiner Lust,	Of your mirth
die salzigen Tränen	Nor the salt tears
deiner Pein.	Of your pain.
Sei gut zu mir,	Be kind to me,
du große dunkle Stadt,	Oh, great dark city.
laß mich vergessen.	Let me forget.
Ich will nicht wieder	I will not come
zurück zu dir![109]	To you again.

To begin with, it is worth noting that the German *Erkenntnis* is not identical with the English word 'disillusion'. While being disillusioned entails a great sense of hopelessness (the German equivalent being *desilussioniert*), *Erkenntnis* can be either positive or negative, similar to the English 'realisation'.[110] It seems likely that Nußbaum chose *Erkenntnis* rather than *Desillusion* because the latter really only is common in its verb-form, and rarely used as a noun. *Ernüchterung* might have been another valid option; however, although often heard in metaphorical terms, the word carries much less poetic potential. *Ernüchterung* literally means 'to sober-up', which obviously (also) suggests a more mundane situation. Nußbaum's translation above demonstrates a sensitive engagement with Hughes's poetry and, in its ambience and rhythm, comes close to the original. Thus, her choice of title was certainly made with great care. Kurt Tucholsky, in his review of the anthology, poignantly describes a general issue of translation: 'Well, you know. It is impossible to translate poetry. If everything goes well, one may re-create it.'[111] Following Tucholsky's proposition, these translations by no means suggest a naïve or false understanding of the original texts but, rather, a careful remodelling that would work in a German-language context in both Austria and Weimar-Germany at the time.

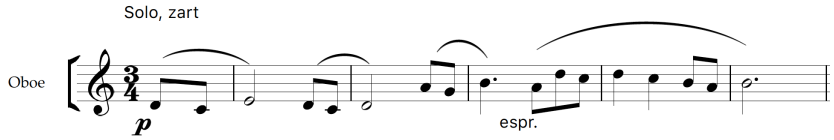
'Erkenntnis' represents a kind of conceptual continuation of the third song, 'Totes braunes Mädel' ('A Brown Girl Dead') and, by extension, 'Lied aus Dixieland'. It produces similarly calm yet affirmative tones, and like the other two also refrains from

[109] Langston Hughes, 'Disillusion'. German translation by Nußbaum in Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt*, 95.
[110] Other adequate terms might be 'recognition' or 'insight'.
[111] Kurt Tucholsky quoted in Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 'Ihr wißt ja. Lyrik kann man gar nicht übersetzen. Man kann sie, wenn alles gut geht, nachschaffen.'

the noisy chaos of 'Übler Bursche' (No.4) and 'Afrikanischer Tanz' (No.6).[112] While in No.3 the musical pattern accompanies the mourning of the poem's protagonist (Example 1.4), tones of hope, however frail, emerge in 'Erkenntnis' (Example 1.5). The simple lamenting melody played by the bassoon now becomes a brighter-sounding oboe-line. Although not immediately related by tonality, the recurring pattern of alternating thirds or seconds remind us that they are in dialogue with each other: they are telling stories from the same world.



Example 1.4 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.3, bars 1-4, bassoon solo.

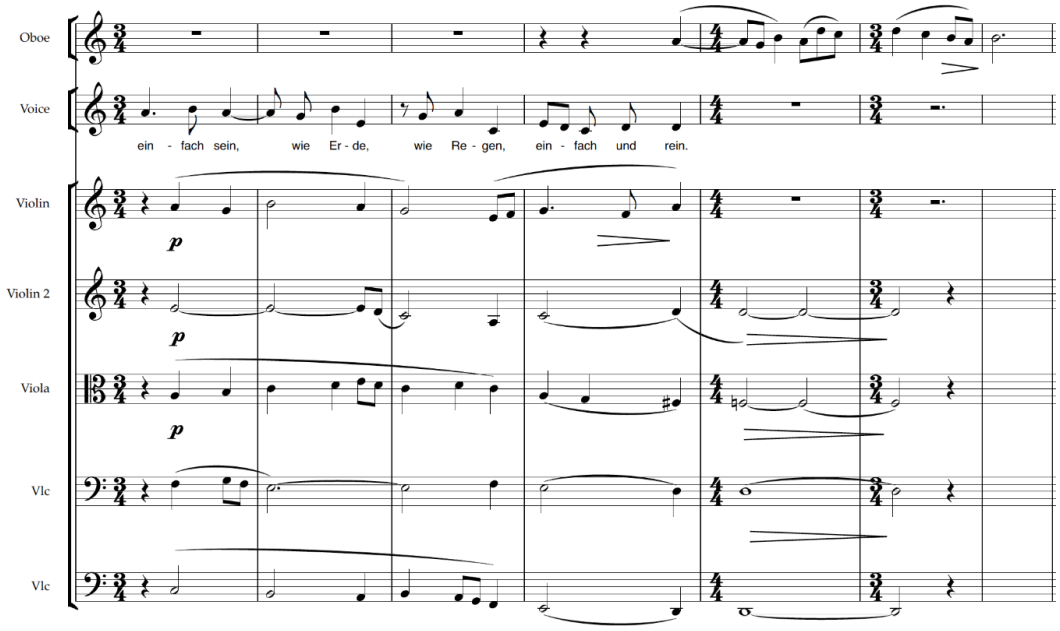


Example 1.5 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.5, bars 1-5, oboe solo.

'Lied aus Dixieland' is the darkest, most fragmented and most chromatic of all three. By the time 'Erkenntnis' opens, the set's narration has shifted from the piece's darkest misery to much lighter, less tragic forms of grief. In its middle stages, 'Totes braunes Mädel', the melodic lament is made audible both through the bassoon's dark timbre and the descending sequential motive in bars 1-2 (from the E♭ quaver to the dotted F), and 2-3 respectively (equally, from the D♭ quaver at the end of bar 2 to the E♭ minim). The bassoon motive returns twice without any alteration except for the length of the last note. There are no other melodic elaborations for the song's most lamenting instrument (more so than the vocal part). It seems that at this point, there is nothing else to say – the protagonist's grief is repeated like a mantra but, as opposed to No.1, there is no direct accusation. With No.5 ('Erkenntnis'), the oboe once again is used to elaborate the melody. This time, however, not as the instrument heralding a funeral, but as an invitation to escape reality – however fleetingly.

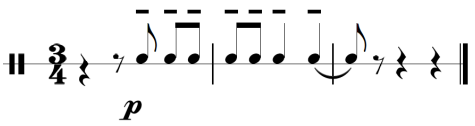
[112] Beaumont calls 'Totes braunes Mädel' Zemlinsky's 'epitaph for [his first wife] Ida'. Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 365. However, without further evidence, it is difficult to verify this assumption.

The song opens with the sound of a modal, rather ancient world in D Dorian. This style alludes to the roots of Zemlinsky's musical *Heimat*, so to speak. Starting from the word *einfach* (simple) in bar 11, the string section clearly reaffirms the simplicity of the modal space first introduced by the oboe (Example 1.6).



Example 1.6 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.5, bars 11-17.

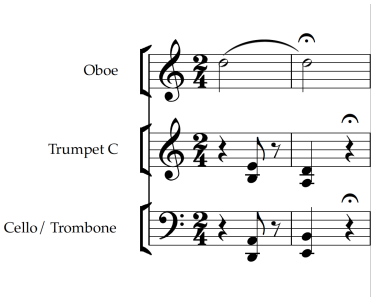
This passage thus suggests the dream-like, irrational nature of the wish to become simple and pure once more. It expresses the hope to escape the harsh realities encountered in the previous songs. Yet, although the *Einfachheit* of this kind of modal *Urheimat* is evident in the music of this long legato phrase, it is questioned through the use of a rhythmic motive that disturbs this peace. It first enters in bars 5-7 (Example 1.7, rhythmic reduction), and thus already overshadows the clear, somewhat ancient and therefore remote-sounding modality of bars 11-17.



Example 1.7 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.5, bars 5-7, rhythmic reduction.

It reappears immediately afterwards, from bar 17. Hence, the realisation or *Erkenntnis* of the song's title is to be found in the somewhat menacing rhythmic motive of the brass-section that darkens the peaceful harmony of the more lyrical passages.

Moreover, the swaying 3/4 becomes a (funeral) march-like 2/2 here, whereby the first quaver in bar 5 acts as an anacrusis to the following bar. The rhythmic displacement further adds to the sense that the hope of escaping the 'great dark city' really is something of a delusional thought. Neither purity nor simplicity will return. The song's ending once more confirms this reading. The use of ascending parallel fifths against descending parallel fourths holds on to the 'ancient' sound world of modality, i.e., to the search for a simple *Heimat* (Example 1.8, harmonic reduction). Yet, despite this modal space, 'Erkenntnis' ends with the tetrachord previously heard as 'menacing interjections' in the rhythm and brass sections – somehow, the memories of the dark city weigh heavier than the hoped-for simplicity and freedom.



Example 1.8 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.5, bars 38-39.

This is also reflected in the dramaturgical layout of the entire set. The diagram below (Fig.1.2) shows how 'Erkenntnis' or 'Disillusion' is really taken at face value in Op.20. Songs 1, 3 and 5 share inherently lyrical moments. Melodic motives expressing laments and moving from darkness to decidedly hopeful tones clearly hinge on a late-Romantic tradition, and the lyricism of both *Das Lied von der Erde* and *Lyrische Symphonie*. Redemption is sought for, and almost achieved in No.5. Yet, this ascent towards a utopian *Heimat* is continuously interrupted by those pieces that allow for no such lyricism (see downward arrows in Fig.1.2). With No.6, 'Afrikanischer Tanz', this narrative thread which looks back to an idealised artistic expression suddenly ends. It is given up in favour of blunt reality. A *Heimat* that voices hope and comfort, even if utopian, is exchanged for one that represents reality: dark street scenes and murder.

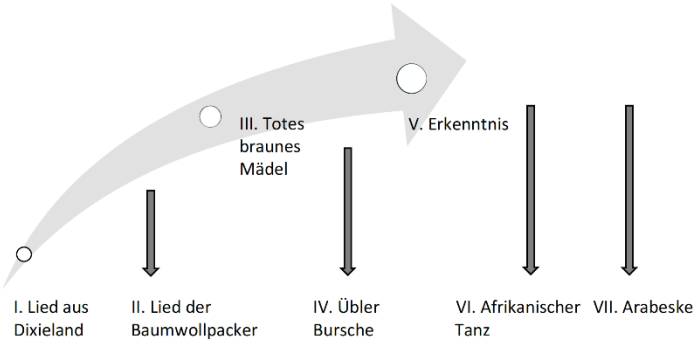


Fig. 1.2 The Dramaturgy of the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20

From the discussion above it becomes clear that had Zemlinsky planned to end Op.20 on a conciliatory note, No.5 ('Erkenntnis') might have provided a fitting closure. First, its tonal centres gravitating towards D scales directly relate to the D minor of No.1. D minor of course is also the dominating key area of Op.18, which means that up until this point a kind of dialogue is kept alive between these two works. Second, as argued above, songs one, three and five relate to each other through motivic laments. While 'Lied der Baumwollpacker' (No.2) and 'Übler Bursche' (No.4) interrupt this gradual ascent towards clarity and freedom, the inner coherence of these three pieces remains intact. Yet, Zemlinsky's narrative does not end with a catharsis. Both Nos.6 and 7 continue along the lines of Nos.2 and 4. As such, the lyrical moments are 'outnumbered'. The struggle towards freedom is not only interrupted but destroyed. Although the key areas of D and F# in 'Arabeske' are subtle hints at the fact that the stories loosely connect with each other, there is no hope in the end. Seen from a dramaturgical perspective, the *Symphonische Gesänge* end at the highest point in the narrative: the brutal murder of an innocent man. By now, a musical likeness with Mahler's *Lied von der Erde* and Zemlinsky's *Lyrische Symphonie*, both redemptive in their overall character, is no longer apparent. Yet, there are still thematic parallels between the first song of Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder* and Zemlinsky's closing piece, however faint. In both instances, the bright sunlight becomes a disturbing, troubling factor. Both Mahler's 'Nun will die Sonn' so hell aufgeh'n' and Zemlinsky's 'Arabeske', which sings about a hanged man who 'kicks holes in the laughing sunlight', invert the

initially positive and carefree meaning of the shining sun. However, Mahler's songs of mourning at least musically find some kind of reconciliation with a D major closure. Zemlinsky decides to leave the bitter effects of the glaring sunlight.

In the end, in the *Symphonische Gesänge,* Zemlinsky does not seek a greater idea of unity or 'musical homecoming'. Similar to the jazz-novels and concerts of the time, he presents short stories, which are all connected through their mundane realisms, instead of representing an overarching ideal. Although up until 'Erkenntnis' (No.5) the listener may be tempted to hear the echoes of an underlying thread traveling towards a kind of redemptive conclusion, these are silenced with the start of 'Afrikanischer Tanz' (No.6) and shattered with 'Arabeske'. The idea of a conceptual *Heimat*, the point of arrival of the *Lyrische Symphonie* where departure becomes an act of completion (*Vollendung*), is refuted here. Departure is finite, with no option of redemption.

Zemlinsky and Grosz

It was established that both Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* and the contemporary Weimar jazz culture informed Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge.* Yet, might there be parallels with the music of a younger generation of composers of art music, not usually associated with Zemlinsky? Adding Wilhem Grosz (1894-1939) as point of reference, as an agent within Zemlinsky's web of relationships, helps to further explore the latter's engagement with contemporary concerns, both in terms of musical style and thematic material. Like Zemlinsky, Grosz set songs of the Harlem Renaissance for voice and (jazz) orchestra in 1929, in his *Afrika Songs,* Op.29. Yet, since Zemlinsky is almost exclusively associated with either his predecessors Mahler and Brahms or his contemporaries of the Schoenberg School, next to no attention has been paid to a possible connection with Grosz's cycle, despite the obvious parallels.[113] This is rather surprising considering that none of the circle around Schoenberg, except for Zemlinsky, musically engaged with Nußbaum's anthology. Not even the young Kurt Weill, a frequent guest at the Kroll in the late 1920s, seemed to show much interest in the street scenes of Harlem at the

[113] Malcolm Cole discusses aspects of Grosz's cycle. Yet, no connection is made between Zemlinsky's and Grosz's work. See '*Afrika singt*: Austro-German Echoes of the Harlem Renaissance, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol.30/1 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 72-95.

time.[114] Hanns Eisler, arguably the most political composer of the era, engaged with the topic of African-American life, but did so through the lens of German writers.[115] Malcolm Cole observed that all of the composers who set music to *Afrika Singt*, '[…] with the exception of Zemlinsky (b. 1871), belong to the same generation as the poets.'[116] Among them are Fritz Kramer, Edmund Nick, Kurt Pahlen and Erich Zeisl. Hence, it seems that Zemlinsky here identified with the goals of a younger group of composers. Thus, when Cole writes that, with Op.20, 'Zemlinsky proves himself a worthy member of the Schoenberg circle', he ignores the fact that none of them was interested in African-American poetry.[117] At the same time as Zemlinsky set poems from *Afrika Singt,* Schoenberg composed his domestic drama *Von heute auf morgen* (libretto by Gertrud Schönberg)*, Six Pieces for Male Chorus*, Op.35 (1929/30, text by the composer) and *Vier deutsche Volkslieder.* None of these pieces leave the spheres of the German-speaking lands. Even more, the four folk songs in both music and poetry look back to the chorale tradition of the Baroque, using texts from the 16th and 17th centuries and a musical language that makes it hard to believe Schoenberg had moved definitively to the twelve-tone-technique by then.[118] It seems that with the *Vier deutsche Volkslieder*, in both form and content, 'the composer Schoenberg tacitly corrected the theorist.'[119] Also in 1929, Alban Berg wrote his concert-aria *Der Wein* to poems by Baudelaire, and the young Ernst Krenek, who had already made his experiences with the jazz genre through *Jonny spielt auf,* now engaged with Alpine territory in his *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen*.[120] These composers' works are fragmented in so far as their styles differ hugely *between* pieces. However, none of the

[114] Much later, in 1946, Kurt Weill collaborated with Langston Hughes towards their Broadway opera *Street Scene.* Compare Jürgen Schebera, *Kurt Weill* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000) 124-127.

[115] Eisler's *Ballade von den Baumwollpflückern* (1930), for instance, is based on a text by the presumably German writer B. Traven (birth date unconfirmed–1969).

[116] Cole, '*Afrika singt*: Austro-German Echoes of the Harlem Renaissance', 76-77.

[117] Ibid., 89.

[118] For details on the genesis of Schoenberg's *Vier deutsche Volkslieder* see Arnold Schönberg Center, <https://www.schoenberg.at/index.php/de/faq/vier-deutsche-volkslieder> accessed 30 August 2019. Note that these works were composed for the 'Staatliche Kommission für das Volksliederbuch für die Jugend' in Berlin.

[119] Ibid., 'Es scheint als hätte der Komponist Schoenberg den Theoretiker stillschweigend korrigiert.'

[120] Berg's choice to use Wedekind's plays as basis for his opera *Lulu* fell in 1928. *Lulu* of course also plays with jazz-inspired themes in surreal and grotesque European sceneries, typical for Wedekind's social criticism. See Herwig Knaus and Wilhelm Sinkovicz, *Alban Berg: Zeitumstände – Lebenslinien* (St. Pölten: Residenz Verlag, 2008), 304-306.

above employs the kind of pluralism found in Zemlinsky's late song writing, where these styles co-exist *within* a given piece.

As Beaumont, Klein and Cole observe, Hertzka's letter to Zemlinsky, regretting the Universal Edition's rejection of the score, with the excuse that the publisher would need to focus on larger (operatic) pieces for financial reasons, was 'pure bluff'.[121] At the same time as the 58-year-old Zemlinsky's work was ignored, UE was happy to promote settings of *Afrika Singt* by the younger generation.[122] Grosz's Op.29 was both published and repeatedly performed between 1930-1938.[123] Pahlen's cycle for voice and piano was also accepted and printed in 1930.[124] Ironically, UE's decision to either drop older *fin-de-siècle* composers from their programme, or to at least keep them within their 'designated category' of Second-Viennese-School aesthetics in many ways still influences the current approaches to their music today.[125] In 1929, UE decided that Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge* were not worth publishing. And although, in 1931, Hertzka eventually gave in to acquiring the rights, it would not be until 1935 that the world premiere took place in Brno – much too late for a work on African-American topics by a Jewish composer to receive recognition in a fascist environment.[126] It is surely no coincidence that works which had been successful during their time of origin fit the categories of a well-established 'classical' canon. As such, Zemlinsky's *Lyrische Symphonie,* a piece firmly rooted in a late-Romantic tradition while complying with the modernist trends of its age, was and still is valued. By contrast, his *Symphonische Gesänge* had no chance of receiving critical acclaim in the mid-1930s; its contents and aesthetics seemed too awkward for either the modernist or the contemporary

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[121] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 362.

[122] Schreker had been more or less dismissed by UE from 1926, before Zemlinsky's unpleasant experience with the UE in 1929/30. Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker (1878-1934): A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 206-7.

[123] The thirteen performances (mostly on the radio) occurred in Zurich, Brno, Vienna, Stockholm, Oslo, Cologne and Cracow. See Cole, '*Afrika singt*: Austro-German Echoes of the Harlem Renaissance', 93.

[124] See Klein, *Alexander Zemlinsky – Steve Reich*, 46.
It is perhaps also worth noting that until today, the UE claims on their website that the poetry of Zemlinsky's Op.20 was penned by Wilhelm Grosz and translated by Jean Forman, Grosz's granddaughter < https://www.universaledition.com/de/alexander-zemlinsky-796/werke/sinfonische-gesaenge-5162>, accessed 30 August 2019. This somewhat careless promotion of the piece demonstrates its relative meaninglessness even in today's marketing of classical music.

[125] Zemlinsky serves as a prime example to support this argument. Only after he was re-established as a notable figure of 'Viennese modernism', with connections to Mahler, Brahms and Schoenberg, his unpublished music received the UE's attention. The *Symphonische Gesänge* were published in 1977, after its composer had been 'rediscovered' as a central figure of Austrian music history.

[126] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 363.

entertainment boxes. Consequently, Op.20 was scarcely talked about, and thus fell into the abyss of overlooked works. Later, long after the composer's death, it remained difficult to place the *Symphonische Gesänge* within the already established canon. Thus, they were simply neglected as pieces too difficult to categorise.[127]

If, as argued above, Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge* bridge the gap between a traditional symphonic form and the musical styles of a new era, including jazz, it is worth looking at Wilhelm Grosz's *Afrika Songs*, which are much more clearly defined by the musical standards of a later, post-*fin-de-siècle* generation. Both works are sets of songs based on poems from Anna Nußbaum's volume *Afrika Singt.* While Zemlinsky's Op.20 is set for baritone or alto solo with orchestra, Grosz's Op.29 uses two medium voices and orchestra or piano.[128] Both pieces make use of some of the same texts, and both were composed in 1929. The following table illustrates these observations:

Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op. 20 (1929)	Grosz, *Afrika Songs*, Op. 29 (1929)
1. Lied aus Dixieland (Hughes) *Song for a Dark Girl*	1. Ja? (Hughes) *Moan*
2. Lied der Baumwollpacker (Toomer) ***Cotton Song***	**2. Lied der Baumwollpacker (Toomer)** ***Cotton Song***
3. Totes braunes Mädel (Cullen) *A Brown Girl Dead*	**3. Arabeske (Horne)** ***Arabesque***
4. Übler Bursche (Hughes) *Bad Man*	4. Tante Sues Geschichten (Hughes) *Aunt Sue's Stories*
5. Erkenntnis (Hughes) *Disillusion*	5. Das neue Kabarettmädel (Hughes) *The New Cabaret Girl*
6. Afrikanischer Tanz (Hughes)* *Danse Africaine*	6. Schnaps-Mary (Hughes) *Ballad of Gin Mary*
7. Arabeske (Horne) ***Arabesque***	7. Haarlemer Nachtlied
	8. Elend* (Hughes): *Misery*
* Zemlinsky uses Hughes's text again in the *Twelve Songs,* Op.27	* Zemlinsky uses Hughes's text later in Op.27

Fig. 1.3 Comparison between Harlem-Renaissance poetry used by Zemlinsky and Grosz, including the original titles.

[127] The lack of recognition for the work of Grosz and his contemporaries' work in musicology over the past decades may similarly relate to the fact that, although published, this generation of composers was silenced because their most productive years would have fallen into the war-period. Grosz's early death meant that, unlike Schoenberg for instance, he was unable to build a reputation as a post-war composer.

[128] In the orchestral version of *Afrika Songs,* Nos.7 and 8 of the vocal score are merged into one.

Owing to biographical parallels, it is likely that the two composers knew of each other's works. Both men were born into Jewish families in Vienna, although Grosz's upbringing was marked by a much wealthier environment. He received instruction in composition from Robert Fuchs and Franz Schreker, among others. [129] Unlike Zemlinsky, who had left for Prague by 1911, Grosz witnessed WW1 and the early stages of Austro-Fascism from within Vienna. In 1927, the very year in which Zemlinsky joined the Krolloper, his younger colleague also moved to Berlin. Moreover, Grosz's return to Vienna in 1933 coincides with that of Zemlinsky's. Shortly thereafter, in 1934, and thus much sooner than was the case for Zemlinsky, the precarious situation in Austria prompted Grosz and his family to leave and settle in the UK. In 1939, the year of his death, Grosz followed his old friend Korngold's suggestion to travel to New York.[130]

On the whole, Grosz's cycle follows a much more straightforward tonal structure than Zemlinsky's set. The journey that begins with 'Ja?' in E♭ minor ends with an unambiguous return of the home key in its last song 'Elend'. Although all pieces are kept separately in the piano reduction, Grosz linked them with instrumental interludes in his orchestral version. Generally speaking, particularly because of its optional duets between the two voices, Grosz's cycle is much more theatrical or cabaret-like than Zemlinsky's.[131] Yet, even if this option is disregarded, they each deliver their own stories in a dialogical manner because if not singing *with* each other, they sing *to* each other. Although, like Zemlinsky, Grosz makes use of a symphonic orchestra with wind, brass and string sections, he adds a considerable number of jazz instruments into the mix. By using alto- and tenor saxophones, jazz trumpets, banjo and jazz percussion, *Afrika Songs* in both style and timbre are closer to the symphonic jazz of Paul Whiteman than

[129] There is no authorised biography of Wilhelm Grosz available at this point. For biographical key dates see 'Wilhelm Grosz', *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002583?wcmsID=0003#> accessed 30 August 2019.
According to Cole, '*Afrika Singt*: Austro-German Echoes of the Harlem Renaissance', 77 Grosz moved to Berlin in 1928.

[130] 'Wilhelm Grosz', *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit.*

[131] The composer provides cue-notes where the otherwise altering mezzosoprano and baritone voices may come together. Compare Grosz, *Afrika Songs*, Op.29 (Appendix 1).

Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge.*[132] They are street songs, painting all kinds of mundane and grotesque scenes, particularly in Nos. 4 ('Tante Sues Geschichten'), 5 ('Das neue Kabarettmädel') and 6 ('Schnaps-Mary').

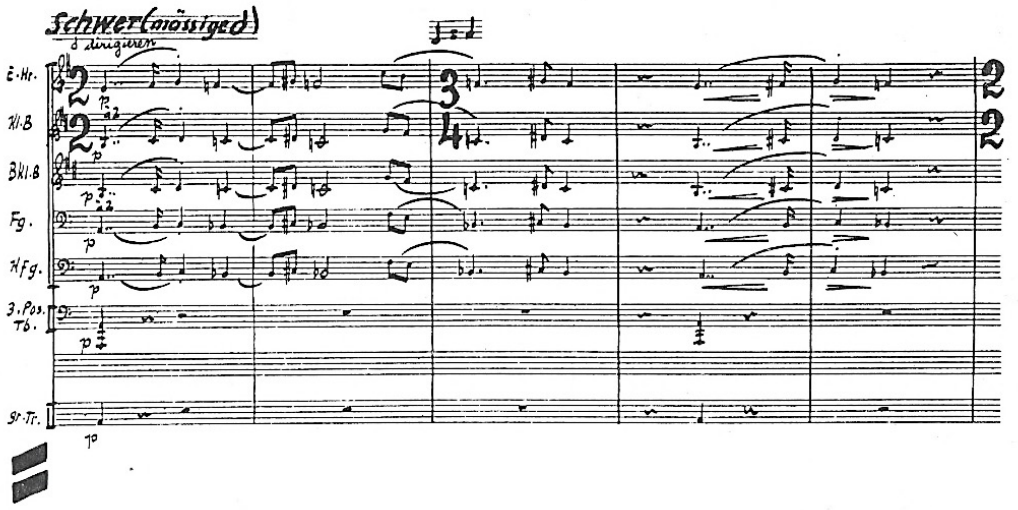
The differences in instrumentation and sound-world are direct results of the respective choices of poetic texts in the two works. While Zemlinsky builds his *Symphonische Gesänge* around some of the darkest texts of *Afrika Singt,* Grosz excludes topics like lynching and murder, except for No.3 ('Arabeske'), which, as will be demonstrated later, seems to have been misread by the composer. Grosz instead focuses on slightly lighter inter-personal relationships where characters like Aunt Sue or a cabaret girl become protagonists. 'Lied der Baumwollpacker', which appears as second song in both sets, makes for a particularly interesting comparison. It is worth noting that in this case, original poem and translation differ significantly in both length and rhythm. Jean Toomer's text is filled with idiomatic expressions and Southern slang, which are impossible to translate into German, or any foreign language for that matter. While the repeating verses two and five only occur once in Luitpold's translation, verse four is omitted altogether.

Komm, Bruder, komm. Pack an und roll Die Baumwollballen rund und voll. Es endet einmal noch die Plag. Wir warten nicht auf den jüngsten Tag.	Come, brother, come. Lets lift it; come now, hewit! roll away! Shackles fall upon the Judgment Day But lets not wait for it. God's body's got a soul, Bodies like to roll the soul, Cant blame God if we dont roll, Come, brother, roll, roll!
Die Baumwollballen walzen weich Den höllischen Weg ins Himmelreich. Und trittst du zu Jesus, Bruder, so sag: Wir warten nicht auf deinen jüngsten Tag.	Cotton bales are the fleecy way, Weary sinner's bare feet trod, Softly, softly to the throne of God, 'We aint agwine t wait until th Judgment Day!

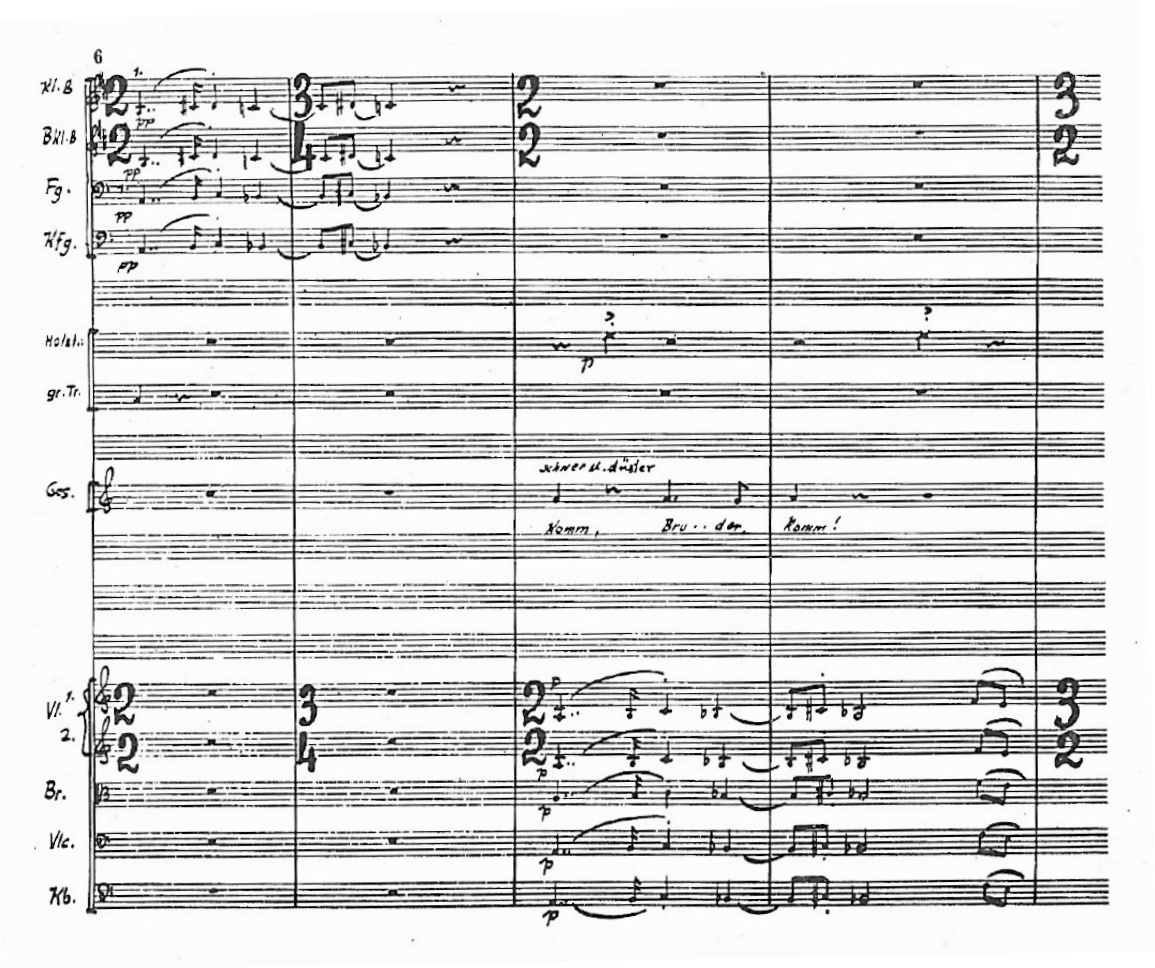
[132] At the time of writing this thesis, the vocal score (UE, now out of print) was accessible through various libraries. The orchestral score, however, is only available at *exil.arte* in Vienna, which acquired the Grosz estate in mid-2018. The material held in the estate is not catalogued yet, but a recording of the orchestrated version of *Afrika Songs* was recorded by the Matrix Ensemble (dir. Robert Ziegler) and released by Decca Classics in 1997. Information about the Grosz estate was given to me by Michael Haas, researcher at *exil.arte*, and Joseph Toltz, who currently works on the first Grosz monograph. Email correspondences 19 June 2018 – 24 October 2018.

	Nassur; nassur, Hump. Eoho, eoho, roll away! We aint agwine to wait until th Judgment Day!'
Gab Gott dem Baumwollpacker die Seel, Daß sie der andre martre und quäl? Gott wird nicht grollen, Wenn wir rollen. Komm, Bruder, roll die Wolle, roll.[133]	God's body's got a soul, Bodies like to roll the soul, Cant blame God if we dont roll, Come, brother, roll, roll!

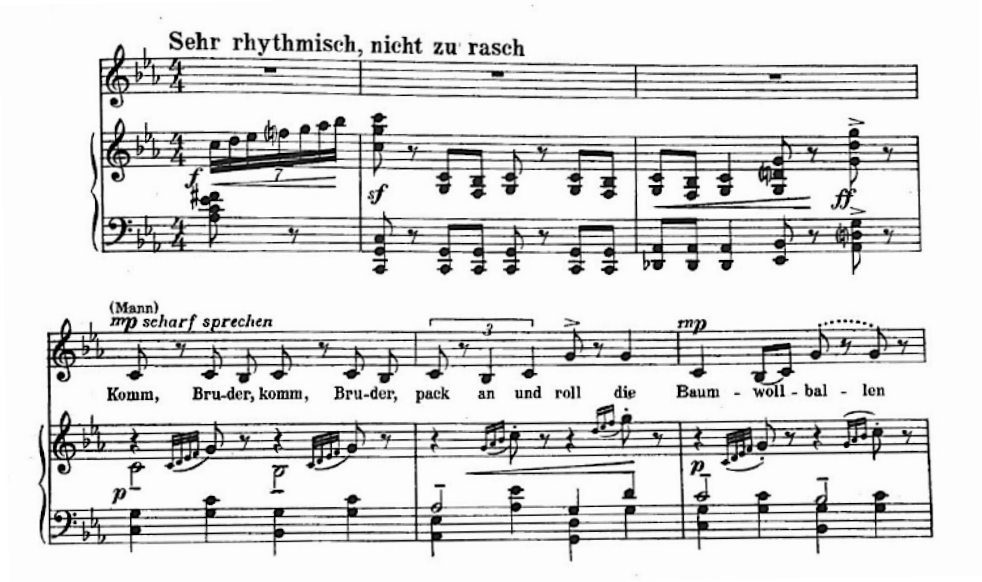
Musically, the cotton picker's motive is almost identical in both Zemlinsky's and Grosz's pieces. Alternating major seconds describe the never-ending mill of labour in which the narrator is caught (Examples 1.9 and 1.10). Yet, while Grosz uses this pattern as both a rhythmic and melodic motive throughout, making audible the continuous rolling motion of the picker's work, Zemlinsky chooses chromatic, much more menacing elements that seem to describe the narrator's fate. In Zemlinsky's song, the repetitiveness of rolling cotton moves into the background while the dark and eerie unison motive of clarinets and bassoons heralds the 'höllischen Weg ins Himmelreich' ('the infernal path to heaven') that the German translation predicts in verse two. In fact, Zemlinsky's use of unisons is so rare in the *Symphonische Gesänge* that it appears as a particularly powerful compositional device here. Both its function within Op.20 and with regard to Zemlinsky's larger oeuvre will be subject to detailed interrogation in the Conclusion of this thesis.



[133] Jean Toomer, 'Cotton Song'. German translation by Josef Luitpold in Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt*, 66.



Example 1.9 Alexander Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.2, bars 1-9.



Example 1.10 Wilhelm Grosz, *Afrika Songs*, Op.29, No.2, bars 1-6.

The significantly lighter interpretation of Grosz's piece is perhaps related to the general atmosphere of his cycle – its cabaret-like, theatrical tones, as well as its conversational nature. As such, Grosz comes much closer to the entertainment trends of the era, of the upbeat quality of (symphonic) jazz derived from dance. Zemlinsky's narrative, by contrast, creates a huge chasm between the mundane utterances of Toomer's text and the seriousness of his musical language that resists even the smallest allusion to a dance style. In fact, not even the monotonous march-like motion of hard labour is carried out with determination.

The second poem common to both works is Frank Horne's 'Arabeske'.

Drunten in Georgia	Down in Georgia
Schaukelt	a danglin' nigger
Hoch im Baum	hangin' in a tree
Ein Nigger	
... Trampelt Löcher ins	. . . kicks holes in the laughing sunlight–
Lachende Licht der Sonne –	
Ein kleines Irenmädchen,	A little red haired
Rootharig – grauäugig,	Irish girl . . . grey eyes
In blauem Kleidchen,	and a blue dress–
Ein schwarzes Baby	A little black babe
Mit weißem Spitzenhäubchen...	in a lacy white cap . . .
Der kleine Rotkopf	The soft red lips of the little red head kiss so
Küßt	tenderly
Mit weichen roten Lippen	
So zärtlich	
Das schwarze Köpfchen	the little black head–
Graue Augen lächeln	grey eyes smile
In schwarze Augen.	into black eyes
Und der lustige Sonnenschein	and the gay sunlight
Lacht	laughs joyously
– Goldene Sturzflut...	in a bust of gold . . .
Drunten in Georgia	Down in Georgia
Hoch im Baum	a danglin' nigger
Schaukelt ein Nigger	hangin' in a tree
... Trampelt Löcher ins	. . . kicks holes in the laughing sunlight–
Lachende Sonnenlicht –[134]	

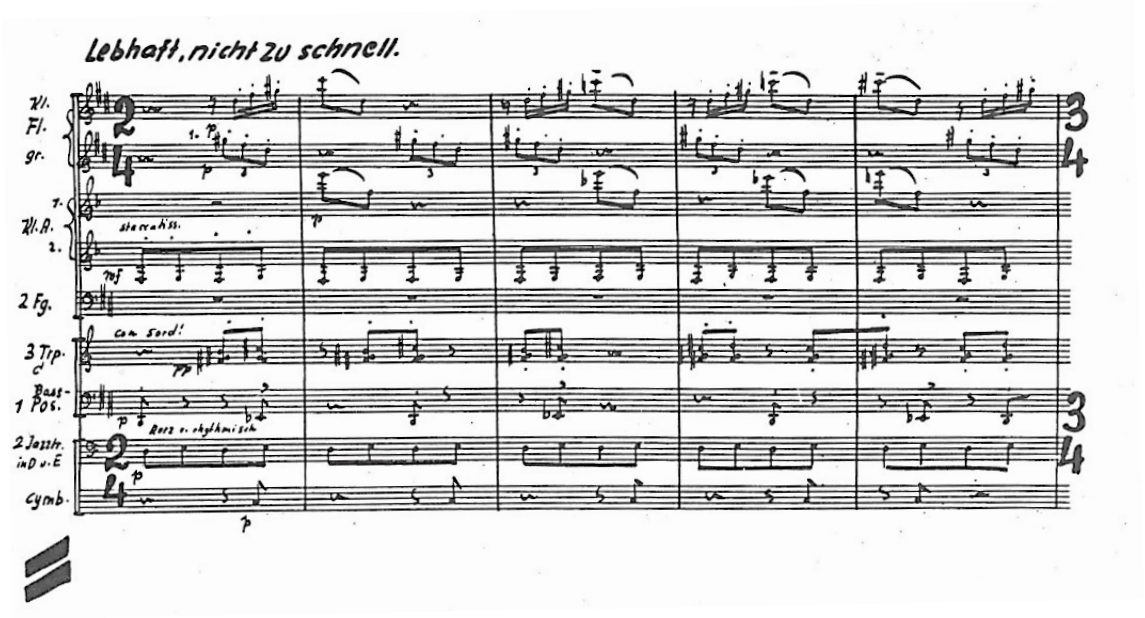
In his article on Austro-German composers who set poems of Nußbaum's edition *Afrika Singt*, Malcolm Cole addresses issues of translation regarding Horne's text:

[134] Frank Horne, 'Arabesque'. German translation by Anna Siemsen in Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt*, 76-77.

> Analysis of 'Arabeske' must defer to another matter, the awesome responsibility of the translator. Misled by an unfortunate choice of verb on the part of the translator, Zeisl, Grosz and Zemlinsky created finely-crafted compositions that are totally inappropriate to the stark message of Frank Horne's poem. Its impact stems from the shocking contrast of two children, one black, one white, playing innocently under a tree from which a black man hangs, the victim of lynch mob. Misconstruing the imagery of the poem, Anna Siemsen chose the verb 'schaukeln', which connotes 'rocking', as in a hammock or in the tree itself. Zeisl created a happy, sunny composition marked 'Allegretto, mit Humor'. […] Years later, when the composer received a copy of the correct text from Dr. Horne, he was so distressed that he withdrew the composition.[135]

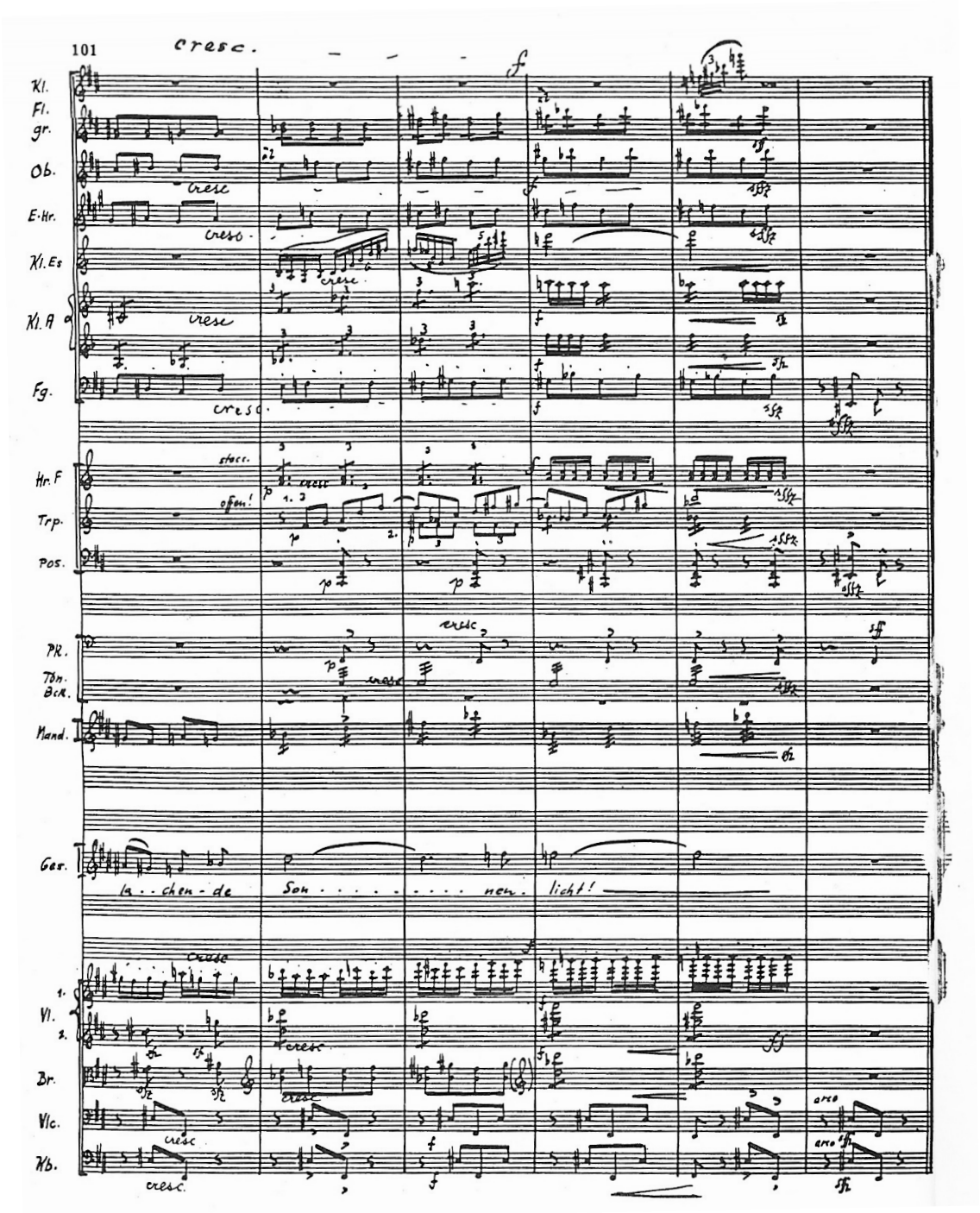
Cole's analysis of both Zeisl's situation, further substantiated by the withdrawal of the work, and Grosz's rather upbeat version of 'Arabeske', are certainly fitting. Grosz's setting is dominated by leisurely swinging and swaying dotted rhythms in the key of C major. There is nothing dark or sinister about this rendering at all. Thus, the 'unfortunate choice of verb' Cole spotted certainly misled Grosz in his reading of the poem. Yet, remembering the unsettling ending of Zemlinsky's 'Arabeske' mentioned earlier, it seems unlikely that the composer walked into the same trap. In fact, I argue that Siemsen's choice of verb, although ambiguous, is rather well-made. To be sure, the German *baumeln*, which in its meaning is more or less identical with 'dangling', might have been a 'safer' choice. Nonetheless, both the Harlem-Renaissance context and the setting of the poem make it clear that, just like in the original, the reader encounters a euphemistic rendering of a scene that was frequently witnessed in the Southern States at the time, even by children: lynch law. Zemlinsky's song makes audible the futile and desperate last minutes of a hanged man.

[135] Cole, '*Afrika Singt*: Austro-German Echoes of the Harlem Renaissance', 82.



Example 1.11 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.7, bars 1-5.

The choppy motive of the flutes in the beginning bars (Example 1.11) may be *lebhaft* (lively), as the tempo-marking suggests, but this liveliness comes across as inherently hectic and unsettling. There is nothing in Zemlinsky's composition that suggests a leisurely scene of two children playing underneath a tree. Even more, the end of both song and set, as described earlier, is dissonant and disturbing: a single drumbeat signifies the end of the struggle, i.e., death (Example 1.12). This sudden death is followed neither by a redemptive ending, or a Romantic longing for an afterlife, nor concluded with any other form of spiritual homecoming. One might even suggest that, given its date of composition, the *Symphonische Gesänge* were alarmingly prescient of the future; Zemlinsky's narrative is aware of its late-1920s reality. In this capacity, the *Symphonische Gesänge* coincide with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* much more than they revert to Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* or his own *Lyric Symphony.* They make use of poems that composers like the jazz-inspired Wilhelm Grosz transformed into cabaret-like street songs, yet in an entirely different way.



Example 1.12 Zemlinsky, *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, No.7, bars 101-106.

The *Heimat* of Zemlinsky's Op.20 is that of the simple *Volk.* As such, the set retells stories that we know from Mahler's symphonic *Lieder und Gesänge* from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn.* Existential needs and disillusionment in the form of unconnected stories define both sets. But of course Zemlinsky chooses to give a serious voice to a *Volk* that is not at home in an Austro-German context: the African-American population of the United States in the early twentieth century. The scenes painted are so realistic that

they recognise the *Volksseele,* so essential to the German-language concept of *Heimat*, as intrinsic to the world-as-is. It is not to be found in a quaint pastoral, nor in the idealisms of the *Lyrische Symphonie.* As opposed to the Romantics, who saw the *Weltschicksal* – the fate of the world – in the retellings of mythological material, the *Symphonische Gesänge* understand that the connection between people, or *Völker*, is much more prosaic than that, whether on the streets of Harlem, in the rural areas of Georgia, or in Weimar Berlin.

Vienna, 1929: Ernst Krenek's *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen*

In the same year as Zemlinsky worked with Afro-American literature and ideas of jazz, Ernst Krenek engaged with his own Austrian *Heimat*, which he embraced and criticised at the same time. During the late 1920s, Krenek witnessed the extreme clashes between two ideological camps that were particularly obvious in Vienna: the Christian Social Party and their radical conservatism on the one hand, and the Social Democrats with their equally radical socialism on the other. These developments would not affect Zemlinsky's life for about four more years. However, Krenek's view of this 'new Austria' through his satirical song cycle *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen* foreshadows the situation Zemlinsky would be confronted with from 1933. The *Reisebuch* looks back, with some irony, to Schubert and much simpler, more 'Austrian' topics. The urban spheres presented in the *Symphonische Gesänge* are very distant. In part, this choice may be seen as a response to the riots and hostility the composer's 'jazz opera' *Jonny spielt auf* had received in both Leipzig and Vienna by right-wing organisations in 1927 and 1928 respectively. After these frustrating experiences, Krenek, who had previously enjoyed some successful years in Berlin and Kassel, moved back to Vienna. Yet, whether the controversy around *Jonny* was the one determining factor which led the composer to adopt what, on the surface, seems like a regressive, nostalgic style will be examined in the following.

Despite its Romantic and Neo-Classical aspects, Krenek's *Reisebuch* nevertheless communicates wider concerns of a social and political nature. The juxtaposition of harmonious form and critical content make it highly satirical. Considering these attributes, the *Reisebuch* may well have been suitable for performance in cabaret-

theatres. By contrast, Zemlinsky's Op.20, which also engages with themes found on cabaret stages, sings *about* such settings rather than observing them from a satirical angle. If, as discussed above, *Jonny spielt auf* is a prime example for a Weimar jazz piece, *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen* seems to be the opposite. The cycle's tonal coherence as well as the completion of the protagonist's journey have little in common with the volatile styles of Weimar jazz. On the surface, the *Reisebuch* is a simple reflection of Krenek's two-week travels through the Austrian Alps in 1929. The mountain ranges define Austrian identity at least as much as Mozart, Haydn and Mahler do.[136] They remain still and peaceful even during times of tremendous political, social and economic struggle. A second element, which also represents an idea of rootedness in Krenek's song cycle is its deliberate relation to Schubert's *Winterreise.* James Parsons suggests that the *Reisebuch* expresses the present through the lens of memory. In this case, the past is represented by the genre itself, i.e., the German *Lied,* that no longer retained its former status and popularity by the time Krenek set out to compose the cycle.[137] Even more, the Romanticism that 'hovers over Krenek's cycle' is frequently interrupted by the brutality of reality, something also relevant to Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge*, although of course achieved through entirely different means.[138] Parsons's main point, however, is Krenek's use of the Schillerian concept of artistic, political and social freedom, which is also manifest in Schubert's/Müller's *Winterreise.*[139] While Schiller's ideal of freedom via the unity of nature (spirit) and reason (intellect) indeed brings Schubert's wanderer towards light and life, Krenek looks at this ideal with a good degree of sarcasm. Parsons further claims that the *Reisebuch* is another attempt by Krenek, after *Jonny,* to come to terms with the loss of nature through industrialisation and technology.[140] While all of these observations are surely appropriate, I argue that these elements, i.e., the holding on to traditions of a greater German ideal via Schubert and Schiller through the medium of *Lied*, are only the outer layers, the book covers between which Krenek unfolds stories and commentaries about his own 1929 reality. Thus, rather than representing a mere struggle with the world-as-

[136] Peter Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 66.
[137] James Parsons, 'Suchend uns selbst und die Heimat: Ernst Krenek's *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen'*, *Austrian Studies,* Vol. 18 (Cambridge: MHRA, 2010), 41.
[138] Ibid., 42.
[139] Ibid., 45.
[140] Ibid., 46.

is, Krenek's musical sketches are poignantly satirical, oftentimes even cynical portrayals of society and politics alike. When compared with Zemlinsky's Op.20, it becomes clear that, although the two works are inherently different in style and poetry, their narratives unfold along similar lines. Although anything but a satire, the *Symphonische Gesänge* also deliver revealing portraits of a contemporary society and its conflicts.

Peter Tregear points out that 'the text of [the *Reisebuch*] divides itself into two broad themes: social satire and elegy.'[141] One might perhaps want to go a little further and suggest that the satirical element is even enhanced by the more lyrical and melancholic sections, precisely because of the stark contrasts they pose. The importance of the composer's acquaintance with satirist Karl Kraus in 1928, just a year before he started working on his *Reisebuch,* cannot be stressed enough in this context because it shifts the idea of a mere struggle with modern times to a confident and differentiated assessment of reality.[142] Like Kraus, Krenek voiced his concerns regarding current affairs through his humanistic worldview, rather than by affiliating himself with a political party.[143] Even more, the text-music relationship in this cycle is inseparably intertwined given that the composer also penned the poetry, a rare occurrence in the genre. Krenek himself stated that the song cycle 'contained just enough dynamite in the form of scepticism, critical innuendo, and unexpected dissonance to make the keepers of the traditional *Gemütlichkeit* feel uncomfortable.'[144] Through this comment one can virtually sense the satisfaction Krenek must have felt, despite the difficult circumstances of the time and his own endeavours towards a suitable stylistic voice, to play Puck in Austria's romanticised Alpine territory. In many ways, Krenek paints a strikingly realistic scenery of modern-day Austria.

The opening song 'Motiv' is, despite its Schubert-like sound-world and its unmistakable similarity to 'Gute Nacht' in *Winterreise*, a critical statement setting the

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[141] Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style,* 67.
[142] Ernst Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit: Erinnerungen an die Moderne*, trans. Friedrich Saathen and Sabine Schulte (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1998), 712.
[143] Compare Edward Timms, 'Kraus's Shakespearean Politics', in Kenneth Segar and John Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics* (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1991), 346. Before he became a supporter of the Christian *Universalreich* as lesser of two evils, compared with National Socialism, Kraus endorsed the Social Democrats. He was later disillusioned by the party's bureaucratic incapacity. Ibid., 353.
[144] Krenek in Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style,* 67.

stage for the 19 songs to follow.[145] 'Ich reise aus, meine Heimat zu entdecken.' – 'I set out on a journey to discover my homeland.'[146] The first line of 'Motiv' indeed is the cycle's motive. Its protagonist embarks on a rather contradictory undertaking: he departs in order to get to know his origins. It is important here to understand the multiple meanings of 'ich reise aus'. Had Krenek wanted to stress that the protagonist's main and singular intention is to simply wander through his homeland, he would have probably chosen a slightly different compound verb, say, 'ich reise *hin*aus', which unmistakably communicates that leaving does not mean much more than exiting one's house in the city. The verb *ausreisen*, however, serves multiple functions: it can indeed be just that, i.e., someone stepping outside to take a stroll in a picturesque landscape. But *Ausreise* (departure) is more often used in a much wider context, usually meaning travels abroad (a process that involves showing one's passport at the border). And, even more, in a slightly different spelling, *ausreißen* also means to run away, to bolt. I suggest that Krenek's wording here, while on the surface simply taking the Schubertian wanderer into his own Alps, plays on these other meanings. What he really (also) says is: 'Open your eyes to what happens. I will look for a better place elsewhere while you (Austrians) keep romanticising your whitewashed alpenglow.' Although it is well known that Krenek, from its implementation in 1934, was at first an ardent supporter of the Austrian *Ständestaat,* his biting sarcasm demonstrates how volatile the political situation was at the time, i.e., that being in line with the ideal of a Christian *Universalreich* did not necessarily mean agreeing to their politics of exclusion.[147] Thus, although Krenek's traveller leaves the city to find his fatherland in Austria's nature, he seems rather sceptical about whether he should be successful, and says 'ob ich's finde' (if I find it).[148] Of course, the satirical element here is incredibly subtle, particularly because the song's musical language is so overtly Romantic and full of nostalgic moments. Yet, this subtly is the art of Viennese satire best known through the work of Karl Kraus, and as the cycle unfolds we hear much bolder statements of scepticism and

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[145] On Schubert's influence on Krenek see Ibid., 67, Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit,* 708-15 and Parsons, 'Suchend uns selbst und die Heimat', 48, 49.

[146] Ernst Krenek, 'Motiv' (No.1), in *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929)*,* 3. Translation Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style,* 67.

[147] See Konrad Köstlin, 'Volkslied, Avantgarden und nationales Narrativ', in Matthias Schmidt, ed., *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat: Ernst Krenek und das österreichische Volkslied im 20. Jahrhundert* (Schliengen: Argus, 2007), 42.

[148] Krenek, 'Motiv' (No.1), in *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen*, 5.

irony. In fact, already from the very beginning the listener knows that Krenek's protagonist will never find his *Heimat,* and that such an ideal of undisturbed *Geborgenheit* is inherently unrealistic. Even if, as Parsons suggests, a deep wish of Krenek's to rediscover nature in a noisy and polluted industrialised world is ingrained in these songs, No.11 ('Alpenbewohner'/ Residents of the Alps) suggests that whatever he is looking for is not possessed by the 'indigenous' residents either who, above all, seek to profit from the hordes of tourists washing through every season.[149] What starts with a 'merciless depiction of dim-witted tourists set to distorted evocations of folk tunes' ends with a criticism of just about everyone involved, tourist and local alike or, in a nutshell, humanity.[150] No.12 ('Politik') is a direct but, from the protagonist's perspective, hopeless appeal to fellow Austrians and politicians to find a peaceful solution to the prevailing conflicts and struggles. Having left Germany not long before writing these songs, Krenek must have sensed how dangerous the political climate had become there. His own experience with *Jonny* in Vienna in 1928 surely made him realise just how close Austria was to similar developments. 'Es ist höchste Zeit!' (It is high time!) expresses the urgency of Krenek's statement.[151]

The cycle ends with 'Epilog', which takes place after the journey's completion. As is the case with most epilogues, it is a reflection on its preceding content. 'Epilog' is a somewhat disillusioned but at the same time disinterested statement. All was 'sort of' in vain, but who cares? 'Ich lebe und ich weiß nicht, wie lang. Ich sterbe, und weiß nicht wann. Ich geh, und weiß nicht, wohin' (I live and do not know how long. I die and do not know when. I go and do not know where to).[152] These words are inscriptions the protagonist encounters on a stroll through his neighbourhood upon his return. 'Of prophetic significance for Krenek's subsequent development, it ['Epilog'] opens with a twelve-tone phrase. If he could not withdraw from the modern world, he could at least register his protest with an evocation […] of that most 'anti-social' of new musical styles: the twelve-tone technique.'[153] While withdrawal from the world of technology (ironically through the means of the latest compositional trend) is certainly a strong element in Krenek's *Reisebuch,* its implications are much wider: the song cycle's latent

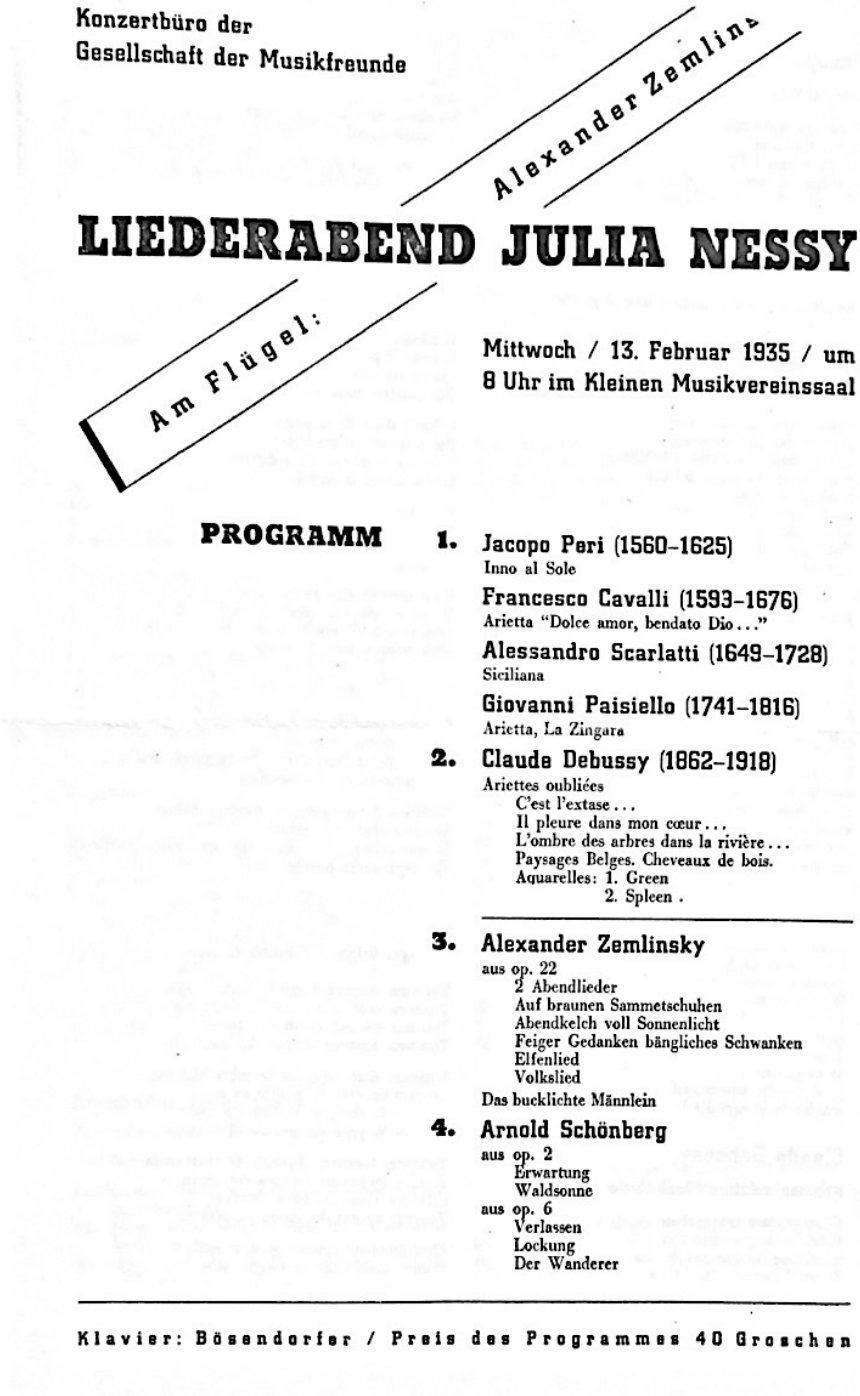
[149] Krenek, 'Alpenbewohner' (No.11), in *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen,* 44, 45.
[150] Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style,* 68.
[151] Krenek, 'Politik' (No.12), in *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen,* 55.
[152] Krenek, 'Epilog' (No.20), in Ibid., 93.
[153] Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style,* 68.

sarcasm and cynicism represent poignant criticisms of society and politics, but ultimately end in a Viennese 'is eh wurscht' (who cares anyway), i.e., a disillusionment that results in passiveness and, hence, withdrawal.

While, as Parsons points out, Krenek looks back to Schiller's philosophy of freedom, it seems as if, for the moment, he does not believe in its incarnation. Although relatively 'smooth' on the surface, Krenek's *Reisebuch* contains sharp criticism: he reaches back to tradition, yet uses it to let Schubert's and Schiller's idea(l)s talk about the intrusive Alpine tourists, the slightly rude *Alpendörfler* and, of course, current politics in the words of someone looking up to Karl Kraus. If seen through the lens of Joisten's *Heimat* as narrative, Krenek's *Reisebuch* in its descriptive and observing manner does the opposite of re-creating a *Heimat.* Its narrative is satire and as such is questioning its own content throughout. Rather than exploring the mimetic qualities of the narrative, Krenek's song-cycle becomes a description or even prescription. Although it is tempting to see this 1929 piece as a nostalgic longing for old values, it really is the opposite.

By contrast, Zemlinsky's much more fragmented *Symphonische Gesänge* create narratives that engage with the conflicts and concerns of late Weimar Berlin. Krenek's reworking of the classic *Lied* genre is reflective of both Schubert's model and Austria's 1928 reality of reframing its values towards a Teutonic state with universal ideals. This ongoing search for a *Heimat* is articulated in 'Epilog': 'I go and do not know where to'. The impossibility of an actual homecoming is central to Zemlinsky's Op.20 songs as well. Although expressed through entirely different musical means and stories, none of the many figures of the *Symphonische Gesänge* have a place of comfort, which is of course integral to any kind of *Heimat.* Yet, their *Heimatlosigkeit* is neither relieved through satire, nor is it consoled by way of Romantic nostalgia. In the end, the *Symphonische Gesänge* resist ideal worlds, whether fulfilled or unfulfilled. Ancient laments become contemporary ones, and the individual is hopelessly destined to suffer its immediate reality. As such, Zemlinsky's second orchestral *Gesänge* are bold and fitting examples of Weimar jazz.

Chapter 2: Vienna – Between Familiarity and Strangeness



Konzertbüro der
Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde

Alexander Zemlinsky

LIEDERABEND JULIA NESSY

Am Flügel:

Mittwoch / 13. Februar 1935 / um
8 Uhr im Kleinen Musikvereinssaal

PROGRAMM

1. Jacopo Peri (1560–1625)
Inno al Sole

Francesco Cavalli (1593–1676)
Arietta "Dolce amor, bendato Dio..."

Alessandro Scarlatti (1649–1728)
Siciliana

Giovanni Paisiello (1741–1816)
Arietta, La Zingara

2. Claude Debussy (1862–1918)
Ariettes oubliées
C'est l'extase...
Il pleure dans mon cœur...
L'ombre des arbres dans la rivière...
Paysages Belges. Cheveaux de bois.
Aquarelles: 1. Green
2. Spleen.

3. Alexander Zemlinsky
aus op. 22
2 Abendlieder
Auf braunen Sammetschuhen
Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht
Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken
Elfenlied
Volkslied
Das bucklichte Männlein

4. Arnold Schönberg
aus op. 2
Erwartung
Waldsonne
aus op. 6
Verlassen
Lockung
Der Wanderer

Klavier: Bösendorfer / Preis des Programmes 40 Groschen

Fig. 2.1 Recital Programme, 13.02.1935, Musikverein Wien. Source: Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien.

13 February 1935

On 13 February 1935, two years after Hitler's rise to power in Germany and six months after Schuschnigg's appointment as Austrian chancellor, Alexander Zemlinsky appeared as accompanist alongside soprano Julia Nessy in the Kleine Musivereinssaal at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, the concert venue which he perhaps frequented more than others around 1900. On the programme were arias by Jacopo Peri, Francesco Cavalli, Domenico Scarlatti and Giovanni Paisiello, as well as songs by Claude Debussy and Arnold Schoenberg (Fig.2.1). Most importantly however, Zemlinsky used the evening as an opportunity to premier his most recent composition, the *Six Songs*, Op.22.[1]

Fig. 2.2 Julia Nessy in the 1920s. Photo courtesy of Anna Nessy-Perlberg and Nancy Sayre (email correspondence, April 2017).

[1] Four of the *Six Songs,* Op.22 were first premiered in Prague in April 1934. See Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), 442.

The reproduction of the original programme shows that, on the evening of the concert, Zemlinsky and Nessy chose to end the set with 'Das bucklichte Männlein', using a text from the Wunderhorn collection, instead of 'Auf dem Meere meiner Seele' by Christian Morgenstern (Fig.2.3, final version).

Six Songs Op.22

1. Auf braunen Sammetschuhen (On Brown Velvet Shoes) – *Chr. Morgenstern*
2. Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht (Evening-Chalice filled with Sunlight) – *Chr. Morgenstern*
3. Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken (Anxious Swaying of Cowardly Thoughts) – *J.W. von Goethe*
4. Elfenlied (Song of the Elves) – *J.W. von Goethe*
5. Volkslied (Folk Song) – *Chr. Morgenstern*
6. Auf dem Meere meiner Seele (On the Ocean of my Soul) – *Chr. Morgenstern*

Fig. 2.3 Alexander Zemlinsky, *Six Songs*, Op.22, final order of songs (Hillsdale, NY: Mobart Music Publications, 1977).

The catalogue of the Alexander Zemlinsky Collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. reveals that Zemlinsky must have thought of replacing the last Morgenstern song (composed in January 1934 like all the preceding numbers) with the Wunderhorn setting, written in December of that year.[2] However, the decision eventually fell for the initial version, as shown in Figure 2.3, and 'Das bucklichte Männlein' became an individual piece.[3] Nonetheless, on the evening of 13 February, the set ended with the folk tale of a small, disturbing dwarf. The song recital then closed with a selection of Schoenberg's *Eight Songs*, Op.6 (1903–1905).[4]

[2] See the catalogue of the *Alexander von Zemlinsky Collection* at the Library of Congress. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/music/eadxmlmusic/eadpdfmusic/mu2005.wp.0043.pdf> accessed 2 September 2019.

[3] In the published score (Hillsdale, NY: Mobart Music, 1977), 'Das bucklichte Männlein' and the Werfel setting 'Ahnung Beatricens' (1935) are printed as additions after Op.22. From the Library of Congress's holdings, it becomes clear that 'Ahnung Beatricens' was never supposed to be included in the set. For this reason, the piece is not part of the wider discussion here. Overall, the Werfel setting about the spirit of a dead child lends itself to a more lyrical, earlier style of Zemlinsky's. This is yet another proof of the composer's plural approach to composition.

[4] Considering the formatting and layout of the printed programme, it is possible to see 'Das bucklichte Männlein' as an extra, rather than integral to the set, since the other five songs are listed under the heading '*aus* Op.22' – 'from Op.22' (indented). Either way, that night it was heard as the closure of the set.

Will ich in mein Gärtlein gehn, Will ich meine Zwiebeln gießen, Steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, Fängt als an zu niesen.	As I want to enter my little garden, As I want to water my onions, A humpbacked manikin is there, And starts to sneeze.
Will ich in mein Küchel gehn, Will mein Süpplein kochen, Steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, Hat mein Töpflein brochen.	As I want to enter my kitchenette, As I want to make my soup, A humpbacked manikin is there, And he broke my little pot.
Will ich in mein Stüblein gehn, Will mein Müslein essen, Steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, Hat schon halber gessen.	As I want to enter my little room, As I want to eat my porridge, A humpbacked manikin is there, Has already eaten half of it.
Setz ich mich ans Rädlein hin, Will mein Fädlein drehen, Steht ein bucklicht' Mänlein da, läßt mir's Rad nicht gehen.	As I sit down at the wheel, As I want to spin my thread, A humpbacked manikin is there, He stops my wheel from running.
Geh' ich in mein Kämmerlein Will mein Bettlein machen, Steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, fängt es an zu lachen.	As I enter my little bedroom And want to make my little bed, A humpbacked manikin is there, Starts laughing.
Wenn ich an mein Bänklein knie, Will ein bißlein beten, Steht ein bucklicht' Männlein da, fängt als an zu reden:	As I kneel at my little bench, And want to pray a little, A humpbacked manikin is there, And starts talking:
'Liebes Kindlein, ach ich bitt, Bet fürs bucklicht' Männlein mit.'[5]	'Dear child, Alas!, I beg you, Do pray for the humpbacked manikin as well.'

'Das bucklichte Männlein' is one of the most enigmatic pieces of the Wunderhorn collection. At no point is it clear who exactly this mischievous little man is supposed to be. Every time he appears, something goes missing or stops working. In the last verse, he turns to the speaker, a young girl, and asks her to include him in her nightly prayers. After all, it seems, there is something good about the manikin. Both Thomas Mann and Walter Benjamin referred to the small creature in their writing. In *Buddenbrooks* (1901), the sickly boy Hanno recites parts of the poem in his feverish dreams. The little man occupies his mind for quite some time. Eventually, Hanno concludes that the humpbacked manikin is no evil man. Instead, his actions are motivated by sadness

[5] 'Das bucklichte Männlein', in Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, eds., *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte Deutsche Lieder* (Munich: Winkler, 1806/08), 824-25. Zemlinsky omitted verses 4 and 5 (not reproduced here either).

alone.[6] Benjamin confesses that he could never really make sense of the tale. His mother used to refer to it every time something went wrong. To Benjamin, the manikin stands for mischief, which happens as soon the creature spots the unfortunate victim: 'The manikin often stood there. Yet, I never saw it. It only ever saw me.'[7]

Zemlinsky may well have known the folk song in a slightly different, Austrian-dialect version. Here, the ending is much less conciliatory, and instead underlines the ungraspable nature of the gnome-like figure, who simply elopes once he is done with his damage:

Wollt I glai zum Richta gehñ Wollt's Mañderl g'schwiñd verklåg'n, Siäch koañ buñkad's Mañderl meahr – Af und dåvoñ is 's g'flåg'n.[8]	I was going to find the judge immediately Wanted to quickly sue the manikin, But I don't see a humpbacked manikin anymore – It upped and left.

According to Beaumont, 'Zemlinsky presents the manikin as a drastic caricature of himself: a hapless little man […], whose lineage can be traced back to Görge [from the 1907 opera *Der Traumgörge*], Strapinski [from *Kleider machen Leute*, second version 1922] and the Dwarf [after Oscar Wilde, 1921].'[9] Yet, although the figure of an Alberich-like dwarf, full of greed, dissatisfied with himself and the world around him, is indeed a recurring theme in Zemlinsky's vocal writing, identifying any of these figures as the composer's alter ego is too simplified a reading. Derived from the Wunderhorn collection, 'Das bucklichte Männlein' is the only piece of the February 1935 version of Op.22 which narrates a folk tale in the traditional sense. Although Morgenstern's 'Volkslied', No.5 in Zemlinsky's set, hints at folk themes through its title as well, its relationship with these is much more conflicted, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. In terms of poetic content, 'Das bucklichte Männlein' is not only related to Zemlinsky's own *Dwarf* or Görge, but most saliently to a recurring topic of German folk and fairy tales: an eerie, gnome-like creature without morals. It is found in the *Nibelungenlied*, Grimm's *Rumpelstilzchen*, Schubert's 'Der Zwerg' D 771 (1823), and,

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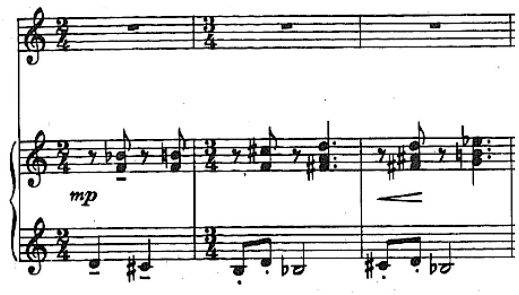
[6] Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2012), 463-64.
[7] Walter Benjamin, 'Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert', in Tillman Rexroth, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), 303.
[8] 'Das böse Männlein' (verse 6) in Franz Ziska and Julius Max Schottky, eds., *Österreichische Volkslieder mit ihren Singweisen* (Pest: Hartleben's Verlag, 1819), 18-19.
[9] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 391.

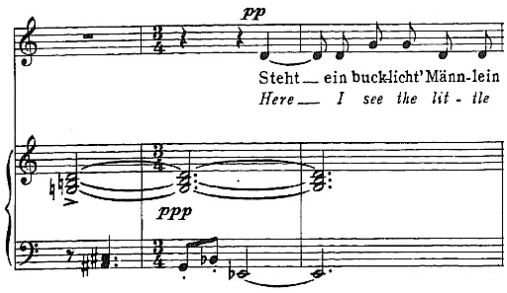
much later, as the boy Oskar Matzerath who refuses to grow in Günther Grass's *Die Blechtrommel* (1959). Yet, what distinguishes the humpbacked manikin in Brentano's edition from all the other figures is its multi-dimensional character.[10] Whereas Schubert's dwarf is destined to remain on the vast ocean after murdering his queen, and Zemlinsky's/ Wilde's *Zwerg* dies after being rejected by the princess, the humpbacked manikin is not stuck with his hapless destiny. He kindly asks the girl to include him in her prayers, and by doing so apologises for his mischievous deeds. Zemlinsky underlines this hopeful turn of the tale by closing the song in D major (Example 2.3). In fact, in addition to the stereotypical outsider he surely embodies, the manikin may also be seen as part of the girl's self, as her hapless, less agreeable side.[11]

Musically, 'Das bucklichte Männlein' follows a clearly recognisable strophic structure, although significant melodic and motivic alterations occur (see Appendix 2). Compared with the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20 and the other five songs of the *Six Songs*, Op.22, both piano and voice parts are much more invested in unfolding the fairy-tale world of the story than in questioning its essence. The manikin receives a short thematic motive, two ascending staccato quavers followed by a falling motion onto a longer note value, which is first introduced in bar 2 in the left hand of the piano (Example 2.1). This motive loses importance in the middle verses but reappears as the little man asks to be included in the girl's prayers from bar 82 onwards (Example 2.2). Thus, in accordance with the late-Romantic tradition, the antagonist of the story receives his own *Leitmotiv.*



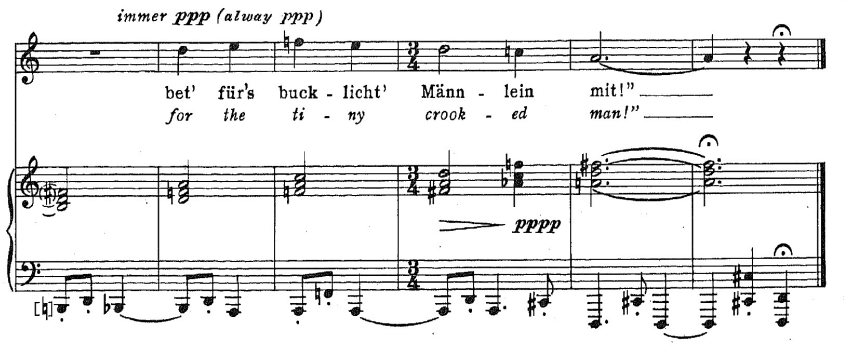
Example 2.1 Zemlinsky, 'Das bucklichte Männlein', bars 1-3.

[10] Brentano added verses 6, 8 and 9 to the folk song he collected. Thus, the ending is probably his invention. Compare Tobias Widmaier, 'Will ich in mein Gärtlein gehn', in *Populäre und Traditionelle Lieder: Historisch-Kritisches Liederlexikon* (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Brsg., 2008). <http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/will_ich_in_mein_gaertlein_gehn> accessed 15 July 2019.
[11] Compare Ibid.



Example 2.2 Zemlinsky, 'Das bucklichte Männlein', bars 81-83.

Although tonally as opaque as most of Zemlinsky's late compositions, a rather striking reminiscence of Schubert's 'Gretchen am Spinnarade' D 118 (1814) is prepared as early as the second verse, becoming clearly audible from bar 30 onwards: the uncomfortable, restless depiction of a spinning wheel, represented by rapidly alternating semi-quavers in the right hand of the piano (bars 30–55, see Appendix 2). Since Zemlinsky keeps the motive alive across three verses, except for small interruptions, it is rather likely that the girl at the spinning wheel could indeed be the same as Goethe's Gretchen. Yet, ultimately Zemlinsky chose not to close the set that would later be published as *Six Songs,* Op.22 with a Wunderhorn song, which, despite its inherent chromaticisms, delivers a hopeful note by ending in a major key. It is not only the key of D major, only slightly destabilised through brief, unaccented moments of its seventh C#, that creates a sense of familiarity (Example 2.3). Its reminiscences of Schubert's Gretchen and, of course, the folk and fairy tale traditions the humpbacked manikin embodies, also make the song sound strangely familiar.



Example 2.3 Zemlinsky, 'Das bucklichte Männlein', bars 92-97.

Except for Zemlinsky's own work, the concert followed a strictly chronological order, starting with the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Although already breaching the laws of traditional tonality, none of the Schoenberg pieces chosen is composed in the 12-tone technique, which of course had long been established by 1935.[12] The reasons for not closing the evening with Zemlinsky's songs can only be speculated about. Perhaps ending on already known pieces appeared as the most logical choice, i.e., to leave the audience with familiar sounds from pieces they knew.[13] But of course this sense of familiarity is not given by the contents of the programme's last song. 'Der Wanderer', from Schoenberg's Op.6, introduces the restless wayfarer, forever caught-up in his futile striving. Nietzsche's *Wanderer* has lost his ability to decipher the bird's call. Unlike Wagner's Siegfried, who follows the *Waldvogel*'s song, his path towards redemption is blocked. Claus Zittel notes that '[i]f the wanderer cannot understand the voice of the birds any longer, it is a sign of the irretrievable loss of the mythical, Dionysian source.'[14] Thus, he is doomed to remain in a reality without the hope for a better, idealised alternative world. Whether intentional or not, from a dramaturgical perspective the programme order destroys the hopes of the humpbacked manikin – he remains an outsider, without redemption.

This play between familiarity and strangeness, which is integral to both 'Das bucklichte Männlein' and the dramaturgical frame of the evening, is also central to the Op.22 songs as a whole. Yet, as opposed to the *Symphonische Gesänge* with their depictions of an obviously foreign world, this time Zemlinsky draws on much less bold imagery. As the discussion of 'Das bucklichte Männlein' has already shown, binaries

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[12] The choice was not made to accommodate the singer's needs. Julia Nessy was known for her perfect pitch and as a keen supporter of contemporary music. Alban Berg had initially requested her for a performance of his *Lulu Suite.* See Nicholas Chadwick, 'Alban Berg and the BBC', in *The British Library Journal*, Vol.11/1 (London: The British Library, Spring 1985), 52. Nessy also resided in New York from 1935 onwards. Whether she reconnected with Zemlinsky is not recorded. Both musicians knew each other from Prague, perhaps through Nessy's salon for contemporary music. Unfortunately, too little information is available about these events. See Anna Nessy Perlberg, *The House of Prague: How a Stolen House Helped an Immigrant Girl Find Her Way Home* (Emmaus, PA: Golden Alley Press, 2016).

[13] The celebrations for Alban Berg's fiftieth birthday took place on 9 February 1935, also at the Musikverein. Julia Nessy was invited to sing for the occasion as well. Thus, one may assume that, by and large, the audiences of both events overlapped, among them colleagues, friends and connoisseurs of Schoenberg's music. See Henri Lonitz, ed., *Theodor W. Adorno & Alban Berg: Correspondence 1925-1935*, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 212.

[14] Claus Zittel, 'Abschied von der Romantik im Gedicht Friedrich Nietzsches *Es geht ein Wandrer durch die Nacht*', in *Nietzscheforschung: Ein Jahrbuch*, Vol.3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 203. 'Wenn der Wanderer jetzt nicht mehr die Vogelstimmen verstehen kann, ist dies Zeichen des unrettbaren Verlorenseins des mythischen, dyonysischen Urgrunds.'

such as familiar versus strange are blurred in Zemlinsky's vocal compositions. The following exploration sets out to demonstrate that an attitude of ambiguity was also one of the strategies for charting one's way through the complex, plural environment of 1930s Vienna, where freedom of speech was gradually withdrawn. Accordingly, the cultural and political cross currents of conservatives and democrats, which of course also determined the artistic scenes, were not, as it is often assumed, neatly distinguishable opposites. Hence, individuals fabricated their unique paths through a landscape which, from 1934, was led by the Austro-Fascist regime. In order to carve out new ways of accessing what lies underneath the surface of the *Six Songs*, Op.22, it is therefore vital to first outline in detail what this conflicted political situation meant for different groups of the Austrian population. For this reason, what follows is an examination of the historical developments that resists a binary reading in favour of exploring some of the era's defining grey areas.

'*Die Heimatmacher*': Between Social Housing and *Vaterland*[15]

> Anyone who has not lived through the paradox of that time, the coexistence, interaction and merging of deep scepticism and the most irrational promises for the future, of darkest pessimism and passionate commitment to world renewal, of the most conservative sense of beauty and brutal iconoclasm, of elegance and mischief, ingenious luxury and humbly accepted poverty – how can anyone who has not inhaled the tension of these contradictions be able to empathize?[16]

The Jewish writer Gregor von Rezzori, initially Austrian and later stateless, poignantly illustrates the irreconcilable differences within a country that, after the fall of its

[15] 'Die Heimatmacher' (the home-makers) is taken from Wolfgang Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt: Politik, Kunst und Alltag um 1930* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2010), 381.

[16] Gregor von Rezzori, foreword in Hans Schreiber, *Trude Fleischmann: Fotografin in Wien 1918-1938* (Vienna: Orac Verlag, 1990), 12. 'Wer nicht gelebt hat im damaligen Paradoxon des Neben-, Mit- und Ineinanders von tiefer Skepsis und irrationalster Verheißung, von schwärzestem Pessimismus und stürmischem Willen zur Welterneuerung, konservativstem Schönheitssinn und brutalem Ikonoklasmus, von Eleganz und Verlotterung, unbefangenstem Luxus und demütig hingenommener Armut – wer nicht die Spannung dieser Widersprüche in sein Innenleben eingeatmet hat, der soll imstande sein, es nachzuempfinden?'. Translation by Holmes & Silverman (translation amended) in Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture Between Tradition and Modernity* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), 4.

substantial empire in 1918, desperately tried to reinvent itself as a nation. Owing to drastic economic changes (whole companies and factories had been torn apart with the sudden dissection of the Empire into a number of smaller countries) as well as the repercussions of WWI, unemployment rates were high. The many economic recessions of the 20s and 30s were rough for the young Republic which had only just started to rebuild its social, political and economic structures.[17] The Social Democrats saw the shortcomings of the recently fallen monarchy, and wanted to create a state of universal welfare. Their influence was particularly strong in Vienna where they built around 400 social houses and, thus, obtained something like 'total' control over the welfare system. As a result, many feared that these new developments could provoke a kind of totalitarianism.[18] The growth of these socialist movements, now generally known as Red Vienna, stood in stark contrast with supporters of traditional hierarchies, particularly those influenced by Catholicism, labelled Black Vienna. These two opponents are all too easily misunderstood as mutually exclusive binaries, the irreconcilable nature of which would inevitably destabilise Austria so much that it had to – involuntarily – succumb to a union with Nazi Germany. In fact, the overlap between Christian Socials and Social Democrats was significant. As their names suggest, both groupings saw themselves as inherently social formations, which acted in the interest of the Austrian people, although of course with different ideas of how their particular socialisms should be executed. While Red Vienna sought a break with old Habsburg structures in favour of a modernised country ready to compete on a transnational level, Black Vienna was trying to create a Catholic state, one that sentimentalised a bygone era, and strongly supported its rural areas, otherwise forgotten in increasingly industrial and urban times.[19] As opposed to National Socialism, the main interests of the Christian Social Party lay in the formation of a homogenous religious state. Yet, both Social Democratic and conservative movements had one thing in common: they both subscribed to the idea that the German language and its associated traditions, namely art music and

[17] Peter Eigner, 'Absturzgefahr und Sanierungsversuche: zur wirtschaftlich ambivalenten Situation um 1930', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 23-25.
[18] Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 319.
[19] Compare Helmut Konrad, 'Support for the Corporate State and National Socialism in the Socially Weaker Groups, 1934-1938', in Kenneth Segar and John Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics* (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1991), 48-66.

literature, were among the most valuable national properties.[20] The strong belief in the hegemony of German culture was omnipresent, and the line between a Hegelian worldview, in which a nation defined itself through a common language and spirit, and political nationalism, became a rather fine one.[21] The coming to terms with the new, German-language Republic after 1918 was a kind of liminal moment in Austria's history during which long-established values had to be replaced by ways of finding a new (national) identity.

Gone were the days in which a trusty Slovenian soldier like Hauptmann Trotta from Joseph Roth's novel *Radetzky March* (1932) was 'blessed with the supernatural power of the Maria-Theresia-medal.'[22] After the Dual Monarchy had fallen and diminished Austria to a small nation state, its citizens feared increasing insignificance, especially the rural population. Vienna's striving towards the status of a metropolitan city like New York or Berlin seemed futile after the country had lost its cultural variety and status as a significant power of Central Europe. Hermann Broch observed that 'the mood of parting, which had surrounded the Habsburg monarchy for decades, made them [the Austrians] forget about death, and the warnings with which the spirit of the twentieth century had announced itself remained unnoticed; after World War I, no place was less able to cope with the New than Vienna.'[23] Some said that instead of skyscrapers, Vienna only made it to a few *Hochhäuserl,* i.e., mini skyscrapers (the ending '-erl' is the Austrian diminutive; Fig. 2.4).[24]

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[20] Ibid. See also Kenneth Segar, 'Austria in the Thirties: Reality and Exemplum', in Ibid., 359-377.

[21] compare Therese Muxeneder, 'Schoenberg's Vienna as the Musical Center of the German-Speaking World', in Holmes and Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna*, 180.

[22] Joseph Roth, *Radetzkymarsch* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1989), 11.'(…) von der überirdischen Macht des Maria-Theresien-Ordens gesegnet.'

[23] Hermann Broch, *Hofmansthal und seine Zeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001), 134. 'die Abschiedsstimmung, von der die Habsburgermonarchie seit Dezennien umfangen war, hatte sie den Tod vergessen lassen, und all die Menetekel, mit denen der Geist des 20. Jahrhunderts sich angekündigt hatte, waren unbeachtet geblieben; nirgendwo war man nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg dem Neuen weniger gewachsten als in Wien.'

[24] The term 'Hochhauserl' (singular) is borrowed from the Viennese satirist Anton Kuh. Compare Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 289.

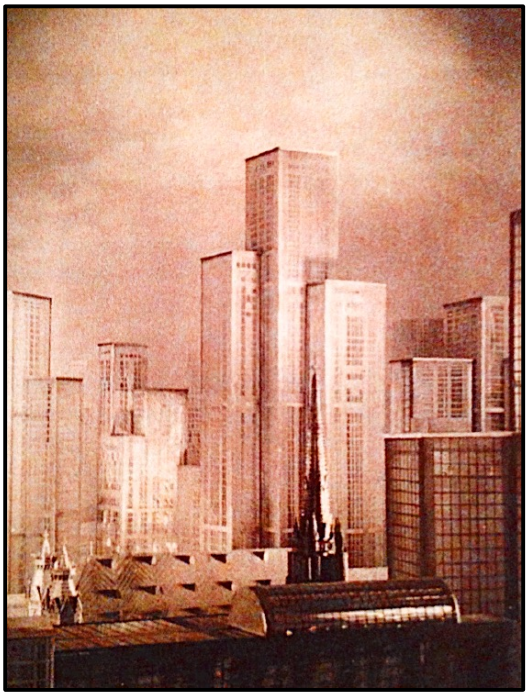

Fig.2.4 A 1932 vision of a futurist Vienna where its most prominent landmark, the Stephansdom, is surrounded by skyscrapers. In Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 290.

Upon his return in 1933, Zemlinsky moved to Grinzing, a green and wealthy neighbourhood to the north of the city centre, in Vienna's 19th district Döbling. Walter Loos, not related to the coveted architect Adolf Loos, designed the 'concrete box' that would become Louise's and Alexander's home in Kaasgrabengasse 24.[25] Their direct neighbours included Egon Wellesz, Hertzka's widow Yella, Hans Gál, Elias Canetti and Sigmund Freud. Alma Mahler's home was not far away either. The *Gesellschaft* in the hills of Grinzing might thus easily look like an escape into a lost *fin-de-siècle* past, a quaint parallel-world at the foot of the Kahlenberg. It is as if Zemlinsky and his neighbours deliberately tried to resist Broch's 'mood of parting', by maintaining a small circle from an old world, their own fabricated *Heimat* so to speak. Yet, remembering the salons Alma Mahler hosted in her house, where she invited both high officials of the political world and artists of her former circles, the society of Vienna's nobler districts was more than simply escapist.[26] Most importantly, neither Zemlinsky nor his contemporaries knew how their 'lost' *fin-de-siècle* would be received decades later. As with the Red and Black binaries described above, the division between a self-contained

[25] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000)*,* 409.
[26] Compare Susanne Rode-Breymann, 'Alma Mahler-Werfels Wiener Netzwerk', in Bernhard Fetz, ed., *Berg, Wittgenstein, Zuckerkandl: Zentralfiguren der Wiener Moderne* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2018), 80-82.

and admittedly rather attractive period labelled *fin-de-siècle* and its grief-stricken successor 'interwar Vienna' is both reductive and only clearly distinguished by a subsequent invention of history. Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman argue that 'the 'in-between' nature of interwar Vienna is intensified by our retrospective knowledge of the National Socialist catastrophe […]. This knowledge should not be allowed to predetermine our analysis of their aspirations, achievements, and failures with the sense of an inescapable negative teleology.'[27] In line with this claim, both scholars state that one of the reasons for the overly glorified image of Vienna around 1900 results from its defeat in 1918, and the subsequent loss of large territories and political power. Yet, the myth constructed also ignores the fact that, despite increasing poverty and other difficulties, cultural and artistic lives had not suddenly come to a halt after WW1. Although neither as popular nor as vibrant as Berlin, Vienna should not be seen as its opposite, helplessly stuck in its lost past.[28] While the city's architecture certainly would never manage to compete with the impressive skylines of a 'modern' metropolis like New York, the building of practical housing blocks for workers called *Gemeindebauten,* social homes, seems to be entirely ignored in accounts of a city that ostensibly never changed its 19th-century appearance.[29] The myth of Vienna as forever stuck in its past is a kind of modern legend, fabricated after WW2 and maintained until today. Thus, as tempting as it may be to interpret Zemlinsky's building of a family home on the fringes of the city as a flight from reality, i.e., as an attempt to recreate an 'old' Vienna, it is crucial to remember that these categories are themselves post-war constructions. In turn, this means that Vienna's cultural and political setup was far more contradictory and plural than often assumed. Artistic choices similarly did not follow the binaries of either being lost in *fin-de-siècle* nostalgia, i.e., resignation, or as being in line with the ruling regime. Thus, even though artists like Zemlinsky might have hoped for a safer life in Vienna after 1933, it is misleading to assume that they would have expected their lost 'city of dreams'.[30] Rather than relying on opposing categories, teasing out the simultaneity that defined this interwar period in Vienna reveals aspects of its music that

[27] Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, 'Introduction: Beyond the Coffeehouse. Vienna as Cultural Center between the World Wars', in Holmes and Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna*, 10.
[28] Ibid., 4-10.
[29] Compare ibid., 5.
[30] *Wien, du Stadt meiner Träume*, dir. Willi Forst, is a nostalgic post-war movie from 1957, idealising a bygone era.

otherwise remain hidden.

That these late-Habsburg years did not always provide Zemlinsky with the opportunities he might have wished for, becomes clear in a letter he wrote to Richard Specht in September 1921:

> In the same magazine, I find your 12-page article about Viennese music. You mention every name. Even those, which one encounters for the 1st time through this article. (Probably also those, one will never hear of again). Only my name is missing. In my whole life, I have never complained about such things. Today for the 1st time. The reason for this offence is unknown to me. Am I not Viennese? Not most genuinely so in every sense? Is to be forgotten even in such a case not a proof of my unmistakable affiliation with Vienna? [31]

The idea that 'being forgotten' is distinctive for being part of something, in this case Vienna, reveals Zemlinsky's sharp analysis of Viennese society, before and after the war. Despite his success in Prague, Zemlinsky seemed unwilling to accept the lack of support coming from his native city, perhaps also owing to his achievements as a young composer there that had raised hopes for an exemplary career to follow. Even though, in the early years, Zemlinsky had been a prodigy of Gustav Mahler, who premiered his second opera *Es war einmal* at the Hofoper in 1900, he never managed to find work that fully satisfied him artistically (Mahler left his position at the Hofoper when such prominent support would have been critical for Zemlinsky's further development). Thus, for Zemlinsky, the grand nostalgia so often associated with Viennese culture before WW1 certainly came with a pinch of salt. His own 'mood of parting' had not been initiated by the fall of an empire, but 18 years prior to the event.

That this sense of 'being forgotten' affected many Viennese lives is poignantly illustrated in Rudolf Brunngraber's 1933 novel *Karl und das 20. Jahrhundert* (*Karl and*

[31] Alexander Zemlinsky in Otto Biba, *Alexander Zemlinsky: Bin ich kein Wiener?* (Wien: Agens-Werk Geyer + Reisser, 1992), 76. Here, Zemlinsky refers to an article Specht had published in his magazine *Der Anbruch.* 'Im selben Heft nun finde ich auch einen 12 Seiten langen Aufsatz von Ihnen über Wiener Musik. Es sind alle Namen darinnen. Selbst solche, die man durch diesen Aufsatz zum 1. mal hört. (Wahrscheinlich auch solche, die man zum letztenmal hört). Einzig allein fehlt mein Name. Ich habe mich in meinem ganzen Leben über solche Dinge nicht beklagt. Heute zum 1. mal. Mir ist der Grund zu dieser Beleidigung unverständlich. Bin ich kein Wiener? Nicht einer der echtesten in dieser Beziehung? Ist die Tatsache selbst in so einem Fall vergessen zu werden nicht schon ein Beweis meiner unverfälschten Zuständigkeit nach Wien?'

the 20th Century), which once more underlines the inherent plurality of this era. Unlike Zemlinsky, the tragic hero Karl Lakner, born in 1893, had not been so fortunate as to live through the 'posthumously' mythologised golden *fin de siècle* of the city of Vienna. He simply was too late. Instead, he experienced the immediate impacts of the fall of the old Habsburg Empire: 'Destiny had chosen him and one-thousand-and-eight-hundred-million others to be part of the most violent era on this earth.'[32] Born into a working-class family in Vienna, he fails to find employment in a city where a war and the ensuing economic crisis had long dismantled the glamour and glory of the celebrated bygone days. Karl finds that 'nothing can help him unless this century would first help itself'.[33] He commits suicide in 1931. Karl Lakner stands for a segment of the population struggling to make ends meet in early twentieth-century Europe. As Jon Hughes states, he is a type of *Jedermann* (Everyman).[34] And although not everyone shared the merciless destiny of Karl, hardship can be found in many biographies across the social strata. The high unemployment rates of the 1930s were a direct, slightly delayed consequence of the Great Depression of 1929, related to but not solely caused by Austria's lost war. These effects materialised just as Austria had been freed from its WW1 reparation duties.[35] While Vienna's urban space witnessed the tensions between Christian Social and Social Democratic parties, the latter had next to no influence in Austria's vast rural regions. Thus, the only option for farmers and their workers, often living under 'sub-human' conditions, was to sympathise either with National or Christian Socialism.[36] And even though, after a series of bomb attacks on a Jewish jeweller and a section of the police in Krems near Vienna, any activity of the National Socialist party NSDAP was forbidden in Austria from 19 June 1933, the Nazis continued to operate underground. Even more, they infiltrated public and private organisations such as publishing houses, as Austrian writers needed the German market to make ends meet.

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[32] Rudolf Brunngraber, *Karl und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Steidl, 1999), 11. 'Das Schicksal hatte ihn mit achtzehnhundert Millionen anderen ausersehen, am bislang gewalttätigsten Zeitalter dieser Erde teilzuhaben.'

[33] Ibid., 245. '(…) und daß ihm nichts helfen kann, es sei denn, dieses Jahrhundert hülfe vorerst sich selbst.'

[34] Jon Hughes, 'Der kleine Mann und das Zeitschicksal: Rudolf Brunngrabers Roman *Karl und das 20. Jahrhundert*', trans. Miha Tavcar, in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 255.

[35] For a detailed analysis of Austria's economic situation in the 1930s see Peter Eigner, 'Absturzgefahr und Sanierungsversuche: Zur wirtschaftlich ambivalenten Situation um 1930' in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 20-27.

[36] Konrad, 'The Corporate State and National Socialism 1934-1938', 49-50.

The official ban thus hardly diminished their success across those groups who were 'forgotten'.[37] In the case of Austria's rural population, their choice was simply one for or against the church, since there simply were no alternatives.[38]

While Zemlinsky had next to no ties with rural Austria, the wider concerns of these communities explain the shift from the kind of antisemitism the composer grew up with to a politically as well as religiously motivated, aggressive and ultimately lethal form of hatred. And even though the *Ständestaat* regime's ideology prohibited activities of the NSDAP, the above clarifies that the German party's ideologies were on the agenda long before the *Anschluss*.[39] The local *Heimatschutz* society (home protection), for example, was hardly less antisemitic and nationalistic than the NSDAP. Nonetheless, for the moment, the more immediately dangerous German Nazis seemed to be kept at bay.[40] Karl Kraus's position regarding both political developments and the many forms of antisemitism in Austria is symptomatic for the intellectual elite, which Zemlinsky was part of, and demonstrates once more that the division between conservative and socialist movements was anything but clear-cut.

> And if the world were full of swastika-bearers – the genesis of which, on either side, was by and large made possible through social democracy –: we ultimately must realise that, ever since mankind has been betrayed by politics, there never was greater failure than the deeds of this party …[41]

Kraus's disappointment with the rigid bureaucracy and failure of the Social Democratic party led him to accept Schuschnigg's Austro-Fascist regime as the lesser of the two remaining evils, i.e., National Socialists and Christian Socials.[42] Despite his outstanding ability to analyse complex political situations, he was unable to see just how close the

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[37] Klaus Amann, 'Political Attitudes and the Book Market: Special Features of the Austrian Literary Scene between 1933 and 1938', in Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*, 178-203.
[38] Konrad, 'Support for the Corporate State and National Socialism in the Socially Weaker Groups', 49-50.
[39] Also compare Introduction, page 19-24. One may also want to remember the fact that, by 1929, seventy holiday resorts declared themselves as *judenrein* – free of Jews. Compare Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 60.
[40] Kurt Bauer, 'Die kalkulierte Eskalation: Nationalsozialismus und Gewalt in Wien um 1930', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 43-44.
[41] Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel,* 885-887 (Vienna: Verlag Die Fackel, 1932), 1. 'Und wenn die Welt voll Hakenkreuzler wär' – an deren Erschaffung ja der Sozialdemokratie, hüben und drüben, das Hauptverdienst gebührt –: wir müssen uns endlich klar werden, daß es, seitdem sich die Menschheit von Politik betrügen läßt, nie ein größeres Mißlingen gegeben hat als das Tun dieser Partei...'
[42] Compare Edward Timms, 'Kraus's Shakespearean Politics' in Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*, 353.

Ständestaat (Federal State of Austria) was to the German Nazi party.[43] A similar line was followed by Ernst Krenek, a keen follower of Kraus and his writings. Ultimately, the hope of maintaining a cultivated German-speaking society was more important to Kraus than the burdens of antisemitism. The satirist's reaction once more shows how inseparably intertwined the political cross currents were, and that keeping alive the rigid binaries of Red and Black Vienna is indeed hard to justify.

August Eigner

August Eigner (1884-1950), now an almost entirely unknown figure, was active in Vienna's more conservative literary circles during the first half of the twentieth century.[44] His poem 'Und einmal gehst du' was set to music by Zemlinsky in 1933, just before the composer moved to Vienna. The example of Eigner, not a member of the circles Zemlinsky moved in, is particularly suitable to illuminate just how difficult it is to clearly distinguish between the opposing camps in cases where no obvious political activities are traceable.[45] Zemlinsky's song 'Und einmal gehst du', not part of a set, thus gives access, through the author of its text, to a section of Viennese society that remains relatively unresearched: conservative Catholics who navigated through the complex interwar situation in Austria without an obvious affiliation with the system.

Und einmal gehst du	And one time you walk
durch das fahle Licht der Landschaft,	through the landscape's pale light,
auf kahlen Feldern	on bleak fields
steht in Mandeln	the almond trees
längst	long
des Sommers reife Frucht,	carry summer's ripe fruit,

[43] After all, Kraus was no supporter of Nationalism. In 1919, he condemned the idea of the fatherland as 'moronic'. Karl Kraus, 'Nachruf', in Hans Wollschläger, ed., *Karl Kraus Lesebuch* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1987), 259-60. '[…] von der vaterländischen Erziehung bestärkte Geistesschwäche.'

[44] Proof of his activities as public speaker can be found in newspaper articles. See for example 'Meidlinger Brücken der Vergangenheit: Feierliche Eröffnung des Heimatmuseums', in *Kleine Volks-Zeitung* No.172 (Vienna: 22 June 1932), 5. <www.anno.onb.ac.at>, accessed 27 August 2019.
Further, the at the time well-respected Viennese composer Josef Daninger set four of Eigner's poems to music (*Das alte Lied*, *Herbstwind*, *Wiegenlied* and *Mondnacht*). See *Vier Lieder für hohe Stimme nach Worten von August Eigner* (Vienna: Europäischer Verlag, 1933).

[45] I went through the Eigner estate at the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, which holds numerous letters of the author. Most of the correspondence predates WW1. Eigner and his interlocutors, Dirnböck-Schulz and the priest Karl Keck, did not discuss political issues.

In grauer Ferne [AZ *in grauen Fernen*]	in grey distance
siehst du	you see
einer letzten Schwalbe Flug	a last swallow's flight
verzittern,	trembling,
es raschelt unter deinem zagen Schritt	under your hesitant step
das dürre Laub – – –	dry leaves rustle – – –
[AZ *unter deinen zagen Schritten*]	
Unter –	Under – –
Zagem – – [AZ *Zagen*]	Hesitant – –
Schritt – – – [AZ *Schritten*]	Step – – –
Da nützt kein Zögern,	All hesitation is useless,
da nützt auch keine Umkehr – –	all reversal is useless too – –
Es muß ihn	Everyone
jeder einmal tun:	has to embark on it some day:
den Gang	the passage
in seinen eignen Herbst.....[46]	into one's own autumn.....

'Und einmal gehst du' is the only piece of music Zemlinsky wrote during the long summer of 1933, just after he and his family were forced to leave Berlin after Hitler became Reichskanzler. Before settling in Vienna, Zemlinsky spent some months in Montagnola, Southern Switzerland, which also happened to be Hermann Hesse's *Wahlheimat* (home of choice).[47] As opposed to the poets of the Harlem-Renaissance group Zemlinsky had explored five years earlier, August Eigner was neither a revolutionary nor a well-known writer. As a teacher, school director, *Heimat*-scholar and amateur poet, he was mainly invested in communal activities and regional issues. [48] In 1936, Eigner became director of the *Heimatmuseum* in Meidling, now Vienna's twelfth district. He maintained the position until his death.[49] With the end of WW2, he was appointed as head of the department for *Heimatpflege* (heritage conservation) at the ministry for culture and public education of the city of Vienna.[50] Eigner published numerous anthologies of poetry, which frequently engage with themes of Austrian

[46] August Eigner, 'Und einmal gehst du', in *Mond auf den Pfaden: Lyrische Skizzen* (Vienna: Die Heimat, undated), 21-22.
[47] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 401.
[48] Felix Czeike, ed., *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, Vol. 2 'De-Gy' (Vienna, Kremayr & Scheriau: 2004), 142.
[49] The *Heimatmuseum* in Meidling is the oldest of its kind in Vienna. Despite the closure of public societies in 1938, Eigner managed to keep the Meidling museum running (under the patronage of the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien). How he achieved this special status is not recorded. See Hans W. Brouska, ed., '12 Bezirksmuseum Meidling', in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, Vol.4 (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 2000), 5.
[50] Czeike, ed., Historisches Lexikon Wien, 142.

regions and folklore.[51] Beyond his own work as poet, he was a keen supporter of Johanna Dirnböck-Schulz (1850-1918), a novelist and teacher from Vienna whose work often idealises Austria's Catholic heritage. *Favianis: Roman aus der Zeit der Völkerwanderung* (1898)*,* for instance, illustrates and certainly also glorifies Vienna's Roman roots.[52] Eigner's interests mostly coincided with the conservative Catholic camp, and his strong support for a female and divorced author thus seems somewhat untypical. Of course, his public endorsement of Dirnböck-Schulz does not automatically classify as liberal. Yet, looking at the little background information available on Eigner, there are at least two possible ways of interpreting his basic attitude and therefore the contents of his poetry: that, in a more extreme scenario, he must have been a supporter of the *Ständestaat,* seeing that he continued to maintain the museum in Meidling throughout the 1930s and 40s, and of course also because of his Catholic affiliations. However, and much less based on speculation, Eigner might be seen as a 'silent' individual, who remained relatively neutral in his written and spoken statements in order to keep his work as scholar and director.[53] For example, his poem 'Vaterland (1919)', while regretting the fall of the Habsburg Empire is anything but a lament, closes with the line 'Der Not entwachsen Flügel!!' (Those who experience hardship grow wings!!) [54] It is a hopeful, perhaps even realistic note, advising the reader to make the best of the situation, rather than longing for lost days. Either way, Eigner's biography and work demonstrate the plural and ambiguous nature of the society Zemlinsky was

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[51] Eigner's anthologies include *Zwischen Hoffen und Erinnerung* (Between Hope and Memory), published after 1919; *Singen und Sagen aus Wiens vergangenen Tagen* (Songs and Legends from Vienna's Bygone Days), 1925; *Poetisches Sagenkränzlein aus dem Burgenland* (Poetic Cycle of Sagas from Burgenland), 1925. Cycles such as the latter were compiled for many other Austrian provinces, including Lower Austria, Upper Austria and Styria. For further details on these publications, please refer to the bibliography.

[52] Apart from her numerous publications on Vienna's Roman days, Dirnböck-Schulz penned a commemorative text for the first anniversary of Empress Elisabeth's death in 1899. At a meeting of the Catholic society *Reunion*, Eigner gave a lecture acknowledging Dirnböck-Schulz's merits as 'vaterländische Dichterin und historische Schriftstellerin' ('national poet and historical author'). See August Eigner, *Johanna Dirnböck-Schulz, eine vaterländische Dichterin und Schriftstellerin: Biographisch-kritische Skizze* (Vienna, 1908), 7.

[53] In his book *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 2, Erik Levi identifies at least three different conservative strands in Germany (Austria would have had similar divisions). It is not unlikely, that Eigner belonged to the second, 'traditional conservatism which emanated from the upper and upper-middle classes [… where] material and cultural interests were tied to preserving the status quo, while still reaching some kind of accommodation with the new republic.' Although Eigner's class-affiliation is not clearly identifiable from the sources available, his interest in preserving aspects of his inherited culture are undoubtable.

[54] August Eigner, 'Vaterland (1919)', in *Zwischen Hoffen und Erinnerung...* (Vienna: Schönbrunner-Verlag, undated), 60.

about to enter. Both Eigner and Zemlinsky, two public personae of entirely different worlds, had to find their unique ways of responding to the gradually shifting political landscape within Austria. 'Und einmal gehst du' is Zemlinsky's first such response, followed by the *Six Songs,* Op.22. The Eigner-setting is a small example through which a much wider problem, i.e., the plurality of a complex historical period and its music, can be explored. It sheds light on the 'grey zones' of history, those more likely to be excluded from scholarship because they do not lend themselves to overt, unambiguous conclusions. However, it is precisely these 'grey zones' that allow the inherently plural texture of this historical era to come to the surface.

It is of course true that both the poem and music of 'Und einmal gehst du' are stylistically much less bold and confrontational than Zemlinsky's previous song-composition, the *Symphonische Gesänge.* This discrepancy may have led Beaumont and Becher to attribute the Eigner-setting to an overall 'spirit of […] resignation'.[55] The observation of both scholars is certainly appropriate regarding the song's general mood. Yet, what else lies underneath if its underlying plural histories are considered? Apart from Zemlinsky, none of the circle around Schoenberg set any of Eigner's poems to music.[56] Of course, he was by no means the only composer interested in the work of lesser known, perhaps even less prolific writers. Similar choices were made by Webern for example, whose 1934 setting of Hildegard Jone's texts also make use of literature hitherto unexplored by composers.[57] 'Und einmal gehst du' appears in the anthology *Mond auf den Pfaden: Lyrische Skizzen* (Moon on the Paths: Lyrical Sketches).[58] The publication is undated, but its content of expressionistic poems or, as the title suggests, sketches, most likely stems from the 1910s or 20s. Eigner's choice of free form, such as the uneven distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables, as well as a direct appeal

[55] Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 441 and Christoph Becher, *Die Variantentechnik am Beispiel Alexander Zemlinskys* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 255.

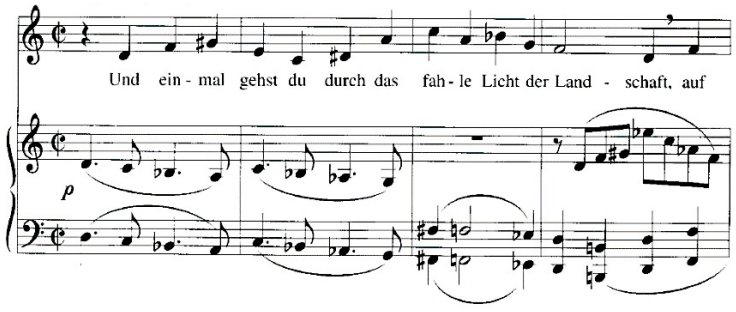
[56] A search of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*'s catalogue shows that other songs to texts by Eigner belong in the category of *Wiener Lied,* i.e., folk song. Some of these composers, like Johann Langer, were pedagogues rather than professional full-time composers and/or conductors. Eigner does not appear in any of the comprehensive anthologies on poets in Austria. Armin A. Wallas, *Zeitschriften und Anthologien des Expressionismus in Österreich: Analytische Bibliographie und Register,* Vol. 2 (Munich, K.G. Saur Verlag: 1995), 475-774. See also Walter Urbanek, *Dichter des Expressionismus: eine Anthologie* (Munich, Bayerische Verlagsanstalt: 1958).

[57] It is important to remember that Webern, known for his ascetic modernism, followed rather conservative interests. This shows, for example, in his engagement with the work of *Heimatdichter* Peter Rosegger. Compare Elisabeth Kaiser, *Rosegger-Rezeption bei Anton Webern* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013).

[58] (Vienna and Leipzig: Die Heimat, undated), 21-22.

to the reader are among the main characteristics of the stylistic genre. As mentioned above, Becher claims that, given the biographical context and the poetry's dark atmosphere, 'Und einmal gehst du' represents 'a resigned expression, which reflects Zemlinsky's withdrawal from Berlin'.[59] Although of course the selection of an expressionistic, unknown poem from an Austrian *Heimat* scholar stands in stark contrast with Zemlinsky's previous settings by Langston Hughes and other African-American writers, there is more to it than gestures of withdrawal, seemingly congruent with Zemlinsky's sudden departure from Berlin.

The first half of Zemlinsky's setting of 'Und einmal gehst du' is dominated by chromatic patterns, both in the vocal line and the piano accompaniment. The central key area of D minor shimmers through in the individual phrases of the voice part, which mostly move to either the tonic D or its dominant. This is reinforced in the piano part, but the immediate continuation of the chromatic texture obscures the home key significantly. Other key areas evolve without being solidly established – they disappear as quickly as they have appeared. In bar four, for example, a diminished D7 is played, with the raised fourth G# added in the right hand, as well as the raised sixth B♮ in the bass (Example 2.4). However, instead of solidifying D by resolving the tritone D-G# to the dominant A to arrive at a perfect fifth, Zemlinsky moves to F minor seventh, by simply reinterpreting G# as A♭. This complex chromatic obscuring of D minor while never quite establishing any other key area continues until bar 21, when suddenly a pedal point appears in the bass, gradually affirming D minor as home key.



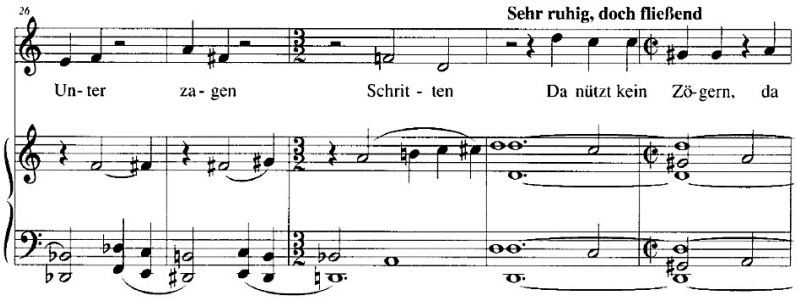
Example 2.4 Zemlinsky, 'Und einmal gehst du', bars 1-4.

[59] Becher, Die Variantentechnik am Beispiel Alexander Zemlinskys, 255.

Remembering the dramaturgical arch of the *Symphonische Gesänge* encountered in chapter 1 (page 76), where numbers 1 'Lied aus Dixieland', 5 'Erkenntnis' and 7 'Arabeske' also hinge on various modes of D, it now becomes clear that 'Und einmal gehst du', although its story stems from familiar rather than foreign lands, is still of the same world, but one significantly defamiliarized through its resistance to tonal development. To some extent, the chromatic and murky patterning described above mirrors the atmosphere of Eigner's poem. Bleak fields, the trembling bird and grey distances become uncomfortable and eerie. Yet, the fate-like directionality Eigner establishes straight away, by starting with the conjunction 'und' (and), usually avoided at the beginning of a sentence, is not quite so obvious in Zemlinsky's music.[60] The foregrounded chromaticism of the melody does not allow for as much clarity. It seems that the text's inevitability is not readily accepted until at least the middle of the piece. Yet, the 'last autumn' one must accept in the end is established in the bassline from the outset. Again, Zemlinsky employs a means often found in the *Symphonische Gesänge.* At the very beginning, he introduces a lamenting figure (Example 2.4, bars 1-2, two descending tetrachords). In bars two and three, starting on the A♭ of the third beat, Zemlinsky adds a sense of urgency to the still ongoing lament: instead of alternating whole and half steps, the motion now descends chromatically until it arrives at F♮ at which point it has lost its familiar structure of the lament bass. The brief sense of familiarity introduced in the beginning has gradually dissolved.

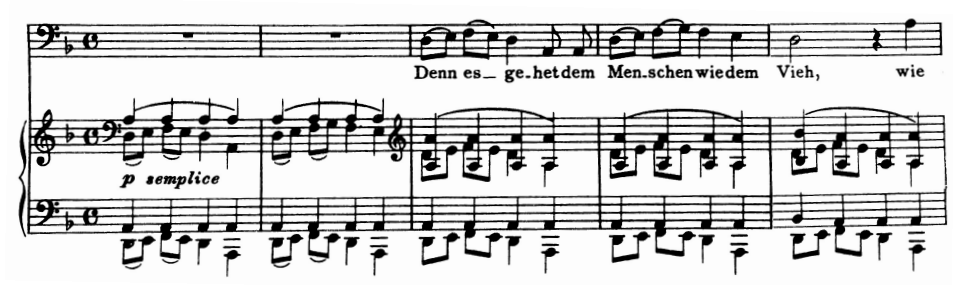
After a long, chromatic first half, at the end of the piano interlude in bar 29, the key of D minor is eventually restated, and rather forcefully so (Example 2.5). Although one initially hears only the tonic and seventh C, the key is unmistakably established. This minimal way of composing-out a harmonic situation appears as particularly powerful, if not intrusive after 28 bars of complex chromatic uncertainty. In fact, the opacity of the first half that resisted an unambiguous reflection of Eigner's text now becomes a straightforward statement. Here, Zemlinsky musically seconds Eigner's appeal: 'Da nützt kein Zögern' – 'All hesitation is useless', and calls attention to the inevitability of one's last days, which he had somewhat concealed up until this point.

[60] Examples of poetry that heightens the reader's awareness by employing a stylistic device that starts the very first sentence with the conjunction 'und' (and) include Maeterlinck's 'Et s'il revenait un jour' (1893), set by Zemlinsky as 'Und kehrt er einst heim' in 1913. Best known is perhaps Richard Strauss's 1894 setting of Mackay's poem 'Morgen!' ('Und morgen wird die Sonne wieder scheinen').



Example 2.5 Zemlinsky, 'Und einmal gehst du', bars 26-30.

As opposed to the previous motivic and chromatic developments, Zemlinsky now lifts the veil of obscurity. The texture becomes much clearer and the evenly struck chords and respective resolutions appear strictly on the first or third beats. In fact, the contrast here is so extreme that one cannot help but hear the foreboding of something final. A very similar, prophetic tone was struck by one of Zemlinsky's first role models, Johannes Brahms, in his 1896 composition *Vier ernste Gesänge* (*Four serious Songs*). 'Denn es gehet dem Menschen wie dem Vieh' ('For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts').[61] The text from the Old Testament essentially preaches the same unescapable path towards death as Eigner's 'Da nützt kein Zögern, da nützt auch keine Umkehr'. Also set in D minor, the motive established in bars 1-2, and later repeated in the voice part, expresses a similarly calm, yet decisive and somewhat menacing ultimatum (Example 2.6).[62]



Example 2.6 Johannes Brahms, *Vier ernste Gesänge*, No.1 (1896), bars 1-5.

[61] Translation by Richard Stokes, 'For that which befalleth the sons of men', in *Oxford Lieder* <https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/2297>, accessed 27 August 2019.

[62] See also Krones, 'Tonale und harmonische Semantik im Liedschaffen Alexander Zemlinskys', in Hartmut Krones, ed., *Alexander Zemlinsky: Ästhetik, Stil und Umfeld* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag,1995), 164, Krones mentions Brahms's Op.121 No.1 in his analysis of Zemlinsky's use of the key of D minor. Zemlinsky's late songs are not part of his discussion.

Rudolf Stefan Hoffmann observed the following regarding Zemlinsky's use of D tonalities:

> The secret of the key is strange. D minor is distinctive for very specific desperate-tragic moods of Zemlinsky. It accompanies the world weariness of Traumgörge, the tailor fellow's melancholia, here rather dominatingly so, the wistful ugliness of the 'Dwarf' […].[63]

In his article 'Tonale und harmonische Semantik im Liedschaffen Alexander Zemlinskys', Hartmut Krones describes the inherited 'tradition […] of the quite deliberate, affect-oriented work with the characteristics of tonalities […]'.[64] He goes on: 'The allocation of specific harmonic progressions to specific prevailing moods or semantic spheres [are part of] the finest tradition of musical rhetoric […]'.[65] Both the fact that Zemlinsky, in his early years, was strongly influenced by Brahms's music and, as Hoffmann stated, his apparent use of D minor for tragic or hopeless moods, allow for the conclusion that underneath the complex weaving of chromatic patterns, Zemlinsky stays true to a musical rhetoric that expresses basic human emotions or, couched in Hannah Arendt's words, 'the human condition'. This plurality of expression would define Zemlinsky's musical *Heimweg* throughout the 1930s.

The end of the song merges elements of both halves: the descending bass-line somewhat resembles the *passus duriusculus* of the beginning bars (although with a much stronger sense of direction this time, inevitably steering towards the tonic (Example 2.7, bars 40-44). The right hand in bars 42-43 reinstates the chromatic phrasing of the melodic development whereby the sequence of notes outlines a diminished tonic ninth chord. Again, Zemlinsky brings into play familiarity and strangeness at once.

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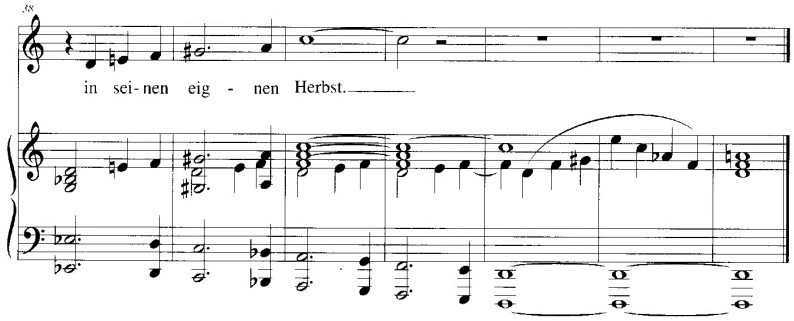
[63] Rudolf Stefan Hoffmann quoted in Krones, 'Tonale und harmonische Semantik im Liedschaffen Alexander Zemlinskys', 164. 'Merkwürdig ist das Geheimnis der Tonart. So ist D-moll bezeichnend für ganz bestimmte verzweifelt tragische Stimmungen Zemlinskys. Sie begleitet den Lebensüberdruß des Traumgörge, die Melancholie des Schneidergesellen, hier geradezu dominierend, die wehmütige Häßlichkeit des 'Zwerges' [...].'

[64] Krones, 'Tonale und harmonische Semantik im Liedschaffen Alexander Zemlinskys', 164. '[…] das ganz bewußt affektbezogene Arbeiten mit Tonartencharakteren […]'.

[65] Ibid., 163-64. 'Daß auch das Zuordnen ganz bestimmter harmonischer Verläufe zu ganz bestimmten inhaltlichen Grundstimmungen bzw. semantischen Sphären beste musiksprachliche Tradition war [...]'.



Example 2.7 Zemlinsky, 'Und einmal gehst du', bars 38-44.

Eventually, the clearly defined D minor seventh chord in bar 40 on 'autumn' ('Herbst') becomes a solid D minor with its root in the bass in the last bar. It looks like all ambiguity and cloudy symbolism has vanished in favour of a clear statement – albeit one that preserves the preceding enigmas in the memory. Zemlinsky's 'Und einmal gehst du' becomes an alienated *Heimat*. In the end, no straightforward sense of arrival is granted and the journey at best reaches a false destination, the D minor that has so frequently been corrupted that it can hardly be perceived as solid in the end, despite its sounding in root position. This of course is also achieved by the repeatedly sounding D-G# tritone figure, which works towards a destabilised second half (from bar 30).[66]

In the end, both Zemlinsky's ambiguous compositional style and the world of August Eigner add yet another piece to the mosaic of the composer's multi-layered web of relationships, one that allows a non-binary, plural reading of the historical and musical particularities. This sense of keeping alive contradictions also feeds into the following considerations about Austria's cultural bureaucracy before and during the years of the *Ständestaat.* An assessment of this situation is crucial to further deepen an understanding of how difficult it was for Zemlinsky to chart a way through this landscape, particularly as an artist who was interested in publishing and performing new works, not least the *Six Songs*, Op.22.

[66] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 442. N.B. Beaumont ascribes the same function to the recurring D-A♭ interval. However, the diminished fifth would, unlike D-G#, not resolve to A natural to form a perfect fifth with the tonic. Instead, it would resolve to G natural, and therefore strengthen the subdominant function. It is precisely this alteration between the two enharmonic equivalents that allows Zemlinsky to establish the tonally ambiguous first half of the song.

Jazz vs 'Gamsbart': *Jonny spielt auf,* Josephine Baker and Cultural Bureaucracy in Vienna[67]

Despite the fact that Austria officially rejected the National Socialists, antisemites held positions in many political offices. In the cultural sector, Joseph Rinaldini, for example, Chairman of the Österreichische Kunststelle (Austrian Arts Office) since 1934, made sure to mainly promote Aryans. Moreover, he also rejected the 'jazz opera' *Jonny spielt auf*, written by the Christian Ernst Krenek, which opened at the *Wiener Staatsoper* on 31 December 1927, years before the implementation of the *Ständestaat*.[68] In a public announcement, the Nazis warned the Viennese public that their prestigious opera house had fallen victim to an 'impertinent Jewish-Negroid defilement'. Conservative critics, the Christian Socials as well as members of the church shared these views. Cardinal Piffl bemoaned the 'moral decay of our time'.[69] On the other side, representatives of the avant-garde complained about the popular tropes in *Jonny*.[70] Despite all the tumultuous reactions, *Jonny spielt auf* was a great success, and the Nazis, although they arranged regular protests in front of the State Opera, were not yet powerful enough to prevent future performances of the piece. Nonetheless, Krenek, who clearly was far from critical of the idea of a 'Greater Austria', was disillusioned by the experience.[71] Although his opera portrayed new American trends and technology with a good deal of scepticism (after all, Krenek managed to juxtapose jazz tropes with longing for the tranquillity of the Alps), right-wing conservatives of course rejected its ambivalence and new, supposedly 'American' musical style. Krenek thus experienced success and failure at once.

In 1928, at the same time as Krenek's opera had its successful but controversial run at the State Opera, Josephine Baker gave her first Viennese performance. Unsurprisingly, insults motivated by racism were numerous. The Christian *Reichspost*

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[67] Gamsbart is a traditional decoration on an alpine-hunter's hat made from chamois hair. It represents tradition and heritage, i.e., the opposite of modernisation. See also chapter 3, footnote 25.

[68] It was also Rinaldini who later prevented the performance of Krenek's opera *Karl V.* Compare Ernst Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit: Erinnerungen an die Moderne*, trans. Friedrich Saathen and Sabine Schulte (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1998), 854-855.

[69] Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 579. '(…) frechen, jüdisch-negerischen Besudelung zum Opfer gefallen.'; '(…) sittlichen Verfall unserer Zeit.'

[70] Ibid., 582.

[71] Krenek's disillusionment was mainly related to the fact that he felt his opera was grossly misunderstood as a kind of modern satire when indeed he sought to portray a tragic situation. Compare Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit*, 631, 649-652.

found that 'Josefine [sic] Baker with her banana skirt, dancing to wildly drunken Negro-tunes, in the city of Schubert, Strauß and Beethoven [—] is this not a last stop sign before the journey into the wide vastness of the abyss?'[72] Note the self-evident labelling of Beethoven as Viennese 'property'. According to Karl Kraus, Baker 'acquainted herself with the darkest Central Europe.'[73] As expected, he had a most poignant response to the aberrations of the *Reichspost*:

> If Baker is the last stop sign before the abyss, before which we always do stand, instead of diving into it wholeheartedly, then every Viennese would have something to hold on to and tourism would not always have to surge around the Palace of Justice. Thus, this is how these leaders of the word write, who do not know whereto they should lead their words, which themselves have no clue in the first place.[74]

Kraus, still a supporter of the Social Democratic camp at that time, here refers to the fire at the Palace of Justice on 15 July 1927. This was the result of protests after the court had discharged offenders of the right-wing military organisation Frontkämpfervereinigung Deutsch-Österreichs (Association of the German-Austrian Frontline Fighters). Two people, a worker and a child, had been shot as a result of a violent encounter between members of the Frontkämpfervereinigung on the one hand, and the social democratic Schutzbund on the other hand. The court's decision provoked civil-war-like conditions.[75] The tensions between supporters of the Social Democrats, and right-wing nationalistic groupings, some of which looked approvingly to the developments in Germany, increasingly destabilised both political and cultural lives in Austria. The incident of the Palace of Justice demonstrates how, already in the late 1920s, the radical right had influential advocates who were able to make far-

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[72] Roman Horak, 'Skandalfall Josephine Baker: Das Wiener Gastspiel der *Urwaldamazone*', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 210. 'Josefine [sic!] Baker mit dem Bananenschurz, nach wildtrunkenen Negerweisen tanzend, in der Stadt Schuberts, Strauß' und Beethovens, ist es nicht ein letztes Haltsignal [sic] vor der Fahrt ins Weite, Unermeßliche des Abgrundes?'

[73] Karl Kraus, 'Aus Redaktion und Irrenhaus' in *Die Fackel,* No. 778-780 (Vienna: Verlag die Fackel, mid-May 1928), 87. '[Josephine Baker hat] Bekannschaft mit dem dunkelsten Zentraleuropa gemacht'.

[74] Ibid., 88. Also note Kraus's use of a 'to do' plus verb construction which, known as *'tun'-Periphrase* in German, reveals the speaker as uneducated. 'Aber wenn die Baker das letzte Haltesignal ist vor dem Abgrund, vor dem wir immer stehen tun, anstatt endlich herzhaft unterzutauchen, so hätte ja der Wiener etwas zum Anhalten und der Fremdenverkehr brauchte nicht allweil um den Justizpalast branden. So denken und schreiben also diese Schriftleiter die nicht wissen, wohin sie die Schrift leiten sollen, welche es ihrerseits schon gar nicht weiß.'

[75] Wolfgang Kos, 'Zur Ausstellung', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 12.

reaching decisions on a parliamentary level. Similar developments can be observed in the cultural sector.

The years immediately following World War I saw an extraordinary number of world premieres of avant-garde music at the Viennese State Opera. From 1928 onwards, these declined. The opera house was funded by the Unterrichtsministerium (Ministry for Education), which means its purpose was to educate the culturally interested citizens – and, as in all autocratic states, education needed controlling. Between 1920 and 1931, operas like Schreker's *Die Gezeichneten* (1920) and *Die Schatzgräber* (1922), Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), Berg's *Wozzeck* (1930) and Wellesz's *Bakchantinnen* (1931) were programmed. In general, if it had lost its status as political super power, Austria at least wanted to remain a 'cultural super power'.[76] This view was shared by all political movements, from the far right to the left. From 1933 onwards, after parliament had been dissolved by Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß from the Christian Social Party, music of the avant-garde was increasingly sidelined. The premiere of Krenek's *Karl V* was prevented even though the plot of the opera was in line with the standards of the Dollfuß regime, and Krenek himself, who had previously re-entered the Catholic Church, a supporter of the Christian *Universalreich*.[77] Despite his affiliations with the government, the work was finally boycotted by members of the orchestra and rejected by the influential Rinaldini. Thus, even though no political stranger to the *Ständestaat*, Krenek's 12-tone work and his remaining liberal attitude quickly made him suspicious to the regime.[78]

Because of the precarious economic situation across the country, those who wanted their art to be funded needed the state's support. During the monarchy, music festivals were subsidised by the court and the aristocracy. After the latter had fallen into poverty by the end of World War I, entertainment for the public became a state issue. Accordingly, the former Hofoper (Court Opera) was renamed Staatsoper (State Opera). The belongings of the Habsburg monarchy now became state property. But the newly founded Republic was also poor, and it was hard to justify the organisation of a

[76] Oliver Rathkolb, 'Bürokratie und Musikalltag am Beispiel der Wiener Staatsoper', in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Vienna: IWK, 1988/2), 26-27.
[77] *Karl V* was commissioned by Clemens Krauss in 1930. Krenek decided to compose a kind of '*Festspiel* for [Austria's] renewal'. Rudolf Renger, 'Musikpolitik im 'Ständestaat' am Beispiel der publizistischen Rezeption und Repression von Ernst Kreneks Bühnenewerk mit Musik *Karl V* von 1934-1984, in Ibid., 43.
[78] Ibid., 28.

music festival when poverty and unemployment dominated life in the city. However, the preservation of what was thought of as Austria's 'intellectual property', i.e., art music, seemed important enough to the government, perhaps also motivated by the hope that a music festival would distract the public from misery.[79] But the festival culture of Vienna, dating back to the 1920s, also adapted to the prevailing cultural situation. Hugo Breitner, Julius Tandler and David Josef Bach, the latter a close friend of Schoenberg and Zemlinsky, had been asked to set up a music festival that would represent Austria beyond its borders in 1920. To Bach, one of the main goals of the Meisteraufführungen der Musik (Master Performances of Music), the predecessor of the renowned Wiener Festwochen, was the late-Romantic but also Social-Democratic ideal of bringing the arts closer to the public, instead of putting them on a pedestal for an intellectual elite.[80] The idea of a public or *Volk* here is borrowed from the socialist beliefs of Richard Wagner, who saw the necessity of a revolution both through art and for the sake of (his) art.[81] Schoenberg's and Zemlinsky's music were to be performed, but also music from the entertainment and folk sectors.[82] Bach's social-democratic principles enabled a festival of opera, theatre, avant-garde music, operetta and folklore. Although the event was a success, plenty of criticism was voiced, especially of an antisemitic nature (both Bach and Breitner were Jews). The conservative journal *Volkssturm* even demanded: 'Jews, get out of Austria.'[83] A similar festival was organized by Bach in 1924, however, this time it ceased to be a financial success and was therefore discontinued – ten years before the rise of the *Ständestaat*. Bach's idea of a music festival was an inherently fragmented undertaking, including the co-existence of different performance genres (theatre, music and dance), 'old masters' alongside new prodigies and, perhaps most saliently, the deliberate scheduling of both 'high' and 'low brow' events.

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[79] Gabriele Eder, 'Musikfeste im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit – ein Spiegel realpolitischer Verhältnisse', in Stadler, ed., *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, 38.

[80] The Salzburger Festwochen, by contrast, since the 1860s propagated a festival culture based on traditional Catholic Baroque ideals. A discussion of the complex development of the Salzburg Festivals exceeds the scope of this thesis. A comprehensive study was undertaken by Michael P. Steinberg, *Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

[81] Bryan Magee, *Wagner and Philosphy* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 33-47.

[82] Eder, 'Musikfeste im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit', 38. Armstrong and Timms state that Bach '[…] was perhaps the most innovative concert organiser of the early twentieth century.' 'Souvenirs of Vienna 1924: The Legacy of David Josef Bach', in Judith Beniston and Robert Vilain, eds., *Austrian Studies,* Vol.14, 'Culture and Politics in Red Vienna' (Cambridge: MHRA, 2006), 71.

[83] Eder, 'Musikfeste im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit', 39. 'Hinaus mit den Juden aus Österreich.'

The occasion of the centenary of Beethoven's death in 1927 was ideal for hosting an event with 'neutral' contents. It clearly demonstrates once more how Social Democratic and Catholic Conservative ideals overlapped. The Wiener Beethoven Fest was supported by both Social Democrats and Conservatives, and its figurehead was celebrated as a symbol of freedom.[84] As opposed to D.J. Bach's more idealistic and free-spirited setup of music and theatre festivals, this time round political opponents, i.e., Social Democrats and Christian Conservatives, used culture and the arts to make propaganda: to the outside world, Austria was to appear as a powerful state, especially in terms of its cultural traditions. Music historian and critic Paul Stephan even called Vienna 'a city of music-leaders' ('Musik-Führer').[85] Perhaps it was then that Beethoven, whose origins were in the German town of Bonn, in the hearts and minds of citizens became Viennese.[86] Neither Schoenberg nor Mahler were even mentioned in any of the performances or talks.[87] Taking Beethoven as the central composer was not only a clever choice with regard to Austria's domestic politics, but also so as to attract cultural tourism, which is still central to Austria's economy and self-image today. In the spirit of providing a supranational platform for the arts, the Wiener Festwochen were organised annually from 1927 onwards. The centenary of Schubert's death in 1928 provided yet another occasion to celebrate a composer whose unambiguous Austrian-Catholic, German-speaking background would certainly not serve as a platform for scandal. It was endorsed by prominent figures across the board, and widely commented on in newspapers and magazines. Egon Wellesz wrote in the *Vossische Zeitung*, which published a selection of commentaries on the occasion on their title page on 18 November 1928: 'I experience Schubert's music as sounding a language of *Heimat* – by which I certainly do not mean the cosy city of the golden heart [Vienna], but way beyond that the secret of the soil, and the thousand-fold colourful nature of the landscape […].'[88] Whether he was aware of it or not, Wellesz's remarks underline the

[84] Ibid., 40.
[85] Ibid.
[86] According to a German saying, the Austrians manage to make everyone believe that Hitler was a German (he was born in the Austrian town Braunau am Inn), and Beethoven Austrian.
[87] Eder, 'Musikfeste im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit', 40.
[88] Egon Wellesz in *Das Unterhaltungsblatt der Vossischen Zeitung,* No.272 (Berlin: 18 November 1928), 1. 'ich empfinde Schuberts Musik als tönende Sprache der Heimat – womit gewiß nicht die gemütliche Stadt des goldenen Herzens gemeint sein soll, sondern weit darüber hinaus das Geheimnis des Bodens und die tausendfältige Buntheit der Landschaft [...].'

organisers' agenda: to portray a country proud of its heritage, musically and geographically speaking. In the same paper, Ernst Krenek delivered a short devotional homage, without any critical undertones.[89] Alban Berg's prose reads rather differently, and is worth quoting here at full length:

> How fundamentally different my opinion on Schubert's music is from the common ones, I can already learn from the fact that I startle every time his name is mentioned in one breath with Johann Strauß's. A juxtaposition which one encounters mostly in Vienna, but also in all other places where this 'city of music' is treated as a subsidiary of heaven, which famously is full of violins, and for which Schubert and Johann Strauß wrote their unforgettable melodies. This granted, and as far as I am concerned also the fact that the *Unvollendete* really could only be written 'at the blue Danube': does one really have to spell it out that it is a sin against the holy ghost, not to understand how infinitely far the music of the one, who died in close proximity to Beethoven, is removed from the other, who even in the most genius moments of his life never quite escaped humanity. But perhaps such lack of detachment when judging art should not be surprising during a time, when not even people like us know whether to favour a Threepenny-Opera over a Ten-Thousand-Dollar-Symphony. Either way, it is only right and proper [cheap] – i.e., it serves us right and does not cost much –, to celebrate the year in which Franz Schubert has been dead for one hundred years and [Heinrich] Berté would have turned seventy. My congratulations![90]

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[89] Ibid.

[90] Alban Berg in ibid., 'Wie grundverschieden von den landläufigen meine Stellungnahme zur Musik Schuberts ist, ersehe ich allein schon daraus, daß es mir jedesmal einen Riß gibt, wenn sein Name in einem Atem mit dem von Johann Strauß genannt wird. Eine Nebeneinanderstellung, der man vor allem in Wien, aber auch überall dort begegnet, wo man diese 'Musikstadt' für eine Filiale des Himmels hält, der bekanntlich voller Geigen hängt, für die Schubert und Johann Strauß ihre unsterblichen Melodien geschrieben haben. Dies zugegeben und meinetwegen auch, daß die 'Unvollendete' wirklich nur 'an der schönen blauen Donau' entstehen konnte: muß man es tatsächlich erst sagen, daß es eine Sünde wider den heiligen Geist ist, nicht ermessen zu können, wie unendlich weit die Musik des Einen, der in der nächsten Nähe Beethovens starb, von der des anderen entfernt ist, der selbst in den begnadetsten Momenten seines Lebens nie ganz von den Menschen loskam. Aber vielleicht darf eine solche Distanzlosigkeit des Kunsturteils nicht wundernehmen in einer Zeit, in der selbst unsereiner nicht weiß, ob man sich für eine Drei-Groschen-Oper oder eine Zehntausend-Dollar-Symphonie entscheiden soll. Jedenfalls aber ist es nur recht und billig – das heißt, es geschieht uns schon recht und kostet nicht viel –,

Here, Berg openly dismantles the (political) purpose of the festival, namely the pretense with which Schubert is made a national role model, serving a naïve stereotype of Austria as quaint Alpine republic.[91]

It is almost impossible to list the varied voices who reported on the centenary of Schubert's death. Among them were Julius Korngold and David Josef Bach, but also August Eigner. He published an article in the conservative *Reichspost*, a newspaper that would later be close to the *Ständestaat*. As opposed to most reviews, Eigner took a different viewpoint and engaged with Schubert as literary writer, commending his undervalued poems and prose (an autobiographical sketch and diaries).[92]

The example of the Schubert festival demonstrates that, although in the late 1920s these events were not entirely motivated by national politics (the committee for tourism was one of their leading organisers), neither *Neutöner* like Schreker or Webern, nor more established Jewish figures like Mahler were represented on the programmes.[93] Nonetheless, until the end of democracy and the establishment of the *Ständestaat* in 1934, culture and the arts were not dependent on a designated political office. And even though there were serious attempts to eliminate 'suspicious' figures from the concert programmes, the avant-garde was granted its 'niche-activities', particularly in dance and theatre performances.[94] As such, the artistic and cultural scenes were inherently plural, even though a different image was presented to the outside world.

In 1934, democracy gave way to the so-called *Ständestaat* that was established after the Social Democrats had been banned. The February Uprising of 1933 had resulted in hundreds of fatalities. As a result, the strength of the Social Democrats waned. One reason for the end of democracy in Austria was a failing bureaucratic order. During a parliament meeting, all three presidents of the National Council laid down

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das Jahr in dem Franz Schubert hundert Jahre tot ist und Berté siebzig Jahre alt geworden wäre, festlich zu begehen. Ich gratuliere!'

[91] Berg's mentioning of the 'Ten-Thousand-Dollar-Symphony' refers to the 1927/28 international composition competition by Columbia Phonograph Company, where the candidates were asked to compose a multi-movement work in the style of Schubert. Winner was Kurt Attenberg with his symphony in C major. Arvid O. Vollsnes, *Ludvig Irgens-Jensen: The Life and Music of a Norwegian Composer*, trans. Beryl Foster (London: Toccata Press, 2014), 117-118.

[92] August Eigner, 'Franz Schubert, der Dichter', in *Reichspost* (Vienna: 18 November 1928), 19.

[93] Eder, 'Musikfeste im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit', 41. In 1929, however, Krenek and Wellesz composed music for the *Gewerbefestzug* (parade).

[94] Ibid. and Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 506.

office because of a flawed and unresolvable voting situation, which created a power-vacuum not provided for by regulations. Thus, the right-wing nationalists (leading with a small majority) seized the moment, and initiated a breach of the constitution by passing 300 new decrees.[95] With the *Ständestaat's* united party *Vaterländische Front,* a new order sought to organise Austria according to groups of workers, which initially looked fair and democratic. It should be noted however that, until the *Anschluss* in 1938, no more than two of these *Stände* or ranks could establish themselves: the public service sector and agriculture.[96] Yet, on the surface, the new system provided a counter-model to Nazi Germany where Jewish citizens were no longer safe: an ideal Austria with universal values. However, the *Vaterländische Front* had clear views of what this ideal should look like, i.e., quintessentially Austrian and nationalistic at heart. Austria experienced the clash between a meticulously structured, and, hence, 'rational' sovereignty and the revival of features from a bygone era: alpine romance and nostalgia. The Catholic Church was the most powerful ally of the supporters of these reactionary values.[97] A true Viennese citizen was supposed to live a European ideal, rather than turning to German nationalism. While Hitler propagated an ideology of race, Austria's nationalism was based on an older idea of Germanness, one that transcends the idea of a nation state (which, of course, Hitler's nationalism did too in a way since it favoured 'genetic material' over borders).[98] And although the nationalist tendencies of Austria did not yet coincide with the ideologies spread in Germany, they had one thing in common: both forms of nationalism were rooted in the anger, shame and disappointment of a state that lost a war. Both Germany and Austria felt humiliated, and thus their answer was aggression rather than pride, a sentiment that prevailed in victorious France. These conflicts, but especially the assassination of Dollfuß on 25 July 1934 cannot have left the 'Grinzing crowd' of Zemlinsky's neighbourhood unconcerned.[99] The Dollfuß regime, despite its fascist ambitions, had been something

[95] Eigner, 'Absturzgefahr und Sanierungsversuche' in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 23.
[96] Matthias Henke 'Kreneks Verhältnis zur Volksmusik in der Zeit des Ständestaats', in Matthias Schmidt, ed., *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat: Ernst Krenek und das österreichische Volkslied im 20. Jahrhundert* (Schliengen: Argus, 2007), 138.
[97] Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 360.
[98] See also Anton Staudinger, ''Austria' – The Ideology of Austrofascism', in Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*, 1-24.
[99] As a matter of fact, Zemlinsky left his home in Vienna for conducting work so often during the 1930s, that one can hardly speak of a secluded lifestyle. He travelled to Prague on a number of occasions, went to Zurich for a production of *Der Kreidekreis* in 1933, conducted in Russia, Brno, Leningrad (St.

of a 'barrier to National Socialism'.[100] Dollfuß had protected the rights of the Jews, at least from a legal perspective. With the fall of the regime and Schuschnigg's appointment as Chancellor, the pressure from Hitler's Germany increased dramatically. Yet, it would take another four years for this last barrier against the West to vanish entirely.[101] Nonetheless, the cultural developments in the wake of the *Ständestaat* demanded neutrality as key attitude for those who sought to remain unnoticed – at least on the surface. Remembering Zemlinsky's late-Weimar Berlin, where clashing cultures still coexisted despite the increasing pressure from the Right, the artistic voice in Vienna now had to conform to a different set of rules.

The Narrative Layers of the *Six Songs,* Op.22

The poetry Zemlinsky chose for the final version of his 1934 composition immediately provokes two observations: first, both J.W. von Goethe (1749-1832) and, certainly to a lesser degree, Christian Morgenstern (1871-1914) belonged within the established canon of German literature. Goethe of course was a celebrated 'classic' whereas Morgenstern a much more recent poet. Still, both figures were far from Eigner's amateur status, or the revolutionary outcries of the contemporary writers of the Harlem Renaissance. Second, Goethe's poems are neatly wedged between two of Morgenstern's at either end and, thus, make for a symmetric structure of three pairs of songs (Nos. 1&2, 3&4, 5&6, compare Fig.2.3).

Beyond this first, rather neutral layer determined by the choice of poetry, there are the larger, immediately accessible topics Zemlinsky presents to his audience. The outer songs set to texts by Morgenstern engage with anthroposophical imagery as well as folk-themes, the latter clearly labelled by 'Volkslied' (No.5).

Petersburg), Barcelona, Paris and Lousanne. Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 402-424. Beaumont suggests that, from spring 1934, the concert orchestra of Hermann Scherchen, which Zemlinsky conducted for about a year after his return, had fewer performances with 'less enterprising' repertoire owing to financial difficulties (Ibid., 404). The orchestra's circumstances may surely be connected to the merging of the Kunststellen in 1934. Now, the funding apparatus was entirely in the hands of the Christian Socials and thus support subject to their goodwill. See Anita Mayer-Hirzberger, '*... ein Volk von alters her musikbegabt': Der Begriff 'Musikland Österreich' im Ständestaat* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 52-55.

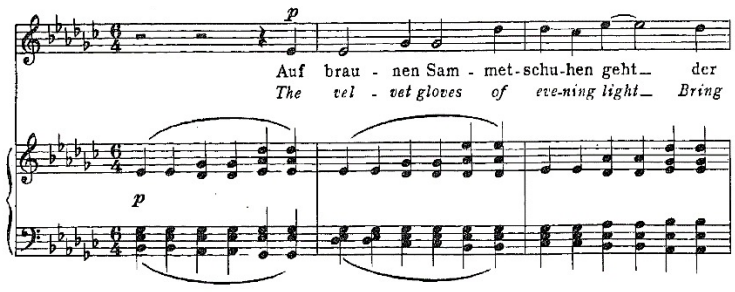
[100] Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015), 80. Dollfuß's regime was leaning towards Italy and Mussolini, rather than Nazi Germany.

[101] Ibid.

Auf braunen Sammetschuhen geht	On brown velvet shoes
der Abend durch das müde Land,	the evening strides through tired lands,
[sein weiter Mantel wallt und weht,	[its wide cloak flows and blows,
und Schlummer fällt von seiner Hand.]	and slumber falls from its hand.]
Mit stiller Fackel steckt er nun	With a silent torch it now lights
der Sterne treue Kerzen an.	the trusty candles of the stars.
Sei ruhig, Herz! Das Dunkel kann	Be still, my heart! Darkness cannot
dir nun kein Leid mehr tun.[102]	harm you any longer.

Text in square brackets omitted by Zemlinsky.

Just like in Morgenstern's poem, Zemlinsky personifies the evening and its nightly progress. In the 1935 concert programme, the first two songs are labelled *Abendlieder* – evening songs (Fig.2.1). Evenly paced steps, particularly obvious in the first three bars, are represented by initially clear harmonisations of E♭ minor and E♭ minor seventh (Example 2.8). A sense of familiarity is established immediately, just like the trusty return of night-time. The opening, it seems, allows for a sense of *Heimat*, musically speaking.



Example 2.8 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs*, Op.22, No.1, bars 1-3.

The outer structure of both song and poem represent the cyclical nature of day and night. Everything that is will pass, and new things will come from within. If not specifically Christian, the spiritual nature of 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen' is nevertheless undeniable. Similar to the tonality of D in 'Und einmal gehst du', the central key areas E♭ minor and G♭ major coincide with Zemlinsky's use of the affect technique. According to Krones, G♭ major here is predominantly associated with

[102] Christian Morgenstern, 'Der Abend', in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe*, Vol.1 (Stuttgart: Verlag Urachhaus, 1988), 210.

'infatuation, deepest absorption and pain', familiar from Brahms's works.[103] Zemlinsky's earlier songs set in G♭ major, including 'Geflüster der Nacht' (Op.2, Book 1, No.3), 'Empfängnis' (Op.2, Book 2, No.6), and 'Selige Stunde' (Op.10, No.2), all deal with themes of night, dream or sleep. 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen' thus follows earlier explorations of nocturnal topics, and as such continues a tradition that Zemlinsky not only inherited, but also built on from early on in his career. In fact, the entirety of Op.22 explores the rift between two poles: reality and the otherworldly, day and night. Elisabeth Schmierer understands the *Six Songs* as a cycle that voices an 'appeal to overcome reality, as orientation towards a better inner truth.'[104] Her observations are predominantly based on Zemlinsky's implied harmonic functions, and a clear assignment of these to the contrasting themes of dream or reality. A similar approach is undertaken by Udo Rademacher. While, as with the case of Zemlinsky's assumed resignation, the dichotomy between night and day, or dream and reality, is certainly sketched out in Op.22, I argue that the set's underlying themes are much more plural than those Schmierer and Rademacher observe. If a self-contained duality between these subjects, as found in the *Lyrische Symphonie*, Op.18 for example, should be the primary driving force behind the set, why then would its composer choose a musical language so obviously altered from earlier explorations of the same theme? To be sure, political and cultural conditions and, consequently, artistic forms and styles had changed since. Consequently, Zemlinsky's engagement with the late-Romantic ideal of overcoming reality through an idealised inner world had surely changed as well. Thus, it is worthwhile asking how the day-and-night duality may have been heard in a 1934/35 context, and what Zemlinsky's employing of obscure tonal relations in a fairly 'traditional' set of poems 'does' in a set of songs that resists linear development. I suggest, particularly considering the somewhat inconspicuous nature of 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen', that the first song of Op.22 may be seen as a kind of book cover; it does not give away how the narrative unfolds. It is harmless, particularly if considering

[103] Krones, 'Tonale und harmonische Semantik im Liedschaffen Alexander Zemlinskys', 170.

[104] Elisabeth Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes: Eine Einführung* (Lilienthal: Laaber-Verlag, 2007), 244. 'Aufforderung zur Überwindung der Realität, als Hinwendung zu einer besseren inneren Wirklichkeit.' Of course, one might argue whether Op.22 should be seen as a cycle at all, given that there is no harmonic homecoming at the end. In line with Schmierer's argument though, one can certainly detect enough inner coherence within the set to justify the term 'cycle'. The arch-like formation of Morgenstern's and Goethe's poems is perhaps the most obvious example.

its initial placement under the heading *Abendlieder.* The importance and functions of such a 'cover' in an environment like Zemlinsky's 1934/5 Vienna will be further discussed later in this chapter, with relation to the Goethe text 'Feiger Gedanken'.

No.2 ('Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht') dives deeper into imageries of a dream world. According to Rademacher, the Christian symbol of the gold-filled chalice stands for the human's desire for the divine. The speaker literally drinks in and thus internalises the sunlight, a metaphor for God, that has vanished with nightfall.[105] This rather religious reading by Rademacher needs to be put into perspective when considering Morgenstern's inherently critical position towards the idea of an Almighty ruler. The poet was known for his thorough engagement with Nietzsche's nihilistic philosophy. Both a poem dedicated to the German philosopher and several texts that question the traditional Christian belief in a singular God appear in *Ich und die Welt* (1898), a collection which also contains the previously discussed 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen' (here: 'Der Abend').[106] Many of Morgenstern's poems replace a traditional Christian understanding of God with the idea that divinity is found in nature and everything living on earth.[107] Similarly so in 'Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht':

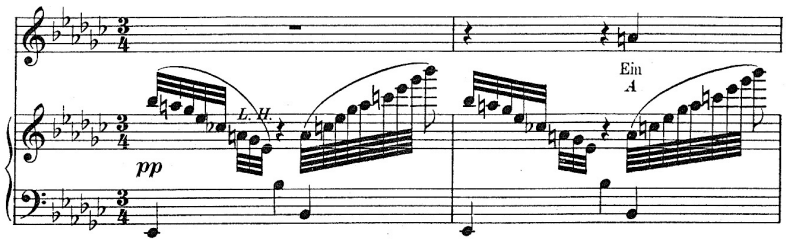
Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht, noch einmal geneiget, eh' des Tages Herze bricht, und der Nacht verhüllt Gesicht seinen Tod beschweiget!	Evening-chalice filled with sunlight, tilted one more time, before the day's heart breaks, and night's veiled face remains silent about its death!
Alles Herzwehs Abendwein, lass dich trinken, trinken! Glüh' dein Gold in mich hinein! Und dann mag auch über mein Haupt ihr Antlitz sinken.[108]	Evening wine of all heartbreak, Let me drink you, drink you! Pour your golden glow into my being And then, over my head its face may sink.

Here, Morgenstern points to the cyclical nature and the inner coherence of life and death. Day and night relate to each other in the same way as world and soul.[109] Zemlinsky's spiritual journey aims at a universal balance without a specific religious connotation, neither Christian nor Jewish even though, on the surface, the symbol of

[105] Udo Rademacher, Vokales Schaffen an der Schwelle zur neuen Musik: Studien zum Klavierlied Alexander Zemlinskys (Kassel: Gustav Bose Verlag, 1996), 91.
[106] Published in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe*, Vol.1.
[107] Christian Morgenstern, *Gesammelte Werke* (München: Piper, 2017), 7-9.
[108] Christian Morgenstern, 'Abendkelch voll Sonnelicht', in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe*, Vol.1, 405.
[109] Rademacher, Vokales Schaffen an der Schwelle zur neuen Musik, 208.

the chalice might suggest otherwise. Thus, through his choice of Morgenstern's poetry, Zemlinsky managed to allude to overall Christian themes spelled out by a German writer, while indeed, underneath the surface, his songs question these very themes.

The opening bars of 'Abendkelch' introduce a kind of 'harmonic motive' that so often recurs in Op.22: augmented and diminished tonalities, sometimes additionally darkened with added chromaticisms (e.g. augmented seventh chords in No.4 ('Elfenlied'), and at various points in No.1, most notably in bar 7 on 'stiller Fackel'). In this context, it is worth looking at Zemlinsky's c. 1900 Morgenstern setting 'Vöglein Schwermut' (Bird of Melancholy) from *Ehetanzlied und andere Gesänge*, Op.10.[110] The black bird featured in Morgenstern's poem does not bring any joy. Those who hear it sing cannot escape, and will eventually do themselves harm. It seems like the gloomy bird is the darker sibling of the humpbacked manikin – those in its presence experience misfortune. In 'Vöglein Schwermut', rippling arpeggios in the right hand of the piano create an uncomfortable, eerie atmosphere through recurring diminutions (Example 2.9).



Example 2.9 Zemlinsky, Op.10, No.3, bars 1-2.

Because the piece by and large hinges on E♭ minor, these chromatic alterations defamiliarize the home key and thus make the bird's world sound foreign and strange. Further, in its late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century context, the diminished chord may be regarded as a 'symbol for doubt, painful doubt, as well as for 'not knowing where to go''.[111] It expresses the opposite of comfort; it is no enabler of a

[110] The set was composed between 1899 and 1901. Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 479.
[111] Hartmut Krones, 'Traditionelle Symbolik in Arnold Schönbergs *Pierrot Lunaire*', in Christian Meyer, ed., *Arnold Schönberg in Berlin. Bericht zum Symposium* (Vienna: Arnold Schönberg Center, 2001), 172. 'Symbol für Zweifel, schmerzhaften Zweifel sowie für ein 'Nicht wissen, wohin''.

Heimat. Accordingly, Schoenberg called the diminished chord 'an appearance of homelessness, a vagabond between key areas.'[112]

How, though, is Zemlinsky's use of diminished and augmented triads different 34 years later? In 'Abendkelch', the sounding augmented and diminished chords alternate without later being resolved, or clearly rooted in a home key. Augmentations, in early Zemlinsky but also in Hugo Wolf for example, stand for 'the extraordinary realm, often tinted with negativity'.[113] Because of the often-occurring juxtaposition of augmented and diminished chords in 'Abendlkelch', it becomes difficult to associate them with their initial meanings, i.e., as extraordinary and doubtful events, respectively. They are not used to express contrast through any relation to a framing key area, but for the purpose of alienation more generally. What remains, though, is the act of defamiliarization, the somewhat eerie atmosphere that is also audible in 'Vöglein Schwermut.' Consequently, Zemlinsky's duality of night and day also becomes blurred. There is no sound in this song about breaking daylight that clearly stands for brightness, nor one that stands for darkness. It is no longer obvious if dream and reality are opposites, or indeed just two sides of the same coin. Zemlinsky suggests that this other, better world of dreams is out of reach because it is not separable from that of reality. In fact, the binaries of night and day are questioned here. Accordingly, 'Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht' fails to establish a new, solid musical *Heimat.* Together with 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen' it remains in the passage between the world-as-is and a non-existing alternative. As such, both songs are of a liminal nature. They are reflective of the climate in which they were composed, unwilling to establish clear binaries and unambiguous statements.

[112] Schoenberg qtd. in Ibid.
[113] Ibid. '[...] Symbol für Außergewöhnliches, zumeist negativ Gefärbtes [...]'.

Die Gedanken sind frei!

Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken, weibisches Zagen, ängstliches Klagen wendet kein Elend, macht dich nicht frei.	Thoughts of a coward, fearfully trembling, womanish worries, anxious lament averts no misery, does not free you.
Allen Gewalten zum Trutz sich erhalten, nimmer sich beugen, kräftig sich zeigen, rufet die Arme der Götter herbei![114]	To survive in spite of all forces, never bow, showing one's strength, call for the arms of the Gods!

The Goethe setting 'Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken' is by far the shortest, yet surely the most instructive of all the pieces in Op.22. Its duration is approximately 30 seconds only - a brief, quickly passing outcry for the arms of the gods. Or so it seems. In order to understand the significance of 'Feiger Gedanken' in Zemlinsky's song writing, the poem's wider implications as well as history need to be considered. Goethe's piece can be read as an appeal to maintain strength and freedom of thought, even in desperate, hopeless times. His suggestion to 'call for the arms of the gods' is not meant in terms of religious obedience but, rather, as motivation towards independent action. In other words, the poem may be summarised as 'heaven [God] helps those who help themselves'.[115] Consequently, the author proposes a turning away from the goodwill of god(s) to embrace self-determination. Goethe's inherently humanistic demand has its roots in the middle ages, and one of Germany's oldest and, until this day, best known folk songs reflects the very same thought:

(1) Die Gedanken sind frei! Wer kann sie erraten? Sie fliehen vorbei Wie nächtliche Schatten. Kein Mensch kann sie wissen, kein Jäger erschießen, es bleibet dabei: Die Gedanken sind frei!	The thoughts are free! Who can guess what they are? They fly by Like nocturnal shadows. No one can know them, no hunter can shoot them, it remains as it is: The thoughts are free!

[114] J.W. von Goethe, 'Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken', in *Goethe's nachgelassene Werke*, Vol.7 (Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1833), 41.

[115] Although the idea of personal responsibility is much older, the phrase 'Hilf dir selbst, so hilft dir Gott!' from Gottfried Keller's *Das Fähnlein der sieben Aufrechten* has become a widely known German idiom. In Gottfried Keller, *Werke in drei Bänden: Band II* (Munich: Winkler Verlag, 1978), 273.

(3) Und sperrt man mich ein im finsteren Kerker, das alles sind rein vergebliche Werke. Denn meine Gedanken Zerreißen die Schranken Und Mauern entzwei: Die Gedanken sind frei![116]	And if they lock me up in the darkest dungeon, all these works are futile. Because my thoughts Tear apart the gates And Walls: The thoughts are free!

The song's text first appeared on leaflets in 1780, i.e., around the same time as Goethe's poem.[117] Although it was not made popular until the 1840s, its underlying topic was familiar since the 13th century:

diu bant mac nieman vinden, die mîne gedanke binden. man vâhet wîp unde man, gedanke niemen gevâhen kann.[118]	Das Band kann niemand finden, das meine Gedanken bindet. Man fängt Weib und Mann, Gedanken niemand fangen kann.	No one can find the bondage, which binds my thoughts. One captures woman and man, Thoughts no one can capture.

Whether or not Goethe had been aware of the poem from the 1780s, its main theme regarding freedom of thought was both well-known and highly topical during Goethe's lifetime.[119] Wolfgang Steinitz claims that, particularly around 1800 and during the *Vormärz*, the song's political content was so explosive that it most likely was subject to censorship.[120] Steinitz draws his conclusion from the fact that the song, despite its popularity, was missing in many important folksong collections. He further observes that the song's last verse, dealing with the rather mundane love for wine and a particular girl, was at times prepended so as to disguise the poem's true content. Again, the idea of covering problematic content was also a frequent consideration during Zemlinsky's interwar years in Vienna. In the early nineteenth century, 'Die Gedanken sind frei' was added to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* by Brentano and von Arnim. As 'Lied des Verfolgten im Turm', where an outcry for freedom from within a dungeon is

[116] 'Die Gedanken sind frei', verses 1 and 3, in Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Ernst Heinrich and Leopold Richter, eds., *Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1842), 307.
[117] The melody probably stems from the early 1800s. Compare Wolfgang Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, Vol.2 (Berlin: Zweitausendeins, 1972), 165.
[118] Thirteenth-century poem by Freidank (Vridank) printed in Wilhelm Grimm, *Vridankes Bescheidenheit* (Göttingen: Dietrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1834), 115.
[119] See 'Hymne des Widerstands: *Die Gedanken sind frei*', *Mittagsmusik Extra*, BR Klassik [Radio Broadcast], 06 January 2016 <www.br-klassik.de/programm/sendungen-a-z/mittagsmusik/mittagsmusik-extra-volkslieder-198.html> accessed 28 December 2018.
[120] Steinitz, Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters, 165.

coupled with the carefree responses of a young girl outside of the tower, it also appears in Mahler's *Wunderhorn* songs (No.8, 1898).

Using the example of the Scholl family, the following discusses how these texts could indeed become meaningful expressive tools, particularly during a politically fraught period. Both Goethe's 'Feiger Gedanken' and the folksong 'Die Gedanken sind frei' played a central role in the lives of Sophie and Hans Scholl, two of the most significant figures in the resistance against the Nazis. In 1942, merely eight years after the composition of Zemlinsky's Op.22, 21-year old Sophie played the melody of 'Die Gedanken' on a recorder in front of the prison walls for her father, who had been detained for calling Hitler '*Gottesgeißel*', scourge of god, in public.[121] Less than a year later, on 22 February 1943, Sophie, her brother Hans and their friend Christoph Probst were sentenced to death for having distributed thousands of leaflets warning against Hitler's regime.[122] Helmut Fritz, fellow inmate of Hans's, recalled the following action of Scholl before he was taken to his hearing: '[he] wrote something onto the white prison walls, using a smuggled pencil.'[123] According to Fritz, the words were 'Allen Gedanken zum Trotz [sic] sich erhalten' (To survive in spite of all forces).[124] Zoske rightly comments that there may be apocryphal aspects to this anecdote, which was recounted and written down by Inge Aicher-Scholl, eldest sister of Hans and Sophie. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Goethe's poem had been a kind of motto to the entire Scholl family throughout these difficult years. Its essence, the freedom of thought and ultimately of the people, was their driving force.[125]

Although of course there is no direct connection between Zemlinsky's 1934 rendering of Goethe's 'Feiger Gedanken' and the Scholls' resistance movement, even if only because the consequences of the recently implemented Nazi regime were not yet foreseeable in Zemlinsky's Vienna, the inevitable power of Goethe's words, particularly with relation to the well-known folksong, is undeniable. Thus, Beaumont's claim that Zemlinsky's song mainly reflects his annoyance with critical reviews regarding his opera

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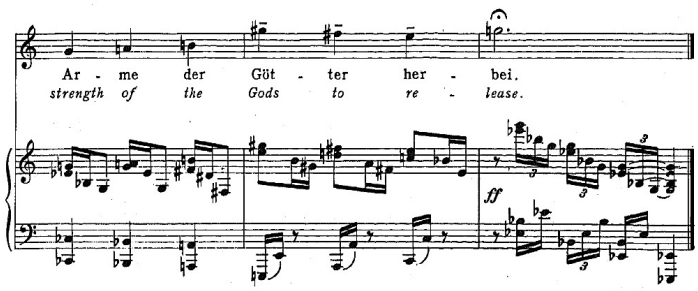
[121] Barbara Beuys, *Sophie Scholl* (München: Hanser, 2010), 340, 370.
[122] Ibid., 458-465.
[123] Robert M. Zoske, Sehnsucht nach dem Lichte: Zur religiösen Entwicklung von Hans Scholl (München: Herbert Utz, 2014), 75.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid. According to Aicher-Scholl, it was done with a smuggled pencil, on the last morning of Hans's detention before he was taken to his hearing (the execution was undertaken on the same day).

Der Kreidekreis, released on the same day as the date of composition (18 January 1934), is surely too limited.[126] There is no reason to assume that the most 'logical' reason for a piece to be included in a larger set was simply motivated by a spur of the moment decision. No more is it likely that Zemlinsky was unaware of the poem's wider implications and its unmistakable call for freedom; after all, he knew and conducted Mahler's *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* with its amended version of 'Die Gedanken sind frei'.[127] Yet another piece of evidence supporting this argument can be drawn from the introduction of Morgenstern's collection *Ich und die Welt,* from which the set's first poem 'Der Abend' is taken:

Wie ward ich oft gebrochen, brach mich selbst, und dennoch leb ich, unverwüstlich stark; was alles liegt in mir geknickt, verdorrt, doch unaufhaltsam wächst es drüber hin.[128]	How often was I broken, broke myself, nonetheless, I live, resiliently strong; all that lies within me, creased, wilted, yet, it inexorably overgrows.

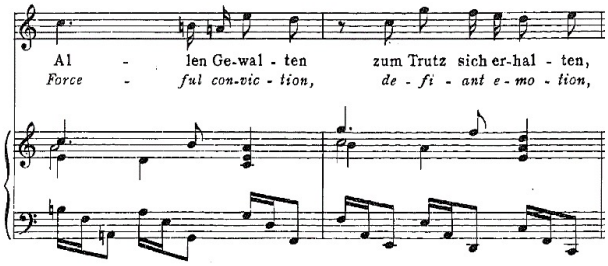
These four lines express a strong will to remain dignified despite all struggle and against all odds. Thus, even the 'cover' of Op.22, i.e., the first of the two *Abendlieder*, maintains the freedom of thought as a prescriptive idea. Zemlinsky's 'Feiger Gedanken' is an exclamation, perhaps even a wakeup call to the outside world, which interrupts the tranquillity of the previously introduced night modes with a fast and furious *kraftvoll bewegt* in 3/4*,* unsteadily rushing arpeggios in the accompaniment, mostly of chromatic nature, and an agitated, recitative-like voice part. The piece defies being easily resolved into clear tonal functions, even more so than Nos. 1 and 2, except perhaps for its closing bars where a stepwise descent from B^7 through E, D and C finally arrives at E♭ major (Example 2.10). More revealing than the tonal structure is Zemlinsky's use of a declamatory style here. Rhythmically speaking, the vocal line matches Goethe's words in their syllabic structure almost exactly.

[126] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 443.
[127] See list of pieces conducted in Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2005), 707.
[128] Christian Morgenstern, 'Introduction', in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe*, Vol.1, 250.



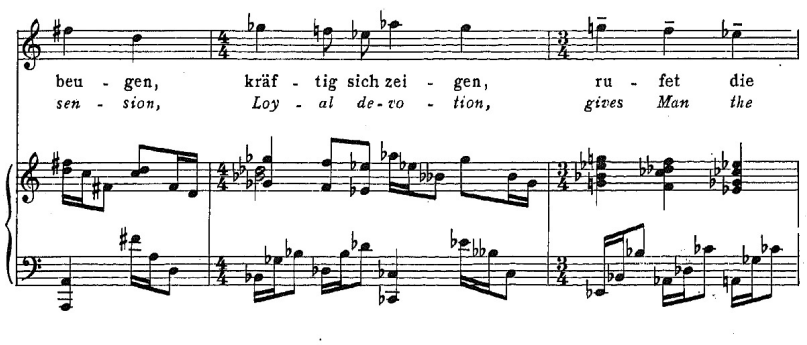
Example 2.10 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs*, Op.22, No.3, bars 13-15.

This is particularly obvious in bar 9, where the insertion of a quaver rest, and the resulting shift of rhythm, underline the words 'zum Trutz' – 'in spite of' or 'against all odds' (Example 2.11).



Example 2.11 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs*, Op.22, No.3, bars 8-9.

Then, from bar 12 until the end, Zemlinsky introduces a new rhetoric device: he evens out the syllabic accents found in the poem. Instead, the singer now stresses every single beat and therefore exclaims the power of his or her thoughts over all humiliating forces. This shift is prepared one bar earlier, by the interpolation of a 4/4 bar. The swaying 3/4, perhaps initiated by the trembling, unstable thoughts of the first verse, however briefly, turns into a solid, '*kraftvoll*' (powerful) statement in bar 11 (Example 2.12). Thus, the future-directed victory over one's own fears and misery clearly dominates the song's overall character.

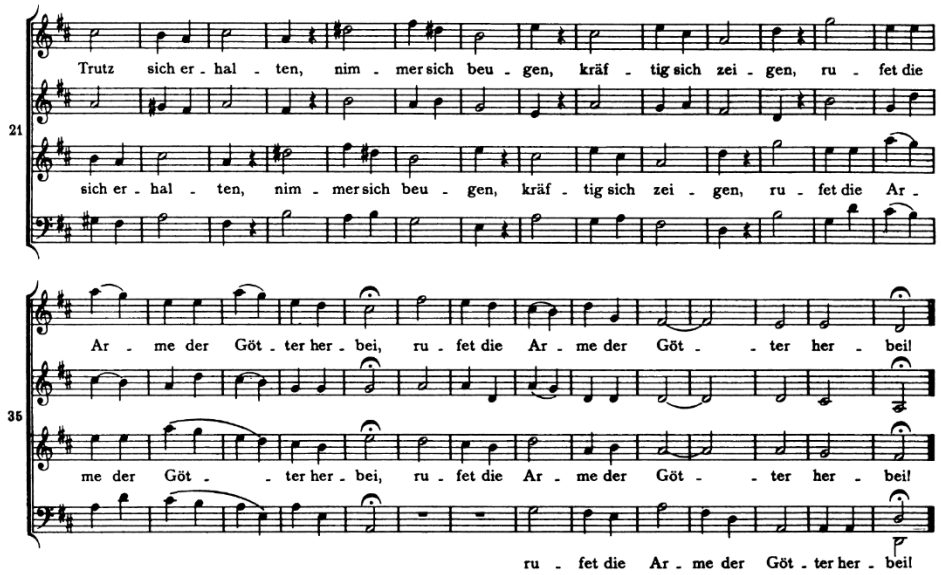


Example 2.12 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs*, Op.22, No.3, second half of bar 10-12.

Rademacher claims that the above-mentioned lack of clear harmonic functions, as well as the song's ending in E♭ major, which forms the lowered second scale degree of D minor, the key in which the song begins, stand for Zemlinsky's disillusionment with the idealised divine entity described in Goethe's poem.[129] According to the author, the notion of failure is affirmed in the last two bars where the glorious E major chord underlying 'the arms of the gods' (bars 13-14) is shattered as the song closes in E♭ instead.[130] Although Rademacher's analysis makes sense in a self-contained scenario, the above contextualisation of Goethe's poem in relation to the folksong 'Die Gedanken sind frei', as well as Zemlinsky's declamatory style clearly resist such an interpretation. Even more, a better knowledge of Goethe's literature clarifies the misinterpretation regarding an assumed religious ideal in the last line 'rufet die Arme der Götter herbei'.[131] Although, as stated earlier, a thorough harmonic analysis of Op.22 does not yield insightful results, Zemlinsky draws on his compositional heritage in several places. The E♭ major chord on the last beat, for example, is the heroic sibling of its gloomy parallel minor in No.1 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen'. It thus relates 'Feiger Gedanken' to the first evening-song of the set in the same way as night and day belong together. They are two sides of the same coin and, as such, not always clearly separable. It is not about a detachment from reality but the impossibility thereof, resulting in an appeal to act rather than to withdraw.

[129] Rademacher, Vokales Schaffen an der Schwelle zur neuen Musik, 162-63.
[130] Ibid., 164-65.
[131] In general, Rademacher's functional analysis of Zemlinsky's songs for piano and voice demonstrate how even the most thorough analytical approach may lead to false conclusions if attempted without contextualisation of the milieux in which the pieces were imagined.

With ‘Feiger Gedanken’, Zemlinsky not only acknowledges the humanistic call for freedom of thought, but also follows the examples of two predecessors who set Goethe’s poem to music: Johannes Brahms and Hugo Wolf. Both use the title ‘Beherzigung’ (the noun for ‘taking something to heart’). Brahms’s piece is part of a set of six *Lieder und Romanzen*, Op.93a, for four-part chorus, composed in 1884. Wolf’s 1888 song also appears in a collection of six songs (No.4). Given Zemlinsky’s long-lasting veneration for Brahms (no connection or particular interest in Wolf’s work is apparent from sources), he may well have known his version for chorus. Brahms’s rendering also makes use of a strong declamatory style, particularly in the first half of the song, set in D minor. The second, hopeful and future-directed part, starting from ‘Allen Gewalten’ is set in D major, and the time signature changes from 3/4 to a decidedly forward-moving 2/4. Towards the end, Brahms too decides to loosen the otherwise tight-knit web of syllabic accents and, by repeating the last phrase ‘rufet die Arme der Götter herbei’, dissolves the structure otherwise dominated by imitations in favour of a long-winded cadence (Example 2.13).

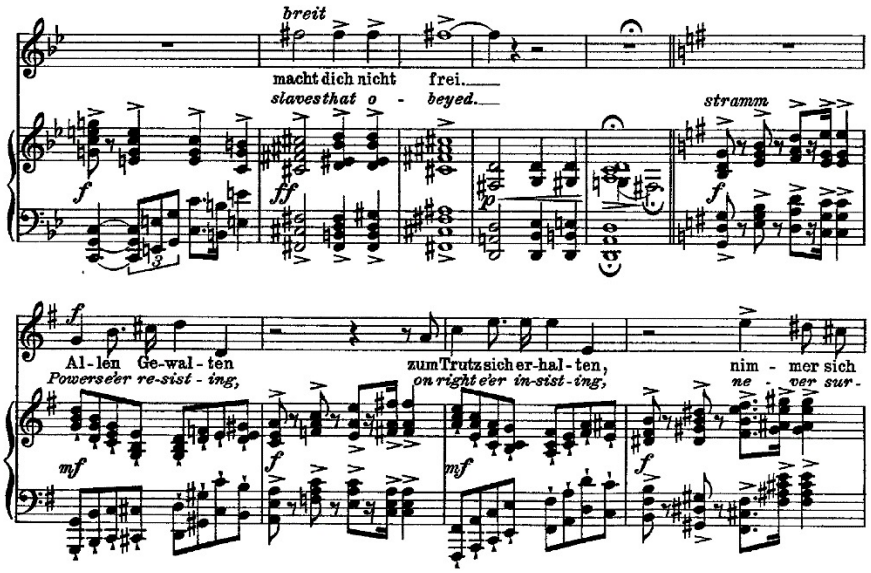


Example 2.13 Johannes Brahms, *Sechs Lieder und Romanzen*, Op.93a, No.6, bars 21-48.

Despite all the differences however, the musical gestures underlining Goethe’s central claim, i.e., not to wait for the helping hands of God, show similarities.

It is of course not surprising that Wolf too employs declamatory devices, even if in a much more heightened manner. Wolf was best known for his intricate

understanding of the music-text relationship and although an ardent follower of Wagner with an open dislike for Brahms, adding his song into the mix demonstrates just how inseparably intertwined musical rhetoric and poetic agency are.[132] Like Brahms, Wolf picks up on the major/minor duality and distinguishes the 'cowardly thoughts' in G minor from the defeat of the same in G major – a kind of heroic victory, as it were. As opposed to Brahms's ascetic setting, Wolf employs a dizzying agglomeration of shifting tonalities and obscure key-relationships, very similar to his role model Wagner. Yet, like Brahms, Wolf introduces a new rhythmic idea from 'Allen Gewalten zum Trutz sich erhalten', in this case a marching movement, signifying a triumphal procession (Example 2.14).



Example 2.14 Hugo Wolf, *Sechs Gedichte von Scheffel, Mörike, Goethe und Kerner,* No.4, bars 8-17.

The 'arms of the gods' appear three times in Wolf, an almost over-the-top exclamation of victory, followed by a rampant march towards the *fortissimo forte* cadence.

All three composers created settings of Goethe's poem that underline a declamatory rhetoric, and end with future-directed triumphs of self-determination over obedience. Juxtaposing these versions reveals that the distinction between the 'weak' and 'strong' sides is much less obvious in Zemlinsky's 1934 rendering. There are no clearly distinguishable key areas, apart from a bold statement at the very end. Zemlinsky's path towards freedom of thought is a struggle. The inner conflict of the two

[132] Compare Kurt Honolka, *Hugo Wolf: Sein Leben, sein Werk, seine Zeit* (Munich: Knaur, 1988), 54-55.

sides that battle each other creates harmonic chaos. Despite the exclamation of freedom at the end of the song, its stability is not guaranteed. In this context, the function of Zemlinsky's musical gesture is rather close to Mahler's composing out of failed heroism. Surely not as shattering as the three-times defeated hero of the finale of Mahler's Sixth Symphony (1906), but the shifting of E major to E♭ major certainly questions the future-directed success which both Brahms and Wolf grant in their versions. The *Gedankenfreiheit* of Mahler's prisoner in 'Lied des Verfolgten im Turm' is, as in Zemlinsky's 'Feiger Gedanken', not achievable – the idyllic verses of the *Mädchen* are clearly separated from the hopes of the captivated man.[133] Although his last words exclaim 'Die Gedanken sind frei!', the D minor jeopardises the victory of the thought. Zemlinsky's prescription to his listeners, i.e., to help themselves rather than waiting for a miracle, comes with a question mark too. Yet, unlike Mahler, he does not build an idyllic place to juxtapose free and unfree, there is no distinction between the inner and outer worlds. Perhaps, Zemlinsky's view of the Schillerian idea of freedom above all else is put into perspective here: if not rejected, it certainly lacks the triumphant qualities of Brahms's and Wolf's settings. Zemlinsky's 'Feiger Gedanken' does not stand in opposition to these versions, but it questions the potency of an inherently humanistic ideal.[134] Consequently, 'Feiger Gedanken' represents a rejection of idealisms and alternative realities. It is an inherently realistic piece in a set that, on the surface, leads the listener to think otherwise. Again, Zemlinsky defamiliarizes a central narrative of the German (*Lied*) tradition: in the end, the only heroic deed is to take responsibility for one's own fortune, though it is one without any glory.

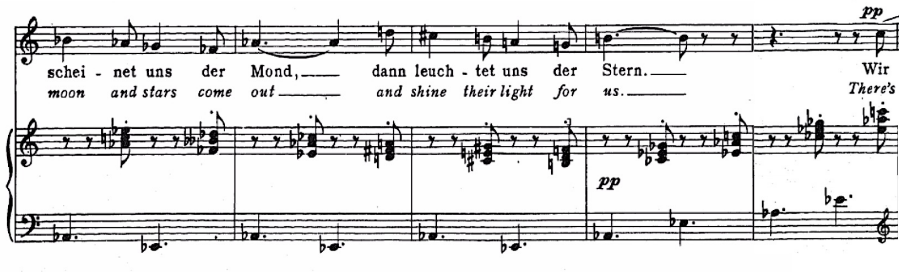
[133] For a thorough discussion of 'Lied des Verfolgten im Turm' see Elisabeth Schmierer, *Die Orchesterlieder Gustav Mahlers* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 136-150.
[134] Compare Zemlinsky's letter to Alma Mahler where he openly criticises Schiller's ideals. Horst Weber, ed., *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, Vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 343.

The Fairy-Tale Farce

Um Mitternacht, wenn die Menschen erst schlafen, Dann scheinet uns der Mond, Dann leuchtet uns der Stern; Wir wandeln und singen Und tanzen erst gern.	At midnight, when the humans finally sleep, Then the moon shines for us, Then the star glows for us; We wander and sing And like to dance.
Um Mitternacht, wenn die Menschen erst schlafen, Auf Wiesen, an den Erlen, Wir suchen unsern Raum Und wandeln und singen Und tanzen einen Traum.[135]	At midnight, when the humans finally sleep, On meadows, and at alders, We search for our space And wander and sing And dance a dream.

'Elfenlied' is the second Goethe-setting of Op. 22, and stands in stark contrast to the previous song. Its midnight fairies virtually tiptoe through the night. Familiarity is immediately established through the traditional theme of nature's personified secrets, best known through the art songs of Schubert, Brahms and Wolf, and of course Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* The previous exclamation of realism of 'Feiger Gedanken' quickly dissolves in the sounds and words of the fairies. Yet, their tale is ambiguous. Zemlinsky establishes tension between two key areas: while the bass ostinato in bars 5-9 persistently alternates between A♭ and E♭, the upper voice moves from A♭ major through B𝄫 major, A♭ minor, D major, C# minor, B diminished and C♭ major back to A♭ major (Example 2.15). The resulting descending motion against a steady bass line creates a kind of sonic merry-go-round, enhanced by the tension of the tritone and second relationships (E♭ against B𝄫 on the last quaver of bar 5, E♭ against D on the last quaver of bar 6 and A♭ against C♭ on the third beats of bars 8 and 9).[136] The segment starts after it has been established in bar 4 that everyone is asleep. A fairy, the narrator of the poem, is leading the dreamer on a merry chase.

[135] J.W. von Goethe, 'Gesang der Elfen', in Erich Trunz, ed., *Goethes Werke Band 1: Gedichte und Epen 1* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), 154.
[136] Compare Rademacher, Vokales Schaffen an der Schwelle zur neuen Musik, 207-208.



Example 2.15 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs,* Op.22, No.4, bars 5-9.

Rademacher notes that this playful tug-of-war between tonalities and the '[…] the failure to cling to the 'A-D'-axis as well as the partly divided harmonies document doubts regarding the notion of an idealised blissfulness in dreams.'[137] Thus, rather than a promise to overcome reality via an internalised dream world, there seems to be no real escape from the world-as-is. Schmierer's argument that Op.22 represents a rejection of reality in favour of an idealised dream world is thus refuted.[138] Even though the fairies here are neither menacing nor disturbing, there is no indication that their mysterious world is accessible to the sleeping human. Remembering Goethe's *Erlkönig*, it is not guaranteed that anything good comes from the land of dreams. Perhaps, those singing and dancing creatures are the same ones which, in *Erlkönig*, seduce the small child: 'My daughters lead the nightly round dance/ And rock and dance and sing you to sleep.'[139] Or, in a slightly less daunting manner, one might once more be reminded of the humpbacked manikin, another unpleasant intruder.

In addition to bi- or even multi-tonal elements, the rhythmical structure of 'Elfenlied' divides the song into roughly three sections, where the beginning and end have the fairies tiptoeing through the night, with swaying dotted crotchets on each downbeat in the 6/8 bars, and lightly accented off-beats (on 3 and 6) in the right hand (see Example 2.15). In bar 10, this steady rhythm is broken off into an arpeggio-pattern marked *scherzando.* It seems that the protagonists of the night even determine musical

[137] Ibid.,208. '[…] das Nicht-Festhalten-Können der 'A-D'-Achse und die teilweise gespaltene Harmonik [dokumentiert] Zweifel an der Vorstellung idealisierender Traumseligkeit [...].'
[138] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes*, 247. 'If in the next song, instead of the strong arms of the gods, the delicate elfin creatures appear, which dance their 'dream' at midnight, the actual 'force' is hinted at, which is the overcoming of reality through dream.' – 'Wenn dann im nächsten Lied statt der starken Arme der Götter die zarten Geschöpfe der Elfen erscheinen, die um Mitternacht ihren 'Traum' tanzen, so wird damit aber die 'Stärke' angedeutet, die in der Überwindung der Realität durch den Traum besteht.'
[139] J.W. von Goethe, 'Erlkönig', in Trunz, ed., *Goethes Werke Band 1*, 154-155. 'Meine Töchter führen den nächtlichen Reihn/ Und wiegen und tanzen und singen dich ein.'

expression here, dancing, singing and joking through the piano accompaniment. Bar 13 is an insertion in 9/8, which makes the total number an uneven 31, probably to be accounted for by the mischievous little fairies, who not only tamper with musical expressions, but also with bars and metre (Appendix 2). The sleeper is unable to control or even dissolve in this nightly wonder world. Consequently, this other world remains out of reach.

As observed by Rademacher, Zemlinsky's rejection of an ideal land of dreams comes to the fore in this Goethe setting. Remembering the themes of the 1907 opera *Traumgörge* discussed in the Introduction, where the protagonist Görge finally succeeds in life after following visions presented to him in his dreams, 'Elfenlied' tells a different story. Even though a fascination with a world beyond reach is still apparent, the agency of this parallel universe as an ultimate enhancer of reality is no longer there. Yet, considering that 'Elfenlied' is part of a set, how might its narrative be read with relation to the previous song? Since Nos. 3 and 4 are neatly wedged between two Morgenstern settings on either side, it is inevitable to ask in what ways, aside from their common author, the two songs form a unit. Even though 'Feiger Gedanken' is dominated by tonal obscurity, both pieces are loosely connected through the key of E♭. 'Elfenlied' ends in B♭ major, i.e., the dominant of the earlier song, and is thus left somewhat hanging in a tonal space that fails to resolve back to its root. The song's harmonic structure, both because of the inability to establish its key area, and its failure to fulfil a resolution where the idealised dream world feeds back into reality, allow for this interpretation. Thus, while conceivably harmless on its own, 'Elfenlied' once more underlines the notion of failure that already emerged in 'Feiger Gedanken'. With some degree of irony, so rarely employed in Zemlinsky's late song writing, the elves question the previously expressed intentions. What else they might stand for is perhaps undecipherable, but given that at no other point Zemlinsky uses fairy tale material in his late song writing (after all, he decided to replace 'Das bucklichte Männlein'), it is not too far-fetched to suggest that they might stand for something other than what they appear to be. In 1933, Ödön von Horváth 'consider[ed] the fairy-tale farce especially suitable for the present time because in this genre one can say things which otherwise

one would not be allowed to say.'[140] Perhaps, 'Elfenlied' is the musical rendering of Kraus's 1933 observation 'Das Wort entschlief, als jene Welt erwachte.' (The word departed [literally: fell asleep forever] as that world awoke.)[141] The fairies, despite their quirkiness are intruders of a dubious kind, and might thus symbolise that other, dark world that awoke across Europe in the 1930s.

Towards an Alternative *Volkslied*

Du gabst mir deine Kette, du gabst mir auch dein Herz; der Wald stand im Gewitter, wir liebten uns gar sehr.	You gave me your necklace, you also gave me your heart; the woods were thunderous, we loved each other very much.
Es waren weiße Korallen, mit roten Adern fein, ich trug sie überm Herzen zusamt dem Herzen dein.	There were white corals, with fine, red veins, I carried them on my heart together with your heart.
Zusamt dem Herzen gab ich sie dir im Haus zurück: ein Bündlein weiße Korallen und eine Welt voll Glück...	Together with the heart I gave them back to you in the house: a bundle of white corals and a world full of happiness…
Du sahst mir in die Augen – du hast es nicht gewollt. Ich aber, o mein Himmel, ich hab es so gesollt.	You looked into my eyes – you did not want it. But I, o heaven, I had to do it.
Ich muss mein Werk vollbringen, und ward zu anderm nicht. O Welt, deine süßen Dinge sind nicht für mich, für mich![142]	I have to finish my deeds, I have no other purpose. O world, your sweet things are not for me, for me!

The first, perhaps rather obvious question to be asked here is: 'what exactly does Zemlinsky mean by folksong?' If Zemlinsky chose a piece with such a descriptive title, it surely points to the roots of folk- and/or art song in its earlier traditions, key aspects of which were discussed in the introduction. As Schmierer observes, in its essence, the 'folksong signifies an idyllic world'.[143] Although, especially if looking at Steinitz's comprehensive volume of democratic and oftentimes revolutionary folksongs, this

[140] Ödön von Horváth qtd. and translated in Horst Jarka, 'Everyday Life and Politics in the Literature of the Thirties: Horváth, Kramer, and Soyfer', in Segar and Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties*, 154.
[141] Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel,* 888 (Vienna: Verlag Die Fackel, 1933), 4.
[142] Christian Morgenstern, 'Volkslieder I', in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe,* Vol.2 (Stuttgart: Verlag Urachhaus, 1992), 183.
[143] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes,* 159. 'Das Volkslied – Signum für eine heile Welt'.

claim is not universally valid, such images are often evoked. Frequently, a romantic longing for a *Schatz* (beloved) is voiced, the fulfilment of which seems out of reach. Examples of such lighter romances that nevertheless remain unfulfilled are 'Wenn alle Brünnlein fließen' or 'Horch, was kommt von draußen rein'. Another theme so often associated with folksong is an idealised *Heimatland,* a pastoral. In both 'Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit' and 'Nun ade, du mein lieb Heimatland', for instance, notions of *Heimweh* and the not quite so ideal foreign lands are expressed. However, Morgenstern's 'Volkslied' does not evoke pastoral imageries. There are no descriptions of the protagonist's environment. Rather, it plays on the topic of futile romantic longing, yet, there is no lightness to it. In fact, the singer's realisation that the sweet things of the world are not meant to be for him or her resemble an act of resignation.[144] If not that, it represents at least a coming to terms with reality. Morgenstern picks up on the theme of romantic longing so often foregrounded in folk poetry, and remodels it to make a personal, realistic narrative of it, without any traces of an idyllic world. Even more, it is a story of betrayal. In Ovid's *Metamorphosis,* corals are the product of Medusa's beheading, which sprang from the blood that dripped onto the ocean's ground. This story resulted in the superstition that corals would protect its bearer from the gaze of evil eyes.[145] After the apparently false oaths voiced in the first verse, the betrayed returns both heart and corals and, thus, their protection from all evil. In the third verse, the damaging gaze of the dishonest lover is no longer deflected. Ultimately, the poem's protagonist must realise that their fate is to resign from worldly pleasures. This is rather different from the narratives unfolding in many well-known folk songs. In 'Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär', for example, both partners are expressing grief over an apparently unsurmountable (spatial) obstacle that separates them from their loved one. In 'Horch, was kommt von draußen rein', the singer's mood is tremendously lifted by the thought of finally being able to get the girl he wants once he is dead and in heaven (also note the recurring cheers 'Hollahi Hollaho'). Morgenstern's 'Volkslied', by contrast, comes with no such reconciling notes. It is very much grounded in a kind of realism that proclaims an absolute necessity to accept the world as it is. Morgenstern may have

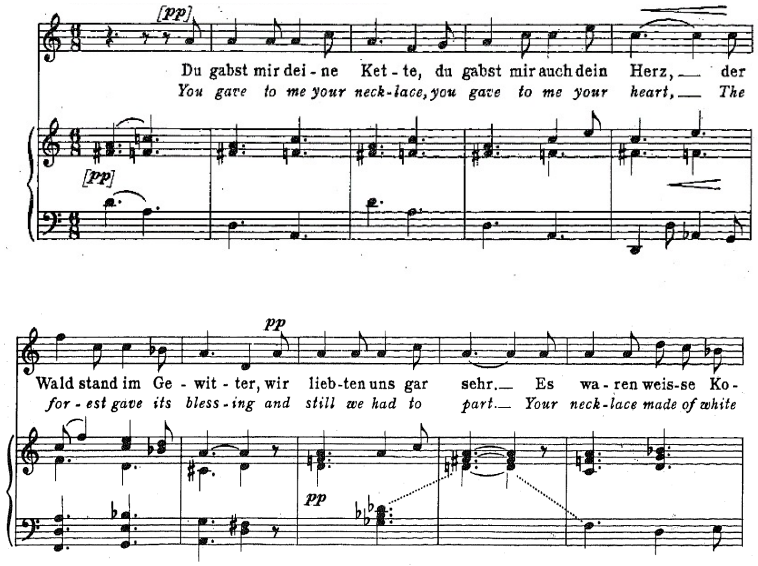
[144] Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 444. Beaumont also detects an act of 'self-denial' in Morgenstern's poem, which seems a little extreme considering the speaker's realistic assessment of his or her situation.
[145] Jutta Person and Judith Schalansky, eds., *Korallen* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2019), 7, 12-13.

taken inspiration from traditional folksongs like 'Da unten im Thale', a Swabian tune first published in Kretschmer's and Zuccalmaglio's collection *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen* (1838-40). Here, the rejected lover's conclusion is 'I wish that you may have it better elsewhere'. Although similarly disillusioning, Morgenstern's poem is much more dramatic, voicing an 'active' return of corals and heart, the bitter rejection of a gaze as well as an overall resignation from the world's blisses. Instead, the listener is reminded of a lost idyll, so often found in nineteenth-century art song. 'O Welt, deine süßen Dinge/ sind nicht für mich, für mich!' is reminiscent of Schubert's 'Des Fremdlings Abendlied', also known as 'Der Wanderer', D 489. The poem by Georg Philipp Schmidt von Lübeck, published in 1821, ends with the shattering words 'Da wo du nicht bist, ist das Glück!' (Happiness is where you are not!).[146] Depression and, in this case, self-denial dominate the wanderer's thoughts who, far away from his *Heimat*, cannot find peace or happiness. He is a *Fremdling*, a foreigner, without hope. Morgenstern's narrator is caught in a domestic situation, but the conclusion drawn is similar, even if expressed with more dignity. From this, one may conclude that 'Volkslied' is *like* a folksong, expressing aspects of longing, unfulfilled hopes and a wish to exceed the current reality. However, it ceases to look for an idyllic place in quaint pastoral images or in the outspoken wish to overcome the present moment. It is *like* a folktale in its narration of a *Heimat.* As opposed to the vast majority of folksongs, this *Heimat* is clearly non-existent. In verse 3, the world of bliss and happiness, i.e., *Heimat*, is returned to its presumed owner, something we already encountered in 'Erkenntnis', No.5 of the *Symphonische Gesänge* where simplicity is not restored. Here, *Heimat* is neither idealised nor replaced by an alternative, such as the world beyond: it becomes an anti-*Volkslied*. By contrast, even though Schubert's wanderer also fails to succeed in his search for *Heimat*, the musical imagination of this ideal place is obviously composed out in the middle section of the song where he asks: 'where are you, my beloved land?'

Zemlinsky in part follows Brahms's model of a simple, transparent musical language that should support the character of folk poetry.[147] This is indicated through the tempo and dynamic marking *sehr einfach* (very simple). Compared to the earlier pieces, but especially to No.3, the piano accompaniment is kept sparse and without

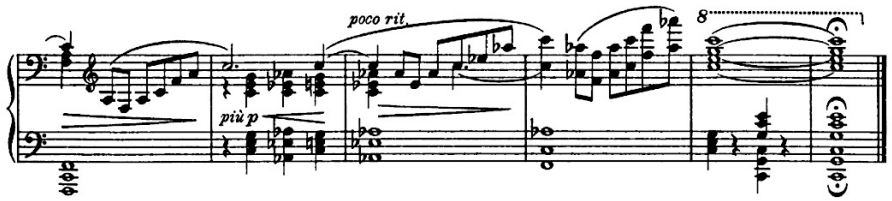
[146] Schubert omits and alters passages from Lübeck's original poem, but the essence of the last line remains.
[147] See Schmierer, Geschichte des Kunstliedes, 138.

rhythmic complexities. A dance-like 6/8 further substantiates the piece's character. The first two systems (bars 1-10) almost exclusively maintain a pattern of the altering chromatic mediants D major and F major (Example 2.16).



Example 2.16 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs,* Op.22, No.5, bars 1-10.

The distantly related keys create a somewhat eerie atmosphere. On the one hand, it resembles familiarity (since the small alteration of F# to F♮ would result in a clear mediant relationship). On the other hand, the same shift anticipates the subsequent loss of this *Heimat.* One well-known example of this familiar stylistic device of nineteenth-century music can be found at the end of the second movement of Brahms's Symphony No.3 (Example 2.17).



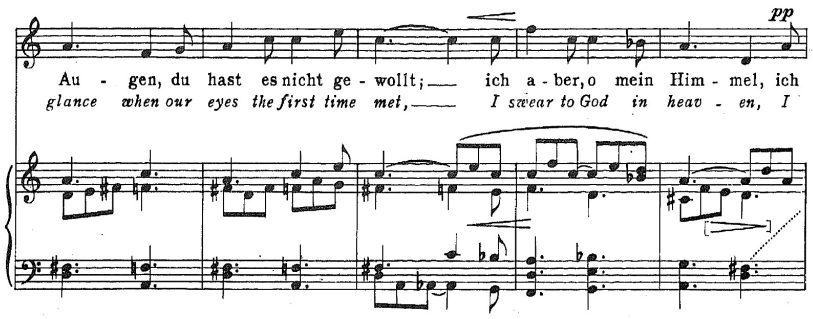
Example 2.17 Brahms, Symphony No. 3 Op.90, II *Andante*, bars 129-134.

In bar 130, he juxtaposes the two chromatic mediants C major and A♭ major. Although the effect creates a much stronger sense of surprise in Brahms, owing to the fact that Zemlinsky does not establish a strong harmonic basis before using this device, the slightly unrooted nature of the sonic experience is very similar.

Another folk-like attribute Zemlinsky uses in his composition is the indication of a strophic frame. With regard to the piano accompaniment, only verses 1 and 4

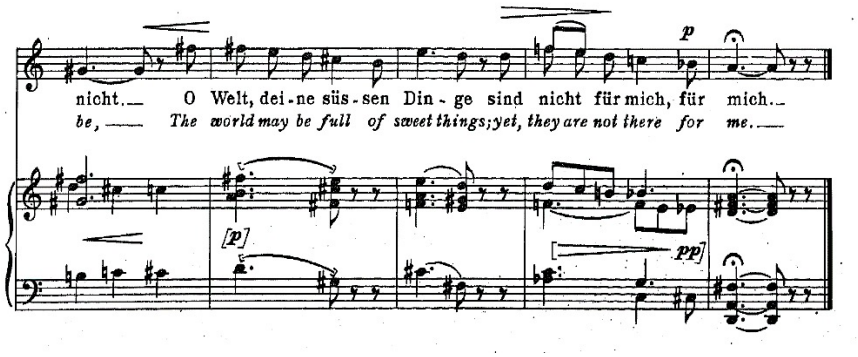
obviously resemble each other for about half of the unit. In keeping with Morgenstern's poem, this repetition occurs each time the addressee acts in some way. In the beginning, he or she presents the corals, in the fourth verse, he or she directly gazes at the speaker. Underlined by the alternating chromatic mediants discussed above, the addressee's disposition to dishonesty is revealed. Zemlinsky's musical rendering of the situation is thus miles away from the nursery-rhyme naivety found in a traditional folksong like 'Horch, was kommt von draußen rein'. Verses 1, 2, 4 and 5 all begin with the same rhetorical pattern in the voice part, an up-beat quaver followed by a crotchet and another quaver on A (Example 2.16). While 1 and 4 continue identically throughout, 2 and 5 move on to the same, more heightened declamatory style, which only changes for the cadential movement at the end of the last verse. The act of returning the corals and, thus, resigning from love and happiness is expressed in the middle verse. Accordingly, it sets out with a different rhetoric on 'Zusamt dem Herzen gab ich sie dir'. Thus, even though Zemlinsky refrains from employing a strict strophic structure, the indications are just enough for the listener to make out a little bit of the sameness of a traditional folksong.

It is clear from the above that No.5 ('Volkslied'), perhaps already prescribed by its title, is the most 'traditional' of the set, following long-established harmonic and formal rules. One last aspect worth noting in this context is Zemlinsky's use of cadential progressions. The most straightforward of these appears in bars 32 and 33 (Example 2.18). Starting from the upbeat into bar 32, F major is logically preceded by its dominant seventh chord. Subsequently, on beat four of 32, the dominant is re-established. As in the opening of the piece, it then moves on to its chromatic mediant on the first beat of bar 33. Afterwards, A major seventh is 'traditionally' resolved into D major.



Example 2.18 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs,* Op.22, No.5, bars 29-33.

If one ignores the text, the passage almost sounds like a point of arrival, especially on 'ich aber, o mein' in bars 31-32. When examined in more detail, however, this traditional rhetoric device is nothing but superficial polishing at this point. We previously learned that both corals and the other's gaze have been damaging. It is a kind of false peace that is demonstrated here. And although 'heaven' is just as logically resolved in bar 33, the chromatically approached shift between 'mein' and 'Himmel' described earlier reveals that this heaven is anything but harmonious. This way of employing harmonic progression is a prime example of Zemlinsky's technique of dissociation. The cadence is a kind of variant, not introduced in the song itself but presumed as 'common knowledge'. Both the conventional triadic language, and its more unexpected use through mediant relationships link 'Volkslied' back to much earlier practices, including those of Brahms, Wolf and Schumann. Thus, the function of a familiar progression is corrupted here, and its long-established meaning questioned, if not betrayed. As opposed to the short moment of deceptive harmony on 'ich aber, o mein Himmel', 'Volkslied' closes in a somewhat unorthodox manner. Instead of resolving C^7 to F major, Zemlinsky decides to arrive at D major via a chromatic descent in the right hand (Example 2.19).



Example 2.19 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs,* Op.22, No.5, bars 39-43.

In accordance with the speaker's realisation that the sweet things of this world are not meant for him or her, the song is not designed to conclude in a satisfactory manner either. There is no coming to terms with this loss as in 'Da unten im Thale'. Neither does this 'hanging cadence' allow for the conclusion that solace is found in inner emigration or the like. The song knows about its false *Heimat*, and about the insincere promises

made. Zemlinsky's apparently domestic piece expresses the 'dismantling of everything one has previously believed in.'[148]

Zwei Seelen

Op.22 ends with a rough storm of the tormented soul. If redemption was not quite achieved with 'Volkslied', then all hopes for such a conclusion are diminished with 'Auf dem Meere meiner Seele'.

Auf dem Meere meiner Seele fliehen lustig, weiße Segel, meine hellen Schwangedanken, vor dem Südwind meines Blutes.	On the ocean of my soul merry, white sails do fly, my bright swan-like thoughts, before the southerly winds of my blood.
Draußen hängt in grauen Fetzen sommerlicher Dauerregen – auf dem Meere meine Seele fliehen lustig meine Segel.	Outside, hanging in grey shreds is the summerly steady rain – on the ocean of my soul my merry sails do fly.
Sonne lacht mit blauen Augen auf die fröhliche Regatta; – alle trüben Herzen möcht' ich laden heut zum Segelfeste auf dem Meere meiner Seele![149]	The sun laughs with blue eyes to the jolly regatta ; – all gloomy hearts I want to invite today to the sailing feast on the ocean of my soul!

'Finally, under the golden light of the summer sun, with the white of sails and swans' wings shining brightly against a bright blue sky, the poet invites the weary and despondent to join him on the ocean of his soul […] in a joyful regatta.'[150] Beaumont understands Morgenstern's poem as a direct appeal from the speaker to the outside world, to participate in the lighter affairs of his or her inner world. Schmierer sees a duality between reality and an idealised inwardness here, as 'request to overcome reality, as turning towards a better inner truth.'[151] Both observations are immediately accessible through both poem and song. Yet, how may 'Auf dem Meere' be understood if read against the composer's background and immediate environment? Looking at the

[148] Arnold Schoenberg qtd. in Therese Muxeneder, 'The Hegemony of German Music: Schoenberg's Vienna as the Musical Center of the German-Speaking World', in Holmes and Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna*, 178. '[…] die Umstürzung all dessen, woran man früher geglaubt hat.'
[149] Christian Morgenstern, 'Auf dem Meere meiner Seele', in *Stuttgarter Ausgabe*, Vol.1., 302.
[150] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 444.
[151] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes*, 244. '[…] versteht sich als Aufforderung zur Überwindung der Realität, als Hinwendung zu einer besseren inneren Wirklichkeit.'

overall atmosphere of Zemlinsky's setting, there is no clear musical distinction between these two realms, i.e., there is no light-heartedness to the merry ocean. Neither is the dreary outside world defined through darker modes. Schmierer delivers a detailed harmonic analysis of 'Auf dem Meere', in which she attributes the oftentimes obscured and always fleeting tonal situations to varying stages of imagination or reality.[152] Although such a reading obviously considers even the most intricate detail of the song in terms of a harmonic analysis, I argue that these complex compositional devices are much better understood as rhetorical means, a kind of larger scaffold that shapes and exceeds the underlying poetry. Knowing each harmonic situation here may deliver a thorough deconstruction of Zemlinsky's composition, but it does not necessarily yield results with respect to their effects and meanings. Thus, it is vital to step a little further back, and to examine the larger shapes through which the song's narrative unfolds. Contrary to the first two *Abendlieder*, where distinct key areas still hinted at designated affects, the last song of Op.22 does not lend itself to similarly traditional uses of tonality.

To be sure, 'Auf dem Meere' represents the attempt of an active if not desperate flight from reality. This is already indicated by the verb *fliehen* – to fly or flee. There is something restless about this regatta, since the sailboat is not merely flying, but also escaping.[153] In Morgenstern's text source, the dichotomy between reality and imagination is not as clearly separable as one might believe. Zemlinsky takes the poet's suggestion much further: the accompaniment is dominated by rushing triplets in the piano, which make the strictly declamatory voice part sound rushed, if not late. Although the outside world, starting from bar 11, is introduced with a slower tempo (*viel ruhiger – moderato*), the texture of both voice and piano remain the same. The change, as it were, is a superficial one. The inner world is inseparably connected to its gloomy environment; reality thus cannot be overcome. On top of that, there are frequent metre changes between 3/4 and 4/4. This perhaps is the only clear indication here of a distinction between reality and imagination: verse 2, which exclusively suggest a shaded outside world, remain strictly in 4/4. The outer verses, which want to embrace

[152] Ibid., 248-254.
[153] The German *fliegen* (to fly without its negative connotation) could have been equally used by Morgenstern. Yet, he chose the ambigious term *fliehen.*

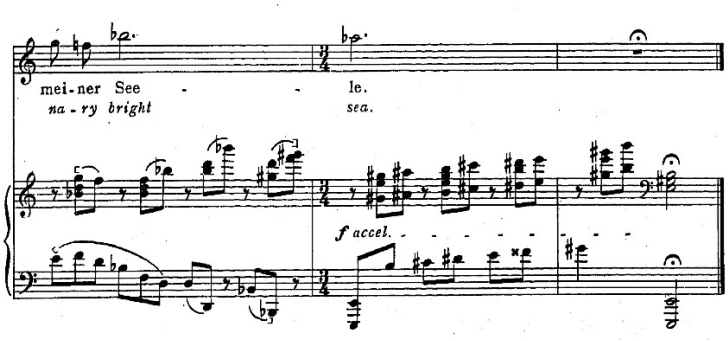
an ideal imagined *Heimat,* cannot maintain their swaying, dance-like 3/4. They repeatedly fall back into the simple time of reality.

As such, especially considering the use of Goethe's poetry earlier in the set, 'Auf dem Meere' is reminiscent of an essential Faustian theme:

Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust, die eine will sich von der andern trennen: Die eine hält in derber Liebeslust sich an die Welt mit klammernden Organen; die andre hebt gewaltsam sich vom Durst zu den Gefilden hoher Ahnen.[154]	In me there are two souls, alas, and their division tears my life in two. One loves the world, it clutches her, it binds iself to her, clinging with furious lust; the other longs to soar beyond the dust into the realm of high ancestral minds.

Here, Faust is tormented by the irreconcilability between worldly pleasures, and his striving towards a union with the divine. Remembering the first two evening songs of Op.22, 'Auf braunen Sammetschuhen' and 'Abendkelch voll Sonnenlicht', this kind of renunciation of the day's pleasures in favour of a stillness of the soul was perhaps doubted, but not yet shown to be false. The cyclical nature of life, i.e., an anthroposophical worldview, allowed for much clearer key-areas and more easily manageable rhythmic structures. This belief in a power (in this case, that of nature) that guides the course of the world, and that may be trusted, is now missing entirely. As early as 'Feiger Gedanken' (No. 3), Zemlinsky hinted at the fact that there is only one reality, and that it is advisable to make the most of it. In No.4, the elfin creatures were far from escorting the human sleeper into a better world. 'Volkslied' then presented the listener with disillusion, a kind of *Heimatlosigkeit* in a folk-like song that resembled tradition, yet revealed it to be of deceiving nature. The last song 'Auf dem Meere', is nothing but an augmentation of this journey towards reality, i.e., the exact opposite of an overcoming of the world-as-is towards paradisiacal contemplation. The very last chord of No.6, a clear unambiguous E major chord in root position, reaffirms the statement made earlier in 'Feiger Gedanken' (Example 2.20): Heaven helps those who help themselves! Heroism is thus certainly something of a bygone age.

[154] J.W. von Goethe, *Faust: Der Tragödie erster Teil* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1971), lines 1112-1117. Translation by David Constantine in *Faust, Part I* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), lines 1112-1117.



Example 2.20 Zemlinsky, *Six Songs,* Op.22, No.6, bars 29-31.

There are no tones of consolation in this closing statement, which is strikingly different from the ending of 'Das bucklichte Männlein'. It is a futile attempt at coming to terms with the outside world, which at this point is dark and gloomy. Perhaps the white sails are even an indication of a longing for peace. In June 1918 Zemlinsky wrote in a letter to his friend Schoenberg:

> Now I compose – the best and only numbing strategy against the horrific misery. In my opinion, this war will *never* end, at least not in *our* own lifetime. I do not necessarily mean the war in its current continuation. But the two of us will not experience calm and well-ordered conditions anymore! – [155]

Although, as Schmierer rightly observes, Zemlinsky's oeuvre often engages with the 'tensions between reality and imagination', in 1934 his view on how these two opposites relate to each other had changed drastically.[156] Her claim that Zemlinsky's choice to revert to long-outdated themes are a mere reflection of his personal situation (the failure to succeed in Vienna), and the upcoming *Anschluss* (which of course he cannot have anticipated at the time), is untenable after a contextualised reading of Op.22, as the above demonstrates.[157] Instead, Zemlinsky's six songs are a thorough re-evaluation of these traditional themes, presented as realistic reconsiderations through the lens of his 1934 reality. In fact, the plural texture of the *Six Songs,* Op.22, however subtly, hints at the predicaments of the increasingly censored Austro-Fascist

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[155] Alexander Zemlinsky in Weber, *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, 105. 'Ich komponiere jetzt – die beste u. einzige Betäubung gegen das schreckliche Elend. Dieser Krieg wird meiner Meinung nach *nie* aufhören, wenigstens nicht so lange *wir* leben. Ich meine nicht grad den Krieg in seiner jetzigen Continuation. Aber in ruhige geordnete Verhältnisse treten wir Zwei nicht mehr! –'

[156] Schmierer, *Geschichte des Kunstliedes*, 244. 'die Spannung zwischen Realität und Imagination'

[157] Ibid.

environment. Anyone who was not entirely in line with the government's Catholic ideals needed to speak through metaphors and ciphers. The fact that Op.22 was subjected to the public eye meant that Zemlinsky needed to adopt these tools. Songs like his earlier *Symphonische Gesänge* would have been unthinkable for a composer of his generation and background. The interpretations of Schmierer, Rademacher and Beaumont may perhaps offer proof of Zemlinsky's perfected subtlety: on the surface, Op.22 was supposed to unfold a traditional, backwards-looking narrative to obscure what lies beneath. Yet, as this discussion has shown, the inherent plurality of these songs only comes to the fore if the web of relationships, including figures like Eigner and the political history of a text like 'Feiger Gedanken', as well as Zemlinsky's handling of inherited musical means are interrogated. Only then do the dissolved dichotomy of familiarity and strangeness, as well as the questioning of *Volk* and *Heimat,* become clear.

On the same evening as Alexander Zemlinsky and Julia Nessy gave their recital of songs and arias in the Kleine Musikvereinssaal*,* a big national motion-picture premiere took place in Heidelberg: *Winternachtstraum* (*Winter Night's Dream*) by Ernst Marischka (screenplay) and Géza von Bolváry (director) with a cast of pan-German national superstars including Magda Schneider, Wolf Albach-Retty, Theo Lingen and Hans Moser.[158] As so often in the politically tinted German movies of the 1930s, the plot is bizarrely harmless, set in the recreational town of Garmisch-Partenkirchen where the Bavarian alps provide the perfect backdrop for the handsome and happy cast to demonstrate their skiing skills. *Winternachtstraum* is a prime example of the co-opting strategies of the Nazi regime. An idealised version of an idyllic German *Heimat* is fabricated, where tradition becomes a value of the highest moral standard. It is of course needless to say that the concept of tradition here is a flexible one, moulded by the regime in order to suit their needs. The audience was to be lulled into dreams of homecoming, *Gemütlichkeit* and blissfulness, whilst their government planned a large-scale war. The coexistence of both events on 13 February 1935 once more shows the plurality of a society three years before Austria's *Anschluss* to Nazi-Germany. While the Austrian citizens Marischka and Retty celebrated huge successes in Hitler's *Reich*,

[158] For details see *Winternachtstraum (1935)* <https://www.filmdienst.de/film/details/28095/winternachtstraum-1935> accessed 2 September 2019.

Zemlinsky and Nessy close the second half of their concert with a clear departure from this false idyll. Op.22 calls for freedom of thought, however subtly. Even if initially one might think otherwise, Zemlinsky's *Heimat* in Op.22 does not revert to bygone traditions, including an artistic unification with nature as divine entity, or an idealised image of *Volk*. The essential thing here is to remain true to one's reasoning, despite contradicting forces from without. Humanist ideals of freedom and reason prevail over a turning away from reality. Yet, whether a humanistic world is achievable, or is doomed to fail, remains open. Perhaps, through 'Das bucklichte Männlein', Zemlinsky and Nessy sought to provide their audience with a positive outlook, even if hesitantly so. On the night of the concert, the *Six Songs* closed with the hopeful prayer of the humpbacked manikin in D major, pleading for inclusion.

Chapter 3: Simultaneity

Zemlinsky's eclectic musical style culminates in his last song collection, the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27. These songs resemble a kaleidoscope in which the mixing of plural stylistic materials combine to form fascinating patterns. According to Antony Beaumont, '[the] Twelve Songs op.27 were composed between 31 March and 19 April 1937 in the afterglow of *Der König Kandaules*'.[1] However, the published score as well as the catalogue and original manuscripts held at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. suggest that the last two songs, 'Regenzeit' (Kalidasa) and 'Wandrers Nachtlied' (Goethe) were written a year later, in April of 1938.[2]

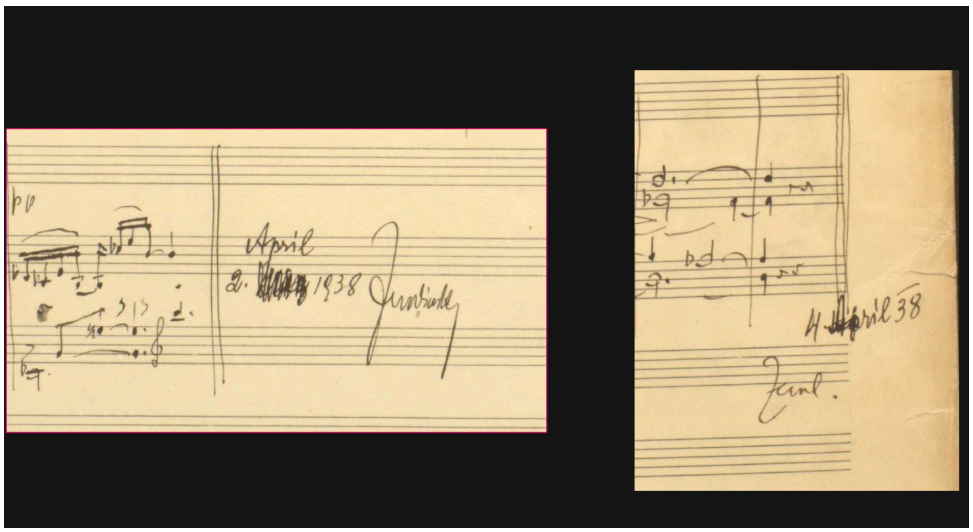

Fig. 3.1 Date and Signature of the original manuscripts of Op.27, Nos.11 and 12. Source: Library of Congress.

Unless additional sources are obtained that discount these dates, there is no justification for predating 'Regenzeit' and 'Wandrers Nachtlied' by a year. There are two reasons why, in the case of Op.27, this one-year gap represents a significant missing link towards an understanding of this complex song set. First, it means that there is much more to the *Twelve Songs* than 'the afterglow of *König Kandaules*', given that it most

[1] Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), 445.
[2] I visited the Library of Congress in March 2016. Dr. Paul Allen Sommerfeld, Music Reference Specialist at the LoC, once more confirmed that 'April 1938' is unmistakably identifiable in both cases. Further, no alternative dates appear on the manuscripts. Email correspondence on 27 February 2019. Upon contacting Antony Beaumont regarding his view on the dates of composition, the biographer of Zemlinsky suggested that, in his view, 1937 seems most logical in terms of the composer's life-events, but was unable to verify his assumption (email correspondence, 27 February 2019).

likely engaged Zemlinsky's compositional process for a much longer period. The following will clarify that even the 1937 songs, numbers 1–10, in terms of subject matter and compositional strategies have little in common with the Lydian world and dramatic motives of *Kandaules.* Although doubts may remain, the current state of evidence discounts the assumption about Zemlinsky that '[a]fter the annexation of Austria by the Nazis in March 1938 he wrote no more.'[3] Consequently, the cultural and historical backgrounds to be considered regarding the genesis of these pieces becomes much wider. Second, even if, as discussed in chapter 2, Austria's *Anschluss* to Nazi Germany was a logical consequence of the Austro-Fascist government's politics, 11/12 March 1938 marked a decisive turning point in the lives of all Jewish citizens, including Zemlinsky's. There is absolutely no doubt that the composer, one way or another, witnessed the so-called *Reibpartie* that took place on 12 March: 'Jews were cleaning streets […], working with acid, brushes, and their bare hands to remove one sort of mark. They were erasing a word that had been painted on Vienna's avenues only a few days before: 'Austria'. That word had been the slogan of Schuschnigg's referendum propaganda […]. It was also the name of a state of which Jews had been citizens. Jews were unwriting Austria […].'[4] Announcements for a national referendum regarding Austria's integration into the German Reich, to be held on 10 April, were distributed. These leaflets unambiguously excluded Jewish citizens from the right to vote.[5] Thus, even Zemlinsky, often described as the most unpolitical of artists, was acutely aware of the so-called 'National Socialist revolution' that befell Vienna.[6] In this highly explosive climate, just days before Hitler's visit on 9 April, Zemlinsky completed his Op.27 songs.[7]

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[3] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 425.

[4] Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015), 83. The referendum concerning Austria's independence was to be held on 13 March 1938, but it never took place. The evening of 11 March 1938 at 7:57 p.m., when Schuschnigg announced his resignation, initiated the turning point of Austria's history. The *Anschluss* took place between that date and 10 April, when Hitler officially secured his power through a referendum, where Jewish citizens were no longer among the eligible voters. Compare Gerhard Botz 'Nationalsozialismus in Wien: Anmerkungen zu Rahmenbedingungen und Entwicklung eines Forschungsfeldes', in Christian Mertens, ed., *1938: 'Wir wissen es, dass diese Beamtschaft ihre Pflicht auch im neuen Wien Tun wird' Die Wiener Stadtverwaltung 1938* (Vienna: Meteor, 2018), 45-49.

[5] For the document see Mertens, ed., *1938*, 156.

[6] Botz, 'Nationalsozialismus in Wien', in, Mertens, ed., *1938*, 45.

[7] Around this time, the Zemlinskys probably already decided to leave Vienna. Compare Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 453.

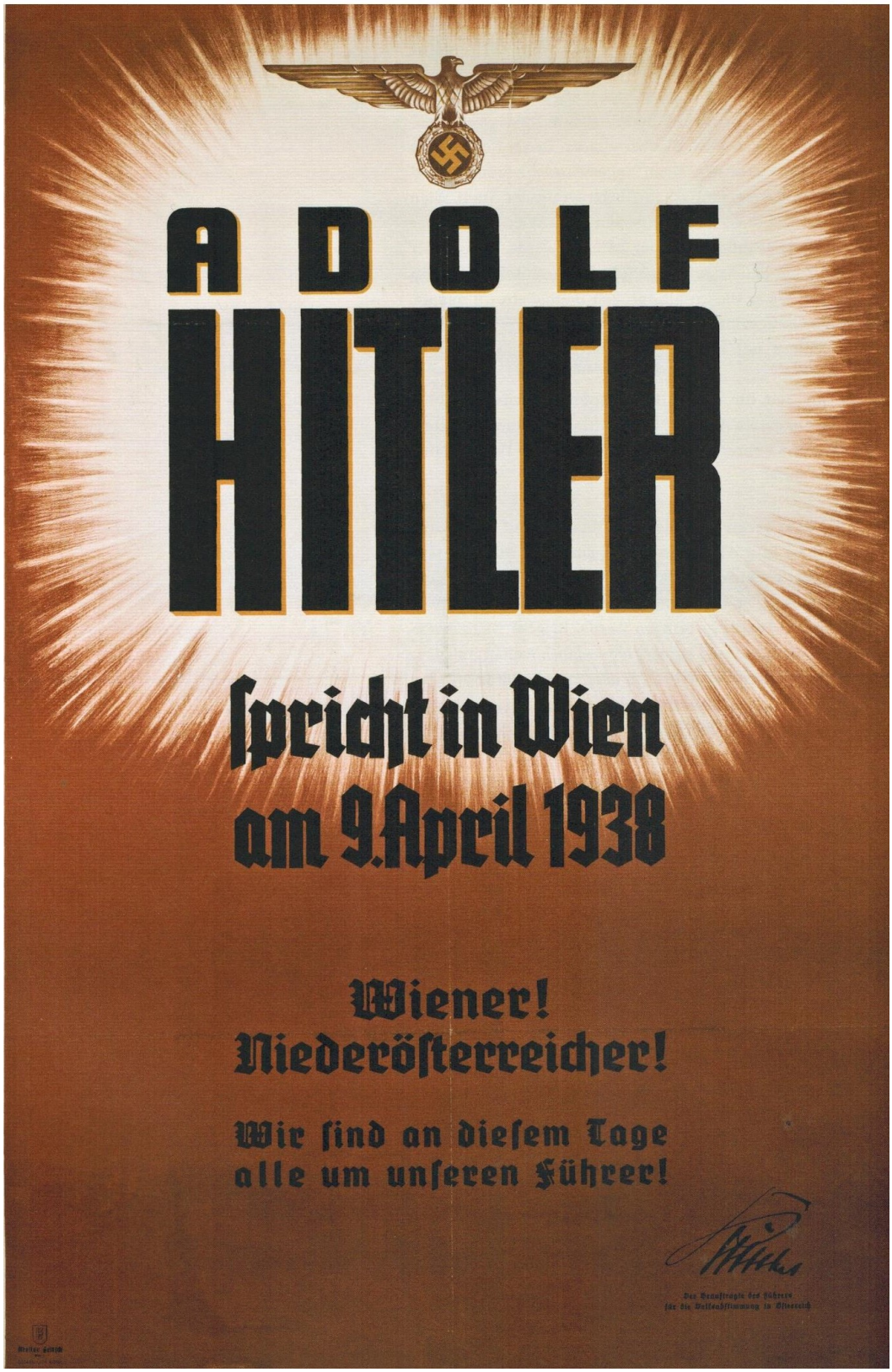

Fig. 3.2 Propaganda poster announcing Hitler's speech in Vienna on 9 April 1938, Mertens, ed., *1938*, 154.

In order to underline the composer's awareness of the reciprocal relationship between the artist and his or her situation, it is useful to cite Zemlinsky's own view, stated in one of the rare interviews he gave in Berlin in 1932: 'the currently prevailing general circumstances of course influence the musical life. These very unsteady times cannot remain without consequences for music, the toing and froing, the economic battle, the wider development has to become noticeable.'[8] Here, Zemlinsky was referring to the world economic crisis of the late 1920s, and the general shifting of the political climate in Weimar Germany (the Kroll Oper had fallen victim to the pressures of the right-wing camp a year before the interview was given). As the exploration of the Op.22 songs has already demonstrated, there is little doubt that the shifting political situation and its social implications Zemlinsky witnessed, and particularly the event of the *Anschluss*, fed into his intellectual thinking and influenced his music too. Two decades earlier, towards the end of WW1, Zemlinsky had advised his friend Heinrich Jalowetz not to '[p]ause for a single day! Go to work, work hard. It is the only thing that lets you forget.'[9] Now, twenty years later, Zemlinsky saw himself at a dead end. During WW1, both his working conditions and any assurance of the family's livelihood had been difficult to maintain. From March 1938, however, much more was at stake. His earlier suggestion to Jalowetz thus became more relevant than ever. 'Regenzeit' and 'Wandrers Nachtlied', and hence the conclusion of Op.27, are the results of Zemlinsky's prescription to himself and others: to keep working rather than resign to the horrors of the political present.

[8] Herbert Fischer, 'Besuch bei Alexander von Zemlinsky. Aufstieg oder Niedergang des Musiklebens?', in *Neues Wiender Journal* (12 October 1932), 7. '(…) nur haben die augenblicklichen allgemeinen Zeitverhältnisse natürlich auch auf das Musikleben ihren Einfluß. Die sehr unruhige Zeit kann nicht ohne Rückwirkung auf die Musik bleiben, das Hin und Her, der wirtschaftliche Kampf, die ganze allgemeine Entwicklung mußte sich auch hier bemerkbar machen.'

[9] Unpublished letter held at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, September 1918. Quoted in Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2005), 641. 'Pausieren Sie keinen Tag mehr! Gehn Sie an die Arbeit, fest an die Arbeit. Es ist das Einzige was vergessen macht.'

Narrative Layers of the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27

Titles	Origin of Poem	Date of Composing
1. Entführung – Elopement	George (1868-1933), Germany	31.3.1937
2. Sommer – Summer	Kalidasa (4th/5th Century AD), India	01.4.1937
3. Frühling – Spring	Kalidasa	02.4.1937
4. Jetzt ist die Zeit – Now is the time	Kalidasa	02.4.1937
5. Die Verschmähte – The rejected one	Amaru (7th or 8th Century AD), India	04.4.1937
6. Der Wind des Herbstes – Autumn Winds	Kalidasa	07.4.1937
7. Elend – Misery	Hughes (1902-1967), North America	09.4.1937 ?
8. Harlem Tänzerin – Harlem Dancer	McKay (1889-1948), North America	13.4.1937
9. Afrikanischer Tanz – Dance Africaine	Hughes	15.4.1937
10. Gib ein Lied mir wieder – Return a song to me	George	19.4.1937
11. Regenzeit – Rainy Season	Kalidasa	02.4.1938
12. Wandrers Nachtlied – Wanderer's Night Song	Goethe (1749-1832), Germany	04.4.1938

Fig. 3.3 Alexander Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs* Op.27. This table shows the final order of the songs, which the composer rearranged multiple times (see Stanley M. Hoffman, *Extended Tonality and Voice Leading*, 1-9.) The dates of composition are taken from the catalogue and manuscripts at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. In the manuscript, the date of origin of No.7 'Elend' is crossed out and thus cannot be verified.

Figure 3.3 shows that, even in terms of poetic sources, Op.27 is inherently plural in nature, and that no straightforward common thread can be discerned. George's early-twentieth-century texts are mixed with the mystical, sultry poetry of Kalidasa's renderings of Ancient India's seasonal changes. The latter as well as Amaru's 'Die Verschmähte' appear as adaptions in Hans Bethge's collection *Die indische Harfe* (1913). Once more, we encounter Hughes's and McKay's poetry, which the composer last engaged with in Weimar Berlin in the late 1920s. Goethe's 'Wandrers Nachtlied' is the odd one out, so to speak. The well-known poem, most prominently set by Schubert (D 224, 1822/23) and Liszt (S 279, 1842, revised in 1856 and 1860) brings the set to a close. Considering the above-quoted dates of composition, the possibility of an earlier ten-song version completed in 1937 presents itself. In this scenario, the collection or perhaps cycle would quite organically be framed by two George-settings, and a set of five poems from *Die indische Harfe* would be followed by three Harlem-Renaissance pieces, providing for a relatively neat structure. The additions of 'Regenzeit' and 'Wandrers Nachtlied' however disrupt this order. In his dissertation on the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, Stanley Hoffman provides a table with all possible earlier arrangement

options Zemlinsky may have considered.[10] Nonetheless, the broader shape remains, and hence the alternatives need no further discussion. Most importantly, both folders containing manuscripts of Op.27 once more substantiate the argument that Nos.11 and 12 indeed were written in 1938. Among the holograph sketches, neither 'Regenzeit' nor the final version of 'Wandrers Nachtlied' appear. These two songs are only included in the folder containing the completed holograph scores. Thus, it is more than likely that they were not part of the set's initial version.[11] How these additions alter the 'conclusion' of the *Twelve Songs*, and thus influence the reading of the entire set, will be explored in the following.

Broadly speaking, three narrative threads or layers can be made out in Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs*. First, a detached, pictorial representation of the cyclical character of nature and life, disconnected from individual subjects. This layer is articulated in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 11. All seasons, except for winter, appear over the course of the set. The deity that was still distantly present in the *Six Songs*, Op.22, even if only as 'cover', is replaced here by the 'god of love', leaving absolutely no doubt that no Abrahamic religion or variant thereof is meant here. Second, there are expressions of the very opposite of this detachment: graphic renderings of Harlem's street life in Nos. 7, 8 and 9. Here, subjectivity is central to both music and text. Third, a combination of both layers where personal and transcendental elements meet. This 'intermediate' layer can be traced in Nos. 1, 5 and 10, but especially in the last song 'Wandrers Nachtlied'. Of course, the assumption that these twelve songs are connected by narrative threads, rather than representing a collection of unrelated items, inevitably prompts the question whether or not Op.27 could be seen as a cycle of sorts. In his dissertation, Hoffman interrogates the inherently complex tonal setup of the composition, which leads him to conclude that the listener is indeed presented with a song cycle, rather than a collection of songs.[12] Hoffman's strict theoretical approach, which reads harmonic functions through Schenkerian analysis, barely includes a wider

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[10] Stanley E. Hoffman, *Extended tonality and voice leading in 'Twelve Songs', Op.27 by Alexander Zemlinsky*, PhD Thesis (Brandeis University, University Microfilms International, 1993), 3.

[11] The dates of composition are notated in the catalogue of the *Alexander von Zemlinsky Collection* at the Library of Congress, accessible via <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/music/eadxmlmusic/eadpdfmusic/mu2005.wp.0043.pdf>, accessed 31 May 2019, folders 25/2 and 25/3. Dr. Paul Allen Sommerfeld kindly confirmed these dates (email correspondence, 27 February 2019).

[12] Hoffman, *Extended tonality and voice leading*, 3.

contextualisation from either a historical or broader musicological perspective, and is the only larger study available on Zemlinsky's 1937–38 songs to date. A closer investigation of Op.27, particularly with respect to other works of the composer, quickly shows that many of the common analytical categories are only marginally useful when reading these songs against their wider backgrounds. As this chapter will demonstrate, any application of traditional musical means mostly serves purposes that either counter or re-interpret their original function. This includes modal harmonies and chord progressions, but also the larger structural framework as well as texture. Searching for established means in the hope of finding that they deliver expected results is thus misleading. As Hoffman demonstrates, there are elements to Op.27 that may well point to a cyclical structure, such as the many non-conclusive endings which keep driving the narrative towards continuation. Yet, No.12 ('Wandrers Nachtlied'), is anything but a point of arrival and suggests no dramaturgical end to the journey. The rather hesitant D♭ major closure of this Goethe setting in no way rounds off the E minor opening of 'Entführung'. It is a failed conclusion, so to speak, and thus picks up on a theme of the earlier Op.22 songs – failure. Even more, a set of songs that so overtly dissociates itself from the traditional functions of its inherited musical means can hardly claim to be a 'regular' song cycle. Thus, the peculiar arrangement of the *Twelve Songs* as a whole proposes listening strategies better suited to its heterogeneous and non-conclusive nature. Tonal analysis may be applied where it reveals a function, whether traditional or not. Yet, as shall be demonstrated, common musical means are mostly employed as ways of providing colour and atmosphere, hardly ever to satisfy the audience with familiar progressions or resolutions. As such, Zemlinsky's plural style embodies a conflicted sense of tradition, i.e., a redefining of what his music 'does' in late-1930s Austria. One might add to this a truly conflicted relationship with the present, i.e., with the late-1930s political situation that Zemlinsky was subjected to. This very tension between a non-nostalgic look to the past and a broken, (pre-)*Anschluss* presence shimmers through the fabric of the *Twelve Songs*. The result is an inherently heterogeneous set of songs, one that not only mixes poetry from the fourth to the twentieth centuries, but also musical styles: the listener encounters minimal and dense textures, as well as rhythmical clarity and its opposite, i.e., chaos. A kind of 'blues style' appears alongside old traditions including counterpoint and modality. Isolated harmonic

moments are juxtaposed with non-tonal passages, and a declamatory vocal expression with a disengaged form of narration. Consequently, rather than attempting to iron out the irreconcilable disparities in Op.27 by proving it to be a cycle of sorts, the investigative method chosen here aims to highlight these contradictions. One way of approaching Zemlinsky's plural style is by relating its heterogeneous makeup to that of non-musical spaces which formed the composer's cultural and intellectual environment. A powerful example through which this inherent plurality can be explored is the heterotopic space of the Prater in Vienna. It constitutes an important piece of Zemlinsky's web of relationships, as a 'model space' that significantly influenced Vienna's cultural life over centuries.

Heterotopias

Defining Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs* as an inherently plural piece ultimately suggests that there is no linear narrative to be discerned here. Instead, a sense of simultaneity is created through the juxtaposition of contrasting elements. Not only are the individual styles Zemlinsky mixes here part of his inherited tradition, but, conceptually speaking, also the idea of simultaneity itself. One 'physical' place, representing this kind of plurality, can be found in Vienna's second district, Leopoldstadt: the funfair and recreational area known as the Prater. The roughly six million square metres of parkland, and especially the fairgrounds it contains, have always been a miniature version of Vienna's plural cultural scenes.[13] This area, separated from the main city by a channel to the east and from the eastern suburbs by the Danube itself, illustrates just how striking were the shifts within Vienna's cultural spheres. It is worth noting that not only was Vienna's favourite entertainment location situated on the island, but also the Jewish quarter (formerly ghetto) and Zemlinsky's childhood home in Zirkusgasse. The Prater has always been a mirror and at times an exaggeration of the public's sentiments as well as the prevailing political trends. In her analysis of the plural social and cultural spheres that meet in the Prater, Ursula Storch describes the funfair and park as a 'heterotopic place', a term borrowed from Michel Foucault describing alternative

[13] Compare Matti Bunzl, 'Vorwort', in Ursula Storch, ed., *In den Prater: Wiener Vergnügung seit 1766*, (Wien: Residenz Verlag, 2016), 6-7.

spaces to those of everyday reality.[14]

> First there are the utopias. Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces. There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society— which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.[15]

While Foucault's theoretical model may not be suitable to describe all aspects of a complex social 'happening' like the Prater, his idea of 'enacted utopias' is useful to understand a space with slightly different social rules to those on the other or 'real' side of the Donaukanal (the best-known heterotopias are probably carnivals the world over). In the Prater, women were allowed in the *Kaffeehäuser*, and the strolling promenade Hauptallee as well as the Wurstelprater (the fairgrounds) were always free to everyone for their weekend and leisure trips. Both the *Herrschaften* of the bourgeoisie and their workers used the enormous park area for some rest and recreation.[16] It was a meeting point for young and old, rich and poor, labourers and aristocracy; the place provided a sense of carefree exuberance for everyone, even if it was only short-lived for many. In the same vein, the *Türkische Tempel,* the synagogue just around the corner from Zemlinsky's childhood home where his father Adolf was secretary, provided another such heterotopia.[17] In the first half of the nineteenth century, Cantor Salomon Sulzer

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[14] Ibid., 111.
[15] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', trans. Jay Miskowiec in *Diacritics,* Vol. 16/1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, Spring 1986), 24.
[16] In *Therese* (München: DTV, 2012), Arthur Schnitzler describes in detail his protagonist's (a maid) many visits to the Prater. See also Storch, ed., *In den Prater,* 10.
[17] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 8-16.

had initiated significant reforms regarding the temple's musical and consequently cultural life. Traditional oriental tunes were adapted to the modern trends of the age, i.e., Western harmony. A choir and organ were used, as well as texts in the vernacular. Most importantly, however, '[o]riginal compositions commissioned from Jewish or Gentile composers were introduced into the services.'[18] As such, the Sephardic tradition Zemlinsky grew up with was an enacted version of an amalgamation of tradition and invention, i.e., a side by side of 'authentic' and made-up elements.[19] A spiritual *Heimat* was created through both inherited and contrived rituals. This space for simultaneity, the tension between old and new, tradition and invention, constitutes the backbone of Zemlinsky's cultural inheritance. Yet, this plural condition has been mostly ignored in studies of Zemlinsky and his contemporaries, in an attempt to locate him in a linear historical progression of musical styles.[20]

Most importantly, there was room for arbitrariness within the realm of the Prater. The simultaneity of otherwise strictly separated social and cultural conditions provided for a unique microcosm of Vienna, until it became a battlefield for Fascist propaganda. The *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 do exactly the same thing: they juxtapose unrelated musical and textual elements without attempting to create a greater sense of coherence. Invented spaces, like the mystified nature of Kalidasa's poetry, meet with the street-song-like realism of Harlem. Yet, there are ways in which all these components distantly connect to form a complex polyglot narrative. It is as if shards of different materials, colours and temporal dimensions are arranged in such a way that they make for a mosaic which contains all the depth and variety of these combined elements, yet create a whole new image. Because of its liminal nature between everyday life and an alternative one, a heterotopia is a distraction from reality, and as such implies a questioning of usually valid narratives.[21] In 1938, Zemlinsky revisited in his music the idea of a heterotopia, which he had experienced first-hand during his

[18] Idelsohn's summary of Sulzer's reform quoted in Edwin Seroussi, 'Sephardic Fins des Siècles: The Liturgical Music of Vienna's 'Türkisch-Israelitische' Community on the Threshold of Modernity', in Philip V. Bohlman, ed., *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 8.

[19] The introduction of secular music into the liturgical practice of course was not an invention of Vienna's Sephardic community. During Luther's time, popular tunes were made into church music to attract the masses. See Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Der musikalische Dialog* (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1984), 89.

[20] For details refer to the Introduction, pages 15-24.

[21] Storch, ed., *In den Prater*, 38.

formative years. The *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 explore the side-by-side juxtaposition of utopia and reality, at a time when the composer's immediate reality must have appeared to undermine any vision for the future.

Since the *Weltausstellung* (World Exhibition) in 1873, just two years after Zemlinsky was born, during the days of the *fin de siècle*, the Prater had displayed small exotic worlds to its curious visitors. In 1899, a Secessionist Village was put up. The Japanese cherry blossom festival opened its doors in 1901, and, a year after that, even 'Martians' were said to have populated the Prater. The nature of these exhibits, but especially the *Internationale Stadt im Prater* (international town in the Prater) created in 1901, where a random mix of both Eastern and Western clichés existed side by side, of course was also designed to underline the colonialist ambitions of the Habsburg Empire. Yet, the mix was heterogeneous and the result of early ethnographic undertakings.[22] To be sure, the presentations hardly represented differentiated views of foreign worlds. Displays of the 'exotic savage' satisfied the voyeuristic gaze just as much as physical abnormalities and the grotesque. Many of these exhibitions surely were the result of problematic views of foreign cultures as simple and primitive, emphasising the self-image of Austria-Hungary as an 'advanced' union. One such exhibit was the Somali village where visitors could 'witness' the Somali culture 'in action' (Fig.3.4). The event of the *Weltausstellung* thus connected Vienna with the leading European metropoles of the time: Paris and London. Both cities had already hosted major exhibitions in the mid-1800s, including *The Great Exhibition* (1851), the *International Exhibition* (1862) and the *Exhibition Universelle* (1855 and 1867). On the one hand, these so-called 'world exhibitions' demonstrated cultural variety and openness towards things foreign. On the other hand, they of course were a trademark of the colonial age, and sought to assert the supremacy of these (Empire) states.[23]

[22] Ibid., 39-40.
[23] Compare Helmut Lackner, 'Schöne neue Welt – Weltausstellungen: Inszenierungen des technischen Fortschritts', in, *Kultur und Technik* (Munich: Verlag Deutsches Museum, March 2000), 19-21.

Fig. 3.4 'Somali-Dorf' from the exhibition *Venedig in Wien,* 1910. The village included a mosque, a community kitchen, school, bazar, the chief's hut and workshops on Somali crafts. Caption: Storch, ed., *In den Prater*, 87.

Nonetheless, it is important to stress that despite the controversial nature of displays such as the Somali village, and despite political tensions within the Habsburg monarchy, at the time of the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic Empire, a variety of cultures indeed existed side by side. Although the cosmopolitan fabric of Franz Josef's Austria certainly was highly problematic (the tensions between Czech and German speakers in Bohemia are one of many examples for an unresolved imbalance of power), its *Staatsgrundgesetz* of 1867 guaranteed all ethnic groups the freedom to practice their traditions and speak their native languages – circumstances that drastically changed with the *Anschluss*.[24] While inequalities and questionable power distributions were far from absent during the Double Monarchy, the Prater and its exhibitions represented a miniature version of an Empire that, compared with the later *Ständestaat*, looked open-minded and inclusive. Cosmopolitanism here stands in contrast with the homogeneous setting of the 'gamsbart fascism' of Schuschnigg's (and later Hitler's) Austria where all variety is eliminated in favour of a uniform German nationalism and Alpine nostalgia.[25]

[24] On the so-called *Dezemberverfassung*, see '1867 – Abschied vom gesamtstaatlichen Kaiserreich', in *Republik Österreich: Parlament,* <https://www.parlament.gv.at/PERK/HIS/STAGRU/> accessed 27 August 2019.

[25] The term 'Gamsbart-Faschismus' was coined by essayist Karl Markus Gauss (Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt,* 463). See also chapter 2, footnote 67.

Even though the curiously diverse worlds were surely biased and simplistic, they nevertheless provided variety and an idea of foreignness to all citizens. As Storch rightly points out, 'the coming together of people from different national and ethnic backgrounds nonetheless ensured that the Prater could establish itself as a global, cosmopolitan place.'[26]

In this spirit, Zemlinsky had taken up poems like Grasberger's 'Orientalisches Sonett', which arbitrarily combines an Eastern harem with a local *Heimat.* The song serves well to demonstrate how indebted Zemlinsky was to his compositional heritage around 1900. He embraces the musical trends of the time, rather than questioning them. Tensions as they arise forty years later in the Op.27 songs, are absent here. The posthumously published 'Orientalisches Sonnett', written in 1895, carries the listener away to explicitly foreign sounds and lands: the opening line introduces a melody from another world, tinted with augmented seconds.[27] The story begins in the sultan's garden where his white women wander about. The text by Hans Grasberger, apparently significantly altered by Zemlinsky, is a tale of an exotic world as imagined by a nineteenth-century Viennese lyricist, rather than a reworking of translated poems as is the case with Bethge's publication of Ancient Indian texts.[28]

Im Garten wandeln weiße Sultansfrauen; Wohl atmen Plätscherbrunnen Abendkühle, doch Flüsterbüsche hauchen Weihrauchschwüle, und aus dem Lüster warme Augen schauen.	In the garden stroll the sultan's white concubines. Rippling fountains breathe the evening air, but whispering bushes whisper sultry incense, and warm eyes gaze through the lustre.
Wie magst du, Padischah, dem Zwinger trauen? Dort lugt der Mond herab vom Wolkenpfühle und zieht heran die zärtlichsten Gefühle; dem Zephyr weicht der Schleier gar, dem schlauen.	Padishah, how can you trust the ward? There the moon looks down from its cushion of clouds and calls close the most tender feelings; the veil yields to the cunning zephyr.
Es bebt der Myrten reine, weiße Blüte; Es quillt ein tiefes Weh aus Bulbuls Sang. Wie wird euch, schöne Frauen, zu Gemüte?	The pure, white myrtle blossoms quiver, A deep lament wells in Bulbul's songs: What, beautiful women, is your disposition?

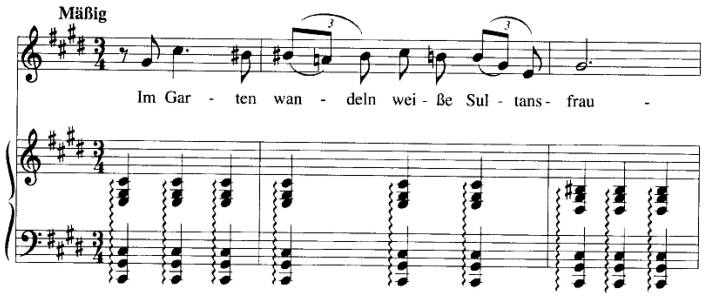
[26] Storch, ed., *In den Prater,* 38. 'Die Zusammenkunft von Menschen unterschiedlicher nationaler und ethnischer Herkunft trug dennoch wesentlich dazu bei, den Prater als globalen, kosmopolitischen Ort zu etablieren.'

[27] For a discussion of 'Orientalisches Sonett' see also Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 166-67.

[28] See Beaumont in Alexander Zemlinsky, *Lieder aus dem Nachlass*, ed. Antony Beaumont (Milan, Berlin London: Ricordi, 1995), 24.

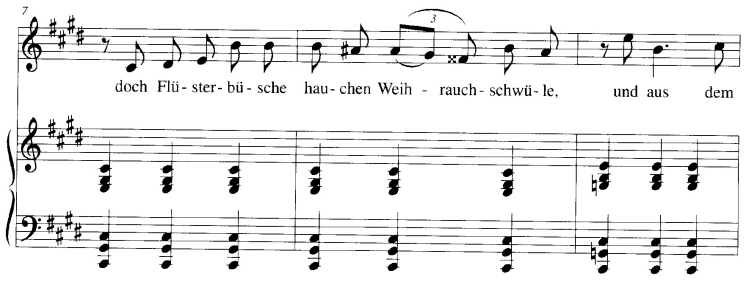
Schwand alle Sehnsucht nach der Heimat hin, wo frei und heilig ist der Liebe Drang? O Griechenmädchen! O Circassierin![29]	Did all longing for your homeland wane, where love's desire is free and holy? O Greek maiden, O Circassian woman!

In the poem's very last line, it is revealed that the sultan's harem is made up of Greek and Caucasian women. It thus at once presents something familiar, i.e., women of a known world, and an odd notion of the exotic as savage, where the sultan keeps Western females in his harem. It is clearly a text influenced by colonial and romanticised versions of foreign lands, rather than an engagement with these arbitrarily chosen geographical areas. In line with Grasberger's poem, Zemlinsky's setting evokes more general ideas of oriental places. The opening melody is accompanied by evenly struck C# minor arpeggios (bars 1-8), resembling a string instrument like the guitar or lute (Example 3.1).



Example 3.1 Zemlinsky, 'Orientalisches Sonett', bars 1-3.

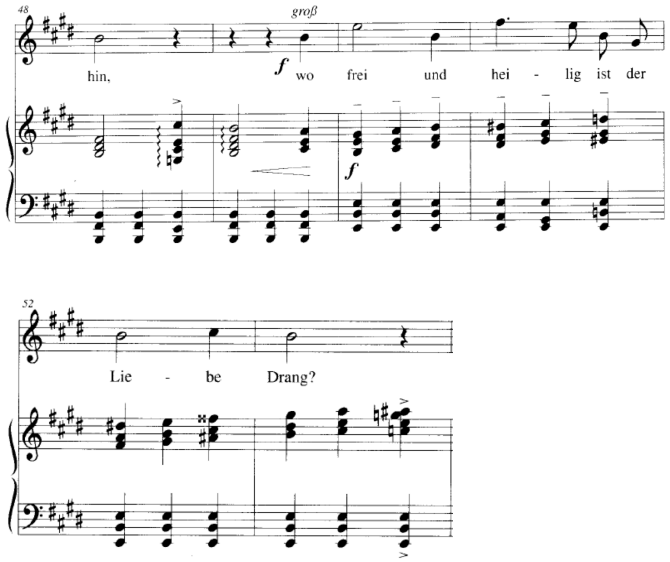
In bar 9, the shift to the half-diminished chord on C# further underlines the unreal nature of the scene (Example 3.2).



Example 3.2 Zemlinsky, 'Orientalisches Sonett', bars 7-9.

[29] Hans Grasberger, 'Orientalisches Sonett' as it appears in Ibid., 85-89. English translation by Eugene Hartzell. Ibid., 178. Translation amended.

This sort of chromatic darkening as well as the use of mediant chords, which Zemlinsky frequently uses in the song, are hardly untypical of the time, and only their combination with the 'oriental' décor of the melody make these gestures sound vaguely Eastern. From the last verse starting 'Schwand alle Sehnsucht nach der Heimat hin', Zemlinsky abandons all exoticisms. Although the vertical texture of the piano accompaniment remains, the melody now follows the exalted style of late-romantic expression in bars 49-53 (Example 3.3). It is reminiscent of the penultimate phrase 'heilig, heilig ans Herz dir sank' from Richard Strauss's popular 1985 *Lied* 'Zueignung'. Marked *groß* (big), the line 'wo frei und heilig ist der Liebe Drang' hails romantic love and longing above all else.



Example 3.3 Zemlinsky, 'Orientalisches Sonett', bars 48-53.

In its musical fabric, 'Orientalisches Sonett' seems to play with selected ideas found in the enacted heterotopias described above. In the late 1800s, the fairgrounds at the Prater were Zemlinsky's first points of contact with things foreign, however naïve. Unlike most of his contemporaries, however, the composer revisited some of these themes forty years later. Instead of mainly resonating with a current cultural and artistic scene, they now seem to question what was taken for granted around 1900. How and to what end the composer reworked the inherited contents and materials to arrive at his inherently heterogeneous style of 1938 will be at the centre of the following

explorations.

In keeping with the idea of a heterotopia, the Prater represented a small, heightened microcosm of the larger conditions to be found in Austria-Hungary. These, in turn, cannot only be traced in Zemlinsky's early song writing or that of his contemporaries, but also in his first two operas *Sarema* (1895) and *Es war einmal* (1899). The exotic backdrop of *Sarema*, where suppressed Caucasian peoples resist Russian supremacy, prompts questions of patriotism and loyalty versus personal interests. Topics like freedom of religion, questions of power and the coexistence of ethnic groups are not only reminiscent of Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail*, but also relevant to the Habsburg Empire Zemlinsky was born into.[30] Although *Es war einmal* is set in Nordic territory, the match between a princess and a prince disguised as a gypsy similarly plays with the idea of combining foreign and familiar elements. As opposed to Op.27, however, things foreign appear as such on the surface: through orientalisms and exotic character descriptions. Given that Zemlinsky lived within walking distance of the Prater in Vienna's Leopoldstadt, it is more than likely that, as a child, he took a curious peek at what went on there every now and then. Zemlinsky may not have had the financial means to obtain tickets for the fairgrounds, but curious onlookers were always present at the railings.[31] Perhaps the young Alexander joined them from time to time to inhale exotic tunes and curious 'live exhibits'. At least once in his early conducting career, in June 1902, Zemlinsky appeared as leader of a 150-men strong *Riesenorchester* (gigantic orchestra) in the scope of *Venedig in Wien* – Venice in Vienna.[32] Thus, the Prater itself, including its continuously changing conditions, are yet another contributing factor to Zemlinsky's web of relationships, as a place that significantly influenced both the composer's early cultural experiences, and as representative of the country's larger developments.

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[30] The parallel between Mozart and Zemlinsky is confined to the subject material. Musically, Zemlinsky's first opera is closely tied to his role model at the time, Richard Wagner. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 40-45.

[31] See Christoph Edtmayr, 'Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna before 1900: Between the Traditional and the Modern', film for the exhibition *The Young Schoenberg* (Vienna: Arnold Schönberg Center, 2008). The film describes how Schoenberg, who could not afford tickets, stood outside the fence at the Prater in order to listen to concerts. Like Zemlinsky, Schoenberg grew up in *Leopoldstadt*.

[32] See 'Vergnügungs-Anzeiger', in *Illustriertes Wiener Tagblatt* (Vienna: 18 June 1902). The exhibition *Venedig in Wien* was a kind of miniature replica of the historical houses and channels of Venice, first set up in 1895. Over the years, it became more 'international'. Concerts, plays and other events did not necessarily have to do with the theme of Venice. Compare Storch, ed., *In den Prater*, 39/40.

During World War I, when Zemlinsky had already left his native city for Prague, the Prater had indeed become a mirror of its times, a place for display but also for both propaganda and resistance.[33] With the fall of the Empire in 1918, Austria was reduced to its German-speaking components. While curiosities have always been and still are one of its trademarks, the cosmopolitan era of the Prater had come to an end, together with the Empire. Although it remained a popular destination for weekend trips, traditional costumes, politically motivated events and nostalgic gatherings started to triumph over Martians and exoticisms. Thus, in keeping with Foucault's heterotopia, despite its surreal nature, the developments of the Prater always reflected the practical politics of its country, which became particularly apparent when these underwent drastic changes. In 1928, for instance, the tenth Deutsches Sängerbundfest (Festival of the German Singers' Society), the purpose of which was to promote male voices, attracted 120,000 people to a new temporary hall in the Prater. Similar politically induced mass-events include the Internationales Sozialistisches Jugendtreffen (International Meeting of the Socialist Youth, 1929), the Arbeiter-Olympiade (Worker Olympiads, 1931) and the Türkenbefreiungsfeiern (Celebrations of the Liberation from the Turks, 1933).[34] Thus, the culture of the formerly multi-ethnic state was in the process of giving up on its diversity in favour of 'great unity'. Consequently, Zemlinsky's experiences with the formerly vibrant fairgrounds, in the late 1930s, were but a distant memory reworked. During the interwar years, but especially since 1931, with the opening of the stadium, the Prater had become a place for politically motivated events. Chancellor Dollfuß even used the location to proclaim his new constitution of the corporate state in front of 50,000 students on 1 May 1934.[35]

[33] Storch, ed., *In den Prater*, 110.
[34] Béla Rásky, 'Choreographie der Massen: Politische Großinszenierungen als neue Bühne für Propaganda und Festkultur' in Wolfgang Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt: Politik, Kunst und Alltag um 1930* (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2010), 88-89.
[35] Ibid.

Narration without a Subject: the Kalidasa Settings

The first narrative layer and subject area that stand out in the *Twelve Songs* are Zemlinsky's renderings of 'exotic' poetry from Ancient India. Although, at a first glance, Amaru's 'Die Verschmähte' should also belong with this category, its version by Bethge and Zemlinsky's rather blunt setting of the domestic scene allow for no such association. Accordingly, illustrations of the seasons with their lush imagery of foreign fauna and earthly blisses are reserved for the Kalidasa songs, No.2 ('Sommer'), No.3 ('Frühling'), No.4 ('Jetzt ist die Zeit'), No.5 ('Der Wind des Herbstes') and No.11 ('Regenzeit'). In order to understand the uniqueness of the inherently detached mode of narration Zemlinsky employs here, it is helpful to first outline the composer's narrative strategies in his 1936 opera *Der König Kandaules.*[36] As Uwe Sommer points out in his illuminating study of Zemlinsky's last opera*,* the 'modification of forms of vocal expression' and their consequences for the accompanying instrument(s) was one of the composer's most refined skills.[37] Various forms or layers of narration alternate to draw both protagonist and audience into a different mode of what is experienced. In the case of *Kandaules,* these modes include the construction of memory, parody in the form of alienation as well as the depiction of the present moment.[38] Here, dramaturgical needs are served so as to advance the protagonists' actions. By contrast, Zemlinsky's Kalidasa settings refuse to deliver any action or drama. The only common thread between *Kandaules* and the Indian settings of Op.27, in fact, is the remoteness of their physical locations: the opera is set in Lydia, i.e., of similarly archaic nature as the topics of India's ancient poetry. Yet, while in *Kandaules* human subjectivity and questions of power and greed dominate the plot, there is no subject to be made out in any of the Kalidasa songs. Rather, they represent descriptions or observations of a land of past times, which, like all mythological topoi, never existed as such. Thus, although one might be tempted to apply the label of 'orientalism' to both Bethge's reworking of Kalidasa and Zemlinsky's settings thereof, the 'unreal' nature of their places paired with the lack of a narrating voice allow for no such conclusion. This becomes particularly

[36] For a detailed account of the genesis of Zemlinsky's ultimate and unfinished opera, see Uwe Sommer, *Alexander Zemlinsky: Der König Kandaules* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1996)*,* 78-84.
[37] Ibid*,* 173. '(…) die Modifizierung der vokalen Ausdrucksform'.
[38] Ibid., 172-73.

obvious in a comparison with the orientalisms of Zemlinsky's 1895 song 'Orientalisches Sonett', where no comparable detachment can be detected. More to the point, however, the Kalidasa settings depict alternative mythical worlds and thus, if anything, exceed the thematic realm of *Kandaules,* rather than resonate in a kind of 'afterglow'.

Particularly during the first two decades of the 1900s, Bethge's work struck a chord in artists who were looking for ways of overcoming a European cultural crisis, hoping to 'recreate the unity between humanity and the world.'[39] Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* is not only the most prominent musical setting of poems from Bethge's *Die Chinesische Flöte* (1907), and a major contributor to the fact that the poet is still known today, but it also influenced Zemlinsky's Tagore settings in the *Lyrische Symphonie* (1923) to a great degree.[40] In both cycles, the theme of *Abschied* – departure – is the central topic. In contrast to poems like Grasberger's, ancient Asian philosophy was not so much a means of exotic colouring, but a way of rethinking Western culture and the arts through a merging of mysticism and a Taoist worldview.[41] The departure from human bonds as well as from the world-as-is dominate much of the fabric of both *Das Lied* and the *Lyrische Symphonie*. Although in Op.27 Zemlinsky once again uses poetry from a slightly earlier tradition of song writing, his choices from *Die Indische Harfe* (1913) here suggest that the *Abschied* is no longer an obstacle – it has already happened.[42] In all the Kalidasa settings, it seems that the human no longer strives towards a unification with nature. However, it is not clear whether this unification has arrived, or if nature stands by itself, excluding the human subject.

While Zemlinsky's choice of the *Kandaules* project, which he certainly intended to bring forward for publication, needed a politically acceptable topic, the texts for

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[39] Peter Revers, 'Das Lied von der Erde', in, Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck, eds., *Mahler Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2010), 344.

[40] Although Mahler's *Lied* is arguably the best known Bethge setting to date, the author's adaptions of Eastern poetry were rather popular among composers, particularly during the first decades of the twentieth century. Arnold Schoenberg's *Four Pieces for Mixed Chorus*, Op.27 (1925) make use of two texts from *Die chinesische Flöte*. They are twelve-tone compositions addressing questions of religion. Wilhelm Grosz wrote songs to Bethge's adaptions in 1919 and 1924. Ernst Krenek and Hanns Eisler engaged with the author's work as well. Ernst Toch wrote the *Kammersymphonie*, Op.29 (1921) based on *Die chinesische Flöte.* A comprehensive list of composers who set Bethge's transcriptions to music can be found in Gilbert Bethge, *Hans Bethge: Leben und Werk; eine Biographie* (Kelkheim: Yinyang-Media-Verlag, 2002), 154-173. Zemlinsky's name is not listed.

[41] Revers, 'Das Lied von der Erde', 344.

[42] Two separate editions of *Die indische Harfe: Nachdichtungen indischer Lyrik* were published. One in 1913, with illustrations by Bernhard Hasler (Berlin: Morawe & Scheffelt), and a second one in 1921, illustrated by Georg A. Mathéy (Berlin: Morawe & Scheffelt).

Op.27 did not have to comply with the same rules. Chapter 2 demonstrated that mythological or Christian subjects were favoured among authors and composers during the Austro-Fascist years, both because they alluded to a grand 'classical' past that suited the government's propaganda strategies, and because they provided ample room for interpretation – for and against the regime at once. It is thus more than likely that Zemlinsky considered the prevailing political circumstances when he came across Gide's drama *Le Roi Candaule.*[43] On the surface at least there were no apparent clashes with the dictatorial system, something Zemlinsky had to keep in mind in view of publication and performance opportunities. From the mid-1930s, the Österreichische Kunststelle 'was increasingly monopolising subscription schemes and thereby gaining enormous influence on theatre repertoires […]'.[44] The Social Democratic Kunststelle had been discontinued in 1934, around the time Zemlinsky completed his *Six Songs*, Op.22 and shortly before he took up work on *König Kandaules*.[45] This, of course, was yet another factor that contributed to the increasingly censored environment in interwar Vienna and, by default, on artistic choices. Rudolf Frank referred to the one remaining National Kunststelle as 'euphemistic term for the Viennese censorship'.[46] The main and most significant difference between Zemlinsky's last opera and the 1937–38 song set is thus the fact that the latter was perhaps one of his very few compositions he knew would not be taken out of the drawer any time soon. This most likely is also true for *Psalm 13*, Op.24 (1935), which, according to current knowledge, was written without commission or an upcoming performance. Aspects of this work will be discussed in the Conclusion. Thus, topics that could not appear in *Kandaules* were certainly manageable in the *Twelve Songs*, such as the Harlem-Renaissance settings.

[43] These rather 'practical' considerations regarding possible motives of Zemlinsky's choice of libretto have not been observed by any of the leading studies on Zemlinsky and his last opera, including those by Antony Beaumont, Uwe Sommer and Horst Weber. Similar to 'Elfenlied', Op.22/4, *Kandaules* remains within the realm of the fairy tale, i.e., the plot has no obvious political agenda.
[44] Edda Fuhrich-Leisler, 'The Theater in der Josefstadt under Ernst Lothar', in Kenneth Segar and John Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics* (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1991), 228.
[45] On the situation of the Social Democratic Kunststelle see John Warren, 'Austrian Theatre and the Corporate State', in Ibid., 270.
[46] Frank qtd. in Fuhrich-Leisler, 'The Theater in der Josefstadt', in *Austria in the Thirties*, 224.

2. Sommer (Kalidasa) [47]	Summer
Der Duft nach Sandel, den die seidenen Fächer Über die Brüste schöner Frauen wehn, Die Perlen auf der braunen Haut, Gesänge, Der Klang der Harfen und das Lied der Vögel – Das alles weckt den Gott der Liebe auf, Und neue Lust und neue Qual beginnt.	The scent of sandalwood, which silky fans Blow across the breasts of beautiful women, Pearls on brown skin, chanting, The sound of harps and the song of the birds – All of this awakens the god of love, And new lust and new agony begin.

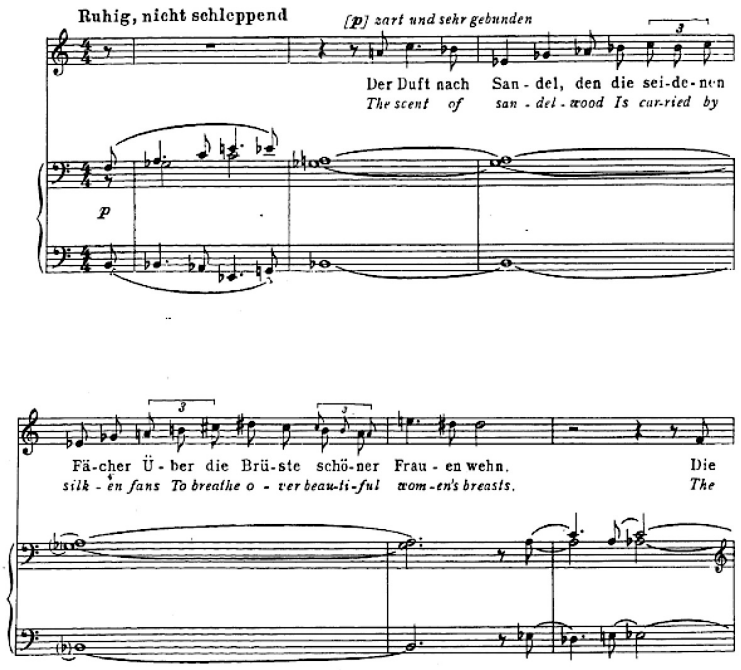
The only indications confirming that the Kalidasa poems are indeed set in distant lands are to be found in the botanical descriptions: sandalwood, betel palm, mango trees and lotus hardly blossom on Central European territory. As opposed to the 'Orientalisches Sonett', for instance, there is no mention of foreign ethnicities whatsoever. Zemlinsky's 1937 revisiting of Eastern poetry renounce any kind of first-person narrator. In Nos.2, 3 and 4, unspecified groups of young maidens appear as 'objects' of desire, but at no point are they spoken to. They remain observed subjects. Seasons and nature are depicted as a state of being, neither time- nor place-bound, and as such detached from any sense of *Heimat* or belonging. Although the composer reaches for distant spheres, he decidedly avoids poetry that paints nostalgic or superficial renderings of exoticisms. This detachment is further intensified by the musical languages employed.

The first half of 'Sommer' represents an uneasy, yet static world. Preceded by a one-bar contrapuntal, dissonant opening, the vocal line first presents a recitative. 'Sommer' begins with such cool asceticism that one is tempted to hear the presence of winter in it. The underlying pedal B♭ is combined with G♭ and F in the right hand, refuting any clear harmonic statement. As a matter of fact, the first half of 'Sommer' is a variant of the *recitativo secco*. Although Zemlinsky employed closed forms such as the recitativo, rondo form and arias in *Kandaules,* this particular compositional device harking back centuries is untypical for his song writing.[48] A short, recitative-like moment appears in the *Lyrische Symphonie,* where the soprano starts her first line of the sixth movement on top of a double-bass pedal on 'Vollende denn das letzte Lied und laß uns auseinander gehn' (Finish the last song and let us depart). As opposed to enhancing the dramatic action, which would be the original purpose of the form and certainly its function in *Kandaules* as well, Zemlinsky employs it here to herald stagnation and

[47] The German texts of Nos. 2-6 and 11 by Hans Bethge are reproduced as they appear in Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27 (Hillsdale, NY: Mobart Music Publications, 1978).

[48] For Zemlinsky's use of closed form in *Kandaules* see Sommer, *Der König Kandaules,* 111-12 and 175-181.

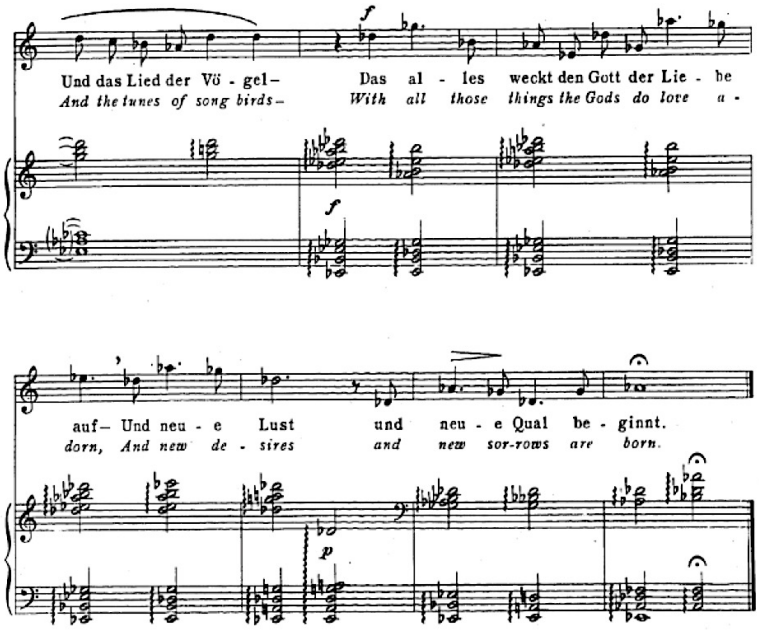
ending. The quasi-inversion of the *recitativo* is much more obvious in 'Sommer' where, in terms of narrative, literally 'nothing' happens. Here, Zemlinsky confronts the listener with two things at once: an archaic, well-known form combined with a lack of harmonic directionality, i.e., a refusal to settle for either foreign or familiar. Yet, this is not so much about a juxtaposition of 'old' and 'new' but about the transformation of an inherited style. It is the defamiliarization of a long-established musical gesture, which suddenly sounds foreign and strange. The variant of the recitativo employed by Zemlinsky here does not enhance or develop meaning, but negates it; it expresses its opposite.



Example 3.4 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.2, bars 1-6.

The state of absolute (harmonic) obscurity becomes slightly more organised with the occurrence of A♭ from bar 6, the home key as it were (Example 3.4). The 'essence' of the song, its second half starting from bar 11, thus springs out from a musical rendering of 'nothing', a kind of grey mist or non-place. Tonal clarity is given for the first time with the sounding of E♭ minor seventh on the first beat of bar 11 – the awakening of the god of love. Although the dominant of the previously introduced 'home key', its preparation is so heavily obscured by dual tonalities and dissonances that its function becomes almost impossible to hear (Example 3.5). Although the sounding triad G – B – D on 'Harfe' in bar 9, technically speaking, complements the underlying A♭ mainor sonority,

the fact that it is struck without a repetition of the bass triad makes it a kind of misleading G major chord. The original point of reference is still there, but it is faint. Harmonic function here thus becomes a kind of empty shell, something that is traceable, particularly through the various stages of E♭ from bar 11, but it lacks clarity.

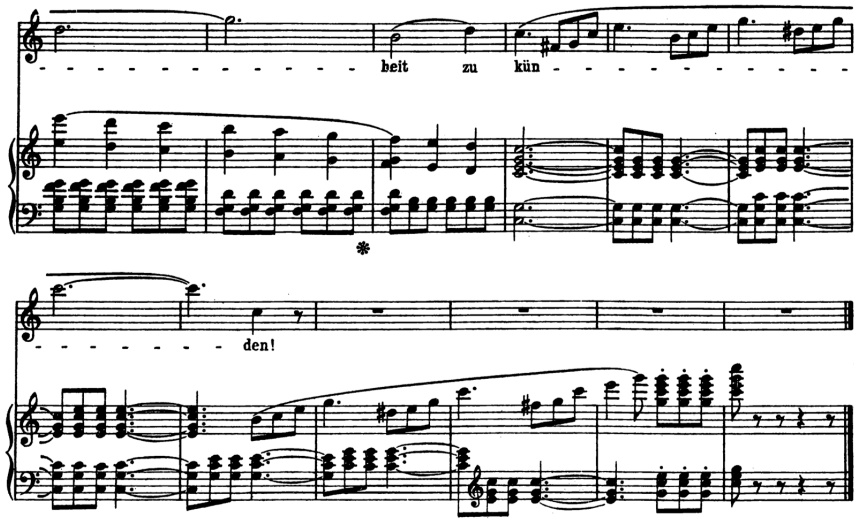


Example 3.5 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.2, bars 10-16.

Combining these two larger sections of the song, i.e., stagnation followed by a kind of pretended progression, makes for a mystical announcement of the world's awakening, which is not attached to a particular region or ethnicity, nor to any myth of ancient times. According to Bethge, 'in [Indian poetry between the fourth and seventh centuries], a purely secular atmosphere prevails, as opposed to the philosophical-sacred air of pre-Christian epics.'[49] This sense of detachment from a concrete object of devotion is further underlined by the apparent lack of human subjectivity. A slight memory of oriental colouring appears in bars 11-13, where Zemlinsky introduces a pentatonic scale (Example 3.5). Yet, the song's harmonic fabric is so complex and undecipherable that the function of such a device hardly stands out as a signifying musical means.

[49] Hans Bethge, 'Geleitwort', in *Die indische Harfe: Nachdichtungen indischer Lyrik* (Berlin: Morawe & Schreffelt, 1921), 112. 'In ihr herrscht eine völlig weltliche Atmosphäre, im Gegensatz zu der philosophisch-geistlichen Luft der vorchristlichen Epen.'

Generally speaking, exotic topoi were anything but fashionable in 1930s Austria and Germany — with the exception of Japan. Hitler's Reich of course propagated heroic Teutonic subjects wherever it could; Austria's cultural politics was similarly invested in *Heimat*-related themes, i.e., propaganda.[50] Two composers endorsed by the German *Reichskanzler* were Richard Strauss and Franz Lehár. Strauss's *Gesänge des Orients*, Op.77 (1929), are five piano songs set to Bethge's *Die Lieder und Gesänge des Hafis* (1910) and *Die Chinesische Flöte* (1907). Although at times experimenting with more chromatic material, on the whole, they resemble his typical, dense late-Romantic style. Perhaps a little more operatic than most of his song writing, Strauss's *Gesänge des Orients* end with a glorious C major cadence (C6 for the tenor or soprano, Example 3.6).



Example 3.6 Richard Strauss, *Gesänge des Orients*, Op.77, 'Huldigung', bars 175-186.

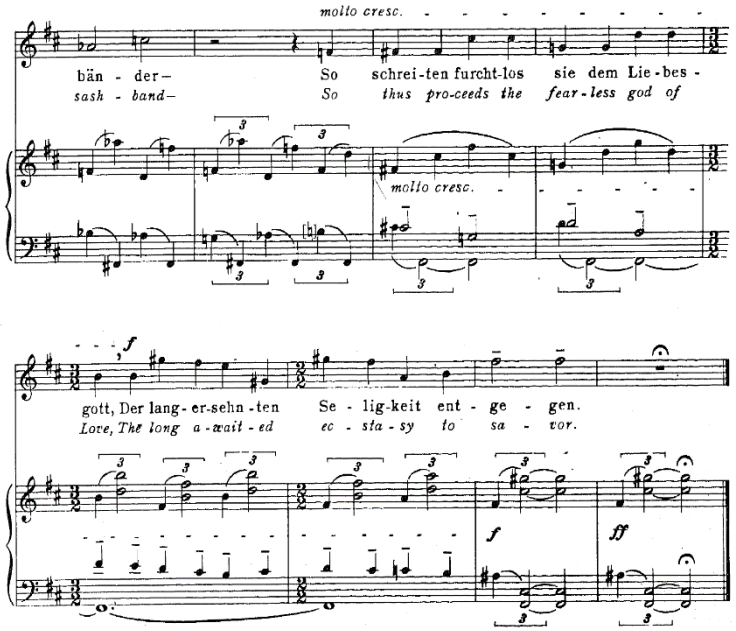
Lehár's *Das Land des Lächelns* (1929), by contrast, uses a decidedly superficial style to represent things foreign, tinted with a good degree of oriental décor.[51] The libretto includes an amended version of Bethge's *Der Verschmähte* (The Despised Man), which became one of the operetta's most popular arias, 'Von Apfelblüten ein Kranz'. [52] The 'cliché orientalisms' could hardly be further from Zemlinsky's Bethge settings in Op.27.

[50] For a detailed account of operas staged in Hitler's Reich, see Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 182-194.
[51] In 1930, the first film version of *Das Land des Lächelns* with Richard Tauber in the leading role mesmerized Germans and Austrians alike. See Peter Eigner, 'Absturzgefahr und Sanierungsversuche: Zur wirtschaftlich ambivalenten Situation um 1920', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 20.
[52] See updated list of composers from Gilbert Bethge, *Hans Bethge.* Online at the publisher's website <http://www.yinyang-verlag.de/Bethgekomponisten.htm> accessed 2 September 2019.

Despite the absence of a happy ending of *Das Land des Lächelns*, the count's daughter Lisa finally returns to her 'decent' home in Vienna and leaves behind the foreign world of China. Here, the binary between foreign and familiar is clearly established and kept alive throughout.

3. Frühling (Kalidasa)	Spring
Nun liegen Kränze um die schönen Brüste Der Mädchen, Feucht von der Essenz der Sandel,	Now the beautiful breasts of the maidens are draped with garlands, moist with the essence of Sandalwood,
Und Betel hauchen ihre Lippen. Um ihre Hüften funkeln Gürtelbänder – So schreiten furchtlos sie dem Liebesgott,	And their lips whisper betel. Girdle-ribbons sparkle around their hips – So they stride without fear towards the god of love,
Der lang ersehnten Seligkeit entgegen.	Towards the long sought-after blissfulness.

No.3 ('Frühling') really is a continuation of the preceding song 'Sommer'. The fact that Zemlinsky chose to swap the natural order of seasons by following summer with spring once more demonstrates that Op.27 is not about continuity. As in No.2, beautiful women are preparing to confront the god of love, and the word-colouring of Bethge's interpretation of Kalidasa is equally flowery and sultry. Not so Zemlinsky's music. The compositional elements employed draw from the same basic means as No.2, yet used in a different expressional style. As before, the accompaniment is sparse and largely dissonant. Again, there is a pedal point to be made out – the F# remains unchanged until the end of the piece. Throughout, the accompanying triplets are kept in rhythmic dissonance with the mostly evenly-paced vocal line. The singer only rarely imitates the triplet-pattern of the piano part. Particularly from bar 14 onwards, where the declamatory melody proclaims that the maidens now stride towards the god of love and the sought-after blissfulness, the accompaniment refuses the noble motion of evenly paced steps. The triplets of the right hand qualify the perfection of such bliss, and make the attempt of achieving it sound rushed and therefore slightly premature (Example 3.7).

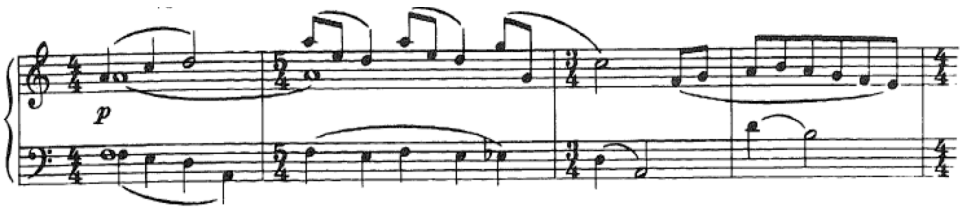


Example 3.7 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.3, bars 12-19.

4. Jetzt ist die Zeit (Kalidasa)	Now is the time
Jetzt ist die Zeit,	Now is the time,
Die um die grünen Ränder der Teiche	When, around the ponds' green edges,
Bunte Blumen sprießen läßt,	Colourful flowers blossom,
Die blassen jungen Mädchen,	The pale young maidens,
Schön wie Monde, gehn unter Blüten	Beautiful like moons, walk underneath flowers
In den Mangohainen.	In the mango groves.

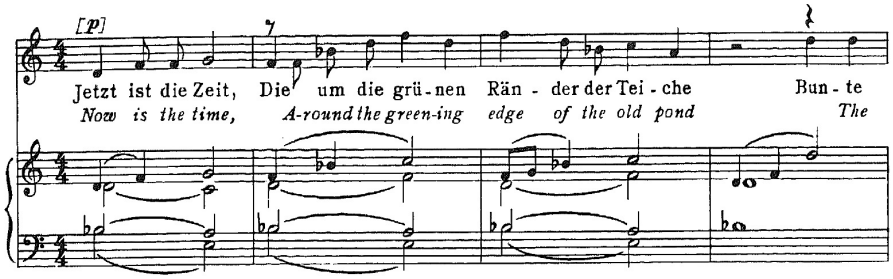
No.4 ('Jetzt ist die Zeit') is also labelled 'Frühling' in Bethge's *Die indische Harfe.* Apart from a chromatic descent from E to E♭ in bar 2 of the piano introduction, the white-note tonality of the opening four bars denotes a clearly sounding D Dorian mode. Its connection with the previous two songs, but especially with No.2 may best be explained with Becher's description of Zemlinsky's technique of variants: 'The variant thus moves within the two opposing poles of identity and non-identity, which may be circumscribed with the term *similarity*.'[53] Just like the contrapuntal opening and *recitativo secco* of 'Sommer', 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' transforms a traditional means of composing, modality in this case, into a new expressive style (Example 3.8). As such, although of inherently different character, the two pieces share connecting elements, however distantly so.

[53] Christoph Becher, *Die Variantentechnik am Beispiel Alexander Zemlinskys* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), 15. 'Die Variante bewegt sich damit in einem Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Identität und Nichtidentität, das mit dem Begriff *Ähnlichkeit* umschrieben werden mag.'



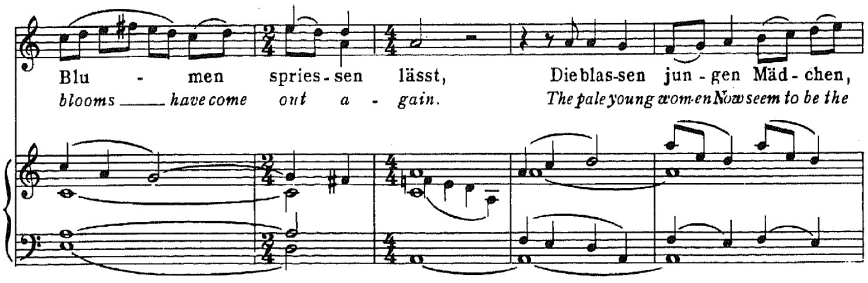
Example 3.8 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.4, bars 1-4.

From bar 5, the harmony moves to B♭ major, whereby the vocal line entry remains strictly within the key's pentatonic scale until the last note A of its first phrase in bar 7 (Example 3.9).



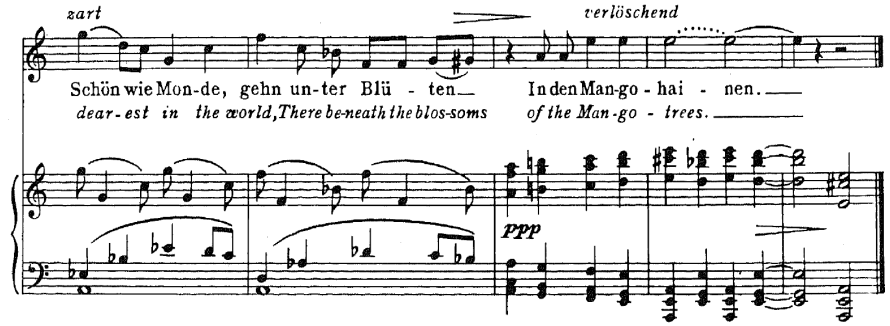
Example 3.9 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.4, bars 5-8.

Combined with the earlier memory of traditional modality, Zemlinsky's use of what might otherwise be seen as a somewhat banal means of composing out 'the exotic', makes the first phrase of 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' sound both familiar and strange at the same time. A truly conflicted sense of both past and present comes to the fore, where traditional elements fail to sound familiar and supposedly foreign tropes are not as distant as they might otherwise seem. This effect is repeated in bars 9 and 10, where the sudden, rather remote introduction of C major is combined with a whole-note line in the melody, achieved through the augmented fourth scale degree F# (Example 3.10). As opposed to the accompaniment, the melody stays with the larger area of D harmonies, which eventually brings forth the dominant A minor from bar 11.



Example 3.10 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.4,, bars 9-13.

The newly introduced pedal point remains until the end of bar 15, after which it is vertically harmonised (Example 3.11). In bars 12 and 13, the former introduction (bars 1 and 2) now becomes an accompaniment to the young, pale maidens. The return of spring and its flowers, i.e., the women, is thus ever-recurring in a mode that has been known for centuries, D Dorian. In the final two bars the contrapuntal texture is replaced with evenly paced chords for the first time, marking the start of a rather traditional cadential closing in A major, given the overall chromatic haze of the set thus far.



Example 3.11 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.4, bars 14-18.

The texture of the accompaniment in 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' is an inversion of that in 'Sommer' (No.2). While the second song started out with a short contrapuntal introduction to then move on to a vertically determined structure, No.4 does the opposite. Thus, although these three adjacent pieces are so different in their sound worlds, they belong with each other because they share some of the same musical key ideas, yet combined in entirely different ways. The lack of personal narration as well as the omnipresent juxtaposition of foreignness and familiarity, which effectively neutralise each other, create a sense of timelessness: these three songs tell stories neither of the past, nor of the future. Any sense of directionality, as for example the

gradual disengagement of two subjects in the progress of *Lyrische Symphonie,* is refuted by the fact that there is no acting protagonist; not even a narrating one. The 'hanging closure' of 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' in A major, i.e., the dominant of D Dorian, further substantiates this claim.

What immediately springs to mind when listening to these three songs in succession is their extreme shortness, with durations between fifty seconds and just over a minute. 'Sommer' comprises sixteen bars, 'Frühling' nineteen and 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' eighteen. Since they all use the same narrative strategy, i.e., a detachment from subjectivity, they might be interpreted as one movement within the set.[54]

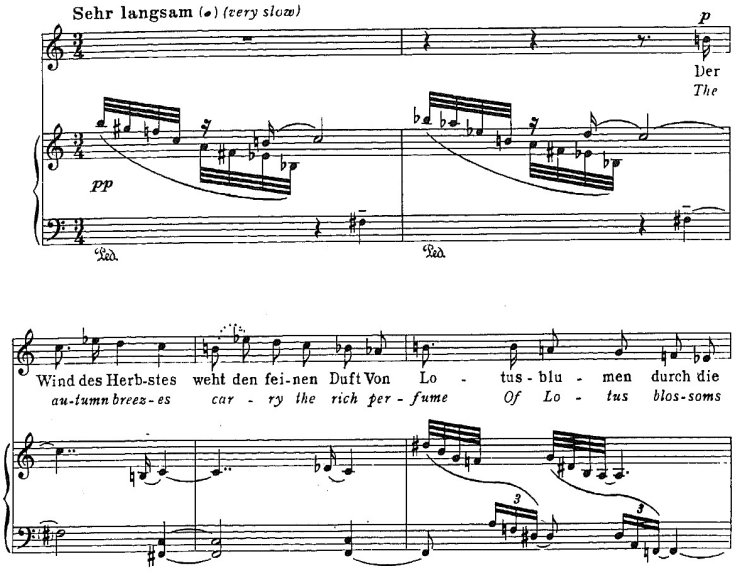
Autumn Imageries: No Laments

6. Der Wind des Herbstes (Kalidasa)	Autumn Winds
Der Wind des Herbstes weht den feinen Duft	Autumn winds blow the sweet scent
Von Lotosblumen durch die Nacht herbei.	Of lotus through the night hither.
Das Meer liegt hell und heiter wie Kristall,	The ocean lies light and serene like crystal,
Ganz wolkenlos spannt sich der Himmel aus	The sky expands entirely without clouds
Und zeigt bei Nacht die leuchtenden Gestirne	And at night shows the shining stars
Und Mondlicht fließt hernieder kühl und klar.	And moonlight flows down cool and clear.

Following the silent dialogue between two distanced lovers in 'Die Verschmähte', to be discussed later in this chapter, 'Der Wind des Herbstes' (No.6) continues the seasonal renderings of Kalidasa's summer and spring imageries with autumn winds. This song is mainly built on word paintings, expressed through both the voice's declamatory style and the texture of the accompaniment. Although some kind of F# tonality is suggested through a pedal in the bassline from bars 1 to 5, obscure chromaticism dominates (Example 3.12). The autumn winds are represented by rippling demisemiquavers, at times interspersed with semiquaver triplets, always in downward motion. This adds a sense of falling to the wind that rushes through the piece. Considering that 'Der Wind des Herbstes' also marks the transition between the archaic cyclical world on the one hand, and the graphic scenes of Harlem street life on the other, the idea of generating space for a shift of narrative strategy through a sweeping motion seems fitting. Its

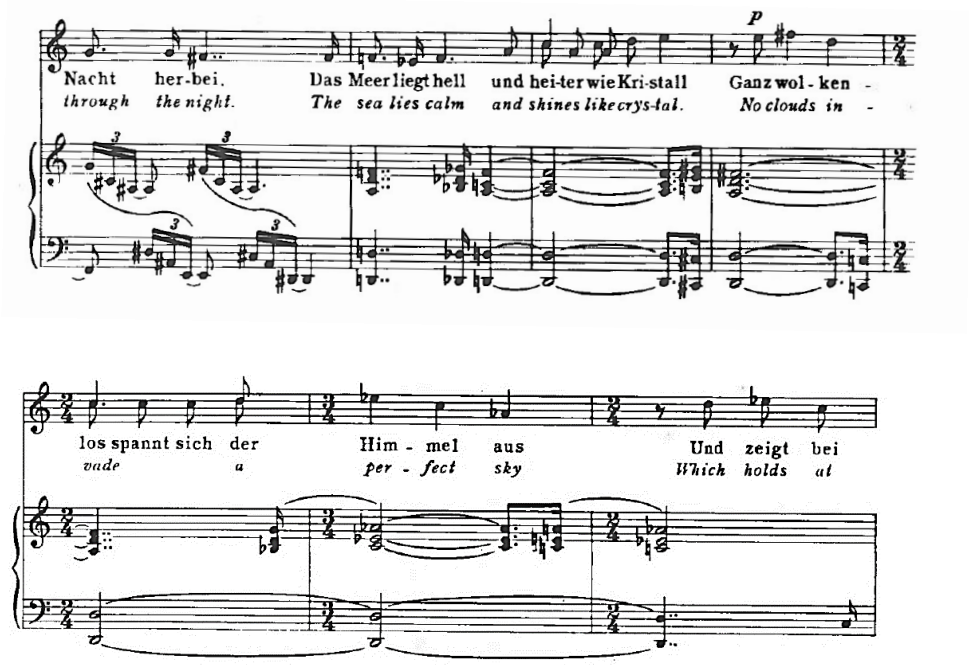
[54] Another way of looking at the brevity of these songs is through the lens of Altenberg's 'extracts of life', as short, disconnected stories which do not necessarily belong with each other. In both instances, Nos.2-4 of the *Twelve Songs* establish a sense of simultaneity and thus refuse the development of a linear narrative.

character comes close to an interlude between movements, preparing the listener for new thematic material.



Example 3.12 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.6, bars 1-4.

Contrasting with the quickly moving arpeggios is the depiction of a cloudless and clear ocean in bars 7-12 (Example 3.13). Here, D minor and harmonic clarity are established for the first time. As discussed in the previous chapters, D minor is of central importance to Zemlinsky's entire oeuvre. In the present piece, it heralds the end of the world without subjects, towards darker realities in the following. Further, the general key area loosely connects to 'Jetzt ist die Zeit' where D Dorian was the prevailing harmonic background. 'Der Wind des Herbstes' depicts the opposing ideas of closure and openness at once: the blowing motion clearly points towards the ground, just as the falling leaves have no way of defying gravity. At the opposite end lie the clarity and openness of the blue skies and crystal waters.



Example 3.13 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.6, bars 6-12.

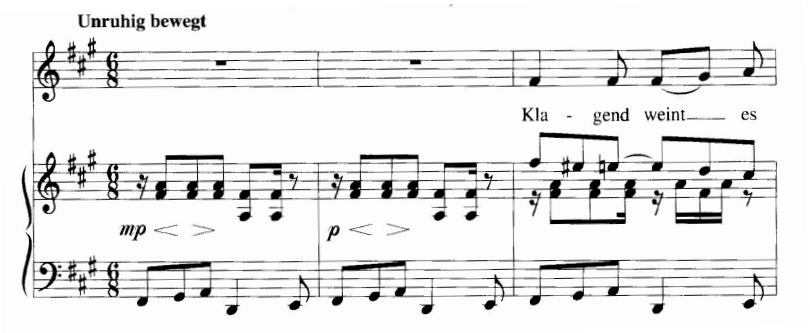
The wide, all-encompassing atmosphere of 'Der Wind des Herbstes' is strikingly different from the autumn scene in 'Herbsten', which Zemlinsky set to music forty years earlier. It appears in the same posthumously published collection as 'Orientalisches Sonett'. A comparison of the two demonstrates how far removed Zemlinsky is in Op.27 from his late-Romantic style of 1896, despite his frequent reworking of traditional means.

Klagend weint es in den Zweigen, Grelle Blätter, windgewiegt, Jäh von tollem Sturm besiegt, Tanzen müd im Todesreigen.	The branches are weeping their lament, Glaring leaves, cradled by the wind, Suddenly defeated by a wild storm, Dancing wearily death's roundel.
Und die Wünsche, die aus herben Wurzeln an das Licht geblüht, Sinken klagend, sinken müd In das große, große Sterben.[55]	And the wishes, which from bitter Roots came to blossom in the light, They sink lamenting, sink wearily, Into the great, great dying.

The first thing that stands out when comparing the poems by Wertheimer and Kalidasa is the utterly different use of autumn imagery. While Kalidasa's text denies any kind of humanisation of nature, foregrounding its elements and state of being, Wertheimer

[55] Paul Wertheimer, 'Herbsten' as it appears in Beaumont, ed., *Lieder aus dem Nachlass*, 85-89.

sketches out a lamenting scene, whereby autumn is a symbol of decay and the season as such is only vaguely relevant. Zemlinsky's rendering of 'Herbsten' in F# minor reinforces the poem's elegiac quality. A recurring lamenting figure, a feature so often used by the composer as already discussed in chapters 1 and 2, is introduced in the left hand of the piano line from the outset. The descending motion, which circumscribes a perfect fourth, is not carried out through a stepwise movement, but by three ascending quavers instead, F#, G# and A, followed by a falling fifth landing on the crotchet D# and finally ascending to E (Example 3.14). Here, the obviously futile attempts towards an ascending moment, repeated fifteen times before inevitably landing on the lower note, make this lament sound particularly dreary. It is the equivalent of an unescapable destiny. Zemlinsky's 'Herbsten' thus reflects the inherently dark and ephemeral nature of life, which is lamented and personified by autumn.



Example 3.14 Zemlinsky, 'Herbsten', bars 1-3.

A similar scene, one step removed as it were, was depicted in the 1933 Eigner setting 'Und einmal gehst du'. Eigner's protagonist knew of his destiny as he strode through the tired lands. Now, in 'Der Wind des Herbstes', human subjectivity is entirely detached from the circle of life. If it appears at all, it is a curious spectator, observing the seasons rather than getting lost in them. Indeed, the lack of lamenting figures that determined so much of Zemlinsky's earlier song writing now, within the detached narrative layer of Op.27, resembles a kind of demonstrative silence. Even his previous two song sets, the *Symphonische Gesänge* and the *Six Songs*, Op.22, used laments to establish a sense of narration. It is as if Zemlinsky composed out his tacit agreement with the satirist Karl Kraus, who famously proclaimed his silence in the fourth edition of *Die Fackel* in 1933:

> Let no one ask what I've been doing since I spoke.
> I have nothing to say
> and won't say why.
> And there's stillness since the earth broke.
> No word was right;
> a man speaks only from his sleep at night.
> And dreams of a sun that joked.
> It passes; and later
> it didn't matter.
> The Word went under when that world awoke.[56]

Remembering the discussions of Zemlinsky's heritage of folk and art song from the previous chapters, where it was established that the driving force behind the genre was a positioning of the subject within his or her wider environment, the opposite is the case here. There is no group or individual that stands for a *Volk* and its relation to the world, no journey or developing narrative as in *Winterreise* or Zemlinsky's own orchestral songs *Lyrische Symphonie;* in fact, there is no narration at all and, as such, no *Heim-weg.* In his uniquely subtle way, Zemlinsky seconds Adorno and Benjamin when they proclaimed the 'end of the narrative'.[57] Although Zemlinsky returns to this non-human, nature-bound meta-level of narration at a later point with No.11 'Regenzeit', the three Harlem songs that make for the earth-bound, messy reality of Op.27 will be investigated first. Not only was 'Regenzeit' composed a year later, in 1938, but its position towards the end means that, while related to Nos.2-4 and 6, it assumes a different function within the set.

'The Human Condition'

What might have prompted Zemlinsky to revisit the poetry of the Harlem Renaissance in 1937, eight years after his initial engagement with Anna Nußbaum's collection in Weimar Berlin? Already critical in the 1920s, topics of African-American jazz were by now dangerous territory. The vibrancy of the Berlin jazz clubs, as Zemlinsky had

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[56] Translation by Jonathan Franzen in *The Kraus Project* (New York, NY: Picardor, 2013), 311. Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel,* 888/4, (Vienna: 1933). 'Man frage nicht, was alle Zeit ich machte./ Ich bleibe stumm;/ und sage nicht, warum./ Und Stille gibt es, da die Erde krachte./ Kein Wort, das traf;/ man spricht nur aus dem Schlaf./ Und träumt von einer Sonne, welche lachte./ Es geht vorbei;/ nachher war's einerlei./ Das Wort entschlief, als jene Welt erwachte.'

[57] Compare Karen Joisten, *Philosophie der Heimat – Heimat der Philosophie* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), 325.

witnessed them in the late 1920s, was part of a problematic, yet productive past. It must have been absolutely obvious to Zemlinsky that there was no chance to even consider Op.27 for publication at this time. Consequently, any presumption that he might have wanted to be in line with the trends of a younger generation of composers, elements of which some might detect in the 1929 *Symphonische Gesänge*, are certainly not tenable here. With this in mind, one may conclude that the choices Zemlinsky made with respect to his last song collection were freer than anything he could have done in view of an imminent publication. These circumstances of course do not answer *why* the composer might have set Harlem-Renaissance poems at such a precarious time in his life. However, they prompt a closer examination of what these songs *do* and how they relate to the unresolvable tension of Zemlinsky's last year in Vienna.

7. Misery (Langston Hughes)	Elend
Play the blues for me. Play the blues for me. No other music 'Ll ease my misery.	Spielt die Blues für mich, Spielt die Blues für mich, Spielt sie leis und laßt Leise weinen mich.
Sing a soothin' song. Said a soothin' song, 'Cause the man I love's done Done me wrong.	Spielt Vergessenheit, O, Vergessenheit, Denn der Liebste tut, Tut mir Leid.
Can't you understand, O, understand A good woman's cryin' For a no-good man?	Das verstehst du nicht, Nein, verstehst du nicht, Daß ich liebe den, Der mein Glück zerbricht.
Black gal like me, Black gal like me 'S got to hear a blues, For her misery.[58]	Schwarz und arm bin ich, Schwarz und traurig ich, Spielt die Blues und laßt Leise weinen mich.

Without any warning, the floral scenes of Kalidasa's world are exchanged for Harlem's street life: a betrayed lover bemoans her destiny in 'Elend', an ecstatically dancing yet lonely prostitute is depicted in 'Harlem Tänzerin' and yet another, almost violent dance scene appears in 'Afrikanischer Tanz', which Zemlinsky had already set in Op.20. If considered as a 'set within a set', it is eminently plausible to view these three songs as

[58] Hughes, 'Misery', in Arnold Rampersad and David Roessl, eds., *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 77. Translation in Anna Nußbaum, ed., *Afrika Singt: Eine Auslese neuer Afro-Amerikanischer Lyrik* (Vienna: F.G. Speidel'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929), 152.

describing the situation of one single subject from different angles. The betrayed woman is the same who dances in the night clubs. Her subjectivity fades as the songs proceed, until she disappears entirely in the noisiness of 'the low beating of the tom-toms' of 'Afrikanischer Tanz'.

At this point, it useful once more to call attention to Beaumont's observation regarding the nature of jazz in 'Elend' (No.7): 'Yet, Zemlinsky's music knows little of such [African-American] milieux, indeed the melodic shape of his *Elend* theme has more in common with the first subject of his Clarinet Trio, composed nearly forty years earlier, than with any jazz composition of the 1920s or 1930s.'[59] Chapter 1 already revealed that the contrary was the case: Zemlinsky knew of jazz, even if not from first-hand experience in Harlem, New York. Berlin was full of night clubs, some of which were populated by (African-) American jazz musicians. And although Vienna's cultural scenes during the pre-*Anschluss* years were monopolised by the Austro-Fascist government, there indeed was one remaining niche for cabaret and minor venues: 'Thanks to a loophole in the law whereby theaters with fewer than fifty seats were not subject to censorship, beginning in 1934 there was a flourishing of cabaret activity […]'.[60] As late as 1937, the Viennese competition for jazz musicians was much debated in the local newspapers because of the public's discontent regarding the winner of the award.[61] Thus, in spite or because of increasing censorship in a fascist state, there was cultural variety, even if it was not always visible on the surface. Much more to the point, however, one might want to ask *what* the circumstances or 'milieux' were that prompted Zemlinsky to create his version of a blues. What musical result could be achieved through jazz that other styles could not produce? And lastly, particularly considering the idea of simultaneity in Zemlinsky's late style, why would a quotation from an earlier chamber piece negate a jazz function?

Of course, 'Elend' is far from trying to imitate standard blues. To begin with, the

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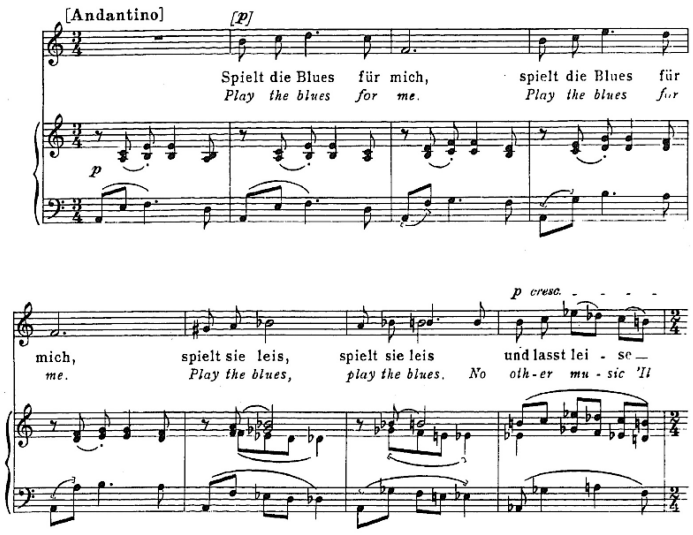
[59] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 446.

[60] John Warren, '*weiße Strümpfe oder neue Kutten*: Cultural Decline in Vienna in the 1930s', in Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman, eds., *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), 48. On the *Kleinkunst* (Cabaret) scene from 1930 until the *Anschluss* also compare Christian Klösch, 'Unterhaltung im Übermaß', in Kos, ed., *Kampf um die Stadt*, 203-204.

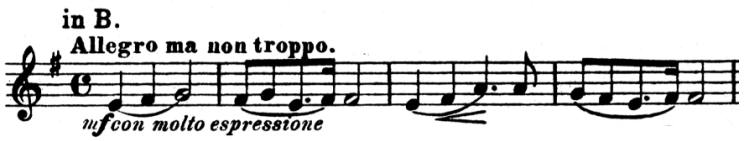
[61] See Christian Glanz on Charly Kaufmann in '*Jazz* in Österreich 1918–1938: Personalstudie Charly Kaufmann', in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Vienna: IWK, 1988/2), 47. As Glanz notes, jazz in Vienna at the time, similar to what has been established with regard to Berlin jazz, has to be seen as a diverse musical field, incorporating all kinds of entertainment genres into European versions of American jazz.

song makes use of a traditional ternary song form, ABA, rather than AAB, which would be typical for the blues. There is also no 12-bar phrasing system to be made out, with the often-employed harmonic progression from the tonic through subdominant and/or supertonic functions towards the dominant. Further, Zemlinsky sets Hughes's text in 3/4 rather than in simple time. Nonetheless, there is a presence of blues in 'Elend'. Accented dissonances and syncopation are dominant features in the song, allowing the mostly evenly-paced melody to hover on top of it, creating its own genre-specific rubato. This type of rhythmic flexibility was particularly obvious in the performances of Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald but, of course, it was a result of their improvisational music-making rather than one of notation. Similar to jazz-blues, both the accompaniment and vocal line in 'Elend' function as rhythmically somewhat independent entities, swapping 'leading' and 'following' roles as the song progresses. Compared to anything heard up until this point in the set, No.7 indeed is a simple song. Simplicity may be associated with any music of folk-like character and, as a genre generated by the oppressed 'folk' of North America, the blues is of course a kind of folk music too. Certainly, Zemlinsky's song has little of the common qualities needed so it could be sung by amateurs, i.e., the *Volk.* Both the vocal range of a ninth and, particularly, the complex B section (bars 17-22, Example 19) would make such an undertaking impossible. Yet, the aim here is not to detect traditional blues from the Southern States, but to explore to what end Zemlinsky employs blues elements. Despite the use of chromatic colourings, the keys of A minor, in which the song opens, and D minor with the added sixth, its point of arrival, are clearly established. Unlike the previous songs, where common harmonic situations were mostly applied to express fleeting moments of clarity within an otherwise obscure tonal space, 'Elend' makes use of home keys, so to speak. If the Kalidasa songs created an alternative reality or 'heterotopia' via an alternative approach to traditional harmony, No.7 leaves this realm. Not only is it the first piece of the set to introduce a theme of existential human subjectivity, something that also lies at the heart of the blues, but it also comes closer to establishing familiarity than any of the preceding songs. This is further aided by the framing key areas, i.e., A minor as dominant of the D minor closure. Taking up Beaumont's suggestion of comparing the song with the opening theme of Zemlinsky's Trio Op.3 (1886) in D minor, one may indeed hear a faint memory of it in the first five

bars of 'Elend'. Both four-bar phrases consist of a two-bar motive followed by a two-bar sequence of the same (Examples 3.15 and 3.16). The overall shapes, made up of ascent and subsequent descent, resemble each other and the distinction in the sequential part is particularly audible in the alteration of the third note (in the case of 'Elend' the only alteration). It is an augmentation of the initial statement, driving each piece forward with a heightened sense of urgency.



Example 3.15 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.7, bars 1-8.

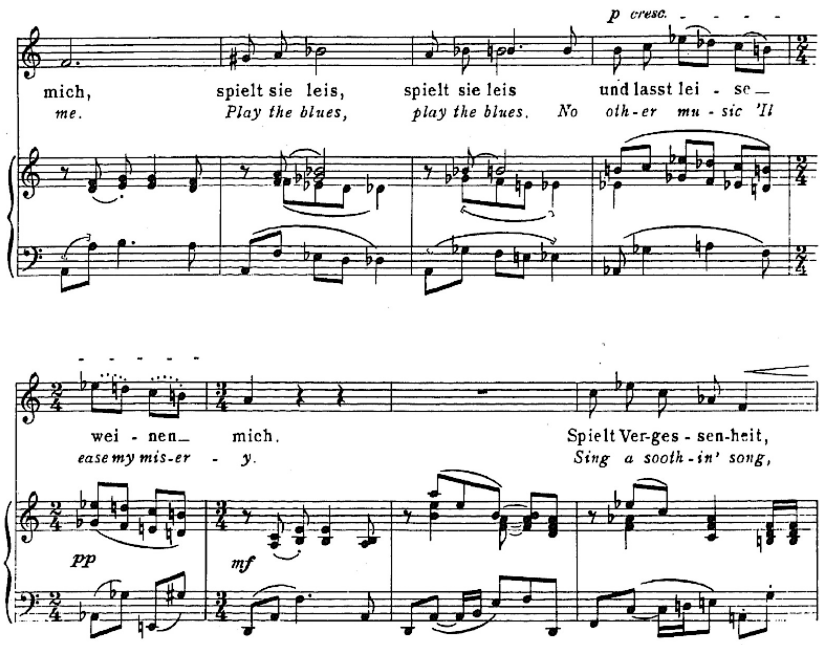


Example 3.16 Zemlinsky, *Trio for Piano, Clarinet and Violoncello*, Op.3, bars 1-4.

Nonetheless, one might want to recall Uwe Sommer's warning that 'it is generally problematic to relate insight gained through the analysis of an instrumental piece to an opera.'[62] This of course is equally or, rather, particularly true for song writing. While the reciprocal relationship between the sung contents on the one hand and the accompaniment on the other hand never ceases to exist in a vocal piece, the dramaturgical rules of an instrumental piece are entirely different ones. There is no

[62] Sommer, *Der König Kandaules,* 214. 'Es ist grundsätzlich problematisch, eine aus der Analyse von Instrumentalmusik gewonnene Erkenntnis auf eine Oper zu beziehen.'

need for a concrete plot or statement to be developed, and even if there is one, only in few cases of programme music can it be made out with some sense of certainty. Yet, looking a little further into bars 8 and 9 of 'Elend', one surely hears blues rather than reminiscences of a forty-year old chamber piece. Although the underlying harmony has shifted to A♭ in bar 8, the subdominant of the minor dominant of A minor, i.e., E♭ minor, the overall harmonic situation remains with A minor until bar 10 (Example 3.17). As such, the accented E♭ in the vocal line, starting the quasi-chromatic descent on 'leise' (bar 8) and 'weinen' (bar 9), constitutes the lowered fifth scale degree of A minor, which is commonly used as blue note in jazz.



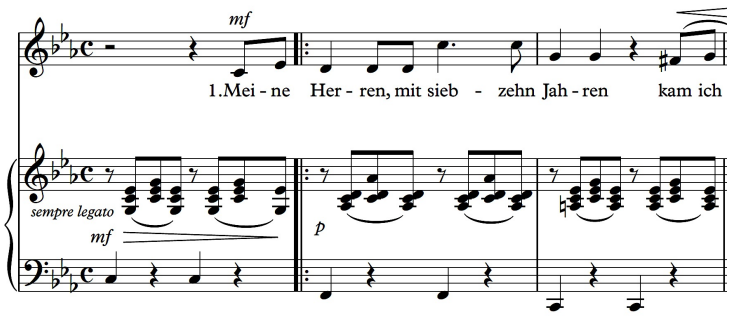
Example 3.17 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.7, bars 5-12.

Of course, the frequently occurring seventh or sixth chords are yet another means that makes 'Elend' sound jazzy. This is particularly true for the piece's ending in D minor with the added sixth, which withdraws a sense of ultimate closure from the final cadence, a device often used in jazz, although more often with the minor rather than major sixth (Appendix 3).

Compared with Zemlinsky's 'symphonic jazz' of the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, 'Elend' really *is* the blues. In his earlier, orchestrated settings of Harlem-Renaissance texts, there is no moment that expresses a similar matter-of-fact situation, which only a 'simple' song can do. 'Elend' appears simple because of the complex and

obscure musical means of the songs it is preceded by, as well as their detached modes of narration. In Op.20, jazz was determined by its poetic content and its allusion to symphonic jazz, rather than by melodic, harmonic or rhythmic functions. Still, the larger thematic material of 'Elend' ties in with Zemlinsky's earlier 'jazz' compositions. The lamenting figure of the bassoon in Op.20, No.3 'Totes braunes Mädel' (Example 1.4 of chapter 1) may well be heard as a memory in the protagonist's lament in 'Elend'. In fact, if Zemlinsky avoided the archaic musical form of the lament in the Kalidasa settings of the Twelve Songs at all cost, it now breaks through in almost every layer of his blues version. Not only the many descending lines in the vocal part, both chromatic and diatonic, but also the piano's two lower voices often join in with lamenting figures,[63] most obviously so in the song's B section, from bar 17 to 21 (Appendix 3). Zemlinsky clearly makes use of a lamenting bass-line here, a means he so often employed elsewhere. Here, the descent circumscribes a tritone, from B♮ to F♮. As such, it is an augmentation of its traditional form, adding further tension to the gesture.

Yet another component that makes 'Elend' a piece of 'Central-European jazz' is its sound world, reminiscent of the street songs of Kurt Weill and others. In fact, it is the only piece of Zemlinsky's that in both content and style comes close to the song compositions of Kurt Weill. There are obvious parallels between the opening phrases of 'Elend' and Weill's 'Nanna's Lied' (1939), even though the two composers cannot have known of each other's pieces.[64]



Example 3.18 Kurt Weill, 'Nanna's Lied', bars 1-3.

[63] This of course also goes for the right hand of the piano, but seeing that it mostly imitates the vocal line, there is no independent movement to be found here.

[64] 'Nanna's Lied' was posthumously published. At the time of writing the song, Weill had long settled in the United States.

Both melodies circumscribe a sighing motion, i.e., an ascent followed by a deflating descent whereby the highest note (D in 'Elend' and C in 'Nanna') is held or, rather, clung to (Examples 3.15 and 3.18). Both composers thus create a kind of 'contemporary lament', whereby each protagonist is consumed by her immediate situation, rather than future-directed hopes for a better place or reminiscing narratives. Hence, 'Elend' is as authentic as a blues can be in an Austrian *Lied* of 1937/38. It does not employ jazz elements in a superficial manner so as to create entertaining blues effects. Instead, the song juxtaposes a typical twentieth-century destiny of a woman in Harlem with the greater miseries of Zemlinsky's own twentieth-century Europe. It does not pretend to be African-American blues, but understands its essence, namely the inescapable situation of an oppressed minority. As such, it becomes the folk song of the set, grasping very well the 'milieu' it sings about. Its relative simplicity and tonal directionality combined with the straightforward expression of individual destiny in search for a *Heimat*, in this case to be found in the blues, make it uncomfortably familiar to a late-1930s context. In a period where the *Volk* was segregated in both Austria and Germany, the black woman's misery was surely closer to the everyday experience of the Jewish population than the staging of what was supposed to be the German *Volk,* i.e., a false *Heimat* propagated by idyllic pastoral imagery. On the whole, the gesture of the lament as it appears in 'Elend', whether reminiscent of Zemlinsky's early Trio, Weill's street song or the blues, is a fundamental human utterance. As such, it is at once integral to both inherited tradition and immediate reality.

8) Harlem Dancer (Claude McKay)	Harlem Tänzerin
Applauding youths laughed with young prostitutes And watched her perfect, half-clothed body sway;	Dirnen und Burschen hört Beifall rasen, Als sie, halbnackt, den stolzen Körper wand;
Her voice was like the sound of blended flutes Blown by black players upon a picnic day. She sang and danced on gracefully and calm, The light gauze hanging loose about her form; To me she seemed a proudly-swaying palm Grown lovelier for passing through a storm. Upon her swarthy neck black shiny curls Profusely fell; and, tossing coins in praise,	Und ihre Stimme war wie Flötenblasen Auf einer Fahrt ins sommerliche Land. Sanft und voll Anmut glitt im Tanz sie hin, Der dünne Flor barg ihren Körper nicht, Wie eine Palme schien sie meinem Sinn, Die stolzer nu rim Sturm sich aufgericht. Ihr glänzend Haar, ihr dunkler Nacken strahlte. Weinheisse Burschen schrien den Saal entlang und warfen Geld,

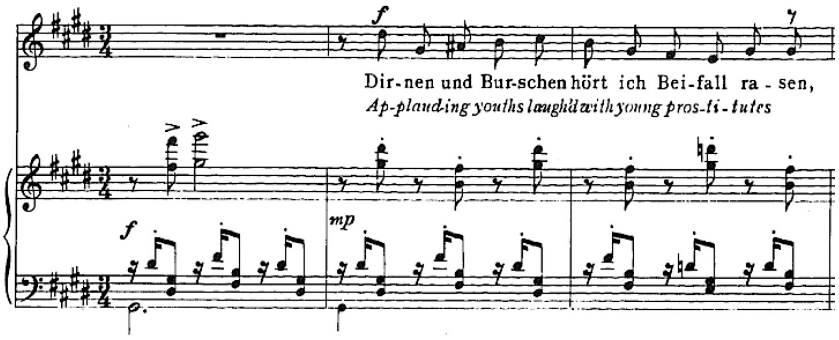
The wine-flushed, bold-eyed boys, and even the girls, Devoured her with eager, passionate gaze; But, looking at her falsely-smiling face, I knew her self was not in that strange place. [65]	Und neidbewundernd malt der Dirnen Blick, Der gierig sie verschlang. Sie lächelte weit über uns ins Leere, Als ob sie fern o fern und einsam wäre.

9) Danse Africaine (Langston Hughes)	Afrikanischer Tanz
The low beating of the tom-toms, The slow beating of the tom-toms, Low . . . slow Slow . . . low — Stirs your blood. Dance! A night-veiled girl Whirls softly into a Circle of light. Whirls softly . . . slowly, Like a wisp of smoke around the fire — And the tom-toms beat, And the tom-toms beat, And the low beating of the tom-toms Stirs your blood. [66]	Grollen die Tom-Toms, Rollen die Tom-Toms, Grollen, Rollen, Wecken dein Blut. Tanz! Nachtumhülltes Mädchen Dreht sich leis Im Lichterkreis, Rauchwölkchen um das Feuer. Und die Tom-Toms rollen Und die Tom-Toms grollen, Rollen, Grollen, Wecken dein Blut.

Both 'Harlem Tänzerin' and 'Afrikanischer Tanz' describe ecstatic dancing scenes in a night club. Particularly in No.8, one is once again reminded of the Kurt Weill/ Bertolt Brecht collaboration, which of course Zemlinsky was part of during the Berlin production of *Mahagonny* in 1931. Although worlds apart in terms of musical languages, the young dancer, whose thoughts become more and more removed from the hot and sticky environment she finds herself in, again, could be the same woman as the narrator of 'Nanna's Lied'. Socialist topics like the pitfalls of money and greed as well as exploitation are central to 'Harlem Tänzerin'. Even though Zemlinsky had worked with texts of the Harlem Renaissance ten years earlier, he refrained from setting such mundane and personal topics then, and instead focussed on the larger issues of an oppressed minority. In fact, the poem by Claude McKay is the only example from

[65] Claude McKay 'Harlem Dancer', in Joan R. Sherman, ed., *Claude McKay: Selected Poems* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999), 38. Translation in Nußbaum, *Afrika Singt*, 97.
[66] Hughes, 'Danse Africaine', in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, 60. Translation in Nußbaum, *Afrika Singt*, 20.

Zemlinsky's large *Lied* oeuvre that engages with such rather Brechtian street topics.[67] While the wider concerns were already present in 'Elend', particularities like greed and voyeurism were not yet audible. The boys and men who were 'tossing coins in praise' ('und warfen Geld') did so because the dancer knew, just like Nanna, how to 'make coinage from lust' ('Lust in Kleingeld zu verwandeln'). And if, in the end, the woman from Harlem 'was not in that strange place' ('als ob sie fern und einsam wäre'), she too realised that, as Nanna states, 'the emotions become astonishingly cool' ('das Gefühl wird erstaunlich kühl'). As in so many Brecht settings by Weill or Eisler, money is the destroying agent of the narrative. Both 'Nanna's Lied' and 'Harlem Tänzerin' are late-1930s portraits of the dirty sides of capitalism, where money can buy everything, seen from a female point of view.[68] Although Zemlinsky uses the topic of a street song, his musical rendering, unlike Weill's music or the previous 'Elend', is very far from it. There is no part of it that could be sung by an actor without a classically trained voice, let alone by an amateur, which is mainly caused by the lack of familiar harmonic functions. Zemlinsky's key compositional device during this later period is his use of motivic elements and their variants. The dancer's quick and unrestrained moves are indicated by choppy semiquaver/quaver patterns which not only create significant rhythmic dissonance, but in slight variations remain present throughout (Example 3.19).

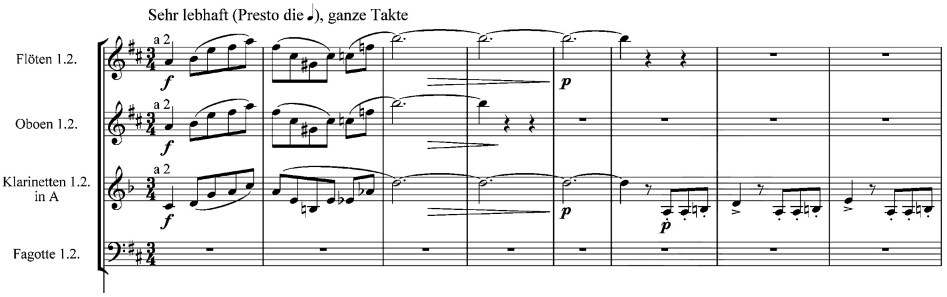


Example 3.19 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.8, bars 1-3.

This compositional means of a consistent rhythmic motive is also the driving force in the first movement of Zemlinsky's 1934 *Sinfonietta*, where the short ascending figure of

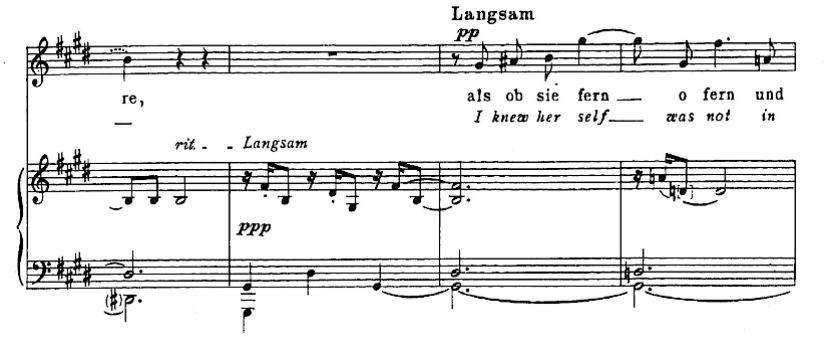
[67] Greed certainly is central to *Kandaules,* yet not so much in a monetary context, but with regard to Kandaules's jealousy, i.e., his need to hide his beautiful wife Nyssia from the public.
[68] Although the narrator of 'Harlem Tänzerin' is not the dancer herself, but a male spectator, he reveals both his shortcomings and her situation within the scene.

three staccato quavers is followed by an accented crotchet on the downbeat, first introduced by the clarinets in bars 6 and 7 (Example 3.20). The motive remains audible throughout the entire movement, at times elongated or slightly modified, yet always present. Familiarity is created through the repetition of texture, rather than harmonic function.



Example 3.20 Zemlinsky, *Sinfonietta*, Op.23, bars 1-8.

Something similar takes place in 'Harlem Tänzerin'. Even when it is revealed from bar 43 that the attractive young dancer really is lonely and spiritually far removed from the voyeuristic gaze in which she is held, her dance-theme, however weak, reminds the listener of her inescapable situation (Example 3.21). It ceases to disappear entirely and she remains dependent on those throwing money at her.

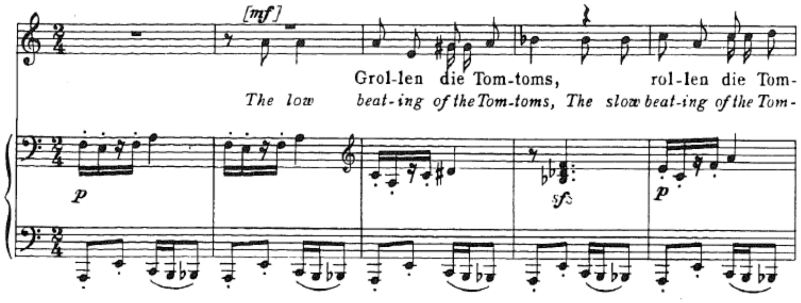


Example 3.21 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.8, bars 42-45.

A second recurring motive, introduced as early as bar 2, is of a melodic nature (Example 3.19). The four-note pattern of a falling fifth D# to G# with a stepwise ascent via A# to B appears three times in the vocal line and twice in the piano part. It introduces the song's main theme, which is the applauding crowd (bars 2-3, Example 3.19) who witness the dancer's nakedness (bars 5-6, second entering of the motive and bars 26-27, third time occurrence). This short sequence underlines the fate that is already

indicated through the rhythmic motive. It returns at the very end, unable to round off the melody towards a cadence. The inevitability of the scene once more becomes obvious (Appendix 3). 'Harlem Tänzerin' could not be further from a romanticised exotic imagery of far-away lands. Instead, it paints a brutal realism.

The female subject of the two preceding songs gradually fades in No.9 ('Afrikanischer Tanz'), and disappears entirely by the end of the song. This is Zemlinsky's second setting of Hughes's poem after *Symphonische Gesänge*, where it appears as the sixth of seven songs, i.e., also rather late in the set. While in the 1929 composition, it was used as a contrast to the much more inward-looking situation of No.5 ('Erkenntnis'), it now is a direct continuation of the earlier dance scene, a sequence so to speak.[69] Although the dancing motion of 'Harlem Tänzerin' was already dizzyingly hectic, the dynamic prescription *wild bewegt* (wildly moving) augments that quality to become a kind of chase. As before, rhythmic accents often appear on the off-beats, and rather forcefully so (Example 3.22).



Example 3.22 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.9, bars 1-5.

Despite the song's opening and closing in A minor, the tonic function of the key is anything but stable. In places where off-beats receive particularly strong accents, unhinged harmonic situations are thrown into the mix, such as the B♭ minor chord in bar 4. 'Afrikanischer Tanz' is a *danse macabre*, and the 'night-veiled girl' ('Nachtumhülltes Mädchen') drowns in the noise of the beating tom-toms. By this point in the set, the alternative reality that was briefly given up in 'Elend' is firmly re-

[69] It is safe to assume that, if there is a motivation for a composer to re-set a poem, its interpretative substance has not been fully exhausted (see also Andreas Dorschel, 'Utopie und Resignation: Schuberts Deutungen des Sehnsuchtsliedes aus Goethes *Wilhelm Meister* von 1826', in Federico Celestini and Andreas Dorschel, eds., *Arbeit am Kanon: Ästhetische Studien zur Musik von Haydn bis Webern* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2010). Consequently, the drowning, noisy and fatal destruction voiced in 'Afrikanischer Tanz' appeared as important topic to revisit to Zemlinsky in 1937.

established. It is a night scene from a distant land, losing itself in ecstasy. If the set's first half was almost devoid of human subjectivity, Zemlinsky now arrives at the opposite end. He sketches out the masses, which swallow the protagonist of the sequence. As such, the voice of the individual is silenced yet again.

What connects these three pieces to Nos. 2-4 (Kalidasa) is the vague idea of a movement, whereby short extracts of three different situations are loosely bound together by the overall theme, in this case Harlem. Although nature is hardly present in these urban songs, and subjectivity is not renounced through mysticism and a world without people but drowned out by overwhelming crowds, both 'movements' sketch out ways of relating to the world-as-is. The Kalidasa songs stand outside the realm of humanity, arriving at a stagnated yet peaceful state of being. At the opposite end, the Harlem-Renaissance settings allow for no such escape. The fact that they appear after the first, perhaps in some way more idealistic group, hints at Zemlinsky's musical rendering of realism: after 'Afrikanischer Tanz', the obscure yet calm worlds of Kalidasa are far off.

Defamiliarizing

The two contrasting worlds of nature-bound ancient India and Harlem's street life are held together by a third narrative layer: songs No.1 ('Entführung'), No.5 ('Die Verschmähte'), No.10 ('Gib ein Lied mir wieder') and No.12 ('Wandrers Nachtlied').

1. Entführung (Stefan George)	Elopement
Zieh mit mir, geliebtes Kind, In die Wälder ferner Kunde, Und behalt als Angebind Nur mein Lied in deinem Munde.	Follow me (trek with me), beloved child, Into the woods of foreign lore, And retain as a gift Only my song on your lips.
Baden wir im sanften Blau Der mit Duft umhüllten Grenzen: Werden unsre Leiber glänzen, Klarer scheinen als der Tau.	We bathe in the soft blue Of borders shrouded in scent: Our bodies will glisten, Shine clearer than dew.
In der Luft sich silbern fein Fäden uns zu Schleiern spinnen. Auf dem Rasen bleichen Linnen, Zart wie Schnee und Sternenschein.	In the air, silvery thin Threads are spinning veils for us. Linen lies on the lawn to bleach, Delicate like snow and shining stars.

Unter Bäumen um den See	Under tress around the lake
Schweben wir vereint uns freuend,	We float together and rejoice,
Sachte singend, Blumen streuend,	Singing softly, scattering flowers,
Weisse Nelken, weissen Klee.[70]	White pinks, white clover.

'Entführung' is one of only four songs in which a speaker addresses a second subject. 'Zieh mit mir geliebtes Kind' ('come with me beloved child') is a direct invitation to embark on a journey so as to explore foreign lands, which are the topic of more than half of the following songs. Beaumont observes that this journey is a spatial one that spans from the far East to the far West.[71] This of course is true with respect to the origins of Zemlinsky's wide selection of poetry. Yet, the opposing poles of this journey are 'subjectivity' and 'detachment' and, as such, not bound by geographical regions. Both the poem and music of 'Entführung' already present both the elements of familiarity as well as strangeness that the listener will be confronted with throughout the set. Thus, the first song is a kind of exposé or frame for the collection of short stories that will follow. The pentatonic white-note music of the first two and a half bars immediately sets out a distant tonal space, which is juxtaposed with dense chromatic passages in the song's contrasting section from bars 12-23 (Appendix 3). The familiarity of the plain white-note phrases is thus made unfamiliar; its formerly comforting nature is lost and, as the set proceeds, will not return. This technique of defamiliarizing well-known means was also key to the Op.22 songs of 1934 and, to a slightly lesser degree, to the *Symphonische Gesänge*.

Although the white-note and chromatic sections are of contrasting character, they both achieve a sense of defamiliarization from tonal clarity. In terms of the overall shape as well as motivic elements, however, Zemlinsky stays within his inherited compositional traditions. 'Entführung' is structured into three larger parts, whereby the last section is a reprise of the opening, again creating familiarity by way of repetition. Although the initial key of E minor is not a home key in a common sense, its firm restating in bar 40 underlines once more the speaker's invitation to follow (Example 3.23).

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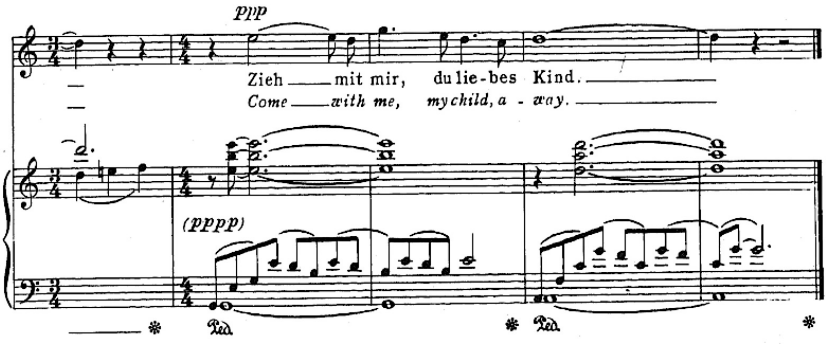
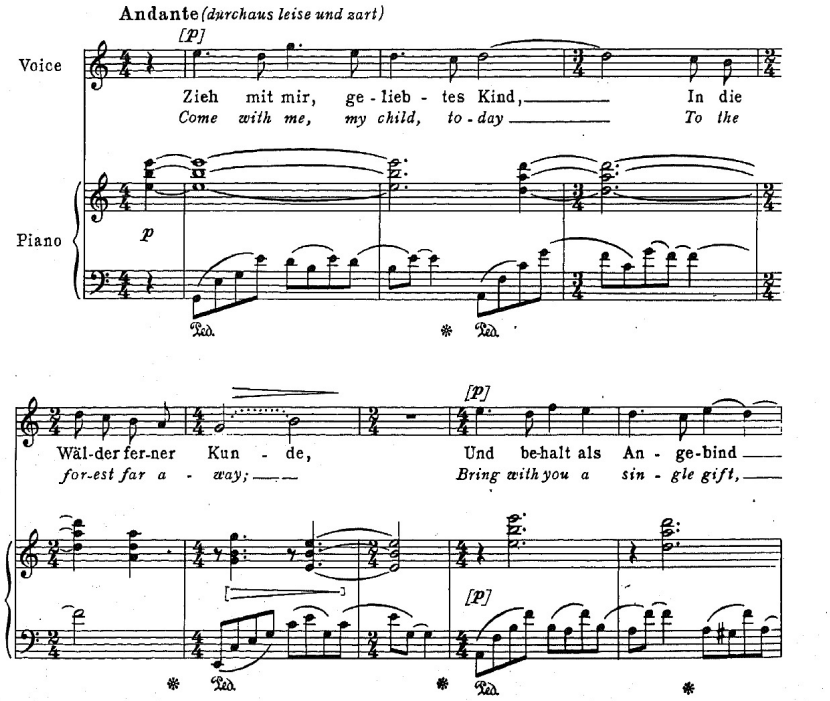
[70] Stefan George, 'Entführung', in *Das Jahr der Seele* (Berlin: Verlag der Blätter für die Kunst,1897), 22-23. A digitised version of the original publication is available at *Deutsches Textarchiv* <http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/george_seele_1897?p=32> accessed 4 September 2019.
[71] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 445.



Example 3.23 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.1, bars 40-43.

Further, the vocal line's first theme, consisting of a two and a half bar antecedent followed by a same-length consequent, is firmly rooted in Zemlinsky's musical heritage (Example 3.24).



Example 3.24 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.1, bars 1-8.

This use of a familiar concept is also reflected in the narrative strategy: the speaking subject voices an invitation, i.e., an act of familiarity. The antecedent-consequent pattern is then repeated as variation (bars 7-11). The initial theme without its variation returns two more times in the reprise, bars 28-32 and the antecedent once again in bars 40-43 (Appendix 3). While disengaging elements dominate the harmonic setup of

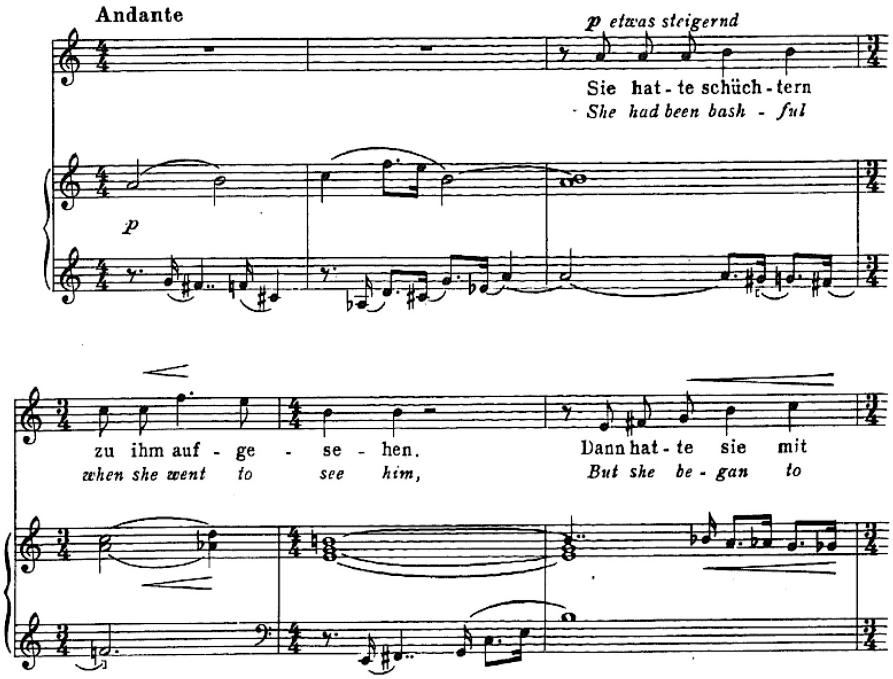
'Entführung', its first-person narrator makes it very clear that the song's suggestion to embark on a journey is neither violent nor outlandish. It still hinges on familiar forms of expression. The subject addressing the listener in the first person stands for what is known, i.e., human interaction which in itself is a form of *Heimat.* He or she represents the transitional element which makes possible the juxtaposition of familiar and outlandish themes in the first place. 'Entführung' does not provide a conclusive ending via a traditional cadence, but it nevertheless creates a kind of closure by reinterpreting its opening material in the last four bars. It is collection and recollection at once, making use of the memory of inherited elements but, at the same time, combining them towards the creation of a musical situation that distances itself from a sense of familiarity.

5. Die Verschmähte (Amaru)	The Rejected One
Sie hatte schüchtern zu ihm aufgesehen.	She looked up to him shyly.
Dann hatte sie mit flehender Gebärde die Hände ihm geboten.	Then, with pleading gestures, she reached her hands out to him.
Endlich aber hat sie an seine Schärpe sich geklammert	Finally then, she clung to his sash
Und hat ihn frei und ohne Falsch umarmt.	And embraced him freely and sincerely.
Er aber, dessen Herz verhärtet war,	But he, whose heart was callous,
Wies alle ihre Liebe kalt zurück und ging hinweg.	Rejected all her love coldly and walked away.
Da hat sie still dem Leben,	Right there, she silently renounced her life,
Doch ihrer Liebe nimmermehr, entsagt.	But never her love.

The drama unfolding in Amaru's 'Die Verschmähte' carries nothing of the otherworldly flavour of the Kalidasa settings. It speaks of inherently mundane issues, applicable to any region or culture. Similar to 'Harlem Tänzerin', Zemlinsky here makes use of a rhythmic motive that runs through the piece, proclaiming a kind of inescapable fate.[72] The pattern, consisting of a semiquaver followed by a dotted quaver or longer note value, could hardly be any shorter; yet, its persistent repetitions turn it into a rather penetrant, nagging reminder of the female protagonist's unhappy fate (bass line, Example 3.25). The slight alterations or variants in which the pattern appears add a sense of instability, a kind of downward pull to the overall rhythmic idea. A continuation or perhaps augmentation of this figure first occurs in the right hand of the piano part in

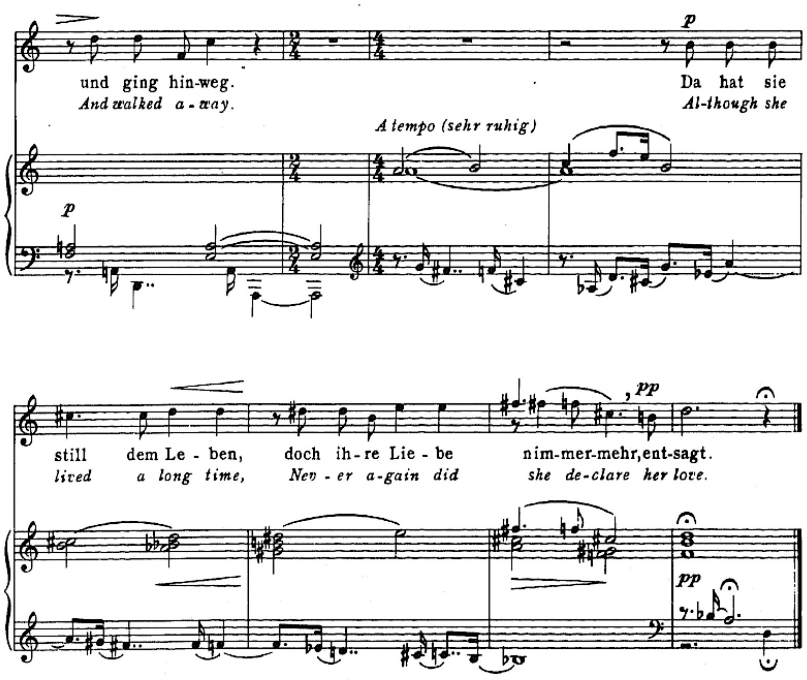
[72] Beaumont also mentions parallels between 'Die Verschmähte' and Zemlinsky's 1916 setting of Hofmannsthal's 'Die Beiden', which is also structured around a continuous weaving of dotted rhythms. See Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 447.

bar 2. Both the motive's shape (a two-note ascent followed by a descent) and its rhythmical structure (crotchet followed by dotted quaver and semiquaver ending with a longer note) appear seven times in the right hand of the piano. Alterations thereof, either as elongated, shortened or continued versions can be found in all parts, including the vocal line (e.g. bars 4 and 5 where the melody quotes the piano's motive of bar 2 with rhythmic modifications).



Example 3.25 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.5, bars 1-6.

Unlike 'Entführung', there is no first person narrator in 'Die Verschmähte'. The third-person recounting of a story is thus one step removed from the element of familiarity that was present in the set's first song, and which has not returned once thus far. This poetic disengagement, however, is countered by the immediate discomfort of the motivic obtrusiveness. Rather striking therefore is the recapitulation of the opening motivic material in bar 26 (Example 3.26). It is marked *sehr ruhig* (very calm), and even though unchanged in its form, it now appears weak and deprived of energy. As variant, this musical gesture reappears in 'Harlem Tänzerin'. The presence and obtrusiveness of an unsurmountable fate are the same for both women, however different their individual stories.



Example 3.26 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.5, bars 23-30.

In 'Die Verschmähte', it is as if the woman's Sisyphean task of clinging to her continuously broken belief in love is becoming more and more dire, yet never ends.[73] This is confirmed in the very last bar, where a remaining fraction of the song's dominating motive silences the voice part. Its D minor ending with the added major and minor sixths creates maximum tension. On the one hand, D minor as a key of inherent sadness is firmly rooted in Zemlinsky's own compositional past. On the other hand, the added B and B♭ deprive the listener of a faintly indicated sense of familiarity, initiated by the protagonist's detachment from life itself. 'Die Verschmähte' really is a variant of 'Misery' (No.7), i.e., the same story told through a different lens. Yet, its more disengaged third-person narration makes what later becomes an individual, present-day destiny a more global one, subtly linking it to the non-specific realm of the Kalidasa settings. The ability to employ contrasting musical means in order to tell of the same topic is what makes Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs* unique. It is not a linear narrative,

[73] Note that there is a problematic misreading of Bethge's version of the Amaru poem, both in the translation provided in the Mobart edition and, as a result, in Hoffman's analysis of the song. Maurice Wright translates the last two lines as follows: 'Although she lived a long time,/ Never again did she declare her love.' Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, 2. Yet, the original text suggests the exact opposite: while the woman relinquished her life, she never gave up on love.

unfolding over time, but a juxtaposition of witnesses viewing the same world through different eyes.

10) Gib ein Lied mir wieder (Stefan George)	Return a song to me
Gib ein Lied mir wieder Im klaren Tone deiner Freudentage - Du weißt es ja: mir wich der Friede, Und meine Hand ist zag.	Bring a song to me In the clear tone of your happy days – You know it: peace has left me, And my hand is timid.
Wo dunkle Seelen sinnen, Erscheinen Bilder, seltne, hohe, Doch fehlt das leuchtende erinnern, Die Farbe hell und froh.	Where dark souls ponder, Rare and sublime images appear, But radiant memory is missing, The colour, bright and gay.
Wo sieche Seelen reden, Da lindern schmeichelhafte Töne, Da ist die Stimme tief und edel, Doch nicht zum Sang so schön.[74]	Where ailing souls talk, Flattering words soothe, There, the voice is deep and noble, But not as beautiful for singing.

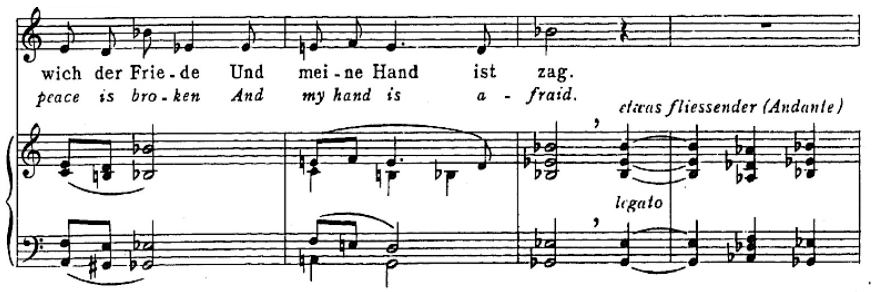
Dramaturgically speaking, 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder' (No.10) is a continuation of 'Die Verschmähte'. This time, however, a first-person narrator is introduced, the third time after the set's opening 'Entführung' and 'Elend' (No.7). By comparison, none of the 24 songs of Schubert's *Winterreise* leave the personal, inherently inward-looking realm of first-person narration. Berg's *Altenberg Lieder* omit any self-reference until the last two songs but each of these five songs address a second person, i.e., they make use of direct speech and thus imply the existence of a speaking person.[75] Zemlinsky, on the other hand, rejects such a voice in more than half of the set. While only four songs introduce a first-person narrator and one does so by directly addressing a second person, seven of the twelve pieces proceed without such direction. They remain observations. Given that Zemlinsky so rarely employs the inwardness of a personal voice, it appears as almost intrusive where he does.

The earlier renunciation of life was almost forcefully negated by the wild and brutal renderings of Harlem night life. Yet, the engagement with death was only postponed, and not forestalled. The overall texture of 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder' is

[74] Stefan George, 'Gieb ein Lied mir wieder', in *Das Jahr der Seele*, 33. See also *Deutsches Textarchiv,* <http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/george_seele_1897?p=43> accessed 4 September 2019. George uses the (grammatically incorrect) spelling *gieb.* All nouns are written in lower case. For the purposes of exploring Zemlinsky's setting, the poem is reproduced as it appears in Zemlinsky's song.

[75] This addressing of a second person is also reflected in how both Schoenberg and Webern chose Stefan George's texts for their song writing. See e.g. Webern, 'Dies ist ein Lied für Dich allein', Op.3/1 (1908/9), or Schoenberg, 'Ich darf nicht dankend an dir niedersinken', Op.14/1 (1907/8).

dominated by calm and evenly paced chords in the piano accompaniment, which foreshadow the ultimate song 'Wandrers Nachtlied'. Considering that, given the dates of composition, the George setting may have initially provided the set's closure, this parallel in style and texture make the subsequent two songs a kind of coda to the set. The prevailing tonal centre is E♭ minor, the dark character of which is used to portray two opposing ideas. First, the falseness of one of the most positive terms of the song, *Friede* (peace, bar 7). Second, the human voice and song, indicated by the E♭ minor sonority on the initial upbeat introducing the song's title 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder' (Return a song to me). Similarly so on *Stimme* (voice) on the downbeat of bar 33, once more reminding the listener of the fading of the old voice, i.e., death (Appendix 3). Despite all tonal ambiguity, Zemlinsky now uses a device rarely employed in his late song writing: a 'common' diatonic shift between the first and second verses (bars 9-10, Example 3.27).

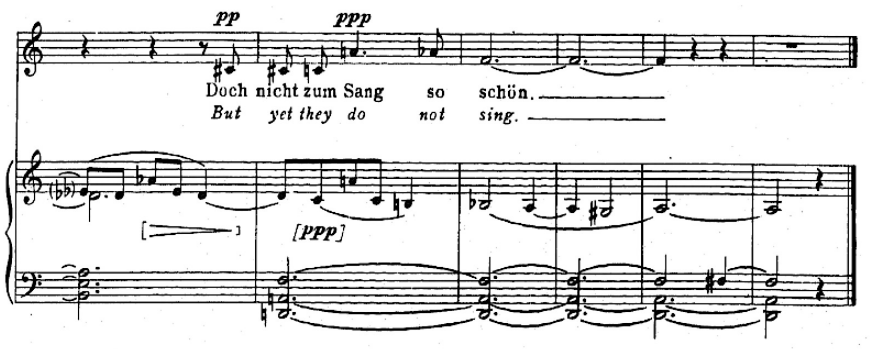


Example 3.27 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.10, bars 7-10.

The E♭ – D♭ – E♭ movement is a kind of 'sounding memory' of a familiar space in a place where familiarity is renounced. Together with the vocal line, it is strikingly reminiscent of Zemlinsky's own lyrical writing around 1900, or Berg's style from that time. Zemlinsky utilises one of the most fundamental devices of Western music to create an eerie atmosphere, to underline the weakness of a fading life. The frequent doubling of octaves within triadic situations is reminiscent of Schumann's voice leading.[76] In fact, there is a sounding parallel between 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder' and the eighth and ultimate song of *Frauenliebe und Leben* Op.42 (1840). Both pieces begin with a firm minor sonority, left somewhat suspended until the voice enters. Although Schumann's

[76] Compare also Stanley M. Hofmann, *Extended Tonality and Voice Leading in 'Twelve Songs', Op.27 by Alexander* Zemlinsky, PhD Thesis (Brandeis University, University Microfilms International, 1993), 142.

piece is much calmer with its recitativo vocal line, avoiding the higher ranges at most times, it seems like Zemlinsky's George setting reproduces a faint memory of Schumann's funeral song, yet delivers a different conclusion. While Schumann ultimately resolves the situation by musically recalling the cycle's opening in B♭ major, Zemlinsky arrives at the opposite end: D minor yet again determines the ultimate bars of the piece (Example 3.28). Its last-minute alteration to the major in bar 39, marked triple pianissimo, is so faint that it is anything but a determining factor. If at all audible, it might be read as the slightest glimmer of hope imaginable. In fact, just like Schumann's 1840 cycle, Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs* portray exclusively female subjects – in instances where there is a detectable subject. 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder' once more looks back to 'Elend', this time embracing the wider, inevitable course of life regardless of time and place.



Example 3.28 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.10, bars 35-40.

11) Regenzeit (Kalidasa)	Rainy Season
Beschwert von Blüten beugen sich die Zweige der Bäume nieder, Silberne Regentropfen glänzen darüber hin. Ein schwüler Duft ergießt sich durch den feuchten Raum, Und macht die Liebenden voll Sehnsucht zu einander.	With heavy blossoms, the branches of the trees bend down, Silver raindrops are shine on top. A sultry scent pours across the humid room, And makes the lovers yearn for each other.

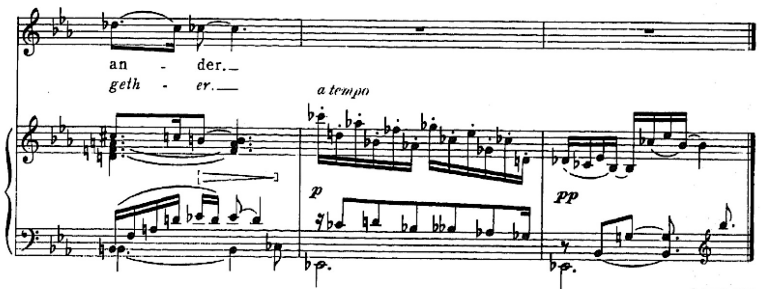
The penultimate song 'Regenzeit' evokes the world explored in the first third of the set: Kalidasa's seasonal imageries, removed from human subjectivity. Why would Zemlinsky, after two distinct thematic blocks wedged between the George settings, disturb the fairly rounded order by adding yet another Kalidasa song? Of course, this question must

remain rhetorical. However, it is clear that in April of 1938, a year after writing the first ten songs, the composer found the set to be incomplete. What, then, do the two additions *do* if heard in the context of the entire set? How do they incorporate the stories told up to this point, and where might they change or adjust the previous?

To begin with, 'Regenzeit' refrains from making the four seasons complete – spring, summer and autumn were addressed in the first half of the set. Now, one might think, it is time for winter, particularly in view of the set's upcoming closure. Yet, 'Regenzeit' brings back summer once more. Perhaps not in its most presentable form with eternal sunshine, but the monsoon season as portrayed in Bethge's reworking of the poem is anything but dreary. The rain is cleansing and, at the same time, makes the air heavy and sultry. According to Hoffman, '[w]ith *Regenzeit*, Kalidasa's poetic style, predominant in Op.27, returns.'[77] Of course, neither does Kalidasa's style dominate the set, as it represents one of three quite evenly distributed narrative layers, nor is it really returning here. Musically, 'Regenzeit', the shortest piece of the entire set, has little in common with the earlier four Kalidasa settings. Neither whole-tone patterns, nor the simplicity of a recitativo-like vocal line or modal tonalities can be detected here. 'Regenzeit' is the first piece of Op.27 which adheres to its designated key signature by opening in C minor and closing in E♭ major. However, these are hardly developed as tonic roots. Instead, rapidly moving chromatic arpeggios make for an inherently dense piano accompaniment. The only parallel between 'Regenzeit' and the earlier Kalidasa renderings is perhaps the idea of quick movement, also composed out in 'Der Wind des Herbstes' (No.6). In the penultimate song, Zemlinsky creates a fleeting musical moment, a quick flash of memory that the larger determining factors of life on earth, i.e., seasons and nature, persist even if the dire circumstances of Harlem street life and the loss of love and song are much more to the fore. The song's somewhat cursory nature is confirmed by its unstable ending. In bar 14, the clearly articulated E♭ major is unhinged at the very last moment, when the seventh D is given 'late', as the last pitch articulated (Example 3.29). It is a sounding question mark, expressing uncertainty about the summer season's cleansing capacity. In fact, it seems as if the main purpose of 'Regenzeit' is that of destabilisation. With 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder', the set had arrived

[77] Ibid., 159.

at a conclusion, even if an unsatisfying one. Now, this sense of certainty is questioned, in the same way as freedom of thought was questioned in 'Feiger Gedanken' of the *Six Songs*, Op.22.



Example 3.29 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.11, bars 13-14.

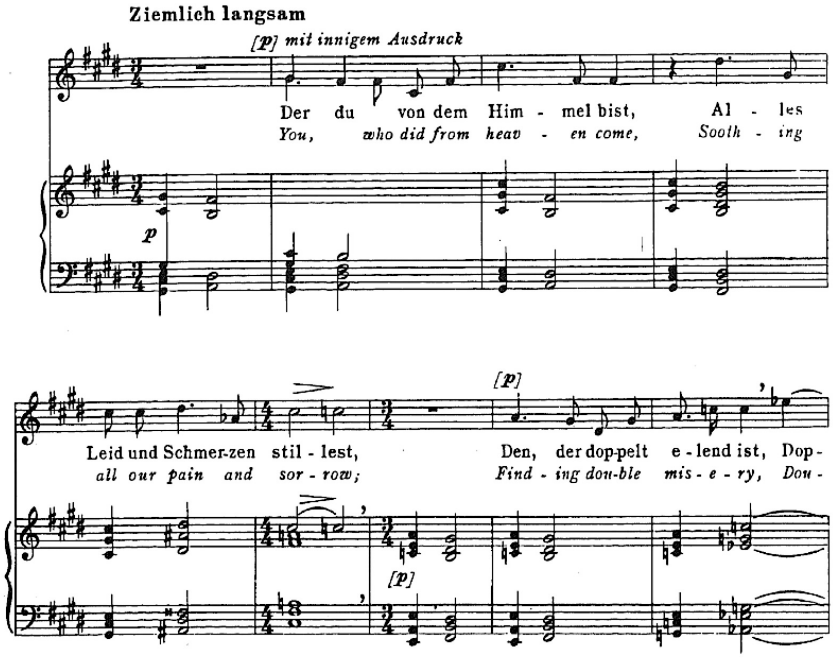
In keeping with the idea that Op.27 might represent a multi-movement work of sorts, 'Regenzeit' functions as a brief interlude in order to prepare for the set's closure.

12) Wandrers Nachtlied (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe)	Wanderer's Night Song
Der du von dem Himmel bist, Alles Leid und Schmerzen stillest, Den, der doppelt elend ist, Doppelt mit Erquickung füllest, Ach, ich bin des Treibens müde! Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust? Süßer Friede, Komm, ach komm in meine Brust! [78]	You who are from heaven, You still all suffering and pain, Those who are doubly miserable, You doubly invigorate, Alas! I am tired of all hustle! What is all this pain and lust for? Sweet peace, Come, o come into my breast!

If there was no air of winter in any of the Kalidasa settings, the cold season surely is present in 'Wandrers Nachtlied'. The simplicity of the vertically structured harmonies is striking after the chromatic haze of 'Regenzeit'. It is as if time suddenly stands still. None of the intricate rhythmic motives Zemlinsky foregrounded in so many of the other songs is audible here. Any swaying motion one might expect from the 3/4 time signature is resisted by the accented second beat, as well as by the dynamic marking *Ziemlich langsam*. Again, an inherited musical device, here the triple time so often employed in Viennese music, is transformed. The notion of physical weight runs through the entire piece, and any rising optimism is countered immediately. This

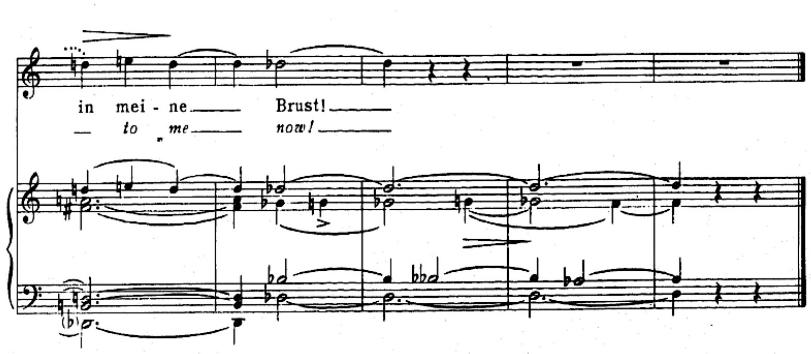
[78] J.W. von Goethe, 'Wandrers Nachtlied', in *Goethe's Werke,* Vol.1 (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1918), 99.

heaviness appears as particularly powerful after the previous song's closure with a rising 'question mark' of D. The first chord of C# minor (lowering the previously heard D by a semitone), for example, immediately falls back to a B major seventh, unable to sustain its sonority. This kind of harmonic struggle is repeated until bar 5 (Example 3.30). In bar 6, the F# minor on beats 1 and 2 is crushed to a diminished chord on its last two beats, where C# moves to C♮ in both voice and piano parts. It is as though the promise of soothing misery and pain is nullified by the music's Sisyphean downward pull.



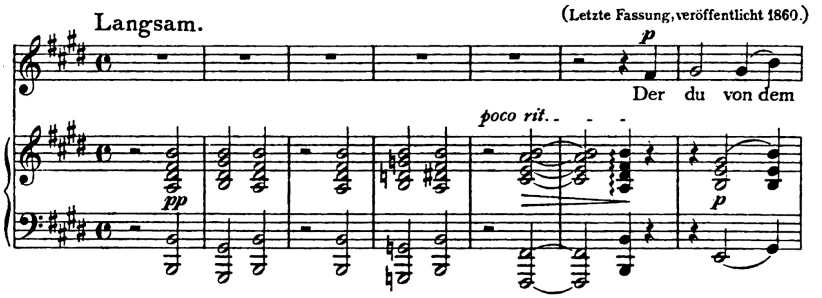
Example 3.30 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.12, bars 1-9.

The descending chromaticisms in bars 12 and 15 further substantiate this claim. Similar to 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder', the major third of the D♭ ending is stated so late that it is hardly perceived as major cadence, despite the plagal nature of the preceding four bars (Example 3.31). Thus, Zemlinsky returns to the disillusioned voice of the tenth song by way of the most subtle variant imaginable. 'Resolution' and 'cadence' were once practically synonyms. In Zemlinsky's 1938 Goethe setting, this sense of *Heimat* and comfort turns into an unsettling, unfamiliar construct. It can no longer be trusted. Similar to the instances of heroism composed out in Op.22, *Heimat* here has failed.



Example 3.31 Zemlinsky, *Twelve Songs,* Op.27, No.12, bars 22-26.

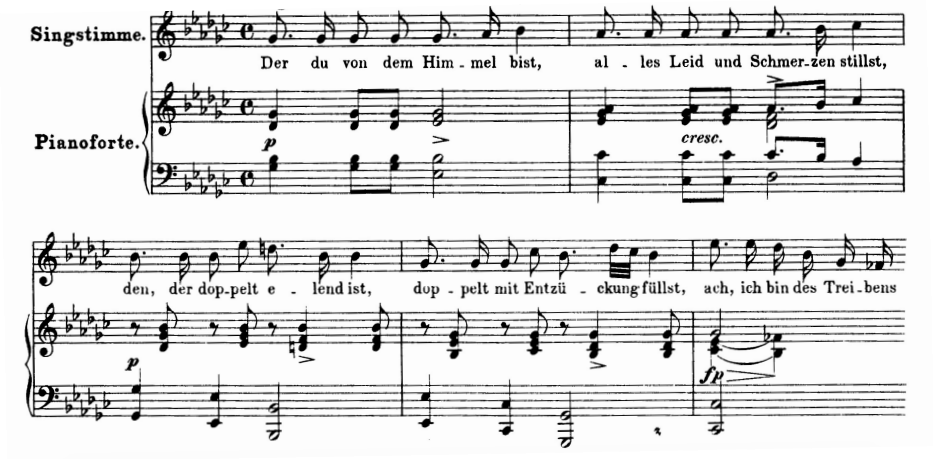
Although the first-person narrator appears for the fourth and last time, this many unresolved musical situations create a kind of detachment from the speaker's own subjectivity. As such, 'Wandrers Nachtlied' is not a closure but suggests something of a more transitional character. Out of the twelve songs, it is also the only one that directly positions itself within the larger tradition of the German *Lied,* something Zemlinsky was far closer to in his *Six Songs*, Op.22 of 1934. The two best known settings of Goethe's popular poem are Schubert's 1815 'Wandrers Nachtlied' D 224, and Liszt's 'Der du von dem Himmel bist' S 279 (1860), the third version of which will be part of this discussion. Immediately apparent are the similarities in texture, particularly with respect to Liszt's piece (Example 3.32). Vertical harmonic situations dominate the accompaniment, often doubled in octaves. The E major, which is only tonicised towards the final cadence so as to proclaim the arrival of freedom, is the parallel major key to Zemlinsky's C# minor opening.



Example 3.32 Franz Liszt, 'Der du von dem Himmel bist', S 279/3 bars 1-7.

Both Liszt and Zemlinsky thus take up an idea articulated in the first one and a half bars of Schubert's setting, i.e., a chordal structure without much rhythmic accentuation to

drive the piece forward (Example 3.33). Yet, Schubert sets out in G♭, the song's home key and ultimate cadence. There is no ambiguity whether redemption will be granted in the end – Goethe's call for peace is therefore answered from the very beginning.



Example 3.33 Franz Schubert, 'Wandrers Nachtlied', D 224, bars 1-5.

Moreover, Schubert deviates from the stillness of the two opening phrases already from bar 3 by creating rhythmic dissonance in the right hand of the piano. Schubert's song thus continues with a forward-driving momentum, which ultimately culminates in a positive resolution of the song. Rather striking is Zemlinsky's brief use of G♭ major as the voice enters with its last word *Brust* (Example 3.31, second beat of bar 23). The sonority is immediately disturbed by the appearance of the neighbour note G♮ on the following beat in the right hand of the piano. It is as if the memory of Schubert's fulfilling songs sneaks into Zemlinsky's 1938 version, but slips away as quickly as it appeared.

Yet, 'Wandrers Nachtlied' is not merely a reconsidering of an inherited German tradition. It also stands at the end of a set that, over the course of twelve songs, unfolds an inherently plural kind of storybook. Its narrative style closely relates to the prose writing of contemporary figures like Thomas Mann and Alfred Döblin. Michael Minden calls Mann's technique '[t]he brilliant literary device of building a whole mighty narrative project on the interconnections between the apparently incompatible narrative principles of causality and mythology […].'[79] Zemlinsky follows aspects of

[79] Michael Minden, 'Mann's literary techniques', in Ritchie Robertson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Mann* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 57.

Mann's model by juxtaposing the unpopulated realm of Kalidasa's mystical India with the subjective realities of prostitution, loneliness and the low sides of urban life. The listener is left to put these two opposites in relation with one another; they are not neatly interwoven through tonal or motivic development. Like Mann's work, Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs* are characterised by 'the alternation of the 'sphere' of human meanings between moral dignity from above and Dionysiac subversion from beneath.'[80] Quite different from the *Kandaules* project, Zemlinsky here refrains from building a narrative that develops on the basis of moral principles. The music does not allow for simplistic categories like 'good' and 'bad', and thus redemption is not achieved by either the subjective or the mystical worlds. The simultaneity of musical styles may well be considered as a subversion of the kinds of environments Zemlinsky experienced in Habsburg Vienna. As opposed to the Prater's heterotopic nature, i.e., the creation of an alternative reality through a redefining of its rules and boundaries, his *Twelve Songs* deliver a mosaic of stories which in fact articulate the utter impossibility of escaping reality. As such, the idea of a heterotopia as a kind of sanctuary is rejected. The songs refrain from superficial renderings of otherness, and at no point is a satisfactory conclusion reached. Thus, the mix of colours, textures and gestures does not lend itself to images of an alternative, better *Heimat*. Instead, they deliver sketches of reality that merge things pleasant and ugly in such a way that the act of forgetting (reality) becomes impossible. Whether it is the dissonant haze of No.2 ('Sommer'), the hesitant modulations towards the major sonority in the final cadences of No.10 ('Gib ein Lied mir wieder') and No.12 ('Wandrers Nachtlied') – none of these gestures simulates comfort, let alone arrival. Not only is the idea of a musical *Heimat* given up, but also the thought of striving towards one, i.e., of embarking on a *Heim-weg.* Through the Goethe setting, Zemlinsky once more underlines this inevitability already expressed in 'Gib ein Lied mir wieder', and thus intensifies its impact.

Zemlinsky's web of contradictions in Op.27 is also reminiscent of Peter Altenberg's 'extracts of life', which also often originated from scenes witnessed at the Prater.[81] Similar to Altenberg's myriad snippets of life, Zemlinsky's equally short pieces

[80] Ibid.

[81] Altenberg was a keen visitor of Vienna's public spaces. He described life in the Prater on numerous occasions, e.g. in *Sonnenuntergang im Prater – 55 Prosastücke* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1998). In *Ashantee* (Berlin: Fischer, 1897), Altenberg wrote down his impressions of the *Völkerschau* at the Tiergarten.

do not address questions of morality or amorality. They present both poles, yet do not judge, let alone idealise. In the end, the *Twelve Songs* resist any form of redemption or consolation. 'Wandrers Nachtlied' counters the meaning of its underlying text: the soothing of sorrow and pain is supported by F# minor, but immediately depleted on the third beat as the chord becomes diminished (bars 5-6, Example 3.30). The more than hesitant ending in D♭ major confirms what was already articulated with the stepwise descent on 'müde' (tired) in bar 14: that, in the end, the song's narrator is weary of his world. Yet, there is no alternative, no peace in sight. *Heimat* thus becomes a non-place, something that, only months later, in Zemlinsky's own life would be replaced by exile. The 'mood of parting', as Hermann Broch described it, materialises in the final song of the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27.

CONCLUSION

Freedom

> *But no one has ever managed to intone an Epos of Freedom. What is the matter with freedom, why can it not excite us in the long run, and why is there so little to say of it?* – Peter Handke[1]

In line with Handke's words, Zemlinsky's three song sets composed between 1929 and 1938 repeatedly question the feasibility of freedom, and thereby dismantle it as a utopian ideal. In the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20, the final chord represents the last breath of a hanged man. After it has faded, there is nothing left to say. By contrast, the narrative development of Zemlinsky's previous symphonic cycle, the *Lyrische Symphonie*, still strives towards a catharsis – two isolated individuals, unable to unite in the world-as-is, finally dissolve in the spheres of nature, to reach a better world. 'Ich halte meine Lampe in die Höhe,/ Um dir auf deinem Weg zu leuchten.' (I hold my lamp up high for you,/ To enlighten your path). [2] With regard to Mahler's *Wunderhorn Lieder*, Adorno stated that this 'fairy tale […] dies after the promising words "that everything awakens with joy", yet no one knows whether this departure might be forever.'[3] This uncertain but nonetheless existent hope of a fulfilling reawakening is very much at the heart of the *Lyrische Symphonie* as well. However, the light that points towards a potentially joyous ending has definitely departed in the *Symphonische Gesänge.* Here, one knows that the departure will be without a return.

While the struggling individual is a frequently recurring topic of the wider *Lied* tradition, Zemlinsky's plural song sets do not develop a narrative by way of establishing the path of one or more isolated protagonists.[4] Voices appear and disappear, with no identifiable relation to each other, aside from the fact that they all are part of one and

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[1] Peter Handke, *Der Himmel über Berlin. Ein Filmbuch von Wim Wenders und Peter Handke* (Frankfurt, 1987), 56-57. 'Aber noch niemandem ist es gelungen, ein Epos des Friedens anzustimmen. Was ist denn am Frieden, daß er nicht auf die Dauer begeistert und daß sich von ihm kaum erzählen lässt?'

[2] Alexander Zemlinsky, *Lyrische Symphonie, Op.18* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1954), 131-132.

[3] Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik* (Suhrkamp, 1978), 83. 'Erstirbt sie nach den verheißenden Worten "daß alles für Freuden erwacht", so weiß keiner, ob sie nicht für immer einschläft.'

[4] In the *Lyrische Symphonie*, for example, the male and female voices do not converse in a dialogical manner, but instead utter their individual hopes and struggles. Yet, it is still clear that both relate to each other. They appear on the same scene, as it were.

the same kaleidoscopic world. The songs offer neither hope nor conclusion for those that briefly enter the picture over the course of seven, six, or twelve songs, respectively. In Schubert's *Winterreise,* for example, the solitude of both the wanderer and the hurdy-gurdy man is broken by an invitation of the former: 'Wunderlicher Alter,/ Soll ich mit dir gehen?' (Strange old man, shall I come with you?)[5] Despite the cycle's overall atmosphere of loneliness, one might take its closure as mildly consoling, one that, despite its inherent sadness, looks towards an end of the self-prescribed isolation of the wanderer, whether in life or in death. In Krenek's *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen*, by contrast, the twentieth and last song 'Epilog' starts with a questioning of the previously established 'Heimkehr' (homecoming). Similar to Zemlinsky's late song sets, the existence of *Heimat* as such is doubted, and as a consequence, the previous nineteen songs are put into perspective: 'Ich geh', und ich weiß nicht, wohin,/ mich wundert's, daß ich noch fröhlich bin.' (I go and do not know where to,/ I am surprised that I am still cheerful.)[6] Yet, as opposed to Zemlinsky's Op.20, Krenek's *Reisebuch* delivers a 'last minute' reconciliation at the very end: 'doch mich wunderts trotzdem nicht, daß ich trotzdem fröhlich bin!' (Despite everything, I am not surprised that I am still cheerful after all!)[7] Whether ironic or not, the clear E♭ major ending points towards a positive turn, and Krenek's *Heimat* manifests itself as something distantly reminiscent of Wagner's evocation of the Rhine and nature in E♭, as a promise that balance may ultimately be restored. In the end, the listener is not left with destruction, chaos or disillusion, as is the case in Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge,* the *Six Songs* and the *Twelve Songs.* Krenek's protagonist, i.e., the lonesome wanderer, experiences freedom in the end, even if it is qualified.

Especially in Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs* of 1937/38, the individual appears as an increasingly isolated entity, in vignettes rather than through a continuous narrative. Where a subject's voice fades or disappears entirely, it is replaced by a kind of emptiness, a space that does not engage in human affairs. Nature as represented in the Kalidasa settings is not experienced by a narrator, it exists outside of the human experience. Although the *Lied* as a genre naturally lends itself to communicating the

[5] Wilhelm Müller, 'Der Leiermann', in Franz Schubert, *Winterreise, D 911*, ed. Walter Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1979), 189-191.
[6] Ernst Krenek, 'Epilog' (No.20), in *Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929)*,* 3.: Chandos Records, 2000), 93.
[7] Ibid.

individual rather than the collective voice, all of Zemlinsky's post-1929 sets examined in this thesis refrain from the kind of inwardness so often found in the tradition of the Austro-German art song. There is no protagonist one can identify with, there is no hero – nor even an anti-hero. This sense of a withdrawal from subjectivity is most obvious in Op.27. Yet, even in the 1929 *Symphonische Gesänge*, the seven songs speak of seven different situations, which connect through the common topic of a suppressed African-American minority, but not through a linear narrative. The plural stories Zemlinsky juxtaposes are reminiscent of Mahler's *Wunderhorn* world, but their protagonists are contemporary ones rather than folk-tale figures. Mahler's 'Tamboursg'sell' heralds a definitive farewell.[8] In the same vein, there is no room for eternity in Zemlinsky's Op.20. It ends where Mahler's 'Urlicht', the *Wunderhorn* movement from the second symphony, begins: 'Der Mensch liegt in größter Not!/ Der Mensch liegt in größter Pein!' (Humanity lies in great misery!/ Humanity lies in great torment!)[9] In Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge*, the eternity with which Mahler's 'Urlicht' concludes is not granted. Whether it is the cotton packers of Op.20, the abandoned lover in 'Volkslied' of Op.22, or the singer of 'Elend' in Op.27 – all of these voices remain isolated, with no possibility to escape their individual suffering. As such, the many unfree characters, and their stories, which populate Zemlinsky's musical scenes, form a large, non-uniform collective. They describe a humanity without any freedom of thought, without the hope for the 'sweet freedom' that the text of Goethe's 'Wandrers Nachtlied' suggests, but which Zemlinsky's music counters.

The Collective Voice

The manifold voices that appear in Zemlinsky's song writing from 1929 to 1938 represent a collective that is generated through a multitude of stories, i.e., they form a collection of what Altenberg identifies as 'extracts of life'. Because of the plural style of both the music and the texts, no sense of unification is established at any point during

[8] Compare Matthias Hansen, 'Die Lieder', in *Mahler Handbuch*, eds. Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2010), 201-203.
[9] Gustav Mahler, '4. Satz *Urlicht*', in *Symphonie No.2* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1925), 128-133.

these sets, and the tension created is never resolved.[10] As a result, there is no counterpart to the isolated individual, no common ground or collective voice. Quite different from the polyglot style-mosaic of Op.27 is Zemlinsky's 1935 composition *Psalm 13,* Op.24. Here, already implied by the genre of music for chorus and orchestra, the many voices come together as one, they make for a collective in the proper sense. The plurality that became a kind of trademark of Zemlinsky's late song writing is not apparent here. On the contrary, the often-recurring use of the choral unison dominates the piece like no other compositional device. The masses are given a voice in which the individual has no place. Like the *Twelve Songs*, *Psalm 13* was neither commissioned, nor published or performed during Zemlinsky's lifetime.[11]

How does Zemlinsky, whose song writing became increasingly fragmented throughout the 1930s, incorporate ideas of a community in his composing? At a first glance, it seems as if *Psalm 13* seeks to vehemently contradict the solitary voices of his 1934 and 1937/38 songs. Yet, if interrogated through the same lens as the *Lieder* before, i.e., against the background of the historical context, and with regard to the inherent narratives, it becomes clear that Op.24 explores some of the same topics, but from a quite different angle. Similar to 'Feiger Gedanken' and 'Elfenlied' of Op.22, Zemlinsky reverts to a musical form that, on the outside, reflects his compositional heritage, but this time of a religious nature. In what way, though, does Zemlinsky use the idea of the collective voice? Is its purpose to express unambiguous unanimity and devotion, as is mostly the case with traditional hymn singing for example, or is there a more conflicted sense of what it means to be 'in agreement' that comes to the fore? As the following will set out to explore, a nuanced reading of the rarely discussed, last psalm setting of Zemlinsky provides yet another point of access to the inherently ambiguous environment of 1930s Austria, one that complements the findings previously made through the composer's songs written during the interwar years.

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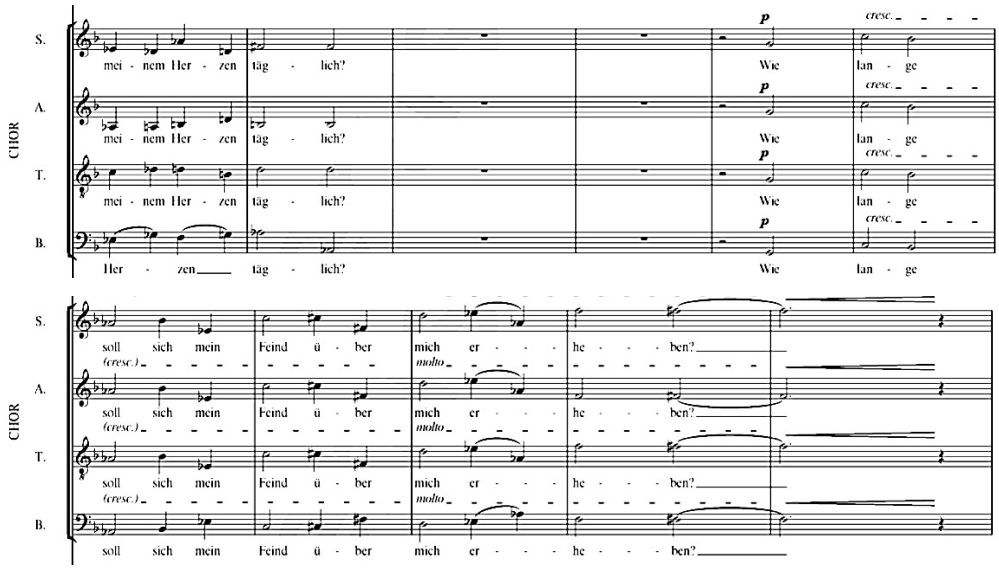
[10] With regard to the variety of texts, Viktor Ullmann produced a similarly plural set of songs, the *Seven Songs with Piano* (1923). The poets he chose include Georg Trakl, Rabindranath Tagore, Hafis (Hans Bethge), Lous Labé, Shei-Min (Bethge), Meinloh von Sevelingen, as well as a text from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn.* The manuscript is lost. Thus, it is impossible to comment on the musical style(s) employed. Compare Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 88-90.

[11] *Psalm 13* was premiered on 8 June 1971 in Vienna. See Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), 483.

Of course, the musical language employed in *Psalm 13*, including its tonal ambiguities, orchestration and voice leading, are rich enough for lengthy and detailed explorations in their own right. Yet, since the main point of the discussion is to interrogate Zemlinsky's use of a unified, collective voice that stands in contrast to the inherent plurality of his late songs, the composer's use of the unison will be central here. The first time all four voice parts of the choir join for a unison statement, they do so to express their common fear over the omnipresent enemy: 'Wie lange soll sich mein Feind über mich erheben?' ('How long shall mine enemy be exalted over me').[12] Although of course it is a question, the power with which it is voiced really makes it more of an exclamation. Sopranos, altos, tenors and basses unite through an outcry, or plea (Example 4.1). They are in collective agreement, and yet they remain outsiders who await their defeat. As such, they are not part of the heroic collective, but are excluded as outcasts, just like the many individuals of the late songs. However, the desperate nature of the phrase uttered by the group is augmented, and as a result becomes a fundamentally existential matter, something which is only rarely voiced in Op.22 and Op.27.



Example 4.1 Zemlinsky, *Psalm 13*, Op.24, bars 73-83, SATB only.

[12] Here and thereafter, the German psalm text is cited from the published score. Alexander Zemlinsky, *Psalm 13, Op.24* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2015), 5-60. The English version is taken from the *King James Version*, cited in Walter Brueggemann and William H. Bellinger, Jr., eds., *Psalms: New Cambridge Bible Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2014.

In order to fully understand the wider meaning of the unison as used by Zemlinsky in *Psalm 13*, particularly with respect to sacred compositions, it is helpful to first explore some aspects of its historical development. As Armin Raab has shown in one of the few comprehensive musicological studies of the various functions of unisons, a striking particularity of this compositional technique in Early Music before the nineteenth century is its violation of rules, i.e., the forbidden occurrence of parallel octaves or unisons (interval).[13] Thus, although often projecting collective agreement and, especially in hymns and anthems, a common ground, the composing out of unity or consensus as a one-dimensional, non-conversational statement may also be seen as being out of place. In this particular context, i.e., as something forbidden, the unison voices what should not be said. Yet, in all instances, whether positive or negative, whether used in a polyphonic, harmonic or even non-tonal situation, the unison strikes the listener as powerful, perhaps even intrusive statement.[14] Based on Goethe's famous aperçu regarding the conversational nature of the string quartet, Raab suggests that 'it must mean something if, within the scope of *four sensible people conversing with each other*, all suddenly say the same thing.'[15] Traditionally, affects or themes conveyed through the unison are situated at two seemingly opposing ends: dark affects or renderings of the underworld on the one hand, and majestic or heroic gestures on the other.[16] The furies in Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), for instance, mostly assert their dark power through large unison passages in the choral writing, demonstrating inherently 'inhumane' features.[17] More generally speaking, forceful appearances of ominous groups of course may also be associated with 'political or military events'.[18] Although perhaps less menacing, some of the same attributes can be ascribed to incidences where heroic deeds are glorified in the music. They too embody an imbalance of power, and notions of force and strength. One might even argue that these ostensibly opposing concepts indeed are two sides of the same coin. The power of a mass statement always delivers dominance over something that is being

[13] Armin Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono. Dargestellt an Streichquartetten und Messen Joseph Haydns* (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag und Herchen, 1998), 11.
[14] Also compare Ibid., 12.
[15] Ibid., 13. 'Schließlich muß es etwas zu bedeuten haben, wenn im Rahmen dessen, daß *vier vernünftige Leute sich untereinander unterhalten* alle plötzlich das Gleiche sagen.'
[16] Also compare Ibid., 15, 22-23.
[17] Ibid., 27.
[18] Ibid.

dominated. Examples of this brighter use of the choral unison can be found in sacred works, particularly in masses, where both the eternal power and the (catholic) church's demand toward a singular institution are stated.[19] These musical gestures, whether they convey a notion of the sublime or a destructive power, have in common a fundamentally teleological dimension, the spelling out of an unchangeable fate. This close connection between glory and darkness is strikingly apparent in Bruckner's *Mass in D minor* (1864) of course, and later also in Zemlinsky's *Psalm 13.* Whether it is the affirmation of divine unity through passages such as *patrem omnipotentem* and *et in unum dominum*, or the exclamation of suffering accompanying words like *miserere* and *mortuorum*, Bruckner's at times overwhelming choir indeed becomes what E.T.A. Hoffmann described as the 'giant' [unison], which 'paces […] forth, august and grand; dull laments die away under its crunching steps.'[20]

If, as Raab argues, 'unanimity symbolises the number One, the powerful summarisation of all voices […;] the absence of harmony does not only correspond with the absence of life (as symbol of death) but sometimes also with that of light.'[21] This very absence of light, but also of plurality, dominates the musical language of Zemlinsky's *Psalm 13*. The unison does not appear as hymnal conformity, but as a kind of destructive power. United as one, all voices are in agreement when they look towards their inevitable fate, still hoping to be rescued by the powers of a singular ruler. As opposed to the *Twelve Songs,* subjectivity is not dissolved but concentrated. A long-winded phrase, representing the overwhelming powers of defeat and death are sung in unison, for a duration of ten bars:[22] '[…] lest I sleep the sleep of death; Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him; and those that trouble me rejoice when I am moved.'[23] Here, the force of destruction certainly dominates over representations of a

[19] Compare ibid., 172-174. Raab discusses the frequent use of unison in Haydn's mass compositions in text passages like *et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam* as well as *cujus regni non erit finis*. These are only two of many examples through which Raab demonstrates the close relationship between text and musical *Gestus* in Haydn's masses.

[20] E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Ritter Gluck* quoted in Ibid., 20. 'Wie ein Riese hehr und groß schreitet das Unisono fort, die dumpfe Klage erstirbt unter seinen zermalmenden Tritten.'

[21] Ibid., 23. 'die Einstimmigkeit wird zum Symbol der Zahl eins, die kraftvolle Zusammenfassung aller Stimmung dient der Kennzeichnung besonderer Kraft, der Abwesenheit von Harmonie entspricht die Abwesenheit nicht nur von Leben (Todessymbol) sondern gelegentlich auch von Licht.'

[22] Zemlinsky, *Psalm 13,* Op.24, bars 102-112, pages 20-23. <https://www.universaledition.com/de/alexander-zemlinsky-796/werke/psalm-13-14184>, accessed 6 August 2019.

[23] Ibid. 'dass ich im Tode nicht entschlafe, dass nicht mein Feind sich rühme, er sei mein mächtig geworden, und meine Widersacher sich freuen, sich freuen, dass ich daniederlieg'.

glorified deity. The central message conveyed is that of death and the power of the enemy. Here, the individual destiny is drowned out by the sheer force of the collective.

Yet, as opposed to Haydn's masses, for example, *Psalm 13* hardly fulfils the requirements of a devotional piece for the purposes of a particular religious institution. One obvious reason for this assumption may be found in the subordinate role that sacred pieces played in Zemlinsky's compositional career more generally. Throughout his life, the composer only wrote three pieces for religious purposes, all of which are psalm settings from the Old Testament, rather than masses.[24] Beaumont understands Zemlinsky's *Psalm 83* (1899) as an immediate response to his father Adolf's death.[25] Whether this is true or not, it is most likely that the piece was not a commission, seeing that its first performance was not until 1987.[26] Similar to *Psalm 13,* the topics of *Psalm 83* are of a dark character, which includes the confrontation with the enemy and the voicing of revenge. Quite different from these two 'outer' works is Zemlinsky's 1910 version of *Psalm 23*, one of the most frequently set texts of the Old Testament, speaking of splendour and confidence. It was the composer's only commissioned sacred work.[27] Beaumont sees *Psalm 13* as a direct response of Zemlinsky's to his conducting experience in Prague in February 1935, where he led the performance of Graeser's orchestral version of J.S. Bach's *Kunst der Fuge*, as well as the choral prelude *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiermit*.[28] Beaumont further claims that *Psalm 13* represents 'a declaration of solidarity with the Jewish people, less public a gesture than Schoenberg's re-conversion, but no less sincere.'[29] One might certainly want to argue that such a strong statement is hard to verify as long as there is no proof of Zemlinsky's intentions.

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[24] In this context, the short four-minute piece for cantor and choir *Baruch [H]aba, Mi Adir* (1896) should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. The young Zemlinsky composed what was later reviewed by Beaumont and published as *Hochzeitsgesang* (*Wedding Song*) for the purposes of a wedding in his local synagogue in Vienna's Zirkusgasse.

[25] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 76-77.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 191-192. The recently founded Philharmonic Choir in Vienna commissioned the piece, and it was first performed under Schreker's direction on 10 December 1910 in the Musikverein.

[28] Ibid., 414-415. A list of concert works conducted by Zemlinsky also demonstrates how little he engaged with sacred music, both large and small scale. Apart from Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* and Verdi's *Requiem*, none of the most prominent compositions of the genre are listed. Although of course there is no way of proving the completeness of this index, the general tendency towards secular works (and opera) cannot be doubted. For indices of works conducted see Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag), 700-712.

[29] Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (2000), 416.

However, both the fact that the composer reverted to one of the darkest texts of a genre he rarely considered otherwise, and the overpowering musical *gestus* of *Psalm 13*, are impossible to ignore. Whether or not Zemlinsky declares solidarity with the increasingly suppressed Jewish population of Germany and Austria must remain unanswered. Nonetheless, it is extraordinary that he directed his compositional efforts towards subjects like fate, destruction and, with regard to both words and musical language, the menacing power of the masses. No other work of Zemlinsky's is so rich with linear and 'grand' statements. After all, the unanimity voiced here is not only established through the use of the unison, but also underlined by the teleological nature of the setting, where, for the most part, music and text are in mutual agreement. Conflicts that arise in *Psalm 13* are not a matter of a music that contradicts or questions its underlying text, as is the case in many of the late songs, but one inherent to the unfolding narrative. The collective of Op.24 struggles to find solace in God, just as the individual of Op.27 struggles to find peace or fulfilment in the world-as-is.

A short scene involving a collective occurs in Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge,* in 'Lied der Baumwollpflücker' (No.2). The cotton pickers' repetitive, gruelling labour is given a theme in unison, played by the wind section (bars 1-6, see Example 1.9, chapter 1): 'Come, brother, come. Lets lift it; come now, hewit! Roll away! Shakles fall upon the Judgement day. But lets not wait for it.'[30] The heavy weight of the workers' burdens are made audible throughout the song, through the many repetitions of the 'rolling' theme. Once again, the gesture alludes to dark affects, i.e., the inevitability of escaping the Sisyphean task of slave labour. Yet, as opposed to the later psalm setting, the collective voice in Op.20 is but a short episode which fades as the set proceeds. The labouring men dissolve as the lament of 'Totes braunes Mädel' (No.3) begins. Here, the main function of the collective voice is that of contrast. It interrupts the forward-moving momentum of the individual laments in Nos.1, 3 and 5 (for the dramaturgy of Op.20 see Fig.1.2, chapter 1). As such, 'Lied der Baumwollpflücker' represents one of seven sequences, rather than a solid unified statement as is the case in *Psalm 13*.

[30] Jean Toomer 'Cotton Song', in *The Collected Poems of Jean Toomer,* Robert B. Jones and Margery Toomer, eds. (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1988), 25.

Nonetheless, the fates of the two collectives are similar: both are oppressed groups, unable to free themselves.

The larger idea of the unison is also apparent in Zemlinsky's *Sinfonietta* of 1934. Here, unanimity occurs in the form of rhythmic patterns, rather than in terms of harmony. The *Sinfonietta* mostly hinges on one short rhythmic motif, which is repeated both unchanged and altered, sometimes in a rather obtrusive manner. The four-note pattern, consisting of three quavers that function as anacrusis to an accented crotchet, first occurs in bars 6 and 7 (see Example 3.20, chapter 3). Because of its numerous appearances, often played by one or more instrument groups at the same time, the pattern serves a quasi-unison function. As a result, a rather daunting atmosphere is evoked, a sense of fleeing similar to the opening of Pavel Haas's *Study for Strings,* written in Terezín in 1943. Both Haas's *Study* and Zemlinsky's *Sinfonietta* share some of the same rhythmical gestures, expressing power, flight and darkness.[31] The urge to escape of course always is induced by an intruding perpetrator. Again, there is no proof or indication that Zemlinsky's 1934 and 1935 pieces were responses to the ever-increasing presence of military and mass demonstrations by the Nazis and Austro-Fascists. Yet, the sound worlds they create are discomforting, and perhaps even militant, something that both the *Six Songs*, Op.22 and the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 lack entirely. The power of the masses, their *gleichschaltung* or synchronisation, as well as their oppressive capacity dominated much of the cultural life in Central Europe by this point. In the same vein, although as a retrospective musical elaboration of these events, Schoenberg's 1947 monodrama *A Survivor from Warsaw* for narrator, men's chorus and orchestra is yet another demonstration of a forceful unison. Peter Petersen poignantly illuminates the power of the central unison passage of Schoenberg's *Survivor*: 'When the commanding officer drives the frail men to count more quickly because he wants to know within a minute how many to hand over to the gas chambers, the unexpected occurs: the oppressed begin to sing spontaneously and in unison the song of *Sh'ma Yisroel.*'[32] Zemlinsky's *Psalm 13* and Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* have in common that they give a voice to a kind of collective outcast, a group of people that is

[31] This parallel is particularly obvious in the first twelve bars. See Pavel Haas, *Study for Strings* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1943), 5.
[32] Peter Petersen, 'Dimensions of Silencing', in Erik Levi and Florian Scheding, eds., *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2010), 33.

excluded from society. The idea of the outsider here is quite different from the isolated individual in Schubert's *Winterreise*, for example, whose journey in search of a *Heimat* is a matter of choice. The unified voices of Zemlinsky's choral work really are *heimatlos* in that they have been deprived of the freedom to choose. Even the heroic ending in D major cannot conceal this overall sense of *Heimatlosigkeit.* It is as if the expression of hope is a false one; the overpowering orchestra shifts towards the major mode, but it changes neither timbre nor its somewhat martial character. Thus, hope becomes an exclamation of desperation. For the first time in *Psalm 13*, Zemlinsky's music deviates from the essence of the psalm and questions its meaning. Here, Zemlinsky once more incorporates a central Mahlerian concern. According to Adorno, 'humanity as depicted by Mahler is a crowd of disinherited people.'[33] The crowd of Zemlinsky's *Psalm 13* shares the same destiny.

In the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, there is no such unified voice. The collective is inherently heterogeneous, made up of isolated individuals. Any kind of totalitarianism is refused through the avoidance of bold statements. Quite different from the somewhat martial character of Op.24, Zemlinsky's songs, as observed by Sommer, are 'far from moralising'.[34] His compositional style that refrains from both unison-like gestures and clear harmonious moments, favours complexity and the idea of counterpoint in the widest sense. It refuses to be dogmatic, and therefore is in resistance against an increasingly synchronised world order. As opposed to this principle of avoiding any form of agreement, *Pslam 13* draws on its darkest appearance, expressing maximum tension through an imbalance of power. The oppressed collective is dominated by a totalitarian order. The teleology that the songs so vehemently resist heralds a catastrophe, rather than redemption.

[33] Adorno, *Mahler*, 68. 'Mahlers Menschheit ist eine Masse von Enterbten.'
[34] Uwe Sommer, *Alexander Zemlinsky. Der König Kandaules* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1996), 19. 'Zemlinsky lag es dabei jedoch fern zu moralisieren'. Sommer's remark relates to the opera *Der König Kandaules* and its avoidance of fundamentalist (musical) ideas.

The Web of Relationships

Chapter 1 revealed that it is difficult to explore Zemlinsky's *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.20 without considering the unique jazz scenes of late-Weimar Berlin. To this end, the category of jazz needed significant reassessing as a global, rather than exclusively American phenomenon. Doing so allowed for a reading of Op.20 that acknowledges its blues-like features. Giving a voice to oppressed peoples in a contemporary, oftentimes urban scene, is just as 'authentic' in Zemlinsky's 'Arabesque' or 'Elend', as it is in the folk songs of African-American origin. Accordingly, the category of folk music in Zemlinsky's late songs is not confined to Austro-German contexts. In the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Zemlinsky composed out fundamental human concerns, regardless of time, place and language: their central topics are suffering, the (here futile) search for a *Heimat*, and injustice. Again, binaries are blurred as things familiar begin to sound strange. In turn, foreign themes become strangely familiar.

Back in Vienna, the topics the composer was confronted with changed significantly, and with them the narrative strategy of his song writing. On the surface, the *Six Songs*, Op.22 withdraw from an engagement with contemporary concerns by reverting to texts of the well-known German writers J.W. von Goethe and Christian Morgenstern. At a first glance, they are neutral; neither foreign elements nor blunt criticism can be discerned. As such, Zemlinsky's choices are strikingly different from those made by more overtly political composers, including Hanns Eisler and Kurt Weill. Chapter 2 demonstrated that this kind of aesthetic detachment only designates the outer layer, i.e., the book cover of the *Six Songs*. Within, the narrative threads that the music unfolds resist such uniformity. Ultimately, not even the humpbacked manikin, who kindly asks for a prayer, retains its place as the set's mildly consoling closure. 'Auf dem Meere meiner Seele' really states what Adorno identified as 'the essence of modern art, [namely] that utopia enters the power of negation, the prohibition of its name; that colour is saved by darkness, happiness by asceticism, conciliation by dissonance – […].'[35] The tension created by these contradictions is what defines the last of these six songs. Unlike the *Symphonische Gesänge*, Op.22 does not end with a death

[35] Adorno, *Quasi una Fantasia*, 198-99. 'Woran die neue Kunst ihr Wesen hat: daß die Utopie eingeht in die Kraft der Negation, ins Verbot ihres Namens; daß das Bunte gerettet wird im Dunklen, das Glück in der Askese, die Versöhnung in der Dissonanz – [...]'.

blow. Yet, it is far from reconciliatory as it remains in a state of chaos, the soul searching with no point of arrival, no *Heimat* in sight.

The *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, composed in 1937 and 1938, are more plural in style than any of Zemlinsky's previous sets. Chapter 3 argued that, instead of looking at these songs exclusively through the lens of analysis, an approach that foregrounds the narrative strategies yields more productive results. Three narrative layers, which resist linearity and a coherent dramaturgy, work towards a gradual dissolving of human subjectivity. Hans Bethge's Kalidasa transcriptions, set in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 11, depict nature as something that exists outside of the individual's experience. As such, even if it represents an ideal, or perhaps a utopia, there is no apparent way of uniting with it. Accordingly, the narrative is non-existent, stagnation and a state of 'nothingness' are at the heart of these five songs.

> With the creation of man, the principle of beginning came into the world itself, which, of course, is only another way of saying that the principle of freedom was created when man was created but not before.[36]

Perhaps the Kalidasa settings are the musical equivalent of Hannah Arendt's philosophy, understanding freedom, which continuously failed throughout the *Six Songs*, as something that is always coupled with its opposite in a tangible world. Thus, these five songs resist the notion of failure because they depict a world without humanity. Accordingly, the idea of freedom itself is non-existent here. This is further underlined by the three contrasting songs, which are of an inherently subjective nature, and depict suffering and pain above all else. In Nos. 7-9, subjectivity is synonymous for the deprivation of freedom, most explicitly so in 'Elend'. The third narrative strand is a kind of joint between the two, where the subject is no longer involved in human action, i.e., in the act of narration as mimetic agent, but instead becomes a disengaged observer. Here, neither cynicism nor disillusion prevail, but a matter-of-fact coming to terms with a broken world order. 'Süßer Friede,/ Komm, ach komm in meine Brust' is voiced in 'Wandrers Nachtlied', but the music no longer believes in it.[37] Yet, the disbelief that freedom may be achieved at some point is stated in a calm and steady way. The evenly

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[36] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 177.
[37] J.W. von Goethe, 'Wandrers Nachtlied', in *Goethe's Werke,* Vol.1 (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1918), 99.

proceeding chord structure no longer is involved in the chaos of Morgenstern's thundery ocean of the soul (Op.22, No.6).

In the end, Zemlinsky's inherently plural songs written between 1929 and 1938 prompt a non-binary and non-linear approach to thinking about music, history and its complex processes. As argued by Arendt, there is no single story that exists outside of a larger web of relationships. Accordingly, no musical work originates in isolation of its historical particularities. Yet, pieces like the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27 are not determined by the cruel reality its composer was subjected to. Instead, the musical language enters into a dialogue with these concerns. Zemlinsky's music is reflective of the many inherited means it employs, of the way it uses laments, traditional harmony and motivic variations. Oftentimes, the musical material counters or questions its long-established functions, but it never does so for the purpose of effect alone. As a result, a song like 'Feiger Gedanken bängliches Schwanken' (Op.22, No.3) neither agrees nor disagrees with Goethe's call for freedom via responsibility. Through its ambiguous tonal structure and reluctance to end with a glorifying cadence, it questions the feasibility of the ideals of the Enlightenment. Although 'Feiger Gedanken' may certainly be regarded as a pessimistic view of these themes, it still underlines the importance of freedom of thought, despite its inherent lack of hope. As such, 'Feiger Gedanken' represents neither a withdrawal from nor a surrendering to the world-as-is. It engages with its particularities, aware of any unresolvable conflicts. Chapter 2 showed that this nuanced reading of the song was only possible through a careful examination of the wider meaning of Goethe's poem with regard to a well-known folk theme: *Die Gedanken sind frei!*, which, in the light of the increasingly censored Austro-Fascist *Ständestaat* of 1934, in Zemlinsky's version is deprived of its exclamation mark. Instead, it is unsure of the success implied by the centuries-old song, and asks: *Sind die Gedanken frei?* Are the thoughts really free?

This thesis has demonstrated that the inherent complexity of Zemlinsky's late song writing provides a rich musical source through which the plural environment of its origin can be explored. Op.20, 22 and 27 give access to contemporary concerns and environments not usually associated with Zemlinsky and his circles. These include individuals like Anna Nußbaum, August Eigner and Wilhelm Grosz, but also a rethinking of larger concerns and concepts, such as the genre of jazz. While the well-known

figures, including Brahms, Mahler and Schoenberg, remain central satellites towards an understanding of Zemlinsky's music, this study has demonstrated that it is vital to widen the investigative parameters. Details like Zemlinsky's unique relationship with jazz and the Harlem Renaissance could only be considered because more and more threads of the composer's web of relationships were uncovered. This method, in turn, revealed some of the choices Zemlinsky made when charting his way through the fraught Austro-Fascist environment once he was back in Vienna. Reverting to texts of Goethe and Morgenstern was thus far from a withdrawal of current affairs but, instead, a way of subtly engaging with the concerns of 1934 Austria. This strategy is also apparent in Alban Berg's music, whose incorporating of a Carinthian folk song in his 1935 *Violinkonzert* certainly '*also* needs to be seen in the light of the latest demands of the *Vaterländische Front* since 1934.'[38] Yet, if considering the complex socio-political environment of 1930s Austria, these choices cannot be interpreted as clear political statements. They make neither Berg nor Zemlinsky passionate followers of the Christian *Unversalreich* as propagated by the *Ständestaat* regime. Yet, this conclusion could only be reached through a reassessing of hitherto accepted binaries, as well as the careful investigation of some of the grey areas that defined Austria's interwar years. Within the scope of this thesis, the clear-cut antithesis of Red and Black Vienna needed questioning in order to reveal where these camps overlapped, and what this meant for the individual who was subjected to the contradictions of this political landscape. The exploration of aspects of August Eigner's world, a seemingly insignificant figure of early-twentieth-century Vienna, provided an eminently useful example towards a more detailed understanding of the conflicted situation in Vienna during the interwar years.

[38] Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Das Volkslied in der österreichischen Kunstmusik der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts', in *Echoes from Austria. Musik als Heimat: Ernst Krenek und das österreichische Volkslied im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Matthias Schmidt (Schliengen: Argus, 2007), 58. '[…] Bergs *Violinkonzert* von 1935 mit dem bekannten Zitat einer Kärntner Volksweise, ist meines Erachtens zumindest *auch* im Kontext der seit 1934 aktuellen Forderungen der *Vaterländischen Front* zu verstehen.'

Heimat

Florian Scheding and Erik Levi state that '[…] ethnomusicology has increasingly reminded musicologists of the importance of place, just as musicology continues to remind ethnomusicologists of the importance of history.'[39] Understanding the reciprocal relationship between these units is what facilitates a nuanced approach to history and music. With regard to Zemlinsky scholarship, this means that a rethinking of what it meant to experience places like late-Weimar Berlin and Austro-Fascist Vienna becomes a prerequisite for the evaluation of his music which, after all, evolved through these locations. Especially in cases like Zemlinsky's, where there is little archival material through which personal opinions or working processes may be assessed, this method becomes indispensable. Within the scope of this thesis, the concept of *Heimat* provided a particularly useful framework for the musical explorations because it represents both place and history at once. In both capacities, its meaning is subject to continuous alterations. It thus facilitated a reading of Zemlinsky's late songs that allowed for the discovery of similarly subtle shifts and variations in the music. Through the idea of *Heimat*, it was possible to make sense of the inherently plural themes prompted by both the songs and the period.

The challenge of a method working in many directions, rather than in a linear way, is that it is potentially endless – it becomes clear immediately that one cannot arrive at a straightforward, unambiguous conclusion. The more strands one reveals of an individual's web, the more contradictory the result will be. Consequently, it becomes increasingly difficult to sustain monolithic ideas, including that of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as the trademark for a kind of golden age. Or, in the words of Karl Kraus: 'I have devastating news for the aesthetes: Old Vienna once was new.'[40] With his sarcastic remark, Kraus recognised the inherent dangers of retrospectively glorifying the past as a lost *Heimat* that needs retrieving. He dismantles it as something that actually never existed as such. In all capacities, whether as mystified past, as longing for a better place, or as something simply associated with a particular region: *Heimat* is never quite within

[39] Levi and Scheding, eds., *Music and Displacement*, 1.
[40] Karl Kraus, 'Pro domo et mundo', in Hans Wollschläger, ed., *Karl Kraus Lesebuch* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1987), 160. 'Ich muss den Ästheten eine niederschmetternde Nachricht machen: Alt-Wien war einmal neu.'

reach, it evokes a sense of being at peace with the world that can only be searched for, but can never be found. Walter Benjamin poignantly describes it as 'something that shines into everyone's childhood, and where nobody has ever been.'[41] *Heimat* slips away as soon as it seems to be in sight, just like the many episodes of Zemlinsky's *Twelve Songs.* None of his song compositions of 1929-1938 establish a false sense of belonging, neither by embracing bygone musical styles such as the late Romantic exuberance, nor by trying to invent a new musical *Heimat.* This perhaps is the most striking aspect of Zemlinsky's late song writing: that it resists the 'the strange pathos of novelty'.[42] It draws broken images of a world that is in conflict with its past and present at once, i.e., with its own *Heimat.*

So weit als die Welt,	As wide as the World,
So mächtig der Sinn,	As wide is the spirit's strength,
So viel Fremde er umfangen hält,	As much Foreignness as it embraces,
So viel Heimath ist ihm Gewinn.[43]	As much *Heimat* it will receive.

In line with this poem by Clemens Brentano, Zemlinsky's late songs understand that familiarity and strangeness are two sides of the same coin. The more one embraces the peculiarities of things foreign, the wider one's *Heimat* becomes. In the *Twelve Songs*, Op.27, this strange kind of *Heimat* is ubiquitous. As such, it vehemently resists the *Heimat* ideologies propagated by the Austro-Fascist and Nazi regimes. The *Twelve Songs* thus become an inherently modern piece of music which address the conflicts of their times. The set neither ignores these by inventing something new, nor does it whitewash inherent incongruencies by applying nostalgic décor. The essence of Zemlinsky's songs written between 1929 and 1938 thus remains topical even today. Their plural fabric makes an investigative approach through the well-established stylistic categories impossible, and even uncomfortable – they remain odd and strange. Rather than looking for conclusive answers, we must listen out for the questions that these songs ask, no less relevant today than they were in Harlem, Berlin and Vienna of the 1930s.

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[41] Ernst Bloch, *Werkausgabe: Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, Vol.5 (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1985), 1628. '[...] das allen in die Kindheit scheint und worin noch niemand war: Heimat.'

[42] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 248.

[43] The poem from Clemens Brentano's novel *Godwi* (1801) is cited in Rüdiger Görner, 'Im Wort wohnen: Friedrichs Hölderlins Heimaten', in Siegfried Reusch, ed., *Der blaue Reiter*, Vol.23 'Heimat' (Stuttgart: omega verlag, 1/2007), 72.

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