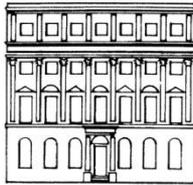


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Stefan Hanheide:

Reflections of War Sounds in German Concert Halls

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REFLECTIONS OF WAR SOUNDS IN GERMAN CONCERT HALLS

STEFAN HANHEIDE

The impact of the First World War was, in German public awareness, far more marked in literature and the visual arts than in music. In the sphere of literature Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* springs to mind, likewise Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, both of 1929, but also Henri Barbusse's *Le Feu: journal d'une escouade*, published in 1916.¹ In the visual arts Käthe Kollwitz, Otto Dix, and Max Beckmann on the German side deserve mention.

Musical works with war references have been investigated much more in the English-speaking world than elsewhere. A conference held at the university of Osnabrück in October 2012 and its published proceedings represent an early contribution by German musicology, which deals with many of the belligerent countries.² In contrast to the perceptions of the German public today, research so far suggests that the First World War inspired a wealth of compositions in all combatant nations. They often have titles such as Anthem, Victory March, Battle Song, To my Fatherland, Pour la patrie, Lamentation, Elegy, Requiem, Berceuse, Memorial, Honneur à . . . , Sonata Eroica, and so on. The motives were twofold: composers wanted to participate in the war by giving musical expression to their own enthusiasm for it; and they also sensed the prospect of financial success. This applied to both composers and publishers. War noises were often given musical treatment. Thus semantic signs emerged that could make a recognizable statement.

Newly published pieces in the German-language area were listed in the monthly *Hofmeister-Verzeichnis*, which can be found online Trans. Jane Rafferty (GHIL). This article is based on a paper delivered at the German Historical Institute London on 24 June 2014.

¹ The English version, *Under Fire: The Story of a Squad*, was published in 1917; the German version in 1918.

² Stefan Hanheide, Dietrich Helms, Claudia Glunz, and Thomas F. Schneider (eds.), *'Musik bezieht Stellung': Funktionalisierungen der Musik im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen, 2013).

today.³ From September 1914 on it brought together a huge number of relevant compositions inspired, above all, by the 'August experience' and the following enthusiasm for the outbreak of war (see Figure 1). Most of these pieces are by composers who are totally unknown today and only a few of the titles are available in specialist libraries. Richard Strauss accused these composers of exploiting the boom and producing dilettante work in the guise of patriotism.⁴ Alongside such compositions, many simple songs were written for the people and soldiers, often without accompaniment, and published together in small booklets. Dietrich Helms has put together a list of songs relating solely to Hindenburg, containing 168 individual titles.⁵ Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, therefore, ambitious German composers had already started to be creative and comment on the hostilities in their works.⁶

It must be noted that we should, in fact, be referring to German-speaking rather than German composers, as Austrian music – almost exclusively Viennese – cannot be separated from German. At the time of the First World War Vienna was still the capital of German music. And most of the examples to be discussed here were composed by Austrian musicians. The following incident illustrates this integration of Germany's and Austria's musical cultures. In July 1921 the Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg wrote to his pupil Josef Rufer: 'I have discovered something that will ensure the superiority of German music for the next hundred years.'⁷ The Austrian head of the Vienna School, who in 1925 took over the master class for composers at the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin, wanted to play a part in the future predominance of German music with his twelve-tone technique. He saw himself as continuing the German tra-

³ For the *Hofmeister-Verzeichnis* see <<http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/musik/16615.htm>>, accessed 8 Jan. 2015.

⁴ Franz Strauss and Alice Strauss (eds.), *Richard Strauss – Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Briefwechsel* (Zurich, 1952), 251–2.

⁵ Dietrich Helms, ' "Das war der Herr von Hindenburg": Mythenbildung und informelle Propaganda in der deutschen Musikproduktion des Ersten Weltkrieges', in Hanheide, Helms, Glunz, and Schneider (eds.), *'Musik bezieht Stellung'*, 63–119.

⁶ See <<http://www.musik.uni-osnabrueck.de/index.php?id=2645>>, accessed 8 Jan. 2015.

⁷ Willi Reich, *Schönberg oder Der konservative Revolutionär* (Vienna, 1968), 173.

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Figure 1: Excerpt from the *Hofmeister-Verzeichnis*.

November 1914.

Musik für Orchester.

- Ailboud, Hans.**
Bei „Justy“ am Potsdamer Platz, s.: **Zimmer, Carl.**
- Bernstein, B.**
Jeder Stoss ein Franzos', Kriegslied f. Orch. (m. 100 Texten). 8°. Leipzig, Schubert jun. M 1 n.
- Blankenburg, H. L.**
Kriegs-Marschalbum 1914. Vier Märsche (Op. 75–78). Hannover, Oertel.
Ausg. f. Orch. 8°. M 4 * n.
- Blech, Leo.**
Gott, Kaiser, Vaterland! Lied f. Orch. 16°. Berlin, Bote & Bock M 1,50 * n.
- Bransky, Otto.**
Op. 25. Treumann-Larsen-Gavotte f. Orch. (od. Salonorch.). Leipzig, Portius M 2 n.
- Conradi, August.**
Op. 119. Kriegsraketen. Patriotischer Melodienkranz f. 1914 neu bearb. v. Victor Hollaender. Ausg. f. Orch. Berlin, Bote & Bock M 4 * n.
- Eysler, Edmund.**
Frühling am Rhein. Walzer nach der gleichnam. Operette arr. v. A. Ischpold f. gr. Orch. M 5 n. — f. kl. (6- bis 17stimm.) Orch. M 2,50 n. 8°. Leipzig, Döblinger.
- Petrás, Oscar.**
Op. 198. Mit Feuer u. Schwert! Patriotisches Marsch-Potpouri f. Orch. 8°. Hamburg, Benjamin M 4 * n.
- Friedemann, Carl.**
Op. 151. Valse-Caprice f. Orch. Hannover, Oertel M 2,50 * n.
- Gastaldon, S.**
Neapolitanischer Marsch (Avanguardia di Monelli) f. Orch. 8°. Hamburg, Benjamin M 2 * n.
- Goldmann, Kurt.**
In der Heimat gibts ein Wiederseh'n! Soldatenlieder-marsch f. kl. (16stimm.) Orch. 8°. Leipzig, Eulenburg M 1,60 * n.
- Gräfenhan, Paul.**
Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott allein. Vaterländ. Marsch f. Orch. 8°. Leipzig, (Pabst) M 1,50 n.
- Hanke, Raimund.**
Op. 50. So liebt der Deutsche seinen Kaiser. National-gesang f. Orch. (u. Militärmusik zusammen). Leipzig, Rühle & Wendling M 1,50 n.
- Heidberg, Albert.**
Frühlingsträume. Lied f. Orch. gr. 8°. Budapest, Zipser & König M 3 n.
- Heinecke, Max.**
Titanen-Marsch f. Orch. 8°. Berlin-Neukölln, Wrede M 2 n.
- Hevers, Alfred.**
Op. 6. Deutscher National-Marsch über „Die Wacht am Rhein“ f. Orch. 8°. Berlin, Walther Schröder M 2 n.
- Hollaender, Victor.**
Ueb'n Rhein. Marsch, s.: **Oscheit, Max**, Op. 215.
- Humperdinck, Engelbert.**
Vorspiel Die Marktenderin f. gr. Orch. Part. M 8 * n. St. M 12 * n. Berlin, Furstner.
- Jaffé, Moritz.**
Kompositionen. Berlin-Karlshorst, Westphal.
Au Jardin d'amour (Im Liebesgarten.) Walzer f. Orch. M 2,50 n.
Das Käthen von Heilbronn. Oper. Daraus Szenen (Fehmgericht. Sturm Musik. Oherub) f. Orch. Part. u. St. M 4 n.
Polnischer Karneval f. Orch. M 2,50 n.
Polnische Weisen (Cracovienne) f. Orch. M 2,50 n.
- Jahn, Karl.**
Op. 164. Deutscher Kampfgesang f. Orch. Berlin, Rirnbach M 1,50 n.
- Kaun, Hugo.**
Op. 96. Symphonie No. 3 (Em.) f. gr. Orch. Part. M 30 * n. St. Preis nach Vereinbarung. Leipzig Zimmermann.
- Köhler, Oscar.**
Op. 155. Mondnacht auf Capri. Barkarole f. Orch. 8°. Berlin, Stahl M 2 n.
- Kondor, Ernst.**
Der alte Zigeuner. Lied f. Orch. gr. 8°. Budapest, Zipser & König M 3 n.
- Lanner, Josef.**
Op. 161. Hoppl-Tänze. Walzer f. Orch. 8°. Hamburg, Benjamin M 2,50 * n.
- Lindemann, Otto.**
Liebchen, lass uns kosen. Liebes-Serenade f. Orch. 8°. Berlin-Neukölln, Wrede M 2,50 n.
- Mahler, Gustav.**
Adagietto aus der 5. Symphonie. Orch.-Part. Leipzig, Edit. Peters M 3 n.
- Meissner, Carl.**
Schlachten-Gesang f. Orch. 8°. Leipzig, Rühle & Wendling M 1,30 n.
- Niemann, Walter.**
Op. 35. Rheinische Nachtmusik f. Streichorch. u. Hörner. Part. München, Wunderhorn-Verlag M 5 n.
- Oscheit, Max.**
Op. 215. Ueb'n Rhein. Marsch nach dem gleichnam. Liede v. Victor Hollaender f. Orch. 8°. Berlin, Bote & Bock M 1,50 * n.
- Pickert, Alfred.**
Le Secret (Das Geheimnis). Intermezzo f. Orch. 8°. Hamburg, Benjamin M 2 * n.
- Recktenwald, Fritz.**
Viktoria! Austria-Germania! Defilier-Siegesmarsch f. Orch. 8°. Leipzig, Carl Rühle M 2,50 n.
- Riccias, C.**
Deutschlands Erhebung. Festmusik zum Andenken an Theodor Körner (m. Prolog ad lib.). Ausg. f. Orch. Hannover, Oertel M 4 * n.
- Siede, Ludwig.**
Kompositionen f. Orch. 8°. Berlin-Neukölln, Wrede M 2,50 n.
Op. 54. Indischer Brautzug. Charakterstück.
- 60. Die Puppenhochzeit. Charakterstück.
- 62. Farbenspiele. Intermezzo.

Titles referring to the war are highlighted.

Source: *Hofmeister-Verzeichnis* <<http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/musik/16615.htm>>, 1914, p. 208.

dition represented by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, and Brahms, one to which Austrian composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, and Mahler had also contributed. For him, separating the Austrian was out of the question. A short time later the Jew and exponent of the New Music, Schoenberg, was denounced by the German side as an internationalist and musical bolshevik.

This article is divided into three sections. The first looks at how and why composers worked war noises into their pieces by examining selected examples, including some from beyond the German-language area. The Italian composer Alfredo Casella and the French composer Maurice Ravel represent the side of Germany's wartime enemy. By drawing on a broader horizon of music history, the second section will demonstrate what opportunities musicians had in 1914 to incorporate further war noises into their compositions. The third section will discuss why these opportunities were not taken, and look at how the war influenced music history in a different way.

I. War Sounds in Music

The first sounds of the First World War that spring to mind are those of the battlefield—the thunder of canons, the firing of guns, bombs exploding, and so forth. These, however, were not the sounds adopted by composers. Rather, they turned to other acoustic signs sent by the war, mainly in the form of anthems, war songs, patriotic chorales, military music, and marches.

A number of works use national anthems, often drawing on the same melodies: *La Marseillaise*, the Austrian *Gott erhalte*, and the British national anthem. It is important to note in this context that allocating the national anthems in the First World War is not straightforward. The melody of the British national anthem was the same as that of the German *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* and the non-official American *My Country, 'Tis of Thee*. This American patriotic song is quoted in Charles Ives's *In Flanders Fields*, based on John McCrae's famous war poem. America's current national anthem, the *Star-Spangled Banner*, was declared the national anthem by President Wilson in 1916, and confirmed by the US Congress in 1931. So the warring parties, Germany on one side, Britain and America on the

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other, had national anthems with the same melody. In Germany there were discussions and attempts to create a new national anthem, but these came to nothing. Popular audiences often sang the *Deutschlandlied*, which used Joseph Haydn's melody of 1797 to the words 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' by Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1836). After the First World War the *Deutschlandlied* became the official German national anthem. In the nineteenth century and during the First World War, however, this melody was used for the Austrian anthem. It was composed in 1797 by Joseph Haydn to the words 'Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser', which were later changed.

Other melodies of national importance were also used, in Germany, above all, Protestant chorales that came to represent the nation. *Nun danket alle Gott*, known as the *Choral von Leuthen*, is constantly cited in music history. In a political context, the chorale was used by Johannes Brahms, who quoted it in his *Triumphlied* Op. 55, composed immediately after the victory over France in 1870–1 and dedicated to the German emperor. Max Reger used the chorale in his *Vaterländische Ouvertüre* of 1914, linking it with the *Deutschlandlied*, which, in this case, should be seen not as Austrian, but as the German national anthem, in order to distinguish it from the British one.⁸ In his piano piece *En blanc et noir* (1915), Claude Debussy used Luther's chorale *Ein feste Burg* to characterize the Germans.

My first example is Felix von Weingartner's overture *Aus ernster Zeit*. Weingartner is today better known as a conductor than a composer. In 1915 he expressed his political opinions of the world war as follows: 'Lying, deceitful, swaggering, and haughty – that is how our enemies set up a wicked war. Honest, loyal, powerful, and modest – that is how we accept the challenge and respond to it. There will be no higher world order if we are not the victors.'⁹

Weingartner's programme, which he set to music, is illustrated in the drawing (see Figure 2). *Aus ernster Zeit* was composed right at the start of the war, in September and October 1914. Two critics reported on performances in the autumn of 1914. One wrote:

Vienna. On the 8th inst. [November 1914], under F. Weingartner's proven and masterful leadership, our unsurpassed

⁸ Two other patriotic songs also occur in the composition: *Ich hatt einen Kameraden*, and *Ich hab mich ergeben*.

⁹ See Figure 2.

Figure 2: Felix von Weingartner, Contribution to *Kriegsalmanach* 1916.

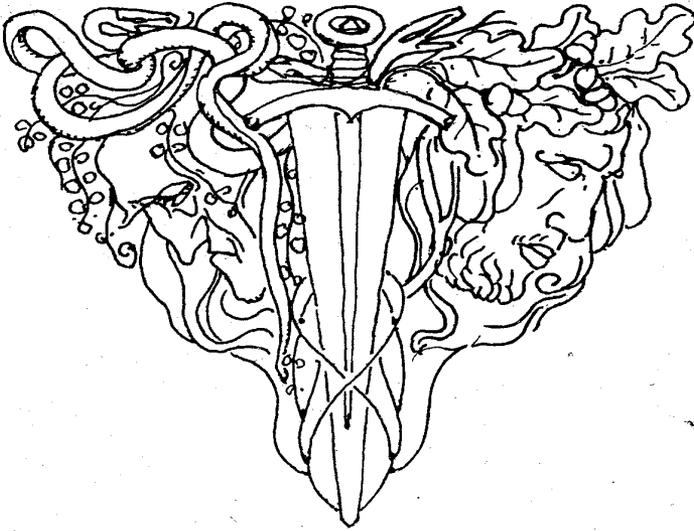
Bedanken.

Von Felix von Weingartner.

Berlogen, heimtückisch, prahlerisch und dunkelhaft, — so haben unsere Feinde einen frevelhaften Krieg gerüstet.

Ehrlich, treu, kraftvoll und bescheiden, — so haben wir die Herausforderung angenommen und erwidern sie.

Es gäbe keine höhere Weltordnung, wenn wir nicht die Sieger blieben.



The enemy's bad soldier with a snake on the left is opposed to the winner, presented in the style of a Greek victor, adorned with oak greenery symbolizing Germany. Source: Kriegshilfsbüro des k.k. Ministerium des Inneren (ed.), *Kriegsalmanach* 1914–1916 (3rd edn. Vienna, 1916), 78.

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Philharmonic opened its midday concerts. . . . We heard Weingartner's new overture *Aus ernster Zeit*. The French seem to be characterized by *La Marseillaise*, the Russians by their imperial hymn; both melodies do battle with *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* and *Gott erhalte*; of course these last two (joined at the end in skilful counterpoint) gloriously prevail. Weingartner introduces *La Marseillaise* 'scornfully and cheekily' like croaking birdsong. Soon afterwards, conceived in a guardistic-ironic way, the Russian national anthem appears, distorted in neo-French whole-tone harmony à la Debussy . . . Par nobile fratrum . . . At first hinted at very quietly by the cellos and basses, we then sense, as if from a long way off in gentle, full organ chords, *Gott erhalte*; this then sets the tone most powerfully, forcing the audience to stand up involuntarily, which is what happened at the Philharmonic concert. And when the two imperial anthems are combined at the end, it caused a storm of applause that did not want to end, in response to which Weingartner repeated the last part of his new piece—the apotheosis—as an encore.¹⁰

A performance in Darmstadt was reported as follows: 'Here a new composition by Felix Weingartner, an overture *Aus großer Zeit* [sic] was performed for the first time. The composer works on *La Marseillaise*, the British, and the Russian national anthems in a dissonant way and at the end contrasts them with a victorious combination of the German and Austrian anthems.'¹¹

The confusion over the national anthems becomes quite clear here. The first critic speaks only of *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*, the second also mentions the British anthem. To understand the meaning of the music it is useful to show the Russian imperial anthem, which is hardly known today (see Figure 3). The other anthems are well known. *La Marseillaise*, the Russian anthem, both distorted, and *God save the King/Heil dir im Siegerkranz* can be heard. The last anthem appears in both a deconstructed and a pure, dignified form. Then *Gott erhalte* is quietly played by the organ, in a quasi-sacral style. In a

¹⁰ Theodor Helms, 'Wiener Brief', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 81 (16 Nov. 1914), 553, abbreviated.

¹¹ S. N., 'Kreuz und quer', *ibid.* (3 Dec. 1914), 563.

Figure 3: Russian Anthem 'God Save the Tsar' (beginning).



later section another sacral rendition of *Gott erhalte* by brass instruments can be heard, followed by a combination of *Gott erhalte/Heil dir im Siegerkranz* as an apotheosis which closes the piece. A musical battle ends in musical chauvinism. Weingartner's overture *Aus ernster Zeit* is a work laden with emotion and effects. During the war it was often performed in Germany, as the advertisement in Figure 4 shows. The composition was published by Universal Edition in Vienna as early as 1914, and a piano version for four hands was brought out in 1915 for playing at home.

Yet this use of national anthems in musical pieces directed at concert audiences was also explicitly criticized. Unlike Weingartner, the French composer Vincent d'Indy refused to use national anthems and songs when he composed his Third Symphony, *De bello gallico* (1916–18). He wrote: 'J'ai évité avec soin toute *Marseillaise*, toute *Wacht am Rhein*.'¹²

My second example is Franz Lehár's lied *Fieber* from his cycle of five songs, published in 1915 as *Aus eiserner Zeit*.¹³ While the first four are simple songs with piano accompaniment, the fifth, entitled *Fieber*, is staged as a dramatic scene (see Figure 5). It depicts a wounded soldier's time in a field hospital. He is in a feverish dream and imagines himself amongst his fighting comrades. To the words 'den Kriegsmarsch, den wir alle sungen' ('the war march, that we all sang'), the

¹² Letter to Paul Poujaud, 5 Aug. 1916. See Esteban Buch, 'Vincent d'Indy et la Première Guerre mondiale: Sinfonia brevis de bello gallico', in Manuela Schwarz (ed.), *Vincent d'Indy et son temps* (Sprimont, 2006), 22–3. *Die Wacht am Rhein* was the most popular German patriotic song of the time, directed against France. The composer commented (ibid.): 'J'y ai mis presque inconsciemment, toutes mes impressions de la guerre; 1er Mouvt. = La Mobilisation – La Marne; Scherzo = La gaieté du front; Andante = L'art latin et l'art boche; Finale = La victoire, avec l'hymne de S. Michel comme préoraison.'

¹³ The five songs in the collection are: *Trutzlied* (words by Fritz Löhner); *Ich hab' ein Hüglein in Polenland* (words by Karl Dankwart Zwerger); *Nur einer . . .* (words by Fr. W. van Oestéren); *Reiterlied 1914* (words by Hugo Zuckermann); and *Fieber* (words by Erwin Weill).

Figure 4: An Advertisement for Universal Edition.

!! Ein schwungvolles patriotisches Orchesterwerk !!

Soeben erschien:

Felix Weingartner

**Ouvertüre: „Aus ernster Zeit“
für Orchester und Orgel (ad libitum)**

U.-E. No. 5533 Part. M. 15.—; U.-E. No. 5534 Stimmen M. 30.—, Doubletten à M. 2.50

Das gesamte Reinerträgnis wurde vom Komponisten und vom Verlage der
Kriegsfürsorge des Allgemeinen Deutschen und des Oesterreichischen
Musiker-Verbandes gewidmet.

Bisherige Aufführungen:

Wien, 8. November 1914 Philharmonisches Orchester,
Darmstadt, 16. November 1914 Grössherzogliche Hofkapelle,
Graz, 2. Dezember 1914 Festaufführung des Stadttheaters,
Brünn, 11. Dezember 1914 Festaufführung des Stadttheaters.
Wiesbaden, 18. Dezember 1914 Hofkapelle.

In Vorbereitung in Metz, Stettin, Chemnitz, Prag, Budapest etc.

This advertisement contains numerous references to performances.
Source: *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 73 (6 Jan. 1915).

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Austrian Radetzky March sounds, in combination with the Hungarian Rákóczi March, in a minor key.

In the soldier's hallucinating state, the sounds of the various marches mix together. Then, eerily and sombrely, Lehár depicts his approaching death, which brings the work to an uneasy end. This composition, written in April 1915, is generally seen as linked to the suffering of Lehár's brother Anton, a colonel in the Austro-Hungarian army. He was wounded twice during the first weeks of the war and taken to a hospital in Vienna, where he suffered for months, but eventually recovered. 'My visits to him are some of the saddest memories of my life', Lehár remarked in his journal in November 1919.¹⁴ Lehár, the son of a military chaplain, presented the tragic side of the war in a complex composition. Along with the piano piece, he also wrote a version for orchestra, which was performed for the first time on 12 April 1916. Scholars of Lehár's music generally have great dif-

Figure 5: Franz Lehár, *Fieber*.

The image displays a musical score for Franz Lehár's 'Fieber'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system is a piano arrangement, with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff begins with the instruction 'poco meno (non troppo)' and the piano dynamic 'p'. The bass staff includes the instruction 'gleichzeit.' and the dynamic 'p'. The second system starts at measure 18 and includes the instruction 'Con enfasi.' and the dynamic 'ff tutta forza'. The bass staff of the second system includes the instruction 'ff più vivo'. The score is written in a minor key and features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings.

Combination of the Austrian Radetzky March and the Hungarian Rákóczi March. Version for piano, with one of the marches appearing in small print.

Source: Franz Lehár, *Aus eiserner Zeit*, © 1915 Glocken Verlag, Wien. Reproduced with the kind permission of Glocken Verlag GmbH, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁴ Karl Marilaun, 'Franz Lehár über Oberst Lehár: Aus einem Gespräch mit dem Komponisten', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 12 Nov. 1919, 5.

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faculty in knowing where to place this work amongst the composer's successful operettas.¹⁵

Alban Berg's *March* from Op. 6, is another instance of the most military of musical genres. The last section of his *Drei Orchesterstücke*, Op. 6, entitled *Marsch*, was written in the summer of 1914. Unlike in Lehár's treatment, however, the march character can barely be heard in Berg's work. Although traces of military music idioms can be heard in various places, these are distorted. A military march is usually in a major key, and its tempo and structure are clearly recognizable. Its positive and stimulating message must come across clearly, and any complexity is alien to it. Berg turns all this completely on its head. The atmosphere is dark and depressing. For most of this ten-minute movement, even the march tempo is unclear. All we hear is destruction. Characterized by virtuoso 'careless counterpoint',¹⁶ the structure is extremely complicated and various different canons overlie one another. The march as military idiom is destroyed and repeated hammer blows disrupt the events, turning it into a *Marche macabre*.¹⁷ In this piece, Berg explicitly refers to Mahler's Sixth Symphony (1904), especially its last movement. Later, both Mahler and Berg were seen as anticipating the horrors of the First World War, as the war was just beginning when Berg finished the piece. He completed it in outline at the end of July, and as a full score on 8 September 1914. Despite the fact that the full scale of violence of the First World War had not yet unfolded, during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 a war of unprecedented scale could be anticipated. Debates about war and peace were particularly intense in Vienna, which emerged as one of the most important centres of the European peace movement.

When Berg destroys the march as military idiom, it is useful to look at his attitude towards the war. Berg's letters to Schoenberg before the end of 1914 reveal a certain ambivalence. On the one hand he expresses a compulsion to be part of it and regrets that he has been declared unfit to serve. As a contemporary with a moral sense he

¹⁵ Otto Schneidereit, *Franz Lehár* (Berlin, 1984), 165–7.

¹⁶ James K. Wright, ' "One of the most remarkable noises ever imagined": Berg's Op. 6 and Mahler's Contrapuntal Complexities', in Elisabeth Kappel (ed.), *Das klagende Lied: Mahlers 'Opus 1'. Synthese, Innovation, kompositorische Rezeption* (Vienna, 2013), 226.

¹⁷ Mark DeVoto, 'Alban Berg's *Marche Macabre*', *Perspectives of New Music*, 22 (1983–4), 386–447.

expects the war to improve the world by 'cleansing' it. On the other hand, he speaks of the horrors and suffering of the time and longs to be able to live in peace far away from it all.¹⁸ He complains about the reports in the newspapers, which he calls 'filthy rags' and a 'disgusting accompaniment'.¹⁹ Schoenberg had urged him to pledge a war loan. Berg refused, citing financial difficulties, but said that he had donated to war welfare, preferring to support the victims rather than the perpetrators. All in all, there is little enthusiasm for war to be found in these letters, especially to the nationalistic Schoenberg. Having initially been declared unfit, Berg was called up in August 1915. At a school for reservist officers in Bruck an der Leitha he suffered a physical breakdown at the beginning of November 1915 and was admitted to the military hospital, where he stayed for two weeks. After that he was first reassigned to guard duty in Vienna and finally, in May 1916, to a position in the War Ministry, where he remained until the end of the war.

A final example from the German side is Paul Hindemith's *Repertorium für Militärorchester Minimax*. Like Lehár and Berg, Hindemith also worked with marches. While the three works discussed so far were intended for the general public and were performed in large concert settings, Hindemith's work was designed for a small circle only. Nonetheless, it can be regarded as a personal confession of faith, or as an outlet for dealing with the events of the war. It was performed at the Donaueschinger Musiktage in 1923 for a private audience. A contemporary photograph shows the well-known Amar Quartet, in which Hindemith himself played the viola, performing *Minimax* on the grass in the park of Donaueschingen Schloss. The photograph shows a clear parody. The four musicians are executing a military salute while wearing home-made white paper hats and holding their bows like weapons.²⁰

¹⁸ On 19 May 1915 Berg wrote to Anton von Webern: 'Wünsche – daß endlich, endlich, endlich Friede ist . . .' See Ferdinand Redlich, *Alban Berg* (Vienna, 1957), 303.

¹⁹ 'Saublätter' (28 Sept. 1914); 'ekelerregende Begleiterscheinung' (14 Dec. 1914); Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer (eds.), *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg – Alban Berg*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 2007), i: 1906–1917, 501, 512.

²⁰ The photograph, entitled 'Die "Militärkapelle Minimax" beim Morgen-training (Amar-Quartett)', is printed in Heinrich Strobel, *Paul Hindemith:*

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The opening and closing movements of the six-part work parody the popular Prussian military marches which were among the standard repertoire of German military bands until the end of the First World War. During the war Hindemith himself was a regimental musician who played the big drum. The first movement parodies the *Hohenfriedberger Marsch*. Hindemith gives it the title *Hohenfürstenberger*, referring to the patron of the Donaueschinger Musiktage, Max Egon Fürst zu Fürstenberg. Hindemith calls the last movement, containing shades of the march *Alte Kameraden*, *Alte Karbonaden*. There is hardly a musical ensemble that is further removed from the military band than the string quartet. The military band plays loud, open-air concerts; the string quartet, by contrast, produces a particularly noble, almost philosophical sound. 'The serious musical presentation of a string quartet, that reasoned conversation between four people, mercilessly exposes the pathetic veneer and sentimental kitsch of the military bands.'²¹ The facetiousness is also evident in a note on the cello score saying: 'slur note. A valve is to be kept "frozen" at the *Kaiserbaß*.' Everything that has been written here about Hindemith's military music, the intimate audience, and the valve function, also applies to Schoenberg's composition of 1916, *Die kleine Brigade* for string quartet and piano. It is worth noting that both composers defamiliarize the military music idiom by presenting it for string quartet.

If we look beyond the German-language area, *Pagine di guerra* by the Italian composer Alfredo Casella, strengthens the argument that composers hesitated to insert actual war sounds into their works. Its subtitle is *Cinque Films musicali*. A version for piano, four hands, Op. 25, was created in 1915–16; the version for orchestra with an added fifth movement was concluded in 1918. The five short individual movements are entitled: 1. In Belgium: Parade of German Heavy Artillery; 2. In France: In Front of the Ruins of Reims Cathedral; 3. In Russia: Charge of the Cossack Cavalry; 4. In Alsace: Wooden Crosses

Zeugnis in Bildern (2nd edn. Mainz, 1961), 25. It is also available online at <<http://www.hindemith.info/leben-werk/>>, accessed 27 Jan. 2015.

²¹ Elmar Budde, 'Humor, Witz und Parodie: Anmerkungen zu Mozart, Strauss und Hindemith', in Sabine Borris (ed.), *Das Lächeln der Euterpe: Musik ist Spaß auf Erden* (Berlin, 2000), 91.

. . . ; 5. In the Adriatic: Italian Cruisers Carrying Armaments.²² More than in other compositions, the events of the war determine the titles. But they all refer to images. Nowhere is there any mention of sounds, such as bombardment or the beating of drums. And the music is constructed visually. It does not imitate noises; it is not onomatopoeic. This is confirmed by the subtitle's reference to 'films'. A certain drastic quality can be discerned, however, not so much in the more harmless second and fourth movements, but in the others.

Perhaps the most successful way of commenting on the First World War in music was found by Maurice Ravel, who worked especially with the symbol of the dance. One example is *Le Tombeau de Couperin*. Here he moulds six movements by the French Baroque composer into new works. The version for piano was written from 1914 to 1917 and was first performed on 1 April 1919 in Paris.²³ It is composed of the following six movements: 1. Prélude (à la mémoire du lieutenant Jacques Charlot); 2. Fugue (à la mémoire du sous-lieutenant Jean Cruppi); 3. Forlane (à la mémoire du lieutenant Gabriel Delue); 4. Rigaudon (à la mémoire de Pierre et Pascal Gaudin); 5. Menuet (à la mémoire de Jean Dreyfus); 6. Toccata (à la mémoire du capitaine Joseph de Marliave). A version for orchestra in only four movements was completed in 1919 and was premiered on 28 February 1920 in Paris.²⁴ But the typical French titles were retained: 1. Prélude; 2. Forlane; 3. Menuet; 4. Rigaudon. Thus Ravel declared himself part of the great French musical tradition and gave his country and compatriots, who had suffered so much violence in the war, the potential for identification. He dedicated each movement to an acquaintance or friend who died in the war.

The idea of destroying musically encoded material encountered in Berg's *March* of 1914 reoccurs in Maurice Ravel's *La valse*, finished in 1919. This project was started in 1906 and, under the title *Wien*, was intended as an apotheosis of the Viennese waltz. Once the Habsburg Empire had become an enemy in the war, Ravel added his own de-

²² I. Nel Belgio: sfilata di artiglieria pesante tedesca; II. In Francia: davanti alle rovine della cattedrale di Reims; III. In Russia: carica di cavalleria cosacca; IV. In Alsazia: croci di legno . . . ; V. Nell' Adriatico: corazzate italiane in crociera.

²³ Printed version Paris 1918.

²⁴ Printed version Paris 1919.

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struction of the waltz, while he had started by celebrating the genre. With distorted rhythms and dissonant harmonies the piece ends in an eruption of chaos and violence. The idiom of the waltz, which symbolizes the Habsburg monarchy, has achieved its own destruction. In both works Ravel composed dances and placed himself in the tradition of the great ballet-loving nation France. In *Le Tombeau de Couperin* he created a memorial to his fallen friends in the French dances. In *La valse* he composed a Viennese waltz in which the enemy destroyed itself.

II. War Noises in Music?

In the examples given so far, the noises of the battlefield hardly appear in the compositions. One reason for this can be found in the musical aesthetics of the time. This was the last breath of musical romanticism, marked by a large distance between politics and music. Politics was regarded as a bad thing, a mundane business, from which high art should distance itself as far as possible. Any point of contact between the two different worlds was out of the question. This is why Gustav Mahler was so harshly criticized when he dared to use everyday music in his symphonies. The *Frère Jacques* canon in a minor key in the third movement of his First Symphony was an affront to the aesthetics of the time, but it paved the way for the New Music. Building on what he had done, musicians developed major musical departures around 1910. Unlike the composers encountered so far, the new avant-garde, however, was prepared to integrate war noises into musical compositions. This applies to Italian Futurism and its musical branch, *Bruitismo*, and to Expressionism, which in music took the the form of atonality.

Futurism

Futurism developed the idea that in a musical work most attention should be paid not to the traditionally dominant parameters of melody, harmony, and rhythm, but to noise. The new art was to be shaped by railway noises, ships' sirens, and the sound of aeroplanes. The traditional range of instruments was considered inadequate for this, and in 1913 new instruments were developed, the *intonarumori*. The key representatives of musical Futurism, the brothers Luigi and

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Antonio Russolo, divided their *intonarumori* into six groups producing the following sounds:

1. Rumbles, Roars, Explosions, Crashes, Splashes, Booms
2. Whistles, Hisses, Snorts
3. Whispers, Murmurs, Mumbles, Grumbles, Gurgles
4. Screeches, Creaks, Rustles, Buzzes, Crackles, Scrapes
5. Noises made by percussion on metal, wood, skin, stones, terracotta etc.
6. Voices of animals and men: Shouts, Screams, Groans, Shrieks, Howls, Laughs, Wheezes, Sobs.²⁵

This range of instruments was ideally suited to reproducing the sounds of the battlefield. Part of the ideology connected with Futurism before the First World War was also the glorification of war, 'this unique hygiene of the world', as it was called in Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto* of 1909.²⁶ This idea of hygiene was widespread among intellectuals, and music was part of it during the war. In the book version of Luigi Russolo's central tract, *L'Arte dei Rumori* (1916), a six-page chapter is devoted solely to 'The Noises of War'. Russolo reports with enthusiasm that when he was called up at Lake Garda, he could 'study the immeasurable wealth of war noises in every detail'.²⁷ He wrote that war and musical Futurism engage in a positively poetic symbiosis: 'In the modern mechanized and metal war, visual elements are virtually irrelevant, but the sense, meaning, and expression of noise is unlimited. Since traditional poetry lacks the appropriate means for transposing the reality and value of these noises, modern war can only be given expression using the sound instrumentation of futuristically liberated words.'²⁸ If the First World War had ended with a positive experience, its sounds would clearly have determined the art of Futurism.

Despite the negative experience, the word 'war' appears in the titles of works by Futurists more often than in those of other composers.²⁹ After the war, however, it was only the movement's leader,

²⁵ Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzolla, *Futurism* (London, 1977), 115-17.

²⁶ *Le Figaro*, 20 Feb. 1909.

²⁷ Luigi Russolo, *Die Kunst der Geräusche* (Mainz, 2005), 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Examples of pieces by futurist composers with titles referring to war are Francesco Balilla Pratella, *La Guerra: Tre Danze per Orchestra*, Op. 32 (1913):

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Marinetti, who continued to be interested in war for his art. For the others, reality destroyed their war enthusiasm. Thrilled at having been called up, thirteen close adherents lost their lives, and another forty-one were wounded.³⁰ Russolo himself suffered severe head wounds, from which it took him a long time to recover. Although he continued to pursue the idea of noise machines with his brother in the 1920s, they no longer worked with war noises. Two works of 1921 were called *Corale* and *Serenata*. These two pieces, each only about two minutes long, expose the shortcomings of their work and illustrate the huge gulf between theory and practice. Yet no other musical style went as far as Italian Futurism in using war noises in musical compositions.

Of the Futurists, Pratella was the actual musician, while Russolo was a painter. His piece *La Guerra* does not work with noise-makers, the *intonarumori*, but with traditional instruments. Written for orchestra, today all that remains are recordings of the piano version. Although we hear chaotic sounds primarily in the middle section, 'La Battaglia', there are no war sounds. The work is close to that of composers who, at this time, had decided to give noise in music greater status, but used traditional instruments, for instance, Igor Stravinsky in his ballet *The Rite of Spring* (1913) and Béla Bartók in his *Allegro barbaro* (1911). Here, too, the preconditions exist for treating war noises in music.

Expressionism

Expressionism opened up new possibilities for allowing pain and its human expression, the cry, to be heard in music. Atonality was used for this. In his two one-act pieces *Erwartung* (1909) and *Die glückliche Hand* (1913), Schoenberg used sounds 'that offer more painful inten-

L'aspettazione—La battaglia—La vittoria; Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *La battaglia di Adrianopoli*, 1924 (spoken only) and *Battaglia di ritmi* (from *Cinque sintesi radiofoniche*), 1933; Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (voice) and Aldo Giuntini (piano), *Sintesi musicale futuriste: Gli eroi della nostra guerra*, 1931: Gli eroi Borsini e Claravolo affondano col Cacciatorpediniere Nullo nel Mar Rosso—Il mare—La festa dei motori di guerra—Accerchiati vincemmo a Passu Arieu—Battaglia simultanea di terra mare cielo; and Luigi Grandi, *Aeroduello, dinamosintesi per orchestra*, 1935.

³⁰ Tisdall and Bozzolla, *Futurism*, 179.

sity than anything that has gone before'.³¹ The cry of pain is a significant expression of war, whether produced on being wounded or on learning of a loved-one's death. To this extent, Expressionism also laid the foundations for adopting the noises of the battlefield and war. Its central tenet, 'Truth not Beauty', fitted in with this.

The last great work of Expressionism, Alban Berg's opera *Wozzeck*, composed between 1914 and 1922 and first performed on 14 December 1925, deals with the fate of a soldier. He has hallucinations that are already evident in the second scene of Act 1. As mentioned above, Berg himself had suffered a breakdown when he was a soldier. Now he had the chance to link the hallucinations of his soldier *Wozzeck* clearly with the war. Including some obvious war noises in this scene would have made the connection quite clear. But he did not do this. Georg Büchner's text of 1836, which Berg adopted virtually unchanged, has characteristics of later literary Expressionism. Some of the concepts and images of the conclusion of the second scene derive from the biblical apocalypse:

Wozzeck:

Ein Feuer! Ein Feuer! Das fährt von der Erde in den Himmel
A fire! A fire there! It rises from earth into heaven

und ein Getös herunter wie Posaunen. Wie's heranklirrt!
And with a tumult falling, just like trombones. How it rattles!

Andres:

Die Sonn' ist unter, drinnen trommeln sie.
The sun has set now, hear the drummers there.

Wozzeck:

Still, alles still, als wäre die Welt tot.
Quiet, all is quiet, as if the world were dead.

Berg's soldier suffers from oppression by the captain and the doctor, from his lover's interest in the drum major, and from the shame of having fathered an illegitimate child. Berg has resisted making any reference to the First World War. The only war sounds are in the

³¹ Wolfgang-Andreas Schultz, ' "Reines material" und "neues hören" als kältepanzer [sic]: Chiffren des Schmerzes in der Neuen Musik', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 168 (2007), 17.

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form of sleep noises from the barracks in the fifth scene of Act 2. He confines himself to a generally valid depiction of the social fate of his *Wozzeck*, who murders Marie and then kills himself. Their child is left behind as an orphan. What is perhaps the most important opera of the twentieth century is thus one of social compassion. But it is not an anti-war opera – which it could have been.³²

III. Conclusion: The Impact of the War on Music History

Even though the musical means were available, composers during and after the First World War were not willing to use realistic war sounds in their compositions. Why not? The distance between music as art and the sphere of politics has already been mentioned. What should also be mentioned is that in the course of 1915 the reality of the war in all its horror and tragedy unfolded. The death announcements in the newspapers became ever longer and soon stopped being printed. Every small village and every family suffered losses. After the war, after all the devastation, there was a collective trauma. Composition using the noises that caused or depicted this tragedy became obsolete. No one wanted to put these sounds to music, and no one wanted to hear them.

Musical representation of more realistic war noises only emerged after the Second World War. Krzysztof Penderecki's *Threnos*, depicting in sound the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima, may be mentioned. Benjamin Britten's more restrained *War Requiem* subliminally adopts the sounds of the battlefield. Both of these works were written around 1960. They were preceded by Dmitri Shostakovich's *Lenin-grad Symphony* in 1941, where war noises can be heard in the middle section of the first movement. These are only a few really key works. As described above, Italian Futurism never really transformed war noise into music, although it developed the broadest theoretical guidelines. Today the best-known work that can be related to musical futurism in a broader sense is Arthur Honegger's *Pacific 231* (1923). This depicts in sound a train starting and then coming to a stop. To this extent it corresponds to Futurism. What Honegger was really

³² For traces of the First World War in the opera see Glen Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley, 2003), 233–40.

interested in, however, was musical structures, namely, accelerating or decelerating movement simply by changing the rhythm and not the tempo. In other words, he dispensed with indications of tempo such as *adagio*, *andante*, or *allegro* and their modifications *accelerando* or *ritardando*, and only made the smallest rhythmical adjustments. This preoccupation with musical structures is symptomatic of the period. Rejecting romantic harmony, in fact, rejecting all expression as such, composers were looking for new musical structures.

The most prominent proponent of this process was the Vienna School around Schoenberg which, after the First World War, developed atonality further into the twelve-tone technique. The central principle of expression in atonality was to be drawn out of it by its structure. Besides the Vienna School, Stravinsky moved from writing music of extreme expression before the war, as in the *Rite of Spring*, for instance, to writing music of extreme structure, to neo-classicism, which seemingly lacks any expression. Another attempt to create new musical structures was Alois Hába's quarter-tone system, which he applied, for instance, in his *Choral Suite*. For choral voices he did not use a text, but simply vocalized them. After the incomprehensibility of the war, any text, any content, was in danger of telling lies.

In exile, Hanns Eisler composed a choral cantata in 1936, *Gegen den Krieg*. His use of a strict twelve-tone technique barely allows for any emotion at all. On the German side the lack of language and expression must have been even greater than in other countries. The only thing any of them was interested in was musical structure, certainly not content, like Mahler and Strauss. A parallel development in visual arts was abstract painting, which began before the war. Order and structure in music were intended to neutralize any sort of expression. After the trauma of the war, the human soul, damaged forever, was given armour-plating to protect it from any feelings. 'The First World War was followed by a disillusionment bordering on coldness.'³³ This was how the war influenced music history.

³³ Albrecht Riethmüller, 'Objektivierung und Entsubjektivierung', in id. (ed.), *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: 1925–1945* (Laaber, 2006), 26.

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