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Cultural Memory and the Singbewegung in pre- and postwar Germany

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CULTURAL MEMORY AND THE SINGBEWEGUNG IN PRE- AND POSTWAR GERMANY

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2021

Contents

Abstract

This thesis analyses the development and decline of the Neo-Classical movement of composers of functional sacred music known as the Singbewegung in Germany from the 1920s until the early postwar period using an approach informed by the field of memory studies. I explore various different iterations of the movement, in both a Catholic and an Evangelical context and in postwar East Germany, to demonstrate how the Singbewegung and the state mobilised key memory sites of the German Baroque past in an attempt to combat perceived inadequacies in the present.

In particular, I seek to contribute to the growing body of scholarship which complicates the common 'Stunde null' ('zero hour') paradigm in German culture by demonstrating that, in this case in the context of sacred music, 1945 did not represent a clear break with the recent or distant German past, with many composers seeking to carry on as they had been before the Second World War.

The section of my thesis which examines these movements before the War focuses in particular on the 'Leipziger Schule' ('Leipzig School') and its members, such as Hugo Distler and Ernst Pepping, and their compositional styles, in addition to their relationship to the conflicts both within and beyond the Evangelical Church during the National-Socialist Period.

From 1945 onwards, I am interested in the attempt of composers of both the Evangelical and the Catholic Church in West-Germany, for instance Helmut Bornefeld, Siegfried Reda and Bertold Hummel, to continue composing in this tradition of functional sacred music.

With regard to East-Germany, I analyse how the inheritance of the cultural practice of sacred music from the prewar period was affected by the introduction of East-German Socialist Realism and how this was mobilised by the East-German state as a means of presenting itself as the true inheritor of the German past, with reference to the composer Rudolf Mauersberger and the Dresdner Kreuzchor.

I conclude by demonstrating the frustration and decline of the Singbewegung in West Germany during the late 1950s as a result of the increasing dominance of the avant-garde, secularisation and strong criticism from figures such as Clytus Gottwald and Theodor Adorno, among others.

List of Examples and Tables

Introduction

This thesis examines the development of one of the musical offshoots of the German 'Jugendbewegung' ('Youth Movement') of the early twentieth century, the 'Singbewegung' ('Singing Movement'). These movements will be traced from their conception during the early decades of the twentieth century, through their complex relationship with National Socialism, to their differing postwar dissemination in East and West Germany. A key focus here is the role of multiple layers of 'cultural memory', of the distant and recent past, in creating and shaping the ideology and musical discourse of the Singbewegung. Older scholarship has presented 1945 as 'Stunde null', or 'zero hour' for German music, in which the focus was very much on the future and beyond Germany's own cultural borders. But in recent years, this has been challenged and nuanced, with increased emphasis being placed on the ideological and stylistic overlap between the past and the present for the first decade and a half following the end of the Second World War. In the case of sacred music, as will be my focus here, the 'zero hour' myth is fundamentally misleading and a different temporal lens is required. Through this, 1945 will still be viewed as a significant date, but not as a definitive beginning or end. Instead, it is a transitional point in a narrative which extends both backwards and forwards temporally. The nature of the movement changed significantly in 1945 as it splintered into at least three parallel elements; the central Singbewegung in the West, an echo of the prewar movement in East Germany and a version of it adopted by the Catholic Church. Each developed its own distinct character, but each was rooted in the ideology and discourse of the 1920s and 1930s.

As I will explore, the interpretation and function of the imagined past and the Singbewegung's relationship with it shifted significantly over time; the past acted not only as a powerful creative force, but also as a significant creative block. During the prewar period, the music of the late-seventeenth-century 'pre-Bachians' proved to be a font of inspiration for a newly invigorated and actively anti-Romantic form of German sacred music. But as the postwar years in West Germany wore on, an inability to look beyond the golden age of the 1930s and an increasing

ambivalence regarding the movement's relationship with fascism led, especially in the case of Evangelical composers, to a period of decline from which the movements did not recover. In contrast to this, the German Catholic Church found the musical language of the Singbewegung, with which it had previously engaged to only a very limited extent, to be the ideal vehicle for its own brief flowering of new sacred music following its newfound dominance in a Germany shorn of the former Protestant heartlands of the East. This was only to be short-lived, however, as liturgical reforms and postwar secularisation stifled it in its infancy. In the newly founded secular socialist state which took root in East Germany, the music of the prewar Evangelical Church found an outlet via institutions such as the Kreuzchor in Dresden, which survived the regime change due to the perceived cultural significance of sacred music to the identity of this new German nation.

The 'zero hour' concept in German music is one which has existed in scholarship since at least Ulrich Dibelius's 1966 work *Moderne Musik*, in which he uses the term 'the zero year of Modern Music' to describe the surrender of Germany to the Allies in 1945.[1] The idea behind this is that all musical activity in Germany leading up to the fall of National Socialism ceased in its current form and composers were forced to start afresh amidst the rubble surrounding them. The former antipathy towards music by Jewish composers and the use of taboo techniques such as dodecaphony eased, while at the same time the musical styles which had been favoured under National Socialism were too problematic to continue with in light of the horrors of the previous decades.[2] In literary scholarship, writers such as Stephen Brockmann have challenged the neatness of the 'zero hour' trope, stating that an 'absolute break in continuity' in German literature in 1945 cannot truly be accounted for. Instead, he suggests, the perception of this among academics from around 1970 onwards has led to a selective remembering of German literature during the

[1] 'Das Jahr Null der modernen Musik', Ulrich Dibelius, *Moderne Musik nach 1945* (Munich: Piper, 1998), pp. 15-17.
[2] Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-4.

immediate postwar period which emphasises works which break radically from tradition over those in which greater continuity is to be found.[3]

In terms of music, as scholars such as Amy Beal have shown, the reality is much messier than the 'zero hour' narrative may suggest. Not all music considered undesirable by the regime had been completely banned, while composers who received party approval went on to have successful careers following denazification by the occupying forces.[4] Ian Pace has demonstrated in his 2018 dissertation that the advent of New Music in West Germany was also slower to take root than a more traditional narrative of twentieth-century music may suggest.[5] Emily Richmond Pollock has recently challenged the zero hour paradigm in relation to opera, as well as more generally. She highlights the fact that the first two decades following the Second World War actually saw many artists seek to rehabilitate tarnished cultural institutions and idioms that they did not view as being inextricably linked with National Socialism.[6] As such, 1945 did not truly constitute a zero hour for music in West Germany, per se. This was certainly so in the case of the Singbewegung, the modern revivalist movement of Baroque sacred music. Here, 1945 marked a new stage of development: a point of divergence at which musicians influenced by novel and differing political and religious realities sought actively to engage with the music of both the distant and recent past. This was often done on the grounds of strongly-held socio-political beliefs and with the aim of using the past to help shape newly-opening societal horizons. A better understanding of the history of this stylistic period, from the late 1920s to the 1960s, will serve not only to enrich the available narratives of twentieth-century German music, but also to chart the trajectory of the music of the Catholic and

[3] Stephen Brockmann, *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour* (Camden House: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 1-20.
[4] Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 11-13.
[5] Ian Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music during the early Allied Occupation (1945-46), and its Roots in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich (1918-45)' (University of Cardiff: PhD Submission, 2018), pp. 2-4.
[6] Emily Richmond Pollock, *Opera after the Zero Hour: The Problem of Tradition and the Possibility of Renewal in Postwar in West Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2019), pp. 2-6.

Evangelical churches in relation to the extreme political turmoil of this period and their roles in the forging of new forms of national identity.

The 'zero hour' paradigm may have been brought into question, but there is still need for scholarship to explore the musical activity that bridged the traditional divide between pre- and postwar German music. The Singbewegung and the wider Jugendbewegung provides fertile ground for this. The fairly scant amount of available recent English-language material about the movement focuses on its first flourishing in the 1920s and relationship with National Socialism. The Singbewegung's afterlife following 1945, however, is instructive in understanding some of the broader socio-political changes in both East and West Germany, in addition to how the shifting landscape in new music affected both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches. Attitudes took time to shift in both cultural and musical terms in the immediate postwar period and this left room for the music of the Singbewegung to attempt to re-root itself not only in its traditional Evangelical context, but also to take root for the first time within the Catholic Church and in the officially secular nation of East Germany, where its ideals and musical idioms were perhaps surprisingly in line with some of those of the nascent East-German brand of Socialist Realism.

A good deal of the available literature on the Singbewegung itself is by now somewhat dated and is mostly restricted to generally laudatory biographies and studies of particular composers. Hugo Distler (1908-1942) has received a greater amount of scholarly attention compared to his peers and successors with Stephan Hanheide's 1995 collection of essays on his life and work being an exceptional example of critical attention being afforded to a member of the movement, as I will discuss in chapter 1.[7] Much of the literature on Distler is, however, still confined to biography. This is equally the case with other major figures that will form a central part of my study here such as Ernst Pepping (1901-1981), Helmut Bornefeld (1906-1990) and Siegfried Reda (1916-1968). The most

[7] Stefan Hanheide, ed., *Hugo Distler im Dritten Reich. Vorträge des Symposions in der Stadtbibliothek Lübeck am 29. September 1995* (Osnabrück: Universistätsverlag Rasch, 1997).

recent substantial study in relation to the latter two composers is Roman Summereder's 2010 account of the summer school for sacred music they ran in southwest Germany in the postwar period.[8] Again, the focus is on providing a biographical account of the school and the central figures associated with it rather than drawing out the more problematic elements of the movement and its ideology in a critical manner.

It should be remembered, however, that the Singbewegung formed only part of the wider Jugendbewegung, which was not by any means principally concerned with sacred music. Pamela Potter has published at length on German music in the interwar period and she provides a useful critical account of the origins of the Jugendbewegung in her 1998 monograph on musicology during the Weimar Republic and under National Socialism.[9] She describes the various different musical groups connected with the movement as often being referred to under the umbrella term of the 'Jugendmusikbewegung' ('Youth Music Movement'). These groups were influenced by the ideology of other early Jugendbewegung movements such as the Wandervogel, a youth group who sought to escape what they perceived as the constraints of late Wilhelmenian society through nature retreats and cultural events celebrating Germany's medieval past.[10] The Jugendmusikbewegung itself furthered these ideals and took a particular interest in 'folk songs, choral music and pre-classical polyphony', with an emphasis on participation over ability.[11] In light of this, it is important to be clear that though my particular focus in this thesis is on the Singbewegung as a musical manifestation of the ideals of the Jugendbewegung, this should not obscure the fact that the Jugendmusikbewegung more broadly was not solely concerned with sacred music.

Beyond Potter, more recent work on the Jugendbewegung includes Thomas Irvine's 2013 article on the English composer Walter Leigh's *Midsummer Night's Dream,* Mia Holz's 2019 book

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[8] Roman Summereder, *„…als gingen uns jetzt erst die Ohren auf.": Helmut Bornefeld, Siegfried Reda und die Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik 1946-1960* (Munich: Strube Verlag, 2010).
[9] Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998).
[10] Ibid., p. 7.
[11] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

covering the Jugendmusikbewegung and Busse Berger's 2020 book, mentioned above. Though the central focus of Busse Berger's monograph is not the Singbewegung itself, she devotes a short chapter to the Jugendmusikbewegung which provides some useful background information on the movement and functions as a 'who's who' for the period, as she puts it.[12] Here and in her introduction, she draws similar links between the Wandervogel, the Jugendmusikbewegung and the Singbewegung to Potter and sketches more fleshed-out portraits of key foundational figures of the Jugendmusikbewegung such as Herman Reichenbach and the Hamburg-based musicologist Fritz Jöde. She also builds on Potter's discussion of the founding ideology of the earlier Wandervogel, noting its origins across all social classes, political movements and religious denominations.[13] As Busse Berger notes, this broad movement had begun to solidify by the 1920s into the secular and socialist-oriented Jugendmusikbewegung on the one hand and the predominantly Protestant Singbewegung, the focus of this thesis, on the other.[14]

Holz's comprehensive study of the Jugendmusikbewegung additionally provides extensive background information on the Wandervogel and its evolution into the Jugendmusikbewegung, and follows this development further to examine how its ideals were tied into music education in the various manifestations of Germany from the 1920s to the 1960s.[15] Although the focus of her work is very much not on the Singbewegung itself, indeed the term appears only a handful of times throughout her book, her chapter on the Jugendbewegung and Jugendmusikbewegung clearly delineates the evolution of the movement by placing it into clear phases.[16] As such, her discussion of the Jugendmusikbewegung, being a parallel movement to the Singbewegung, provides fertile ground for pursuing a similarly in depth exploration of the latter movement. Additionally, Irvine's recent work also engages with Potter's foundational writing on these various movements and looks at the

[12] Anna Maria Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa and Germany, 1891-1961: Scholars, Singers, Missionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020)., pp. 101-122.
[13] Ibid., in particular, pp. 2-8, 104-105.
[14] Ibid. p. 7.
[15] Mia Holz, *Musikschulen und Jugendmusikbewegung: Die Institutionalisierung des öffentlichen Musikschulwesens von den 1920ern bis in die 1960er-Jahre* (Münster: Waxmann, 2019).
[16] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

work of Leigh and his teacher Paul Hindemith in the context of both 'Gebrauchsmusik' (or 'music-for-use' as Irvine translates it) and the Jugendmusikbewegung.[17] As part of this study he notes the enthusiasm shown for this movement by more well-known composers such as Hindemith, and indeed Kurt Weill and Hanns Eisler in the 1920s, in addition to highlighting the proximity of certain elements of its ideology to National Socialism.[18] As can be seen from this brief survey of some of the more important literature relating to the Jugendbewegung, much of it is not actually focused on the Singbewegung itself, favouring instead its more secular-oriented cousin, the Jugendmusikbewegung. Consequently, there is still considerable space for a detailed study of one of the wider Jugendbewegung's most significant sacred musical manifestations.

Such a study can build on the foundation of existing literature on the early development of the Wandervogel and its evolution into the Jugendmusikbewegung as well as engaging with the material that does exist on the Singbewegung and the movement itself in a more critical manner. I will build on this foundation with my own archival research. During my PhD, I spent a year as a visiting PhD student at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin from 2017 to 2018 and had the opportunity to visit the archives of Ernst Pepping at the Academie der Künste in Berlin and the archive of Bertold Hummel at his family home in Würzburg. During this time, I had intended to carry out research in the Kreuzarchiv, the archive of the Dresdner Kreuzchor, but was unable to access it as it was in the process of being reorganised and moved to a new dedicated space in Dresden. In the process of trying to gain access, I discovered that a large number of documents relating to Kreuzkantor Rudolf Mauersberger were kept in the archive of the journalist Hans Böhm at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden and this proved to be an invaluable resource. I had intended to conduct further archival research in the summer of 2020 in the archive of Helmut Bornefeld, in addition to the archives of Clytus Gottwald at the Paul Sacher

[17] Thomas Irvine, ''Normality and Employment': Walter Leigh's 'Midsummer Night's Dream' in the Third Reich and Britain', in *Music & Letters*, vol. 94, no. 2 (2013), pp. 295-323.
[18] Ibid., p. 299.

Stiftung in Basel and of Hugo Distler in Lübeck and Munich, but was prevented from doing so due to the Covid-19 pandemic. I therefore had to proceed with the archival research I had been able to carry out up to that point. This was, however, still sufficient to provide me with a good deal of helpful information to flesh out further the image of the Singbewegung available in contemporary scholarship. This overall approach, combining secondary sources with archival research, will also help to draw further common connections between the Singbewegung and the different strands of the Jugendbewegung, exploring how they related to more recognisable figures and historical themes and using the results of these various investigations to add to the increasingly complex picture scholarship is creating of music-making in a post-zero-hour conception of twentieth-century German music.

Thesis Overview

This introduction will set out the origins of the Singbewegung, along with those of the Jugendbewegung more generally and will also lay out the methodological considerations in relation to the field of memory studies which I will use throughout the thesis. Additionally, I will provide a brief summary of the background and development of the Evangelical Church leading up to the accession of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) to power in 1933. Beginning in the early decades of the twentieth century, the Jugendbewegung represented a widespread rejection among the younger members of late-Wilhelminian, Weimar and Nazi society successively of what had come to be viewed as the insufferably individualistic and self-obsessed sentimental values of the nineteenth century, in favour of collective and anti-elitist forms of social engagement and activity. As one of the musical manifestations of this movement, the Singbewegung focused in particular on a new form of sacred choral music, with an emphasis on the functionality of its purpose, and which looked to the cultural memory of the German Baroque past, and especially to Heinrich Schütz, for an alternative to the virtuosic and shallow music of Romanticism. Regarding the

development of the Evangelical church itself, space is given to the role of the minority Evangelical faction the Deutsche Christen in binding the development of the Evangelical Church with Nazism following their domination of the Church in the elections of the Landeskirchen in July 1933 onwards. It must be noted that the vast majority of the music in the style of the Singbewegung of this period was written by Evangelical composers and I will therefore reserve examination of the role of the Jugendbewegung in shaping the Catholic Church for later in this thesis.

Chapter 1 looks in more detail at specific practitioners of the Singbewegung from the late 1920s onwards, with particular attention being paid to the role of cultural memory in shaping their musical style, and to the increasingly problematic associations of the movements with Nazism and the Hitler Youth. Figures of especial importance here are Distler and Pepping. Distler will be studied via his 1932 *Choralpassion*, op.7, and his 1933 *Jahreskreis*, op. 5, among other works, in relation to the movement's stylistic inspiration from the distant German past, a perceived golden age of German sacred choral music at the turn of the seventeenth into the eighteenth century. Distler's ambiguous and often problematic relationship with National Socialism will also be explored here as a means of delving into the fraught relationship between the ideologies of the new regime and the Jugendbewegung. This will, in turn, lay the groundwork for the analysis later in this thesis of the complex memory and legacy of the Singbewegung in the postwar period. Pepping will be discussed with regard to his theoretical and political treatise of 1934, *Stilwende der Musik* (Music's Stylistic Turn), in addition to his *Spandauer Chorbuch* of the same year. This will provide further insight into the compositional logic of Pepping and his contemporaries, along with a greater exploration of what were understood to be the socio-political implications of this music at the time. In the cases of both Distler and Pepping, and especially in relation to their works written for the function of the Church year, the *Jahreskreis* and the *Spandauer Chorbuch*, it will be seen that a fundamental motivation of the Singbewegung was the composition of accessible music with a practical function, written with an engaged and actively participating church community in mind.

Chapter 2 moves focus to the postwar years and the examination of the first (and most similar) of the divergent offspring of the sacred music of the 1930s, beginning in the Allied-occupied zones which would from 1949 become West Germany. The central case study here will be the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik (Heidenheim Workdays for new Church Music), which were run in Heidenheim near Stuttgart from 1946 to 1960 by the composer and church musician Bornefeld, along with the composer and organist Reda. The purpose of the Arbeitstage, like other postwar choral circles, was to revive interest in and provide a framework for the continuation of the work of the Singbewegung following the increasingly hostile environment the Evangelical Church and its musicians had found themselves in during the later years of National Socialism. The initial enthusiastic uptake of the Arbeitstage was not to be long lived, however, as even by 1945, certain prominent musicians associated with the Singbewegung, such as Ernst Pepping, were keen to denounce it for its cultishness. More broadly, the functional, communally-engaged music these and similar choral gatherings promoted was faced by a contemporary climate which was increasingly shifting away from the world it sought to preserve, as can be seen by dwindling numbers in church attendance. Further, its compositional credo was clearly in stark contrast to the avant-garde music beginning to come out of ideologically antithetical institutions of the postwar period, such as the Darmstädter Ferienkurse, which were rapidly gaining in cultural dominance at the time.

Chapter 3 concerns the postwar legacy of the Singbewegung in its former bastions in East Germany, exploring the paradoxical role of sacred music in an officially secular society. This chapter will demonstrate the overlap between the Singbewegung and certain elements of East-German cultural policy during the early years of the German Democratic Republic. I will demonstrate this through a case study of the composer and long-term conductor of the Dresdner Kreuzchor Rudolf Mauersberger (1889-1971). The perceived significance of the then 750-year-old institution of the Kreuzchor in the construction of a socialist concept of German national character, alongside the musical education with which the Kreuzschule could provide future East-German musicians meant that it was deemed a sufficiently important national asset to be permitted to continue under

communist rule. This was also the case for a number of other institutions, including the Thomanerchor in Leipzig and the Evangelische Hochschule für Kirchenmusik in Halle an der Saale. In addition, Mauersberger's compositional output from the postwar period, in particular the motet *Wie liegt die Stadt so wüst* (1945) and his *Dresdner Requiem* (1947/48), often dealt with the memorialisation of the destruction of the city of Dresden as a result of the Allied bombing raids on 13th-14th February 1945, and in this way contributed to the foundation myths of the German Democratic Republic.

Chapter 4 returns to West Germany, with the first significant examination of the music of the Catholic Church in this thesis. Following the separation of the eastern part of the country, which for the most part was former territory of the Protestant kingdoms of Prussia and Saxony, from the west, which contained the Catholic southern states and key Catholic cities and communities further north (for example within the bishoprics of Cologne and Münster), the Catholic Church saw itself representing a significantly larger proportion of the population than it had before 1933. This, too, was reflected in the accession of a Catholic chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, along with his Catholic-leaning party, the Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (CDU), to power at the time of West Germany's foundation in 1949. The Church's position of increased political and social influence was complemented by a move away from the music of the nineteenth century and an increased appetite for the composition of new music by Catholic composers in a style highly influenced by the Singbewegung. This will be illustrated here through the examples of Bertold Hummel (1925-2002) and Max Baumann (1917-1999). In both cases, the adoption of this style can be understood in relation to the attitudes linked to the Liturgical Movement of the 1920s in addition to those leading up to and surrounding the Second Vatican Council of 1962 to 1965. The Council's attitude towards the existing liturgy of the Church, however, also presented young composers keen to write new liturgically functional music with a significant challenge, as it fundamentally altered music's potential role in the Catholic liturgy.

I will conclude in chapter 5 by returning to West Germany to look at the increasing difficulty in which the Evangelical practitioners of the Singbewegung were finding themselves from the mid-1950s onwards. Indeed, they were threatened on multiple fronts: by dwindling numbers in church attendance, and an ever more dominant shift towards the avant-garde, internationalism and non-functional, abstract art. As such, the Arbeitstage in Heidenheim and similar Singwochen began to suffer from a significant dearth in the number of new works being commissioned for them, leading to the rehashing of standards by Distler, Pepping, Thomas and Bornefeld himself. Coupled with this, growing criticism was being targeted at the proponents of the movements. The loudest of these voices belonged to Theodor Adorno in his 'Kritik des Musikanten' (1956) and to the musicologist and composer Clytus Gottwald, a disenchanted former Singbewegung composer, in his two essays 'Neue Musik in der Kirche – Aspekte und Tendenzen' (1967) and 'Politische Tendenzen der Geistlichen Musik' (1969). As a consequence, new waves of German sacred music involving Gottwald himself, in addition to Mauricio Kagel and others, emerged which broke radically with the functional nature of not only the Singbewegung, but with that of the liturgy itself.

Initial considerations and methodology: from history to memory and the various uses of the past

The advent of National Socialism in Germany in 1933 saw an ideology take root that caused great shockwaves within both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches. Here was a social and political movement that promised to restore the pride of a gelded nation, to unify the disparate, chaotic and disintegrating fabric of Weimar society and to revive the ghost of a golden Germanic past which would simultaneously free good Aryans from the shackles of Romantic sentimentality, while also bringing them together as part of the highly Romantic notion of nationhood. For many within both Churches at the time, certain elements of this offer must have sounded appealing, especially for the Evangelicals, who saw their form of Lutheran Christianity as fundamental to the definition of Germanness. It would not be unreasonable to assume that the agendas of Nazism and certain elements of the Church would have naturally coalesced in 1933. Both glorified the idealised German past as a solution to the woes of the present, following Wilhelminian Germany's painful defeat at the end of the First World War in 1918 and the subsequent repercussions of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Both wanted to see a more participatory form of Germanness which eschewed excessive individualism in favour of communal engagement. Consequently, it could seem that the Evangelicals in particular had much to gain by binding their fortunes to National Socialism in the early 1930s. The reality, though, was naturally far from simple, and there were many dissenting voices—the Protestant Dietrich Bonhoeffer, for example—within both churches who actively resisted Nazism, especially towards the mid-to-late 1930s.

I will begin by discussing the methodological approach which will be used throughout the project, situating some of the stickier issues within the context of their theoretical lineage. Of particular importance here is the term 'cultural memory' which will be used as a means of unpacking how the practitioners of the Singbewegung used reference to the past to justify the importance of their work. This will be followed by a broad overview of the development of the Evangelical Church in the early decades of the twentieth century in order to provide a firm contextual background for

the more specific discussion of sacred music. It should be noted here that, although this thesis looks at both Evangelical and Catholic music, I will focus almost exclusively here on the Evangelical Church because much of the new sacred music of the pre-1945 period was written by Protestant composers, with their Catholic colleagues only beginning to take up their compositional style after the Second World War. Especial emphasis here will be placed on the role of the Evangelical group the Deutsche Christen in seizing control of the Church as a whole in 1933 and twisting its agenda towards National Socialism.

With this religious framework in place, the focus will then move specifically to the role of sacred music within it. I will draw links between the Jugendbewegung and the development of the Singbewegung, in addition to examining figures who played an important role in in shaping this music's early identity, such as Arnold Mendelssohn and Karl Vötterle of the publishing house Bärenreiter. As will be seen, these movements actively evoked the memory of the German Baroque past, embodied in Heinrich Schütz, as a means of shaping and rationalising their musical and social projects. The Baroque was understood by these figures as a time when music was written for the participation of a community in worship, rather than for more individualistic and passive consumption. These background considerations will then be rounded off with a brief examination of the connections between the Jugendbewegung and the rise of the Hitler Youth. The yearning for the cultural memory of a communally-connected and homogenous German society consequently placed the movement in a prime position to be swallowed up by Nazism. Though later elements of this thesis will demonstrate that this relationship was by no means straightforward and became more complicated as time went on, the origins of these movements certainly left the practitioners of sacred music in the postwar period with a problematic inheritance.

Throughout this thesis, I use concepts such as 'collective memory', 'cultural memory', 'sites of memory' and 'memorialisation' as prisms through which the creative impulses of sacred musicians in both the pre- and postwar periods can be understood. The field broadly known as memory studies

was pioneered in particular by Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora in France and Jan and Aleida Assmann in Germany and has more recently been refined by scholars such as Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney. Despite having originated in a French-language context, memory studies have come to hold a significant place in German scholarship. Initially, this was due to the extensive output of the Assmanns from the 1980s onwards and the field has continued to grow in a Germanic context with initiatives such as the Frankfurt Memory Studies Platform, based at the Forschungszentrum historische Geisteswissenschaften in Frankfurt. Indeed, the histories of the multiple states bearing the name 'Germany' in the twentieth century have generally proved a very fruitful site for the application of much of the established, nationally-focused theoretical framework of memory studies. The period since reunification in 1990 has seen a whole field of works which seek to make sense of the tangled set of pasts which constitute the modern Federal Republic of Germany, with writers such as Eric Santner, Jennifer Jordan, Stefan Berger and Siobhan Kattago contributing work to this debate.

An area in which this discipline and debate has made virtually no headway, as far as I know, is within the realm of German sacred music in the twentieth century. Explorations of the role of religion, especially during the Third Reich, but also during the postwar years, are certainly to be found, but sacred music is relatively untouched by new developments in scholarship. This is not to say, however, that the field of memory studies has not been applied to music more broadly. In his 2009 book *Music and Monumentality*, Alex Rehding draws on both Halbwachs and Nora in order to map out his definition of the concept of monumentality and commemorative culture in the music of nineteenth-century Germany. In particular, Rehding uses Nora's concept of the 'lieu de mémoire', ('memory site'), discussed later, to develop his own theoretical framework and to explore how the mythical past could be used in the musical process of nation building in the present.[19] In his 2015 article on Richard Strauss's *Metamorphosen*, Neil Gregor has also used elements of the work of

[19] Alex Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See in particular pp. 9-14 for Rehding's discussion of Nora.

memory scholars to examine postwar listening practices as a medium for understanding the legacy of the Second World War in West Germany.[20]

More broadly, similar themes to those traced in Rehding and Gregor's use of memory studies in relation musicology are found in several works which look at nineteenth- and twentieth-century revival movements of Baroque music in Germany. Celia Applegate's 2005 monograph *Bach in Berlin* explores the 1829 revival of J. S. Bach's *St Matthew Passion* by Felix Mendelssohn in Berlin as an important moment in music history at which 'historical, not contemporary, music' came to have a dominant role in contemporary musical life.[21] In relation to the burning question that plagued nineteenth-century Germans of what Germany, in fact, was, Applegate underlines the use of the Bach revival, and revival movements more generally, as an important tool, as with Rehding, in the process of nation building. She sees such movements as having significant political currency because many proponents believed that engaging in culture through music could create their desired political realities.[22] Likewise, in James Garrett's 2005 work on the Palestrina revival in Romantic Germany, he argues that by studying the music of Palestrina through the medium of its nineteenth-century reception, much can be learnt about the period's own music, aesthetics and culture.[23] Additionally, Bettina Varwig's 2011 work on Heinrich Schütz includes a set of four 'paraphrases' which use different moments in the reception history of the composer in the nineteenth and twentieth century to contrast with her central discussion of events contemporary to him.[24]

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[20] Neil Gregor, 'Music, Memory, Emotion: Richard Strauss and the Legacies of War, in *Music & Letters*, vol. 96, no. 1 (2015), pp. 55-76. Gregor uses the concept of nostalgia to break down what he calls the 'customary' division between memory *in* the Third Reich and memory *of* the Third Reich by pointing to the similarities in listening practice between the two periods. See pp. 56-60.

[21] Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 4.

[22] Ibid., pp. 235-236, 257.

[23] James Garrett, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 7-8.

[24] Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

In this thesis, I will adopt similar approaches in exploring the Singbewegung's relationship with the past and use its own attitudes towards the music it drew on as inspiration as a means of better understanding the movement and contextualising it historically. As discussed, beyond a few modern texts on Hugo Distler, not all of which are academic, there is generally very little current literature on this topic. The nature of sacred music under National Socialism and later in the postwar period in East- and West-Germany is so saturated by the presence of the past, however, that a comprehensive study of the Singbewegung from this angle has the potential to be especially fruitful. From its very inception, the ideological credo of these movements was to eschew what their proponents perceived to be the 'bad', immediate past, and shape the present according to materials conjured up from the 'good' past of the German Renaissance and Baroque. Conversely, then, a study of this music will also enrich the field of memory studies in relation to this period. As will be explored in other parts of this thesis, the postwar era saw, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, a compounding of this engagement with the past, by looking back to the time of Schütz on the one hand, but also by revering the time of Distler as a second coming of German sacred music, in order to fuel its continuation post-1945. This section will examine the history and development of memory studies as a field, in order to establish a definition of terms which will inform all parts of the thesis.

In his contribution to the 2009 book *Memory in Mind and Culture*, David Blight notes that the violence of the twentieth century, combined with the disintegration of imperialism, led to an increasing interest among scholars in how nations organise themselves according to broad narratives of shared culture and tradition. This interest developed into the historically-focused theorising of national identity across many academic disciplines during the second half of the twentieth century which tended to conceptualise the formation of nationhood as a conglomeration of important historic events.[25] This approach began increasingly to be challenged in the 1980s, for instance in the 'Historikerstreit' ('Historians' Dispute') in Germany. The central issue of this debate

[25] David Blight, 'The Memory Boom: Why and Why Now?', in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, Pascal Boyer and James Wertsch, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 238-251, p. 241.

was the way in which the Holocaust and West-Germany's National-Socialist past should be understood and theorised in light of the growing temporal distance between this period and the present. Blight splits the disagreement of the Historikerstreit into two camps, one represented by the historian Ernst Nolte and the other by the philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Nolte belongs to this tradition of historicism, which sought to remove the Holocaust from its position as an event unlike any other, and relativize it in relation to other historic atrocities, such as the mass Gulag deportations and murders enacted by Stalinist Russia. Habermas, conversely, viewed this relativisation as an attempt to 'normalise' Nazism by integrating it into a historically-stable narrative of German development.[26]

At the time of the Historikerstreit, the English historian Richard Evans was additionally critical of Nolte and the latter's fellow historian Andreas Hillgruber, claiming that they belonged to a growing wave of conservative West-German nationalism. Its aim, according to Evans, was, again, to relativise both world wars as historical events like any other, which would in turn mean that Wilhelminian nationalism and Nazism were not specific developments of German unification under Bismarck in 1871. This would then, consequently, strengthen the case for reunification under West Germany, because the West's role as the inheritor of Nazism would be partially expiated. It would not be *its* culture which had caused the unique atrocity of the Holocaust, but a mere concatenation of historical circumstance, which could have happened anywhere.[27] As Blight states, this and other such disputes led to a need for a new lens for examining the past, in order to avoid the relativisation and disintegration of events such as the Holocaust into mere historical events, a need which Patrick Hutton in his 1993 book *History as an Art of Memory* called the 'history/memory puzzle'.[28] Indeed, this need to seek to understand the past not in terms of fixed historic events in a long chain of

[26] Blight (2009), pp. 244-245.
[27] Richard Evans, 'The New Nationalism and the Old History: Perspectives on the West German Historikerstreit', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 59, No. 4 (Dec. 1987), pp. 761-797, pp. 768-781.
[28] Blight (2009), pp. 240-241.

development, but in a more dynamic and contingent way, created space for a more flexible approach, in the form of 'memory'.

As Siobhan Kattago explains in her 2001 book *Ambiguous Memory*, the field of memory studies can roughly be traced back to the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), most commonly known for his theoretical construct of la mémoire collective, or 'collective memory'. This challenges the preconception that individual memory exists as an autonomous entity. All individual memory exists in relation to a 'social framework or milieu' on which it is dependent, in that it could not exist without the appropriated instruments of words and concepts which the individual draws from their environment.[29] As such, in Halbwachs's terms, all memory is collective, but that is not to say that collective memory constitutes a 'single monolithic memory'; it is, rather, fragmentary and there exist as many collective memories as there are social groups, be they individual families or wider societies to spawn them.[30] Astrid Erll expands upon this account of Halbwachs in her 2011 monograph *Memory in Culture*, by noting that for Halbwachs, collective memory can germinate from its most localised form, as hereditary, 'intergenerational' memory, to the widespread discourses which make up the national identity and character of large-scale social groups.[31] This chimes with the work of the English psychologist Frederic Bartlett (1886-1969), who also believed memory to have a social dimension, beyond the individual, in that each individual's process of recall is inevitably influenced by the milieu to which they belong. Memory thus exists within a given group, though that group does not itself have a uniform, set memory, because it is slightly different from individual to individual.[32] To return to Halbwachs, collective memory is often housed in specific institutions, be they religious or secular, which act as a touchstone for the group to engage with its memory through participation in ritual or commemorative events. They are, then,

[29] Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2001), pp. 13-14.
[30] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, tr. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992), p. 54-60.
[31] Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture,* tr. Sara Young (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 13-15.
[32] James Wertsch, 'Collective Memory', in Boyer and Wertsch (2009), pp. 117-137, pp. 118-119.

'remembrances of the past that link a given set of people for whom their shared identity remains significant at a later time'.[33]

Crucially, Halbwachs draws a sharp distinction between memory and history. History is 'universal' and a 'neutral coordination of all past events', whereas collective memory is 'particular' and contingent on the interests of the group which give rise to it. Where the former concerns an attempt to catalogue the past as distinct from the present, the latter is 'oriented towards the needs and interests of the group in the present'.[34] Kattago notes that this clear distinction between history and memory is problematic, as will later be explored, but adds that Halbwachs sees general history as a record of change, as a sequence of wars, revolutions and successive epochs, which begins just at the point where living memory ends. Collective memory, on the other hand, is a self-portrait of the 'family, church or nation' to which it belongs, and is a living continuity between the past and the present.[35] The key point to draw from this in relation to the current thesis is that Halbwachs lays the groundwork for the basic assertion that memory, or the act of remembrance, is a 'reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present'. The way for this was itself paved by earlier reconstructions of the past which had, in turn, already been altered.[36]

The next major wave in the development of memory studies to note is that of Pierre Nora and his widely-used theorisation of the concept of the memory site. Nora's writing, specifically his work *Les lieux de mémoire*, completed between 1984 and 1992, focuses on unpicking the various ways in which French society defines itself in the present.[37] Memory sites are constructed entities which act as tools of reference for an established cultural identity. These have become necessary since the advent of modernity as humans' environment has shifted from a communal one, in which the quotidian presence of what Halbwachs would call intergenerational memory is a given, to a societal

[33] Kattago (2001), p. 14.
[34] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, tr. Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980), p. 78.
[35] Kattago (2001), p. 15.
[36] Halbwachs (1980), p. 68.
[37] Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vols. 1-3. (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1984-1992).

one, in which humans live within the large-scale culture of a broader national society.[38] These memory sites, though, are contradictory to Halbwachs's conception of collective memory, because they are no longer part of a living milieu; they are an absence of living memory, which cannot broach the divide between the past and the present and thus can only elicit nostalgia. Nora states in the opening of his 1989 essay 'Between Memory and History' that we 'speak of memory so much because there is so little of it left'.[39]

Nora provides three dimensions by which memory sites can be distinguished in the preface to *Les Lieux de mémoire*, which was also reprinted as the above stand-alone article: the material, the functional, and the symbolic.[40] The material dimension describes physical memory sites, such as archives or buildings, which the imagination gives a symbolic aura. A functional site has a specific societal role or was created for a specific purpose before becoming a memory site. This could be an influential treatise or a textbook, such as Nora's example of Ernest Lavisse's *Histoire de France*, which had a central role in structuring the teaching of history in French schools. Finally, memory sites which fit into the symbolic dimension are normally ritualistic in nature or places which draw a 'symbolic aura' from the rituals associated with them, such as commemorative silences.[41] As such, a memory site does not have to be a physical place, as the name might imply, but rather, it can take a broad range of forms, from an event such as the French Revolution to a commemorative coin, to a service in a church. Further, the categories Nora outlines are not mutually exclusive and overlap is common.[42] Nora's focus on the national specificity of memory sites, in addition to their apparent autonomy from those who engage with them, should be noted here, as these points will be touched upon again shortly.

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[38] Pierre Nora, tr. Marc Roudebush, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', in *Representations*, no. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989), pp. 7-24, pp. 8-9.
[39] Ibid., p. 7.
[40] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[41] Ibid., p. 20-21.
[42] Ibid., p. 20.

Moving the focus momentarily away from French to German theory, the work of Jan (1938-) and Aleida Assmann (1947-) also needs to be discussed here, as it is they who provide the theoretical term 'cultural memory'. Drawing from Halbwachs, the Assmanns tease apart two key strands of the broad term collective memory to define the concepts of communicative memory on the one hand and cultural memory on the other. In his 1992 work *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (*Cultural Memory*), Jan Assmann differentiates the two as follows. Communicative memory can be understood as living memory, in that it refers to the quotidian conglomeration of memory by individuals and its direct dissemination within their general collective. It is not formalised and cannot survive more than around a century before it passes beyond its living state. Cultural memory, on the other hand, is an intentionally constructed form of memory. It can extend far beyond the reaches of living memory and takes the form of established traditions, myths and ceremonial occasions, many of which require some manner of expert class (monarchs, priests, academics) to shape and disseminate it.[43] In simpler terms, communicative memory is the memory of the present, the current epoch, whereas cultural memory is the conjuring of the constructed memory of past epochs into the present. As Erll notes in her discussion of the Assmanns, 'Cultural Memory is founded on 'myths', stories about a common past, which offer orientation in the present and hope for the future'. Further, these myths can either act as a foundation stone which 'legitimizes' the pre-existing social order, or they can act against and 'delegitimise' a 'deficient present', by summoning the image of a past which was superior, and which must be returned to or emulated in order to do away with the failings of the present.[44] It is this final point which is highly pertinent for the analysis of the Singbewegung in this thesis.

To return to Nora, he is careful to highlight that not all historical works or genres are memory sites. Indeed, with regard to history books, it is especially those which are 'founded on a revision of

[43] Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992), p. 56.
[44] Erll (2011), p. 34.

memory' or have a pedagogical purpose that merit the term.[45] Events are only relevant to the concept if they are either insignificant when they happen but come to be laden with extreme significance or if they are immediately imbued with symbolic meaning.[46] The common theme here is the process of interpretation, of mediation. Objects become memory sites through this process of revision and reinterpretation. This is why Nora states that a memory site is 'double: a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated in its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations'.[47] As Erll observes, the constant mediation and remediation of memory sites through different tellers and media additionally contribute to the shape they take.[48] This concept of the dynamism of cultural memory, through the remediation of the sites from which it is drawn, will prove a useful one throughout this thesis. It will help illustrate how the naturally performative nature of functional sacred music acts as an important tool in shaping the cultural memory of the various pasts which were drawn on across the period of the Singbewegung.

Much more space could certainly be given here to exploring the growing field of memory studies, but this short overview should provide a workable framework for applying the various loaded terms discussed in relation to the main content of this thesis. Growing out of the need, exemplified by the Historikerstreit of the 1980s, to find a balance between asserted historical fact (which could be used to relativise catastrophic events) and something more fluid (memory in its many guises), this field resonates with my interpretation of the aesthetic motivations of the new German sacred music of the twentieth century. As stated, so much of this music draws from numerous imagined pasts in the face of a perceived inadequate present. Concepts such as collective memory, memory sites and cultural memory will therefore provide a strong methodological

[45] Nora (1989), p. 21.
[46] Ibid., p. 23.
[47] Ibid., pp. 23-24.
[48] Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, 'Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamics, in Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2009), pp. 1-11, pp. 1-3.

backdrop in the unpacking of this fraught body of work through the many upheavals of twentieth-century German history.

The state of the Evangelical Church ca. 1933

Examining the origins of the Singbewegung will now help illustrate their complex relationship with the Evangelical Church and National Socialism in the early years surrounding 1933. In his semi-epistolic account of the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik, Roman Summereder traces the lineage of the movement from the postwar period back into the earlier decades of the twentieth century. Here, he places an emphasis on the movement's enthusiasm for the functionality of music, in various forms, and the firm connection between the development of Evangelical Christianity and its music. A strong example of this connection and the emphasis on functionality is seen via the manner in which young Christians began to engage with their faith in the early twentieth century. Using the example of the key Jugendmusikbewegung figure Fritz Jöde and his own youth group, known as the Musikantengilde and founded in 1919, Summereder expands beyond the more secular nature of the group to outline a wider trend at this time for mass youth participation, that came under the umbrealla term the Jugendbewegung, who would engage in communal hiking expeditions, faith retreats and music making, among various other similar activities.[49] Jöde additionally went on to found both a Jugendmusikschule in Berlin in 1923 and a Volksmusikschule in 1925, for the musical education of children and for the education of the wider public in folk traditions respectively, with the intention of creating a new generation of German musicians committed to the ideals of music making rooted in the principles of anti-Romanticism and communal participation.[50]

[49] Summereder (2010), pp. 12-14.
[50] Busse Berger (2020), p. 105.

Key tenets proposed by the movement revolved around a concept of social homogeneity of racial and national groups, as is explained by Samuel Koehne in his writing on the role of Protestantism in the formation of Nazi Germany in 1933. Here, he notes that a wide spectrum of German Protestants saw a renewed form of their religion as being a cleansing and unifying force in combatting the so-called degeneracy of the Weimar Republic, bringing all German peoples together into a single religious community.[51] These elements of belief within the Evangelical Church are most clearly exemplified by the small but influential group known as the Deutsche Christen. As Doris Bergen demonstrates, this faction could boast only around 600,000 of the Church's roughly 42,000,000 members (she states that in the 1930s around 95% of all Germans were affiliated to either the Catholic or Evangelical Church, a third to the former and two thirds to the latter).[52] However, following the reformation of the Evangelical Church into twenty-eight Landeskirchen (State Churches) in 1933, the Deutsche Christen held a number of significant positions of power, including the bishoprics of twenty-five of the Landeskirchen.[53] Consequently, the group gained responsibility for a large part of the administration of the Church on both a national and regional level, and were also granted the newly-created position of 'Reichsbischof' ('Imperial Bishop'), whose responsibility was the nation as a whole.[54]

Ideologically, the Deutsche Christen are very well characterised by an event which came to be known as the 'Sportpalastskandal' in November 1933, in which Reinhold Krause, a member of the National Socialist Party, addressed an audience of 20,000 Deutsche Christen. Krause asserted that Christianity was at its very core infected with the cancer of Judaism, and that the only way to establish a pure Aryan Christianity was to completely expunge the Old Testament from the religion,

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[51] Samuel Koehne, 'Nazi Germany as a Christian State: The "Protestant Experience" of 1933 in Württemberg', in *Central European History*, vol. 46, No. 1 (March 2013), pp. 97-123, pp. 100-102.
[52] Doris Bergen, 'Die "Deutsche Christen" 1933-1945: ganz normale Gläubige und eifrige Komplizen?', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, vol. 29, no. 4 *Protestantismus und Nationalsozialismus* (Oktober – Dezember., 2003), pp. 542-574, 545-555, 557-558.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Heath Spencer, 'From Liberal Theology to Völkisch, Christianity? Heinrich Weinel, the Volkskirchenbund, and the Church Struggle in Thuringia', in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 328-350, 337-338.

along with other fundamental Christian memory sites, such as the figure of St. Paul the Apostle and even the symbol of the cross, and to radically rewrite the New Testament to suggest that Christ himself was of Aryan origin.[55] In other words, Krause sought to alter the cultural memory of an 'inadequate' Christianity to fit the needs of the present. This extreme ideological anti-Semitism and pro-Aryanism is further underlined by noting that Hitler himself, in speeches from 1st February and 23rd March 1933 echoed the project of the Deutsche Christen by tying the legitimacy of his regime to the concept of Germany as a unified Christian nation. In these speeches, he painted the National Socialist Party as 'moral' in its support of Christianity and the social unit of the family as a model for a conception of Germany as a single 'purified' homogenous community.[56]

This emphasis on purification and the rooting-out of Judaism extended more broadly within Deutsche Christen belief to a series of hypermasculine values, revolving around strength, duty and purity, which were reflected by the movement's highly regressive gender roles. This is demonstrated by Bergen via the quotation of an alleged statement by Wendel-Oberbreidenbach in 1935, in which he claims that the church of the Deutsche Christen (and by extension the church of the German nation) had no place within its positions of power for women or femininity. Further, it needed to be 'a church of men', being led by men with the 'clear head, clear eyes and humble obedience and faith' he believed the masculine gender to embody.[57] Indeed, Bergen shows that no woman ever held a significant position of authority in the movement, and that the role of women was normally 'domestic', in the sense that the expectation was for them to busy themselves with fulfilling the roles of wife and mother and with organising social events for the movement on a local level.[58] The understanding of gender roles of the Deutsche Christen is, further, clarified by the movement's belief in the subservience of the church to the state in service of the German Volk, as expressed by the theologist Fritz Engelke's formulation that the German language already provided this model

[55] Bergen (2003), p. 553.
[56] Koehne (2013), pp. 102-103.
[57] Bergen (2003), p. 564.
[58] Ibid., pp. 565-569.

through the maxim '[*d*]er Staat, *die* Kirche, *das* Volk' ('the state' – masculine article, 'the church' – feminine article, 'the people' – neuter article).[59] In other words, the church should act as a nurturing 'wife' to the state, with the Aryan community of the German people as the children of this 'marriage'. Thus, it can be seen that this small but influential movement within the broader German Evangelical Church was very eager to align itself, and by extension the whole of the Evangelical Church, with National Socialist ideology.

The origins of the Singbewegung

These trends both within and beyond the Evangelical church at this time clearly demonstrated ambitions for a radical and all-encompassing transformation of every aspect of religious and secular life, and music played an especially powerful role within them. This is shown by Potter, who notes that these youth movements were often characterised by anti-bourgeois and anti-Romantic values, which emphasised the importance of community (Gemeinschaft) over the more nineteenth-century notion of society (Gesellschaft). In the case of music, these values initially manifested themselves in the rejection of anything perceived to be excessively commercial or virtuosic in favour of collectively engaged forms of music performance, these typically being the singing of folk-song arrangements and choral music, with a particular emphasis on pre-Classical polyphony.[60] More broadly, the Jugendbewegung, though not always wholly religious in nature, was influential in fostering a new generation of church musicians from the interwar period onwards who were set against the 'excessive' attitudes of Romanticism, with its emphasis on individualism. Instead, they inclined towards the composition of church music which, while contemporary, was influenced by music of earlier periods, and which would still remain accessible to congregations, who were expected to be able to engage with it. This emphasis on reviving the music of the past, then, is the first layer of cultural memory these musicians drew from in the creation of their work.

[59] Bergen (2003), p. 569.
[60] Potter (1998), pp. 7-8.

The anti-Romantic, participatory nature of this milieu is made clear through the example of the Bärenreiter publishing house, founded by Karl Vötterle in 1923. Bärenreiter not only published the sacred music of Singbewegung favourite Heinrich Schütz and his peers (Vötterle was also a founding member of the New Heinrich Schütz Society in 1929), but also contracted church musicians including Hugo Distler, and later Helmut Bornefeld, to edit volumes of contemporary sacred music for publication, in addition to contributing their own work.[61] Bärenreiter's flagship Finkensteiner Singwochen*,* held from 1923 to 1933 in the village of Finkenstein, near Mährisch Trübau (now in the Czech Republic) are an important early example of musical events associated with the ideology of the Jugendbewegung. These were opportunities for likeminded members of the younger generation to gather in order to engage in collective, communal music-making, in addition to discussing wider issues and anxieties rising from modernity in an intentionally rural setting.[62] The main product of these were the 1923 *Finkensteiner Liederblätter*, which constituted the first significant publishing project Vötterle undertook with Bärenreiter. Compiled by his first major musical collaborator, Walther Hensel, the *Liederblätter*, or songsheets, released monthly until 1933, were intended for use at the Singwochen in Finkenstein and similar gatherings and provided simple, approachable editions of German sacred and folk music for choirs of mixed ability.[63] The preface to the first edition from 1923 claims that its musical collection reaches back to the old sources of native folksong and that the intention is that this reconnection with the past should stimulate a rebirth of the German 'Volk' through its own music.[64] In other words, engagement with the cultural memory of the past should inform the transformation of the present.

Writing in the 1950s, Günther Raphael, a Jugendbewegung composer who had been active in Leipzig until 1934 and who ran afoul of the National Socialists due to his Jewish heritage, states

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[61] Summereder (2010), pp. 15-19.
[62] 'Das Haus unterm Stern: Die Geschichte des Bärenreiter-Verlags', Bärenreiter Verlag, https://www.baerenreiter.com/verlag/geschichte/verlagsgeschichte/ (accessed 29/11/2018).
[63] Ibid.
[64] 'Finkensteiner Blätter', Bärenreiter Verlag, https://www.baerenreiter.com/verlag/baerenreiter-lexikon/finkensteiner-blaetter/ (accessed 29/11/2018).

that the stylistic origins of the Singbewegung can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, specifically to the comprehensive Heinrich Schütz edition published by Philipp Spitta in 1885. He suggests that though this was met with limited interest at the time of its release, it was viewed with great enthusiasm by Arnold Mendelssohn (1855-1933), the great-nephew of his more famous namesake and Raphael's composition teacher. Mendelssohn's own compositional style began to shift in favour of the smaller-scale liturgical forms and the chorale-infused linear counterpoint of Schütz.[65] Mendelssohn taught a number of important figures in the very early years of the movement in addition to Raphael, including Kurt Thomas. He also taught Paul Hindemith, who was not part of the movement but was both highly admired by its members and a long-term friend and musical collaborator of Karl Straube, Thomaskantor in Leipzig and one of Distler's composition teachers.[66]

Despite the connection to Mendelssohn, it must be observed that Raphael was arguably not seen as having been instrumental to the development of the movement by 1933, perhaps in part due to his age, but likely also due to his Jewishness. Indeed, it seems to me significant that, in trying to reclaim the musical ideology of the Singbewegung in the postwar period, Raphael, who had himself been persecuted by the regime for his own Jewishness, should highlight a central Jewish figure as having been fundamental in the creation of the music of the Jugendbewegung. In addition, the other composer he discusses as an early proponent of this music is Heinrich Kaminski, [67] who had been Carl Orff's composition teacher and successful as a composer of neo-Baroque sacred music in the 1920s. Due to his own Jewish heritage, however, Kaminski was expelled from his professorship in composition at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin in 1933 and saw the vast majority of his works fall from favour throughout the following twelve years, during which he escaped to exile in France and then Switzerland.[68] The silence of certain elements of the Jugendbewegung as to the

[65] Günter Raphael, 'Rudolf Mauersberger zum 29. 1959', in Hans Böhm, ed., *Kirchenmusik heute: Gedanken über Aufgaben und Probleme der Musica Sacra* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1959), pp. 12-18, pp. 12-14.
[66] Raphael (1959), p. 14.
[67] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[68] Heinrich Kaminski, Bach Cantatas, http://bach-cantatas.com/Lib/Kaminski-Heinrich.htm (accessed 7/12/18).

importance of such figures during the prewar period is not flattering, to say the least.[69] But in light of this, Raphael's tacit placement of the Singbewegung as victim of the regime cannot itself be wholly convincing either, as will be demonstrated across my thesis. Both the implicit and overt racist language and ideology which permeated certain echelons of the church at the time were equally plain to see in the discourse of its musicians.

The Schütz Revival Movement

The nature of the Schütz revival in the early twentieth century is itself indicative of the selective remembering of the Singbewegung and the wider revival movement. As Rehding shows, the Schütz revival had its roots in Spitta's above-mentioned 1885 critical edition. At his time of writing, Spitta acknowledged that Schütz was not as widely recognised a historical figure as Bach and Handel, on whom he had already published extensively. His intention was, however, to add to the 'greatness' of the latter figures by fleshing out their musical lineage.[70] But as Varwig shows, by the 1920s, Schütz had become a composer of interest firmly in his own right with the rhetoric surrounding him seeking to emphasise his faithfulness to liturgical function and the importance he placed on the text itself in his settings of Martin Luther's German-language translation of the Gospels.[71] The academic and Schütz biographer Hans Joachim Moser, who was heavily involved in the conception of the New

[69] Pamela Potter has written recently on the disjuncture between common perceptions and the reality of censorship, and the banning of music by Jewish composers and composers with Jewish connections under National Socialism. As she shows, during the early years following 1933, many prominent Jewish figures were certainly driven out of senior cultural positions, but not solely by outright dismissal and legislation, though these means were also used. A wider hostile culture and the individual public humiliation and hounding of many Jewish artists, and other artists with unfavourable political associations such as those branded communists of Bolshevists, was also effective in forcing them from their positions. Many of those targeted or who feared they may be targeted, such as Bertolt Brecht, Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler and Paul Dessau chose to leave Germany early on. Equally, the performance of their works declined not necessarily because they were banned outright, but due to a wider hostile culture. Genuine prohibitions on performances of certain pieces only really began to be introduced in earnest during the Second World War and even then, the main focus was music from hostile countries. Further, the state generally did not have the means to enforce outright bans in publishing and performance. As such, though it is certainly possible to speak of the persecution of many artists and their fall from favour, caution must be exercised when suggesting that their music was effectively banned. See Pamela Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past and Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), in particular pp. 17-19, 31-34.

[70] Rehding (2009), pp. 146-147.

[71] Varwig (2011), p. 47.

Heinrich Schütz Society, underlined the importance of the Lutheran Gospel to Schütz's output in a speech at the 1932 Heinrich Schütz Fest in Flensburg and later claimed that the composer prioritised the 'Word of God' above everything else in his work.[72] Similarly to Varwig, Thomas Schipperges demonstrates that this German-centric image of Schütz is actually somewhat misleading, given the heavy influence of the Italian style, characterised by critics of the 1920s and 1930s as overly virtuosic, on his own compositional style. Returning again to Moser, Schipperges shows that he sought to push Schütz forward as the prime example of excellence in early Baroque choral music, at the expense of Gabrieli, with whom Schütz had studied in Venice early in his career and who came with the unfortunate downside of not being German.[73]

This revival of interest in the life and work of Heinrich Schütz can therefore be understood as an active creative process, in which great emphasis was placed on the composer's 'unmistakably' German musical identity. 1935 saw a triple commemoration year for Schütz, J. S. Bach and Handel, with the intention, as stated by Rudolf Gerber in the *Zeitschrift für Musik* of creating a new German 'holy trinity' of composers to provide a sacred counterweight to Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.[74] The commemoration year featured a huge number of celebrations of Schütz's contribution to German Lutheran culture, with concerts and events across Germany. A monument was commissioned in his birthplace, Bad Köstritz, and the city of Dresden, where he spent the majority of his professional life, was transformed with busts and commemorative decorations put up in the town hall and in the Frauenkirche, alongside numerous performances of his works.[75] Around the same time, a series of major monographs appeared, including Moser's own *Die volkhafte Bedeutung*

[72] Varwig (2011), pp. 47-48.
[73] Thomas Schipperges, '„Wann ist je ein deutscher Meister von seiner Zeit einfach getragen worden!" – Heinrich Schütz im „Dritten Reich"', in Freiderieke Böcher, ed., *Schütz-Reception im Wandel der Zeit* (Bad Köstritz: Heinrich Schütz-Haus, 2005), pp. 67-88, 69-70.
[74] Schipperges (2005), p. 67.
[75] Ibid., p. 68.

von Heinrich Schütz in 1936, which heavily emphasised his significance as a fundamentally German composer.[76]

In 1935, shortly before the publication of Moser's influential monograph, a new miniature portrait of Schütz was discovered, which identified him by name and claimed to date from two years before his death in 1672. This became the cover image for Moser's work but was revealed decades later to be a forgery from around the time of its 'discovery' which manipulated Schütz's facial features from other images in order to make him conform with Aryan ideals regarding facial bone structure.[77] This mirrors the increasingly racialised discourse surrounding Schütz reception in the early 1930s, as illustrated by Sven Hiemke in his writing on Hugo Distler. In discussing Schütz's influence on Distler, Hiemke references comments made by the author Richard Eichenauer in 1932 that the quality of a composer was linked to their racial status. Specifically, Schütz is given as one of the early paragons of the 'nordic racial characteristics' in music of clarity in counterpoint, voice-leading and text setting which distinguished the music of Aryan composers and proved its exceptional quality.[78] The Schütz of the revival movement in the first half of the twentieth was consequently a consummately German figure, and therefore a very useful one for the agenda of many of those championing him.

In spite of this image of Schütz as the 'epitome of Protestant church music', Varwig demonstrates that the revival movement was highly selective in its presentation of him. Although he was billed as a supreme musical Evangelist and challenger to J. S. Bach in his dedication to the source material of Lutheranism from roughly the 1920s onwards, his output actually features very little in the way of music based on chorale melodies, which only amounts to about 50 out of the over 500 works attributed to him, even by Moser's estimation.[79] This meant that many of Schütz's numerous

[76] This is in addition to Leo Schrade's *Heinrich Schütz als Bildner der deutsche Musik* (1936), Albert Keller's *Heinrich Schütz und seine deutsche Sendung* (1936-1937) and Otto Michaelis's *Heinrich Schütz. Eine Lichtgestalt des deutschen Volkes* (1935), Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[77] Varwig (2011), p. 156.
[78] Sven Hiemke, '„Dem Willen des Volksganzen zugänglich sein". Zur Kompositionsästhetik Hugo Distlers', in Hanheide (1995), pp. 43-57, pp. 49-50.
[79] Varwig (2011), p. 49.

compositions written in a less liturgically-oriented style for the court in Dresden were met with a certain level of ambivalence by scholars and sacred musicians. As a consequence, the revival movement felt much more comfortable in its presentation of Schütz as a thoroughly German composer through his smaller-scale pieces for fewer voices, such as the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte*, than it did via his large double-choir works, such as the *Psalmen Davids*, in the preface of which Schütz even states his indebtedness to Gabrieli and the Italian style.[80] This latter detail was, of course, downplayed during the 1930s with Karl Straube, mentioned earlier, claiming that the final concert of the 1932 Schützfest in Flensburg, which included excerpts from the *Psalmen Davids*, would have 'the same impact as the *St Matthew Passion* revival'.[81] Such statements smoothed over the inconvenient aspects of Schütz as a composer while simultaneously enfolding him in the rhetoric surrounding Bach as an example of a good German Lutheran musician, and further underline the point that the rediscovery of Heinrich Schütz was not a neutral process.

This approach to reception ties into the topic of cultural memory as Schütz himself, alongside the countless commemorative events and objects dedicated to him and his music, was being used as a memory site for a particular conception of Germanness. The image created of him during the first half of the twentieth century was consequently functional in nature and was oriented towards a specific purpose. In Jan Assmann's formulation this can be described as the 'delegitimisation' of a 'deficient' present.[82] This point is tellingly underlined in Karl Hasse's 1933 report from the third Heinrich Schütz-Fest, in Wuppertal-Barmen, published in *Zeitschrift für Musik*. Here he states that if one wishes to experience the modernity of the present, one should go to the cinema, preoccupy oneself with material things, avoid spirituality and personal responsibility and follow the crowd. In contrast, those who seek art should flee from modernity.[83] In addition to this, the distaste shown by Schütz scholars at the time for the Italianate style and its influence on the

[80] Varwig (2011), pp. 50-52.
[81] Ibid., p. 53.
[82] Assmann (1992), p. 56.
[83] Karl Hasse, 'Das dritte Heinrich Schütz-Fest, 7. -9. Jan. 1933 in Wuppertal-Barmen', in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 100 (1933), pp. 159-163.

composer in favour of their conception of the text-centric and liturgically appropriate German style seems to be broadly analogous to the commonplace Singbewegung distaste for what was perceived to be the empty virtuosity of Romanticism when contrasted with the new Schütz-inspired style, as discussed earlier. Consequently, the use of cultural memory to oust the present in favour of an idealised past was hardly unique to the Singbewegung in its use of Schütz, but was also fundamental to the Schütz revival movement itself.

As is likely already apparent from my account of the early influences on the sacred music revival movement, its origins in the Jugendbewegung and the nature of the renewed interest in Schütz during the early twentieth century, there are clear parallels between much of the ideology associated with these and that of National Socialism. Accounts such as Roman Summereder's of the early years of the Singbewegung are intended to praise the movement and they therefore do not go far enough in criticising these more problematic elements of the culture of sacred music and the practice of religion more generally in this period. Many of the key characteristics of disparate groups of the Jugendbewegung (national pride, a rejection of feminised Romanticism in favour of 'healthy' outdoor pursuits mostly among young men and hive-thinking) chimed with those of the Catholic youth groups known as 'Verbände' and the Deutsche Christen and could be made to fit very easily into the ideology of National Socialism from 1933 onwards. Indeed, this can clearly be seen from the example of the Hitler Youth, whose membership swelled to 5.4 million by 1936, before becoming compulsory in 1939, and which was replete with musical activities which differed very little from their pre-1933 incarnations, with long-term legislation meaning that every regional division had to have its own collection of choirs and bands by 1944. The aim was to promote feelings of national solidarity among the unified *Volksgemeinschaft,* the 'people's community', encouraging young Germans to grow up as 'ideologically pure', brought together by the collective performance of 'appropriate' contemporary music.[84]

[84] Potter (1998), pp. 13-15.

To make the point clearer, the above-mentioned Fritz Jöde saw the Hitler Youth as the perfect opportunity to promote further his Jugendbewegung-honed views on the function of music, contributing a chapter to the second edition of the organisation's handbook on music, *Musik im Volk*, in addition to helping design the structure and curriculum for the Adolf Hitler Musikschülen für Jugend und Volk, which numbered 160 by 1944.[85] In addition, Jöde was active in promoting the work of Heinrich Schütz via his periodical *Singstunde*, which published excerpts of the composer's *Beckersche Psalter* under the title 'Kleine geistliche Hauskonzerte' in 1935.[86] In 1933, the Finkensteiner Bund was absorbed into the Arbeitskreis für Hausmusik der Reichsmusikkammer under the leadership of Richard Baum, chief editor of *Musik und Kirche*, discussed below, who was himself associated with Vötterle and Bärenreiter and worked prominently with the publisher following the War.[87] The Arbeitskreis took over responsibility for organising numerous events throughout the National Socialist period promoting the work of both Schütz himself and prominent Singbewegung composers such as Distler and Pepping.[88]

Despite later tensions between the Evangelical Church and the regime, during the early years following 1933, it can be seen that the music of the Singbewegung generally had a relationship with the party in which it was at least tolerated, if not viewed positively. For example, the magazine *Musik und Kirche* was often a vocal advocate for the enmeshing of everyday social and political life more firmly with the Evangelical Church and supported the creation of the Reichsverband für Evangelische Kirchenmusik in 1934. Founded in 1929, *Musik und Kirche* acted as an important mouthpiece for the ideology of the Jugendbewegung within the context of sacred music and was highly influential in shaping church opinion.[89] Additionally, 1937 saw the celebration of the Fest der Deutschen Kirchenmusik, held with state support in Berlin in the same year as the infamous

[85] See Wolfgang Stumme, ed., *Musik im Volk: Grundfragen der Musikerziehung* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, 1939), as referenced in Potter (1998), pp. 15-16.
[86] Varwig (2011), p. 200.
[87] Ibid., p. 200
[88] Schipperges (2005), p. 85.
[89] Ibid.

Entartete Kunst exhibition in Munich. This acted as a forum for both canonical and new sacred works and saw the performance of Wolfgang Fortner's *Deutsche Liedmesse* and Distler's motet *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, in addition to works from Pepping and other key members of the movement for new sacred music.[90] Though there were, of course, dissenting voices, certain aims of the Jugendbewegung have clearly been demonstrated to coalesce with the elements of the Nazi agenda as it stood in 1933.

In terms of Schütz reception, the endeavour to cleanse him of his indebtedness to the Italian style, to emphasise the importance of his contribution to the German language and events such as the triple Bach, Handel and Schütz anniversary year in 1935 were all music to National Socialist ears. This new strictly German, Lutheran image of Schütz was cemented during the anniversary year with the first major Schützfeier under National Socialist rule in Dresden, which was marked by an increased emphasis on the wider concert appeal of his work, an expansion beyond the earlier emphasis placed by the revival movement on liturgical function.[91] As Varwig shows, Hans Hoffmann, who was responsible for organising annual Schütz Singwochen from 1936, wrote in 1933 that the chorale as a form was not specifically Christian, 'but something generally and eternally German, namely the primal joy to fight'.[92] This mirrors the 1934 founding declaration of the Reichsverband für evangelische Kirchenmusik, which asserted that that the chorale was a fundamental symbol of the Volk and therefore the wider revival movement was oriented towards the new National Socialist ideology, due to this point of common ground.[93] As Varwig highlights, Schütz's contribution to the form was actually quite meagre compared to composers such as Bach, but the picture of him as the faithful servant of the Lutheran Word was sufficient to make him appealing from a nationalistic perspective.[94]

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[90] Oskar Söhngen, 'Die Entwicklung der neuen evangelischen Kirchenmusik seit dem Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik 1937', in Hans Böhm (1959), pp. 32-41, pp. 32.
[91] Varwig (2011), pp. 53-54.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Stefan Hanheide, 'Musik zwischen Gleichschaltung und Säuberung. Zur Situation der Komponisten in Deutschalnd 1933-1945', in Stefan Hanheide (1997), pp. 17-34, pp. 28-29.
[94] Varwig (2011), p. 53.

This alignment of the Schütz revival movement and the Singbewegung more broadly can clearly be seen in Oskar Söhngen's opening speech at the 1937 Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik. Söhngen was a prominent Evangelical theologian and champion of the Singbewegung both before and after the Second World War and will feature prominently throughout this thesis. In his address, Söhngen sought to underline the relevance of the music of the Evangelical Church to the National Socialist Regime and asserted that it had an obligation to serve the new Germany and Adolf Hitler.[95] This sentiment seems to have been mutual during the early years following 1933 with Joseph Goebbels declaring in a speech given in 1935 to mark the Bach, Handel and Schütz triple anniversary that Schütz was a creator of German art music which had been hugely influential across the centuries in shaping the development of the German musical character.[96]

Concluding Remarks

It is worth noting here that there is a slight disjunction between the manner in which the regime and the Singbewegung were respectively presenting Schütz. On the one hand, the members of the sacred music revival have been shown to stress his Germanness in relation to his faithfulness to text-setting and liturgical function. On the other, Goebbels referred to Schütz as a composer of German 'art' music, not 'sacred' music and Hoffmann's praise for the chorale was not as a religious form, but rather one which transcends its religious background through its raw Germanness. This tension between two differently nuanced images of the composer further stresses the creative element at play in the renewed interest in Schütz at the time. In essence, each faction took from him what they wanted as a material memory site to suit their purposes in processes demonstrative of the role of cultural memory as a tool with which to shape the present. This difference in purpose in spite of

[95] Oskar Söhngen, in *Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik in Berlin 1937: Predigten und Vorträge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1938), p. 90, referenced in Varwig (2011), p. 54.
[96] Schipperges (2005), p. 75.

many ideological similarities is also, however, telling of the difficult and at time ambiguous relationship between the Singbewegung and the National Socialist regime.

In relation to the Jugendbewegung, as I have shown and as Irvine further observes, its musical movements were very much not homogenous. They drew the interest of a number of far more well-known musicians than the associates of the Singbewegung. Equally, the net of Gebrauchsmusik can be cast far more widely than within the context of functional music for the Evangelical Church, given its associations with the work of Bertolt Brecht and Weill among others.[97] Hindemith, for example, attended a national meeting of Jöde's 'Musikantengilde' ('Musicians' Guild') in 1926 and expressed his enthusiasm for the potential of the Jugendmusikbewegung.[98] Further, many members of the Singbewegung were greatly inspired by Hindemith's style and use of Neoclassical forms, as I will discuss throughout this thesis. Indeed, he was himself clearly interested in themes from the German past, as can be seen by his 1934 Symphony and 1938 operatic reworking *Mathis der Maler* on the life of the Reformation artist Matthias Grünewald. As Claire Taylor-Jay has demonstrated, Hindemith saw the work as having an important didactic element that should 'lift the spirit of the consumer to a higher level' and help them with their spiritual betterment, manifested in the protagonist Mathis's empathy for the peasants in the German Peasants' War (1524-25). This is in contrast, for example, to Hans Pfitzner's treatment of Palestrina in his 1917 opera of the same name where the composer is treated as transcendent of 'wordly concerns'.[99] In addition to this, Taylor-Jay discusses the relationship of Hindemith's Gebrauchsmusik output and *Mathis der Maler*, attaching the term to the use of diegetic folk songs and liturgical music of 'indeterminate heritage' in the opera.[100]

[97] Irvine (2013), p. 300.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Claire Taylor-Jay, *The Artist-Operas of Pfitzner, Krenek and Hindemith: Politics and the Ideology of the Artist* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 153-154, 162-163.
[100] Ibid., pp. 155-170.

Although Hindemith's focus was clearly different to that of the Singbewegung, not least given that his Gebrauchsmusik was generally secular in nature and his works such as *Mathis der Maler* clearly were not intended for amateur musicians, there are certainly some elements in common to be seen between his output and the movement that so much admired him. Both were interested in drawing from the distant German past in order to create something of social utility in the present. In this way, his brand of Neoclassicism was perhaps closer to the Singbewegung than that of Stravinsky, for example. As I will touch upon at certain points, many members of the movement were also hugely enthusiastic about his Neoclassical works too, but the use that Stravinsky saw in the past, though similar in some ways, took a somewhat different slant on its source material. As Richard Taruskin has observed, Stravinsky's early Neoclassical pieces such as *Mavra* and *Pulcinella* are characterised by a 'highly self-conscious contemporaneity' that views the past ironically.[101] This irony manifests itself in a deliberate subverting and 'making-strange' of his source material as a means of commenting on the present and specifically the political situation in early-Bolshevik Russia, as Taruskin has it.[102]

This interpretation is echoed by Maureen Carr in her monograph on the development of Stravinsky's Neoclassical style. Here, she discusses his claims that he was writing the 'music of today' and that he was attempting to go 'back to Bach' as a source of inspiration, the 'real Bach' and not the Bach of the present, and suggests that these were part of a wider project in his output to 'reaffirm the tonal system' in the face of other modernists' attempts to dismantle it.[103] The sense of irony may be missing from the generally earnest music of the Singbewegung and any sense of Stravinsky's interest in the social utility of his music is questionable. But Taruskin and Carr's ideas regarding Stravinsky's evocation of the past still have something of the whiff of the Assmanns'

[101] Richard Taruskin, 'Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology', in 19th-Century Music, Spring, 1993, vol. 16, no. 3 (Spring, 1993), pp. 286-302, p. 292.
[102] Ibid., p. 293.
[103] Maureen Carr, *After the Rite: Stravinsky's Path to Neoclassicism (1914-1925)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014), pp. 31-32.

concept of cultural memory as a means of addressing an inadequate present, discussed above. Stravinsky may have claimed that he was 'of today' and writing the music of today, but as Taruskin has noted, his evocation of past models in early Neoclassical works such as *Mavra* could also be seen as a reaction to the political events of today and the seismic changes taking place in Russia following the Russian Revolution beginning in 1917.[104] Although there may have been differences between the agendas of the Singbewegung and Stravinsky, and to a lesser extent Hindemith, the movement can still be understood as tying into the wider ideologies associated with Neoclassicism in the first half of the twentieth century. For all of these composers, the past was a tool for critiquing the present and, perhaps in this way, the present study of the Singbewegung in terms of cultural memory could also provide fruitful ground for further studies of more famous composers associated with Neoclassicism which look to understand their music with regards their relationship with the past.

With these background considerations, I have sought to provide some initial context for the cultural and political role the Singbewegung played during its early years in relation to the wider Jugendbewegung, National Socialism, the Evangelical Church and the Schütz revival movement. As can be seen, there are common strands between the ideologies of all of these parallel groups, such as the ostensible rejection of Romanticism, of subjectivity, commercialism and everything thought to be 'inauthentic' within the particular paradigms of the movement in question in favour of community and 'objective' engagement. The use of the past and of key memory sites, be it Krause's Aryan Christ, the spurious Schütz portrait or the general lionising of the Baroque past as a golden age for both music and communal participation in Lutheranism, was fundamental to shaping the ideologies of these differing movements. At the same time, however, there was clearly not a complete alignment of the ideals of the National Socialists, the Singbewegung and the Schütz revival movement in all areas. Liturgical function and participation in religion were not of particular

[104] Carr (2014), see also Taruskin (1993), p. 293.

importance to the former, as I have shown, whereas they were centrally important to the Singbewegung in its understanding of its purpose. Consequently, though there may have been many points of overlap between the different manifestations of the Singbewegung and Nazism, it should also be clear that there were a number of key tensions in terms of both their aims and their methods.

As I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, this simultaneous tension and overlap would ultimately prove a double-edged sword for the central strand of the Singbewegung in particular. As the 1930s wore on, the lack of alignment on key issues saw the regime becoming increasingly hostile towards it, as was the case with the large section of the Evangelical Church which did resist National Socialism, as I will establish in chapter 2. At the same time, the similarity of certain elements of the ideology of the Singbewegung to fascism would see those members who attempted to continue its work after the war subjected to intense criticism, as I will discuss in the conclusion of this thesis. Unlike the offshoots of the prewar incarnation of the movement in East Germany and within the Catholic Church, the subjects of chapters 3 and 4, the central Evangelical strand had nowhere to shift the its own Nazi guilt. This predicament, in combination with growing postwar secularisation and the shifting tides in new music would ultimately leave the Singbewegung unable to continue by the end of the 1950s. Running through these varied iterations of the movement is a strand of cultural memory which developed over its lifespan. From the 1920s when it was first established the Singbewegung utilised the memory of an idealised past in order to counteract what were seen as the inadequacies of the present. In the postwar period, this tendency was compounded, with the successes of the 1920s acting as a further idealised past to be held up against the challenges of the present.

Chapter 1
Distler and Pepping: the Singbewegung in Practice

This chapter seeks to flesh out the stylistic and ideology identity of the early Singbewegung, in addition to establishing the importance of cultural memory as a concept to the movement, through the examples of Hugo Distler and Ernst Pepping. Roughly similar in age, both made significant musical contributions to the new sacred music of the 1920s and under National Socialism. Both were also committed to eschewing the perceived excesses of Romanticism in sacred music, and beyond, via recourse to the constructed golden age of the pre-Bachian period. As will be seen in later chapters, the memory of Distler in the postwar period was of a sort of Messianic figure, having been persecuted and driven to suicide in 1942 under the Nazis. For this reason alone, he is an essential composer of study. This imperative is further compounded by the actual nature of his relationship with the regime, having gone from being something of a poster boy for the new German music in both ideological and technical terms in 1933 to an irritant for the party in the years leading up to his death, given the government's increasing aggression towards the Bekennende Kirche, or Confessing Church, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

Distler's key works of the 1930s, such as his *Choralpassion*, clearly illustrate the ideology of the Singbewegung. My discussion of these will provide a clearer picture of the enthusiasm many members of this movement felt for the professional possibilities National Socialism could offer them, given its preference for their own musical style. Pepping, on the other hand, is a much more elusive figure than Distler in terms of his relationship to the party. He is, though, just as important to study, principally for his theoretical writings of the early 1930s. Most central of these is his *Stilwende der Musik*, on the musical style of the Singbewegung, which provides, in very fine detail, a clear manifesto and justification for music written in this style, in addition to touching on its political implications.[1] Finally, his initial ambivalence towards liturgical function and later transition towards

[1] Ernst Pepping, *Stilwende der Musik* (Mainz: Schott Söhne, 1934).

the composition of a number of more practically-oriented works in the 1930s demonstrate the potential many composers of the time saw in the liturgy as a foil to the Classical/Romantic tradition.

Distler, born in Nuremberg on 24th June 1908, has attracted more scholarly attention than any other figure within the Singbewegung. Almost exclusively in German, this ranges from early studies in the 1970s to the published version of a symposium entitled *Hugo Distler im Dritten Reich*, held at the Hugo-Distler-Archiv in 1995.[2] Finally, there have been two monographs published on Distler in this century, though these are principally biographical in nature.[3] There is also an English-language doctoral dissertation written by Todd Jere Harper in 2008 discussing the sacred music revival and National Socialism in the 1930s, but this is quite limited in its scope and leaves much room for expansion.[4] The Hugo-Distler-Archiv was created in 1952 in the music section of the Staatsbibliothek in Lübeck and comprised an exhaustive collection of his correspondence, general writings, and musical material. A significant portion of Distler's manuscripts and letters was, however, moved to the Staatsbibliothek in Munich in 2010 and the archive is now split across both locations.[5] In general, there is a good deal of space within Distler scholarship because, firstly, very little English-language interest has been expressed in Distler and secondly, a number of the German sources, by now, show their age, or are, in the case of Distler-Harth, highly partisan. In particular, Distler has never been approached from the angle of memory studies which, in my opinion, will prove fruitful in deepening the existing understanding of not only his own output, but also that of the Singbewegung in both the pre- and postwar periods.

Ernst Pepping, born in Duisburg on 12th September 1901, is another figure of major importance for the development of the Singbewegung, albeit one who often kept a certain distance

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[2] See Wolfgang Jennrich's *Hugo Distler* (Berlin: Union 1970), Ursula Hermann's East-German-published *Hugo Distler. Rufer und Mahner* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1972) and Hanheide (1997).
[3] These are Winfried Lüdemann's *Hugo Distler. Eine musikalische Biografie* (Augsburg: Wissner-Verlag, 2002) and Barbara Dister-Harth *Hugo Distler. Lebensweg eines Frühvollendeten* (Mainz: Schott, 2008).
[4] Todd Jere Harper, *Hugo Distler and the Renewal Movement in Nazi Germany*, Doctoral Thesis (California: Faculty of the Thornton School of Music University of Southern California, Doctor of Musical Arts, 2008).
[5] 'Hugo Distler', Bärenreiter Verlag, https://www.baerenreiter.com/programm/musik-des-2021-jahrhunderts/hugo-distler/mehr/material/ (accessed 28/11/2018).

from it. The available literature on Pepping is significantly smaller than that relating to Distler and does not reach much further than Heinrich Poos's compilation of tributes to Pepping for his seventieth birthday, which offers a variety of contributions from a number of authors, ranging from biographical information to analyses of Pepping's work and musicological essays which explore fields related to Pepping's own musical-historical interests.[6] Beyond this, there is a doctoral dissertation by Klaus Dietrich Hüschen at the University of Cologne dating from 1987, and a handful of websites offering biographical information and little else.[7] Pepping's estate is split between the Akademie der Künste and the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, with the former containing his writings and correspondence and the latter his manuscripts. As can be seen from the catalogue of works regarding Pepping in his archive, a certain number of articles and lectures do exist (some of which made their way into the *Festschrift*), but the most recent of these dates from 1976, further indicating his neglect by recent scholarship.[8] Given that both Distler and Pepping are so unknown, especially outside of Germany, I think it is necessary in these case studies to provide a certain amount of biographical information on them to clarify their educational pedigree and relationships with both the Jugendbewegung and fascism.

Hugo Distler

Distler's early biography is a fitting starting point for discussing his significant contribution to the Singbewegung because it helps to situate him within a particular institutional and educational lineage linked to key locations and figures associated with the origins of the movement. These influences contributed especially towards the work of his early career around 1933, the focal point of study in this chapter, and in particular his *Choralpassion*, which I will use as a representative work

[6] Heinrich Poos, ed., *Festschrift Ernst Pepping zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 12. September 1971* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1971).
[7] Klaus Dietrich Hüschen, *Studien zum Motettenschaffen Ernst Peppings* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1987).
[8] 'Artikel und Vorträge über Ernst Pepping', in Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 226, https://archiv.adk.de/bigobjekt/10982 (accessed 29/11/2018).

for the movement in this section. Distler matriculated at the conservatoire in Leipzig in 1927, where he studied until 1930 and where his classmates included other Singbewegung composers such as Kurt Thomas and Günther Raphael. He took composition lessons with Hermann Grabner, who encouraged him to prioritise this as his main study, along with the organ.[9] According to Distler-Harth, her father was strongly influenced during this period by both Grabner and the then Thomaskantor Karl Straube, a friend of the early Singbewegung figure Arnold Mendelssohn, who also taught at the conservatoire. Grabner and Straube were both ardent proponents of the neo-Baroque, which they both believed to be a potent weapon in combating the development of what Distler-Harth loosely calls 'atonality', a symptom of the excessive myopic sentimentality of Romantic subjectivism which the twentieth century had inherited from the nineteenth.[10] Romanticism was, in Grabner's eyes, elitist and snobbish, and removed access to music from everyone but the educated classes, whereas his preferred brand of Neoclassicism, with its stylistic evocation of the pre-Bachians and its sober transparency, was far more accessible to a much broader range of people. Straube was perhaps less radically anti-Romantic than Grabner, and was, in fact, a great admirer of Max Reger and responsible for many performances of his work in Leipzig. Nevertheless, he too advocated a greater emphasis on the study and interpretation of the organ music of J.S. Bach and his predecessors as a means of developing a new style of writing for the organ which emphasised baroque values of clear, 'rational' counterpoint and lean transparent textures.[11] The influence these two figures had on Distler can be seen in some of the dedications of his early works, notably, his organ partita *Nun komm, Der Heiden Heiland*, op. 8.1, dedicated to Grabner,[12] and his 1932 *Choralpassion*, op. 7, dedicated to Straube, 'in hoher Verehrung und herzlicher Dankbarkeit' (in high honour and heartfelt thanks).[13]

[9] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 11, 54-64.
[10] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., p. 64.
[13] Hugo Distler, *Choralpassion* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1932), p. 3.

Shortly after leaving Leipzig, Distler took up the post of organist and director of music at the church of St. Jakobi in Lübeck, which at the time was under the direction of the Jugendbewegung-linked pastor Axel Werner Kühl, to whom he dedicated his *Jahreskreis* op. 5 (1931/32).[14] The practical experience of organising music for the functional world of the daily church liturgy further engrained in Distler his professed belief that individuality had no true place in the behaviour of an artist, who should be removed as much as possible from his own work, in order to serve the collective better.[15] The *Jahreskreis* was very much born out of this ideological credo and relates to the wider goals of the Singbewegung regarding functionality. Indeed, the inception of the work stemmed from the practical considerations of the choir at St. Jakobi. When Distler took on this role, Distler-Harth reports, the boys' choir was initially of very poor quality, and a number of the works drawn from the *Jahreskreis* were written specifically with the needs of the boys in mind. Including, 'Mit Ernst o Menschenkinder', 'Maria durch ein Dornwald ging', 'Selig sind die Toten' and 'Ein neu Gebot gebe ich euch', these served both as a pedagogical tool and also to provide functional music from Sunday to Sunday which they could perform.[16]

As Roman Summereder explains, it is around this time that Distler became involved with the Bärenreiter publishing house, to whose aesthetic ideology of practical sacred music—which placed liturgical function and communal participation above what was perceived to be Romantic subjectivity and virtuosity for its own sake—he was generally sympathetic.[17] This is confirmed by Distler-Harth, who states that Distler signed a publishing contract with Karl Vötterle in late October 1932 (he had previously been with Breitkopf & Härtel). She echoes Summereder's assertion that Distler was highly amenable to the Bärenreiter brand of 'Unterhaltungsmusik', and expands the point by noting that as part of the contract, Distler was obliged to attend the Finkensteiner

[14] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 89-90.
[15] 'Der Künstler rechtfertige sich selbst und seine Kunst nun dadurch, dass er in ihr seine Individualität zurücknahm und sich dem Glauben des Kollektivs unterwart', in Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 90-91.
[16] Ibid., p. 90.
[17] Summereder (2010), p. 19.

Singwochen held by the publisher.[18] In this sense, Distler was tied to the Jugendbewegung not just in aesthetic, but also in practical terms, becoming an important feather in the Bärenreiter cap and an active part of the project for the new sacred music.

Choralpassion

Distler's *Choralpassion* is his most significant work from this early period and in many ways acts as an exemplar for the ideals of the Singbewegung at this time. In his postscript to the work, Distler begins by underlining its relationship to tradition in stating that one of his most affecting experiences in Lübeck to date had been hearing Heinrich Schütz's *Matthäus Passion,* SWV 479 (1666), performed at a Good Friday service.[19] As will be demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, both Schütz's and Distler's Passions were highly important memory sites for the Singbewegung, acting as touchstones for the composition of a number of works in a similar vein. In the same way that the Singbewegung of the 1920s and 1930s used Schütz's work as a model to attempt to challenge an 'inadequate present', so to would postwar composers use Distler's work ritualistically to attempt to combat their own 'inadequate present', as I will discuss in chapter 5. Distler's Passion, which mixes texts from several gospels, is a direct response to his experience of the Schütz work, not only in the more superficial sense of being written for similar forces (they are both for choir a-cappella and soloists), but also in a more profound sense of affect. He claims to have sought to reimagine the spirit of Schütz's work through a succinct musical language, 'which is just as primitive as it is striking, and which is oriented towards everyone and understandable to all'.[20] This language manifests itself, in part, through Distler's use of church modes and musical material drawn from the chorale 'Jesu, deine Passion' (which he claims dates from before the Reformation and the text of which is drawn from several different periods), contextualised within small-scale musical forms. The construction of

[18] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 91-93.
[19] Distler (1932), p. 55.
[20] Ibid.

the *Choralpassion* can be broken down into two main interlocking elements: a set of eight variations on the chorale melody and a series of twenty short choral motets.[21] These are interspersed with narration from tenor and bass soloists, who sing the Evangelist and Jesus respectively, with members of the choir taking smaller solo parts, such as Pontius Pilate. The whole work is divided into seven sections, as will be discussed below in table 1.

As part of the *Choralpassion*'s orientation towards practical considerations, Distler provides for the various ways in which the piece can be performed in the postscript. It is possible for the motets to be excerpted and performed either as a group or individually. The whole of the passion could be performed on Good Friday without the motets, which would suit a choir of limited ability due to the difference in difficulty between them and the chorale variations, or alternatively the seven sections can be broken up and performed across the six Sundays in Lent and on Easter Sunday. For particularly confident musicians, the chorale variations and the motets could be divided between two choirs placed in different parts of the church. The only performance possibility which is expressly forbidden is to perform the work as a whole with the motets but without the chorale variations.[22] This list of practical considerations is in line with much of the Jugendbewegung ideology discussed in the introduction and chimes with Distler's own claim that the composer should sink into the background in favour of the needs of the community after having created their work.

The influence of Schütz's *Matthäus Passion* on Distler forms the central analytical focus of Todd Jere Harper's 2008 doctoral thesis *Hugo Distler and the Renewal Movement in Nazi Germany*. Harper's analysis itself, however, takes up a relatively small portion of his thesis as a whole and is for the most part quite anecdotal and generalised; indeed, he himself acknowledges that it is 'selective'.[23] For the purposes of exploring further the musical style of the Singbewegung, I will first present Harper's observations regarding the *Choralpassion*, followed by my own analysis of the musical language used by Distler.

[21] Distler (1932), p. 2.
[22] Ibid., p. 55.
[23] Harper (2008).

Harper's analysis is specifically focused on the similarities between Schütz's *Matthäus Passion* and Distler's work and is divided into the following seven points: 1) The significance of speech rhythm in text setting; 2) The use of rhythmic crescendo; 3) How each composer utilizes larger intervals, specifically the ascending and descending fifth and tritone; 4) The use of imitation between voices; 5) The absence of dynamic markings; 6) Text painting; 7) The formal design used by each composer to tell the Passion Story. Some of these points are more developed than others, but for the most part, Harper takes a single example from each piece to highlight their similarity. One comparison that Harper makes between the two works that is worth noting is one of the main points of difference between their respective structures; Distler's use of chorale variations is interspersed throughout the *Choralpassion*. That being said, Harper's actual comparison of the overall structure essentially amounts to stating that they happen to be based around the same plot, which is hardly surprising considering they are both Passion settings. He provides the following table (note that he includes the final chorale variation in the table to make it fit better with the Schütz example, but not the others).[24]

Table 1: Comparison of Form

Distler	**Schütz**
***Choralpassion,* op. 7**	***Matthäus Passion*, SWV 479**
Introduction	Introduction
I. Erster Teil: Der Einzug	I. Hohepriester / Schriftgelehrte
II. Zweiter Teil: Judas; Pharisäer Rat	II. Verrat des Judas
III. Dritter Teil: Das Abendmahl	III. Das heilige Abendmahl
IV. Vierter Teil: Gethsemane	IV. Gethsemane
V. Fünfter Teil: Kaiphas	V. Kaiphas
VI. Sechster Teil: Pilatus	VI. Pilatus
VII. Letzter Teil: Golgotha	VII. Kreuzigung und Tod

[24] Harper (2008), pp. 93-95.

VIII. Final Chorale	VIII. Beschluss (Conclusio)

As Harper notes, the inclusion of the chorale variations is much more informed by the Passion settings of the eighteenth century than by those of Schütz's own period and is typical of Johann Sebastian Bach's settings of the Passion story in particular.[25] In this way, the pastiche element of the *Choralpassion* is highlighted, as it acts as a synthesis of multiple different periods of Baroque Passion writing. Though Distler certainly cites Schütz as his main influence in the afterword to the piece, as a composer writing in the 1930s, he inevitably sees Schütz through the prism of Bach. This informs Harper's analysis detrimentally, because his willingness to take Distler at his word leads him to seek anecdotal similarities between the *Choralpassion* and the *Matthäus Passion* which actually do very little to account for the respective natures of the works in their own right.

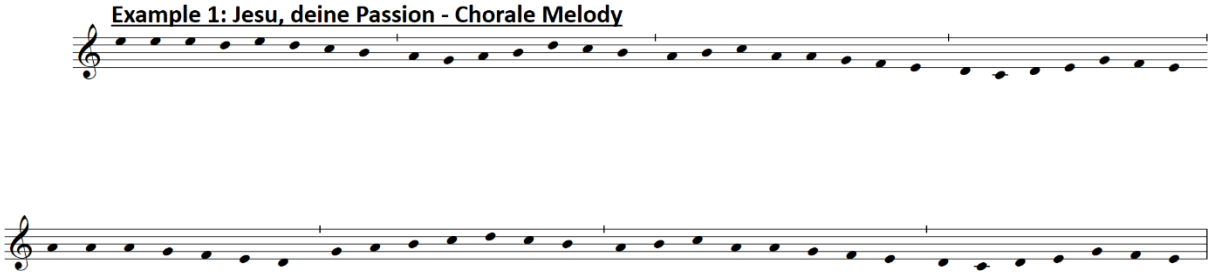
With this in mind, I will now turn to the *Choralpassion* in more detail, to provide a more comprehensive account of its character. As explained, the structure of the work is essentially a set of miniatures, which fall into three categories; 1) the framing chorale variations; 2) narrative recitative; 3) the turba choral sections in which the choir represent the crowd in various different contexts. Given that the piece does not really have an over-arching musical structure, it is not necessary to go through it in its entirety, so I will instead discuss one example of each element in detail. More broadly, my analysis will focus on its treatment of harmony, text and imitation.

The first chorale variation, which begins the piece as a whole, clearly sets out the chorale melody (ex. 1) in the first soprano, using the text of the first verse of the chorale:

> Jesus, I wish now to think upon your Passion;
> Thou shalt give me spirit and devotion from the Throne of Heaven.
> Appear now, Jesus, to my heart,
> As you suffered all pain to be our salvation.[26]

[25] Harper (2008), p. 94.
[26] Jesu, deine Passion will ich jetzt bedenken; / wollest mir vom Himmelsthron Geist und Andacht schenken. / In dem Bilde jetzt erschein, Jesu, meinem Herzen, / wie du, unser Heil zu sein, littest alle Schmerzen.

Example 1: Jesu, deine Passion - Chorale Melody



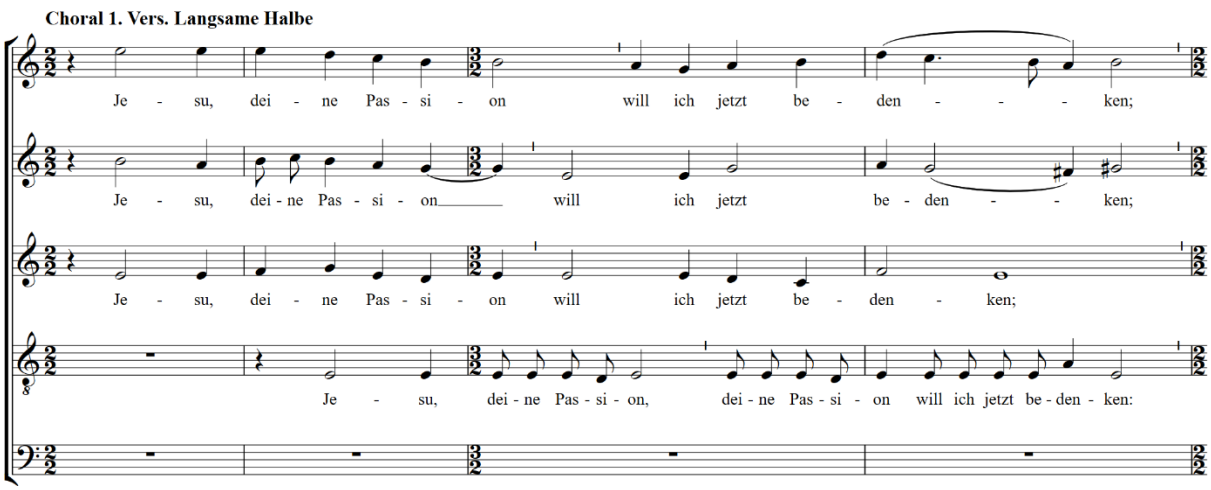
The chorale melody remains in the first soprano throughout, with the lower parts taking a subsidiary role, in homophonic support of the melody. The variation as a whole lasts 19 bars, with the structure being strictly shaped around the chorale.

In this first chorale variation, Distler's treatment of the text is relatively unmelismatic, though he does tend to stretch the penultimate syllable of each line to fit into his chosen phrase structure. The first soprano has some form of melisma on be-**den**-ken (b. 4), **schen**-ken (bb. 7-8), **Her**-zen (bb. 13-14) and **Schmer**-zen (bb. 18-19) respectively. Indeed, this is a much more convincing way of underlining Harper's assertion that Distler pays a great deal of attention to the correct syllabic stressing of the text in this sense than the example he himself gives. This impression is further strengthened by Distler's use of barring throughout this variation, with the overall 2/2 metre being stretched to 3/2 in bb. 3-4, 7 and 19 and to 5/4 in b. 8. The reason for the change of metre is normally in order to accommodate the aforementioned melismatic writing while also ensuring that strong syllables land on the correct beat.

The first chorale is also of interest because it sets out the general harmonic world Distler uses throughout the wider piece. Particularly noteworthy are a general lack of overall long-term harmonic tension over the course of the piece, in addition to the use of modal ambiguity and quartal harmonic inflections. As can be seen from ex. 1, the tonal centre of the chorale melody itself is ambiguous, with A Aeolian or E Phrygian both being possible interpretations, a fact that Distler actively exploits, going so far as to cast it in C major for much of the seventh variation. To start with the opening bars of the variation (ex. 2), Distler underlays the first soprano melody with an E-B open fifth in the second soprano and alto (b. 1.2-3), after which the second soprano moves to an A, creating a second thirdless accord (b. 1.4). The following bar contains three quartal harmonies

created by parallel motion (F-B-E on beat 1, E-A-D on beat 3 and D-G-C (with a held E below it) on beat 4) and a full E minor chord on beat 2. This is followed by another E minor chord at the beginning of b. 3 to end the first segment of the chorale melody, after which the harmonic ambiguity begins again with the second segment of the chorale melody. Further ambiguous and quartally-inflected chords (D-G-A on the third beat of b. 3, followed by D-C-G a crotchet later) follow until the harmony settles on an E major chord on the third beat of b. 4 to end the second segment. But Distler denies this full tonal resolution, by beginning the next segment with an A-E open fifth.

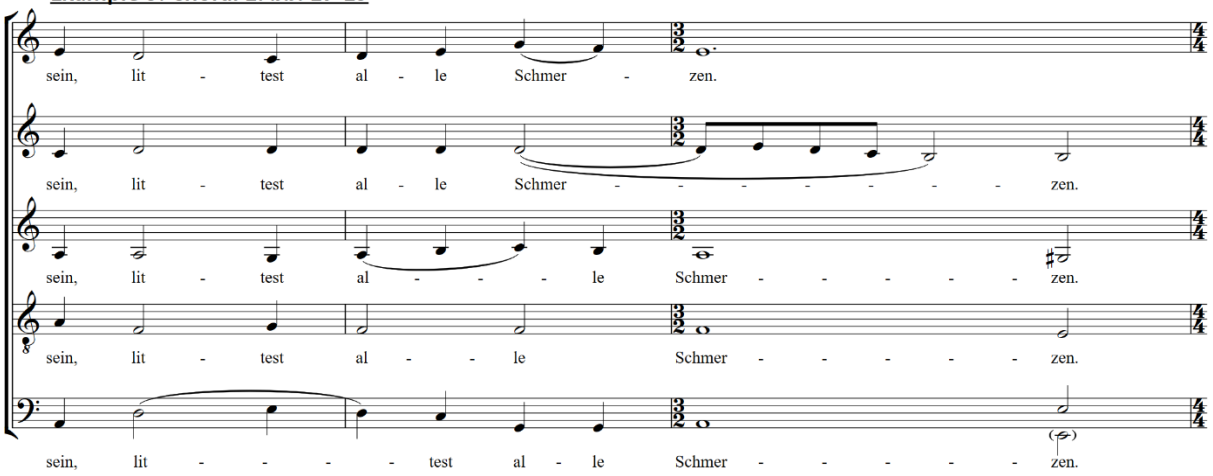
Example 2: Choral 1. bb. 1-4



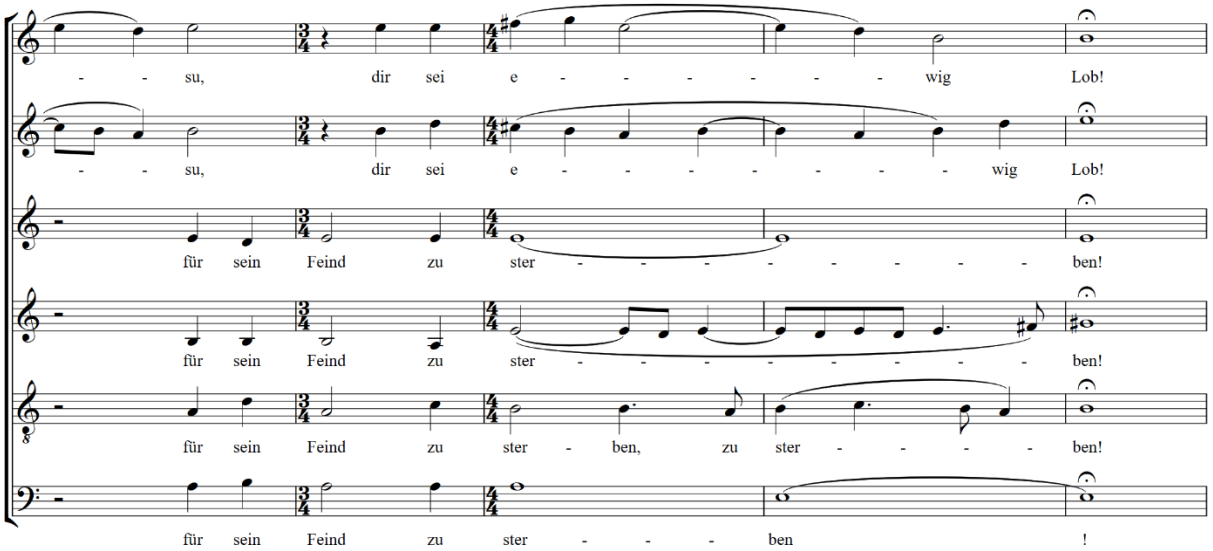
The remainder of the variation follows a similar pattern of tension and release achieved by the fluctuation towards and away from harmonic clarity, with the ends of the various segments of the chorale melody acting as points of repose at which a conventional triad can normally be identified. In contrast, the harmony between these points is much harder to pin down, as it does not progress functionally. The final 'cadence' of the variation (ex. 3) is one which will become an essential harmonic feature of the work as a whole. In essence, this could be interpreted as a straightforward imperfect cadence in A minor, but it is approached in b. 18 by a G7 chord, foregrounding the natural supertonic, weakening the impression of A minor. The chord which begins b. 19 is not quite an A minor chord, as the tenor holds a semi-breve F3, which via voice leading resolves to an E for the final accord of the variation. A suspension from the previous bar and its resolution mean that the mediant is only heard for a quaver. This exploitation of the tonal ambiguity

in the chorale melody is treated very differently in the final cadence of the eighth and finale chorale variation (ex. 4). Here, Distler uses the same fundamental bassline progression of A-E, but through the use of F# and C# accidentals, prioritises the dominance of E as the tonal centre and reimagines the cadence as a plagal one in E (though the contrast of G natural and G# still leave a little ambiguity as to the mode).

Example 3: Choral 1. bb. 17-19



Example 4: Choral 3. bb. 34-38



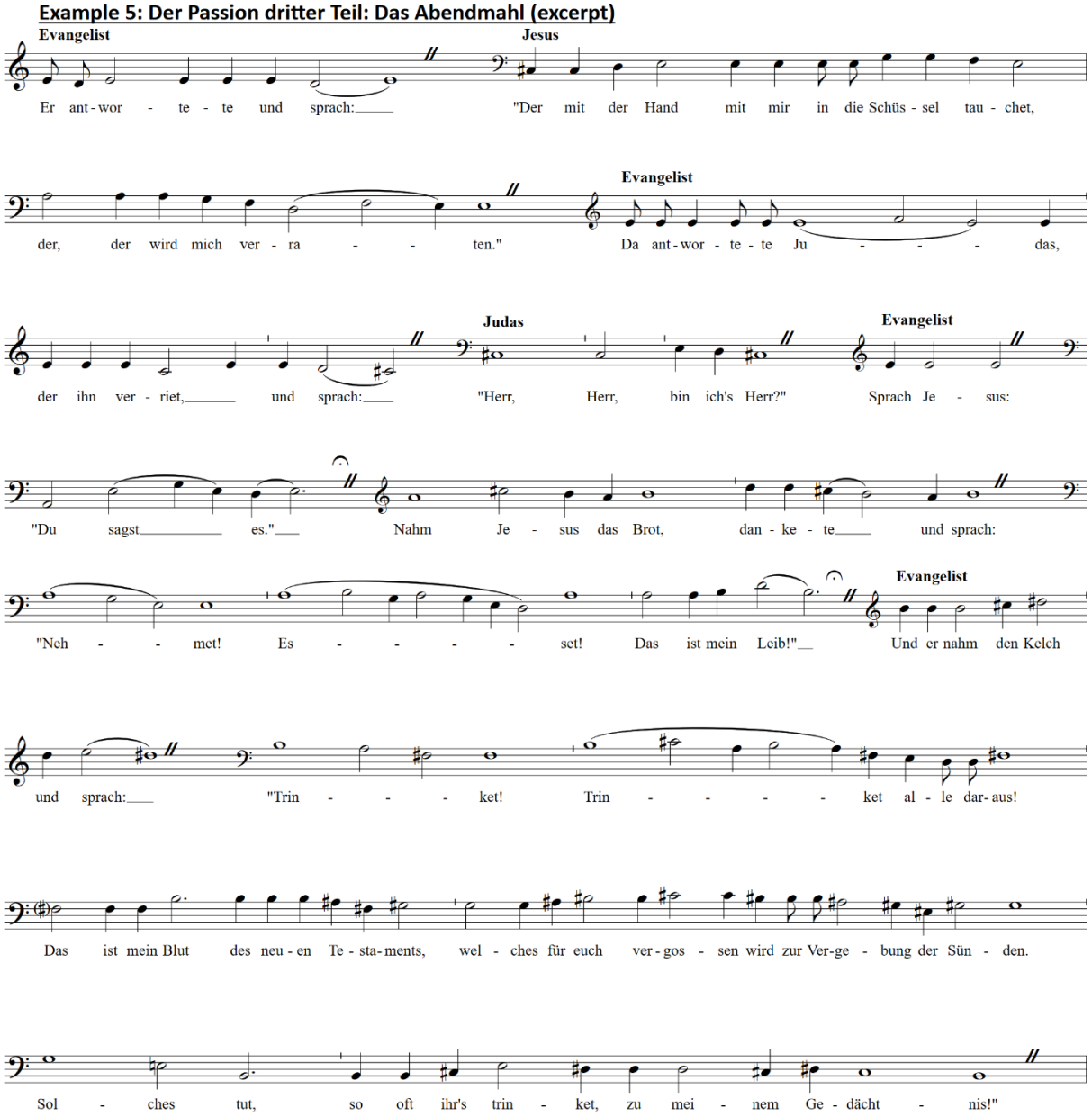
This concept of harmonic variety and interest being created not via a long-term moving away from a particular tonal centre upwards through the circle of fifths, only to return to it, but rather contrasting ambiguity and relative clarity is very typical of Distler's style. Indeed, as will later be discussed in relation to Pepping's *Stilwende der Musik*, this eschewing of upwards-moving circle-of-fifth-based tension is an important stylistic marker of the Singbewegung as a whole.

This technique of harmonic writing lends itself very well to the long unaccompanied narrative recitative sections of the *Choralpassion*, which are clearly inspired by those of Schütz. There are several important elements of difference between the two composers' approaches to these, however. Firstly, Distler is much clearer than Schütz about the rhythmic values to be used, employing a wide range of them. These sections are unbarred, though they do use phrase markers, and progress in free time in accordance with the speech rhythm of the text. Secondly, while Schütz is relatively flexible about switching between tonal centre and mode, he does this in a very functional manner, with G Aeolian perhaps giving way to D Aeolian or Bb Ionian. Distler, on the other hand, uses much more extreme and unusual contrasts of tone and mode (often as a means of words painting).

Take for example the section 'Das Abendmahl' of the *Choralpassion*, in the recitative which features the Sacrament (ex. 5) between the fourth choral motet and the fourth chorale variation. Here, the previous section ended on an A major accord, the fifth of which the Evangelist takes as a starting note. Shortly after this, Jesus enters on a C# with a melodic line indicative of D minor and the Evangelist and Judas seem to stay in this area. On Jesus's entry with the text 'Du sagst es.', there is perhaps a slight hint of A minor in the melodic contour, but the following entry from the Evangelist foregrounds the pitches C#4 and B3, with the latter remaining natural when one might expect it to flatten in the context of D minor. Jesus's subsequent phrase ('Nehmet! Esset!' etc.) seems to trace a contour around A natural minor, but Distler avoids the mediant (sharp or natural) while maintaining the use of B natural, creating ambiguity between A and D as tonal centres. This B natural becomes an even more important feature when the Evangelist takes it from Jesus's phrase and pushes it up through C# and then to D#, reaching E. Jesus continues on from this with a phrase (from 'Trinket!' etc.) which is quite clearly in B Aeolian (rather far from D minor), and which then in turn switches in the direction of the major mode on the word 'Testaments'. This is then followed by a hint of C# major with the inclusion of B#s and E#s, after which the recitative turns to something between E major and B major. Though the initial use of tonal centres in this excerpt is not so far away from

Schütz, this later hinging into distant centres and modes from the starting point via pivot notes is quite different and is again a good example of the way in which Distler uses tonality throughout the work as a whole.

Example 5: Der Passion dritter Teil: Das Abendmahl (excerpt)

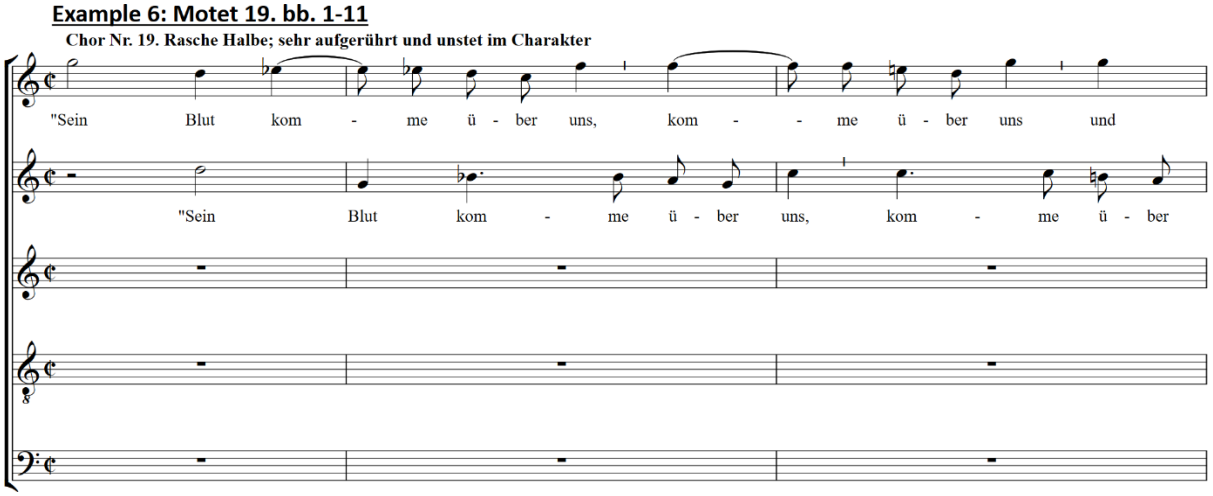


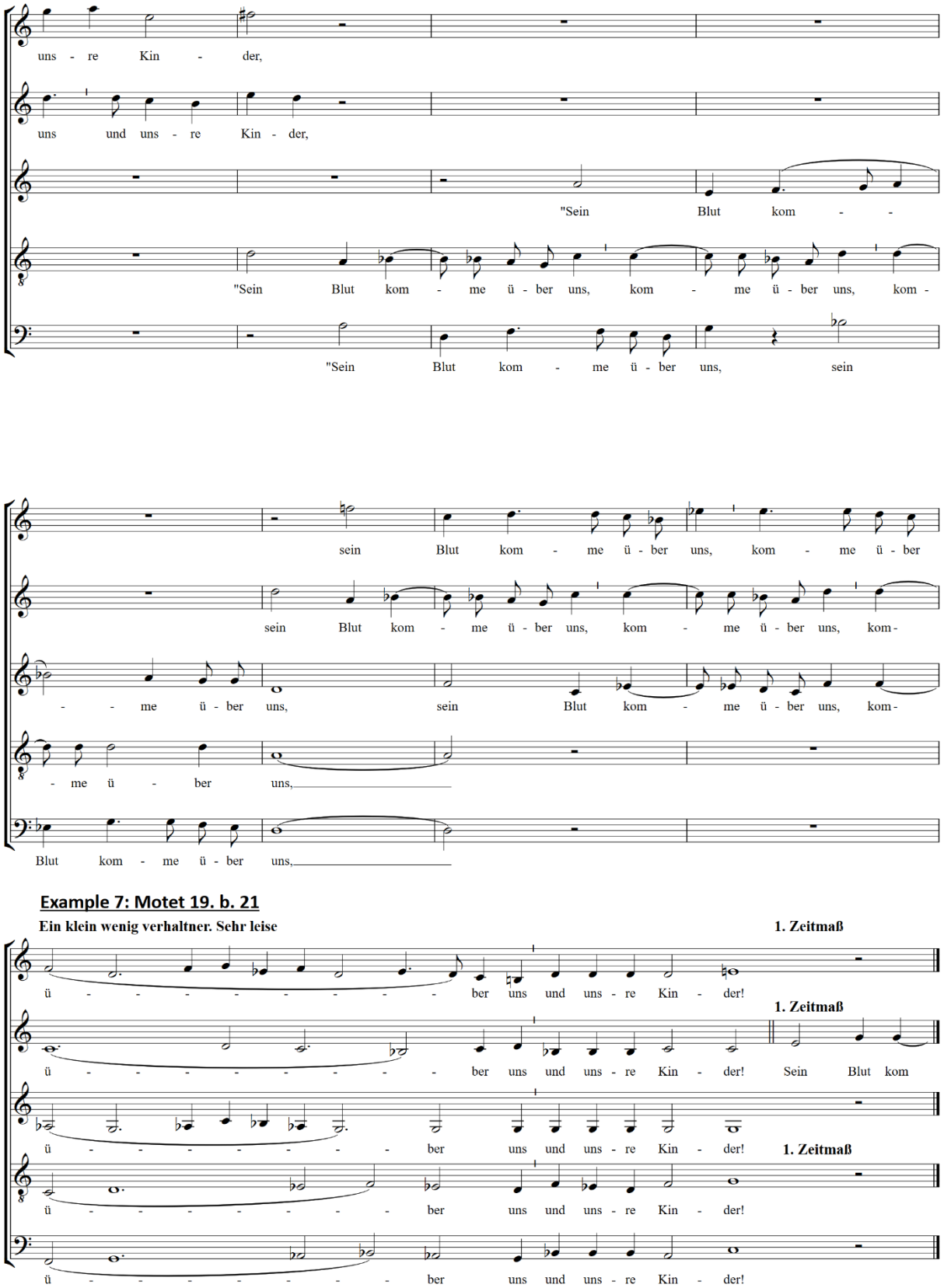
A final point to establish regarding Distler's style in the *Choralpassion* is his use of neo-Baroque textures in the form of imitation, especially in the choral sections which are not based on the chorale melody. This is quite clearly illustrated in the nineteenth choral motet, 'Sein Blut komme über uns', which involves a fugato-like treatment of the voices. The movement can be divided into three sections:

A) bb. 1-20
B) b. 21 (unbarred and significantly longer than the bars in the A section)
A[1]) bb. 22-37

Both A sections are based on melodically different but rhythmically similar fugato themes and with a few small exceptions are beamed in a regular 2/2 metre. As can be seen from example 6, A begins with two separate themes in the first and second soprano respectively with what looks like a fugal subject followed immediately by its tonal answer in G minor in the former and latter respectively. These then dovetail to conclude at the same point in b. 5 on a D major chord as the tenor and bass enter with a real answer to the subject and the second soprano's theme from b. 1, with the alto joining in free counterpoint in b. 6. This in turn leads into a D minor chord in b. 9 as the sopranos re-enter with the answer in imitation at the minor third (D-F), followed by the alto with more free counterpoint based on the subject in b. 10. This texture continues until b. 20 when the music lands on a semi-breve Bb major chord, which is not cadentially confirmed, but is reached instead via voice leading and cemented by the length of its duration in comparison to the busy texture beforehand. The B section (ex. 7) consists of a single long and slow unbeamed bar with a relatively clear homophonic chord progression from F minor to C major (via Bb major) and the section which follows is similar to A in character but uses a different theme and is less tightly organised.

Example 6: Motet 19. bb. 1-11





Example 7: Motet 19. b. 21

This analysis of Distler's *Choralpassion* has sought to expand upon Harper's analysis by providing a more fine-detail account of selected elements of the piece as representative of the style of the whole. The comparison between this piece and Schütz's *Matthäus Passion* is logical

considering Distler cites it directly as a key influence in his afterword, but there is clearly more to the *Choralpassion* than its indebtedness to Schütz. Here I have shown that Distler's quartally-inflected harmonic language is characterised by an avoidance of functional harmonic progressions in favour of fluctuations of harmonic clarity around a relatively unchanged harmonic centre. In contrast, his rhythmic and textural writing is marked by a clarity and vitality drawn from practices of Baroque counterpoint, such as imitation and fugal-style writing. Taking all this in combination, in addition to the Baroque-influenced structure of his Passion setting, Distler's work can be understood as a clear example of cultural memory in action. It is conceived in relation to the past, through interaction with an image of a perceived golden age, but in the accent of the present. In this way, the work fits into the wider canon of Neoclassical works of the 1920s and 1930s by more famous composers such as Stravinsky and Hindemith.[27] The *Choralpassion* is not simply a pastiche of Schütz, but takes inspiration from him while also engaging in more contemporary compositional techniques. This example helps to illustrate in practical terms some of the more abstract concepts discussed in the introduction in relation to the sacred music revival which will also be seen later in this chapter of Pepping's theoretical recommendations for composition.

Distler's time in Lübeck, during which he composed the *Choralpassion*, also coincides with both the accession of the National Socialists to power in 1933, and the Deutsche Christen landslide in the 'Landeskirchenwahl' ('State Church Elections') within the Evangelical Church in 1933, covered in the introduction. As Philipp Schmidt-Rhaesa shows, Distler is to be seen in a photograph dating from 1st May 1933 taking part in a parade through the streets of Lübeck for the Fest der Arbeit. On the same day, he became a member of the National Socialist party.[28] Distler-Harth claims that her

[27] For a further discussion of Stravinsky's Neoclassicism, see Stephen Walsh, *The Music of Igor Stravinsky* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), in particular chapter 6, 'Synthesis: *Mavra* and the New Classicism', and Martha Hyde, 'Stravinsky's neoclassicism', in Jonathan Cross, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 98-136. In relation to quartal harmony and Hindemith, see Simon Desbruslais, *The Music and Music Theory of Paul Hindemith*, (Suffolk: Boydell, 2018), in particular chapter 2, 'Hindemith's Fourths'.

[28] Philipp Schmidt-Rhaesa, 'Neue Musik für einen neuen Staat. Zu Distlers Vertonungen politischer Texte' in Hanheide (1997), pp. 58-80, p. 58.

father was forced into joining by the Evangelical Church, due to increased pressure from the party and the Deutsche Christen, the aim of this coercion being that the Church should be revolutionised from the bottom up to create a church-going community which was in line with Nazi ideology. Consequently, all the musicians of St. Jakobi and St. Marien were urged by their pastors to become party members.[29]

Whether Distler joined the party willingly or not, he and his contemporaries did have a great deal to gain were the Evangelical Church to be viewed in a positive light by the National Socialist government. Sven Hiemke states that many members of the musical branch of the Jugendbewegung saw the contempt with which the new regime viewed the musical avant-garde as an opportunity for their own communally- and Volk-oriented music to gain significantly in importance.[30] Within Distler's milieu in Lübeck, which included figures such as Axel Werner Kühl and Bruno Grusnick, the notion that church practices should expand into everyday life through increasing interaction between the church and the German people was commonplace. Concomitant to this notion was also a will to break down what Distler's contemporaries saw as the artificial divide between sacred and secular music.[31] It is worth noting here that Hiemke makes reference to Ernst Pepping's *Stilwende der Musik* (to be discussed later) in drawing parallels between the Evangelical Church and the rest of the Jugendbewegung across Germany. He quotes Pepping as stating that, just as the new politics could better the German people through making reference to tradition while still maintaining its novelty, so must a positive form of new German music (from within the Church and beyond) engage and educate people to understand its own novelty via its relationship to tradition.[32]

Hiemke further demonstrates that Distler's own vocabulary also tended towards the racially-infused terminology common at the time, for which he provides a number of examples. Among these is an excerpt from a text by Distler called 'On the Mission of German Evangelical Church Music

[29] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 157-159.
[30] Hiemke (1997), pp. 45-47.
[31] Ibid., pp. 50-53.
[32] Ibid., p. 51.

and Lübeck's Obligation as a City of Church Music in particular', published in the *Lübeckische Blätter* in 1933.[33] Here, Distler states that music has the responsibility of being the source of expression for the community, for the people, the 'Volk', the 'völkische Gemeinschaft'.[34] It is also worth remembering that Distler had called the musical language of the *Choralpassion* 'volkhaftig'. The purpose of such examinations of Distler and his work is not necessarily simply to demonstrate that he was a committed National Socialist, but rather, to contextualise him within a particular social framework in which many elements of National Socialist ideology were well integrated. Despite the issues Distler certainly did have with the party, especially later in his career (as will be discussed in the next chapter), it can be seen that he, like many other members of the Jugendbewegung, was well-placed to be swept along in the tide of Nazism unleashed in 1933.

Ernst Pepping

As with Distler, Pepping's biography needs to be touched upon briefly, not only due to his relative obscurity, but also in order to situate him more clearly in relation to the Singbewegung and demonstrate his differences from Distler. In particular, I wish to underline that Pepping stood at a slightly further distance from the movement, being seemingly less invested in its wider political implications, in favour of theoretical concerns. This consequently makes him a more mercurial figure of study, especially in the postwar period, as I discuss in more detail in the wider thesis. Much of his pre-1945 output, however, still serves strongly to illustrate the broader principles of the Singbewegung and in his *Stilwende der Musik*, in particular, he provides a more comprehensive technical justification for the compositional processes of the movements than can perhaps be found in relation to Distler. Further, despite being harder to pin down politically, there are elements of *Stilwende* which do hint at political opinions common to the movements at the time of its

[33] 'Von der Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik und Lübecks Verpflichtung als Kirchenmusikstadt im besonderen'.
[34] Hiemke (1997), pp. 53-54.

completion in 1934. This serves to emphasise the grey area of association with National Socialism that allowed for a continuation of the style post-1945.

Following early tuition in Essen, Pepping enrolled as a composition student at the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in 1921, where he studied until 1926, winning the composition prize of the Felix-Mendelssohn-Bartholdy-Stiftung on graduating. He then moved back to the Ruhrgebiet, working as an independent composer and living in Müllheim. It was at roughly this time that he was invited by Hindemith to participate in the Donaueschinger Musiktagen, where a small number of his early secular works, including his *Serenade für Militärorchester,* were premièred.[35] Unlike Distler, Pepping's very early career was not centred solely around sacred music and he was not at this point formally bound to any sacred institution. Some of his first forays into this genre are, in fact, not functional, and are intended for concert performance by a professional choir. His *Choralsuite für Chor*, for instance, was first performed at the Musikfest der allgemeinen deutschen Musikvereins in 1928, though this was followed by the more liturgically oriented *Deutschen Choralmesse* in the same year.[36]

As Pepping discussed in conversation with the Jugendbewegung pastor Oskar Söhngen on the 1961 radio programme *Freies Berlin*, his interest in sacred choral music was sparked far more by his creative desire to find an alternative musical idiom to Romanticism than it was by the principles of communal participation.[37] Here, he explains that the basic musical building block of the Lutheran chorale, with its simple phrase structure, intervallic layout, minimal rhythmic dimension and connection to the human voice, provided him from the late 1920s onwards with a means of stripping his compositional style back in order to get at that which he calls 'the being of art' ('Wesen der Kunst'). In emphasising the chorale's 'simplicity', he is very particular in asserting that he does not

[35] 'Vita', Ernst Pepping Gesellschaft E.V., Ernst Pepping – Ernst Pepping-Gesellschaft e. V. (accessed 25/8/2021).
[36] Gottfried Grote, 'Der Weg zum „Passionsbericht des Matthäus" von Ernst Pepping. Strukturelle Untersuchungen, in Poos (1971), pp. 57-82, p. 58.
[37] Ernst Pepping, Gespräch mit Oskar Söhngen 1961 im Sender *Freies Berlin* (zum 60. Geburtstag), in Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 9, p. 2. Note that the date of broadcast is note given in the archive file.

mean simplicity ('Einfachheit') 'in the sense of cheap popularisation' – 'im Sinne der billigen Popularisierung'– of which he accuses much late-Romantic music in particular.[38] In regressing his music to this fundamental simplicity, Pepping believed that a new progressive path could be found for composition. This would not remain purely within the sacred realm, and he is especially keen to assert that sacred music must not be cut off and viewed separately from all other forms of music; it should be performed both within and beyond the church, in a stylistically symbiotic relationship with all other forms of music, as he believed to have been the case until the early Classical period. The error of Romantic sacred music in the nineteenth century, for Pepping, was precisely the loss of this relationship, which led to its collapse into an abyss of solipsism, subjectivity and irrelevance. Its self-withdrawal, in turn, relates to the decay of the Classical/Romantic tradition, as he understood it, by the early twentieth century.[39]

From about 1930 onwards, the nature of Pepping's output shifted considerably toward the composition of sacred works. In 1934, he was offered a professorship in harmony and counterpoint at the Evangelischen Schule für Volksmusik (later the Kirchenmusikschule) at the Evangelische Johannesstift in Berlin-Spandau,[40] where Distler had earlier been offered a position as a composition and music theory teacher in 1933.[41] Pepping's taking of this post also marked the beginning of his long-term collaboration with Gottfried Grote, the director of music and organist at the Evangelische Johannesstift and also director of the Kirchenmusikschule there.[42] According to Pepping's entry on the website of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Grote actively encouraged him to think about his sacred music in a more functional context, and this newfound engagement with the practical considerations of the liturgy and performability led to the composition of *Spandauer Chorbuch* (1934-1938), among

[38] Ernst Pepping (1961), p. 2
[39] Ibid., p. 1.
[40] 'Vita', Ernst Pepping Gesellschaft E.V., Ernst Pepping – Ernst Pepping-Gesellschaft e. V. (accessed 25/8/2021).
[41] Distler-Harth (2008), p.153.
[42] 'Vita', Ernst Pepping Gesellschaft E.V., Ernst Pepping – Ernst Pepping-Gesellschaft e. V. (accessed 25/8/2021).

other works.[43] As Heinrich Poos notes in his preface to a new 2001 publication of selections from the *Chorbuch*, the original, published by Schott, comprised twenty volumes drawing on approximately 250 chorale melodies, or Kirchenlieder, in just under 300 settings, the purpose of which was to provide choirs of mixed abilities with new music that could be performed throughout the church year, with appropriate texts and melodies for each point within it.[44]

There are indeed a number of contemporary sources which further underline the practical considerations with which the *Chorbuch* was written. These can, for example, be seen from Pepping's correspondence with his then publisher Schott dating from 1934 (the year of publication of both the first elements of the *Chorbuch* and also *Stilwende der Musik*). Here, Pepping discussed with Schott when the most opportune time at which to release certain material would be. For example, Schott needed the first volume of the *Chorbuch* (for Advent) to have been finished by the beginning of August 1934 to be published by mid-September of the same year.[45] Further, in relation to the future publication of later volumes of the *Chorbuch*, Schott insisted that Pepping think more actively of the differing levels of ability of the singers for whom the volumes are written. The publication of the volume for the new year of 1935 had been scheduled for the first week of December 1934 and Pepping wanted to combine this with the publication of a volume he had completed for Epiphany. Schott, however, advised against this, stating instead that it should be published in Autumn 1935 for the next Epiphany season, arguing that too few church choirs would have either the opportunity or the ability to learn new music between early December and Epiphany.[46] The same letter also discusses whether it would be possible to disseminate further the contents of the *Chorbuch* by publishing some of the smaller settings from it on a monthly basis

[43] 'Der Nachlass von Ernst Pepping', Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/musik/sammlungen/bestaende/nachlaesse/pepping-ernst/ (accessed 19/6/18).
[44] Heinrich Poos, 'Vorwort' in *Choralsätze aus dem „Spandauer Chorbuch" zu Liedern des evangelischen Gesangbuchs für gemischten Chor a cappella*, Ernst Pepping, Heinrich Poos ed. (Mainz: Schott, 2001), pp. 4-5, p. 4.
[45] Letter from Schott Söhne to Ernst Pepping, 14/8/1934, in Briefwechsel mit Schott Söhne, in Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 265.
[46] Schott to Pepping, 23/11/1934, Pepping 265.

under the title *Mainzer Notenblätter* (obvious parallels are drawn here to Bärenreiter's *Finkensteiner Liederblätter*).[47]

In 1934, the contemporary commentator Friedrich Blume publicly highlighted the functional nature of the *Chorbuch*, in addition to its suitability for performance by musicians of varying competencies. In an article first published in *Musik und Kirche* on the first volume of the *Chorbuch*, for Advent, Blume heaped praise on Pepping for the quality of his contribution to the new sacred music. The composers of the younger generation, according to Blume, understood the need to reforge the relationship between general society and the composition of new music. In his opinion, the path to this in the context of Evangelical music lay in restoring the relationship between high quality composition and the liturgy, which was the functional element with which churchgoers actually engage. As such, the greatest forces of compositional effort, from both within and beyond the church, should be focused on this, in the same manner that Martin Luther sought the aid of the 'best' composers of his age for the creation of the foundational Lutheran liturgy.[48] Blume was wholly enamoured of the *Chorbuch* because it fulfilled the demands of his conception of Gebrauchsmusik, being written for the function of the church year and containing a level of flexibility in performance, with the possibility of swapping certain voice types, displacing and transposing certain elements and selecting a variety of canonic procedures to suit the occasion. This flexibility was something with which Pepping had already experimented in his 1931 *Choralbuch* and, for Blume, was reminiscent of the 'ad libitum-Praxis des Barock'.[49] Despite not having as strong an initial background in the composition of functional sacred music as Distler, by the early 1930s, it can be seen that Pepping was increasingly aligning himself with the liturgy.

[47] As stated in the introduction, the *Finkensteiner Liederblätter* were a series of publications released monthly by Bärenreiter between 1923 and 1933 containing simple harmonisations of German-language sacred and folk music (Pepping 265).
[48] Friedrich Blume, 'Ernst Pepping: „Spandauer Chorbuch; Zwei- bis sechsstimmige Choralsätze für das Kirchenjahr. Heft 1. Advent"', first published in *Musik und Kirche*, 1934, in Heinrich Poos (1971), pp. 48-49, p. 49.
[49] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Stilwende der Musik

Pepping's ambitions for reinvigorating music via a dynamic relationship with the past are most clearly expressed in his 1934 stylistic treatise *Stilwende der Musik*. Here, Pepping began by claiming that composers in the present seeking to create effectively formed, polyphonic art music were reliant on using pre-existing historic material. As Pepping saw it, current musicological thought and avant-garde compositional ideology perceived a gold standard of musical production, which crystallised during the early-to-mid-eighteenth century at the time of Bach and Handel, as the starting point of one constant line of ever further development. The issue, however, was that at his time of writing in the 1930s, Pepping believed that this canon had exhausted its creative possibilities. This lineage had hit stumbling blocks before, he suggested, but the ensuing generational clash had then resulted in a new means of interpreting the existing material, whereas the 1930s saw composers scrabbling around in vain for a new way to continue the present system.[50] This paradigm of musical development had, additionally, in Pepping's eyes led many to be blind to the possibility of looking beyond the obstacle of Bach in order to find potential material, because all this music was considered to be primitive and therefore unusable in contemporary music.[51] Pepping was also keen here to counter any claims that a return to the usage of the musical idioms of the pre-Bach period could be considered conservative. It was, rather, radical, because it rejected the established compositional Classical/Romantic canon and thereby shed the exhausted, bloated flesh of the recent compositional past, acting as a foil to that ever-present bugbear of many of the Jugendbewegung, Romantic subjectivity.[52]

Pepping's treatise came at a time when many other composers and theorists were writing texts which either sought to affirm or challenge the tonal system as they saw it. Indeed, the early decades of the twentieth century saw the publication of Ferrucio Busoni's *Entwurf einer neuen*

[50] Pepping (1934), pp. 7-9.
[51] Ibid., pp. 8-10.
[52] Ibid., p. 10.

Ästhetik der Tonkunst (1907), Arnold Schönberg's *Harmonielehre* (1911), multiple works by Heinrich Schenker, Alois Hába's *Neue Harmonielehre* (1927), Paul Hindemith's *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* (1937) and Distler's own *Funktionelle Harmonielehre* (1941). Where *Stilwende der Musik* sits in relation to these works is somewhat ambiguous; as will be shown, it is essentially a conservative work which seeks to portray itself as radical. In one sense, it is more in line with the work of Hába and Busoni because it attempts to question some fundamental assumptions in relation to tuning systems that had become crystallised by the early twentieth century. But on the other hand, the conclusions Pepping draws from his own exploration of tuning and the overtone series are a far cry from Hába and Busoni's interest in the division of the octave beyond twelve tones and the possibilities of building new instruments, such as the quarter-tone piano, to explore this.[53] In fact, Pepping's conclusions are quite the opposite, as he expresses a desire to strip the chromatic scale back to a system of diatonic modality.

In the section 'Die Harmoniesysteme der Vorklassik im Versuch einer Entwicklungsdarstellung' ('The harmonic systems of the pre-Classical period in an attempt at a presentation of development'), Pepping argued that one of the central blockages which originated during Bach's lifetime was that of well-tempering, a tuning practice which had given rise to the ironically colourless chromaticism in which late Romantic music found itself bogged down.[54] In addition, he dismissed contemporary efforts to redefine the concept of consonance and dissonance, i.e. atonality, as any attempt to do so was to deny the physical reality of the overtone series. A note is consonant or dissonant in relation to another due to the ratio between them, and this, for Pepping, could not be redefined.[55] Further, to create coherent music, the relationship between consonance and dissonance must be maintained, because dissonance demanded its own resolution to consonance in order to relieve the physical tension of their respective uneven ratios. Should the

[53] Alois Hába, *Neue Harmonielehre: Des Diatonischen, Chromatischen Viertel-, Drittel-, Sechstel- und Zwölftel-Tonsystems,* tr. Alois Hába (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, 1927), pp. XIII-XIV.
[54] Pepping (1934), pp. 11-12.
[55] Ibid., pp. 13-15.

consonant and dissonant relation of notes to one another not be maintained, that is, by the disregarding of their roles within the overtone series, then harmonic syntax dissolves into nonsense as there would be no variation of tension and release. This was especially important in four- or five-part writing, as the probability of dissonant notes being present (i.e. intervals other than the 8va, 3rd or 5th) is very high and consonant moments of resolution were essential for Pepping, as they act as harmonic pillars which provide clarity.[56] As such, the chromatic possibilities unleashed by well-tempering have led the Classical/Romantic tradition down a rabbit hole from which it lacked the tools to escape, because its usual technique of development, increasingly dissonant harmonic development, was exhausted.

For Pepping, the blindfold of well-tempering prevented contemporary composers from looking beyond the compositional framework which grew out of it and seeing that the overtone series actually offers other possibilities than the bass-oriented, triadic world of tonality.[57] Indeed, there was nothing to say that the triad should be the fundamental building block of musical syntax; the relative natures of consonance and dissonance could still be respected without recourse to triadic means. The use of the triad grew from a technique which Pepping referred to as 'Linienharmonik' ('Linear Harmony'), which considers polyphony along vertical lines and prioritises three main musical factors: the melodic value of individual voices, the tension of dissonance and consonance and the individual sound quality of each accord. This was a distinct development from 'Punktharmonik' ('Point Harmony'), a term Pepping used to refer to counterpoint between two voices, which considered the relationship of the voices to one another.[58] But drawing the triad from the vertical alignment of Linienharmonik as the sole possible foundation stone for music was misguided, as other consonant points of the overtone series could equally be plucked out, namely the quartal elements drawn from the consonant interval of the fifth. In describing Punkt- and Linienharmonik, Pepping's goal was to explore the possibility of achieving what he called the 'total

[56] Pepping (1934), pp. 15-17.
[57] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[58] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

fusion of melody and harmony'. This statement was reminiscent of Schönberg, but in this case it would be achieved through drastically different means; the fundamental point in common was the assertion that the two elements be drawn from the same source as each other, in one case the tone row, in the other a single diatonic modal scale. Pepping understood melody and harmony as having always been distinct in tonal music, the former being bound to a fundamental tone (i.e. the tonic) and thus to the logic of a given scale, and the latter having the freedom to choose from a variety of different colours (i.e. major/minor/diminished etc.), without undermining the scale. In Linienharmonik, the harmony took the form of a literal temporal accord, but it did not yet have to be described as a chord, and still grew organically out of the melody.[59]

Pepping sought to achieve this fusion of melody and harmony, in addition to the eschewing of well-tempering, through the re-introduction of pre-Bachian scalic interpretations of the overtone series, in the form of the church modes. The increasing chromatic complexity of the Classical/Romantic tradition throughout its development meant a greater need for clear cadential moments to provide harmonic clarity. The use of the raised leading note to achieve this therefore did away with many of the church modes. This transformation of the modes to suit a tonal purpose left only Ionian (i.e. the 'major' mode) and an alterable version of Aeolian with differing melodic and harmonic functions.[60] In contrast to the overall tonal unity demanded by this new system, Pepping asserted that pre-Bachian music had a much greater modal flexibility, with voices shifting in and out of different modes independently of one another, rather than being constantly bound to the bass tone of the tonic triad.

In this way, it was also 'atonal', in what Pepping considered to be the true sense of the term, because it did not follow the rules of what he calls 'Melodie-Tonalität' (i.e. tonality determined by the leading note).[61] As a result, modulation was a specific characteristic of tonality as it required the complete tonal unity of all voices in relation to the tonic triad to be achieved. Tonal tension (i.e.

[59] Pepping (1934), pp. 21-22.
[60] Ibid., pp. 24-32.
[61] Ibid., pp. 32-34.

modulation away from the tonic, only to return to it later) was also not possible in pre-Bachian music in the same way that it was in tonal music for this reason. It did not boil down to a series of repetitions of the pattern IV-V-I (all other chords being an extension of this) in differing tonal contexts, as tonal music did in Pepping's eyes. Pepping defines this conception of tonal music as 'Flächenharmonik' ('Surface Harmony'), a music that drew its syntax from an overall harmonic surface, a 'Tonart', in which the organisation of all chords was determined in relation to the tonic triad. Pepping saw his idea of Flächenmusik as being fundamentally 'static' because it would always predictably revolve around the perfect cadence. For him, using a perfect cadence as a basic musical building block created predictable sets of bars units because a V-I was equivalent to 1+1 = 2. Bars and phrases would therefore develop out of this equation evenly in units of 2, 4, 8, 16 and so on, meaning that melodies were statically bound by the pre-eminence of the perfect cadence, making melody subordinate to harmony in tonal music.[62] It is this static element of Flächenharmonik which Pepping sought to eschew in favour of a new interpretation of the processes of Punkt- and Linienharmonik, the organisation of music via individual horizontal lines, rather than vertical ones.[63]

The main point to take away from the theoretical portion of *Stilwende* is that Pepping wished to dislodge the assumption that tonality, in his particular definition of it, was an inevitable product of nature via the overtone series. Rather, Pepping was advocating for the revocation of the Classical/Romantic tradition associated with this in favour of a new, synthesised interpretation of Punkt- and Linienharmonik, which took the music of the pre-Bachian period as its guide. The elimination of the inevitability of the leading note was crucial in this process, as it removed the demand for the dominant to resolve to the tonic and destabilised the centrality of the sequence IV-V-I. Instead, the anchoring point of the new music was not to be the perfect cadence, but the tonic itself, out of which harmony could spiral in either direction along the circle of fifths, making IV and V equals, the new constellation being IV-**I**-V.[64] Pepping called this new technique 'Raumharmonik'

[62] Pepping (1934), pp. 46-48.
[63] Ibid., pp. 35-40.
[64] Ibid., pp. 49-53.

because he believed that it embodied a limitless dynamic musical *space* of ebb and flow, rather than a teleological tonal surface based around static moments of cadence. The technique would involve a new 'additive' bar structure, as Pepping referred to it, as it did away with the idea that bars existed in sets and multiples of two, based on the progression V-I. Instead, music could be organised by adding individual bars together in either odd or even numbers in accordance with the melody and without thought to cadential function.[65]

Though much more space could be given to the fine details of Pepping's exploration of this apparently new musical style, it is also worth noting that in the final section of his treatise, 'Die Stilwende der Gegenwart' ('The stylistic turn of the present'), he explained the socio-political importance of the turn towards this style. Here, Pepping described both the art and politics of the 1930s as needing to have their scattered pieces reassembled in the creation of a new community. Further, he suggests that changes in music need to reflect the changes taking place in contemporary politics.

> Just as the new political attitude cannot compromise with the old without giving itself up, so the new art cannot bow to old customs. The task must not be to adapt the new to the sensitivities of the masses, but rather to accustom the people to the new, to educate them to that which is new in art, as they are already being educated to that which is new in politics.[66]

Romanticism, with its excessive subjectivity and individualism, was, for him, not just an abstract artistic concept, but one which was reflected in society. In other words, the need for a *Stilwende* – a total break and U-turn, not just a change of direction on the same course – in both these realms was connected. Just as the musical Classical/Romantic tradition could be broken with in favour of the resurrection of the distant past, so too could the social context of this past be revivified within society through the reinterpretation of this music. This shift of focus to community, rather than

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[65] Pepping (1934), pp. 49-54.

[66] Ebensowenig wie die neue politische Gesinnung sich der alten annähern kann, ohne sich selbst damit aufzugeben, ebensowenig kann die neue Kunst sich den Forderungen der alten Gewohnheit beugen. Nicht darf die Aufgabe heißen, das Neue dem Empfinden der Masse anzupassen, sondern umgekehrt das Volk an das Neue zu gewöhnen, es zum Neuen der Kunst ebenso zu erziehen, wie es zu Neuen der Politik bereits erzogen wird. Ibid., p. 80.

hierarchical society, like the shift to dynamic Raumharmonik from the 'stasis' of Flächenharmonik, would help to heal the bitter rifts within contemporary politics and instil in the German people a more communally- and less individualistically-oriented means of engaging with one another. [67]

It is worth noting here, that Pepping's ideological standpoint in relation to communal engagement is slightly different from the more typical Jugendbewegung orthodoxy. For him, engagement did not necessarily have to come from direct performance; in fact, the performer was generally not the intended recipient of most music and to imagine the majority of musical works without some form of listenership was impossible in his eyes. If this listenership was also engaged actively with the music in the way they listened to it, then the communal dimension would still be fulfilled.[68] Pepping made a distinction between a contemporary concert audience and a church congregation which he believes did not exist in the pre-Bachian period, when the church formed one of the central pillars of every individual existence, each of which, as he saw it, could in turn only be understood in relation to the collective community. A key challenge for the new music he envisaged was therefore to find a way to strike a balance between its often sacred nature and its potential for concert dissemination. As Pepping stated, the communal connection of music vanished at the point that the hierarchy of IV-V-I was introduced. This led to an increasing development in the complexity and elitism of art music to the point that only a privileged few could engage with it. As a consequence, audiences were as accustomed to seeing music as something which sat at a removed distance from them as they are to the function of a perfect cadence.[69]

In this more politically charged section, Pepping was as critical of Schönberg as he was of Stravinsky, both of whom he believed were responsible for leading music and society into further disintegration and disruption. In seeking to rejuvenate contemporary music by reinterpreting the music of the early Classical/Romantic tradition, the Neoclassicists were merely reinforcing the foundations of subjectivity and individualism. On the other hand, Schönberg and his ilk's use of the

[67] Pepping (1934), pp. 79-81.
[68] Ibid., pp. 81-82.
[69] Ibid., pp. 82-84.

twelve-tone scale in both 'atonal' and serial contexts was really just an extension of the nihilistic chromaticism of late Romanticism, and their tone rows were dead due to their lack of internal intervallic variety.[70] The true way forward for both music and society, according to Pepping, was his conception of Raumharmonik because it was this which re-interpreted tradition in order finally to free the scale, to free melody, from the shackles of Classical/Romantic tonality.

> As the musical scale changes today, so does the scale of history: the nation. As the one frees itself, so does the other from the unclear chromaticism of the mixture of materials and tightens itself into the pure diatonicism of its own form, which in the internal movement of newly-awakened forces contains the external and in the richness of this constriction feels the breadth of the world.[71]

In using tradition and the past to rebind each separate site of individualism into a whole which was simultaneously unified and individual, where melody and harmony are one and the same, both societal and musical progress could finally be made.[72] As can be seen from the above quotation, Pepping's discussion is kept on fairly abstract terms in relation to politics, but given that *Stilwende* was written in 1934, the political implications of such claims for societal unity, the obliteration the mixture of materials and chromaticism, and for purification are troubling and fit in well with much of the more nationalistic rhetoric of the Jugendbewegung around 1933.

Conclusion

In concluding his *Stilwende der Musik* with the comparison between the purging of chromaticism and the purging of the nation in favour of a 'pure', clearly defined community, Pepping employed tropes which had clear parallels in National Socialist rhetoric. As stated, the discussion is kept in abstract terms; he does not assert that the Aryan German Christian nation needed to be purged of Jewishness, just as other Singbewegung figures such as Distler were not necessarily explicit when they used the word Volk. But nevertheless, these calls for unity and communal homogeneity,

[70] Pepping (1934), pp. 83-93.
[71] Wie die Skala der Musik wandelt sich heute auch die Skala der Geschichte: die Nation. Wie jene befreit sich auch diese von der unklaren Chromatik der Materialmischung und strafft sich zur reinen Diatonik einer Eigenform, die in der Innenbewegung neuerwachter Kräfte das Außen enthält, im Reichtum der Enge die Weite der Welt fühlt. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
[72] Ibid., pp. 98-101.

combined with a constant recourse to the cultural memory of the age of Schütz as an antidote to the problems of the present, can hardly be separated from the wider political discourse of the period as harmless. Further, these are not linguistic and rhetorical structures which were being employed solely within the confines of the Church. As demonstrated, Distler's pastor in Lübeck Axel Kühl and many others saw a new role for the Evangelical Church in the new German nation which reached far beyond its own cloistered walls. In addition, the rise of the Deutsche Christen and their allegiance to Nazism would have seen the Church become firmly part of the state. It takes very little in the way of a leap of imagination from this to understand just how problematic and profoundly troubling certain aspects of the ideology of the new sacred music were.

As I have explored in the introduction to this thesis, the relationship between the Jugendbewegung and National Socialism was in no way straightforward. There was strong resistance to the Deutsche Christen within the Evangelical Church, principally from the Confessing Church, as I will demonstrate in the following chapter. The Catholic Church, too, was highly persecuted by the regime, despite certain ideological similarities. Additionally, state support for the composition of new Evangelical music increasingly waned from the late 1930s onwards, with an emphasis being placed on the performance of pre-existing canonical Protestant music, especially that of Bach, as part of the celebration of the great sites of German cultural memory.[73] The huge scale of Hitler Youth membership also saw a significant drain on even important church choirs, such as the Domchor in Berlin, the Kreuzchor in Dresden and the Thomanerchor in Leipzig and as the war dragged on increasingly fewer state resources went in the direction of sacred music.[74] That being said, the Reich's Propaganda Ministry was still awarding cash prizes to a number of composers of church music in 1942, with Distler and Pepping receiving third and second prize respectively.[75] This year in particular seems to have been an important turning point in the fortunes of the Singbewegung, however, with increasing pressure on many figures to toe an increasingly narrow

[73] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 321-322.
[74] Ibid., p. 320.
[75] Hanheide (1997), p. 22.

party line, resulting in a large drop in compositional output from many and in Distler's case, his suicide on 1st November 1942. The official inquest into his death concluded that he was unable to reconcile his loyalty to the Confessing Church with his duty to the nation, but his daughter, Distler-Harth, believes that the catalyst was his conscription into the Wehrmacht, of which he had been notified two weeks prior to his death.[76]

In this way, it can be seen that a complex inheritance was created during the National Socialist period for those wishing to continue the work of the Singbewegung following 1945. In one sense, the movement was complicit with the ideology of the regime and even the musical language and idioms it employed were closely tied to the musical priorities of National Socialism. This latter point would become an especial sticking point during the postwar period in West Germany as the movement's adherence to liturgical function would make it difficult to move away from its stylistic origins and to follow the broader trends developing in new music. At the same time, however, members of the Singbewegung, along with the wider Evangelical Church, as I will discuss in the following chapter, were persecuted by the National Socialists. Consequently, the process of invoking cultural memory in the postwar period would become more multi-layered, with the transformation of Distler himself into a martyr of sorts. Distler therefore became a potent memory site for the realignment of Evangelical sacred music as purely a victim of National Socialism, with figures such as the very vocal pastor Oskar Söhngen seeking to create an image of the Evangelical Church and its music from 1933 to 1945 which understands this period backwards, with the later prosecution of Distler and others colouring the entire time span. The reception of Distler's suicide chimes with Nora's discussion of events which take on a heavy symbolic meaning when they happen. The particulars of his death, the event itself, were in a sense, less important than the role it took on as a symbolic event for those that sought to continue the Singbewegung after 1945.[77] Concurrently, the examination of the continuation of this period in a West-German Catholic context and in East

[76] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 322-339.
[77] Nora (1989), p. 23.

Germany will demonstrate yet further interpretations of the Singbewegung's past. It is in all of these cases that the memory-studies framework established earlier in this thesis will become ever more crucial because the highly problematic inheritance with which each of these movements' postwar diaspora found themselves faced demanded a certain level of rationalisation and justification in order to make their continued use of it tenable, which it remained for at least two-and-a-half decades.

Chapter 2
The Singbewegung in the Wake of National Socialism: straddling both Sides of Stunde null

The years immediately following 1945 cannot be said to have constituted a Stunde Null for the Singbewegung, a moment of a completely new beginning. They did, however, mark the beginning of a new phase in the history of the movement. As shown, the early years after the accession of the National Socialists to power in 1933 were viewed with some optimism by certain members of the movement and the Evangelical Church. This included Hugo Distler himself and the rhetoric of National Socialism can be seen in the writing of figures such as Ernst Pepping in his *Stilwende der Musik*. Despite this, by around 1937, the relationship between the Singbewegung, and indeed the wider Evangelical Church, and the regime was increasingly beginning to sour. There may have been considerable stylistic and ideological overlap between them, but the liturgical, sacred content of the work of the Singbewegung became increasingly unacceptable to the creed of Nazism as it represented a challenge to the state's absolute authority. As a result, composers either had to remove much of the religious content of their music, as will be shown in the case of Pepping, or face the consequences for not doing so.

The changing and contradictory role of the Singbewegung from 1933 to 1945 as both aligned with and persecuted by National Socialism created a space in the postwar period for certain members of the movement to re-position it principally as a victim. This act of selective remembering meant that those who wished to continue the work of the Singbewegung could claim that the sacred music revival movement had been stifled prematurely by Nazism and use the persecution of the Confessing Church and Distler himself, who committed suicide in 1942, as justification for its place on the 'right' side of history. The postwar movement had the same memory sites it had in 1933--Heinrich Schütz and his contemporaries and the golden age of seventeenth-century participatory Lutheranism--to combat the inadequate, commercialised, and materialistic present in which it found itself. But in addition to this a new layer of cultural memory had developed in the intervening years,

of the persecution of pastors deported to concentration camps, the outlawing of the Confessing Church and the 'martyrdom' of Distler. This next stage of the Singbewegung found its most prominent expression through the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik, a summer school founded in 1946 which ran throughout the late 1940s and 1950s. In contrast to Heidenheim's founders, Siegfried Reda and Helmut Bornefeld, prominent prewar figures such as Pepping saw, perhaps more clearly than others, just how compromised the Singbewegung had been by its association with National Socialism. The relationship may have soured from roughly 1937 onwards, but the support the movement had shown before this and the state support many of its composers continued to receive up until 1945 could not so easily be ignored.

In this chapter, I will begin by expanding on the treatment of the Evangelical Church by National Socialism, beyond the role of the Deutsche Christen, and discuss the persecution of the main opposition movement within the Church itself, the Confessing Church, in addition to the Singbewegung more specifically. This is followed by a more detailed exploration of the competing arguments regarding the validity of the Singbewegung following 1945, ending in a detailed account of Heidenheim. The latter is particularly helpful in providing a fuller picture of German music in the aftermath of the Second World War. As I will shortly discuss, the focus of scholarship and musicians themselves often heavily revolves around the development of the international musical avant-garde in Germany following liberation from the artistically-regressive doctrine of National Socialism. But the image of German music at this time was also still heavily grounded in the Neoclassical and explicitly German musical language of the Singbewegung. Indeed, during the early years of the Heidenheim summer schools, demand for places was very high and Bornefeld and his contemporaries saw themselves as an viable alternative to Darmstadt modernism, which he believed was alienating and discouraged participation.

The aim of Heidenheim was to foster functional sacred music in such a way that maintained its relevance and presented the musical language of the Singbegwegung as a attractive medium for younger composers. As I will explore in the conclusion to this thesis, this was something of an

illusory goal from the start. Frustrated by the Singbewegung's obsession with liturgical function and fear of scaring congregations out of church, many composers coming to maturity after the war abandoned its doctrines in favour of the concert hall and the increasingly avant-garde musical ideas being promoted by the much more famous summer school in Darmstadt. In 1945, however, Heidenheim's future troubles did not yet seem a certainty and its founding year of 1946, the main focus of the latter half of this chapter, was one characterised by a mood of optimism that the work of the Singbewegung would finally be able to continue uninterrupted following the difficult National Socialist years.

The Kirchenkampf

As I have suggested earlier in this thesis, elements of the Singbewegung, the Schütz revival movement and the Evangelical Church as a whole saw the advent of National Socialism in 1933 as a coup for many of their ideals and an opportunity to spread them further across the German nation. In addition, the regime showed clear approval of some of their efforts, as reflected in the various forms of state support received both by individuals and events such as the 1937 Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik. Even as late as 1942, the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda awarded the majority of the most important Singbewegung composers cash prizes for their contributions to culture of the Reich. Johann Nepomuk David, Joseph Marx and Ernst Pepping each received a second-prize award of 4,000 Reichsmarks, while Wolfgang Fortner, Hugo Distler and Harald Genzmer each received a third-prize award of 2,000 Reichsmarks.[1] Despite the clear ideological overlap between the Singbewegung, the wider Evangelical Church and the National Socialists, their relationships with each other became increasingly fraught over the course of the Nazi period, leading to the persecution of many members of the Evangelical church and an increasing pressure being placed on Singbewegung composers to conform to the party line. This would open up an avenue for the movement in the postwar period to situate itself as oppositional to

[1] Hanheide (1997), p. 22.

Nazism, despite the obvious overlaps. I have touched on elements of this tension earlier, with my discussion of the more liturgically-motivated proponents of the Schütz revival movement and the anti-clerical interest shown in Schütz by figures such as Hans Hoffmann, who was keen to stress Schütz's muscular Germanness over his role as a sacred musician. The level of discord between those in power and the Church, however, went increasingly further than pedantic differences of opinion over how to interpret the importance of figures such as Schütz as the 1930s pressed on.

The Kirchenkampf is the term normally used to describe both internal struggles within the Evangelical Church between the Deutsche Christen faction and the so-called Confessing Church and the antagonism both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches faced from the National Socialist Regime. As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, the Deutsche Christen went from being a relatively fringe faction in terms of representation to being a central controlling force within the Evangelical Church following the forced early elections of the twenty-eight Landeskirchen in 1933 and the installation of Ludwig Müller in the newly created position of Reichsbischof.[2] Following their seizure of power, the newly emboldened Deutsche Christen pushed through the unification of the Landeskirchen into a single entity under Müller. In addition, the general synod of the Evangelische Kirche der altpreußischen Union (Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union – EkapU) in September 1933 sought to adopt the Arierparagraph (Arian Paragraph) into canon law.[3] The Paragraph had first been established by the Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) in April 1933 and stipulated in an Evangelical context that all employees of the Evangelical Church with practising Jewish grandparents or who were married to someone with the same were to be dismissed from their posts.[4] The attempted introduction of the Paragraph was met with extreme consternation by the remaining resistance to the Deutsche Christen within the Church as its implementation was, as argued by Karl Koch at the General Synod,

[2] Bergen (2003), pp. 545-555, 557-558.
[3] Olaf Kühl-Freudenstein, 'Die Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Christen', in: *Kirchenkampf in Berlin 1932-1945: 42 Stadtgeschichten*, Olaf Kühl-Freudenstein, Peter Noss, and Claus Wagener, eds., *Studien zu Kirche und Judentum*; vol. 18 (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1999), pp. 97-113, p. 104.
[4] Ibid.

contrary to the sacrament of Baptism, which held that Christians renounce all other faith on entering the Church and was open to anyone, regardless of any concepts regarding racial background.[5]

In response to what was seen as a flagrant violation of Christian principles by the newly-founded German Evangelical Church under Müller, a group of pastors opposed to the introduction of the Arierparagraph and subsequent defrocking of clergy with Jewish connections gathered under the leadership of the theologian and pastor Martin Niemöller to found the Pfarrernotbund (Pastors' Emergency League).[6] The Bund sought to resist political pressure on the Evangelical Church and to maintain its autonomy over canon law and its ability to determine its own confession, a position clearly aimed at opposing the Arierparagraph and the suggestion that Christians with Jewish heritage were any less Christian.[7] The resistance to the Deutsche Christen subsequently convened for its own synod in Barmen in Wuppertal at which it released the Barmer theologische Erklärung (Theological Declaration of Barmen), written principally by the Swiss theologian Karl Barth with input by Niemöller. The Declaration rejected the authority of the National Socialist state over the Church, recognising no other authority but the Word of God through Christ, and established the Confessing Church as the central rival faction within the Evangelical Church to the Deutsche Christen with their political-minded and pro-Arian interpretation of Christianity.[8]

While support for the Confessing Church continued to grow over the following years, the regime also became increasingly antagonistic towards the movement. In 1936 a representative issued a memorandum to Hitler himself protesting against the government's anti-Christian impulses.[9] The response to this was the imprisonment of numerous pastors associated with the

[5] Ralf Lange and Peter Noss, 'Bekennende Kirche in Berlin', in Olaf Kühl-Freudenstein, Peter Noss, and Claus Wagener (1991) pp. 114-147, p. 119.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 35.
[8] Barnett (1992), p. 7.
[9] Martin Greschat, ed., *Zwischen Widerspruch und Widerstand. Texte zur Denkschrift der Bekennenden Kirche an Hitler (1936)*, *Studien Bücher zu kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 6 (Munich: C. Kaiser 1987), p. 117.

Confessing Church and the subsequent banning of the movement in 1937.[10] The years following this until 1945 saw the arrest and deportation to various concentration camps of numerous central figures associated with the movement, including Niemöller, in addition to the execution of many, most prominently Dietrich Bonhoeffer in 1945.[11] This picture of the Confessing Church should not be understood, however, to suggest that it was actively opposed to all aspects of National Socialist ideology, as such. Rather, the central point of resistance was confessed by a number of central figures, Niemöller among them, in the Stuttgarter Schuldbekenntis (Stuttgart Confession of Guilt), published in October 1945, to have been against state involvement in the Church itself.[12] In the Confession, the authors, Niemöller, Hans Christian Asmussen and Otto Dibelius, asserted that the Evangelical Church was collectively guilty for the atrocities of the previous twelve years of National Socialist Rule. The Church, they claimed, was too occupied with its own internal power struggles and not brave enough in resisting the regime more broadly.[13]

Distler in the late National-Socialist period

The turning point in the relationship between National Socialism and the Confessing Church in 1937 following the issuing of its 1936 memorandum seems to have had parallels with the former's association with the Singbewegung. Despite initial mutual support between the two, the treatment of Hugo Distler provides a clear example of how the movement had to increasingly adapt its output in order to avoid falling foul of Nazism's increasing anti-liturgical inclinations. This shift is also clearly to be seen in Pepping's output, as discussed below. In May 1933, several months before the Pfarrernotbund was established in response to the introduction of the Arierparagraph, Karl Straube

[10] Jürgen Sternsdorff, *Gerrit Herlyn zwischen Kreuz und Hakenkreuz. Die Treue zu Adolf Hitler in der Bekennenden Kirche. Nach unveröffentlichten Quellen* (Marburg: Verlag Vertaal und Verlaat, 2015), pp. 100–103.
[11] Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 180, and Eberhard Bethge, *Bonhoeffer* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1976), p. 100.
[12] Matthew Hockenos, *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 75-76.
[13] Gerhard Sauter, *Wie Christen ihre Schuld bekennen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1985), p. 62.

and other leading members of the 'Orgelbewegung' ('Organ Movement'), the branch of the wider Jugendbewegung, which promoted the composition of new organ music in parallel with the Singbewegung, published a document entitled 'Erklärung' (Declaration). Straube and the other signatories objected, among other things, to the politicisation of Evangelical music and the intermingling of it with National Socialist ideology by the Deutsche Christen.[14] As previously discussed, Distler had just joined the Party at the time of the Erklärung.[15] Shortly afterwards, he was sent a request to sign the document by Gerhard Schwarz, the director of the Spandauer Kirchenmusikschule. His daughter, Barbara Distler-Harth claims he was initially reluctant to do so due to his unwillingness to define precisely what his views on sacred music were. He did, however, later sign the document, according to Distler-Harth, out of loyalty to Straube.[16]

As with many other prominent members of the Singbewegung, including Pepping and Söhngen, Distler's actions illustrate the contradictory factions between which he and many of his contemporaries were torn. He was a Party member and wrote secular, nationalistic works such as his 1934 anthems *Ewiges Deutschland* and *Deutschland und Deutsch-Österreich*.[17] Although he appears to have been sceptical regarding the necessity of the War and was afraid of being conscripted himself, according to Distler-Harth, Distler still seems to have been somewhat supportive of the regime on first moving to Berlin.[18] In his private correspondence he continued to express belief in the 'purest, noblest will' of Hitler and the necessity of defending Germany from external threats. In addition to this, he also contributed the piece *Morgen marschieren wir in Feindesland* to the *Chorliederbuch der Wehrmacht*.[19] At the same time he was centrally a composer of sacred music written specifically for the liturgical function of the Evangelical Church, to which Nazism was becoming increasingly hostile. This contradiction came increasingly to a head leading up

[14] Varwig (2011), p. 54.
[15] Distler-Harth (2008), p. 159.
[16] Ibid., pp. 160-161.
[17] Hanheide (1997), p. 23.
[18] Ibid., pp. 289-290.
[19] Fred Prieberg, *Handbuch deutscher Musiker 1933-1945*, (Kiel: Prieberg, 2004), pp. 1193-1194.

to and following Distler's move to Berlin in 1940 to take up Kurt Thomas's former teaching position at the Berliner Hochschule für Musik, followed by the musical director's position of the Berliner Domchor from 1942.[20]

Distler seems to have been viewed as an increasing irritant by the authorities due to the latter position in particular. Following the lodging of numerous complaints regarding the unavailability of the members of the boys' choir for rehearsals and services due to their Hitler Youth commitments, he came to the attention of Karl Cerff, an SS-Oberführer with ties to the Hitler Youth, in August 1942.[21] Cerff's attitude towards the composition of new sacred music is clearly summed up by Karl Vötterle's own account of a 1942 meeting with him. Cerff told Vötterle quite bluntly that, while ancient German sacred music was a fine document of German history, to compose new sacred music was to help the enemies of the German Volk.[22] Germany, Cerff claimed, was in the process of waging war against 'global Judaism' and, as far as he was concerned, Christianity and Judaism were no different from each other. Cerff also asserted that he had told Distler the same thing a few days previously and that Vötterle, Distler and all other supporters and composers of the new sacred music would soon understand how the regime viewed them.[23]

Shortly after Distler's own meeting with Cerff, he was ordered to present himself for active duty at Wehrbereichskommando Eberswalde in the October of 1942, and following this he was found dead in his rented rooms in Berlin on 1st November.[24] Distler-Harth believes that his conscription was the primary catalyst for his suicide but in the note he left behind he did not mention this and the inquest into his death concluded that he was unable to reconcile his belief in the tenants of the Confessing Church with his obligation to commit to the ideology of National Socialism.[25] Given the context, this may certainly have been a factor and, as an illustration of the

[20] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 289-290, 315-316.
[21] Ibid., p. 320.
[22] Karl Vötterle, *Haus unterm Stern: über Entstehen, Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau des Bärenreiter-Werkes* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), p. 130.
[23] Vötterle (1963), p. 130.
[24] Distler-Harth (2008), p. 322.
[25] Ibid., pp. 330-339.

tension between his early enthusiasm for certain elements of National Socialism and his religious beliefs, Distler is a representative example for ideological struggle experienced by many in the Singbewegung. As I have previously demonstrated, many of their core beliefs had National-Socialist parallels and the advent of the party's rise to power has been seen by many, including Distler, as spreading the message and music of German Evangelical Christianity. Despite these parallels, however, the respective agendas of the two groups were ultimately different, as demonstrated by the example of the treatment of the Confessing Church, and the composers of the Singbewegung found themselves increasingly in a position in which the style of their music was often seen as acceptable, whereas the sacred content was not. As Cerff stated to Vötterle in his 1942 meeting with him, the point was not the quality of the music produced by the Bärenreiter composers, which was not in question.[26]

As I will shortly discuss in relation to Pepping, not every composer of the Singbewegung was persecuted to the same extent and those who were more willing to adapt to NSDAP anti-religious tastes fared better with the authorities. But Distler's death and the persecution of many Evangelical Christians associated with the Confessing Church provided the remnants of the Singbewegung with a powerful new justification for the movement's continued existence. This would enable those in favour of continuing the work of Distler to paint him as a martyr who died as a result of his persecution by the National Socialist regime and to argue for the relevance of the Singbewegung in terms of its antagonism to Nazism. In contrast, the inconvenient fact that many proponents of the movement had been party members, had continued to receive funding and positions at state institutions right up until 1945 and shared many beliefs common to Nazism could be forgotten. This may have worked for some time following the War, but, as I will demonstrate in later chapters, these latter elements would ultimately lead to the failure of the movement from the late 1950s onwards.

[26] Vötterle (1963), p. 130.

Pepping in the postwar period

In contrast to Distler, Pepping's experience of the later years of National Socialism was markedly less turbulent. And by the postwar period, Pepping's attitude towards the composition of sacred choral music, and especially of Gebrauchsmusik in this genre, had cooled markedly. Following a reduction in his output during the war itself, his work of the postwar years had little of the practically-oriented character of the *Spandauer Chorbuch*, or the zeal he expressed in *Stilwende der Musik* to engage the public of the congregation or the concert hall in the process of music making. Indeed, there is a distinct shift in his music towards introversion and esotericism from roughly 1945 onwards which, I would argue, is directly linked to Pepping's own disenchantment with the Singbewegung following its collusion with National Socialism during the 1930s (though he did not express this explicitly). Despite his significant contribution to the genre of sacred choral music, Pepping wrote no new works in the genre following the completion of his *Deutsche Messe "Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit"* of *Evangelien-Motetten* in 1938 until his *Missa "Dona nobis pacem"* of 1948.[27] Further, it is worth noting that none of his comparatively scant sacred works written following 1948 were conceived with the performance abilities of an amateur choir in mind, and they all demonstrate a level of technical difficulty for which his publisher of the 1930s and early 1940s, Schott, frequently criticised him.[28] Though Pepping was generally not particularly vocal during this period about his feelings towards the Singbewegung, his exchange of letters with his new publisher of the late 1940s, Bärenreiter, expresses clearly his extreme scepticism of the movement following the war, as discussed below, which goes quite some way to explaining the shift in his style and choice of genres from the early 1930s to the 1950s.

[27] Gottfried Grote, 'Der Weg zum „Passionsbericht des Matthäus" von Ernst Pepping, Strukturelle Untersuchungen', in *Festschrift Ernst Pepping zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 12. September 1971*, ed. Heinrich Poos (Berlin: Merseburger, 1971), pp. 57-82, p. 68.

[28] Schott Söhne and Ernst Pepping: Briefwechsel 1933-1943, Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 264-274. See, for example, Pepping to Schott, 21/4/1940, Pepping 271, in which he expresses his anger with Schott for suggesting that his *Lob der Träne* is unperformable due to its technical difficulty.

Pepping's output during the war did not, however, cease altogether, and over the course of this period his organ and secular output remained quite constant, with the composition of three symphonies (in 1939, 1942 and 1944 respectively), two large-scale secular choral works, *Das Jahr* (1940) and *Der Wagen* (1940-1941), on texts by the Austrian poet and NSDAP member Josef Weinheber, and numerous organ pieces.[29] His interest in sacred music seems to have peaked at roughly the time of the Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik in 1937, for which he wrote a number of motets, later published by Schott as the *Prediger-Motette* and *Evangelien-Motetten* in 1937 and 1938 respectively.[30] According to Nick Strimple, Pepping's style and choice of topics shifted following the Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik to fit more actively with party tastes. His 1938 *Deutsche Messe* for six-part mixed choir is interpreted by Strimple in this light as it uses the German vernacular and aligns itself with a long-established lineage of German-language masses composed on party-friendly Lutheran chorale melodies, thereby acting as an appropriate homage to this particular view of German cultural heritage.[31]

Pepping's retreat from sacred choral music more generally seems logical, then, in the context of the increasing tensions between the Confessing Church and the National Socialist Party following the intensification of the Kirchenkampf from roughly 1937 onwards. It is quite difficult to know precisely where Pepping's sympathies lay in relation to his own denomination of Evangelical Christianity, alongside these issues more generally, as he made no obvious attestation of them. However, the fact that his choral output shifted during the war from the setting of sacred texts to those by a party-approved poet (Weinheber) is noteworthy. The party's support of Pepping throughout the war also seems quite clear, as he was able to retain his position at the Berliner Kirchenmusikschule in the Spandauer Johannesstift (which he ran for a portion of the war).[32] Additionally, he was still in receipt of financial support from the Reich's Propaganda Ministry in

[29] Adam Adrio, 'Erinnerungen oder Marginalien zu einer Biographie', in Poos (1971), pp. 22-28, pp. 23-26.
[30] Grote (1971), pp. 62-63 and Schott Söhne to Ernst Pepping, 9/7/37 and 23/8/37, in Schott Söhne and Ernst Pepping: Briefwechsel 1937, Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 268.
[31] Nick Strimple, *Choral Music in the Twentieth Century* (New Jersey: Amadeus Press, 2002), p. 38.
[32] Heinz Werner Zimmermann, 'Grusswort', in Poos (1971), p. 19.

1942, as discussed, and was included in the 1944 Gottbegnadeten-Liste compiled by Hitler and Goebbels, which listed 1041 professionals within the arts considered to be important to the regime (Weinheber also featured).[33] His inclusion on this list additionally exempted him from military service throughout the War and he therefore retained his position at the Spandauer Johannesstift right up until 1945.[34]

Given that the regime's approval of Pepping seems to have been so clear, it would be reasonable to assume that he underwent the process of de-Nazification following the second world war. However, while evidence of this is frustratingly elusive, it is certainly the case that his employment at the Spandauer Johannesstift was terminated in 1945 and he did not hold any further public office until 1947 when he was appointed Professor of Church Music by the Evangelical Church, following which he gained a further professorship, in Composition and Counterpoint, at the Berliner Hochschule für Musik in 1953, where he taught until 1968.[35] By early 1947, Pepping had begun to switch his main publisher from Schott to Bärenreiter due to artistic differences, and his exchange of letters with Dr Richard Baum, his contact at the latter firm, provides a great deal of insight into his postwar output and relationship with the Singbewegung. Bärenreiter itself had been granted a new publishing licence relatively quickly following the end of the war, which it received in 1946.[36] But, the publisher was at this point in a state of disarray, having lost a large portion of its stock during the final bombings of Kassel in 1945. In addition to this, the Soviets had confiscated all of their stock in Leipzig at the end of the war and they had received very little paper of any kind, let alone manuscript paper from the Americans until early 1947.[37] According to Baum, the American authorities were also

[33] Prieberg (2004), p. 883.
[34] Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 2007), p. 452.
[35] Thomas Hochradner, 'Pepping, Ernst Heinrich Franz', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (NDB), vol. 20 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2001), pp. 176–177, p. 177.
[36] 'Das Haus unterm Stern, Die Geschichte des Bärenreiter-Verlags', Bärenreiter Verlag - Verlagsgeschichte (baerenreiter.com) (accessed 4/11/19).
[37] Dr Richard Baum to Ernst Pepping, 9/1/47, in Briefwechsel mit Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1947, Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 21.

heavily involved in the running of Bärenreiter at this point and were extremely strict about what could be published.[38]

In light of all this, Baum, along with Bärenreiter more broadly, was keen to restart the work of the publishing house following its severe wartime disruption. The publisher's flagship sacred music magazine *Musik und Kirche* was scheduled to begin publication again in early 1947 and the prospect of having the name of a composer of Pepping's significance within the world of sacred choral music was highly appealing.[39] Baum even stated to Pepping in March of the same year that he was the most noteworthy composer within the movement who had been missing from Bärenreiter's roster until that point, his work being not just that of any other sacred composer but wholly representative of the excellence of the new sacred music for which Bärenreiter was such an advocate. In this same letter, Baum compares Pepping to Distler, whose death in 1942 had been a severe blow to the publishing house. He claims to regret not having had Pepping on board sooner and apologises for this, blaming this on the extreme focus that had previously been placed on Distler to the detriment of any potential interest in Pepping, despite the comparable quality of the two composers' respective outputs.[40] This statement is made in relation to the assembling of the potential programme for the Bärenreiter singing courses of 1947 and the suggestion is that Baum sees Pepping as a tentative new figurehead for the postwar renewal of the business.

However, despite Baum's initial enthusiasm, it becomes quite clear from Pepping's responses to him that the composer himself was not quite so keen to renew his prewar enthusiasm for the Singbewegung and its ideology. The repertoire list of his current manuscripts Pepping sent Baum in April 1947 in response to his initial enthusiasm for new sacred choral works appropriate for singing courses displays a marked lack of interest in the composition of new works in this genre. Most notably, of the fourteen works included, not one for a choir of any description features, the list being made up of orchestral, piano and organ works, in addition to vocal pieces for solo voice and

[38] Baum to Pepping, 31/1/47, Pepping 21.
[39] Baum to Pepping, 9/1/47, Pepping 21.
[40] Baum to Pepping, 29/3/47, Pepping 21.

piano. Admittedly, some of these pieces do have religious themes, such as a setting of the chorale *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* for low voice and orchestra and the Schütz era-linked *Liederbuch nach Gedichten von Paul Gerhardt*, but the absence of works with an ideological alignment to the Singbewegung is obvious.[41] A broader examination of Pepping's postwar output also displays a similar lack of enthusiasm for the medium of sacred choral music, albeit with a few notable exceptions. His *Missa "Dona nobis pacem"* for double choir was written in 1948 during the Blockade of Berlin by the Soviet Union and has been described by Strimple as a 'personal plea', though whether Pepping himself would have admitted this is questionable.[42] Pepping's 1950 *Passionsbericht des Matthäus* is also a substantial work and was considered by his former colleague at the Johannesstift Gottfried Grote to be the apex of his choral achievement, as it fused the two main strands of his style, these being the harsh dissonant polyphony of his earlier works, as described in *Stilwende der Musik*, and the freer, text-based structures of his narrative and wartime works, such as *Das Jahr* and *Der Wagen*.[43]

Though Pepping's musical style remained relatively consistent overall, a common theme of all these postwar works, from the *Paul Gerhardt Liederbuch* to the *Passionsbericht*, is that they are all highly demanding and were written for professional performers, placing them in contradiction of the participatory and amateur-focused ideals of the Singbewegung. Pepping's objections to these ideals in the early postwar period comes out very clearly in his correspondence with Baum at Bärenreiter when the subject of the use of his music at the publisher's annual singing course in the municipality of Bad Boll in the Black Forest is suggested. These seem to have been allowed to take place after the war as early as 1946 and the session from this year involved the performance of works by both Pepping and Distler, as well as by Helmut Bornefeld and Siegfried Reda (to be discussed later in this chapter).[44] Baum is keen to have Pepping's consent to perform as much of his

[41] Pepping to Baum, 9/4/47, Pepping 21.
[42] Strimple (2002), p. 38.
[43] Grote (1971), pp. 69-71.
[44] Baum to Pepping, 2/7/47, Pepping 21.

work as possible at the upcoming week in Bad Boll in 1947. In particular, he notes that the organiser will be Gottfried Grote, the foremost interpreter of his work (as well as a long-term colleague, as mentioned above) and he tells Pepping that it would be an excellent opportunity for the promotion of him as a composer, as many active choral conductors, school music directors and generally sacred musicians, i.e. those normally associated with the Singbewegung, will be in attendance.[45]

In response to this request, Pepping states to Baum that he is 'somewhat sceptical' of the milieu who attend gatherings such as Bad Boll.

> They are all people of the best attitude and the best intentions, but for the most part one, infinitely certain, full of catchphrases and "insights", of the reprehensibility of the dominant seventh chord and the 19th century to the thesis of "ideals". Oh God, the result looks like that essay about last year's Boll week that makes every reader outside this guild nauseous. Aside from that, this group of participants is one-dimensionally trained towards a particular literature (let us call it the "Bärenreiter literature"). 20 years ago, that was a positive thing, today it is highly dangerous.[46]

Pepping does not specify why the orientation towards this literature is 'highly dangerous', and indeed, he himself had had plenty to say about the reprehensibility of the dominant seventh chord and the nineteenth century in his *Stilwende* in 1934, as discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, in this letter, he flatly refuses to have his work included in any such Bärenreiter collection of sacred music or to participate in the summer course in Bad Boll.[47] Vötterle himself initially replied to Pepping as Baum was on holiday, acknowledging that Pepping may not feel socially comfortable with the Bad Boll circle, but poses the question, if Pepping's music does not fit into the context of these singing courses, where does it fit?[48]

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[45] Baum to Pepping, 2/7/47, Pepping 21.
[46] Es sind durchweg Leute bester Gesinnung und besten Wollens, zumeist jedoch ein, unendlich sicher, voll von Schlagworten und „Einsichten", von der Verwerflichkeit des Dominantseptakkordes und des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zu der These von der „Einfalls". Ach Gott, das Ergebnis sieht dann so aus wie jener Aufsatz über die vorjährige Bollwoche, bei dem es jedem ausserhalb dieser Zunft stehenden Leser übel wird. Ausserdem ist dieser Teilnahmerkreis einseitig auf eine bestimmte Literatur hin (nennen wir sie „Bärenreiterliteratur") dressiert worden. Vor 20 Jahren war das ein Positivum, heute ist es höchst gefährlich. Pepping to Baum, 7/7/47, Pepping 21.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Karl Vötterle to Ernst Pepping, 18/7/47, Pepping 21.

This disagreement between Pepping and Bärenreiter continued in his correspondence for just over a year and become an issue again in 1948 when plans for the Bad Boll week start to be put into motion. In February of that year, Pepping complained to Baum that Bärenreiter was doing too little to promote his new work, which he found especially galling considering the continuing focus on Distler. Given that the latter had been dead for six years, there was of course no new work to publish, and yet Bärenreiter had recently published a whole memorial magazine for him, in which Helmut Bornefeld had claimed that there was no contemporary sacred music of any consequence before Distler. Pepping took this swipe to include his own work and highlights what he perceived to be a general lack of effort to champion it.[49] Baum obviously disagreed with this, saying that Bärenreiter had done a lot already, and that he was keen to include more works by Pepping in the upcoming Bad Boll summer courses.

However, the suggestion of further promoting Pepping's music at Bad Boll prompted another diatribe from him in which he again expressed extreme scepticism towards the project, attaching a negative anonymous newspaper article discussing the summer school from that year. Although he admitted that he could not forbid the performance of his work at events like Bad Boll, Pepping made it clear that he had no desire for it to be promoted in this context. At most, he would prefer it if Bärenreiter were only to use pieces such as the *Spandauer Chorbuch* and his *Kleine Motette*, given that these were, he claims, works written at Schott's insistence in the 1930s to be more oriented towards the participatory ideals of the Singbewegung. Pepping added that since the 'tunnel-visioned' practitioners of this movement saw only what they want to and interpreted everything they perform through the lens of their own ideas, they would only misunderstand his music anyway, even though their principles were, in his opinion, completely incompatible with his own musical style.[50] Although Baum objected to this characterisation and took extreme exception to the anonymous review of the 1948 Bad Boll sessions sent to him by Pepping, a very definitive line

[49] Ernst Pepping to Dr Richard Baum, 2/2/48, in Briefwechsel mit Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1948, Ernst Pepping Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pepping 22.
[50] Pepping to Baum, 21/9/48, Pepping 22.

was drawn under the discussion of the topic at this point.[51] What is clear from Pepping's correspondence with Bärenreiter during these early postwar years is that any enthusiasm he may have expressed for the Singbewegung in the 1930s had very much dried up following the war and he was at obviously great pains to put as much distance between the movement and himself as possible.

This desire for distance from the compromised Singbewegung is perhaps not surprising given the extent to which he was himself was approved of by the National Socialist regime. The ideologically-driven Pepping of the early 1930s and of *Stilwende*, who was himself as full of buzzwords about the 'purification' of the scale and the renunciation of the leading note as he accuses the Bad Boll circle of being, as discussed in chapter 1, is very much not in evidence here. This is complemented by his general move away from approachable, functional or easily performable music in favour of more abstract concert and chamber forms. Indeed, this is reflected by his statements in the 1961 interview with Oskar Söhngen for Sender Freies Berlin, referenced in the previous chapter, when prompted by Söhngen to acknowledge some manner of differentiation between his sacred and secular music. There is no difference, according to Pepping, and the development of sacred music is and must be understood as part of music more broadly; as such, he was never attracted to it because of its liturgical or ideological function, but rather due to the purely musical possibilities offered by the pre-Bachian period as a way out of the exhausted 'Classical/Romantic' tradition.[52] For Pepping, the Singbewegung was very much over by the end of the war and he certainly wanted to have nothing further to do with it, likely not least because of the potential it had to hinder the rehabilitation of his tarnished character. Along with events such as Distler's death in 1942, Pepping's correspondence with Bärenreiter would seem to indicate that the afterlife of the movement in the postwar period might be short, if indeed it were to happen at all.

[51] Baum to Pepping, 6/11/48, Pepping 22.
[52] Pepping (1961), Pepping 9.

Heidenheim: early years and background

However, despite this extreme pessimism on Pepping's part, the immediate postwar period did see a renewed enthusiasm for the music of the Singbewegung. As is also indicated by the Bärenreiter letters, there was in fact a large contingent of West-German Evangelical Christians who were keen to pick up the movement where things had been left off before the early years of the war. The seeds of one of the largest-scale examples of the revival movement were sown at the summer course in Bad Boll in August 1946, organised by the Bärenreiter-led Arbeitskreise für Hausmusik under Richard Baum. Here the Stuttgart-born composer, organist and artist Helmut Bornefeld met the organist Siegfried Reda for the first time and, following work on Distler's *Ich wollt, daß ich daheime wäre*, Bornefeld began to persuade Reda to help him run the summer school he had set up in the town of Heidenheim an der Brenz near Stuttgart in the south-west of the nascent Federal Republic.[53] Contrary to Pepping, Bornefeld, who was the main driving force behind the Heidenheim project, saw the end of the Second World War as being the moment in which the sacred music of the Evangelical Church could again take up the work of the 1930s and of Distler. In his understanding, the rejuvenation of the Singbewegung following the Kirchenkampf and the crushing of the Evangelical Church during the late 1930s and early 1940s was key to the revival and preservation of European culture in the wake of National Socialism.[54] As such, a new platform was needed in which the canon of the Singbewegung could be preserved, while at the same time new composers and performers could be fostered and provided with an outlet in discussing and generally engaging with issues relating to the renewal of the Church and its music.

Now a little-known figure, Helmut Bornefeld was born in Stuttgart-Untertürkheim in 1906 and studied Music at the Adler'schen Konservatorium in Stuttgart from 1924 to 1928 before enrolling as a keyboard studies and counterpoint student at the Musikhochschule in Stuttgart from

[53] Summereder (2010), p. 68.
[54] Ibid., p. 30.

1928 to 1931.[55] During this time he was taught and heavily influenced by the stylistically conservative theoretician Hermann Roth (1882-1938), an adherent of the work of Hugo Riemann and Heinrich Schenker, whom Bornefeld believed had provided him with the germ cells of all of his choral music. He clearly still felt himself indebted to Roth in the postwar period, as can be seen from his 1947 dedication to him in *Gesetz und Segen*, which states that all that is good in his work is fundamentally thanks to the guidance given him by Roth.[56] In his 1982 'Erinnerungen', Bornefeld further credits Roth's influence, stating that he instilled in him a truly 'sensitive' style of contrapuntal writing, in which technical rules are there not just out of convention but as the inevitable building blocks of linear tension.[57] By 1930, Bornefeld was not solely concerned with writing sacred music and from 1930 to 1936 he worked as a general music teacher in Esslingen am Neckar near Stuttgart.[58]

Though he certainly was interested in the developing Singbewegung, especially for its Gebrauchsmusik-oriented nature, he was also influenced by other composers and writers within this genre outside the church, especially Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill. This is demonstrated by his work of the early 1930s *Der weiße Storch*, his own contribution to the genre of the Lehrstück, which was inspired by Brecht and Weill's *Der Jasager*.[59] However, his engagement with this genre, along with his organisation of the staging of works like Stravinsky's *Histoire du Soldat* was, by 1935, starting to garner him a certain amount of negative official attention.[60] Two of his pieces (including *Der weiße Storch*) were branded as 'degenerate' and he was subject to a number of threats from party members. As such, from 1935 to 1937 he undertook further study in sacred music, becoming qualified as a church musician and gaining a post at the Pauluskirche in Heidenheim in 1937.[61] It was

[55] 'Biografie', Helmut Bornefeld, http://www.helmut-bornefeld.de/ (accessed 18/11/19).
[56] Summereder (2010), p. 37.
[57] Helmut Bornefeld, 'Erinnerungen', in *Württembergische Blätter für Kirchenmusik*, 48, (1982), pp. 194-207.
[58] 'Biografie', Helmut Bornefeld, http://www.helmut-bornefeld.de/ (accessed 18/11/19).
[59] Summereder (2010), p. 52.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Katrin Beck, *Neue Musik im kirchlichen Raum der 1960er Jahre: Clytus Gottwald und die Folgen* (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag, 2016), p. 64.

at this time that Bornefeld came into contact with Distler who held a Professorship at the Musikhochschule in Stuttgart during the late 1930s and the two compiled the didactic work *Gesangbuch für die Jugend* together before Distler's departure for Berlin at the end of the decade.[62] Distler clearly made a strong impression on Bornefeld, as can be seen from his 1969 article 'Siegfried Reda zum Gedächtnis' in which he claimed that it was the task of all of Distler's students and their heirs to find a new path for the music of the Singbewegung following what he understood to be its persecution and repression under National Socialism.

> Distler's actual developmental years fell, however, in this brown epoch that indiscriminately throttled and ostracized all truly progressive forces. As a result of his early death, Distler was hardly touched by the consequences of this situation. The devastation of the Nazi regression was not foreseeable then and a really stylistically-decisive development of the new forces only began at the end of the Second World War. It was the task of Distler's students and heirs to find a new direction in this equally devastated and hopeful postwar period.[63]

As with much of Bornefeld's postwar writing, there is a sense here that he is using the persecution suffered by some under the National Socialist regime as justification for the continuation of the Singbewegung in the postwar period. In 1939, Bornefeld was enlisted into the Wehrmacht, serving on the eastern front until the end of the war; following this he was temporarily imprisoned in an American prisoner of war camp, from which he was released in 1945.[64]

As will become apparent throughout the account of the Arbeitstage in Heidenheim in this thesis, Reda was much less ideologically invested in both the project, as well as the Singbewegung more broadly, than Bornefeld. Born in Bochum in 1916 and having begun his early studies in Dortmund, Reda had also been acquainted with Distler and had studied under him briefly at the Musikhochschule in Berlin (where he also had tuition with Pepping) from his enrolment there in

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[62] Summereder (2010), pp. 52-54, 62.

[63] Distlers eigentliche Entwicklungsjahre fielen aber in jene braune Epoche, die alle wahrhaft progressiven Kräfte rücksichtslos abdrosselte und verfemte. So kam Distler infolge sienes frühen Todes mit den Konsequenzen dieser Situation kaum mehr in Brührung. Die Verheerungen der nazistischen Regression waren damals noch nicht abzusehen, und eine wirklich stillbestimmende Entfaltung der neuen Kräfte kam überhaupt erst mit dem Ende des zweiten Weltkriegs in Gang. Es war die Aufgabe von Distlers Schülern und Erben, in dieser ebenso verwüsteten wie hoffnungsreichen Nachkriegszeit eine neue Ausrichtung zu finden. Helmut Bornefeld, 'Siegfried Reda zum Gedächtnis', in *Württembergische Blätter für Kirchenmusik*, 26 (1969), p. 6.

[64] Wolfgang Dallmann, 'Helmut Bornefeld — Ein deutscher Komponist zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde', in *International Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1996), pp. 207-238, p. 207.

1940.[65] His Wehrmacht enlistment came in 1941 and following his own postwar release from a prisoner of war camp, he returned to the Ruhr region and took up a teaching post in Evangelical Church Music at the Folkwang Schüle für Musik, Tanz und Sprechen before becoming Director of Church Music at the Mülheimer Altstadtgemeinde.[66] As Summereder notes, though both Reda and Bornefeld were organists, the former was much more exclusively concerned with the creation of new repertoire for the instrument at the expense of a more active interest in communal music making and sacred choral music.[67] What is more, he had a far greater interest in the musical language of the avant-garde than Bornefeld, and his works, for example his three Organ Concerti (1946-1949), tended towards virtuosic displays and a musical language which acknowledged the influence not only of Hindemith, but also of Krenek and in some of his later works even of Schönberg.

Following Bornefeld and Reda's first meeting at the Arbeitskreise für Hausmusik's summer course in Bad Boll in 1946, Bornefeld had already begun to plan the expansion of the Arbeitstage in Heidenheim, the first of which was held in August of the same year. However, they were both committed to the Bärenreiter project in Bad Boll and were therefore obliged to dedicate a good deal of time during the summer months of 1947 to the publisher's course there, though this did allow further time to discuss their plans together.[68] Key questions that had to be answered were what the function of the Arbeitstage would be, why they would be different from Bad Boll, why they were necessary and what they would take as models in shaping their artistic identity. Broadly, the consensus between Bornefeld and Reda seemed to be that a balance had to be struck between preserving the functional ethos of the existing work of the Singbewegung from before the war, while using the opportunity of the 1945 to imbue it with a new creative energy and enable it to develop as

[65] Summereder (2010), pp. 41, 68.
[66] Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[67] Ibid., p. 72.
[68] Ibid., p. 71.

an artform. This dichotomy of functional continuity with the past and artistic innovation and the tension between the two is, in my view, crucial in seeking to understand the development of the Evangelical strand of the Singbewegung in postwar West Germany.

This tension is expressed concisely by Werner Oehlmann in his piece 'Musik als Medium des Glaubens' in the 1971 *Festschrift* dedicated to Pepping. Here, he claims that the avant-garde forever strives towards its own irrelevance, as every new development--Schönberg's twelve-tone writing, Busoni's experiments with microtones and electronic music--renders previous forms of the avant-garde redundant.[69] This, in turn, creates what Oehlmann sees as an attitude of indifference towards the past and is one to which he believed the Church (i.e. the Evangelical Church) was also increasingly subject, in the form of secularisation through its pandering to modernity. He asks what any of this, of the fashion-driven avant-garde and secularisation of the church, has really brought. Has it reached its goals? Has it created values? Or is it simply ungrounded, rootless movement, change for change's sake?[70] In contrast, Oehlmann sees Pepping's music, which can be understood as emblematic for the Singbewegung as a whole, as being firmly fixed outside of the 'sphere of modern aesthetic relativism' and rooted in the tradition of the 'pure, noble … songs of the old polyphonists'.[71] In other words, this music's rootedness in the past is what makes it timeless and permanently relevant, unlike the fleeting fashions of the avant-garde.

This sense of the inheritance of the past was also clearly something which concerned Bornefeld at the time of the conception of the Heidenheim project, as can be seen in his work and writing of the time. One very notable example is his poem 'In Memoriam Hugo Distler' from his 1947 collection of poetry *Gesetz und Segen,* in which he explicitly establishes Distler as a martyr, for the Confessing Church but also for the Singbewegung, and describes it as the task of his successors to continue his work:

> A kingdom is built on his martyr's bones,
> and nothing lasting blooms from well-nourished pleasure!

[69] Werner Oehlmann, 'Musik als Medium des Glaubens, in Poos (1971), pp. 54-56, p. 54.
[70] Ibid., p. 55.
[71] Oehlmann (1971), p. 56.

> This is the law! And like the sword summoner, so must
> too, the Herald of the Spirit always first be a dying man.
> The singing world was bread, the dancing world intoxicating wine,
> and it suffered its crying song. But in a hot enclosure
> you tore it with your intoxicating fire-kiss
> and pushed the dying star into younger skies ...
>
> You are the witnesses, powers, nights you ever passed away
> In the breath of God: who has served more courages than he
> And broken himself, atoned the confusion of former paths? ...
>
> But who in the world, who knows the greeting, of the pious elect? -
> They always wait for themselves and never for the one who comes ...
> So take from me this branch, which engreens you to immortality![72]

Behind the flowery language of this poem, there is a clear assertion of Distler's position in relation to National Socialism, in which his later relationship with the regime overpowers his earlier involvement with it. He is cast as a victim, a martyr, and the fundamental artistic and ideological project of the Singbewegung, manifested in him, is portrayed as something which can stand in contrast to Nazism. This is seen by Bornefeld as being an inheritance which demands to be taken up by the sacred composers of the postwar period in championing the Confessing Church and its music. This sense of generational change establishes a line of continuity between the pre- and post-1945 Singbewegung and demonstrates an important development in the role of cultural memory in the movement. It was not only Schütz and the role of Christianity in the seventeenth century which ws being evoked, but Distler's perceived martyrdom had also now been transformed into a symbolic

[72] Ein jeglich Reich wird erbaut auf seiner Märtyrer Gebein, / und kein Bleibendes blüht aus wohlgenährtem Genuß! / Das ist das Gesetz! Und wie des Schwerts Beschwörer, so muß / auch des Geists Verkünder immer zuerst ein Sterbender sein. / Die Welt war, die singende, Brot, die tanzende Taumel-Wein, / und littest ihr weinendes Lied. Aber in heißen Umschluß / rissest du's hin in deiner Berauschung Feuerkuß / und stießest den sterbenden Stern in jüngere Himmel hinein…

Ihr seid die Zeugen, Mächte, Nächte, die ihr je verglommt / Im Anhauch Gottes: wer hat mehreren Muts als er gedient / Und selbst zerbrechen, Wirrnis vorigen Weges gesühnt?...

Aber wer in der Welt, wer weiß den Gruß, der Erwählten frommt? – / Sie warten immer auf sich und nie auf den, der da kommt… / So nimm denn von mir diesen Zweig, der dir ins Unsterbliche grünt!

Helmut Bornefeld, 'In Memoriam Hugo Distler', in *Gesetz und Segen: Musische Sonette*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1947), p. 29.

memory site representing the movement's persecution and resistance to National Socialism, creating a double layer in the role of memory within the movement.

That being said, the purpose of Heidenheim, as Bornefeld understood it, was not simply to write music in the style of Distler and the early 1930s. Writing in *Musik und Kirche* in 1963, he acknowledged that part of the reason why the Evangelical Church had been swallowed up by National Socialism lay in its cultural position during the 1930s, if not in its general worldview and especially in that of the Confessing faction, which, of course, came into extreme conflict with the party. Bornefeld points out that, in the case of Expressionism, for example, the Church is quite accepting at the time of his writing in the early 1960s, but that is not to assume that the Church of the 1920s was a friend of Expressionist artists. In his view, this artistic style is only recognised by the contemporary Church because it has become generally recognised in the intervening few decades and is no longer controversial.[73] As such, the anti-avantgarde stance prevalent in the Church of the 1920s and 1930s brought it into stylistic alignment with Nazism, as has also been demonstrated in previous chapters. There seems to be quite a delicate balancing act being performed by Bornefeld in writing this, as he simultaneously seeks to acknowledge the faults in the stylistic dogma of the Singbewegung, while still overall positioning the movement as an unfortunate victim of the cultural policy of the 1930s.

Bornefeld's position may well have changed between the mid-to-late 1940s of *Gesetz und Segen* (the poems were actually written between 1936 and 1943) and the time of writing his *Musik und Kirche* article in 1963.[74] But his general position would seem to be that Distler, the other prewar members of the Singbewegung and perhaps more broadly the Gebrauchsmusik movement as a whole had laid the groundwork for a music that would have developed further had it not been stunted by the regressive cultural policies of a regime with which he believed it to have much in

[73] Helmut Bornefeld, 'Hugo Distler und sein Werk', in *Musik und Kirche*, 33 (1963), pp. 145-155, p. 148.
[74] Bornefeld (1947), p. 31. The contents page of *Gesetz und Segen* claims that the twenty-four poems of the collection were written between 1936 and 1943, but given that 'In Memoriam Hugo Distler' is written in the context of the composer's death in late 1942 and appears the twenty-third poem, it can be assumed to have been written either very late in 1942 or in 1943.

common stylistically, if not ideologically. This also seems to be Summereder's understanding of Bornefeld in his clearly sympathetic account of Heidenheim. It is worth remarking that in establishing the 1930s background to the Arbeitstage he mentions Hans Ziegler's 1938 Entartete Musik party-sanctioned exhibition in Düsseldorf, noting that composers such as Hindemith, whom many in the Singbewegung highly admired, featured.[75] Certain of Distler's own works of the second half of the 1930s, such as his Harpsichord Concerto, were also branded as 'degenerate'. In this light, it is perhaps a little clearer as to why Bornefeld and other apologists felt so able to take up and champion the Singbewegung immediately after the collapse of Nazism. They wanted to sweep away the stymieing memory of the previous decade and to continue to build upon the work of the first half of the 1930s which they understood as having been stifled, using the repression of the Confessing Church, as an expansion of the use of the persecution of Distler, as justification for the victimised position of their movement.

As such, it is increasingly clear that the functionalism/innovation question was one which would have to be addressed by Bornefeld and Reda in organising the Arbeitstage in Heidenheim, perhaps also as a means of redeeming the movement. There does seem to have been an awareness among the wider Evangelical music circle of the late 1940s that models were needed beyond just Distler, in order to attempt to address the reconciliation of this binary which would come to define Heidenheim. Hindemith seemed to be a safe model for a movement which counted many composers tainted by Nazi association among its ranks. Having fled from Germany to North America via Switzerland due to both his inclusion in the 1938 Düsseldorf exhibition and concerns about his wife's Jewish heritage, Hindemith had both the American stamp of approval and an acceptable background, while still existing within the same ideological and technical world as the Singbewegung.[76] The ever-opinionated Oskar Söhngen, writing in Bärenreiter's new postwar publication *Musica* in 1947, heaped praise on him, saying that he had been able to write sacred

[75] Summereder (2010), p. 31.
[76] Michael Steinberg, *The Concerto: A Listener's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998), p. 205.

works without a stylistic rupture from his normal work, something for which he also later praised Pepping in the *Sender Freies Berlin* interview.[77] In particular, the first volume of Hindemith's series of theoretical pedagogical treatises *Unterweisung im Tonsatz* (1937) was pointed to as providing the tools for Evangelical composers to advance the development of the prewar style. Werner Bieske claimed in *Musik und Kirche* in 1947 that the techniques presented by Hindemith in the text offered young composers the possibility of composing aesthetically autonomous new music in a language which remained intelligible and engaging for the wider church community.[78]

Figures such as Schönberg, in contrast, were more difficult to reconcile because, as Summereder notes, referencing a 1946 article by Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt in *Melos*, his twelve-tone style was considered to alienate many listeners and was therefore seen as inappropriate for communal engagement.[79] However, this is not to say that he was dismissed out of hand, and Reda especially, who as previously stated, was less concerned about approachability than Bornefeld, was keen to try to find a way of incorporating twelve-tone music into his own sacred work for the organ. As will be seen, he increasingly sought to include works which experimented with such techniques in the Heidenheim roster and during the 1950s he became particularly admiring of Ernst Krenek in this regard. He viewed the latter's 1942 *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae*, which transforms its cantus firmus into a tone row, as being a convincing example of the potential fusion of two seemingly incompatible musical styles. In 1965, Reda wrote in *Musik und Kirche* that the fact that hymns formed a fundamental part of the functional music of the church made the combination of them with modern polyphony a challenge. In his opinion, the source needed to spark in the composer a creativity which would lead to a response in the composer's own musical language, whereby the

[77] Oskar Söhngen, 'Von der Verwirklichung des Geistes: Die junge Kirchenmusik', in *Musica*, 1 (1947), pp. 12-16.
[78] Werner Bieske, 'Hindemiths Unterweisung im Tonsatz und ihre Bedeutung für die evangelische Kirchenmusik', in *Musik und Kirche*, 28 (1948), p. 141.
[79] Summereder (2010), pp. 33-34.

material became their own.[80] Consequently, Krenek's use of inherited material in this manner appealed to Reda because it addressed this issue directly.

Looking now at how these background issues manifested themselves during the early years of the Arbeitstage in Heidenheim, it is worthwhile considering the initial document written by Bornefeld in stating the purpose of the project. The first Arbeitstage took place from 6th to 12th August 1946 in the Pauluskirche in Heidenheim, with Bornefeld declaring their purpose as being to fuse the 'regrettable cleft between art and the people [Volk], between artistic and Gebrauchsmusik' into 'one spirit', namely the chorale. A second week was immediately organised from 13th to 19th due to the high number of applications.[81] The announcement of the project and the call for participants was accompanied by a long document by Bornefeld called *Aufruf*, in which he lays out its ideological credo during its early years. This document is thus worth looking at closely, as it sets out a rationale for the Singbewegung's continuation, as well as describing its new aims in a postwar world.

In Bornefeld's statement, he observes that the Evangelical Church in Germany had been severely damaged by the war, in terms of loss of life, but also in terms of the destruction of churches, organs, publishing houses and libraries. As a result of this, one of the fundamental tasks in the process of rebuilding would have to be the refamiliarization of conductors and choirs with the repertoire and ideals of the Singbewegung.[82] However, Bornefeld challenges any notion that the war was simply an inconvenient interruption to the movement.

> Rather we must learn to see this war as a court for the questioning of the music of the church, for the whole of European culture per se.[83]

Further, he demands to know whether the 'catastrophe' of the war could have happened if this culture and the teachings of the Church had truly been 'in order' in the 'heart of the peoples' of

[80] Siegfried Reda, 'Kirchenlied und Mehrstimmigkeit', in *Musik und Kirche*, 35 (1965), p. 302.
[81] Summereder (2010), p. 61.
[82] Helmut Bornefeld, *Aufruf* (1946), printed in full in Summereder (2010), pp. 61-64.
[83] Wir müssen diesen Krieg vielmehr sehen lernen als Gericht und Infragestellung auch für die Musik der Kirche, für die ganze europäische Kultur schlechthin. Ibid.

Europe. The general musical culture of the late 1940s, according to Bornefeld, was characterised by 'spiritual decrepitude, ideological decomposition and aesthetic overbreeding'. However, and of particular note, he also saw sacred music as being too backwards looking and too oriented towards the past, with church musicians forgetting in their obsession with Schütz and Bach that these composers were concerned with the matters of their own present, not solely with the past.[84] Bornefeld acknowledges that the revival of early music in the previous decades has been astonishing and overwhelming and that it can provide excellent exemplars for the composers of the present in many different ways. But what this music cannot do is replace the newly-composed music of the present and when its presence becomes too great, in terms both of performance programming and as a compositional model, it threatens to suffocate the music of the present day.[85]

This is where the role of the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für Neue Kirchenmusik starts to become clearer. Bornefeld hopes that they will become a platform not only for the refamiliarization of church musicians with the prewar repertoire, but also for the nurturing of new sacred music, in addition to fostering robust debate regarding the role of contemporary sacred music and its direction and role in the wider musical landscape. He extrapolates here to state that this will help not only the exploration of the future of music within the Church, but also of all European culture as this music stands as one of its foremost manifestations.[86] He then goes on to outline in more detail the specific activities that will take place during the week, including the more theoretical elements, which will discuss the fundamental questions facing church music from a theological, musical and cultural point of view, including the technical discussion of what modern counterpoint, harmony and compositional theory in these contexts can mean.[87] Practical elements of the week would involve the rehearsal and performance of his and Distler's *Gesangbuch für Jugend* and improvisational work from Carl Orff's *Schulwerk*. In addition, the schedule would include morning and evening prayers,

[84] Bornefeld (1946)
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

discussion of recordings, including Stravinsky's *Les Noces* and *Le Sacre du Printemps* and evening chamber music concerts and recitals of relevant poetry.[88] Bornefeld is keen to stress that the Arbeitstage are much more than a simple singing course (Singwoche) and that their scope, as described, is far greater, with the future of the Singbewegung being crucially intertwined with the activities set to take place as part of them. As such, participants need not solely be musicians, and priests, teachers, students and anyone else interested are all invited to take part.[89]

At face value, Bornefeld's *Aufruf* seems to be taking a swipe at the perhaps excessive idolisation of Schütz as part of the Singbewegung, but the document is really a lot less radical than he might have believed. The scepticism in relation to the past which he displays is more a slightly pedantic question of balance rather than a suggestion of any particularly dramatic break from prewar practice. His point is not that Schütz should not be programmed, it is more that performance of his work should not be at the expense of new works in the style of the Singbewegung, which themselves are often very indebted to him. In addition, Bornefeld's accusations against contemporary music generally being 'spiritually decrepit' is actually just a repetition of the anti-Romanticism of the prewar period. His purpose is still very much focused on restoration and historical continuity and in his assertion that sacred music needed to find new ways to develop and remain relevant, his conception is clearly that this must happen in relation to tradition. This argument would seem very useful at the time of his writing the *Aufruf* for Heidenheim in 1946, because it, again, allows Bornefeld to separate the Singbewegung of the first half of the 1930s from the ever-more compromised direction of the movement of the second half of that decade and to tie it into the victimisation of the Confessing Church.

This understanding of the timeline of the movement fits well with the apologist narrative of it needing to return to its 'pure' early form discussed above. As will be seen later in this thesis, there is a certain irony in the way in which Bornefeld presents Heidenheim when considered with respect

[88] Bornefeld (1946)
[89] Ibid.

to the later development and arguably failure of the project. It increasingly became a museum for repeated performance of works by Distler and a handful of others. Even from the early years, the circle of composers' work being performed was relatively small and unsurprising, in that Distler features heavily, as does a lot of Bornefeld and Reda's own work, mostly alongside already-established members of the Singbewegung such as Johann Nepomuk David. Despite its occasional inclusion, Pepping would likely not have been keen for his work to be used, and Reda expressed to Bornefeld in a letter from July of 1948 that, though he admired Pepping, he did not consider his style to have a future.[90] The programmed organ repertoire for 1948, the first year in which Reda was involved, was as follows:

- Distler*: Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, Nun komm der Heiden Heiland,* Organ Sonata (trio), *Kleine Orgelchoralbearbeitung*, *30 Spielstücke für Kleinorgel*
- Hindemith: Organ Sonatas I and II
- Bornefeld: *4 Orgelchoräle*
- Reda: *Kleine Orgelstücke B.A. 1678,* Chaconne (*Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*), assorted organ chorales (new and old), Organ Concertos I, II and III
  Choral Concerto II (*Gottes Sohn ist kommen*)
- Pepping: Toccata and Fugue (*Mitten wir im Leben*)
- Johann Nepomuk David: Toccata (*In dich habe ich gehoffet, Herr*)
- Micheelsen: *Holsteinisches Orgelbuch*, *Choralmusik für Orgel* (volumes I, II and III)[91]

General programmes from the following few years looked relatively similar to this and contained a mixture of new works by Bornefeld, Reda and a few others, alongside reprises of pre-1945 works. Below is a selection of the programming for both discussion and performance from excerpted days from some of the earlier Heidenheim gatherings:

<u>21/8/1949</u>

- Bornefeld: Cantata I (*O gläubig Herze, benedei*), *Volksliedsätze,* Choral Cantata V (*Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt*) for solo voice, flute, choir and organ and *Choralwerk*
- Distler: *Nürnberger Gloria, Lieben Brüder, schicket euch in die Zeit*, Concerto for soprano and organ, from Op. 17 (1937), *Der Jahrkreis* and *Geistliche Chormusik*
- Reda: *Wandelt in der Liebe*, Choral Concerto III (*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*) and Chormusik für das Jahr der Kirche
- Harald Genzmer (1909-2007): Sonata for recorder und piano (1941)

[90] Summereder (2010), p. 78-79.
[91] Ibid., p. 79.

- Hindemith: Sonata for flute und piano (1936)
- Horst Bitter: *Klavierstücke*
- Pepping: Choral Partita (*Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*) (1932), *Spandauer Chorbuch* (1934-1938)[92]

12/8/1950

- Distler: Partita (*Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*) (1932)
- Hindemith: Organ Sonata II (1937)
- Reda: Organ Concerto II (1947)
- Bornefeld: Choralpartita I (*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*) (1949)[93]

2/8/1952

- David: Partita 'Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig' (from *Choralwerk III*)
- Reda: Choral Concerto (*O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid*)
- Bornefeld: Choral Cantata X (*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*)
- Reda: Choral Tryptic (*O Welt ich muß dich lassen*)
- David: Chorale Prelude ('Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist', from *Choralwerk V*)[94]

Common threads linking a lot of the above repertoire are its relation to liturgical function and its approachability for performers of varying ability, key features of the prewar music of the Singbewegung. Summereder sees these as being manifested in a number of technical considerations on a compositional level, in addition to relating more generally to the choice of subject matter. Important characteristics of these works in relation to this include the determination of their rhythmic and melodic material according to the demands of their texts (when applicable), the use of modal scales and simple intervals in stepwise motion and the sparse appearance of chromaticism.[95] In addition, Summereder notes that the use of text to determine the shape of the individual melodic lines in polyphonic textures results in the diminished importance of functional cadential progressions, in addition to regular barring. Consequently, vertical concordance between the parts is less important as a structural feature and harmony tends to be determined more by linear motion, with each voice often shifting in mode and metre independently from the others according to the

[92] Summereder (2010), p. 91.
[93] Ibid., p. 114.
[94] Ibid., p. 118.
[95] Ibid., p. 96.

basic tactus given by the conductor.[96] This description of the repertoire which dominated Heidenheim during the first half-decade of its existence sounds extremely reminiscent of the compositional credo laid out by Pepping in 1934 in his *Stilwende der Musik*. In this sense, the level of actual continuity on stylistic terms between Heidenheim and the prewar practitioners of the movement highlights the extent to which the 'new' music being performed in this postwar context was actually rehashing a lot of the compositional ideas beyond which Bornefeld wanted it to develop.

This stylistic similarity to the prewar nature of the movement does seem to have begun to wane slightly by the early 1950s, and as a result, the importance placed on functional adherence in determining the repertoire performed and discussed also seems to have begun to slacken, likely due to Reda's influence. In contrast, Bornefeld was more inflexible in relation to this and slower to change, especially with regard to organ music. In his 1952 essay 'Orgelbau und neue Orgelmusik', he laid out a strict set of criteria for the composition of new repertoire for the instrument and the parameters within which new organs should be designed. He asserted that the clarity of polyphonic layers, contrast between individual parts and the capacity for rhythmic vitality are essential in his conception of good organ building.[97] As Summereder interprets this essay, Bornefeld was in part reacting against the secularisation of the organ during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, with soupy mock-symphonic instruments and cinema organs robbing it of its connection to the liturgical repertoire of the Evangelical Church and its suitability for the performance of this material.[98] There is a clear sense here of the instrument determining the repertoire and vice-versa; even by the mid-1930s, Bornefeld had been involved in the building of organs which fit the specifications of the music of the early Singbewegung and was therefore somewhat resistant to organ music which did not conform to the liturgically-rooted use of chorale melodies and cantus firmus technique in clear voicing.

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[96] Summereder (2010), p. 96.
[97] Helmut Bornefeld, 'Orgelbau und neue Orgelmusik', in *Musik und Kirche*, 22 (1952), pp. 264-280.
[98] Summereder (2010), pp. 106-107.

But in spite of Bornefeld's slowness to accept more contemporary material in relation to organ repertoire, by 1953 there was increasing acceptance of compositional techniques, and in particular twelve-tone writing, which had previously been branded as anti-functional by the Singbewegung. In the programme from that year, Bornefeld asserted that after almost two hundred years of decline in terms of its liturgical function, in recent decades the music of the German Evangelical Church had undergone an astonishing stylistic emancipation. However, this was not a reason to stop working on the development of this music and he warns against 'self-sufficient historicising' (i.e. freezing the style in its form of the 1930s). Instead, he repeats the initially-stated purpose of Heidenheim as being to tackle the question of how sacred music could preserve its link to functionality without distancing itself from the 'true contemporary questions' facing all music. But in contrast to earlier years, he points explicitly to twelve-tone music here, stating that the Arbeitstage would be even more devoted both to the question of this technique (and others), alongside 'gottesdienstlichen Gebrauchsmusik' in the coming years.[99]

There is a sense of shifting focus in statements such as this when compared to the programmes of previous years. Here, there is a clearer move away from earlier claims that sacred music needed to move forwards. This was, indeed, starting to ring a little false given the actual heavy reliance on prewar works and compositional techniques. Instead, the direction being taken seems to have been becoming more open-minded in terms of discussing and performing repertoire which had previously been described as liturgically incompatible and unapproachable. This rhetoric was reflected in a number of the suggestions Reda made to Bornefeld for potential repertoire for the 1953 Arbeitstage, including Berg's *Lyrische Suite* and *Lulu Musik*, Webern's *Concerto for Chamber Ensemble* and Schönberg's *Begleitungsmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene* and *Fantasy for Violin and Piano*.[100] The programme for 1953 also featured a number of listening and analysis sessions of

[99] Helmut Bornefeld, Programme Pamphlet to the 1953 Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik, (1953), in Jörg Martin, *Der Komponist Helmut Bornefeld (1906-1990): Verzeichnis seines Nachlasses in der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek*, vol. 1 (Augsburg: Wißner, 2011).
[100] Siegfried Reda to Helmut Bornefeld, 27/7/1953, in Martin (2011).

recordings of works including Messiaen's *Livre d'orgue*, Bartók's *Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion* and Second Piano Concerto along with assorted works by Webern and Schönberg.[101] The 1954 sitting included organ performances of elements of Messiaen's *La Nativité du Seigneur* and his *Livre d'orgue* in addition to Schönberg's *Variations on a Recitative*.[102] The point here is not to suggest that Heidenheim transformed the Singbewegung into a hotbed of avant-garde musical development in the early 1950s--it is worth noting that a lot of the 'modern' works they were performing at this stage were still written before 1945. There was, though, a discernible shift at this time towards the inclusion of works which would have been thought incompatible with the Gebrauchsmusik-oriented ideology of the Singbewegung in the past, due to their non-functional topics and use of musical idioms which were seen as running the risk of alienating congregations.

Conclusion

This chapter has begun to account for the initial development of the Singbewegung in West Germany during the early years following the Second World War. The war years had seen the movement become increasingly compromised, in terms of the death of key practitioners, such as Distler, the increasing intertwining of many of its early ideals and stylistic features with National Socialism and the Hitler Youth and the regime's approval and support of prominent figures, including Pepping. It is then, perhaps not surprising that Pepping would seek to distance himself from a stylistic creed which had been so tainted by association at this point. For him, the memory of the prewar had become a negative one, and likely one which threatened to stall the rehabilitation of his reputation in the context of Allied occupation in West Germany from 1945 onwards. But unlike Pepping and Distler, composers such as Bornefeld and Reda, being slightly younger, had been less prominent during the 1930s and were conscripted into the Wehrmacht relatively early on in the war. As a result, their association with the party was less demonstrable than that of figures like Pepping

[101] Summereder (2010), pp. 133-134.
[102] Ibid., p. 129.

who had received official recognition from the state in the form of official positions, prizes and exemption from military service. In combination with the martyrdom, as Bornefeld painted it, of Distler and the associated victimisation of the Confessing Church during the Kirchenkampf, these factors provided a platform from which composers such as Bornefeld and publishers such as Bärenreiter could pitch the Singbewegung as being generally opposed to the National Socialist regime and in doing so, justified the movement's immediate continuation following the war. This narrative also pitched the Singbewegung as having been stifled by the regime from developing from roughly the mid-1930s onwards, which further strengthened the Heidenheim argument for renewal alongside a call for innovation.

However, despite the narrative of Heidenheim bringing the Singbewegung forwards into the future, the actual repertoire performed, especially in the first few years, was heavily made up of prewar works. This might be understandable, given that Bornefeld had asserted that refamiliarization was also a goal of the Arbeitstage. But even at the point in the early 1950s when there was an increasing engagement with listening to and discussing works by composers such as Schönberg and Webern and the associated issues of twelve-tone writing, the works then chosen for analysis were almost exclusively prewar, some from as early as the 1910s. There is a certain irony in Bornefeld's comments referenced earlier in relation to Expressionist painting that the Evangelical Church was happy to accept avant-garde art after the fact of its having been such when this was also what was happening at Heidenheim in the early 1950s. Second Viennese School twelve-tone writing may tentatively have been discussed, but there was little consideration for the works of composers contemporaneously being performed not far from Heidenheim in Darmstadt and Donaueschingen. As shown, this slowness in relation to engaging with directly contemporary repertoire was in part due to the conflict between the desired functionality of the new music composed in developing the movement and the potential for more modern stylistic idioms to alienate congregations and audiences.

As I will demonstrate later in this thesis, the exacerbation of this fundamental tension was a crucial factor, in combination with wider societal secularisation and examination of the National Socialist past, in the eventual failure of Heidenheim in 1960. This is not just due to the difficulty the Singbewegung had with reconciling modernity with functionality, but just as importantly with justifying the fact of functional music itself. From the mid-1950s onwards, increasingly hostile criticisms, most notably by Adorno, but also by Wolfgang Fortner and Clytus Gottwald attacked the movement's adherence to the conventional liturgical structures of the church, highlighting the hierarchical relationship between priest and congregation as irreconcilably similar to the organisational structures of fascism. The Evangelical Church in West Germany was not, however, the sole inheritor of the prewar Singbewegung, though it did come to bear the brunt of National Socialist guilt in the postwar. The Church in East Germany was shielded from this by not belonging to the inheritor state of Nazism, while the Catholic Church in West Germany had a greater level of distance from the prewar Singbewegung. As such, the challenges faced by both, whether they found themselves in an officially secular state or their suddenly increased political importance in the early postwar period, followed by extreme reform of their institution under the Second Vatican Council respectively, were distinct from the Western Evangelical Church.

Chapter 3
The Singbewegung in the German Democratic Republic: the Dresdner Kreuzchor and the Role of Cultural Memory in the Construction of East-German Identity

Though the West-German Evangelicals of the postwar period might seem the most obvious successors to the pre-1945 Singbewegung, they were not alone in taking up the style of the movement and its engagement with the past. It might be assumed that the Singbewegung would find itself unwelcome in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) following the latter's establishment in the aftermath of the Second World War. There were, however, more similarities to be found in both practical and ideological terms between this religious movement and the officially secular state than may at first seem to be the case. Geographically, the GDR was squarely in the traditional heartlands of German Evangelical music and its historically important centres such as Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin. These were home to the major Evangelical musical institutions of the Thomaskirche and the Kreuzkirche, with their longstanding boys' choirs and associations with J. S. Bach and Heinrich Schütz respectively, as well as important universities and conservatoires linked to the Singbewegung and focused on the training of sacred musicians. East Germany's relationship with German cultural heritage is an important element to consider in explaining the level of toleration and even support for the music of the Evangelical Church. In carving out the new country's interpretation of the doctrine of Socialist Realism and in establishing itself as a politically-valid state, the GDR's governing party, the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist German Unity Party), or SED, sought to emphasise its claim as the heir to the humanistic intellectual and cultural tradition of the German past. This was achieved by enshrining figures such as Goethe, Schiller and J. S. Bach in the new nation's cultural canon, and thereby emphasising the country's superior claim to this tradition over its Americanised neighbour to the West, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).[1]

[1] Kyle Frackman and Larson Powell, 'Introduction: Music and Heritage in the German Democratic Republic', in Kyle Frackman and Larson Powell, ed., *Classical Music in the German Democratic Republic* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2015), pp. 1-19, pp. 2-3.

The concept of Socialist Realism, the prescribed artistic style of the majority Soviet Bloc countries from the early 1930s onwards, allowed for a moderate degree of malleability in order to fit the specific cultural context of each country which sought to implement it. The Soviet Communist Party's cultural Tsar, Andrei Zhdanov's demand at the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 that Socialist Realism should educate the people in the spirit of Socialism, in combination with the particularly East-German desire to appropriate the German canon to the Socialist cause, led to an enthusiasm for the large-scale choral and oratorio-based forms of the Baroque and early Classical periods.[2] The early years of the GDR consequently saw a marked effort by prominent East-German musicologists such as Ernst Hermann Meyer, along with state officials, to define a specifically East-German interpretation of this ideology which fit into the wider project of situating the country as the inheritor of the German humanist tradition. This position was favourable towards the fundamental historical pillars of the Singbewegung and music by these figures was therefore celebrated, principally in a secular context, while new music composed in a style indebted to them was encouraged and often compatible, to an extent, with the Socialist Realism of the GDR. A greater niche existed, therefore, for an echo of the Singbewegung to take root in East Germany than might initially be assumed.

This chapter seeks to establish the role of sacred music in the construction of an East-German cultural identity and especially the postwar identity of the city of Dresden. I will additionally explore the compatibility of the music of the Singbewegung with certain parts of the new doctrine of Socialist Realism imposed in East Germany, many elements of which were similar to the artistic ideals of National Socialism, with which the movement had become so entangled. Following an exploration of East-German Socialist Realism and, in particular, its relationship with Heinrich Schütz, my central focus here will be the Dresdner Kreuzchor and its long-term Kantor, Rudolf Mauersberger. The Kreuzchor's history, spanning over seven centuries, its reputation for musical

[2] David Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press 2013), pp. 16-18.

excellence and the city of Dresden's association with Heinrich Schütz all made it a useful institution for the GDR in promoting the standard of its musicians and in laying claim to the tradition of German Protestant music. But the Kreuzchor was not only a tool for the continued performance of the works of Bach, Schütz, Handel and their contemporaries. Before the war, the choir under Mauersberger had interpreted many of the new works of the Singbewegung, including those by Distler, which had subsequently become part of its core repertoire, and Mauersberger himself was active as a composer of sacred music in the style of the movement.[3]

In the postwar period, the choir continued to maintain ties to the proponents of the Singbewegung in the West, and, in addition, it became a conduit for the performance of a series of new works by Mauersberger, many of which memorialised the destruction of the city of Dresden in the allied bombing raids on 13th and 14th February 1945, in which the Kreuzkirche itself was severely damaged. Many of these works belong to Mauersberger's twelve-part *Zyklus Dresden*, such as *Der dreizehnte Februar*, *Dresden im Frühling* 1945 and *Kreuzkirche*.[4] The most significant of these, however, are his motet *Wie liegt die Stadt so wüst* of 1945 and his large-scale *Dresdner Requiem*, written in 1947-48 and then heavily revised over the following fifteen years.[5] In these pieces he employs a musical style which is mostly in keeping with both the conventions of the Singbewegung and the specifically East-German brand of Socialist Realism. In the case of the *Dresdner Requiem*, the congregation are treated as active participants through the singing of chorales.

In this way, and despite their religious content, Mauersberger's works proved surprisingly compatible with the values of the GDR. Their focus on the destruction of Dresden touched on an important symbolic event both for the new republic and his city, which both saw themselves as having risen from the ruins of the former Germany. These works were additionally useful for the promotion of the country as a whole as a centre for musical excellence, as well as for its entitlement

[3] Hans Böhm, Programme Note to a Fest-Vesper in the Kreuzkirche on 2/6/1934 at 5pm, in Hans Böhm Archiv, Sächische Landesbibliothek –Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Böhm 10, p. 2.
[4] Matthias Hermann, 'Vorwort', in Rudolf Mauersberger, *Dresdner Requiem nach Worten der Bibel und Gesangbuches* (1947-48/61), RMWV 10 (Leinfelden-Echterdingen: Carus-Verlag, 1994), pp. iv-vii, p. iv.
[5] Ibid., pp. iv-v.

to the cultural legacy of Schütz, Bach and Handel. The relationship between the work of Mauersberger and the past, in addition to its function as an act of mourning is one which has very recently been addressed in scholarship. Martha Sprigge's 2021 work engages with his contributions to the early East-German canon of repertoire focused on mourning the ruins of Germany in the wake of the Second World War.[6] Although Sprigge's interest in Mauersberger with regards the Singbewegung is limited, her discussion of his work in terms of communal mourning has parallels with the more practical elements of communal participation favoured by the pre-1945 movement. Torbjørn Skinnemoen Ottersen's 2020 article compares contemporary narratives regarding Schütz and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and the destruction of Dresden in the composition of Mauersberger's *Dresdner Requiem*.[7] As I will demonstrate, Mauersberger certainly cannot be described as an active advocate of an East-German Singbewegung. But the stylistic reference points of his postwar output and its engagement with the past nevertheless created a manner of afterlife for the movement in the East in which double-layered approach to cultural memory, similar to the West, but with the destruction wrought by National Socialism more broadly taking the place of the martyrdom of Distler. Further, understanding him more actively in terms of his stylistic indebtedness to the Singbewegung enriches Sprigge and Skinnemoen Ottersen's accounts of his music by providing a more detailed image of his relationship with the past.

East-German Socialist Realism and the Humanist Tradition

Building on Zhdanov's statements of 1934, three decrees were issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in August and September of 1946 stating that the arts of theatre, film and literature in the Socialist Realist style should depict contemporary themes in an 'optimistic manner'. These were followed in February 1948 by a fourth decree specifically related to

[6] Martha Sprigge, *Socialist Laments: Musical Mourning (in) the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2021).
[7] Torbjørn Skinnemoen Ottersen, 'Echoes of Heaven, Echoes of Schütz, and Echoes of the Thirty Years War? Kreuzkantor Rudolf Mauersberger and his *Dresdner Requiem*', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2020).

music which vilified the use of formalistic techniques, such as dodecaphony, along with their proponents. This included not only Stravinsky and Schönberg, but also Shostakovich and Prokofiev. Socialist music, it was said, needed to be 'more accessible to a broad public and politically engaged more generally', rather than placing principal importance on its formal aspects.[8] This fit more broadly into Zhdanov's postwar campaign against formalism, which culminated in the cementing of pan-USSR attitudes of hostility towards all music categorised as such, as espoused at the Second International Conference of Composers and Music Critics in Prague in May 1948.[9] The fourth edict was widely disseminated in East Germany and prominent East-German cultural figures such as Hanns Eisler were heavily involved in the Prague conference, posing themselves the question of how the cultural policy should shape the music of the territory that would become the GDR. This discussion led to the announcement of a two-year plan by Walter Ulbricht, the future First Secretary of the SED, which sought to engage artists in the creation of a German form of Socialist Realism.[10]

The precise interpretation of Zhdanov's decree and the form it should take varied from country to country. Importantly for the music of the Singbewegung in East Germany, in the context of the GDR, a particular rhetorical emphasis was placed on the historical models of the Baroque and Classical periods and the more conservative elements of nineteenth-century music.[11] Musical forms of the pre-1750 era, such as the oratorio, the cantata and even the chorale were understood as being important and historically characteristic of German music and were therefore seized upon as useful for establishing a new musical style in line with German Communism.[12] A definite position was, however, slow in coming as the GDR was not officially established until 1949 and its own

[8] Tompkins (2013), pp. 18-19.
[9] Frackman and Powell (2015), p. 6.
[10] Tompkins (2013), pp. 47-48.
[11] Golan Gur, 'Classicism as Anti-Fascist Heritage: Realism and Myth in Ernst Hermann Meyer's *Mansfelder Oratorium* (1950)', in Frackman and Powell, (2015), pp. 34-57, p. 39 and Elaine Kelly, *Composing the Canon in the German Democratic Republic: Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2014), pp. 4-5.
[12] Tompkins (2013), p. 18.

Composers' Union (Verband deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler, or VDK) and principal music journal, *Musik und Gesellschaft*, were only established in 1951.[13]

Ernst Hermann Meyer, Professor for Music Sociology at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin from 1949, was instrumental in the development of an early working model for East-German Socialist Realism, through his own compositions and contributions to scholarship, in addition to the active role he played in the VDK.[14] Meyer was a leading voice in a group of musicologists, politicians and state bodies which espoused the new style in the early 1950s. Among these were the musicologists Eberhard Rebling, Harry Goldschmidt and Georg Knepler, along with the culture minister Johannes Becher, as well as the institutions of the Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands (Cultural Union for the Democratic Renewal of Germany) and Staatliche Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten (State Commission for Artistic Matters), founded in 1951. Their stance on the new music of the GDR is summarised effectively by the quotation from Otto Grotewohl (the first Ministerpräsident of the GDR) with which Meyer begins his 1952 work *Musik im Zeitgeschehen*: 'A people is nothing without a true, great art, but in an equally irrevocable manner: Art is nothing without the people.'[15]

In *Musik im Zeitgeschehen*, Meyer asserts that all theoretical attempts to understand music in an abstract or aestheticized context are misguided because they fail to acknowledge its fundamentally social nature.[16] In his analysis of the work, Golan Gur highlights Meyer's belief that all 'great art' is bound to and born out of its social function and is in this way 'realist' by definition and possesses an awareness of social responsibility.[17] As is likely unsurprising, this understanding of art takes a dim view of music which is deemed to be hostile towards social function. Throughout *Musik im Zeitgeschehen* Meyer takes numerous swipes at composers he deems to be 'formalist', principally

[13] Tompkins (2013), p. 49.
[14] Gur (2015), p. 37.
[15] 'Ein Volk ist nichts ohne eine echte, große Kunst, aber in gleich unumstößlicher Weise gilt die Umkehrung: Die Kunst ist nichts ohne das Volk.' Ernst Hermann Meyer, *Musik im Zeitgeschehen* (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Henschel und Sohn, 1952), p. 7.
[16] Meyer (1952), p. 7.
[17] Gur (2015), p. 37.

Stravinsky and Schönberg. The latter, along with Berg and Webern, is accused of having been motivated by his own subjective reactions to the bourgeois self-obsessive interiority into which music had found itself driven by capitalism in the early twentieth century. The result of this 'self-cannibalism' was only further abstraction, further unintelligibility and further alienation from the social function of music.[18] Meyer goes on to assert that in the postwar period this formalism and its concomitant techniques, i.e. twelve-tone serialism, were now being propped up by 'American imperialism' with the intent of undermining the new Socialist Realism of the Soviet Union and its 'humanistic' goals.[19] The 'nihilistic barbarism' of Capitalist society is further served by formalism because it enacts the separation between the proletariat and *art*, which is already being achieved by economic means through pricing them out of music education and therefore the means with which to engage with music on even a basic performative level. As such, formalism is for Meyer the apex of bourgeois decadence because it actively seeks to exclude the majority of society and rejects all claims to social function.[20]

Beyond *Musik im Zeitgeschehen*, which in itself acts as a manifesto for German Socialist Realism, Meyer's positive suggestions for the direction of musical composition were clearly presented in a speech he gave at the VDK Congress in 1954, which he divided into fourteen points. To summarise, these described Socialist Realism as being formed through personal experience, engaged in creating themes that addressed the lives of working people, national in form, closely linked to folk music and practical, that is, not self-reflexive and focused on abstract experimentation.[21] Additionally, Meyer emphasised that the Socialist Realism in the GDR should be particularly concerned with the weaving of the principles of the 'classics' into contemporary forms.

The motivation for East Germany to focus so heavily on its relationship with the classics of its cultural heritage, as seen in work such as Meyer's, lies in the country's peculiar geo-political

[18] Meyer (1952), pp. 150-152.
[19] Ibid., p. 151.
[20] Ibid., pp. 158-161.
[21] Tompkins (2013), p. 21.

situation in comparison to other members of the Soviet Union. Though historically-important cities such as East Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Weimar and Wittenberg lay in East Germany, the GDR was bordered to the West by a country with which it constantly had to compete for the title of Germany. As Laura Silverberg demonstrates, anxiety regarding its own legitimacy was a key characteristic of the GDR in its early years and this manifested itself as an insistence on its entitlement to the German past. In line with this, Otto Grotewohl asserted in 1950, 'German culture cannot be divided. Our goal is to nurture and further develop a true, precious culture of the nation. For us, the people in the west of our homeland also belong to this nation.'[22] The national anthem of the new nation, *Auferstanden aus Ruinen* (*Risen from Ruins*), with text by Johannes Becher and music by Hanns Eisler, expressed a similar sentiment regarding the East-German relationship with Germanness and the SED's aspiration to position the country as its sole inheritor. Underpinned by Eisler's pastiche setting, which seems more reminiscent of the previous century than the work of a composer writing in the 1940s, the anthem opens with an exhortation for the birth of a new and unified Germany out of the ruins of the past.[23]

As Toby Thacker has shown, the early postwar years were generally marked by competition between the two Germanies as to who had claim to key cultural figures.[24] Walter Werbeck further fleshes out how the conservative cultural policy of the SED was linked to this tug of war as to who was entitled to call themselves Germany. East-German schools were to ensure that all children had a firm grounding in the literary works of Goethe and Schiller and music lessons were to reinforce engagement in the younger generations in what was repeatedly referred to as the German 'humanist' tradition of composers from the Baroque period, starting with Schütz, to the late

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[22] Laura Silverberg, 'East German Music and the Problem of National Identity', *Nationalities Papers*, 37:4 (2009), pp. 501-522, p. 507.

[23] 'Auferstanden aus Ruinen / Und der Zukunft zugewandt, / Lass uns dir zum Guten dienen, / Deutschland, einig Vaterland.' (Risen from ruins / And facing the future, / Let us serve you for the good, / Germany, united Fatherland.) Hanns Eisler and Johannes Becher, *Auferstanden aus Ruinen*, in *Leben Singen Kämpfen. Liederbuch der deutschen Jugend* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1954), pp. 8–9.

[24] Toby Thacker, '"Renovating" Bach and Handel: New Musical Biographies in the German Democratic Republic, in Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms, Jolanta Pekacz, ed., (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 17-42, pp. 18-19.

nineteenth century and Johannes Brahms.[25] Werbeck's analysis differs from Silverberg, to an extent, because he also sees the direction of the East-German cultural agenda as being motivated by the country's anti-fascistic narrative as the true Socialist Germany which had resisted National Socialism. Werbeck makes reference to a statement by Walter Ulbricht in 1945 that the country which came after fascism should embrace not only the German totems of Socialism, Marx and Engels, but also Heine, Goethe and Schiller because all these figures were part of the same humanistic tradition of German art and thought.[26] This narrative chimes with Meyer's principal argument in *Musik im Zeitgeschehen*, as he too claims that all the 'great art' of the German canon is imbued with a sense of social responsibility and a drive towards egalitarianism. In this view, there is a direct historical thread running between the 'alle Menschen werden Brüder' of Schiller's *An die Freude* (and Beethoven's setting of it) and the statement in Becher's text to *Auferstanden aus Ruinen* that 'Wenn wir brüderlich uns einen, Schlagen wir des Volkes Feind'.[27] Therefore, with its claims of brotherhood and professed humanist principles, East Germany clearly viewed itself as the more entitled state to inherit the German past when compared to its Americanised neighbour to the West.

Schütz Reception in the GDR

In her chapter on the musical organisation of the individual regions of the GDR, Tatjana Böhme-Mehner describes another factor behind the creation of its socialist canon of German humanists. She believes that focusing on the concept of cultural heritage helped the evocation of a monolithic German culture, despite the politically fractured reality of that culture's past. Unlike the federalised FRG, all aspects of East-German society were heavily centralised in a set of executive boards in Berlin. The state was divided into fourteen 'Bezirke', or districts, in addition to Berlin, each of which

[25] Walter Werbeck, 'Das Schütz-Bild in der DDR', in Friederike Böcher, ed. *Schütz-Rezeption im Wandel der Zeit* (Bad Köstritz: Heinrich-Schütz-Haus, 2005), pp. 89-110, p. 96. See also Kelly (2014), pp. 16-19 for a discussion of the relevance of Englightenment ideals to the construction of East Germany as a modern socialist state during the early years following the Second World War.
[26] Werbeck (2005), p. 96.
[27] 'If brotherly we unite ourselves, we will defeat the People's enemy', Eisler and Becher (1954), pp. 8-9.

had the same structure, with their own orchestras, theatres, museums and organisational boards, all of which were, in theory, answerable to Berlin, which was supposed to have the final say in all matters relating to cultural policy.[28] Each Bezirk was related with an important German cultural figure, for example J. S. Bach in Leipzig, Heinrich Schütz in Dresden and Goethe in Weimar. Each year the SED would hold a week-long 'Arbeitsfestspiel' in one of the Bezirke on a rotating basis which celebrated the associated figure along with its local arts and crafts more broadly. In addition, each was to be home to contemporary institutions and figures, the latter colloquially known as a 'Bezirksgoethe' ('District Goethe'), each of which was linked to the cultural heritage of the region in the creation of new art and their performance of the canon.[29] In this way, the cultural politics of the early GDR positioned each of the canonical members of its 'humanist tradition' as individual regional parts of one centralised German whole, despite the fact that Germany as a whole had not existed during their own lifetimes. In doing so, East Germany asserted further its claim as the sole inheritor of a centralised and unified notion of German culture.

As stated above, the role cultural heritage and the memory sites of the German past played in the establishment of East-German Socialist Realism indicates a greater degree of compatibility between this new secular nation on a cultural level and the ideals of the Singbewegung than may first appear. Along with many other artists, the GDR was keen to lay claim to Schütz himself, who had always been closely associated with the city of Dresden, having lived there from 1617, when he was appointed Kapellmeister to the Elector of Saxony, until his death in 1672.[30] Additionally, the VDK and the SED had a particular interest in the use of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a source of inspiration for new music in the Socialist Realist style. As figures such as Meyer saw it, this period of history was one in which the class struggle was still between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, meaning that the former's art was revolutionary in character at this

[28] Tatjana Böhme-Mehner, 'Provincialism, Modernity, and the Classical Heritage: The Administrative Structure of the GDR and the Situation of Music Production', in Frackman and Powell (2015), pp. 20-33, pp. 20-21.
[29] Böhme-Mehner (2015), pp. 22-25.
[30] 'Das Leben und Werk des Heinrich Schütz', Internationale Heinrich-Schütz-Gesellschaft, https://www.schuetzgesellschaft.de/?page_id=187 (accessed 10/3/2020).

time and that the proletariat should now seize it as part of a process of democratising bourgeois culture for all.[31] Due to this understanding of history, the term 'Classical' was often used during the early years of the GDR to describe not only Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven, but also the Protestant composers of the Baroque period because their output and use of inclusive forms such as the oratorio, passion and cantata, were reflective of the ideals of the Enlightenment.[32]

As a result of this veneration for composers of the Classical and Baroque period, the GDR sought actively in performance, scholarship and the commissioning of new works to promote them as important precursors to the ideals of East Germany. In an accompanying booklet to the official 300th birthday celebrations of Bach and Handel in 1985, Alfred Brockhaus, a student of Meyer's, stated:

> In the work of Bach, Handel and Schütz there are brilliant achievements in musical creativity that have become part of the global impact of European music in our century. It embodies the vision of a world of peace, justice and human dignity in a compelling, perfect musical beauty that goes beyond its own historical era. The perfect artistic design of such thoughts and ideals of mankind places the composers in the traditional line of progress towards humanity, the continuation and productive processing of which is a characteristic of socialist society today. With this, socialist society has accepted the great humanist legacy of Bach, Handel and Schütz as a legitimate inheritance, and the care of their legacy has a permanent place in the GDR, it has become the inalienable possession of socialist national culture.[33]

Though this event was officially in celebration of Bach and Handel, it is noteworthy that Schütz is included by Brockhaus, given his importance to the Singbewegung. Additionally, although Brockhaus was speaking in the 1980s and therefore beyond the central period of focus of this thesis, Thacker has demonstrated that the general view of Bach and similar figures as established by Meyer and his

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[31] Golan Gur (2015), pp. 39-40.
[32] Ibid., pp. 39-41.
[33] Im Werke Bachs, Händels und Schütz' liegen geniale Leistungen musikalischen Schöpfertums vor, die zu einem Bestandteil der weltweiten Wirkung der europäischen Musik in unserem Jahrhundert geworden sind. In ihm ist die Vision einer Welt des Friedens, der Gerechtigkeit und der Menschenwürde in bezwingender, vollkommener musikalischer Schönheit gestaltet, die über ihre eigene Geschichtsepoche hinausweist. Die vollendete künstlerische Gestaltung solcher Gedanken und Ideale der Menschheit reiht die Komponisten ein in die Traditionslinie des Fortschreitens zur Humanität, deren Weiterführung und produktive Verarbeitung heute ein Wesenszug der sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist. Damit hat die sozialistische Gesellschaft als legitimer Erbe das große humanistische Vermächtnis von Bach, Händel und Schütz angenommen, und die Pflege ihrer Hinterlassenschaft nimmt in der DDR einen festen Platz ein, sie ist zum unveräußerlichen Besitz der sozialistischen Nationalkultur geworden. Alfred Brockhaus, *Klassisches Erbe als Auftrag an unsere Zeit* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1985), as quoted in Gur (2015), p. 41.

contemporaries in the early 1950s remained more or less consistent throughout the history of the GDR.[34]

It is important to note here, however, that the interest of figures such as Brockhaus, or indeed Meyer, in a composer such as Bach was not especially as a composer of sacred music. As Thacker has discussed, Meyer and others expended a great deal of effort from the late 1940s onwards in contesting the then dominant view of Albert Schweitzer of Bach as a 'religious mystic' with little interest in matters outside the church. This was portrayed as a ploy to detach Bach from any notion of class struggle and to alienate the proletariat from his music as its 'rightful cultural inheritance'. Rather, Meyer argued that he should be viewed as a 'humanist bourgeois' with a strong interest in folk idioms.[35] Equally, Handel's oratorios in particular were interpreted in similarly secular terms, with the conductor Helmut Koch claiming that they should not be taken as biblical works but as 'worldly' compositions focused on the struggle of the proletariat.[36] As such, while it is certainly true that the interests of the SED and the Singbewegung often overlapped, it must be remembered that their motivations were clearly different as the East-German state's intention was not to promote the music of the Evangelical Church or Christianity through engaging with these figures.

Schütz himself was the subject of praise from the early years of the GDR through articles in *Musik und Gesellschaft*, regular state-sanctioned performances of his work and events in his honour. In November 1954, an exhibition dedicated to Schütz was held at his former residence in Köstritz. The event lasted two days and featured performances from the Thüringer Musikantengilde, the Heinrich Schütz Kreis from Greiz, the Gera Sinfonieorchester and the Dresdner Kreuzchor.[37] In addition to this, a Festschrift, *Zur Heinrich-Schütz-Ehrung 1954*, was published for the occasion by Günther Kraft, Professor at the Musikhochschule in Weimar, which featured contributions from both East- and West-German writers, including Hans Joachim Moser and Karl Vötterle, indicating the

[34] Thacker (2006), p. 27.
[35] Ibid., pp. 21-24.
[36] Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 161-162.
[37] Werbeck (2005), p. 90.

approval of the grandee publisher of the Singbewegung. Similarly to Brockhaus, Kraft claimed that Schütz's demonstration of his love for peace, human dignity and the German nation throughout his life were testament to his true 'humanism'.[38] Though Werbeck does note in his account of this event that the general image of Schütz presented in the Festschrift differs very little from his portrayal in the 1930s, the resonance with Brockhaus is still evident. Further, the 1954 exhibition in Köstritz gave way to the annual organisation of the Heinrich-Schütz-Tage in Dresden from 1955-1970 and the Schütz Gesellschaft maintained a presence in East Germany until 1964, even organising its annual Heinrich Schütz Fest in Dresden in 1956.[39]

My intention in this chapter overall is not to claim that the SED necessarily had a particular interest in Schütz over Bach or Handel, but rather that he fit into a wider pattern of cultural policy which sought to recast a whole group of historical figures in the ideological pantomime of the new nation. Each of them was useful to the East-German regime in as much as it was able to further its own aims through their appropriation. In line with the concept of the Bezirksgoethe, however, I would suggest that Schütz did have a special significance, over that of similar composers such as Bach and Handel, for the city of Dresden. Schütz and Dresden have a long association with the devastation of war and Sprigge and Skinnemoen Ottersen have both very recently drawn comparisons between the destruction of Dresden during the 1945 Allied bombings and the devastation wrought across Germany by the Thirty Years War.[40] Skinnemoen Ottersen references a speech given in the Kreuzkirche in Dresden by the prominent prewar Schütz scholar and biographer Hans Joachim Moser, whom I discussed in the introduction, at the 1955 Heinrich-Schütz-Tage entitled 'Heinrich Schütz – eine Lichtgestalt in dunkler Zeit' ('Heinrich Schütz – a shining light in a dark time'). Here Moser described Schütz as having preserved German music through the disaster of the Thirty Years War and as providing a foundation for later composers such as Bach and Handel to

[38] Werbeck (2005), p. 91.
[39] Ibid., pp. 91-92.
[40] Sprigge (2021), p. 149 and Skinnemoen Ottersen (2020), paras 2.1-2.2.

build on.[41] Consequently, from Skinnemoen Ottersen's perspective, Schütz, the Thirty Years War and the destruction of Dresden in the present all merge together to form a narrative of victimhood both particular to Dresden but also more widely applicable across the GDR.[42]

The Dresdner Kreuzchor

As Skinnemoen Ottersen shows, the convenience of this narrative that bound the present destruction of Dresden to key historical moments from the German past and to Schütz as a central figure associated with them translated itself into 'almost immediate encouragement and support' from the Soviet occupiers for the central musical institution associated with the composer, the Dresdner Kreuzchor.[43] Indeed, already by 4th August 1945, the choir was permitted to perform in the ruins of the Kreuzkirche with a programme of music by Mauersberger memorialising the burnt-out city surrounding them, as discussed below.[44] In this way, despite the markedly secular bent of Socialist Realism in the GDR, there was a certain degree of toleration for some religious institutions, especially if they were well-established and brought some material benefit to the SED's cultural agenda. It is here that the continuation of the music of the Singbewegung under Soviet rule is most clearly seen. As stated, these institutions included the Dresdner Kreuzchor and the Thomanerchor in Leipzig, both of which are still very much in existence. For the purposes of this chapter, the Kreuzchor will form the central focus, due to the sacred output of its long-standing director Rudolf Mauersberger, in addition to the prominent role it played in the GDR's self-depiction as a bastion of musical excellence. Further, the direct association between the Kreuzchor and the physical destruction of Dresden at the end of the Second World War gave it a role to play as part of one of the GDR's main creation myths. It was not just East Germany which was risen from the ruins of the fascist past but the Kreuzchor too, with the early reconstruction of the Kreuzkirche in the 1950s.

[41] Skinnemoen Ottersen (2020), paras 2.1-2.3.
[42] Ibid., para 2.6.
[43] Ibid., para 2.6.
[44] Thacker (2007), p. 68.

Mauersberger's output is chiefly concerned with the destruction of Dresden and though it is hardly new in stylistic terms, this fact helps to bind it to the cultural identity of the early GDR, making it a distinctive echo of the music of the Singbewegung.

The Kreuzchor was founded at some point in the early thirteenth century as the permanent boys' choir of the Kreuzkirche in the Altmarkt district of Dresden, making it one of the oldest choral foundations in continuous existence in the world.[45] The choir has been a tool for displaying the musical excellence of Germany in its various forms for over a century and all of the roughly 130 choristers are educated at the Evangelische Kreuzgymnasium, where many of them board, and which provides them with vocal, instrumental and theoretical tuition.[46] Throughout its history, the choir has been responsible for providing functional music for the performance of the liturgical offices of the Kreuzkirche, with its most well-known function being the Kreuzvesper.[47] The long-term association of Schütz with the city of Dresden has led to a central role for his work in the repertoire of the choir, and, as will be shown, this association with the composer was one of the main factors in the special dispensations granted to the choir, its church and its associated school throughout its East-German history.

From the early years of the Singbewegung in the 1920s, the Kreuzvesper was a medium for nurturing the existing repertoire of Protestant sacred music, as well as furthering the performance and commissioning of new sacred repertoire. This can be seen quite clearly in the programme for a Kreuzvesper on Saturday 6th June 1934 and its accompanying note provided by the Dresden-based music critic Hans Böhm, who praises the Kreuzchor for its commitment to the music of the sacred music revival movement. The programme itself comprises fairly unsurprising repertoire, but does advertise a concert for the following day in which the choir will sing the *Trinitas-Motette* by Arnold Mendelssohn, the early Singbewegung figure and Schütz-revivalist, discussed in earlier chapters and

[45] 'Dresdner Kreuzchor – Biografie', Dresdner Kreuzchor, http://kreuzchor.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Vita_Dresdner_Kreuzchor_DE.pdf (accessed 12/3/2020).
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

a noteworthy inclusion in 1934 considering Mendelssohn's Jewish heritage.[48] In his programme note for the vesper, Böhm states that the Kreuzchor and Mauersberger are foremost throughout Germany for their performance of a wide range of sacred music, from the early 'Dutch and Venetian masters' and Heinrich Schütz to the present day. Böhm goes on to claim that the choir is also one of the most prominent platforms for the performance of new sacred music in the style of the Singbewegung, having already premièred work by Johann Nepomuk David, Distler, Günter Raphael and Kurt Thomas, among others.[49] That being said, the Kreuzchor clearly was not an amateur institution, representing as it did the pinnacle of sacred choral music in Germany, and cannot be presented as embodying Gebrauchsmusik ideals of engaging the community in active musical performance. It nevertheless was an important mouthpiece for the repertoire of the Singbewegung, as its regular performances of it shows.

Rudolf Mauersberger, the Kreuzkantor both under National Socialism and through most of the GDR period, was born in Saxony in 1889 and studied with Karl Straube (who also later taught Distler and to whom Distler dedicated the *Choralpassion*) in Leipzig from 1912 to 1914.[50] Following military service, Mauersberger became the leader of the Bach Society and organist at the Städtischen Konzerthaus in Aachen from 1919 to 1925 before relocating to Eisenach where he became Kantor of the Georgenkirche.[51] During this time he was also active as a composer of liturgically-oriented music in the style of the Singbewegung, publishing a series of *Musikblätter*, arrangements of the liturgical music of the Evangelical Church in Thuringia, composed in 1926, 1927 and 1929 respectively, as his *Vierstimmiges deutsches Choralbuch* (1930) and *Weisen des Thüringer evangelischen Gesangbuches* (1935).[52] Mauersberger's appointment as Kreuzkantor came in 1930, at

[48] Dresdner Kreuzchor, Fest-Vesper Programme (2/6/1934), in Böhm 10.
[49] Hans Böhm (2/6/1934), pp. 1-2.
[50] 'Rudolf Mauersberger – Biographie', Sächsische Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, https://www.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/musik/musikhandschriften-und-alte-drucke/musiknachlaesse/rudolf-mauersberger/biographie/ (accessed 13/3/2020).
[51] Ibid.
[52] 'Rudolf Mauersberger', Säsiche Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, https://www.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/musik/musikhandschriften-und-alte-drucke/musiknachlaesse/rudolf-mauersberger/ (accessed 13/3/2020).

which point he set about expanding the repertoire of the Kreuzchor to include new work by the composers of the budding Singbewegung.[53]

During the National Socialist Period, the choir generally seems to have met with approval from the regime, with the Kreuzvespers continuing, even during wartime and with permission being granted for tours to America in 1935 and 1938, likely on the grounds of promoting German musical excellence on a global level.[54] Mauersberger joined the NSDAP very early, on 1st May 1933 (the same day that Distler joined), though the circumstances of his joining and his motivations are unclear.[55] In addition, he had the title of 'Professor' personally bestowed on him by Hitler on 20th April 1938.[56] Despite this association with National Socialism, however, the common narratives surrounding Mauersberger are quick to point out his apparent resistance to the regime. As Sprigge observes, many former choristers and church officials made posthumous claims that he had gone into 'inner emigration' following 1933 in an attempt to separate him from any association with Nazism.[57] He is also said to have been adamantly against allowing the choristers to wear Hitler Youth uniform and refused on multiple occasions to perform National Socialist songs, while insisting on maintaining the use of liturgical dress and observing the offices of the Evangelical Church, well into the 1940s.[58] That being said, the choristers all became Hitler Youth members in 1933 and did regularly wear its uniforms for services.[59] Böhm also claimed in the 1970s that the choir's tours abroad during the 1930s were not NS propaganda from Mauersberger's perspective, but were instead undertaken with the hope of showing the world that a different 'humanist' Germany still existed.[60] Regardless of

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[53] 'Rudolf Mauersberger – Biographie', Säsiche Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, https://www.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/musik/musikhandschriften-und-alte-drucke/musiknachlaesse/rudolf-mauersberger/biographie/ (accessed 13/3/2020).
[54] Hans Böhm, transcript to 'Zum 90. Geburtstag von Kreuzkantor Rudolf Mauersberger', for the radio programme *Stimme der DDR*, 9/1/1979, 9:15pm, Dresden, in Hans Böhm Archiv, Böhm 24, p. 4.
[55] Prieberg (2004), p. 492.
[56] Klee (2007), p. 398.
[57] Sprigge (2021), pp. 34-35.
[58] 'Rudolf Mauersberger – Biographie', Säsiche Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, https://www.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/musik/musikhandschriften-und-alte-drucke/musiknachlaesse/rudolf-mauersberger/biographie/ (accessed 13/3/2020).
[59] Sprigge (2021), p. 35.
[60] Böhm (1979), p. 4.

which interpretation one chooses to believe, the Kreuzchor was a useful feather in the National Socialist cap, as it would go on to be in that of the SED.

The institution of the Kreuzchor was heavily affected by the allied bombings of Dresden on 13th and 14th February 1945, in which the Kreuzkirche was heavily damaged. The interior of the church and the roof were burnt out, but the basic structure survived.[61] In addition, eleven choristers died in the bombing while many sheltered in the cellar of their boarding school.[62] Given the sacred nature of the institution, it might be assumed that the Soviet occupiers of Dresden and subsequently the SED would have had no interest in the Kreuzkirche and its choir. The building, however, came under the oversight of the architect Fritz Steudtner from 1946 and, after the ruins had been salvaged and made safe, a nine-year reconstruction process began in which Mauersberger was involved and which saw the church updated to conform with the norms of East-German Socialist Realist architecture of the time (ex. 1).[63] The Kreuzkirche was finally re-consecrated on 13th February 1955, the tenth anniversary of its destruction, making it one of the earliest buildings to be restored in the Altmarkt district of Dresden, an indicator of its perceived cultural significance to the GDR.[64] The re-opening of the Kreuzkirche was actively used as a centrepiece for commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Dresden bombings and was accompanied by a series of state-approved church services led by the Bishop of Saxony, Gottfried Noth and performances of Mauersberger's *Dresdner Requiem*, discussed below.[65] These took place at the same time as a series of secular events to mark the occasion, including a prominent speech to an enormous crowed by the Prime Minister, Otto Grotewahl.[66] Additionally, the Kreuzchor was invested as a state institution under the SED, with the state providing two thirds of its total funding, while the Evangelical church provided the rest; as

[61] 'Geschichte', Kreuzkirche Dresden, https://www.kreuzkirche-dresden.de/kirche/geschichte.html (accessed 13/3/2020).
[62] Sprigge (2021), p. 36.
[63] 'Geschichte', Kreuzkirche Dresden, https://www.kreuzkirche-dresden.de/kirche/geschichte.html (accessed 13/3/2020).
[64] Ibid.
[65] Sprigge (2021), p. 168.
[66] Ibid.

such, the party had significant interest in the education of the choristers and was heavily involved in shaping the curriculum of the Kreuzgymnasium.[67]

Example 1: An illustration of the restored Kreuzkirche[68]

Echoes of the Singbewegung in East Germany

The Kreuzchor was also not the only Evangelical body in East-Germany to receive funding from the state and which was allowed to continue as under Socialism. In *Kirchenmusik Heute*, a collection published in 1959 to celebrate Mauersberger's seventieth birthday, Gerhard Kappner, a pastor at the Sächsische Landeskirchenmusikschule in Dresden, provides an overview of the East-German network of institutions and individual departments which provided training in sacred music for the purpose of educating new professional church musicians. As of 1959, this was available at a handful

[67] 'Rudolf Mauersberger – Biographie', Säsiche Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, https://www.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/musik/musikhandschriften-und-alte-drucke/musiknachlaesse/rudolf-mauersberger/biographie/ (accessed 13/3/2020).
[68] 'Geschichte', Kreuzkirche Dresden, https://www.kreuzkirche-dresden.de/kirche/geschichte.html (accessed 13/3/2020).

of East-German institutions, which offered the varying sacred music exams to differing levels of difficulty.[69] Only the Evangelische Kirchenmusikschule in Halle offered the highest level of qualification, which was important for the training of sacred musicians in the GDR as the types of positions they could occupy and the kinds of duties for which they would be responsible depended on their level of qualification.[70]

In his overview, Kappner argued that East-German sacred musicians needed to be educated in such a way that they were best able to address the societal problems of the GDR. This meant emphasising the learning of orchestral instruments (especially wind instruments), alongside a broad study of repertoire from many different genres, not just sacred music, and increasing the amount of focus on the pastoral duties of church musicians. In addition, sacred and secular organ repertoire should be taught as two sides of the same coin.[71] The thought behind this was to create a church musician who could not only provide high quality sacred music in a liturgical context, but also one who was engaged in secular life. With their instrumental training they would be able to perform in orchestras and ensembles, and school and university choirs should be encouraged to sing both sacred and secular repertoire outside of the church, so as to spread the benefits of their abilities.[72] Additionally, education in theology should be increased for sacred musicians so that they could spread the humanist ideals of the Evangelical Church beyond its walls, given that Kappner saw these as being in line with the ideology of the East-German state. Kappner claimed that, under National Socialism, the separation of sacred music and public life due to the persecution of the Confessing Church had led to a cultural one-sidedness which impoverished both. The cultural alignment between Church and state, on the other hand would enrich both through the exchange of musicians and the composition of new sacred music which was suitable under the new aesthetic.[73]

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[69] Gerhard Kappner, 'Ausbildung der evangelischen Kirchenmusiker in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik', in Böhm (1959), pp. 158-167.
[70] Ibid., pp. 164-165.
[71] Ibid., pp. 161-164.
[72] Ibid., pp. 161-163.
[73] Kappner (1959), pp. 164-166.

As a pastor, Kappner was, of course, speaking from within the church and his recommendations and outlook seem rather optimistic, given that it is unlikely that the SED would have placed the same importance on the role of the Evangelical Church for East-German society. The utility the state saw in sacred institutions and their value in creating a musically-educated nation which could compete for quality at an international level should not be underestimated. Further, the German Evangelical Church, with its Lutheran origins, was a clear part of the humanist tradition East-German Socialist Realism so highly prized. For example, Meyer's *Mansfelder Oratorium,* which covers similar historical material to Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, celebrates the role of the theologian Thomas Müntzer (ca. 1489-1525) in the 1523 Peasants' Uprising. Müntzer was initially closely aligned with Luther, but split with him over the issue of the Uprising and, as Gur shows, his writing was highly admired by many Marxist scholars in the GDR.[74] Despite this conflict with Luther, the connection between the concept of German heritage pushed by the SED and the history of the Evangelical Church in East Germany clearly shared common memory sites and this is reflected in the relationship between bodies involved in sacred music and the state.

In many ways, Kappner's proposals sound like the foundations for a genuinely East-German Singbewegung, calling as they do for a breed of church musician focused on communal engagement and bringing the music of the church into secular life. But despite his enthusiasm and the availability of a limited number of qualifications in sacred music from a small handful of educational institutions, it is questionable to what extent an actual fully-fledged offshoot of the movement existed in postwar East Germany. Certainly, Oskar Söhngen, also writing in *Kirchenmusik Heute* in 1959 on the development of the Singbewegung since the Fest der deutschen Kirchenmusik in 1937, was keen to stress the existence and flourishing of the movement in the East by pointing to the recent oratorio *Die Berge des Heils* and Passion by Eberhard Wenzel.[75] Wenzel was the director of the Evangelische Kirchenmusikschule in Halle from 1951 to 1965 and a composer of numerous sacred works with

[74] Meyer's *Mansfelder Oratorium* was an early exemplar in the approved style which was used as a teaching aid in schools. Gur (2015), pp. 44-45.
[75] Söhngen (1959), p. 36.

strong ties to other members of the Singbewegung in the West.[76] I will critique Söhngen's chapter in *Kirchenmusik Heute* and his wider motiviations in detail in the fifth chapter of this thesis but it is worth remembering that he was not an unbiased source and had already taken great exception to East-German interpretations of church music and sacred composers. For example, he fiercely defended Schweitzer's view of Bach as a principally sacred composer at the 1950 Bach Festival in Leipzig at which a number of pro-SED speeches were given that attempted to recontextualise him.[77] As such, though Kappner may present a model for it and Söhngen may advocate it, it is difficult to state with certainty that a fully-fledged East-German Singbewegung actually existed in the same terms as the heavily Gebrauchmusik-oriented movement of earlier decades.

The work of Mauersberger and the Kreuzchor, did however, provide a manner of afterlife for the compositional idioms and emphasis on utility of the Singbewegung. The perceived value of the choir in an East-German context is laid out very clearly by Mauersberger himself in an 'Arbeitsbericht', a report on the work done by the choir, dated 6th February 1968. Mauersberger listed thirteen ways in which the choir contributes to cultural life through a number of different means beyond its liturgical function. The main purpose of the Kreuzchor outside of the church, he claimed, was the performance of the Kreuzvespers and oratorios, with a particular emphasis on both the preservation of the German canon, in particular the work of Schütz, and the performance of contemporary choral works.[78] He went on to explain that the Kreuzvespers attracted an audience of around 2000 every Sunday and underlines the fact that these are fundamental not only for the instruction of the choir itself in canonical repertoire, but also for the maintenance of the regular high quality performance of this repertoire in public and the education of the East-German people in relation to it.[79] The choir's regular oratorio performances drew crowds of up to 4000 and were again important for keeping

[76] ,Eberhard Wenzel, Biographie', Wenzel, Eberhard – Kulturstiftung (accessed 10/8/2022).
[77] Thacker (2006), p. 27.
[78] Rudolf Mauersberger, 'Arbeitsbericht 6/2/1968', in Hans Böhm Archiv, Böhm 18, p. 1.
[79] Ibid., p. 1

works such as the *St Matthew Passion,* the *Christmas Oratorio*, the B minor Mass and Brahms's *German Requiem* in the repertoire and provided East-German solo singers with regular opportunities to perform with a high-quality ensemble.[80]

Mauersberger was keen to emphasise the enormous role he felt the Kreuzchor played in the preservation of Schütz's work and pointed out that a lot of editions of this were destroyed in the war with the bombing of important publishing centres such as Leipzig. Though new editions were being published after the war, most of these were in West Germany. The importance of the choir in relation to Schütz was not just that they performed his music to a high standard in the city in which he spent the majority of his life, but also their active engagement with him was a key part of the process of creating East-German critical editions of his corpus.[81] Additionally, Mauersberger claimed that new pieces by Schütz were regularly being discovered in the various archives in Dresden and the Kreuzchor had been instrumental in premièring them, for example at the ninth International Heinrich Schütz-Fest in 1956, held in Dresden, as well as the annual week-long Schütz Tage he had been organising in the city since the reconstruction of the Kreuzkirche in 1955.[82] The importance placed on Schütz in Dresden mirrors that placed on J. S. Bach by the Thomanerchor in Leipzig, and was in line with Böhme-Mehner's assertions regarding the joining of individual regions in the GDR with specific cultural figures as a means of underlining the East-German claim over them as part of its own cultural memory.[83] Schütz, Dresden and its destruction and the Kreuzchor were all, therefore important cultural memory sites for the formation of a unique brand of East-German cultural history. Schütz, his work and the Kreuzchor were material memory sites in Nora's terms because they evoked the distant German past of the communal engagement of Lutheran worship, on the one hand, and on the other the SED's prized humanist tradition. The commemoration of Dresden and its destruction was both functional, in that the event was commemorated every year and symbolic in

[80] Mauersberger (1968), p. 2.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Böhme-Mehner (2015), pp. 22-25.

that the ritual of this commemoration was used to replay the foundation myth of the wider GDR as having risen from the ruins of the past.

The choir's role was not solely confined to the past, however, as it still had a role to play in the international presentation of East Germany as a centre for musical excellence. Mauersberger continues in his article by stating that the Kreuzchor was also active in the premièring of many new works, both sacred and secular. All the expected Singbewegung names are mentioned (i.e. Distler, Pepping etc.), as well as a number of western artists including Heinz Werner Zimmermann and Benjamin Britten.[84] But in addition to this, Mauersberger is very keen to stress that the Kreuzchor have been instrumental in the realisation of new secular repertoire in the Socialist Realist style by East-German Composers. The choir was a gold medal winner at the ninth national Arbeiterfestspiele, held in Dresden, having premièred the piece *Dresdner Botschaften* by the former Kruzianer Lothar Voigtländer and had also given the first performance of Voigtländer's Brecht setting *Kinderkreuzzug* at the Berliner Festtagen in 1964.[85] These performances were in addition to many other appearances at regional and national festivals, including the annual conference of the Goethe-Gesellschaft in Weimar and the Händel-Festspiele, at which the choir performed many other pieces with texts by East-German writers, including a number by the Culture Minister and poet Johannes Becher.[86] Mauersberger is arguing that institutions such as the Kreuzchor could justify their societal value in an East-German context because they were able to provide performances of new works by secular composers to an international standard. This point also highlights the similarities between the music of the Singbewegung and its historical models and the Socialist Realist music of the GDR because the Kreuzchor's core repertoire, which is based around the former, improves its performance of the latter.

Finally, Mauersberger states that the Kreuzchor were a key element of the GDR's international fame for the quality of its music and that this was principally achieved through their

[84] Mauersberger (1968), pp. 2-3.
[85] Ibid., p. 3.
[86] Ibid.

extensive tours abroad and their recordings of the German canon. This was, of course, particularly the case in relation to Schütz, as well as Bach, and the choir had a special licence which permitted it to record the sacred music of these composers.[87] With the labels Eterna and Grammophon-Archiv-Produktion, the choir had recorded Schütz's *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648) in 1962-63, as well as *Cantiones sacrae* in 1963, the *Lukaspassion* in 1964-65, *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* in 1965-66, *Die sieben Worte am Kreuz* in 1966 and *Symphonie sacrae* in 1966-67. The recording of *Geistliche Chormusik* with Eterna in 1962-63 was the label's first to win a Kritikerpreis in West Germany, beating several West-German recordings to do so.[88] Beyond these prestige recordings, the Kreuzchor was active in making what Mauersberger called 'volkstümliche Produktionen' ('popular productions'), such as *Weihnachten mit dem Dresdner Kreuzchor* (*Christmas with the Dresden Kreuzchor*) (1965) and *Nach grüner Farb mein Herz verlangt* (*My heart longs for the green colour)* (1964).[89] This, in combination with regular television and radio productions of both popular and more canonical repertoire, was meant to provide a picture of the Kreuzchor as being an institution which caters to all tastes and is therefore in line with the egalitarian model for artistic production privileged in the GDR. The role of the Kreuzchor, as described by Mauersberger, goes some way in explaining why a religious institution was accepted and supported by the state.

Rudolf Mauersberger: sacred music in an East-German context

The importance of the Kreuzchor for music of the Singbewegung in the GDR was not, however, limited to the preservation of its historical and early memory sites in a new political context. Mauersberger himself was a prolific composer of new sacred music for the choir in the style of the Singbewegung, much of which was concerned with the memorialisation of the Dresden bombings. In this way, the Kreuzchor, along with a handful of other East-German institutions, carved out a

[87] Mauersberger (1968), p. 3.
[88] Ibid., p. 4.
[89] Ibid.

manner of afterlife for the Singbewegung in the GDR and preserved echoes of the movement by maintaining performances of prewar composers, such as Distler, while conforming to the SED's cultural policy of preserving the memory of Schütz and his contemporaries. In this way, Mauersberger and his choir can be understood as a manner of outlier to the fully fledged continuation of the Singbewegung in the West. At the heart of his music, however, was an air of mourning and victimisation which had not characterised the music of the 1930s. To reference the work of Sprigge, it is here that the communal aspect of Mauersberger's output is to be seen; not necessarily just in an element of the actual performance of it in which the audience are invited to take part, but in the sense that it invites the community to participate in a collective act of mourning.[90] Consequently, the role of cultural memory is hugely important in Mauersberger's postwar output, both in the sense that his music evokes the Protestant past, but also in so much as it engages with the East-German foundation myth of the destruction of Dresden as a defining moment in the birth of the German Communist state. As with the West-German Singbewegung in the postwar period, the concept of cultural memory existed in East Germany in a compound sense. In the latter case, however, the memory of the composers of the 1930s, while still important, is stressed to a lesser extent in favour of events which are more relevant to its own context.

The earliest example of Mauersberger's work concerned with the destruction of Dresden is his 1945 SATB motet *Wie liegt die Stadt so wüst* (*How desolate lies the city*), the title of which clearly indicates the piece's relation to the Allied bombings of February 1945. The piece was written shortly after the bombings, on Good Friday of the same year, using a text drawn from the German-language translation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah by Martin Luther.[91] According to Hans Böhm, speaking for the radio programme *Stimme der DDR* in 1979, the motet was first performed in the above-mentioned concert held in the burnt-out ruins of the Kreuzkirche on 4th August 1945 to an audience of several thousand survivors of the Dresden bombings as part of a memorial service to the victims

[90] Sprigge (2021), p. 44.
[91] Hermann (1994), p. iv.

of the disaster, held as a sign of hope for the future.[92] The text is as follows and is stitched together from a number of different excerpts from most of the five chapters of the Lamentations:

> How does the city sit solitary,
> that was full of people,
> All her gates are desolate,
> The stones of the sanctuary,
> Are poured out in the top of every street.
> From above hath he sent fire into my bones,
> and it prevaileth against them.
>
> Is this the city that men call
> The perfection of beauty,
> The joy of the whole earth?
>
> She remembereth not her last end;
> Therefore she came down wonderfully:
> she had no comforter.
>
> For this our heart is faint;
> For these things our eyes are dim.
> Wherefore dost thou forget us for ever,
> And forsake us for a lifetime?
>
> Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord,
> And we shall be turned;
> Renew our days as of old.
> O Lord, behold my affliction![93]

In her own discussion of the motet, Sprigge suggests that Mauersberger's selection of texts from the Lamentation alters their meaning subtly and 'sidesteps issues of guilt, punishment, blame,

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[92] Böhm (1979), pp. 5-6.

[93] Wie liegt die Stadt so wüst, die voll Volks war. / Alle ihre Tore stehen öde. / Wie liegen die Steine des Heiligtums / vorn auf allen Gassen zerstreut. / Er hat ein Feuer aus der Höhe / in meine Gebeine gesandt und es lassen walten.

Ist das die Stadt, von der man sagt, / sie sei die Allerschönste, der sich / das ganze Land freuet.

Sie hätte nicht gedacht, / daß es ihr zuletzt so gehen würde; / sie ist ja zu greulich heruntergestoßen / und hat dazu niemand, der sie tröstet.

Darum ist unser Herz betrübt / und unsere Augen sind finster geworden: / Warum willst du unser so gar vergessen / und uns lebenslang so gar verlassen!

Bringe uns, Herr, wieder zu dir, / daß wir wieder heimkommen! / Erneue unsre Tage wie vor alters. / Ach Herr, siehe an mein Elend!

Lamentations of Jeremiah, ch. 1-5 (English translation from the *King James Bible*), in Rudolf Mauersberger, 'Wie liegt die Stadt so wüst' (1945), in *Zyklus Dresden*, in Sächische Landesbibliothek –Staats– und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.11302-C-500, pp. 1-6.

culpability, and the justifiability of God's wrath', focusing instead on the pure 'ocular-centric' nature of the destruction caused by the bombings.[94] I would contribute here that the selective choice of text also further adds to the sense that Mauersberger's work is sculpting recent events to fit the sense of victimisation found in so much repertoire associated with the postwar Singbewegung.

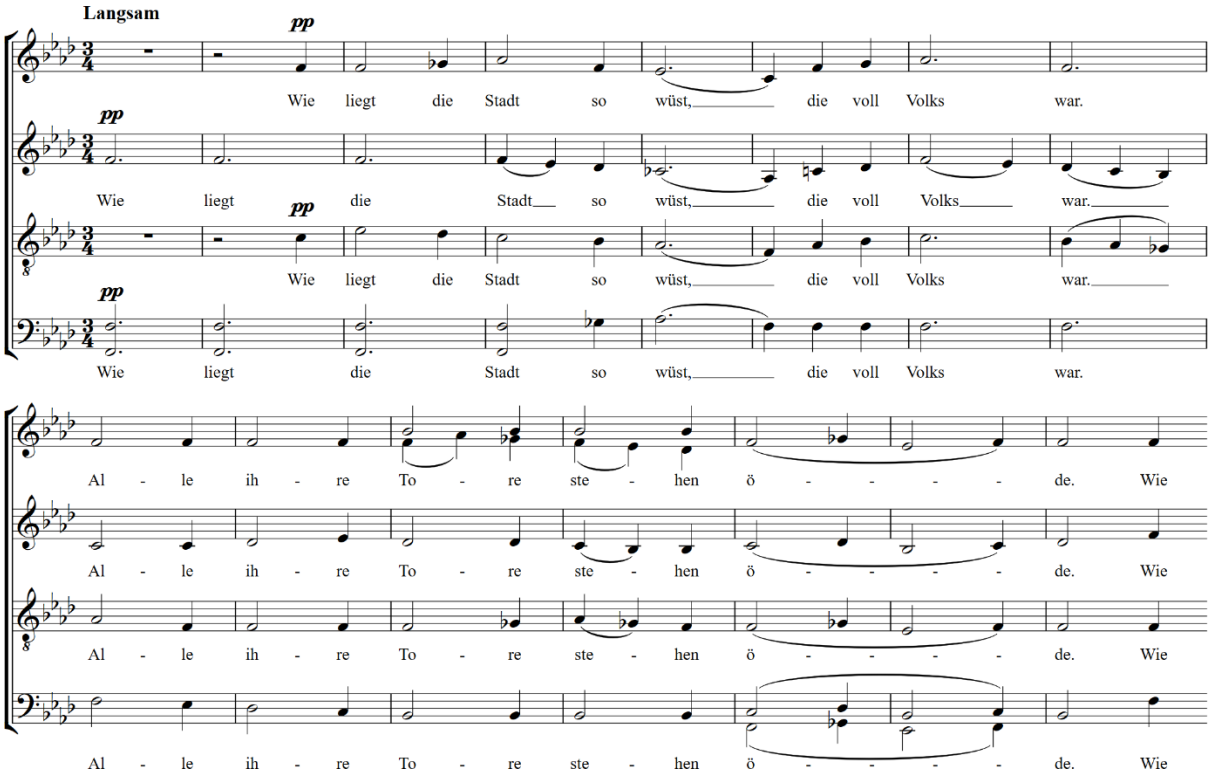
Mauersberger's setting itself is generally in keeping with established principles of the Singbewegung, though it does manifest a somewhat conservative form of them, with quartal harmony being used relatively sparingly and dominant avoidance being used for emphasis and effect, rather than as a fundamental harmonic feature. The piece is divisible into twelve phrases, each of which sees the mood change in accordance with the text, using a variety of different effects, from modulation to texture changes. Overall, the music does not stray particularly far from the home key of F minor, with the main direction of any modulations generally being flatwards. The texture is mostly homophonic, but Mauersberger achieves contrast by splitting the parts, varying the size of sections and creating smaller ensembles from the whole choir. The motet reflects the compositional techniques of the prewar Singbewegung composers but it does not embrace them as fully as Pepping and Distler had. The base structure of this piece also remains governed by functional harmony and is ultimately driven by authentic cadential progressions.

This interplay between more conservative and progressive strands of the Singbewegung is effectively illustrated by Mauersberger's treatment of the dominant triad throughout the piece and the implications of this for the affirmation of the home key centre of F minor. As can be seen from the first two phrases, bb. 1-15 (ex. 2), the dominant accord of C (major or minor) is completely avoided in favour of the subdominant, Bb minor, which appears frequently. Though F minor harmonies are very much present, the stability of this key centre is further undermined by the repeated use of the flattened supertonic Gb, which is first sung by the soprano in b. 3. The tonal stability is further clouded by an Ab minor chord to add emphasis to the word 'wüst' (deserted), with the alto's Cb additionally weakening the presence of the dominant. Mauersberger also adds a little

[94] Sprigge (2021), pp. 40-41.

quartal colour to the progression from bb. 13-15, which could be understood as a perfect cadence into Bb minor, but which is robbed of definition, by the use of four consecutive open fifths in bb. 13-14 (F-Gb-Eb-F) in parallel motion.

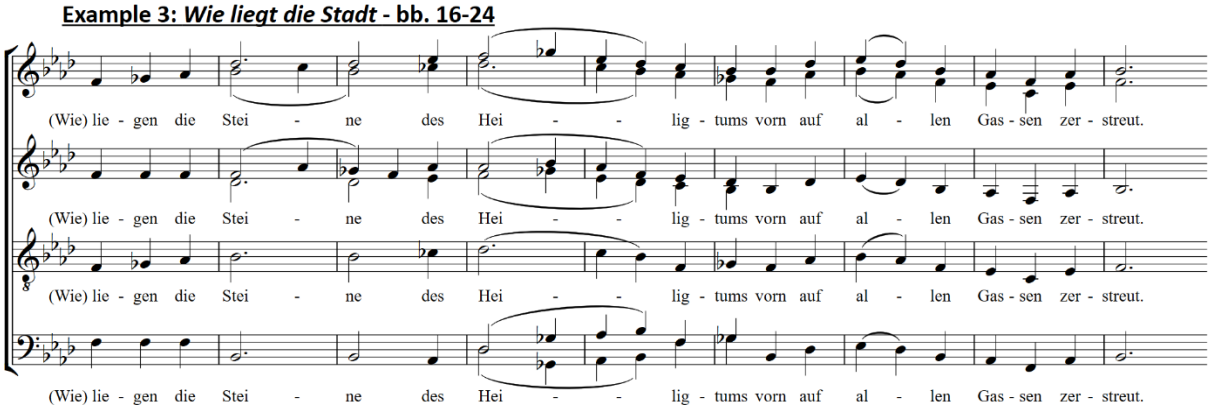
Example 2: *Wie liegt die Stadt* - bb. 1-15



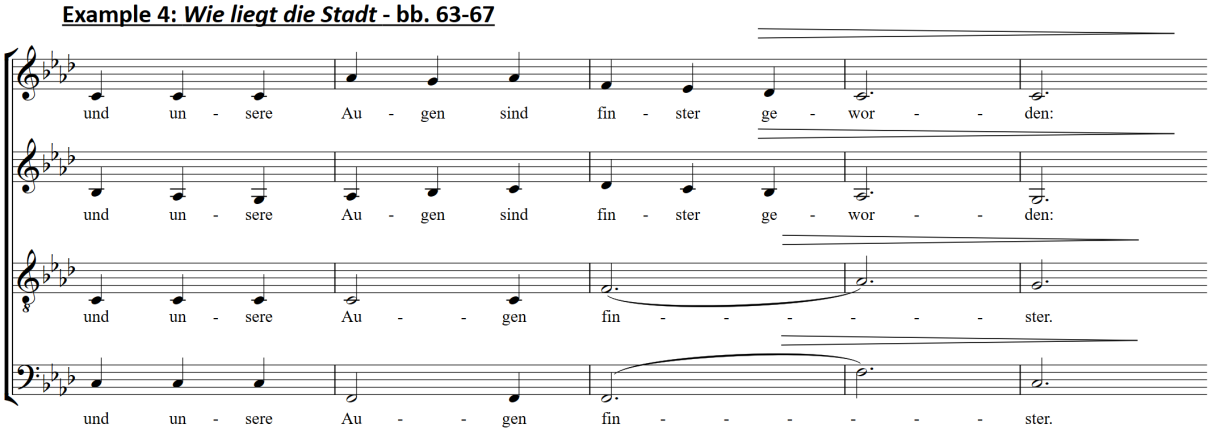
This cadential avoidance is not long-lived, however, and the following section, bb. 16-24 (ex. 3), sees weakened perfect cadences in both Bb minor (bb. 16-17 and 23-24) and Db major (bb. 18-19). All of these use the minor version of their dominant triads and the second Bb minor cadence's bass progression (F-Ab-Bb) and quartal colouring (from the second beat of b. 21) undermine it further. But these are still clearer authentic cadential progressions than have been heard in the first fifteen bars and the Db cadence in bb. 18-19 on the words 'des Heiligtums' (of the Sanctuary) is clearly emphasised by the splitting of the voices into seven parts at this point. The dominant triad of F minor itself only starts to appear from about halfway through the piece in b. 62 at which point it starts a progression leading to an imperfect cadence in F minor in bb. 66-67 (ex. 4). Even here, it is only a C open fifth which is introduced, and it is then not until the subsequent section, from bb. 68-85, that a full C triad is used. This appears in b. 70 in the minor mode, meaning that its full authentic

cadential potential is still not employed fully. The gradual introduction of the dominant throughout the piece culminates at the end with the use of two strongly-affirmed perfect cadences in F minor from bb. 116-126 (ex. 5), for both of which Mauersberger uses the dominant major and a clear V-I bass progression.

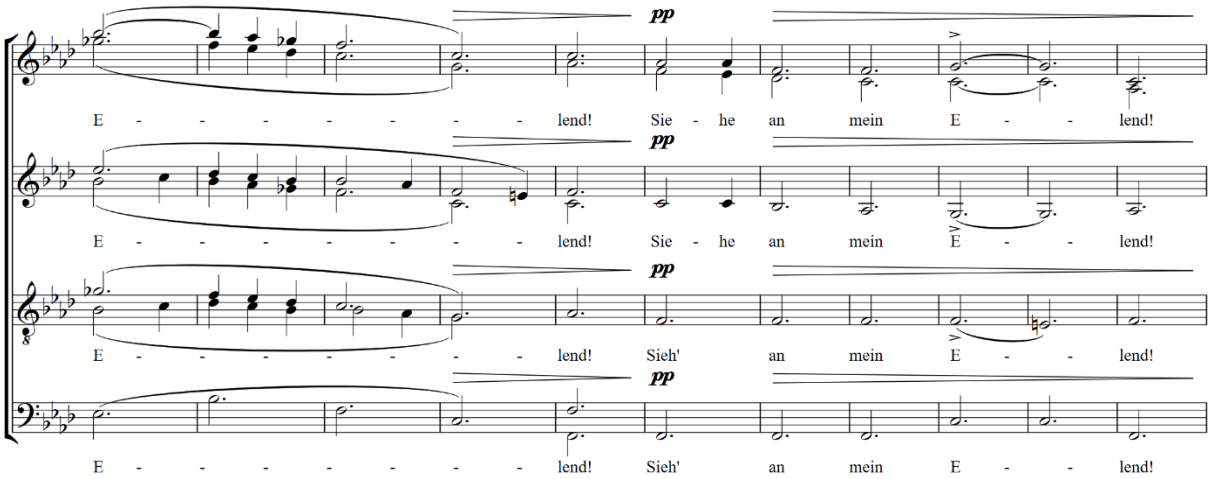
Example 3: *Wie liegt die Stadt* - bb. 16-24



Example 4: *Wie liegt die Stadt* - bb. 63-67



Example 5: *Wie liegt die Stadt* - bb. 116-126



In the context of this piece, characteristic elements of the Singbewegung such as quartal and non-functional tonal harmony are therefore being used colouristically as a means of delaying and

emphasising the eventual cadential release at the conclusion. The role of cultural memory in the motet is multi-layered in the sense that it, like the prewar Singbewegung, draws on the German Protestant tradition through the use of Luther's translation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. But in addition to this, Mauersberger is contributing to the creation of a new cultural memory site by memorialising the destruction of Dresden, which characterises his interpretation of the tradition of the Singbewegung as distinct from the enthusiasm of the composers of the early 1930s. Alongside this, his chosen topic and harmonic language are in line with many of what would become the tenets of East-German Socialist Realism.

The interrelation between the memorialisation of the Protestant past, the new style of the GDR and the music of the Singbewegung in Mauersberger's work is even clearer in one of his most significant works of the postwar period, the *Dresdner Requiem nach Worten der Bibel und Gesangbuches*. The piece originally dates from 1947-48, but was completed in revised form in 1961 and Mauersberger described it as 'an Evangelical requiem, the like of which the Protestant Church does not possess', underlining the importance he placed on the work within his own output.[95] The *Requiem* is a large-scale work scored for solo voices, three choirs (Hauptchor, Altarchor, Fernchor), congregation, brass (three trumpets, three trombones and a tuba), percussion (timpani, bass and snare drums, tamtam, cymbals, xylophone, bells und glockenspiel), double bass, celesta and organ. The main skeleton of the text is drawn directly from the Evangelical Mass for the Dead, itself in accordance with the Catholic Requiem Mass; (I) Introitus, (II) Kyrie, (III) Vergänglichkeit, Tod und Dies Irae mit Trost durch das Evangelium, (IV) Sanctus, (V) Agnus Dei. The Dies Irae is expanded with elements from the Old and New Testaments in Luther's translation, while the other movements are from the *katholisches Gebetbuch aus Böhmen*. These are interspersed with Mauersberger's own selections of chorale texts and melodies from the Evangelical Hymnal. He had originally intended to use modern poetry by

[95] … 'eine evangelische Totenmesse […], wie sie die protestantische Kirche noch nicht besitzt', Hermann (1994), p. iv.

Reinhold Schneiders, Werner Bergengruens, Rudolf Alexander Schröders and Jochen Kleppers, but decided against this.[96]

The original 1948 version of the *Requiem* was conceived as a mainly *a cappella* work under the title *Ein Liturgisches Requiem* and the piece was performed in this form until about 1958 when Mauersberger began to revise it to add the brass and percussion.[97] As Hermann shows in the preface to his critical edition from 1994, early reviews of the piece in 1948 were very positive, with Gottfried Schmiedel from the *Sächsischen Tageblatt* praising the breadth of stylistic variety offered in a piece. It could, he claimed, be heard as nothing other than a Requiem to the destruction of Dresden, and strode across the divide between a 'pure artwork' and the liturgy.[98] An anonymous author writing in the *Sächsische Zeitung* claims that the suffering of recent years had inspired Mauersberger to create a work which would set the tone for a new direction in the development of new Protestant sacred music.[99] The 1948 première took place in the Dresdner Martinskirche, as the Kreuzkirche was already under reconstruction under Fritz Steudtner, and following this it was soon performed in Freital and Meißen. The work then received state permission in 1950 to be performed annually in Dresden on 13th February as an official work dedicated to the victims of the bombing of Dresden, alongside the Second World War dead more generally.[100] According to Hans Böhm, the *Requiem* was the work officially chosen to be performed in the newly rebuilt Kreuzkirche on the 1955 memorial day, with afternoon and evening services each drawing a 10,000-strong congregation.[101]

Given its comparative scale, it is perhaps not surprising that the *Dresdner Requiem* is much more ambitious than *Wie liegt die Stadt* on a musical level and, as Schmiedel claimed, it does encompass a broad range of styles, from simple diatonic chorale writing to moments of extreme dissonance and tonal ambiguity. The use of styles is often mapped onto different types of text and,

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[96] Hermann (1994), p. iv.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., pp. iv-v.
[99] Ibid., p. v.
[100] Hermann (1994), p. v.
[101] Böhm (1979), p. 10.

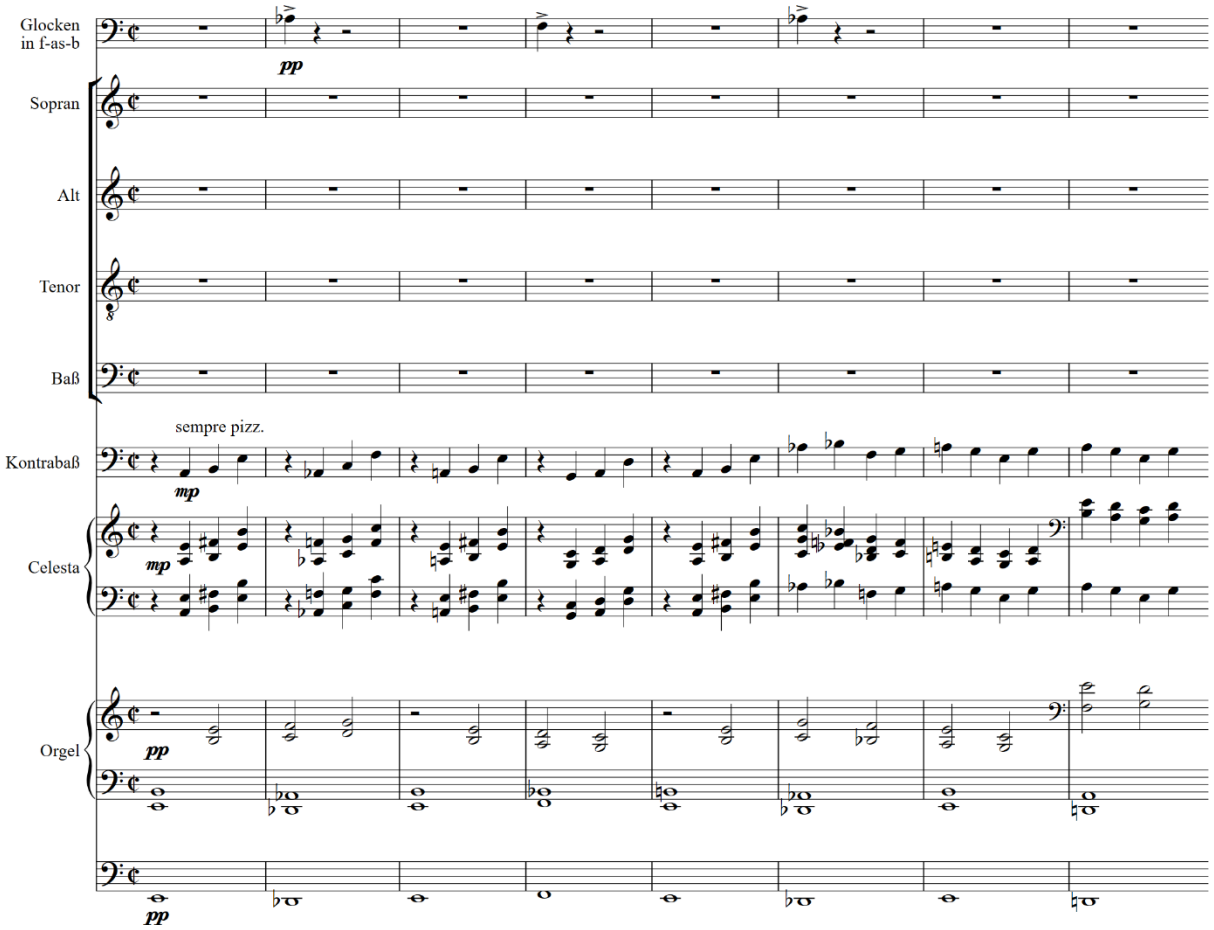
as such, the more adventurous moments tend to be found in the setting of the Requiem Mass itself (and especially in the Dies Irae), while the chorale texts are treated in a much more 'textbook' manner. Sprigge sees use of different styles as a direct reference to Baroque aesthetics contemporary to Schütz, in that the treatment of Hell and destruction in the Dies Irae is literally 'gruesome'.[102] In line with this, Skinnemoen Ottersen understands the use of the congregational chorale sections later in the piece as a means of turning the work into a participatory one in line with the Lutheran tradition.[103] This is an overall approach which adds to the multi-layered nature of the work as one mapped on to Dresden and its destruction as a memory site. This is a modern piece in the style of the Singbewegung, more fundamentally so than *Wie liegt die Stadt*. But it is one which has been produced not only as a result of the Lutheran tradition, but also via the secular history of Germany through its affinity with that culture's 'humanist tradition', as touted by the East-German cultural authorities and through its direct association with the Dresden bombings.

This layering of different temporalities is clear in the *Requiem* from the beginning of the Introitus, which is divided into the four subsections of 'Vorspiel', 'Antiphon', 'Psalm' and 'Antiphon'. The Vorspiel sets the opening text of the Latin Requiem Mass 'Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis', but this is then repeated in German to begin the Antiphon ('Herr, gib ihnen die ewige Ruhe, und das ewige Licht leuchte ihnen').[104] This contrast creates a sense that the piece stretches back into the distant past to a time before the Reformation, while also situating it within both the historical and modern context of the vernacular liturgy. This effect is further achieved between the subsections of the Introitus via Mauersberger's use of harmonic language. In the Vorspiel, this is very much in keeping with Singbewegung ideals of non-functional harmony through the use of quartal writing and cadential evasion. As can be seen from the opening bars (ex. 6), the organ, celesta and double bass play a series of chords primarily based around parallel fifths starting on E, while the bells chime intermittently evoking the liturgical context of the piece. The

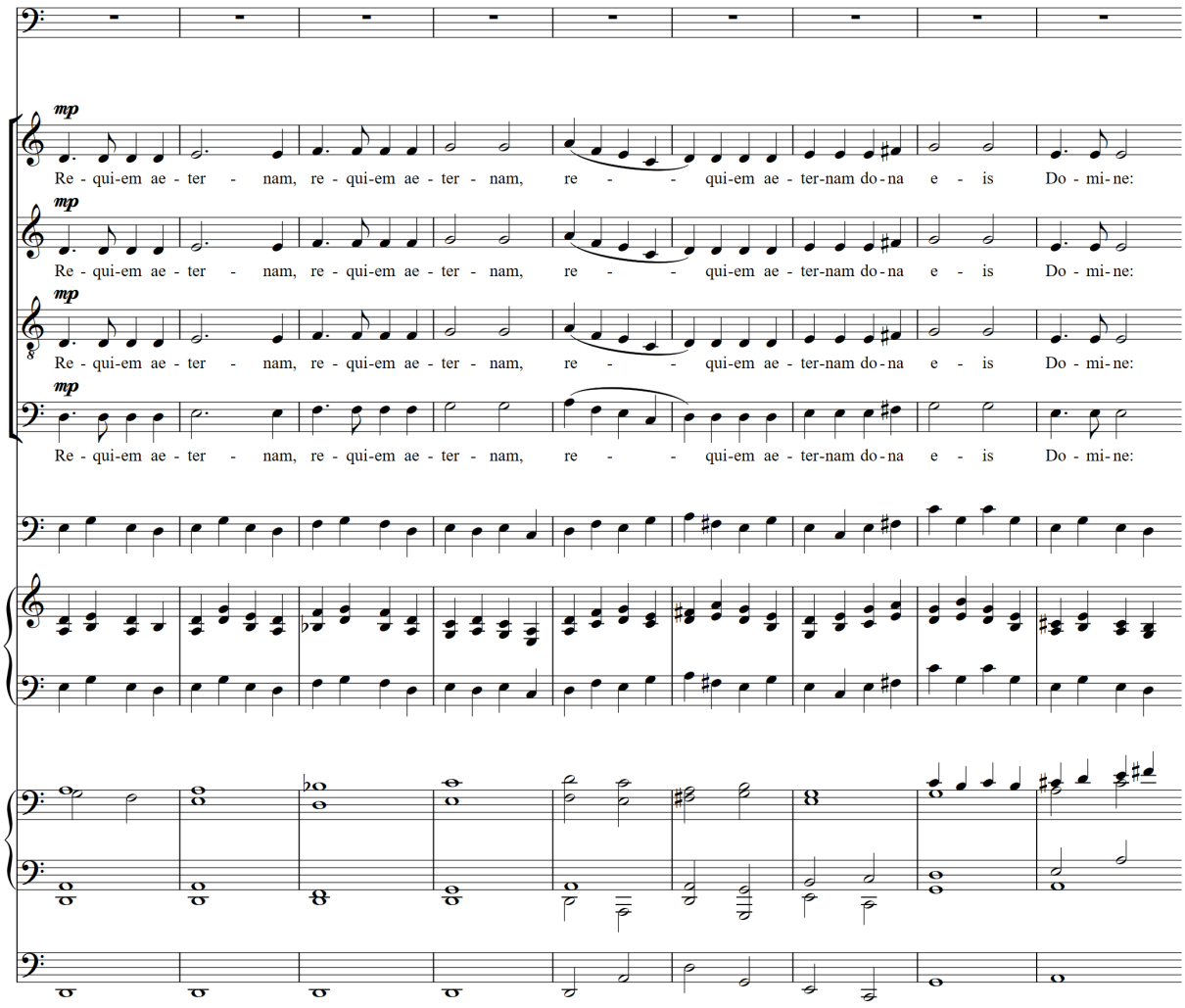
[102] Sprigge (2021), pp. 149-152.
[103] Skinnemoen Ottersen (2020), para 6.1.
[104] Mauersberger (1994), pp. 1-6.

Altarchor then enter in b. 17 in unison (ex. 7) and remain within the five-note span of D-E-F-G-A (with the occasional use of F# in bb. 23 and 30) for the entirety of the Vorspiel. In this sense, Mauersberger uses quartal and quasi-pentatonic language, in combination with the Latin text and the effect of the bells, to underline the work's relationship to the past and its function as a Requiem.

Example 6: *Dresdner Requiem* - Introitus bb. 1-8



Example 7: *Dresdner Requiem* - Introitus bb. 17-25

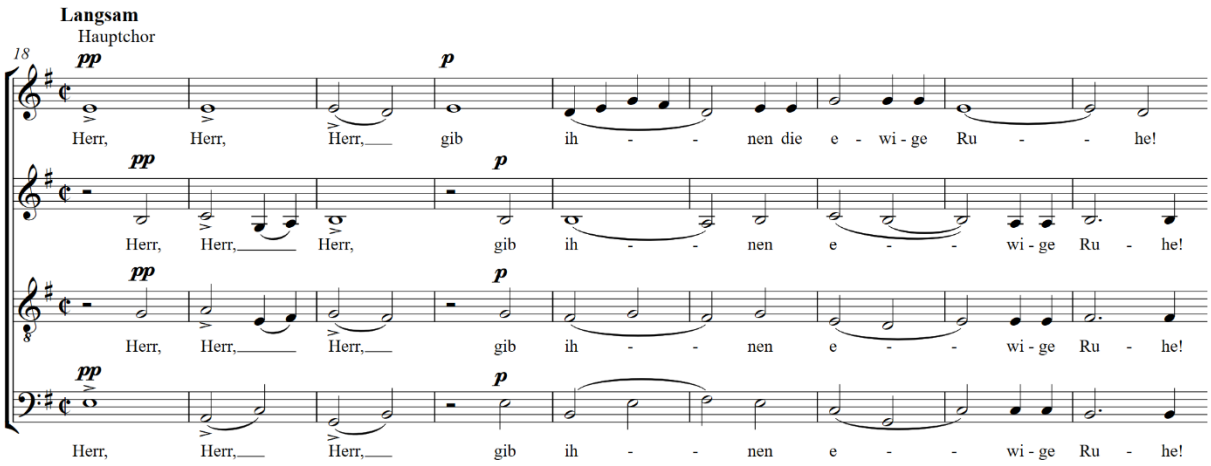


The following Antiphon contrasts with the harmonic language of the Vorspiel as the angularity of the latter's quartal writing is swapped in favour of a softer emphasis on third-based chords, as can be seen from the first nine bars (ex. 8). This material becomes an important harmonic tic which repeats in various forms at multiple points throughout, often with a similar text ('Herr, gib ihnen die ewige Ruge!'). The antiphonal exchange here is between the Hauptchor and the Fernchor, which Mauersberger stated was supposed to represent the dialogue between the worlds of the living and the dead.[105] This again brings another element of temporality to the work. The idea of a dialogue between the living and the dead is physically represented by the placing of the choirs in different parts of the church, and I would suggest acts as a way for the congregation (who will later

[105] Hermann (1994), p. vi.

be asked to sing with the Hauptchor) to process its own grief in relation to the recent dead of the Dresden bombings and the War more generally. With reference to Varwig, Sprigge notes that this use of interplay the Hauptchor and the Fernchor also has memorial associations that hark back to Schütz and the time of the Thirty Years' War. The 'Lutheran concept of death' was transformed by that conflict, which led composers to experiment with ideas of heavenly music through antiphonal exchanges between choirs, creating this sense of dialogue between the living and the dead.[106] Referencing Michael Praetorius's 1613 treatise *Urania*, Skinnemoen Ottersen claims that the later use of the antiphonal texture in the Sanctus of the *Requiem* further echoes Baroque tropes in depicting the music of heaven.[107] In this way, the *Dresdner Requiem* taps into established tropes of the Singbewegung, through its grounding in the Protestant liturgy of the German language, as well as through its harmonic grounding in the recent musical language of the Church. In one sense, it uses these as a tool of mourning, which marks it out as being different in character to the work of the prewar period. But equally, the interplay between the Baroque past is still to be seen, as it was before the war, only now with a different accent.

Example 8: *Dresdner Requiem* - Introitus bb. 39-47



The subject of the *Requiem* becomes clearest in its third section, 'Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Dies irae', which is by far the longest and contains Mauersberger's most adventurous writing. The text is a patchwork of a variety of excerpts from Luther's translation of the Bible, including selections from

[106] Sprigge (2021), p. 149.
[107] Skinnemoen Ottersen (2020), paras 5.2-5.3.

St John's Gospel, the Lamentations of Jeremiah (from which *Wie liegt die Stadt* was also drawn) and the Books of Job, Joel and Ezekiel, interspersed by five chorale settings. The three types of text—those from the Old Testament, those from the Gospel and the chorales—are divided between the choirs, with the Altarchor playing the role of Jesus declaiming the Gospel, the Fernchor singing three of the five chorale settings and the Hauptchor taking the Old Testament texts, which deal most explicitly with the theme of death and the destruction of Dresden. The section is structured as follows:

> **Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Dies irae**, und Trost durch das Evangelium
>
> Vergänglichkeit
> 8. Vergänglichkeit (Hauptchor) – The Wisdom of Solomon 2, 1.4: Job 7, 9-11; 9, 21.
> 9. Evangelium (Altarchor) – John 16,33.
> 10. Choral (Fernchor) – *Christus, der ist mein Leben* (EG 516, 3) – Text and melody in Melchior Vulpius 1609.
>
> Tod
> 11. Tod (Hauptchor) – Job 21, 22-23.25-25.
> 12. Evangelium (Altarchor) – John 11,25.
> 13. Choral (Fernchor) – *Machs mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt* (EG 525, 2) – Text: J. H. Schein 1628, Melody: Gesius 1605, Schein 1628.
>
> Dies irae
> 14. Dies irae I (Hauptchor) – Job 9,10.12.23; Joel 2,6.18; Job 9, 6.
> 15. Choral (Hauptchor) – *Tag des Zorns, o Tag voll Grauen* (strophe 5 and 17) – Text: C. K. J. v.Bunsen from a text by Th. v.Celano, melody: anonymous.
> 16. Evangelium (Altarchor) – John 14,27.
> 17. Dies irae II (Hauptchor) – Ezek. 37, 1-3.
> 18. Evangelium (Altarchor) – Rev. 1, 17-18.
> 19. Choral (Deutsches „Dies irae") (Hauptchor) – EG 149. Text: B. Ringwaldt (1582) 1586, from the Latin *Die irae* of Th. v.Celano and from a German Lied (ca. 1565), Melody: 15. cent./Wittenberg 1529.
> 20. Dies irae III (Hauptchor) – Lam. Jer. 3,3; Job 30, 15; Lam. Jer 4. 11; Psalm 66,12; 18,8-9 Rev, 11,8; 6,8; 8,7.13; Lam. Jer. 2,21.13.8-9;1,11;1 Macc. 2,7; Sirach 51,10-11.
> 21. Evangelium (Altarchor) – Rev. 21,4-5.
> 22. Chorale (Fernchor) – *Wohlauf, wohlan, zum letzten Gang*, str. 2 – Text: C. F. H. Sachse, Melody: 16. cent., Frankfurt a.M. 1589.[108]

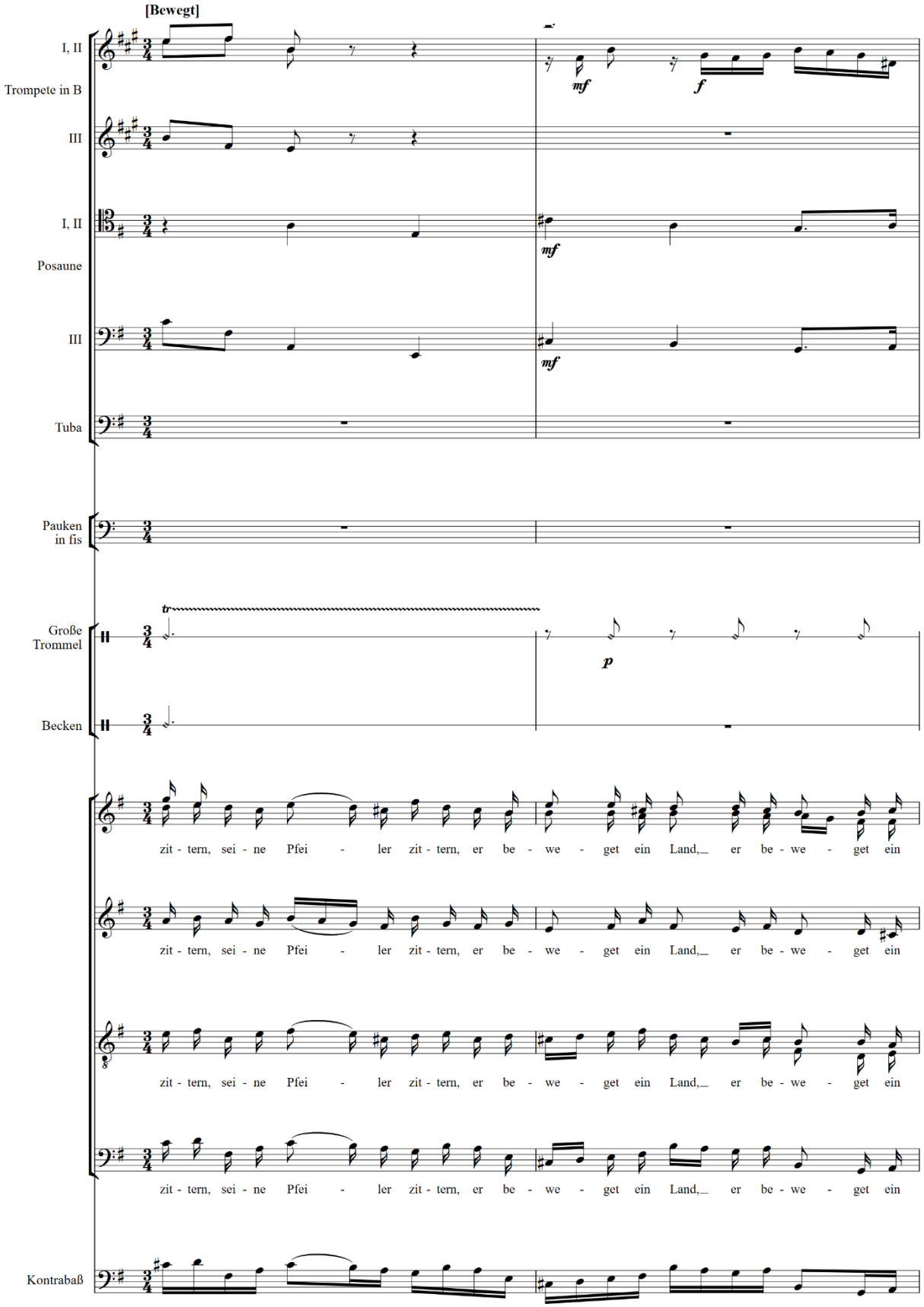
Throughout 'Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Dies Irae', Mauersberger uses the various styles of the piece as a whole in direct contrast with one another. The chorale settings and their conventional tonal language lead seamlessly between the tonally fluid Hauptchor sections, while the setting of the words of the Gospel lie between the two.

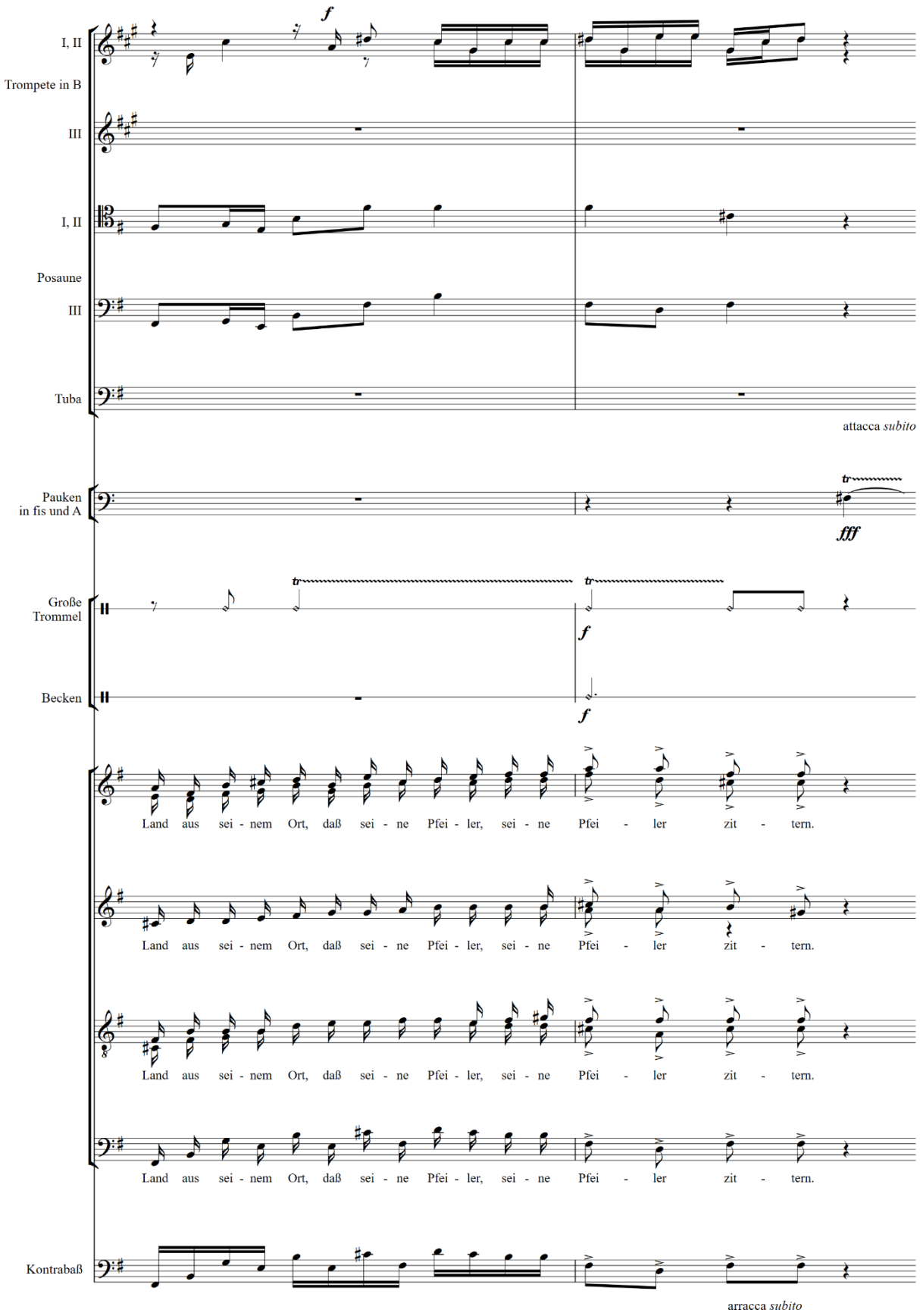
[108] Mauersberger (1994), pp. xv-xvii.

This contrast is seen very clearly in the transition between subsections 14 (Dies irae I) and 15 (Choral 'Und ein Buch wird sich entfalten'). From b. 135, Mauersberger's setting of the text 'Die Völker werden sich vor ihm entsetzen' etc., begins with a *fortissimo* tutti section with the full brass in which the nominal key signature switches from G minor to C major (b. 136), Eb major (b. 141), F major (b. 145) and E minor (b. 147). The actual tonal centre of the fast-paced semiquaver-dominated music is, however, far from these signatures and the angular individual vocal parts stack up into either quartal harmonies or those based around extended 7th and 9th chords (ex. 9), which reflect the violent nature of the text.[109] Mauersberger uses the momentum of this section, which ends on an F#-C#-G# quartal chord, as a means of providing cadential function for the *attacca subito* transition into the subsequent chorale, the clear B minor functional harmony of which is emphasised by its contrast to the tonally ambiguous music which preceded it (ex. 10). The juxtaposition of this more jagged style with the conservative writing of the chorales and the relative diatonicism of the Gospel contrasts the terror of the destruction of Jerusalem (which stands in for Dresden) with music which is approachable from the perspective of a congregation and therefore reinforces the functional nature of the *Requiem* as an object of worship. This approach is actually quite similar to that of Ernst Hermann Meyer in the *Mansfelder Oratorium*, in which similarly negative moments are depicted in a more avant-garde style. It therefore underlines the commonality between postwar Singbewegung figures such as Mauersberger and the proponents of Socialist Realism in East Germany.

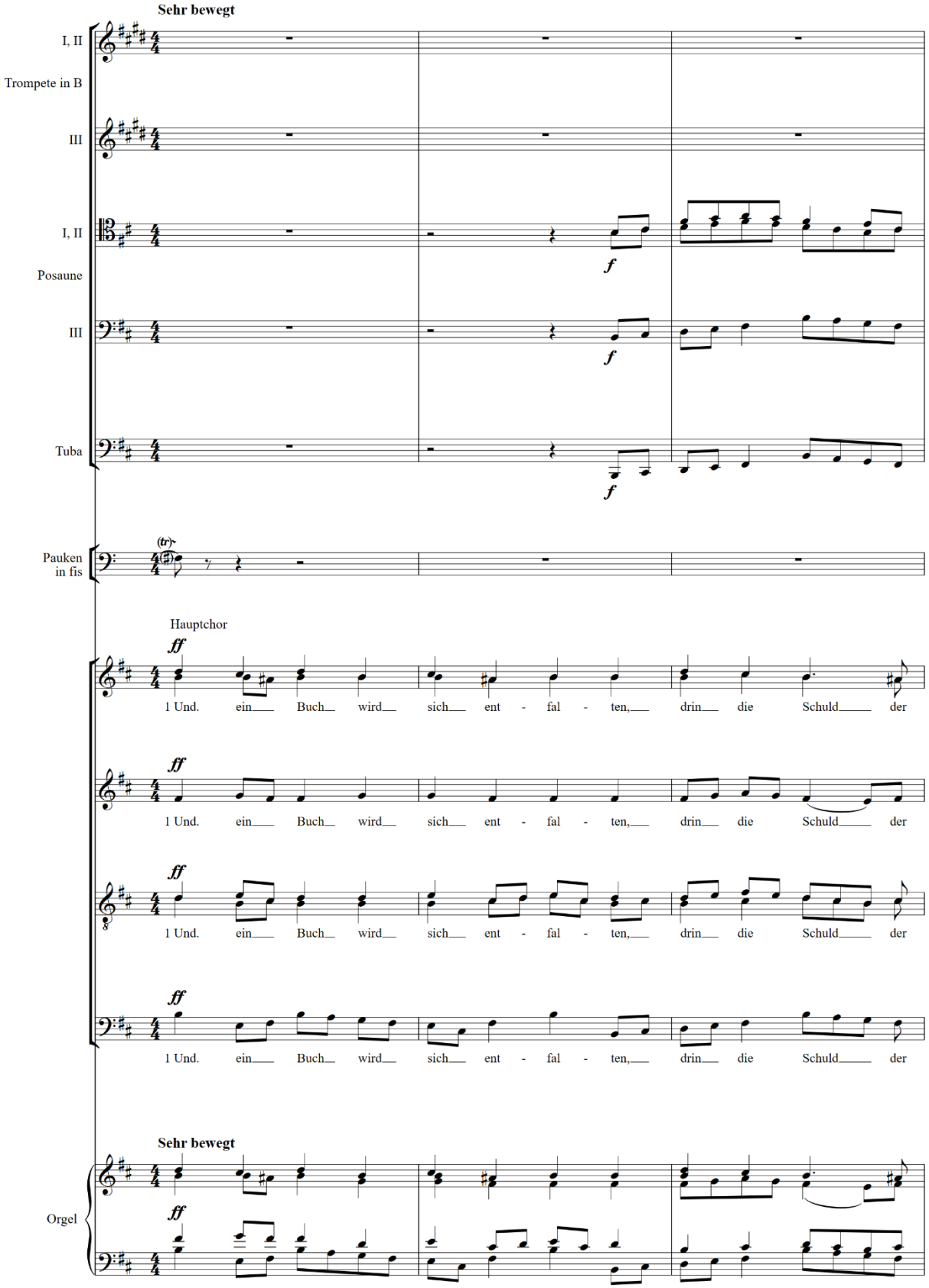
[109] 'Die Völker werden sich vor ihm entsetzen. Alle Angesichter werden bleich, vor ihm erzittert das Land und bebt der Himmel, Sonne und Mond werden finster, und die Sterne verhalten ihren Schein. Er beweget ein Land aus seinem Ort, daß seine Pfeiler zittern.' ('He expands another people and then he disperses them. The nations fear and tremble before him. All their countenances became pale. Before him trembled the earth, the heavens shook. Sun and moon were darkened and the starlight no longer could be seen. He shook the earth out of its place, and its pillars trembled.') in Mauersberger (1994), p. xv.

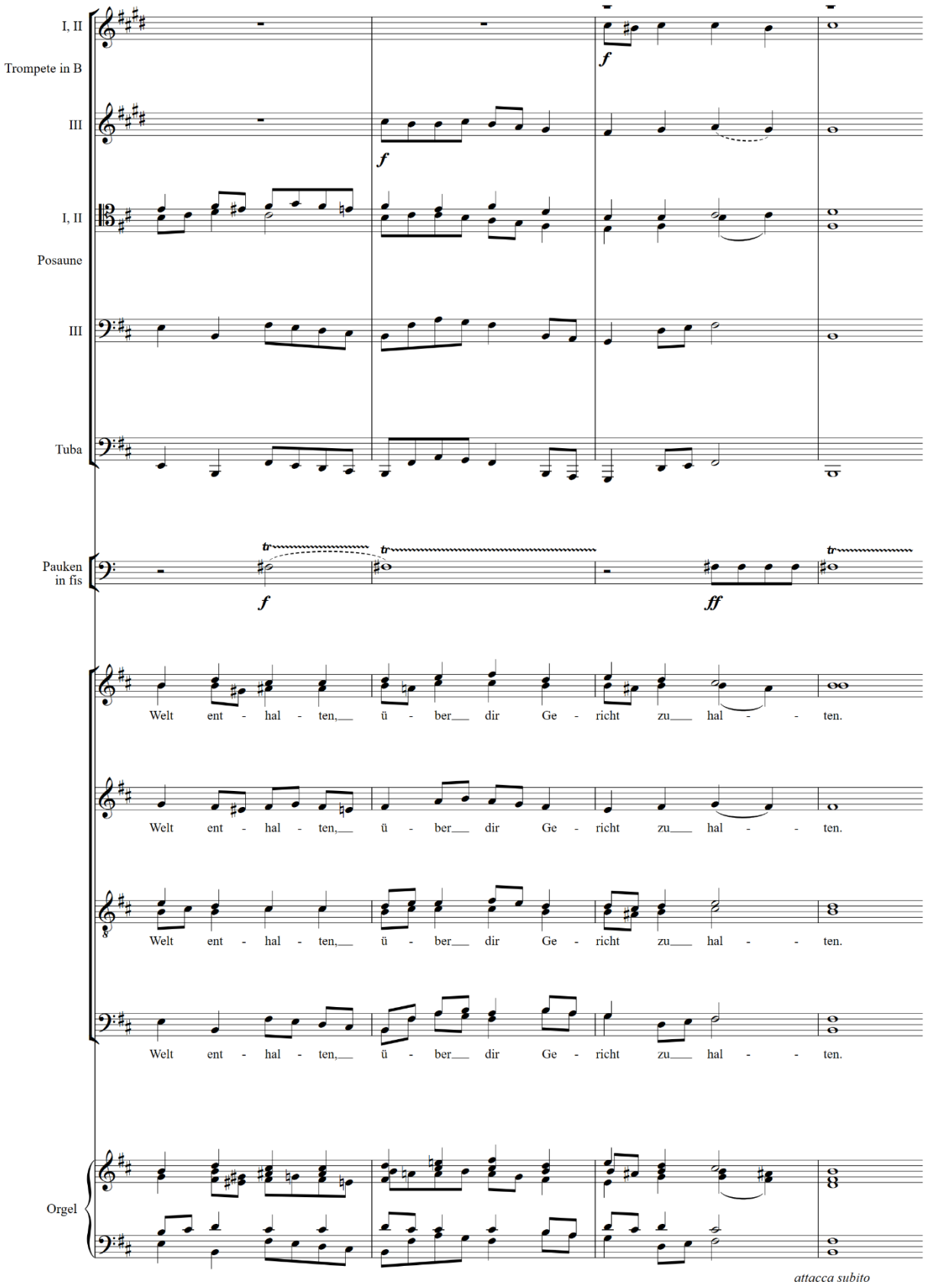
Example 9: *Dresdner Requiem* - Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Dies irae - bb. 148-151




I, II
Trompete in B
III
I, II
Posaune
III
Tuba
attacca subito
Pauken
in fis und A
Große
Trommel
Becken
Land aus sei - nem Ort, daß sei - ne Pfei - ler, sei - ne Pfei - ler zit - tern.
Land aus sei - nem Ort, daß sei - ne Pfei - ler, sei - ne Pfei - ler zit - tern.
Land aus sei - nem Ort, daß sei - ne Pfei - ler, sei - ne Pfei - ler zit - tern.
Land aus sei - nem Ort, daß sei - ne Pfei - ler, sei - ne Pfei - ler zit - tern.
Kontrabaß
arracca subito

Example 10: *Dresdner Requiem* - Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Dies irae - bb. 152-158

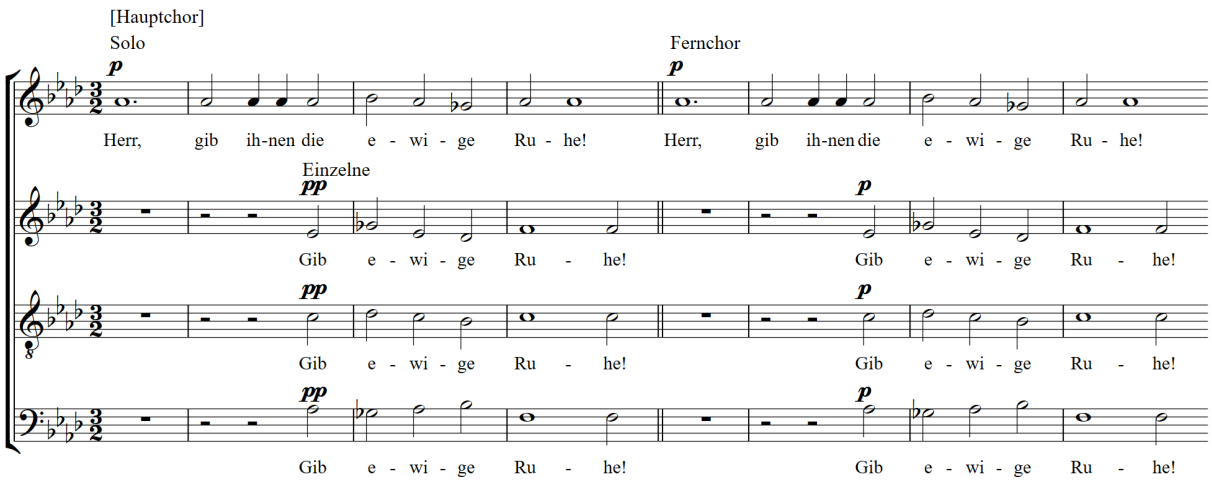




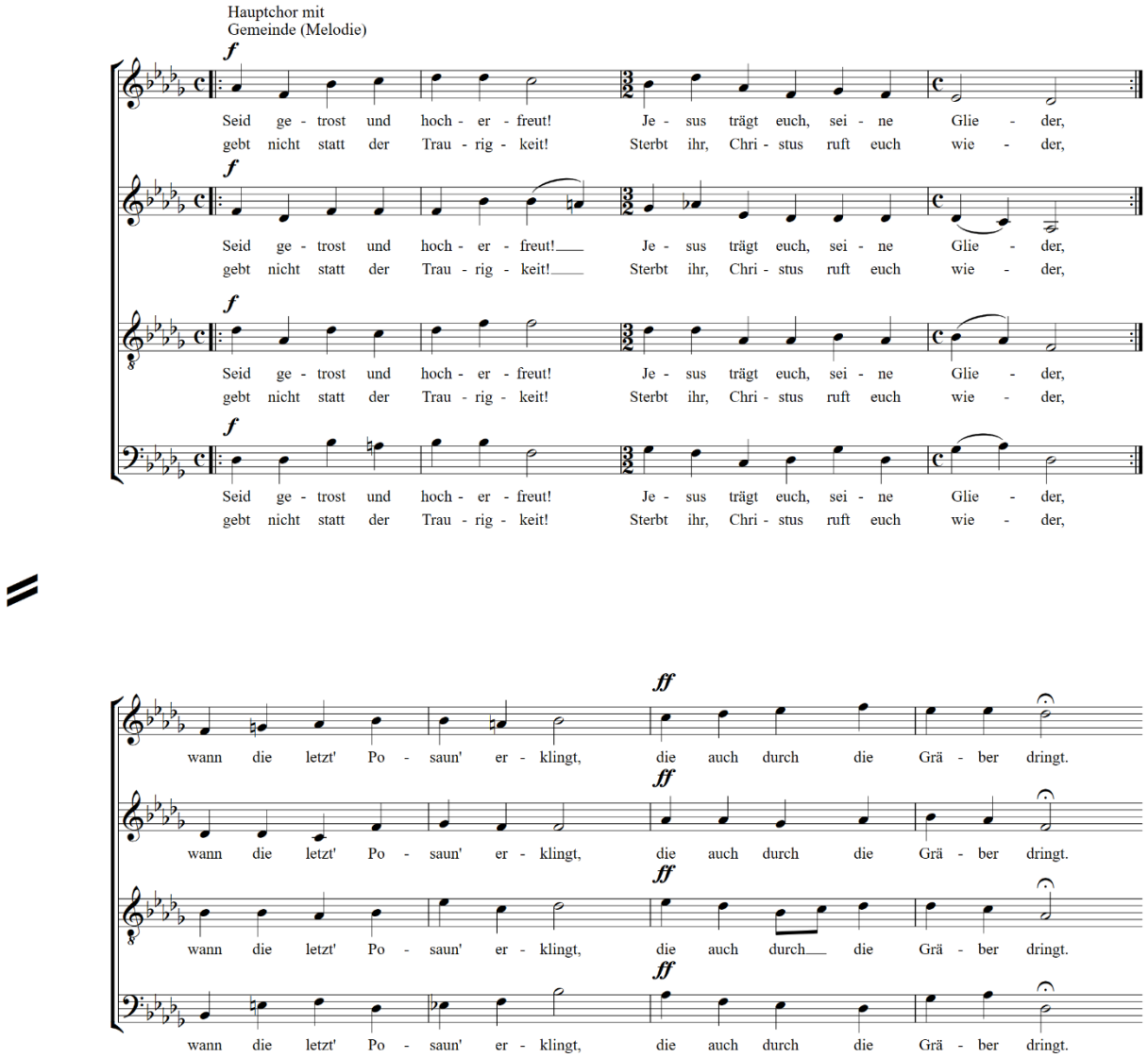
Despite the dissonance of the Dies irae, the overall mood of the *Dresdner Requiem* is clearly intended to be cathartic, as can be seen from the final section, the Agnus Dei. This is split into five

sections: the customary three iterations of the Agnus Dei text (in German), a closing prayer (De profundis/Aus der Tiefe), a reprise of the 'Gib ihnen die ewige Ruhe' material (in an altered version) from the Introitus, a chorale and a final chorus ('Laß sie ruhen in Frieden! Amen'). The reprise of the opening German-language Requiem texts creates a sense of cyclicality as the piece as a whole concludes with an evocation of its beginning, while enclosing the horror of the Dies irae within a wider exhortation for peace for the dead. The repeat of the antiphonal exchange between the Hauptchor and Fernchor again emphasises a mood of reconciliation between the worlds of the living and the dead. Additionally, the use of a soprano soloist in the Hauptchor on the exchange of the melodic segment on 'Herr, gib ihnen die ewige Ruhe!' acts as a subjective surrogate for each member of the congregation in coping with their own individual grief (ex. 11). Following this, the piece then opens itself out to the congregation for the final chorale 'Seid getrost und hocherfreut!' ('Be comforted and rejoice!'), the melody of which they are invited to sing with the sopranos (ex. 12). The work then concludes with the choirs' closing section 'Laß sie ruhen in Frieden' ('Let them rest in peace'). The Hauptchor picks up the previous chorale's key of Db major with a varied version of the 'Gib ihnen die ewige Ruhe' material, ending on a D major triad in b. 149 with the word 'Frieden'. This is echoed by the Alterchor and Fernchor together, with a plagal cadence in D minor as the clergy exit, followed by the final Amen from the Hauptchor in bb. 154-157, which concludes on a plagal cadence in E (ex. 13).

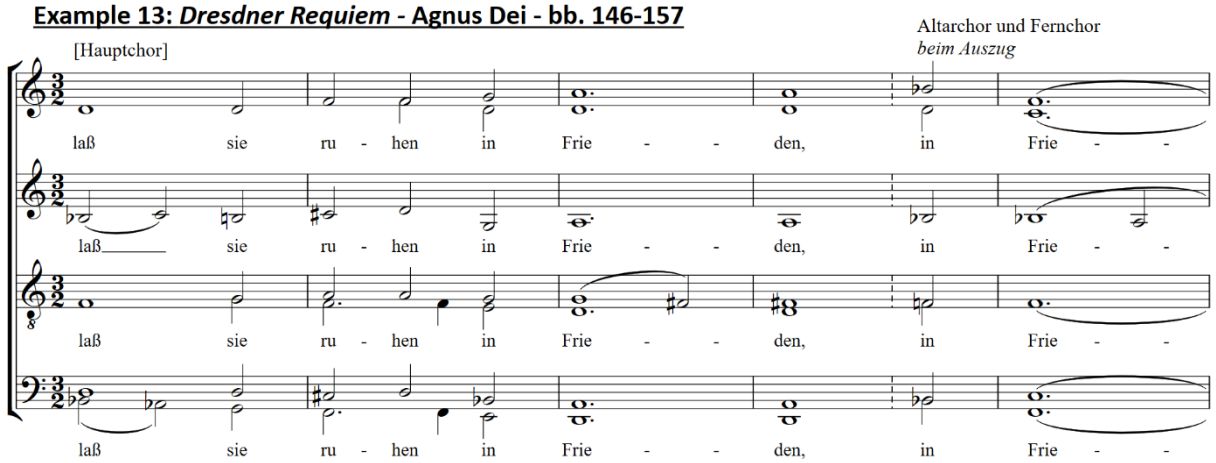
Example 11: *Dresdner Requiem* - Agnus Dei - bb. 78-85

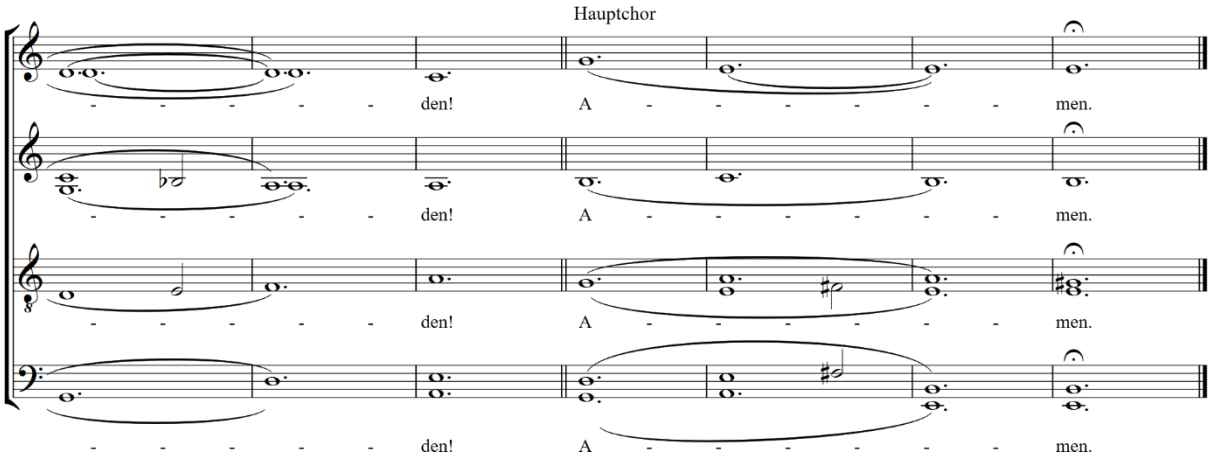


Example 12: *Dresdner Requiem* - Agnus Dei - bb. 132-139



Example 13: *Dresdner Requiem* - Agnus Dei - bb. 146-157





Conclusion

The *Dresdner Requiem* is a significant work in the style of the Singbewegung which exhibits many of its major hallmarks on a scale which the movement had, in fact, seldom achieved in the prewar period. Further than this, it is a piece which manages to bridge the divide between some of the secular demands of East-German Socialist Realism, as defined by Ernst Hermann Meyer, and the some of the ideology of the Singbewegung. In addition to receiving official permission for regular performance to commemorate the bombing of Dresden, a recording of the work was commissioned by the state and it gained a degree of international fame as an East-German work which memorialised the horrors of the Second World War. In the mid-1960s there were even plans to have a performance exchange with Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, whereby the *Dresdner Requiem* would be performed by the Kreuzchor in Coventry Cathedral and Britten would conduct his composition in the Kreuzkirche.[110] My intention here is not to claim that the *Requiem* is a wholly Socialist Realist work, for the criteria set out by Zhdanov, Meyer and many others clearly are not intended to apply to religious works. For example, the destruction of Dresden is presented in a mostly abstract manner in the selection of Mauersberger's postwar output discussed here, using non-specific liturgical texts as it does. Additionally, though the *Requiem* is oriented towards the congregation and expects them to engage with it, even as performers, it seems a stretch to say that

[110] This was unfortunately not possible due to complications with the arrangement of passports, a fact by which Mauersberger was severely frustrated. Rudolf Mauersberger, 'Aktennotiz' (7/3/1967), in Hans Böhm Archiv, Böhm 17.

it would have been understood by the secular proponents of Socialist Realism in East Germany as having been meant for working people. Nor is it wholly a work in strict keeping with the Gebrauchsmusik ideology of the prewar Singbewegung, given that it is clearly a work written for a highly-skilled ensemble.

Mauersberger's harmonic language and the form of works such as the *Dresdner Requiem* demonstrate, however, a clear overlap with composers such as Meyer, and this perhaps goes some way in explaining why such repertoire was allowed to be performed with state approval, despite its content. Further, as has been shown, the musical infrastructure and history of the Evangelical Church had an important role to play in the furtherance of East Germany's portrayal of itself at both a domestic and international level as the true inheritor of the 'humanist tradition' of German culture, as Meyer put it. Institutions such as the Kreuzchor, in addition to the Thomanerchor and a handful of conservatoires and universities, were uniquely able to provide high-quality recordings and performances of the work of canonical composers such as Schütz and Bach. At the same time, the musical training they provided marked them out as additionally valuable to the SED, and Gerhard Kappner's contribution to *Kirchenmusik Heute* demonstrates that prominent voices from within the Evangelical Church were keen to promote a model for the education of East-German musicians which was in line with the Socialism of the GDR and which would produce a new generation of sacred musicians who could actively contribute to public as well as religious life.

It can therefore be seen that the memory of the Singbewegung splintered into different fragments in the postwar period, each of which developed a different character related to the geographical and political landscape in which it found itself. While the significantly more widespread West-German Evangelicals had to contend with troubling questions regarding the similarity between their own movement and National Socialism, as other chapters show in greater detail, the broader political narrative of victimhood at the hands of the Nazis in East Germany meant this was not an issue for its small group of Evangelical musicians to the same extent. But this narrative did inform the nature of the new Protestant music created behind the Iron Curtain, imbuing it with an elegiac

tone, tied in as it was with the wider trope of having overcome the suffering and destruction of the War, emerging from the ruins of the recent past. It is telling that one of the most representative works of this afterlife of the Singbewegung is a Requiem, rather than some of the more tub-thumping topics favoured by composers such as Bornefeld in the West. The scant Evangelical music of East Germany is an example of another permutation of the Singbewegung's relationship with the concept of cultural memory. Heinrich Schütz and the distant German past, the humanist tradition, remained central, perhaps more so than for the West-German strand, but the role of Distler and his death are less important, while the destruction of Dresden, and a number of other memory sites throughout the traditional homeland of German Protestantism come to the fore. Rather than quashing it, the Socialist Realism of a secular Communist state actually provided a stylistic outlet for and echo of the Singbewegung which protected it from the criticism it came under in the West.

Chapter 4
The Catholic Singbewegung in the postwar period: approachability and liturgical function in conflict

The afterlife of the Singbewegung in the postwar period spanned not only the political divide between East and West Germany, but also the central ecumenical divide within West Germany itself. The Roman Catholic Church has so far featured very little in this thesis due to its limited role in the Singbewegung during the Weimar and National Socialist Years. Indeed, the neo-Baroque Gebrauchsmusik of the Protestant Church cannot truly be said to have found a home in the extremely musically-conservative liturgy of the Catholic Church at this point. Further, the hierarchical nature of Catholic liturgical music, with its emphasis on professionalism, combined with a general reluctance to move away from the repertoire and styles of the past, meant it did not prove fertile ground for the kind of community-focused 'renewal' pushed for by Distler, Pepping and their contemporaries. In contrast, the postwar period saw a transformation of the Catholic Church's social and political role in West Germany as the loss of East Germany caused a significant re-balancing of the Catholic and Protestant demographics. This, coupled with Catholicism's own troubled relationship with the cultural memory of the pre-1945 period and other significant shifts in demographic, put Catholicism in Germany on a trajectory of change following the war which allowed for a greater emphasis on the role of the congregation, making a greater amount of space for the employment of the music of the Singbewegung.

This chapter seeks to explore the role the memory sites of the prewar Singbewegung played in the renewal and development of the music of the Catholic Church in West Germany following the Second World War. Following discussions of the Church's broader history in relation to the Jugendbewegung and under National Socialism, I will examine how Catholic composers adopted the musical style of the Singbewegung post 1945 through two representative examples, Bertold Hummel and Max Baumann. Both were from the south but had ties to the Evangelical sacred music revival

before and after the war and both composed in styles clearly influenced by the Singbewegung and their more famous Neoclassical models, Hindemith and Stravinsky. Each is an example of the relative flourishing of the composition of new Catholic music compared to Evangelical music, which was beginning to wane by the mid-1950s, as the conclusion of this thesis will demonstrate. Hummel was very active in Baden-Württemberg in the 1950s as a composer of easily accessible liturgical music, some of which was specifically written for dissemination via radio as a means of widening accessibility. Baumann's career, in particular, illustrates the tension between liturgy and congregation brought to a head by the enormous liturgical changes ushered in by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Finally, the post-conciliar work of both composers demonstrates that, while the ideology of the Singbewegung may have inspired some of the voices pushing for reform, it also forced many of its stylistic proponents away from the liturgy and towards non-functional contexts, such as the concert hall.

Given the nature of the pre-conciliar liturgy, this particular strand of the movement's postwar afterlife had a different focus, aiming more specifically at the creation of liturgically-appropriate music, but for choirs of mixed abilities. Additionally, the question of the congregation and approachability was a heavily contested one in a German Catholic context following the war. These tensions surrounding liturgical function, participation and artistic freedom crunched together awkwardly in the years leading up to and following the Council. This produced a solution with which many Catholic musicians, both conservative and progressive, were unhappy and cast a lot of the traditional repertoire and structures of the music of the Catholic liturgy into doubt, without leaving much of a suggestion as to what should replace them or how they should be replaced. In this way, the adoption of the compositional style of the Singbewegung and much of its ideology by Catholic composers after the war led to an iteration of the movement in which two of its fundamental principles--adherence to the liturgy and approachability for the congregation--became antagonistic to one another. On the one hand, the Latin-language 'professionalised' liturgy of the pre-Vatican Council period was difficult to reconcile with the concept of active communal participation. But on

the other, the Council altered the traditional liturgy in such a way that it became incompatible with the previous musical approach to the setting of the Ordinary.

Within a more traditional narrative of postwar Germany, composers like Hummel and Baumann can be difficult to make fit. At a time when Darmstadt and the avant-garde were in ascendency, as discussed earlier, it may be difficult for some to see them as anything but a throwback to earlier decades. This is certainly the case with regard to their early repertoire from the late 1940s and 1950s, which certainly does look backwards to the height of Neoclassicism in the 1920s and 1930s. Their comparatively more famous large-scale concert works from later decades such as Hummel's oratorio *Der Schrein der Märtyrer*, written for performance in Würzburg Cathedral on the 1300th anniversary of the martyrdom of St Kilian, or Baumann's *Auferstehung* may traditionally attract more attention.[1] But their early work, and its indebtedness to the Protestant Singbewegung, is essential to study in order to understand what drove so many young German Catholic composers out of the church and into the concert hall following the Second Vatican Council. In addition, while the broader secondary literature on the aftermath of the Council tends to focus on the response in the work of more established non-liturgical composers such as Messiaen and Bernstein, less space has perhaps been given to composers whose central output during the 1950s was music for the liturgy itself.[2]

As Raymond Bulman and Frederick Parrella put it, the Council swept aside the huge body of liturgical music and models that had been in use for centuries without a great deal of indication as to what should replace it or who should write it.[3] But their analysis is somewhat light when it comes to accounting for the music being written for the Catholic Church in the years between the end of the

[1] Bishop Paul-Werner Scheele, 'Vorwort', in Bertold Hummel, *Der Schrein der Märtyrer* (Hamburg: Musikverlag J. Schubert & Co., 1992).
[2] See Christopher Dingle, 'La statue reste sur son piédestal': Messiaen's *La Transfiguration* and Vatican II', in *Tempo*, 212 (2000), pp. 8-11, Anthony Sheppard, 'Bitter Rituals for a Lost Nation: Partch's Revelation in the Courthouse Park and Bernstein's Mass,' *The Musical Quarterly*, 80 (1996), pp. 461–499 and Raymond Bulman and Frederick Parrella, *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[3] Bulman and Parrella (2006), pp. 148-149.

War and the Council. This attitude is reflected in much of the available literature on the approach of the Council to music, as I will explore. This approach, however, masks the degree to which functional Catholic music was developing in West Germany during this brief period. Spurred by a growing emphasis on participatory worship from certain parts of the Catholic Church from roughly the 1920s onwards, composers such as Baumann and Hummel drew on the example of the Evangelical Singbewegung from before the war to explore the possibility of including the congregation more actively in the liturgy. Consequently, studying this period in the development of Catholic music provides, on the one hand, a richer picture of the issues surrounding liturgical music and the Second Vatican Council. But on the other, the clash this highlights between liturgical function and approachability also feeds back into the wider narrative of the Singbewegung's postwar decline I wish to trace in this thesis. Neoclassicism might have seemed as though it was the solution to congregational participation during the 1920s, but broader issues of secularisation and the shifting of popular tastes meant that by the 1950s and certainly the 1960s, the shine was starting to wear off.

Catholicism in the prewar period

On the surface, the youth wings of the German Catholic Church in the prewar seem quite similar to those of the Protestant Church. Both were rooted in the early years of the Jugendbewegung in late-Wilhelmine Second German Reich and involved the organisation of youth groups and communal activities. The similarity, however, did not extend to music; there was no Catholic equivalent of the Heinrich Schütz Gesellschaft and the various groups surrounding it. This is perhaps in part because there was no canon of German Catholic composers equal in fame to Schütz, Bach and other Lutheran idols, with international figures such as Palestrina and universal source material such as Gregorian Chant being preferred. Therefore, any potential proponents of a German Catholic revival movement did not have the same totems around which to rally that could fit into the nationalist rhetoric of the 1920s. But additionally, the Catholic liturgy before the war was heavily focused around a non-vernacular language and its music favoured performance by trained singers, both of which were

significant barriers to the congregation's own ability to participate in the active manner prescribed by the new Protestant music.

A key influence on the Catholic attitude towards the liturgy and sacred music can be found in Pius X's motu proprio of 1903, *Tra le sollecitudini*, which acknowledged the importance of sacred music in the liturgy and set out a model for its reform in the twentieth century.[4] According to Pope Benedict XVI, who, as Joseph Ratzinger, was an influential postwar voice within the Catholic Church with regards to sacred music, the music of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, especially in Italy, had become derivative of the popular operatic style of the time and strayed away from the traditions of Gregorian Chant and of Renaissance polyphony.[5] Pius X's motu proprio sought to redress this by re-emphasising the centrality of polyphony and the Chant in the liturgy and took aim at the use of orchestral and operatic music in a sacred context by insisting that the profane has no place within the function of worship.[6]

The focus here, then, was very much on the preservation of the existing canon of Catholic sacred music and though *Tra le sollecitudini* does make some provision for the composition of new Catholic sacred music, this is very restrictive, stating that most modern musics are intended for profane usage and therefore unlikely to be suitable for the liturgy.[7] Further, the motu proprio effectively banned the use of any instrument but the organ in the church and prescribed very clearly the way in which the Office, chant and hymns could be composed and performed.[8] Consequently, the content of *Tra le sollecitudini* presented a clear obstacle for the flourishing of a Catholic sacred

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[4] Albert Gerhards, *Benedikt Kranemann: Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt 2008), p. 102.
[5] Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, 'In the Presence of the Angels I Will Sing Your Praise: The Regensburg Tradition and the Reform of the Liturgy', in *Adoreums Bulletin* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag, 1996), https://adoremus.org/1996/12/15/cardinal-ratzinger-in-the-presence-of-the-angels-i-will-sing-your-praise/ (accessed 29/7/2020).
[6] 'Motu Proprio *Tra le Sollecitudini* del sommo Pontefice Pio X Sulla Musica Sacra (22 novembre 1903), Vatican, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html (accessed 22/7/2020). See in particular, 'I. principii generali' and 'II. generi di musica sacra'.
[7] Ibid, 'II. generi di musica sacra'.
[8] Ibid., 'IV. forma esterna delle sacre composizioni' and 'VI. organi ed instrumenti musicali'.

music revival comparable to that of the Evangelical Church, with its Neoclassicism and association with secular Gebrauchsmusik forms. This is not to say that a Catholic musical tradition or a network of cathedral choirs and music making did not exist in Germany and beyond at this time, nor does Pius X's motu proprio prove this, but it does demonstrate that the criteria under which new music for the Church could be composed were very proscriptive. As will be seen, before 1945, in a Catholic context, the renewal of the Jugendbewegung focused more specifically on the language of the liturgy in encouraging congregational participation than it did on the creation of new, approachable sacred music.

The Catholic Jugendbewegung itself was characterised by a particular sense of militancy and insularity, perhaps in part due to Catholicism's comparative minority status in both Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany. As Doris Bergen shows, at its highest pre-1945 level in 1939, the German Evangelical Church had a membership of about 42,000,000.[9] Examination of the census records from 1910 to 1939 demonstrates that this constituted 60.8 percent of the population at the time of roughly 69,314,000, and was an increase in the number of adherents in 1910 by just over 2,000,000.[10] In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church's membership stayed relatively steady from 1910 to 1939, at between 23,000,000 and 24,000,000, unsurprisingly with a significant dip after the First World War, along with the general population.[11] As such, German Catholics made up between 36.7 percent (in 1910) and 33.2 percent (in 1939) of the overall population of the three successive German states within this timespan.[12] Of this figure, Catholic youth organisations had a collective membership of between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 during their heyday in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[13]

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[9] Bergen, (2003), pp. 545-546.
[10] Dietmar Petzina, Werner Abelshauser, and Anselm Faust, eds., *Sozialgeschichtliches Arbeitsbuch, Volume III, Materialien zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches 1914–1945* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1978), p. 31.
[11] Petzina, Abelshauser and Faust (1978), p. 31.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Mark Edward Ruff, *The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth in Postwar Germany, 1945-1965* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press 2005), p. 11.

The youth organisations, though, were just one part of a vast network of clubs, associations and support groups of various types in most Catholic parishes across Germany. From the end of the nineteenth century, the minority identity of this network can be seen through a widespread sense of political solidarity, sparked in response to the 'Kulturkampf' waged by Otto von Bismarck from the 1870s against German Catholics.[14] This was marked in 1870 by the foundation of the Centre Party, many members of which went on to form the CDU and the Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU) in 1945, and which was supported in suffrage by over 80 percent of all German Catholics by the 1880s.[15] This fusing of the spiritual and political brought German Catholicism into an antagonistic position against not only the larger Evangelical Church, but also a number of non-religious political groups, especially Socialists and Liberals. Adherents of the religion were clearly characterised as conservative and reactionary and this position perhaps goes some way in explaining why Catholics in the 1920s were not necessarily willing to join the sacred music revival.

As far as the youth wing of the Catholic Church is concerned, the movement, like the Evangelical wing of the Jugendbewegung, also had its origins in the final years of the Second Reich. Both factions also shared a number of the general tropes of an anti-bourgeois and communal ideology, uniforms and communal songs. One of the most noteworthy examples of these Catholic youth groups was the Quickborn movement, founded by the Italian-born Mainzian chaplain Romano Guardini in the 1910s and with about 20,000 members at its highest point. The group extolled the virtues of what they termed a 'Gemeinschaftsideologie', that is a community ideology, as opposed to nineteenth-century bourgeois values and the concept of 'Gesellschaft', or society, with all its hierarchies and segregation.[16] As was generally the case with the Singbewegung, the liturgy and its importance had a central place within the ideology of the Catholic branch of the movement, and this

[14] David Blackbourn, 'The Political Alignment of the Centre Party in Wilhelmine Germany: A Study of the Party's Emergence in Nineteenth-Century Württemberg,' *Historical Journal*, 18, 4 (Dec., 1975), pp. 821-850, pp. 821-824.
[15] Ruff (2005), 17.
[16] Ibid., p. 20.

was reflected, in particular, in another movement in which Guardini was involved, the Liturgische Bewegung, or Liturgical Movement. The Liturgical Movement was not restricted to Germany and was very much representative of a clear generational tension within the Catholic Church during this period.

The Liturgical Movement sought to change the Catholic congregation's traditional relationship with the liturgy by encouraging popular participation in the liturgy and was radical in a Catholic context for performing the mass itself in the vernacular.[17] This 'Gemeinschaftsmesse', or Communal Mass, gained traction in the 1920s, but was being practised as early as 1913 in the Benedictine abbey of Maria Laach in the Rhineland-Palatinate with input from Guardini. By the 1920s, the influence of its vernacular mass had spread beyond the cloister, with the congregation of St. Gertruds Kirche in Klostenburg in Austria being encouraged to sing portions of the mass in German in 1922. The Basilika of the Holy Apostles in Cologne also began to celebrate the mass with vernacular congregational singing from 1928.[18] This renewal of the liturgy was furthered by the publication in 1928 of the book *Kirchengebet für Gemeinschaftsgottesdienste katholischer Jugend* by the Düsseldorf-based publisher Jugendführungsverlag, the intention of which was to promote the use of a German-language Catholic liturgy, parallel to its Latin counterpart.[19] The introduction for the book was provided by the Bavarian priest Ludwig Wolker, and outlined the contents provided, namely the full liturgical Ordinary, a series of Graces and the service of Compline, all of which are printed with side-to-side German and Latin texts, so that the congregation may recite or sing the liturgy along with the priest.[20] The book also contains a selection of 'Kirchenlieder' at the end, which consist mainly of chant melodies, versicles and hymns in both Latin and German.[21] Though the Liturgical Movement brought the central mystery of the mass closer to the community, however, it

[17] Ruff (2005), p. 21.
[18] Theodor Schnitzler, 'Gemeinschaftsmesse. In: Lexikon der Pastoraltheologie', in *Handbuch der Pastoraltheologie,* V (Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder-Verlag 1972), p. 169.
[19] Thomas Labonté, *Die Sammlung "Kirchenlied" (1938): Entstehung, Korpusanalyse, Rezeption* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2008), p. 7.
[20] Ludwig Wolker, 'Vorwort' in *Kirchengebet*, 1st ed. (Düsseldorf: Jugendführungsverlag, 1928), pp. 1-4, p. 4.
[21] *Kirchengebet* (1928), pp. 48-53.

is still clear that the provisions it made were not necessarily conducive to the kind of musical revival that occurred in the Evangelical Church.

In terms of the wider Catholic Jugendbewegung, Wolker is worth discussing in more detail, given the level of influence he exerted on the movement. He was born in 1887 to a mixed Protestant and Catholic family and took his vows as a Catholic priest in 1912, before being appointed as a chaplain at a parish in Munich. During this time, he developed a particular interest in youth work and was made head of the union of organisations for young men in Munich in 1925, followed by the Katholischer Jungmännerverband for the whole of Germany, then based in Düsseldorf.[22] As Ruff shows, Wolker was a particularly charismatic figure and his 1960s nickname, the 'Jungführer', goes some way in characterising the brand of Catholicism he promoted. In the 1920s, he called for Catholic youth groups in each parish to organise themselves into their own 'Bund', a structure which was almost exclusively male, extolled values of Catholic virtue and German Nationalism and which was highly critical of the 'weak' and 'effeminate' Catholicism of the nineteenth century.[23] Wolker and other key voices of the 1920s, such as the leading Catholic youth magazine *Michael!*, preached this 'bündisch' form of Catholicism as a shining example of unity through communal action and promoted the newly-formed Catholic Verbände as an antidote to what was perceived to be the weakness, fragmentation and degeneracy of the Weimar state.[24] The clear parallels between this rhetoric and that of National Socialism also spilled over into the political convictions of the Catholic Jugendbewegung. They actively opposed Communism, Socialism, and all those on the left of the political spectrum, and they engaged in political rallies in favour of the Centre Party and its leader, Heinrich Brüning, during his brief period as Chancellor from 1930 to 1932.[25]

But Wolker did not hold sway over all youth members of the Weimar-era Catholic youth movement and his main opposition came from the global Catholic Action movement. This was

[22] Ruff, (2005), pp. 21-22.
[23] Ibid., pp. 23-24.
[24] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[25] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

initially introduced to German Catholics in 1928 by Eugenio Pacelli, Papal Nuncio to Germany from 1920, and later Pope Pius XII at a series of speeches throughout Germany, including as part of a speech given at a Katholikentag in Magdeburg in 1928.[26] Pacelli was also politically powerful in Weimar Germany during his time as Nuncio and was supported by the German priest and from 1928 Centre Party chairman Ludwig Kaas.[27] The concept behind Catholic Action was that it should encourage the influence of lay Catholicism in everyday life through a set of organisational pillars at parish level. These normally encompassed separate groups of male and female adults and young people, in addition to students, in parishes in which this applied, who would organise social activities both within and beyond the church as a means of making Catholic belief and worship relevant beyond liturgical function. The organisational structure of these pillars was parish- and diocesanally-based, meaning that ultimate authority for each group lay with the bishops, rather than with one central organisational body, as with the Verbände.[28]

The tensions between Catholic Action and Wolker's Verbände, the two central strands of the Catholic Jugendbewegung, eased somewhat as the Church came under growing pressure from the National Socialist regime from 1933 onwards. This period generally saw the movement being increasingly absorbed into the regime and the Hitler Youth. The initial relationship between the Catholic Church in Germany and the National Socialists began to be formed by the Ermächtigungsgesetz (Enabling Act) of 24th March 1933, officially known as the 'Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich' (Law to Remedy the Distress of the People and the Reich). This effectively gave Hitler and the cabinet the power to enact laws and alter fundamental aspects of the constitution without consultation with the Reichstag.[29] The law was actively supported by Kaas, whose Centre Party had been excluded from the coalition formed by the National Socialists and the

[26] Ludwig Kaas, *Eugenio Pacelli, Erster Apostolischer Nuntius beim Deutschen Reich, Gesammelte Reden* (Berlin: Buchverlag Germania, 1930).
[27] John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (London: Penguin, 2000). p. 96.
[28] Ruff (2005), p. 26.
[29] Rudolf Morsey, ed., *Das Ermächtigungsgesetz vom 24. März 1933* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1968), articles 1-2.

Deutschnationale Volkspartei on 30th January 1933, in exchange for the assurance that the Centre Party could continue to exist, in addition to the protection of the civil and religious rights of German Catholics.[30] However, already by July 1933, the Reichskonkordat between the Holy See and the National Socialist government, signed by Pacelli on 20th of that month and ratified on 10th September that year, agreed to the cessation of any overtly political Catholic organisations.[31] This extended to Wolker's Verbände and their support for the Centre Party, and it can clearly be seen that the wider influence of both them and Catholic Church began to be curbed from 1933 onwards.

This initial action to curb the political elements of the Catholic Jugendbewegung, however, did not succeed in swaying a sufficient number of members away from the Verbände and into joining the Hitler Youth. The regime therefore took firmer action in 1935 and 1936, with the SS and Sicherheitsdienst actively dissolving the Verbände and banning the use of uniforms, marching or music of any kind in public and generally prohibiting all activities any remaining groups might have had in common with the Hitler Youth.[32] In addition, on 18th June 1937, a double membership in the Verbände and Hitler Youth was forbidden.[33] Finally, Wolker's Jungmännerverband itself was dissolved in 1939 by the seizure of its headquarters in Düsseldorf and, along similar lines to the wider Kirchenkampf, any Catholic priest who resisted these measures was arrested and sent to a concentration camp.[34] As explained earlier in this thesis, compulsory membership in the Hitler Youth extended to almost every child in the Reich by 1939, meaning that the National Socialists had effectively stamped the youth wing of the Catholic Church out by the beginning of the Second World War.

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[30] Manus Midlarski, *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), p. 222.
[31] 'Sollemnis Convention inter Sanctam Sedem et Germanicam Republicam', 20/7/1933, Vatican, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/archivio/documents/rc_seg-st_19330720_santa-sede-germania_ge.html (accessed 29/7/2020), articles 31-32.
[32] Ruff (2005), p. 28.
[33] Maria Margarete Linner, *Lied und Singen in der konfessionellen Jugendbewegung des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften 2009), p. 27.
[34] Ruff (2005), p. 28.

It is clear, then, that the Catholic Church did undergo severe persecution from 1933 onwards, but at the same time, one of the reasons that there was scope for the absorption of its youth wing into the Hitler Youth lay in the practical and ideological similarities between the two groups, as was the case with the Evangelical Jugendbewegung. Further, the Centre Party and the Catholic Church were both complicit, albeit unwillingly, in the ascent to power of the National Socialists in 1933. As such, the Catholic Church, like its Evangelical counterpart, came into the post-1945 period with a troubled relationship with the recent past. But unlike the Evangelical Church, Catholicism's pre-1945 minority status and its lack of an equivalent of the Deutsche Christen meant that it was more readily able to cast itself as a victim of the Nazis, creating a potent memory site of the events of 1933 and its subsequent persecution in pushing its prewar ideology into the postwar period.

Catholicism post-1945

In the same way that the Evangelical Church and its composers saw 1945 not as a new beginning, but as an opportunity to resume their prewar, or even pre-1933 trajectory, the Catholic Church also saw 1945 as a point from which to restore the past. As Benjamin Ziemann puts it, following the Second World War, many in the Church saw it as the 'victor among the ruins', given that its fundamental structure had been able to withstand the oppression of National Socialism, despite the destruction of its youth wing, as demonstrated above.[35] In addition, though the general pattern of postwar secularisation very much affected the Church, during the initial 'rubble years' following 1945, a great number of worshippers flocked to it as a place of comfort.[36] Combined with a significant demographic shift between Catholics and Protestants caused by the occupation of the East of Germany by the Soviet Union and the ascendant political power of Catholicism through the newly-formed CDU, this surge in attendance generally contributed to the perception that the

[35] Benjamin Ziemann, *Encounters with Modernity: The Catholic Church in West Germany, 1945-1975*, tr. Andrew Evans (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), p. 10.
[36] Ibid., p. 10.

Catholic Church would become a dominant voice in the nascent BRD. Further, a new generation of Catholic composers was beginning to emerge who had been exposed to the Neoclassicism of the Singbewegung over the course of the 1920s and 1930s and were now beginning to bring it into a Catholic liturgical context.

The foundations of what would become West Germany's first ruling political party were laid with the formation of the of the Christlich-Demokratischen Partei (CDP) in Cologne in July of 1945. This gradually split into the modern parties of the CDU and the CSU (the latter of which runs only in Bavaria).[37] A central aim of the new party was that it should be interconfessional, embracing both Catholics and Protestants, as a means of avoiding either religion undemocratically dominating the other in political terms.[38] Given the dominance of Protestants before 1933, this attitude was clearly attractive to German Catholics. The Cologne-born politician Konrad Adenauer, mayor of Cologne under the National Socialists, and leader of the CDU and West-Germany's first chancellor from 1949, was himself Catholic and had long been sceptical of Prussian Protestantism, seeing it as a fundamental precursor to National Socialism.[39]

In addition, the 1950 census in the BRD shows that the population of 50,798,900 was by that time split between Protestants and Catholics by 51.5 percent and 44.3 percent respectively, with the remainder either of another religion or confessionless.[40] This represents a clear swing towards Catholicism (which had in 1939 been at 33.2 percent), and what is noteworthy from the census data is that the actual raw figure of Catholics had not risen from what it had been in 1939, but rather, the Protestant population dropped significantly, as it was concentrated in the former core Prussian

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[37] '60 Jahre CDU: Verantwortung für Deutschland und Europa', Konrad Adenauer Archiv, in Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik, Sankt Augustin, 60 Jahre CDU. Verantwortung für Deutschland und Europa (kas.de) (accessed 26/8/2021), p. 3.

[38] Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Konrad Adenauer: A German Politician and Statesman in a Period of War, Revolution and Reconstruction*, vol. 1, 'From the German Empire to the Federal Republic, 1876–1952' (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), pp. 335-337.

[39] Maria Mitchell, *The Origins of Christian Democracy: Politics and Confession in Modern Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), p. 96.

[40] 'Deutschland: Die Konfession', Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, https://fowid.de/meldung/deutschland-konfessionen (30/7/2020).

territories which became the GDR. Though the founding principles of the CDU may have extolled the importance of balance between the two central confessions of German Christianity, the balance was very much beneficial for the Catholic Church. The census statistics, in combination with Adenauer's anti-Prussian Rhineland-informed politics, demonstrated a clear redrawing of boundaries between Protestantism and Catholicism in the new West-German Republic, in which the two emerged more or less as equals. Nevertheless, this process also represents more a victory for Catholicism in the gaining of ground from its confessional rival, an attitude which was certainly represented in the German Catholic Church after the war.

However, the Church did undoubtedly undergo significant damage to its institutions and a sizeable loss of its membership during the National Socialist years and the Second World War. As can be seen from the census data, the actual raw figure of Catholics dropped from 31,943,942 in the NS Reich in 1939 to 22,519,200 in the BRD, with 2,233,315 in the GDR in 1950.[41] In terms of the Catholic Jugendbewegung, the number of members dropped from between 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 at its height in the late 1920s and early 1930s to around 20 percent of those figures by the end of the War, demonstrating the effectiveness of the anti-Catholic policies of the 1930s.[42] But, in light of Catholicism's new political ascendancy, youth leaders such as Wolker were quick to seek to rebuild the Jugendbewegung back to its pre-1933 levels. This narrative of restoring the movement to its 'glorious' past of the late 1920s is highly reminiscent of discussions regarding the Evangelical Church and the wider Jugendbewegung after the war and further reflects the double layering of cultural memory seen with the Evangelicals. They sought to recover the lost momentum of the 1920s movement, which in turn was an attempt to break free of bourgeois Romanticism in favour of a move towards the 'golden age' of Protestantism in the seventeenth century. Similarly, the Catholic Jugendbewegung also sought to go back to the 1920s model of the Bund and the Verbände, which

[41] 'Deutschland: Die Konfession', Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, https://fowid.de/meldung/deutschland-konfessionen (30/7/2020).
[42] Ruff, 'Catholic Youth and the Dialogue with the Past after 1945', in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*, 100 (2006), pp. 227-243, pp. 227-229.

themselves were modelled on a Catholic golden age, in this case the middle ages and the Renaissance.

In practical terms, Wolker remained a central figure and was crucial in the foundation of the Bund der deutschen katholischen Jugend (BdkJ) at a convention in the Cistercian Abbey in Hardehausen in North-Rhine Westphalia in 1947.[43] With his typical fervour, Wolker claimed that the BdkJ would be a shining example for the re-Christianisation of Germany following the National Socialists' secular attack on traditional Christian values.[44] In terms of organisation, the BdkJ was very much in line with the structure of prewar organisations, such as Catholic Action, with two central pillars, male and female, on a national level, which would be responsible for a wide range of youth activities in local parishes.[45] This model was intended to be a compromise, proposed by Wolker, as a means of reconciling the prewar tensions between his own nationally-organised Verbände and the Catholic Action focus on organisation according to parish lines, also known as the 'Pfarrjugend'.[46]

But with its uniforms, oaths, ceremonies and pledge to break open the Catholic 'ghetto', as Wolker called it, the BdkJ in its initial form serves as a good example as to why the Catholic relationship, like the Evangelical one, with National Socialism was more complicated than some might have liked. Indeed, already in 1945, Guardini was voicing the opinion that the renewed efforts by the prewar generation to re-establish the pre-1933 Jugendbewegung sometimes drew on a rhetoric worryingly similar to that surrounding the Hitler Youth.[47] But, as Ziemann shows, the plans for the restoration of the Jugendbewegung's past, based on the strengthened social and political position of the Church immediately after the war, were not as fruitful as hoped and they too fell prey to the general narrative of dwindling congregations from the 1950s onwards. While 38 percent of young Catholics belonged to a youth organisation in 1932, the figure had dropped to 30 percent by

[43] Ruff, (2005), p. 44.
[44] Ibid., p. 46.
[45] Ibid., p. 44.
[46] Ibid., pp. 234-235.
[47] Romano Guardini to Albert Stohr, Mooshausen, 14/8/1945, in Ludwig Volk, *Akten deutscher Bischöfe über die Lage der Kirche, 1933-1945*, vol. 6 (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 1985), pp. 646-649.

1950, 18 percent by 1963 and as low as 11 percent by 1973.[48] These can be compared with Ruff's figures for BdkJ membership, which fell from over 1,000,000 to below 500,000 between 1954 and the mid-1960s.[49]

It is important to note here that these statistics do not, as such, provide evidence for a drop in the number of young Catholics, but rather a loss of faith in the prewar organisational structure of the Catholic Jugendbewegung.[50] Instead, the focus on renewal following the war shifted slightly, in some ways coming more in line with the Evangelical strain of the Singbewegung. This encompassed a widened emphasis on issues concerning the participation of the congregation in the liturgy raised by the Liturgical Movement, with a much greater focus on the question of new music. As I will demonstrate over the remainder of this chapter, this marked a new waypoint on the events leading up to the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s. It initially encouraged a flourishing of new German Catholic music for the liturgy, which embraced the compositional style of the prewar Singbewegung, before bringing two central strands of the movement, liturgical relevance and congregational participation, into opposition with each other.

Bertold Hummel and Gebrauchsmusik for the liturgy

An instructive example for the adoption of the Evangelical Singbewegung style into the Catholic liturgy during the time between the end of the Second World War and the Second Vatican Council can be found in the Black-Forest-born composer Bertold Hummel. Hummel was active as a composer of functional sacred music in Freiburg, and more generally in Baden-Württemberg during the 1950s.

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[48] Ziemann (2014), pp. 1-2.
[49] Ruff (2006), p. 241.
[50] In fact, the number of West Germans registering as Catholic increased by around 2,200,000 between the 1950 and 1961 censuses and the 1970 census shows a further increase of approximately 2,300,000. This is roughly in accordance with population growth, though the number of Protestants did increase slightly more than this. It is only after 1970 that the number of German Catholics began to drop, reducing by about 3,000,000 by the 2011 census. This is also less than the drop in the number of German Protestants from 1970 onwards which has sunk from its height of around 29,700,000 to its 2011 level of around 24,300,00. This figure also disguises the drop in the number of Protestants as it glosses over the re-integration of the GDR, with its significant Protestant majority (of those citizens who still identified as Christian). 'Deutschland: Die Konfession', Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, https://fowid.de/meldung/deutschland-konfessionen (30/7/2020).

This music demonstrated a clear influence from the Evangelical school, which he had encountered as a student through friendships with and tuition from various Protestant musicians. Hummel is a relatively unknown figure in English-language scholarship, and though there is much more published in relation to him in German, a quick glance at the research page of his foundation's website shows that this is still fairly scant. Many of the works listed are short-form newspaper articles and the most recent of the academic publications relating to him is from 2012. In addition to this, quite a lot of these are not specifically about Hummel, and many focus more on his non-liturgical and secular output, rather than his liturgical work of the 1950s.[51] I would suggest that an important reason for the liturgical music's neglect lies in the wider hostility in academic discourse regarding the work of the Singbewegung after the war, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis. As earlier stated, within a more traditional narrative of the postwar period in Germany, the work of composers like Hummel, or indeed Bornefeld on the Evangelical side, during the 1950s doesn't fit comfortably because, at least in stylistic terms, they look back to the Baroque-inspired music of the 1920s and 1930s, rather than fitting into the mainstream avant-garde of the time.

Hummel was born in 1925 in Hüfingen, close to Donaueschingen in modern-day Baden-Württemberg to a Catholic family. His father was himself an organist and choir director, and Hummel was therefore exposed to the Catholic canon of Gregorian Chant and Renaissance polyphony from a young age.[52] His biography states that his parents were sceptical of National Socialism during the 1930s and no information is provided regarding any involvement he may have had with Catholic youth groups at the time or with the Hitler Youth.[53] Considering how common membership in the latter became over the course of the 1930s, being in fact compulsory by 1939, as demonstrated, it

[51] It is worth noting that there are specific reasons relating to the Second Vatican Council as to why Hummel's output, in addition to that of many other Catholic composers, from the 1960s onwards was predominantly non-liturgical. I will be exploring these later in this chapter in relation to the composer Max Baumann. 'Werkverzeichnis', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/werkverzeichnis/werkverzeichnis.html (accessed 31/7/2020).
[52] 'Biografie', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/biografie/biografie.html (accessed 31/7/2020).
[53] Ibid.

seems likely that he was a member.[54] But again, in light of the proscriptive nature of membership, this says very little in terms of Hummel's personal investment in National Socialism. Receiving his musical education in the general milieu of the 1930s, he would have been heavily exposed to the Gebrauchsmusik favoured at the time, much of which had strong similarities to the music of the Jugendbewegung, with a number of figures, such as Fritz Jöde, crossing over between the earlier movement and the regime.[55]

Hummel was called up to the Reichsarbeitsdienst during the war before being enlisted into active military service. Following his release from a French prisoner of war camp in 1947, he returned to Freiburg and enrolled at the Hochschule für Musik to continue his education. Here he was taught composition by Harald Genzmer, with some input from Hindemith.[56] Genzmer was himself a student of Hindemith and a Gebrauchsmusik composer with a background as a military band musician and répétiteur. He was also active in the composition of music for the National Socialist regime, however, having been commissioned by the Reichsluftfahrtministerium to write his 1940 work *Musik für Luftwaffenorchester*, and was, like Pepping, included on the Gottbegnadeten-Liste in 1944.[57] Hummel's biography also states that at this time he was able to discover a number of composers who had been banned during his childhood. Messiaen's *Quatour pour la fin du temps* is specifically referenced and it is noted that he attended some of the very early Darmstadt courses, meeting the composer himself, along with Leibowitz and Nono, who introduced him to Schönberg.[58] Given that the biography of Hummel states that this music was novel to him in the late 1940s, a fairly clear image of his musical world during the first twenty or so years of his life can be drawn, with an emphasis on Hindemith, Neoclassicism and National Socialist-approved music, bringing his

[54] Potter (1998), pp. 13-15.
[55] See the Introduction for a discussion of the links between Fritz Jöde, his Musikantengile and the Hitler Youth.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Klee (2007), p. 177.
[58] 'Biografie', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/biografie/biografie.html (accessed 31/7/2020).

education very close to the style and ideology of the Singbewegung and the Jugendbewegung more generally, despite his Catholic background.

Hummel became Cantor of St. Konrad in Freiburg in 1954, where he remained until 1963 when he moved to Würzburg, to take up a post at the Würzburger Bayerische Staatskonservatorium der Musik and to run the Studio für Neue Musik there.[59] Though his output changed considerably in the 1960s, due to his work with the Studio für Neue Musik and collaborations with composers such as Stockhausen and Lachenmann, his work from his time in Freiburg is of central importance here. A large part of Hummel's music from the 1950s was composed for a sacred context, due to his work as a director of music and, in stylistic terms, it shows a great debt to the Singbewegung. In addition to his responsibilities at St. Konrad, Hummel also worked for the Katholische Rundfunkarbeit Deutschland (KRD), specifically for its local branch linked to the public broadcasting service Südwestrundfunk (SWR), at this time, composing functional music for a series of services of Matins over the course of the 1950s which were broadcast regularly at a state level from a number of different churches, but especially from Freiburg Cathedral.[60]

The KRD was run by Freiburg Dompräbendar Dr Karl Becker and the nationwide nature of this organisation demonstrates the way in which the music of the Catholic Church more broadly was changing to become more approachable to congregations. As can be seen from Hummel's correspondence with Becker over the course of the 1950s, the purpose of the broadcast services for which Hummel was commissioned to write music was to make high quality, easily performable sacred music available to a much wider congregation than might otherwise have been the case. In addition, the KRD sought to promote new German Catholic music in a style which was accessible for both performers and congregations. Unsurprisingly, the Evangelical model of the prewar period proved to be a suitable reference point. In his letters to Hummel, Becker makes very specific demands as to what he wants Hummel to write, for example specifying in a letter from 1957 that he

[59] 'Biografie', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/biografie/biografie.html (accessed 31/7/2020).
[60] Letter from Dr Karl Becker to Bertold Hummel, 15/11/1954, in Nachlass Bertold Hummels, Würzburg.

needs two pieces for an intermediate choir. The first of these should use the melody of a 'Heilige Name', drawn from the *Trierer Gesangbuch* and the second should use the melody of Freiburg Cathedral's Magnificat with two strophes taken from hymn no. 51 from the *Trierer Gesangbuch*.[61] In a letter from a month later, Becker asks Hummel, along with a group of other Black Forest composers, to be involved in writing a series of Kirchenlieder for choirs of mixed ability to be used for a string of Matins services, which will then be available for general use by Catholic choirs.[62] Further letters detail discussions between Becker and Hummel regarding possible settings of the Mass and also Passion music for a Good Friday service in the St. Anna Kirche in Haigerloch in 1959.[63]

This manner of heavily prescribed functional work is reminiscent of Distler's statement that composers must sacrifice their personalities for the sake of liturgical function, as discussed in chapter one. Indeed, as Hummel expressed in a 1998 conversation with Hans Schmidt-Mannheim, he had developed an enthusiasm for what he referred to as the 'Erneuerungsbewegung' and the vitality with which it set the German language during his time as a student in Freiburg during the late 1940s and early 1950s.[64] At this time he was friends with a number of Protestant musicians, who introduced him to the music of Distler and Pepping. He encountered their choral music through his friend Konrad Lechner, a professor and choral director at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik in Freiburg, and was attracted to the functional and community-oriented nature of their work.[65] At the same time, he met the Evangelical organist and choral director Dieter Weiss, who also enrolled at Freiburg in 1947 and with whom he shared a number of seminars under Genzmer. Weiss went on to become organist and director of music at the St. Marien Kirche in Flensburg, and remained active in several other positions within the Evangelical Church in the north of Germany.[66] He encouraged Hummel's enthusiasm for the music of the Singbewegung. One of Hummel's earliest sacred works,

[61] Letter from Dr Karl Becker to Bertold Hummel, 20/8/1957.
[62] Ibid., 25/9/1957.
[63] Ibid., 24/1/1958, 21/2/1959 and 28/2/1959.
[64] 'Werkbeschreibungen', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/werkbeschreibungen/biographien/lechner.html (accessed 3/8/2020).
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

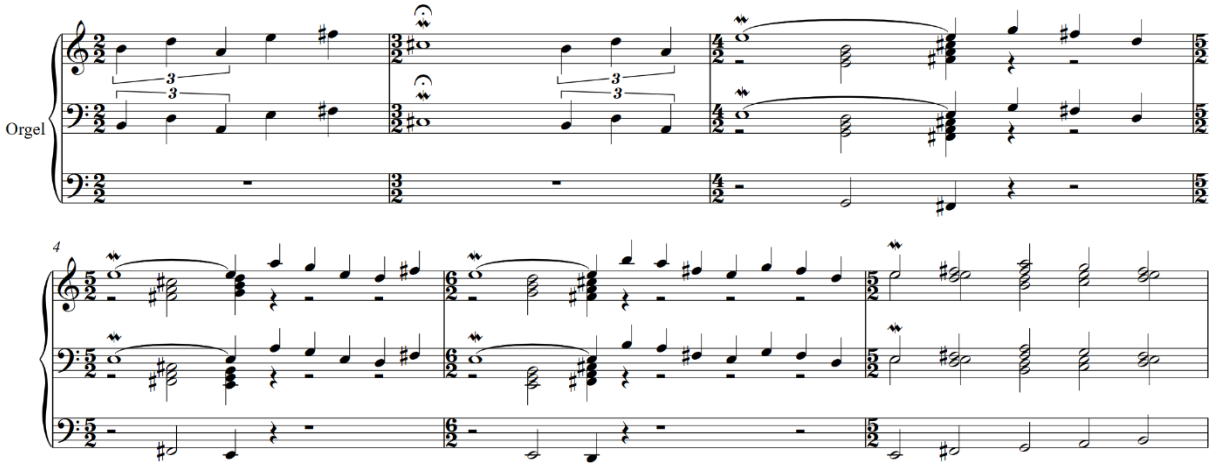
the 'Sacred Concerto' *So kehre denn, meine Seele zu Deiner Ruh* (1951), for baritone and organ, displays the clear signature of the movement. The three-movement piece sets a 1950 German translation of Psalms 36, 39 and 116 by Guardini (of the Quickborn movement) and was first performed in the Evangelical Melanchtonkirche in Freiburg by Weiss and the baritone Jörg Brena in 1951. Hummel was the first composer to set Guardini's translation. This fusion of a text prepared by a prominent Catholic Jugendbewegung figure with a setting that clothes it in the music of the Singbewegung is thus an instructive entry point into the postwar Catholic iteration of the movement.[67]

On analysis, *So kehre denn* displays the hallmarks of the Singbewegung as developed by Distler, Pepping and others during the 1920s and 1930s, with characteristic quartal inflections, linear writing, and the de-emphasising of cadential functions. The Neoclassical mood is clear throughout the piece, and is immediately signalled in the first movement, which starts with a 38-bar prelude-and-fugue introduction. The prelude (bb. 1-18) revolves around an implied E minor centre, but this is not confirmed cadentially and Hummel often clouds the tonality and mode further by avoiding the use of the third in the tonic chord when it appears at the beginning or end of phrases. Additionally, though Hummel uses a mixture of extended triadic and quartal harmony throughout, the bassline progressions of the prelude tend to be a mixture of quartal and stepwise motion.[68] This is similarly reflected in the basic motivic material of the prelude which has a clear quartal inflection. But this also contrasts with parallel tonic and supertonic triads through repeated developmental statements in a flexible metre, culminating in a cadential progression in bb. 6-7. This, in turn, is weakened by the inclusion of an E natural in the dominant minor chord on the fifth and final beat of b. 6 and the lack of a third in the tonic open fifth onto which it falls in b. 7 (ex. 1). In the same way, Hummel avoids clear V-I motion at the end of the prelude section, instead approaching the final E-B bare fifth with a semitonal F natural to E motion in the bass underneath an ambiguous chord which could perhaps be

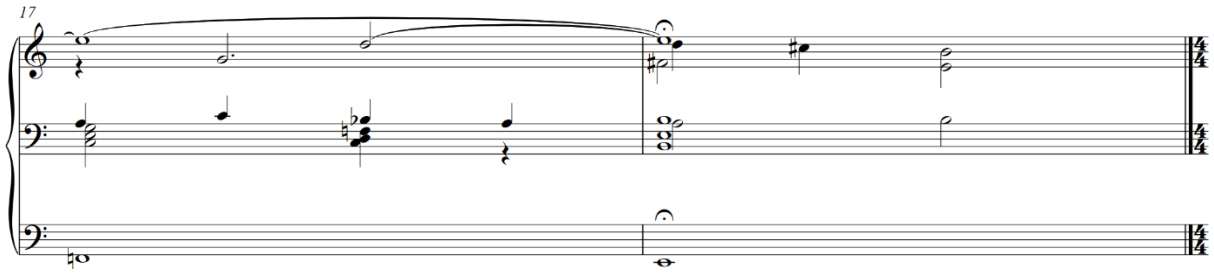
[67] 'Werkbeschreibungen', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/werkbeschreibungen/opus_geistlicheskonzert.html (accessed 3/8/2020).
[68] The second half of the prelude (bb. 7-18) uses the 12-note semibreve bassline E-A-B-F#-C#-E-B-A-D-G-F-E.

a flattened dominant ninth with a tonic pedal on top (ex. 2). This kind of avoidance of explicit cadential harmony in transitional or concluding sections is quite similar to some of the techniques used by Distler in the *Choralpassion*, discussed in chapter one. Distler also used this manner of resolution through voice-leading, or texture more generally, onto the tonic open fifth. The presence of this technique in Hummel's early work therefore suggests the influence of Distler's work, especially considering his familiarity with him.

Example 1: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 1-6



Example 2: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 17-18



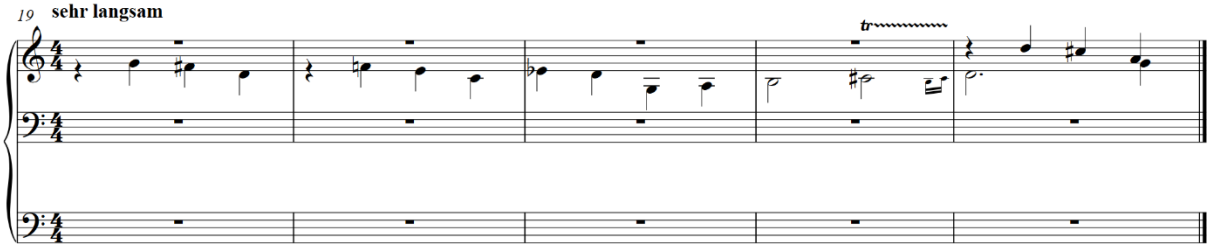
The texture of the following fugato section demonstrates a clear Baroque influence, but Hummel uses accidentals, a real answer and a two-bar extension in the answer to cloud the fundamental G major tonality. The subject itself already contains three accidental deviations from G major (F natural, E flat and C#, ex. 3). This further allows Hummel to muddy the tonal clarity through their repetition and exact transposition at the fifth in the subsequent repetitions of the subject and answering statements. Similar cadential elision is used between bb. 38 and 39 for the entrance of the voice, but the dominant triad is actually present here, albeit in a weakened form, due to

inversion (ex. 4). The entrance of the baritone begins the central A section of the movement and marks a new metre and motivic material, which is led by the voice with the organ following, initially in canon at the fifth (ex. 5). This texture gives way to a B section in b. 76 in B minor which takes the main motif from A in rhythmic diminution over a long, held F# dominant pedal and stabbing parallel triads in the organ (ex. 6). The overall structure of the B section and the motion of the parallel triads is determined by a palindromic bassline, which is repeated three times, twice on B and once on F# with a G hinge note. This four-bar motif sits within the span of a perfect fifth and creates the progression of B minor – A major – G major – F# minor – E minor – F# minor – G major – A major – B minor (ex. 7). This section is followed by interspersed repetition of the fugue, A section and prelude, resulting in an overall structure of:

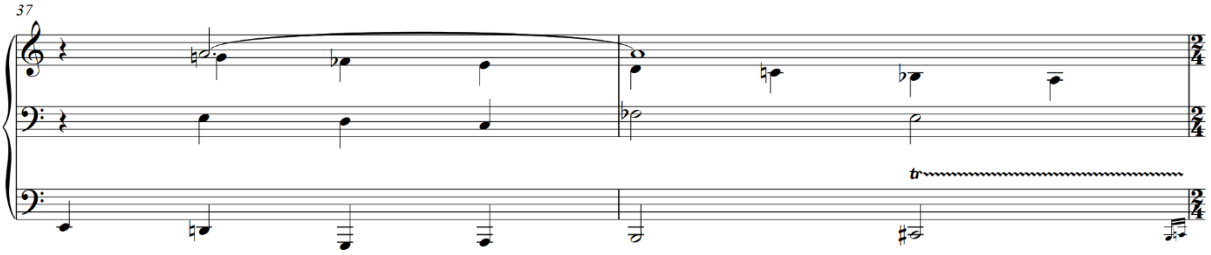
bb. 1-18: Prelude (E minor)
bb. 19-38: Fugue (G major)
bb. 39-75: A (G major)
bb. 76-87: B (B minor)
bb. 88-107: Fugue^{1} (G major)
bb. 108-136: A^{1} (A minor)
bb. 137-143: Prelude^{1} (E minor)

Despite the use of a translation by a prominent figure in the Catholic Jugendbewegung and being by a Catholic composer, *So kehre denn* is a work clearly in the style of the prewar Protestant Singbewegung. As I have tried to show through this analysis, in stylistic terms, the piece is heavily indebted to Distler and it would be difficult to categorise it separately from the main Singbewegung corpus. This work is more broadly typical of Hummel's compositional style of the 1950s and was additionally in line with the style of compositions the KRD were commissioning from him and other young Catholic composers at the time. The seeding of the ideology of the Liturgical Movement over the preceding decades meant that there was a new appetite for approachable, performable liturgical music, sometimes even in the vernacular, for the Catholic Church at the time. The model provided by the Singbewegung which had been so successful in an Evangelical context twenty years earlier seemed an obvious source of inspiration.

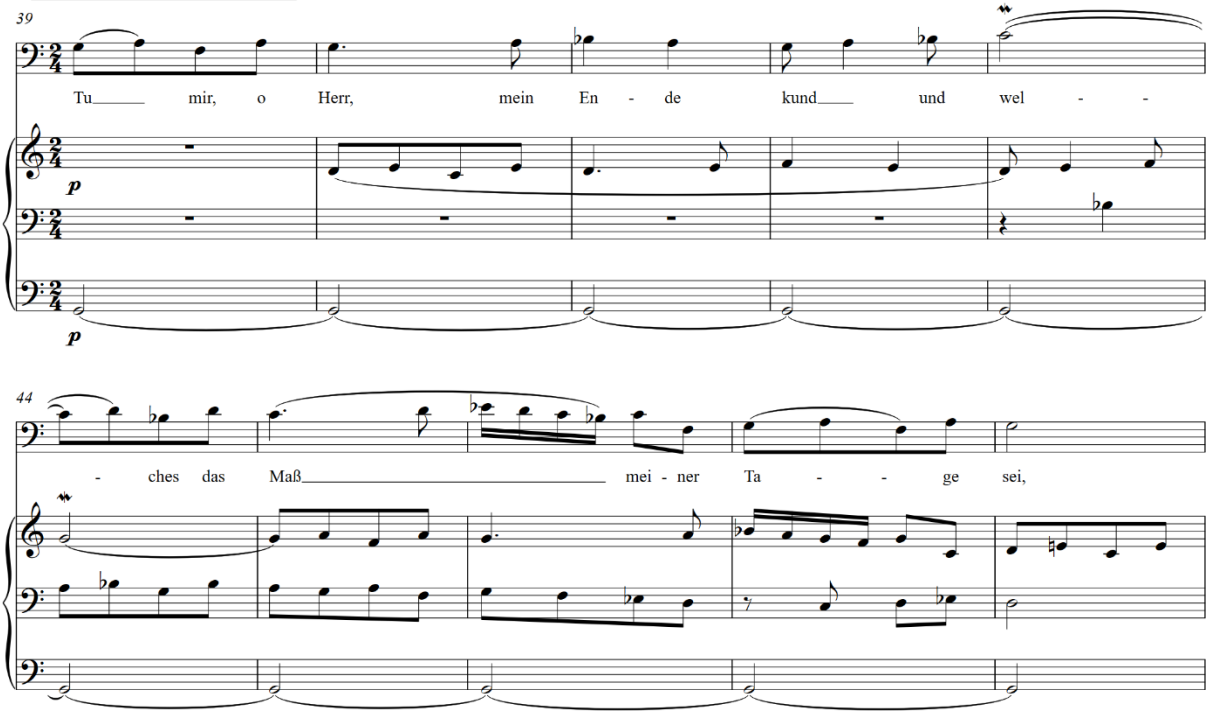
Example 3: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 19-23



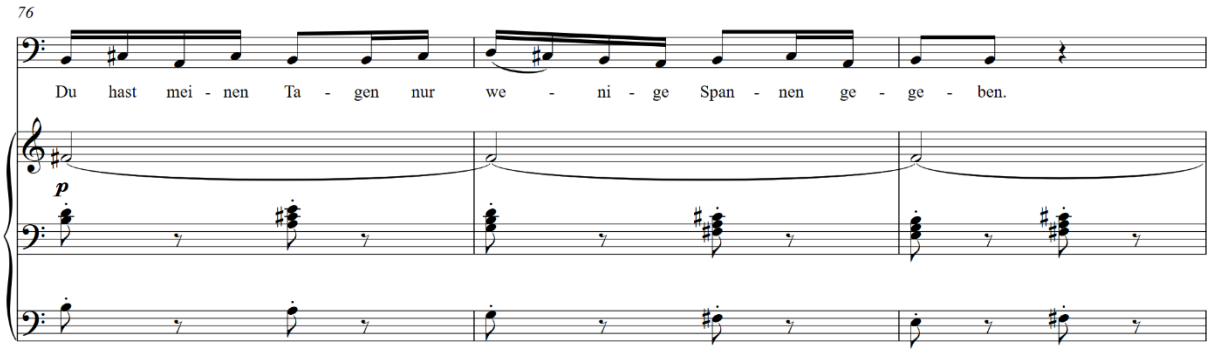
Example 4: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 37-38



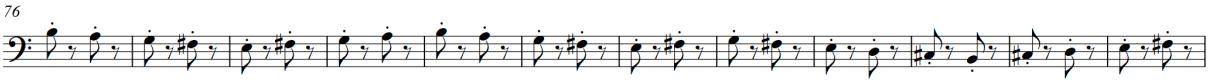
Example 5: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 39-48



Example 6: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 76-78



Example 7: *So kehre denn, meine Seele, zu Deiner Ruh*
- Movement I - bb. 76-87 (bassline)



Indeed, as an early work from Hummel's Freiburg period, the style of *So kehre denn* is replicated in a number of his other more substantial works with opus numbers from this time. His Missa brevis, op. 5a, of 1951 is stylistically similar to the sacred concerto, as is his larger-scale 1953 Advent Cantata *Offenbarung neuen Lebens*, op. 8. Hummel's mass compositions from the later 1950s also feature his Missa brevis, op. 18c and Missa 'Cantabo Domino'. The former was written for the choir of St. Konrad in Freiburg and was originally conceived for precentor, unison choir, congregation and organ, reflecting the available performance forces at its time of composition, while the latter was written for a Catholic student community in Freiburg.[69]

Hummel's use of Guardini's German-language Psalter in *So kehre denn* can be seen in a number of other works, for example *Offenbarung neuen Lebens*, which combines settings of Psalms 8 and 85 with arrangements of three German chorale melodies, including a Singbewegung favourite, Philipp Nicolai's 1599 '*Wachet auf*', *ruf uns die Stimme*.[70] The Guardini Psalter was a translation of a Latin edition of Pius XII, commissioned by the Council of German bishops and published by Kösel-

[69] Judith Schnell, 'Vorwort', in Bertold Hummel, Missa brevis, für Sopran- und Altstimmen mit Orgel, op. 18c, 2nd ed. (1975) (Mainz: Schott Music, 2010), p.5, and Bertold Hummel, 'Vorwort', in Missa "Cantabo Domino", für Gemischter Chor (SATB) a cappella, op. 16 (1958) (Mainz: Schott Music, 2008), p. 3.
[70] Bertold Hummel, *Offenbarung neuen Lebens*: Adventskantate für Alt solo, gemischten Chor und Kammerorchester, op. 8 (Mainz: Schott Music, 1953, 2014), pp. 5-6.

Verlag in Munich in 1950.[71] Hummel's work was commissioned by SWR for a radio service broadcast on the first Sunday of Advent in 1953.[72] In this way, Hummel acts as an instructive example of the general trend in Catholic liturgical music after the Second World War. His own musical style was heavily influenced by the Protestant music written before 1945, and was developed within the wider context of a church which was seeking to make itself more accessible to its congregations, as can be seen by his involvement in the nationwide KRD radio services and the setting of texts from a new German-language Psalter by the Council of German Bishops.

This demonstrates another postwar afterlife of the Singbewegung, in which composers of Catholic music tapped into the prewar cultural memory of West Germany's other main confession of Christianity in order to harness its neo-Baroque ideals of liturgical function and congregational accessibility in the German language. Problems remained, however, with the incorporation of this approach into a Catholic context. The approach of composers such as Hummel was to use German as the compositional language in psalm settings and similar texts, but the Catholic doctrine of the 1950s still stipulated the use of Latin in the Mass itself. Additionally, when he does use existing musical material with German text, he actually draws on the Lutheran chorale tradition, as in the Advent Cantata, rather than using German translations of Gregorian Chant. This presents a fundamental point of tension between the new Singbewegung-style approach of the 1950s and the existing liturgy of the Catholic Church because the required language of its core textual and musical elements, the Mass and the Chant, could not be vernacular. But the trend from the 1920s onwards had been towards the inclusion of the congregation via their own language and a pressing question was how these two opposing positions could be reconciled. As I will demonstrate for the remainder of this chapter, the solutions the early 1960s brought with them were unpopular with many Catholic composers, going so far as to drive many of them away from liturgical composition altogether.

[71] Bertold Hummel (2014) p. 6.
[72] Martin Hummel, 'Vorwort', in Ibid., p. 3.

The Second Vatican Council: vernacular reform and its tension with traditional liturgical function

In many ways, the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) would seem to be positive with regard to the developments within the Catholic Church in Germany that I have been tracing over the course of this chapter. Indeed, its ideology of putting the congregation at the centre of worship and bringing the vernacular into the celebration of the mass itself should surely have been one of the ultimate goals of those who published the *Kirchengebet* book in 1928 and would appear to be a logical next step on the same trajectory as Guardini's 1950 German Psalter.[73] Further, as Kurt Poterack put it in 1998, … 'viturally every article … of Vatican II's liturgy constitution can be seen as a summation of 60 years of pre-Conciliar Papal teaching'.[74] From a musical perspective, however, the Council ushered in a great many issues, to the extent that Dóbszay László wrote in *Sacred Music* in 2000 that … 'church music fell, after the holy Council, into such a deep crisis as never before in its history'.[75] Some of the central reasons for this lie in the structural changes the Council made to the liturgy itself, the stipulation that the Mass and Chant be more often in the relevant vernacular and the transferral of certain roles from the schola cantorum to the congregation. In the eyes of some, this rendered the entire existing canon of sacred music obsolete and posed the question of how one could, in fact, compose for the liturgy under the new stipulations.[76]

The constitution of the Council from 4th December 1953 (Sacrosanctum Concilium) begins by stating that the aim of the council was:

> to impart an ever-increasing vigor to the Christian life of the faithful; to adapt more suitably to the needs of our own times those institutions which are subject to change; to foster

[73] Ziemann (2014), p. 1.
[74] Kurt Poterack, 'Vatican II and Sacred Music', in *Sacred Music*, 125, 4 (Winter 1998), pp. 5-19, p. 5.
[75] Dóbszay László, 'Church Music Ideals and Realities after Vatican II: Competition or Cooperation?', in *Sacred Music*, 127, 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 14-22, p. 15.
[76] Jared Ostermann, 'Twentieth-Century Reform and the Transition from a "Parallel" to a "Sequential" Liturgical Model: Implications for the Inherited Choral Repertoire and Future Liturgical Compositions, in *Sacred Music*, 142, 1 (Spring 2015), pp. 8-21, p. 8.

> whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call the whole of mankind into the household of the Church.[77]

Of the 130 articles of the constitution, articles 112 to 121 refer specifically to sacred music, but the composition of sacred music for the liturgy was also affected by liturgical reforms laid out in other sections. It should not be assumed, though, that the text of the constitution is wholly hostile to the use of music in the liturgy. Rather, article 112 begins by asserting that the tradition of sacred music in the Catholic Church is 'a treasure of inestimable value' and that sacred song 'forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy', followed by reference to Pius X's 1903 definition of sacred music in *Tra le sollecitudini* as a focal point in the Council's understanding of it.[78] This is then followed by provision that the canon of Catholic music be 'preserved and fostered', but with the proviso that liturgical function, as decreed by the council be observed and that composers and singers be given 'genuine liturgical training', so that they understand how to go about this.[79] In addition, Gregorian Chant is highlighted as the ideal music for the liturgy, though polyphony is permitted, so long as it is in keeping with the liturgical reforms defined elsewhere in the constitution.[80] Finally, the Council is keen to stress that post-conciliar sacred music should have as its central focus 'the active participation of the people', that 'religious singing by the people is to be intelligently fostered' and that it should not only be confined to works for large professional choirs, but conceived with the abilities of smaller choirs and the congregation in mind.[81]

In his discussion of sacred music in relation to the Council, Jared Ostermann concurs with Poterack that its constitution was in many ways a culmination of a process of reform dating back to *Tra le sollecitudini* in 1903.[82] But he also sees it as part of a much wider debate, dating back to the

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[77] Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, solemnly promulgated by his Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 4th, 1963, Vatican, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (accessed 5/8/2020), Introduction.
[78] Ibid., article 112.
[79] Ibid., articles 114-116.
[80] Ibid., article 116.
[81] Ibid., articles 113, 118 and 121.
[82] Ostermann (2015), p. 9.

seventh century, at which point what he refers to as a 'parallel liturgy' began to emerge with the separation of 'specialist clerical activity from the devotional activity of the congregation'. This separation began when the choir, the schola cantorum, took the role of performing sung prayer in dialogue with the priest away from the congregation.[83] The division then deepened over the centuries, to the point that the priest and choir were able to perform a 'private' Mass by the eleventh century in antiphony with each other and with no required participation from the congregation. Though new roles were found for the congregation through various paraliturgical activities, this created a dynamic in which it was essentially locked out of the Mass, and Ostermann suggests that these minor changes that sought to encompass congregational participation, were really just tinkering around the edges of the central problem.[84] As such, the key aim of liturgical reform in the twentieth century generally was to remove the divisions between priest, congregation and choir which had been established as early as the seventh century.[85]

As Jan Michael Joncas demonstrates, a large element of this shift away from a parallel liturgy was the streamlining of certain central elements of the Mass, for example by reducing the number of invocations of the Kyrie eleison.[86] The new post-conciliar 'sequential' form of the liturgy is stipulated in article 50 of the constitution when it states that the order of the Mass is to be revised and simplified so that it is not duplicated 'unnecessarily'.[87] This simplified form is called 'sequential' rather than 'parallel', in the sense that everyone--priest, choir and congregation--carries out one activity at a time, rather than multiple activities simultaneously (i.e. specific actions or recitations in conjunction with the Ordinary), as had previously been the case.[88] Therefore, in the post-conciliar liturgical Ordinary, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus are stripped of all accompanying recitations

[83] Ostermann (2015), 9-10.
[84] Ibid., pp. 10-12.
[85] Ibid., p. 12.
[86] Jan Michael Joncas, 'Catholic Branchings: Congregational Song and the Legacy of Vatican II', in *The Hymn*, 64, 4 (Autumn 2013), pp. 13-20, p. 13.
[87] Sacrosanctum Concilium, Vatican, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (accessed 5/8/2020), article 50.
[88] Ostermann (2015), p. 14.

or actions and the Agnus Dei only has a very small amount of time apportioned to it, which must be completed before the beginning of communion.[89]

The end result of this is a serious disjuncture between the existing liturgical repertoire of the Catholic Church and the space allotted to it by the post-conciliar liturgy, in that the former is really far too long for the new shorter forms. As I will demonstrate, this was a particular affront to Catholic composers with Singbewegung ideals, as many felt that it denied them the opportunity to write for the liturgy. In 1983, the composer Max Baumann made the damning statement that, before the Council, composers and performers had the opportunity to fill around 45 minutes with the full cyclical form of the Ordinary, with the congregation using it as an opportunity for 'religious reflection'. But, following the Council, the new micro forms of the Mass offered very little opportunity to composers, meaning that no real role lay for them within the liturgy.[90] Despite the claims in Sacrosanctum Concilium that the musical canon of the Catholic Church should be cherished and composers and choirs encouraged, this was clearly not the end result. The new form for the liturgy therefore created significant difficulty for the music of the traditional liturgy and its adherents. Even though Ostermann presents a potential new liturgical cycle built from reformed elements of the Proper, the fact that he saw a need to try and solve the existential liturgical questions posed by the Council fifty years before his writing in 2015 demonstrates the severity of the issues functional Catholic music faced in the 1960s. As Bulman and Parrella see it, the Council had swept away the canon of liturgical music it claimed to cherish without apparently offering any substantial productive model as to what should replace it.[91]

[89] Ostermann (2015), pp. 18-19.
[90] Max Baumann, 'Catholic Church Music Today', in *Crux et Cithera: Selected Essays on Liturgy and Sacred Music*, ed. Robert A. Skeris (Altnöting: Alfred Coppenrath, 1983), pp. 88-89.
[91] Bulman and Parrella (2006), pp. 152-153.

Max Baumann, pre-conciliar inclusion of the congregation and sacred music after the Council

To explore further the issues surrounding the Second Vatican Council in concrete terms, it is helpful to turn to the composer Max Baumann's career and output between the end of the Second World War and the conclusion of the Council. As a prominent Catholic composer, Baumann was involved in a number of organisations, conferences and committees which sought to address the challenges thrown up by the reform of the liturgy in the 1960s. At the same time, his background as a military musician and his Singbewegung ideals link him clearly to the prewar movement. His own compositional output, especially his Passion setting of 1959, demarcates him as an important figure in tracing its development in a Catholic context following the War. In terms of available literature, the selection on Baumann is slightly larger than that on Hummel but is still fairly limited.[92] My aim here is to establish the impact of the Council on Catholic composers, with the help of the work of Johannes Laas, but also to bring out even more clearly the stylistic and cultural links and similarities between Baumann and the Singbewegung. The common narrative surrounding Baumann revolves around his conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism and his prominence as a composer of Catholic-infused concert music. He is less frequently discussed, however, with regard to the influence of the Singbewegung on his relationship with the liturgy and his attitudes towards participatory worship during his early career.

Baumann was born in 1917 in Kronach in Oberfranken in northern Bavaria.[93] His family was, in fact, interconfessional, with his father having been born Protestant but converting to Catholicism,

[92] His archive is kept in the Music section of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and the main publications regarding him include two special publications for his 75th and 100th birthdays, by Adelheid Geck-Böttger and Johannes Overath and Michaela Hastetter from 1992 and 2017 respectively (Adelheid Geck-Böttger and Johannes Overath, ed., *Te decet hymnus: Festgabe für Max Baumann zur Vollendung des 75. Lebensjahres*, 3rd ed. (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1992, 2016) and Michaela Hastetter, *Licht fließt am Himmel. Zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten Max Baumann (1917–1999)* (Sankt Ottilien: Edition Sankt Ottilien 2019)). In addition to this, Johannes Laas published a more substantial monograph in 2013 (Johannes Laas, *Das geistliche Chorwerk Max Baumanns: Kirchenmusik im Spannungsfeld des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013)) which examines Baumann's work specifically in relation to the Second Vatican Council.

[93] 'Werkverzeichnis', Max Baumann Gesellschaft, http://www.max-baumann-gesellschaft.de/werkeverzeichnis01_set.html (accessed 6/8/2020).

in spite of the Evangelical confession of Baumann's mother. Despite his father and the extremely Catholic environment of Kronach, Baumann was baptised into the Evangelical Church and was additionally confirmed in 1932.[94] Given the ubiquity of Catholicism in Franconia more broadly, however, Baumann was heavily exposed to its music and traditions from an early age and even attended a Catholic nursery for three years, an experience which he later credited as having been influential on his faith as an adult.[95] Additionally, his father, also a musician and his first teacher, had been a friend of Max Reger (after whom Baumann was named) and was taught by Reger's father George, providing another link to the music of the Catholic Church.[96] Baumann enrolled at the Görlachsche Musikinstitut in Halle, a conservatoire which principally trained musicians for the military, from 1932 to 1934. In a comment during a 1977 radio interview, which chimes with many other composers of the Singbewegung, he credited his time there as having inspired a strong interest in Handel and Baroque music, due to Handel's expressive choral style and the simplicity and clarity of his musical language.[97]

In 1934 Baumann enlisted himself in the Wehrmacht as a military musician, on a twelve-year contract (which actually ended along with the Second World War in 1945), and was stationed in Passau where he studied further with Otto Dunkelberg, a Catholic composer and organist at Passau Cathedral.[98] Dunkelberg insisted on Baumann having a firm grounding in Renaissance polyphony and, through assisting him with registration and page-turning during services, Baumann became even more steeped in the traditional canon of Catholic music.[99] Baumann's relationship with National Socialism between 1933 and 1945 remains quite ambiguous. As Laas demonstrates, he was not, as far as can be ascertained, a party member, and no mention is made of this explicitly in any of the sources in his archive in Berlin. Dunkelberg, however, joined the NSDAP in 1937 and became

[94] Laas (2013), pp. 25-27.
[95] Adelheid Geck-Böttger, 'Max Baumann: Weg und Werk', in Geck-Böttger Overath (1992, 2016), pp. 27-77, pp. 31-32.
[96] Ibid., p. 30.
[97] Laas (2013), pp. 29-30.
[98] Geck-Böttger (2016), p. 33.
[99] Ibid., p. 33.

increasingly hostile to the political stance of the Catholic Church as the war broke out.[100] Regardless, Baumann was obliged to continue in military service and volunteered for active duty in 1939.[101]

He was allowed leave from service in 1941 to enrol for his final qualification as a 'Wehrmacht Musikmeister' at the Staatliche akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, where he studied choral conducting under Distler.[102] Baumann later stated that he had been greatly influenced by Distler, both through his teaching and through singing his works under him. He claimed that Distler showed him that sacred music could be imbued with a sense of rhetoric, vitally expressive of the language it set and that it was capable of having a rhythmic vitality he had not yet experienced in his, mainly Catholic, choral education up to that point.[103] Baumann was hugely enthused by Distler's article 'Vom Geiste der neuen Evangelischen Kirchenmusik', published in *Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1935, which emphasised the central role of the liturgy in determining the nature of sacred music, the task of which was to express the 'Wort und Geist des Textes' (word and spirit of the text).[104] As Laas states, this early experience of the Singbewegung—not just of Distler, but also of the work of Spitta, Pepping, Fortner and others—clearly demonstrates the influence of the movement on the development of Baumann as a composer of sacred music. The example of other composers, such as Hummel, and initiatives such as the KRD illustrate the interconfessional crossover of the originally Evangelical movement after the War. Its wider ideology fit with the progressive aims of the Catholic Jugendbewegung more generally. In the postwar period, composers who had been exposed to and even educated by prominent Singbewegung musicians were able to draw on the cultural memory of its successes in revitalising the liturgical music of the Evangelical Church in an accessible manner, in order to achieve similar aims in a Catholic context.

Baumann graduated from his studies in Berlin in 1944 and was briefly stationed in Finland as a Lieutenant Musikmeister before the end of the war. His status as an officer meant that he was

[100] Laas (2013), pp. 32-34.
[101] Geck-Böttger (2016), pp. 33-34.
[102] Ibid., p. 34.
[103] Laas (2013), pp. 40-41.
[104] Ibid., p. 41.

required to go through a denazification process after the war, and he was cleared without any complications following his release from a British prisoner of war camp. After his release he re-enrolled at the Staatliche akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin in order to convert his military degree into a general Kapellmeister qualification.[105] Like Hummel, Baumann then discovered composers that had previously been banned, in particular Hindemith and Stravinsky, both of whom were important influences on the development of the music of the Singbewegung. Baumann was so taken with the music of Stravinsky that he wrote an extended essay about the composer in 1948 which praises the linear clarity and rhythmic energy of his music.[106] Also like Hummel, Baumann was involved in the early Darmstadt and Donaueschingen summer schools, having received a full scholarship to attend the 1951 session of the former. Despite some initial enthusiasm for the music of Schönberg and dodecaphony, however, Geck-Böttger notes that he had difficulty reconciling this music with his deeply engrained Gebrauchsmusik principles, at least during the 1950s and early 1960s.[107] Baumann wrote to his friend the composer Lothar Jensch in 1953 that he saw music as being a thing of 'Fleisch und Blut' which had to be physically tangible and which had to impact directly on the senses, something which he saw the Webern/Boulez school of serialism as failing to do. In Laas's eyes, this scepticism towards dodecaphony and his Singbewegung-honed inclination to the composition of Gebrauchsmusik were fundamental in his decision to turn to sacred music in the 1950s.[108]

With this background in place, it would seem that Baumann would have logically joined the postwar Evangelical Singbewegung. He was Protestant, had studied with Distler and was greatly enthused by the ideology of liturgical functionality combined with approachability. However, Baumann's sacred output is almost exclusively Catholic in confession and he, in fact, converted to

[105] Laas (2013), pp. 43-48.
[106] Ibid., pp. 57-59.
[107] Geck-Böttger (2016), p. 41.
[108] Laas (2013), p. 71.

Catholicism in 1955.[109] He was, though, already working on compositions of the Mass, principally for performance by the choir of the Catholic Cathedral St. Hedwig's in Berlin under his mentor Karl Forster, and completed his first major setting of the Ordinary, *Missa,* op. 39, by 1953.[110] Laas describes the piece as being heavily influenced by the early Baroque in terms of the linearity of its individual lines and emphasis on counterpoint. Indeed, Baumann wrote to Jensch during its composition that he was studying the polyphonic works of the Renaissance, in addition to Gregorian Chant, in depth as a means of steeping himself further in the liturgy of the Catholic Church.[111] The *Missa* was followed by a string of other functional works, including his 1955 *Schutzengelmesse*, op. 50, and a long series of motets, such as his Ave Maria, op. 43 (1954), Ave verum, op. 48 (1955), *Herr, neige dein Ohr*, op. 49 (1955), Pater noster, op. 51 (1955), *Drei Weihnachstmotetten*, op. 53 (1956) and Salve Regina, op. 60 (1959).[112] Following Forster's death in 1963, Baumann also took over the position of music director at St. Hedwig's, meaning that he was also practically involved in the performance of the liturgy.[113]

As Johannes Overath sees it, this turn towards the functional music of the Catholic liturgy was in part due to the opportunity it gave Baumann to explore the possibilities of 'flesh and blood' music with a practical purpose. Writing in the introduction to the Festgabe for Baumann's 75th birthday, Overath states that a composer of sacred music has the special task not of portraying themselves in their music, but rather of serving the liturgy.[114] This is a statement which closely echoes Distler's views and Laas makes a similar observation in his discussion of Baumann's devotion

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[109] 'Werkverzeichnis', Max Baumann Gesellschaft, http://www.max-baumann-gesellschaft.de/werkeverzeichnis01_set.html (accessed 6/8/2020).
[110] Laas (2013), pp. 81-85.
[111] Ibid., p. 85.
[112] Geck-Böttger (2016), p. 43.
[113] 'Werkverzeichnis', Max Baumann Gesellschaft, http://www.max-baumann-gesellschaft.de/werkeverzeichnis01_set.html (accessed 7/8/2020).
[114] 'The creater of liturgical music is set the special task not to portray himself in his artistic creation. In his endeavour for a life of faith, he will attempt to guess at God's beauty, the glory of God in the 'Christ-Mystery' of the liturgy, connecting heaven and earth in his artwork.' ('Dem Schöpfer liturgischer Musik ist die besondere Aufgabe gestellt, in sich seinem Kunstschaffen nicht selbst darzustellen. In seinem Bemühen um ein Leben aus dem Glauben wird er versuchen, Gottes Schönheit, die göttliche Herrlichkeit im Christus-Mysterium der Himmel und Erde verbindenden Liturgie in seinem künstlerischen Werk ahnen zu lassen'), Johannes Overath, in Geck-Böttger and Overath, ed. (2016), pp. 9-26, p. 15.

to liturgical function. But, additionally, he compares Baumann and Pepping following the war, in which he states that Baumann differed from Pepping and the rest of the Evangelical Singbewegung, who wanted their music not to be seen as 'musical ideology', but rather as pure composition, free of any 'musical sign language'.[115] In contrast, Laas suggests that Baumann, unlike Pepping, saw his own music as fundamentally functional with a purpose of encouraging performers and congregations to engage with the liturgy. I would suggest that this comparison is actually quite misleading because, as discussed, Pepping was, and saw himself very much as, an outsider in relation to the Evangelical movement after the war. He makes this very clear in his postwar correspondence with his Bärenreiter and in fact, the image I have painted of Baumann and the Catholic offshoot of the Singbewegung so far is not, as Laas suggests, fundamentally different from its original Protestant iteration. Really, it is quite similar in its central aim of writing functional music for the liturgy in a neo-Baroque style, and much of Baumann's output of the 1950s is actually very comparable to the work of more representative composers such as Bornefeld.

Passion

To illustrate Baumann's approach to writing Gebrauchsmusik in a Catholic context in more tangible terms, his 1959 work *Passion nach Texten der heiligen Schrift und der Liturgie* für Soli (Sopran und Bariton), Chor (SATB), Sprech-Chor und Orchester, op. 63 serves as a demonstrative example. This work is especially interesting because it seeks to break down the boundaries discussed above between the congregation and the specialist musicians of the schola cantorum, as well as between the use of Latin and the vernacular. Unlike the passions of Distler—which Baumann would very likely have known given his time studying under Distler—and Pepping, *Passion* does not use Luther's translation of any of the gospels. Instead, the gospel text is drawn from a modern translation by the Roman Catholic priest Josef Kürzinger.[116] This reflects Baumann's views, expressed

[115] Laas (2013), p. 220.
[116] Michaela Hastetter, *Licht fließt am Himmel. Zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten Max Baumann (1917–1999)* (Sankt Ottilien: Edition Sankt Ottilien 2019), pp. 40-41.

elsewhere, that true creativity in expressing the liturgy can only be achieved in the 'language of *our* time'.[117]

This choice to use a modern German translation therefore demonstrates Baumann's desire to place the dramatic action of the Passion story at the centre of his setting.[118] As Cardinal Ratzinger put it, older examples of Lutheran Passions, such as those of J. S. Bach, dress the Crucifixion up in beautiful settings, which represent the drama of the Passion metaphorically. Given the recent horrors of the twentieth century, however, a modern setting (Ratzinger is discussing Penderecki's *Lukaspassion*) needs to represent the true ugliness of the events of Good Friday.[119] The German text of Kürzinger's translations from the gospels is interspersed with a number of different Latin hymns and excerpts from the Mass, giving an overall structure as follows.[120]

I) Einzug
   a. Antiphon: 'Hosanna filio David'
   b. Hymn: 'Gloria laus' (Latin/German, antiphon and verses 2, 4 and 5)
   c. Antiphon: 'Mit festlichen Palmen'
   d. Antiphon: 'Sei gegrüßt, Du unser König'
II) Abendmahl
   a. Hymns: 'Pange lingua' (verses 1, 2 and 4) and 'Tantum ergo' (verses 5 and 6)
III) Gethsemani
IV) Pilatus
   a. Sequence: 'Stabat mater' (verses 1, 2 and 11)
V) Golgotha
VI) Agnus Dei

As can be seen from the outline, Bauman builds elements of the liturgical Ordinary into the structure of the *Passion*, with the use of the Agnus Dei in the final section and additionally with the use of the Hosanna and Benedictus, as well as the Gloria in the Einzug. Referencing a 1990 review of the piece in the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, Hastetter calls this the 'reliturgisation' of the Passion story, in the

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[117] 'Echtes Schöpfertum, in der Sprache des Psalmisten ‚Singet dem Herrn ein *neues* Lied', kann sich nur in der Sprache *unserer* Zeit ausdrücken.' It is worth noting here that Baumann was not a proponent of translating the central Latin texts of the liturgy, despite this statement, which relates to the type of German used, when appropriate. Max Baumann, ‚'Zum Problem deutschsprachiger Propriumsvertongungen' in *Musica Sacra*, 84 (1964), p. 214.
[118] Hastetter (2019), p.40.
[119] Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, 'Gekreuzigt, gestorben, begraben. Karfreitag' (1973), in *Joseph Ratzinger Gesammelte Schriften*, Gerhard Ludwig Müller, ed., 6/2 (Freiburg /Basel/Vienna: Verlag Herder, 2014), pp. 639-646, p. 639.
[120] Laas (2013), pp. 137-138.

sense that the Mass is inserted to emphasise the fact that it, and by extension the wider liturgy, stems from the Last Supper and the Crucifixion.[121]

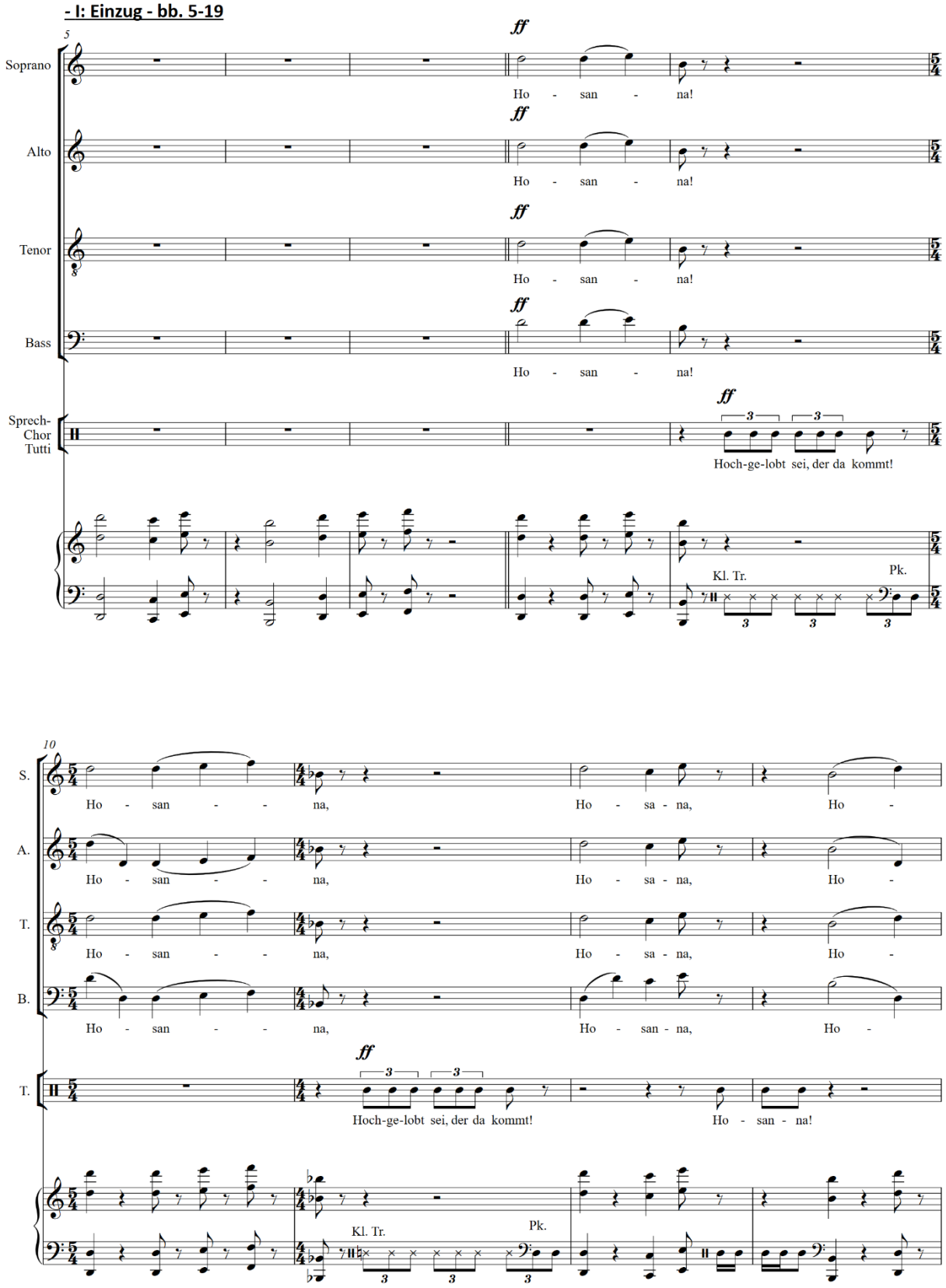
The manner in which the German text is used in the *Passion* is an important element in exploring how the work interacts with the more general issues discussed in this chapter regarding the role of the congregation in relation to the liturgy. Some of the German text is simply sung, for example in Pontius Pilate's and Claudia's arias in the fourth movement. But much of it is given over to the Sprechchor and the speaker playing Christ. For instance, in the Einzug, the choir and Sprechchor interact with each other antiphonally, with the former singing the Hosanna in Latin ('Hosanna filio David') and the latter responding in German ('Hochgelobt sei, der da kommt! Hosanna dem Sohne Davids!') (ex. 8). In this way, Baumann creates a dialogue between the objective liturgical Latin text, sung by the choir and the modern German language, which the congregation or audience can easily understand, and which can be performed by anyone, regardless of musical ability or training. This dichotomy between the objectivity of the liturgy and the subjectivity of the modern language is further mirrored in Baumann's decision not to have Christ sing. Laas sees this as a means of universalising the experience of the Passion for all listeners in the sense that, rather than having a trained professional singer interpret the role in a language which was, for many, unintelligible, Christ is performed in a way which is relatable, and attainable for non-specialists.[122] This therefore allows the listener to experience the Passion in a subjective manner, in which they imagine themselves in the role of Christ.

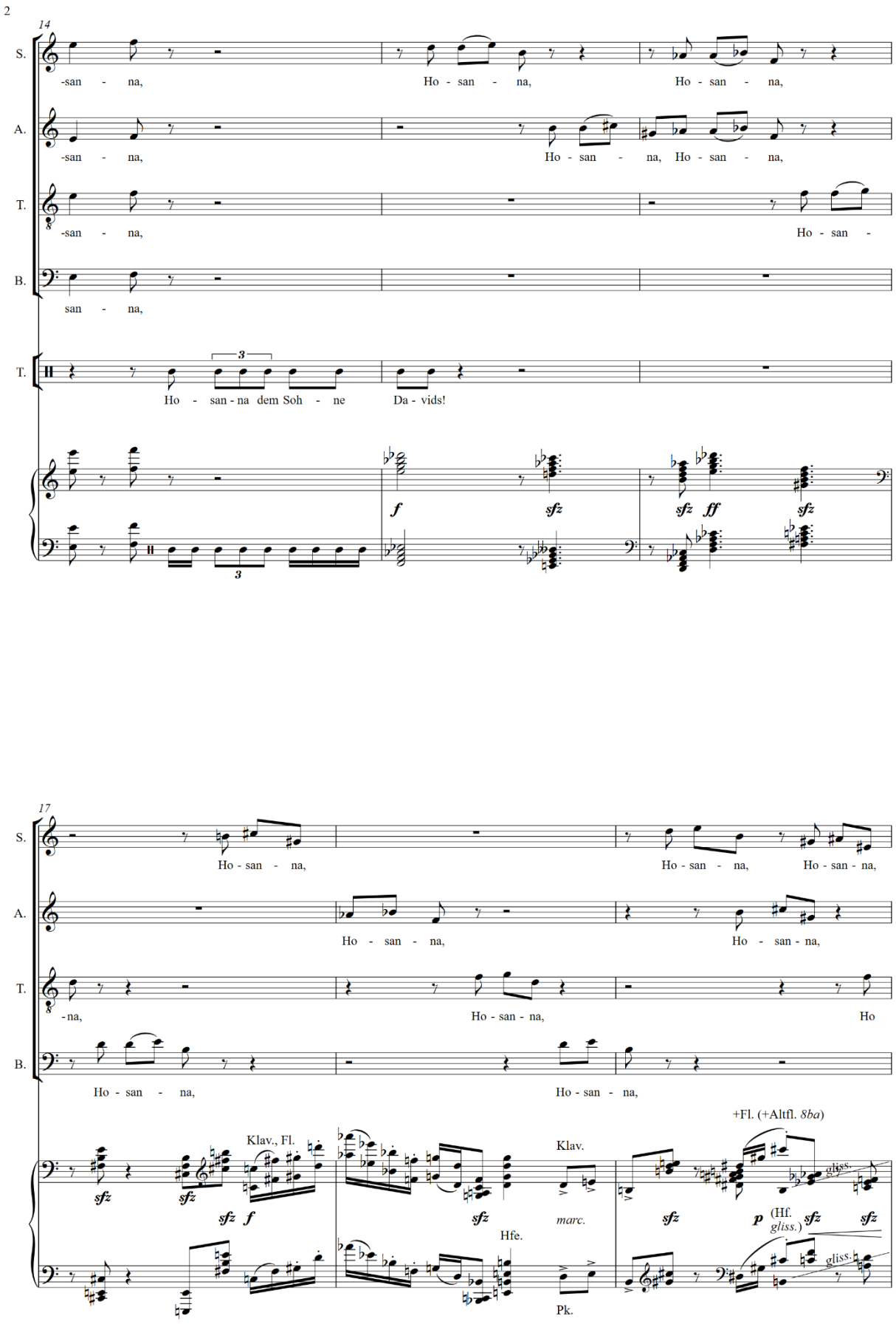
In these terms, Baumann's *Passion* can be understood as attempting to bridge a central contradiction with which the Catholic Jugendbewegung had been struggling for over half a century by 1959. He seeks to reconcile the Latin liturgy with contemporary relatability by juxtaposing it with the modern vernacular and creating roles within his work which do not require trained musicians to

[121] Hastetter (2019), pp. 41-42.
[122] Johannes Laas, 'Vorwort', in Max Baumann, *Passion nach Texten der heiligen Schrift und der Liturgie* für Soli (Sopran und Bariton), Chor (SATB), Sprech-Chor und Orchester, op. 63 (1959), vocal score, Darius Heise-Krzyszton, ed. (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 2017), pp. 4-5, p. 5.

perform. Though I will not discuss the music of the piece in any great detail, as implied by my earlier discussion of Baumann's stylistic development, it is in keeping with much of the musical language of the Singbewegung, with the use of quartal and non-diatonic triadic harmonies, cadential avoidance and resolution through other means and a marked emphasis on rhythm. The influence of both Hindemith and Stravinsky is also very noticeable throughout, with many moments reminiscent of the *Symphony of Psalms* and *Oedipus Rex*, in particular. *Passion* therefore echoes the memory of Baumann's formative years before 1945, his education under Distler and his enthusiasm for his music and that of his Evangelical contemporaries. But it also frames them from a Catholic perspective in which a different set of issues are addressed, informed by the parallel development of the Catholic Singbewegung and its Evangelical counterpart.

Example 8: *Passion*
- I: Einzug - bb. 5-19




2
14
S.
-san - na,
Ho - san - na,
Ho - san - na,
A.
-san - na,
Ho - san - na, Ho - san - na,
T.
-san - na,
Ho - san -
B.
san - na,
T.
Ho - san - na dem Soh - ne
Da - vids!
f
sfz
sfz ff
sfz
17
S.
Ho - san - na,
Ho - san - na,
Ho - san - na,
A.
Ho - san - na,
Ho - san - na,
T.
-na,
Ho - san - na,
Ho
B.
Ho - san - na,
Ho - san - na,
Klav., Fl.
Klav.
+Fl. (+Altfl. 8ba)
sfz
sfz
sfz f
sfz
marc.
sfz
p
(Hf. gliss.)
sfz
sfz
gliss.
Hfe.
gliss.
Pk.

Baumann's approach in this piece was clearly in tension with that taken by the Second Vatican Council and the German Catholic Church in response to it. Along the same trajectory as *Kirchengebet* from 1928, by 1954 the Second International Congress for Catholic Sacred Music, meeting in Vienna, was principally concerned with discussing the introduction of the vernacular into both the Chant and the Ordinary. Indeed, there are clear signs that many wanted to go further than the 'para-liturgy' offered by *Kirchengebet*, in which the congregation spoke in German along with the recitation or performance of the Latin Mass. A model of particular interest was Wolker's concept of a 'Deutsche Gregorianik', which set German texts to the melodies of Gregorian Chant.[123] Pius XII's 1955 treatise *Musicae sacrae disciplina* also called for the introduction of the vernacular into the lower functions of the liturgy as a means of bringing the congregation closer to active functional participation.[124] But the full refutation of Baumann's approach came with the Council itself in the 1960s, as outlined above.

Deutsche Gregorianik

An important response in a German-language context to the publication of Sacrosanctum Concilium came at the 1964 general assembly of the Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für die Länder deutscher Sprache (ACV, for which Baumann was a member of the Music Council) in Brixen in South Tyrol. One of the central questions the council sought to explore was, how the German language could be laid over Gregorian Chant melodies in a way that remained both intelligible and approachable for the active participation of the congregation.[125] As Urbanus Bomm saw it, this was something of a problem as the text stress of the German translations did not fit easily with the contours of the original Gregorian melodies. Therefore, finding a solution which brought out the rhetoric of the new text without compromising the Gregorian or Latin-language nature of the liturgy

[123] Laas (2013), pp. 212-213.
[124] '*Musicae Sacrae*: Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on Sacred Music to our venerable Brethren, the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and other local Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See, Vatican, http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_25121955_musicae-sacrae.html (accessed 7/8/2020), in particular, articles 47-49.
[125] Laas (2013), pp. 245-246.

was difficult.[126] In an attempt to find a solution, Johannes Overath, the General Chairman of the ACV, sent out a call for scores which asked composers to submit a setting of a German-language translation of a sacred text and send it in anonymously. But, of the sixteen submissions selected for presentation at the assembly, all were deemed to have failed in attempting to reconcile the text stress of the translation with music in a way that seemed natural and intelligible, with overcomplexity being cited as the main grounds for the failure of most of the attempts.[127] Bomm concluded that another point of tension was that the liturgical reform of Sacrosanctum Concilium was really oriented towards the spoken word as a form in itself and that the process of throwing off the mystery of the liturgy and orienting it towards the people whom it was actually meant to address, the congregation, might involve breaking down the musical barrier of composed choral music altogether in certain parts of the liturgy.[128]

Baumann's stance in relation to these liturgical reforms is made very clear by a letter written to the council of the ACV in 1963 in response to the call for submissions, which he later published in *Musica Sacra* in 1964. Here, he stated that he declined to compose a Proprium setting as requested, explaining that he saw Gregorian Chant as a unique work of art and that he would consider it sacrilege to replace it with his own composition.[129] The universality of both the music and text of the Chant, having been composed so distantly in the past that it is timeless and unbound by geography by being in Latin, stood to him in stark contrast with any modern translation. The style of language and music changes over time and an attempt to create a 'modern' version of the Chant would age very quickly. The attempts at 'Deutsche Gregorianik' over recent decades were guilty of this in Baumann's eyes. As a result, the Chant, and by extension the liturgy as a whole, would not become more relevant to modern congregations through guising it in modern dress, but quite the opposite,

[126] Urbanus Bomm, 'Zur Vortragsweise liturgischer Lesungen in deutscher Sprache', in *Musica Sacra*, 84 (1964), pp. 202-209, p. 203.
[127] Laas (2013), pp. 247-248.
[128] Bomm (1964), pp. 207-209.
[129] Baumann (1964), p. 214.

it would lose its universality and be briefly relevant to one time and one moment, before rapidly descending into irrelevance.[130]

This was not to say that Baumann believed that nothing could be done to the Chant on a musical level other than being sung by itself; his *Passion* and many other works prove that. Instead, his assertion is that Gregorian Chant and the Latin-language hymns and texts of the Catholic Church must continue to exist at the centre of the liturgy, as its central musical memory site, as a resource which composers may draw on in their own contemporary context and which they have a duty to present to modern listeners in an approachable manner. Taking Baumann's pedigree as a composer of the Singbewegung, his commitment to Gebrauchsmusik and approachability in sacred music in combination with the struggle for the composers who did submit to the ACV call for scores to find a solution to the stipulations of the Second Vatican Council, Sacrosanctum Concilium can be understood as a profound existential moment for the postwar Catholic Singbewegung. Its ideals of active participation and approachability on the one hand and faithfulness to the liturgy on the other, seemingly unproblematic within the Evangelical Church, were made irreconcilable by the Council for composers like Baumann and many others who adhered to the pre-conciliar liturgy.

Conclusion

In a speech given at a 1979 conference in Bonn on the topic 'Kirche, Wirklichkeit und Kunst' (Church, Reality and Art), Hummel reflected on contemporary sacred music in the Catholic Church, bemoaning what he saw as the dire state it found itself in at the time. He complained that in Germany church choirs were dying out due to the insistence from the Church that music always be accessible to congregations, which inevitably meant pandering to the lowest common denominator and giving in to popular, consumerist taste.[131] Further, the current liturgy provided little space for

[130] Baumann (1964)
[131] ‚Der Sinn Der Welt im Gotteslob; Zur Situation der Musik in der Kirche heute', Bertold Hummel (1979), http://www.bertoldhummel.de/pdf-dateien/liturgisch/zur_kirchenmusik.pdf (accessed 13/02/2017), pp. 2-3.

the preservation of the musical canon of the Church (as stipulated by the Second Vatican Council) and the distinction that sacred music should be 'Gebrauchsmusik' of a professional artistic level for the liturgy, rather than enslaved to the liturgy, had been lost.[132] This was a general decline that Hummel saw as going hand in hand with the alienation of listeners from music-making themselves and instead being dependent on consumerism via the sale of records, and he rejected the notion that the Church should go along with this 'debasement' of taste.[133] He asked how composers could be expected to raise worshippers in praise and create art for the Church comparable to Gregorian Chant and Renaissance Polyphony when they were so hemmed in by both the liturgy and the demands of approachability.[134] Considering Hummel's stance in relation to these issues in the 1950s, in addition to that of many other composers, it can clearly be seen that something had gone fundamentally wrong with the Catholic offshoot of the Singbewegung following its relative success in the first twenty or so years following 1945.

In many ways, adopting the music of the prewar Evangelical Singbewegung in the years after the fall of National Socialism seemed like a logical step for Catholic composers in continuing the developments made by the Catholic Singbewegung in the first half of the twentieth century. Additionally, the position of the Church in West Germany after the war--having gained a more even footing with Protestantism in terms of demographics and having remained (by its own account) fairly morally unscathed by the regime, despite the ideological similarities they shared--meant that it was more readily able to adopt the neo-Baroque Singbewegung style and attempt to restore itself to its pre-1933 form without facing the same level of criticism as the Evangelical Church. But the progress of the Liturgical Movement, in Germany and beyond, ultimately led to a point at which the centuries-old Catholic liturgy was transformed in such a way that put the composers seeking to serve it at odds with its new demands. As Urbanus Bomm put it, the ultimate aim of the reforms of the Sacrosanctum Concilium, whether explicitly stated or otherwise, was the spoken word of the

[132] Bertold Hummel (1979), p. 2.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.

vernacular language as a form in itself. The call for 'active participation' in these terms therefore essentially demanded that Catholic composers abandon Gregorian Chant and the forms of the liturgical Ordinary as they knew them in order to serve this purpose. It is perhaps not difficult to see why the Catholic Singbewegung struggled to survive these demands, given that they turned its central ideology on itself.

Writing in 1983, Baumann claimed that the Council's reforms had essentially forced Catholic composers out of the Church and into the concert hall in search for an avenue for expression.[135] Indeed, though their respective outputs of the 1950s involved multiple Mass settings, a quick glance at the catalogues of both Baumann and Hummel makes it clear that hardly any date from the post-conciliar period and the number of functional sacred works both of them produced dropped sharply after the mid-1960s.[136] This is not to say that no composer of Catholic faith composed sacred music with a relationship to the Church, but the significant Catholic works they did write were generally large-scale concert pieces, such as Hummel's 1988/89 oratorio *Der Schrein der Märtyrer* or Baumann's 1980 oratorio *Auferstehung*. Tapping into the language of the Singbewegung may have allowed the liturgical music of the Catholic Church to flourish for a short period after 1945, but ultimately, the Catholic Singbewegung still belongs to the wider narrative of decay from the 1950s onwards of the movement as a whole. On the one hand it was viewed as derivative by the avant-garde. But on the other, wider cultural trends towards the introduction of more popular forms of music in worship as a means of competing with popular culture and secularisation meant that in neither church was the language of the Singbewegung seen as one in which congregations could be addressed in a manner they would find approachable.

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[135] Baumann (1983), pp. 88-89.

[136] 'Werkverzeichnis', Max Baumann Gesellschaft, http://www.max-baumann-gesellschaft.de/werkeverzeichnis01_set.html (accessed 7/8/2020) and 'Werkverzeichnis', Bertold Hummel, http://www.bertoldhummel.de/werkverzeichnis/werkverzeichnis.html (accessed 7/8/2020).

Chapter 5
Criticism and Decline

Despite the Singbewegung's moderate early success in reviving itself to its pre-1933 state following the Second World War, its Evangelical core was no more immune to being swept away by the wider changes of the late 1950s onwards than its Catholic wing. This is clearly illustrated by the decline and failure of one of the movement's flagship projects, the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik, over the course of that decade. The frustration of the Catholic Singbewegung was in many ways rooted in the ideological issues and subsequent liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council. In contrast, the postwar Evangelicals faced a general lack of enthusiasm with the fundamental values of the movement, alongside a more general societal trend towards secularisation within West-Germany at the time, the growing hegemony of the avant-garde and sharp criticism from both within and beyond the Church. In his 1956 essay 'Kritik des Musikanten', published in the collection *Dissonanzen*, Theodor Adorno accused the musicians of the Jugendbewegung of a lack of self-reflection which sought to affirm existing social and societal structures in a manner dangerously close to fascism.[1] In his view, art needed to critique society, especially in the postwar period, not mimic it, and the Jugendbewegung were therefore little more than peddlers of Kitsch. This critique was met with dismay in Heidenheim, and Helmut Bornefeld, who had been in correspondence with Adorno since 1954, sought to use the later years of the Arbeitstage to counter such assertions and prove the case for the relevance of the Singbewegung.[2] The listening repertoire at Heidenheim became, to an extent, more diverse, with gradual overtures being made towards contact with the avant-garde.

The issue of liturgical function was not an easy one to get around, however, and the Evangelical Singbewegung struggled to reconcile an increasingly obvious need for modernisation

[1] Theodor Adorno, 'Kritik des Musikanten', in *Dissonanzen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1956, 1958), pp. 62-101, pp. 80-85.
[2] Summereder (2010), pp. 169-171.

with its demands. Beyond Adorno, postwar figures such as the composer and musicologist Clytus Gottwald and the composer Wolfgang Fortner also became key voices in criticising the values of the Singbewegung. Unlike Adorno, both were insiders, having been trained within the tradition by some of its central figures, including Distler and his teacher Genzmer in Gottwald's case. But the strong reservations I will show them both to have expressed towards the movement from the mid-1950s put them more in line with Adorno than with Bornefeld. As they saw it, the Singbewegung's adherence to liturgical function and congregational participation made it fundamentally incompatible with the development of music beyond the walls of the Church. This, in combination with its naively optimistic approach towards society, was said to have worrying echoes of National Socialism. In this way, the whole ideological basis for the Jugendbewegung more broadly began to come into serious question. As Adorno put it, 'nowhere is it written that singing is necessary'; this provides a pithy expression of the existential crisis in which the Singbewegung found itself at this time.[3]

The dwindling numbers of attendees at Heidenheim over the course of the 1950s cannot be explained by the criticism of Adorno and others alone, however. As I have explored in relation to Catholicism, a brief initial surge in interest in the churches of West Germany could not mask the widely-observed societal shift during the decade away from organised religion in the form the Jugendbewegung understood it. This process of secularisation is an additional strand in understanding the gradual failure of the Singbewegung in the fifteen years following 1945. As I will demonstrate, it is important to remember that secularisation was a two-way process. Just as the fallout of the Second Vatican Council led to a transformation of the liturgy and practises of the Catholic Church, so too did secularism affect the nature of the Evangelical Church. This process of secularisation 'by the back door', as the theologian Eberhard Stammler put it, entailed adapting the Church's offering according to popular taste.[4] This ideology runs contrary to how the members of

[3] 'Nirgends steht geschrieben, daß Singen not sei.' Adorno (1958), p. 75.
[4] Eberhard Stammler, *Protestanten ohne Kirche* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1960), pp. 85-86.

the Singbewegung saw themselves in relation to society. The aim had always been to open the doors of the Church and spread its practices out into society, as a means of resisting commercialism and Romantic subjectivity. Secularisation meant opening the doors of the Church in order to let the outside world in, to encourage participation by appealing to popular taste.

In addition, the opening up of West Germany to the Allies following Nazi Germany's surrender in 1945 and Allied involvement in re-establishing and supporting many of the country's beleaguered musical institutions led to an influx of music which had found little favour under the National Socialist Regime.[5] On the one hand, the sudden availability of various different genres of popular music fed into the increasing pull of secularism away from the music of the liturgy. But on the other, the central developments in New Music towards serialism as the only style of the day posed challenges to the Singbewegung that to which their absolute faith in the liturgy made ut difficult to respond. It can sometimes be a little too easy to present Darmstadt and serialism as excessively monolithic concepts during the 1950s.[6] From the perspective of the Singbewegung, however, it seems that dodecaphony was very much viewed as an all-encompassing orthodoxy, and one to which they struggled to find an answer. Heidenheim sought to represent itself as a competitor to Darmstadt and as a centre for innovation and new music. Despite this, the movement's adherence to approachability and serving the liturgy acted as a significant obstacle in embracing the compositional experimentation happening elsewhere during the 1950s. In this way, its attachment to the cultural memory of both the distant Baroque past and the struggles of the 1920s was increasingly becoming a yoke around the movement's neck. This meant that it would ultimately be left behind and unable to provide its composers with the opportunities to embrace new techniques and modes of expression which the changes in New Music occurring elsewhere during the 1950s offered them.

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[5] Beal (2006), pp. 1-7.

[6] See Martin Iddon, 'Darmstadt Schools: Darmstadt as a plural phenomenon', in *Tempo*, 65, 256 (April 2011), pp. 2-8, pp. 2-6 and Christopher Fox, 'Darmstadt and the Institutionalisation of Modernism', in *Contemporary Music Review*, 26, 1 (2008), pp. 115-123, p. 116.

This final chapter will demonstrate the decline of the central branch of the Singbewegung in the postwar period by exploring the arguments of some of its harshest critics. The Evangelical circle around Helmut Bornefeld can be seen as one of the most direct successors to the first generation of the movement, following Distler's suicide in 1942 and Pepping's ideological abandonment of its ideology after the war. As such, the failure of the Heidenheim project at the end of the 1950s can be used as a representative example of the failure of the wider movement. Serious problems for the Arbeitstage were clearly developing from around 1955 and, even though tentative steps were taken towards the inclusion of more avant-garde repertoire, the summer school had quite a simple central dilemma. Too few composers were interested in writing new music which could be performed within the function of the liturgy of the Evangelical Church. Stockhausen, Messiaen and Berg might have been creeping their way into the listening sessions and lectures, but the actual repertoire being performed was increasingly turning to the past, with the continuous rehashing of classic works by Distler, alongside reprisals of existing pieces by Bornefeld and Reda. Given this dearth of new material, the movement became ever more insular. The spark of cultural memory of the distant Baroque past which had so inspired it in the 1920s and 1930s folded in on itself and this compound memory threatened to suffocate the Singbewegung as it proved unable to move away from the shade of the past. The answer to the question of how the movement could reconcile the demands of liturgical function with the tide of new music pushing against it at this point seems to have been difficult to find.

A word about Darmstadt

Before this, however, I think it would be helpful to turn briefly to what is meant by Darmstadt when I discuss it here. To simplify, the most common narrative of postwar music in West Germany is focused on the compositional output of the various composers associated with the series of summer schools run in the Hessian city of Darmstadt. This narrative focuses around Anglo-American efforts to 'de-nazify' German music by creating an international centre for the composition of strictly non-

representational serial music, free of the regressive historicism of the National Socialist period.[7] Writing in 2011, Martin Iddon is keen to stress that this image of Darmstadt really was an oversimplification which did not reflect the pluralistic and competing agendas of the various figures involved with the Darmstadt Ferienkurse. Further, as Gesa Kordes notes, the very early years at Darmstadt actually featured their own share of music in a Neoclassical idiom and were much closer to Heidenheim in stylistic terms than the Darmstadt of the mid-1950s.[8] Hermann Danuser proposes that the concept of the monolithic serial project as the sole compositional credo of Darmstadt is a misleading Anglo-American generalisation. Instead, there was a much greater variety of opinion in evidence throughout the life-cycle of the summer schools for any one style to be considered wholly dominant over others, as reflected by the diversity of works performed beyond the conventional repertoire of Nono, Stockhausen and Boulez.[9] Christopher Fox agrees with this interpretation, stating that, while the initial myth of Darmstadt orthodoxy did stem from many of the composers involved, it was further solidified after the fact by the younger wave of composers who reacted against postwar modernism in the 1980s and 1990s.[10]

As can be seen from this debate surrounding Darmstadt, the schools were really a centre for a series of competing interests vying for dominance. Further, Philip Rupprecht has shown that even the common narrative of the music of Darmstadt being apolitical is open to challenge. Citing Mark Carroll's discussion of Boulez's *Structures*, Rupprecht shows that the piece can be read as a political statement of resistance to both of the cultural forces pulling at western Europe following the Second World War, these being 'Eastern bloc socialist realism' on the one hand and 'American pop-cultural influence' on the other.[11] Beyond Boulez's perceived act of political resistance in pieces such as

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[7] Iddon (2011), p. 2.
[8] Gesa Kordes, 'Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity', in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music & German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 205-217, pp. 205-207.
[9] Gionmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, eds., *Im Zenit der Moderne: die internationalen Ferienkurse für neue Musik Darmstadt 1946-1966* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997), p. 354.
[10] Fox (2008), p. 116.
[11] Philip Rupprecht, '"Something Slightly Indecent": British Composers, the European Avant-garde and National Stereotypes in the 1950s', in *The Musical Quarterly*, 91, 3-4 (Fall-Winter 2008), pp. 275-326, pp. 281-282.

Structures, a competing political agenda of Darmstadt as a whole has often been highlighted in relation to the amount of early funding received from the US State Department, which even stated in 1947 that the purpose of the courses offered was to 'overcome the spiritual isolation imposed by National Socialism'.[12] The image that emerges of the summer schools at Darmstadt in a contemporary light is therefore one of complex and at times competing agendas, often with a much stronger political leaning than has been claimed. My purpose here is not to provide a detailed account of Darmstadt or to be at too great pains to stress its nuanced nature over a more stereotypical image of an overbearing serial agenda. Instead, this short section is intended to establish the summer schools as a distinct, and often over-simplified, counterpole against which the members of the Singbewegung often perceived themselves as they sought to re-establish the movement following the disruption of the Second World War.

Heidenheim in the mid-1950s: criticism and the beginning of the end

To return briefly to the background behind the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage, the project was conceived by the composers and organist Helmut Bornefeld and Siegfried Reda in 1946 in the town of Heidenheim near Stuttgart. They envisioned a series of summer schools which would pick up what they saw as the frustrated legacy of the Singbewegung of the 1920s and 1930s and breathe new life into it through the performance and discussion of new sacred works.[13] Rather than acknowledging potential parallels between the ideology underpinning both the movement and National Socialism, Bornefeld in particular saw the work of the Singbewegung as having been stifled by the latter's advent.[14] His presentation of Distler's suicide in 1942 as an act of martyrdom is representative of this.[15] A fundamental question the Arbeitstage sought to answer was not only how to continue Distler's legacy of writing functional music for the Protestant liturgy in a manner inspired by the

[12] Rupprecht (2008), pp. 283-284.
[13] Dallmann (1996), p. 213.
[14] Bornefeld (1969), p. 6.
[15] Ibid., see also 'In Memoriam Hugo Distler', in Bornefeld, (1947), p. 27.

movement's idealised conception of the Baroque past, but also how this could be done in a manner which engaged with developments in new music. As incompatible as these competing factors may seem, as I will demonstrate, the members of the Singbewegung who clung to the Heidenheim project did seem genuinely to believe themselves to be moving in the same orbit as the main West-German centres for the avant-garde in the 1950s of Darmstadt and Donaueschingen.

A limited amount of diversification in the set repertoire for Heideinheim could already be seen from roughly 1953 onwards, with Reda suggesting to Bornefeld the possibility of including listening seminars on the work of the Second Viennese School, such as Berg's *Lyrische Suite* and Webern's Concerto for Chamber Ensemble. At this time, however, Bornefeld and Reda were still somewhat tentative about the inclusion of twelve-tone music in the set pieces. Reda suggested that the technique had a possible application via its treatment as a cantus firmus, but both were concerned that the inclusion of this repertoire and the compositional use of tone rows would ultimately be too alienating from the perspective of functional sacred music.[16] Consequently, the repertoire for 1953 and 1954 remained fairly conservative, with the first two organ concerts of 1954 featuring works by Genzmer, David and Reda himself, in addition to pieces by Reger and, exceptionally, Messiaen and Schönberg. The second concert was intended to demonstrate the development of organ composition during the first half of the twentieth century and this allowed some space for the inclusion of a limited amount of music beyond the general scope of the Singbewegung.

<u>Programme for the first organ concert of 1954</u>

- Harald Genzmer: Sonate in drei Sätzen (1952)
- J. N. David: 'Choralwerk XII Lobt Gott ihr frommen Christen' (1952), Gottesminnelieder (Mechthild v. Magdeburg) für Sopran und Orgel (1927/42)
- Siegfried Reda: Evangelienmusik Luk.9/51-56 für Sopran und Orgel (1952), Choralkonzert O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid (1938/52)

<u>Programme for the second organ concert of 1954</u>

- Max Reger: Variationen und Fuge über ein Originalthema in fis-moll op. 73 (1903)

[16] Summereder (2010), p. 122.

- Olivier Messiaen: 'Pièce en trio I' from Livre d'orgue (1951), 'Les enfants de Dieu' from La Nativité du Seigneur (1936)
- Arnold Schönberg: Variations on a Recitative op. 40 (1941)

Programme for the second evening service of 1954

- Helmut Bornefeld: Kantoreisätze
- Siegfried Reda: Gratuallieder
- Ernst Pepping: Liedmotette 'Wunderlich Ding hat sich ergangen'[17]

In contrast, the choral material used for the services of that year remained limited to the standard canon of works by the usual names. Here especially, this lukewarm attitude towards some of the compositional techniques of the avant-garde seems to illustrate the difficulty Bornefeld in particular had in bridging the gap between approachability and the wider compositional trends of the time. On the one hand, a professional organist might not have too much trouble performing works which extended the boundaries of tonality or abandoned it together. But on the other, a choir of mixed ability was unlikely to be able to do this and an uninitiated congregation may not have been inclined to want to listen to it either, let alone join in. In as much as this issue was being considered at all, the twelve-tone problem seems increasingly to have been becoming a serious stumbling block. Further, at this point the 'modern' works being considered were not actually contemporary to the Arbeitstage, but were already at least over ten years old and there was no mention of the inclusion of the works of figures like Stockhausen and Boulez currently engaged in other summer schools taking place not too far from Heidenheim, such as Darmstadt and Donaueschingen.

Writing in his 1966 essay 'Orgelspiegel', Bornefeld lamented that what he identified as the first generation of 'Modernist' composers (Hindemith, Schönberg and Krenek) had contributed very little to the genre of organ music, or functional sacred music generally. Beyond this, the 'young' generation of 1950s Modernists (Zimmermann, Henze, Stockhausen, Boulez and Nono) were even

[17] Summereder (2010), p. 129.

more indifferent to it.[18] As a result of this lack of repertoire, Bornefeld transcribed a number of works, including Bartok's *Mikrokosmos* (1926-1939), for organ in order to have sufficient material for performance at the 1955 summer school (which took place from 1st to 8th August of that year and had only a rather underwhelming 105 participants).[19] This resistance to the avant-garde was not, though, supported by a wealth of new works being written by composers associated with the Singbewegung. Even commissioning these was becoming difficult as the doctrine of functionality became increasingly stifling and key members of the movement were beginning to explore non-liturgical forms in order to have more creative freedom to explore what were, by the 1950s, well-established stylistic considerations. J. N. David, whose works featured regularly at Heidenheim, was starting to incorporate dodecaphony in his music, particularly in his 'Choralwerke' cycle, and as a result was focused more and more on the composition of music which was not appropriate for the purpose of the summer school.[20]

A serious existential problem for the Singbewegung seems to have been developing by this point. For all of the enthusiasm at Heidenheim for postwar renewal and the restoration of the pre-1933 status quo and the renewed energy being poured into the movement from some quarters, including Bärenreiter and its flagship magazine *Musik und Kirche*, very clear cracks were starting to appear in the project. It is worth remembering Pepping's extreme scepticism in his correspondence with Richard Baum at Bärenreiter. In refusing to attend a similar Singkreis in Bad Boll in 1947 and to have his work included in any themed collections relating to the Singbewegung, Pepping accused the movement of being a clique who were highly intolerant of any composer who did not belong to their 'guild' and of musical styles different to theirs.[21] In light of the dwindling attendance numbers at Heidenheim by 1955 and the difficulty in attempting to commission new repertoire, Pepping does not appear to have been alone in seeing the music of the Singbewegung as belonging to a different

[18] Helmut Bornefeld, *Orgelspiegel: 100 Thesen in fünf Artikeln mit 25 Zeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), article 95.
[19] Summereder (2010), pp. 143-146.
[20] Rudolf Klein, 'J. N. David und die Reihentechnik', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, XV/1960/11.
[21] Ernst Pepping to Dr Richard Baum, 7/7/1947, Pepping 21.

cultural moment, from which West Germany was beginning to move on. Additionally, Summereder believes this stubbornness to accept change also extended to reservations regarding certain composers on religious grounds. For example, he shows that Bornefeld was very reluctant to include too much work by Messiaen. Further, when participants at the summer schools suggested analysing and performing Catholic-leaning works by Stravinsky, such as his *Pater noster, Ave Maria, Credo* and *Messe*, or even commissioning new ones by Catholic composers, Bornefeld refused.[22]

This sense of insularity appears in Bornefeld's own writing from this time. In the programme booklet for the 1955 Arbeitstage, he claimed that his brand of sacred music was increasingly being compromised by an overwhelming tide of materialism, which was shifting popular taste away from the Singbewegung's principles of 'risk and sacrifice'.[23] Instead, he accused consumerist culture of pushing Germans towards a desire for individualism, mindless pleasure and simple gratification. The root cause of this was, in his opinion, a feeling of dissatisfaction, loneliness and lack of purpose characteristic of the postwar period.[24] Going further, Bornefeld claims that the music of the Singbewegung should not compromise in relation to the lurch towards consumerism and give in to popular taste. Rather, it should provide the solution to the fundamental problems which made materialism attractive. In his view, the movement's emphasis on community and on music which required people to engage with it, and which challenged them without alienating them was the answer to the cultural black hole left following the war.[25]

In spite of Bornefeld's belief in the ideals of Heidenheim, the project, one of the Singbewegung's last major gasps in West Germany, was clearly running into serious difficulty by the final years of the 1950s. The same issues that had been becoming increasingly pressing in the middle of the decade, a lack of newly commissioned works and a dwindling number of participants, were now at a point of overwhelming Bornefeld and Reda's efforts altogether. By the 1959 and 1960

[22] Summereder (2010), p. 142.
[23] ('Wagnis und Opfer'), Helmut Bornefeld, 'Vorwort zu Programmheft, 1955', printed in full in Sumereder (2010), pp. 145-146.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

sittings, they simply did not have a sufficient number of new works to perform in order to present themselves as pioneers of new sacred music. In 1959, for example, during the whole week, there were only two works performed that had not already been played at Heidenheim. Of these, Krenek's Sonate op. 92/1 for organ was from 1941 and the other was an organ concerto by Reda himself.[26] To make matters worse, the number of participants had dropped to 49 in 1959 and then 45 in 1960, a significant reduction in the figures from earlier in the decade when twice as many and more attended.[27]

In light of this, there seems to have been a growing air of pessimism regarding the whole project and serious doubts were developing as to how the Singbewegung could actually respond to the musical innovations emerging from other more famous summer schools elsewhere in West Germany. Admittedly, Bornefeld's listening seminars were attempting to grapple with a limited repertoire of relatively avant-garde works. Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* had featured in 1957 and in 1959 his *Kontrapunkte* was discussed alongside Schönberg's *Moses und Aron*. But in contrast to this, the actual content of the church services during the week and the music performed was relatively unchanged. The programme for the evening service on 9/8/1959 included the following;

- Distler: Partita Wachet auf
- Distler Jesu, deine Passion
- Bornefeld: Choralmotette VII Mit Freuden zart (1957)
- David: Partita 'Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig', from Choralwerk III (1932)
- Reda: Magnificat peregrini toni (1948)[28]

By 1960, even *Musik und Kirche* was starting to sound alarm bells about Heidenheim and the future of the movement, with Siegfried Scheytt writing in June that year that its 'impulses' were beginning to 'ebb', pointing to the dearth of new repertoire as an indication that the future for the music of the Singbewegung was not a bright one.[29] This impression was then further confirmed in 1961 when, despite the publication of the announcement for the annual summer sitting of the Arbeitstage in

[26] Summereder (2010), pp. 190-191.
[27] Ibid., p. 190.
[28] Ibid., pp. 151, 190-192
[29] Siegfried Scheytt, 'Musik im Getto. Soziologischer Kommentar zur modernen evangelischen Kirchenmusik', in *Musik und Kirche*, 30 (1960), pp. 107-128, p. 115, as quoted in ibid., pp. 195-196.

Musik und Kirche in March, the fifteen participants who expressed an interest in attending the project were deemed too few to be worthwhile. Finally, it was decided that it was simply no longer viable to continue and Heidenheim was effectively cancelled from this point onwards.[30] As Katrin Beck put it, by the end of the 1950s, the world of the musical avant-garde focused around Darmstadt and the shrinking world of the Singbewegung were simply incompatible.[31] It was not difficult to ascertain which had the upper hand.

Adorno: 'Kritik des Musikanten'

Perhaps the fiercest critique of the Singbewegung project in the postwar period came in 1956 in the form of Adorno's 'Kritik des Musikanten'. The essay delivered a fundamental rebuttal of its objectives in the 1950s by drawing clear parallels between the movement and the uncritical ideology which had led to the culture of the Hitler Youth in the 1930s. It should come as no surprise that Adorno should have been hostile to the Singbewegung in general terms. As Ian Pace shows, even in the 1920s he had been quick to attack the 'artificial communality' of the Gebrauchsmusik movement more generally in his 1930 essay 'Bewußtsein des Konzerthörers'.[32] Following this, 'Kritik der Musikanten' can be understood as part of Adorno's wider attack on Neoclassicism as set out in his 1949 monograph *Philosophie der neuen Musik*. In brief, this much-discussed work pitted Schönberg against Stravinsky as antagonistic models of new music, with the former and the Second Viennese School held up as paragons of 'authentic' modernism and the latter, along with Hindemith, condemned as peddling empty, inauthentic artfulness.[33] As Stephen Downes notes, the undercurrent to much of this hostility to Stravinsky, and in a German context, to Hindemith, was representative of a wider sense of discomfort felt in postwar German avant-garde circles that the

[30] Summereder (2010), pp. 197-198.
[31] Katrin Beck, *Neue Musik im kirchlichen Raum der 1960er Jahre: Clytus Gottwald und die Folgen* (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag 2016), pp. 65-66.
[32] 'Appreciation of the Concert Listener', discussed in Pace (2018), p. 41
[33] Theodor Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979), pp. 127-129.

Neoclassical idiom they represented sat uncomfortably close to the musical language favoured by National Socialism.[34]

Writing on this topic, Philip Rupprecht demonstrates that Adorno's enthusiasm for Schönberg and the Second Viennese School did not necessarily always extend to the avant-garde composers grouped around Darmstadt. In his 1955 essay, 'Das Altern der neuen Musik', published in the same collection as 'Kritik des Musikanten', he accused Boulez et al of being 'infatuated' with their own material at the expense of what could be said with it.[35] As previously discussed, scholars such as Mark Carroll have shown that this was a viewpoint that took the avant-garde a little too much at its word. The point still stands, however, that the Adorno of the mid-1950s was one who was increasingly concerned about the problematic nature of music claiming to be functional. While his attitude towards the realisation of the legacy of the Second Viennese School in the 1950s seems to have hardened somewhat in the seven years since *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, Adorno's view on Neoclassicism seems to have become even more caustic by the time of *Dissonanzen*.

'Kritik des Musikanten' goes beyond the broader attack on what he termed the 'regressive infantilism' of Stravinsky and Neoclassicism to critique what he perceives to be the disingenuity of the Singbewegung and the Jugendbewegung more broadly. In *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, Adorno had branded Stravinsky's use of past musical styles as a manner of schizophrenia which masked a fundamental emptiness of expression and a lack of an authentic musical voice.[36] His criticism of the Singbewegung revolves around similar accusations of regressionism, but with a greater emphasis placed on the naivety of the movement in terms of its relationship with the past and its ideas regarding community. What Adorno finds fundamentally problematic is the role of cultural memory

[34] Stephen Downes, 'Hans Werner Henze as Post-Mahlerian: Anachronism, Freedom, and the Erotics of Intertextuality'', in *Twentieth Century Music*, 1, 2 (September 2004), pp. 179-207, pp. 179-180.
[35] Rupprecht (2009), pp. 281-282, 'Das Altern der neuen Musik', ('The aging of New Music'), was published as the final essay in *Dissonanzen* in 1956. The titles of the other essays in the collection are particularly illustrative of Adorno's wider motivation behind 'Kritik des Musikanten': 'Über den Fetischcharakter in der Musik und die Regression des Hörens' ('On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Hearing'), 'Die gegängelte Musik' ('Spoonfed Musik') and 'Zur Musikpädagogik' ('Music Pedagogy').
[36] Adorno, (1949), p. 156-158.

in the shaping of the Singbewegung's brand of Neoclassicism, in other words, the very cornerstone of the movement. The conflation of musical idiom and a yearning for an idealised community, both based on an imagined conception of the Baroque past, in Adorno's eyes, blinded the proponents of the movement in the postwar period to the dangerous proximity of their ideology to that of National Socialism. 'Kritik des Musikanten' sought to highlight just how concerning the ideological claims of the Singbewegung were, as Adorno saw them. He begins by stating that the various musical strands of the Jugendbewegung were based on a general and broadly applicable social need for music to have relevance to social function. But, as he saw it, while the musical-pedagogical manifestation of this in the 1920s and 1930s may have had some value at the time its relevance was now a thing of the past.[37]

For Adorno, the 'longing for community' that characterised the Singbewegung blinded its practitioners to the proper social role of music as an artform. Music would not regain the 'nourishing objectivity' it had lost from the early seventeenth century onwards, as Hindemith and others might have wished it to in the early twentieth century, by seeking to ossify itself into a style which placed social function and a 'binding' homogeneity over artistic autonomy.[38] In Adorno's understanding, this was to look at the problem of music's function the wrong way round. Rather than seeking to be a conduit and mirror for the Jugendbewegung's conception of community and social cohesion, art only does what is 'socially right' when it follows *its own* laws of motion.[39] In its endeavour to break down the barriers between art and society, so that they are one and the same, Adorno believed that the music of the Singbewegung had become cultish and was robbed of its essential function as a form of disruption and criticism. It was this cultishness and certainty in its own stylistic correctness that made the Singbewegung dangerous because the communal experience Adorno accused its leaders of mourning in the 1950s was the same experience that was sought after by the Hitler

[37] Adorno (1958), p. 62.
[38] Ibid., p. 63.
[39] 'Nur wenn Kunst dem eigenen Bewegungsgesetz folgt, tut sie das gesellschaftlich Rechte.', Ibid.

Youth.[40] Consequently, music as art was only really a secondary concern of the Singbewegung, with the furtherance and preservation of its social goals and its own utility being its primary purpose.

In Adorno's view, there was only a hair's breadth between the movement and the ideals of National Socialism. The fact that the material substance and nature of the rhetoric circulating in the various Jugendbewegung summer schools and youth retreats of the 1930s had not changed by the 1950s did little to remedy this. Instead, he accused them of apologism, stating that they cannot accept that it is the 'objective tendency' of the movement towards collectivism that inclines it towards fascism, not the perversion of its ideals by a subjective individual.[41] As Summereder highlights, in the 1930s Adorno had already pointed to the Jugendbewegung's ideals regarding community, Gemeinschaft, as belying its 'cultural fascistic potential'.[42] This is also more widely reflective of Adorno's views on musical 'Kitsch' voiced in the 1930s, which he calls 'memory, distorted and as mere illusion, of a formal objectivity that has passed away' and 'a manner of receptacle for the basic mythical materials of music'.[43] This description tallies with the Singbewegung's own description of its style, discussed in previous chapters, based on the chorale and the counterpoint of the Baroque and as having an objective authority beyond the 'self-indulgent subjectivism' of the nineteenth century. In this way, Adorno's critique of the movement pierces the central presumption of its relationship with the cultural memory of the Baroque past. In seeking to clothe itself in the authority of that past it presents itself as a pure and objective, totalising truth.

In essence, Adorno's central criticism of the Singbewegung is that it seeks to create music as a tool, as social work which reflects the idealised society it seeks to create. This music is not valid art to him because it is not absolute in itself. It does not preserve its own autonomy. Rather than taking music itself as a starting point in a manner that would allow it the requisite independence to be a socially-critical artform, the Singbewegung ideals manifest external factors musically. This renders its

[40] Adorno (1958), pp. 64-65.
[41] Ibid., pp. 79-81.
[42] Summereder (2010), p. 163.
[43] Adorno, 'Kitsch' (1932), in Rolf Tiedemann, ed., *Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 18 (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt am Main, 1970-1986), 791-794, p. 791.

work regressive, uncritical and Kitsch. Adorno's attack on the music of the movement has similarities with Fortner's criticisms expressed earlier. In taking the liturgy of the Evangelical Church as a yardstick for their music, the Singbewegung seemingly could not incorporate the musical languages of the 1950s because these were not deemed to be approachable to a congregation or to amateur musicians. In the same way that their discourse was locked in the prewar period, to many observers, so was the style of their music itself. As Pepping asserted to Richard Baum in his letter of 1947, this was one thing in 1930, but in the present day it was highly dangerous.[44] Citing Baum's 'Vom Sinn unseres Musizierens' in *Hausmusik* (1950), Adorno states bluntly that the Singbewegung detests all that is modern in music but wish to present themselves as being of central contemporary relevance. The solution to this is to frame their 'restitution' of the past, of the 1920s and of their distant Baroque golden age, as a 'renewal' which will transform society into an ideal community. With this comes a wealth of ideological baggage regarding 'blood and racial purity' and the eradication of all that is incompatible with its own image, all that is 'degenerate' in relation to it.[45]

Bornefeld and Adorno

Unsurprisingly, 'Kritik des Musikanten' was not well received at Heidenheim. Bornefeld took particular exception to Adorno's criticism of the Singbewegung and the 1957 session of Heidenheim prominently featured a lecture and discussion group entitled 'Was hat Adorno der jungen Kirchenmusik zu Sagen?'.[46] The text of this lecture is not extant, but a short summary of it is available in the programme for the 1957 Arbeitstage. Bornefeld did not actually challenge Adorno's central assertion that art needs to follow its own internal rules in order to be of social worth, rather than follow popular taste, but instead sought to establish that the music of the Singbewegung actually conforms to Adorno's formula. Contrary to the latter's arguments, Bornefeld believed that works such as Distler's *Geistliche Chormusik*, Pepping's *Spandauer Chorbuch* and Reda's *Chormusik*

[44] Pepping (7/7/1947).
[45] Adorno (1958), p. 83.
[46] 'What does Adorno have to say to young church music?', Summereder (2010), p. 153.

für das Jahr der Kirche constituted a 'renaissance' for the 'rudimentary models' Adorno criticises as being regressive. Rather than representing a shameless appeal to popular taste, their stylistic consistency with one another and unwillingness to pander to the demands of consumerism constituted an idiosyncratic set of 'internal laws' that governed the output of the music of the Singbewegung as an autonomous form of art.[47] Bornefeld went on to criticise contemporary society as inadequate in comparison to that from the time of Bach, and as being 'culturally disassociated' and barely interested in the sacred and cultural achievements of the present. This problem was so severe that even the 'rudimentary models' (Bornefeld seems to have taken particular exception to this phrase) of the Singbewegung were too much for a modern listener or churchgoer. In his eyes, therefore, the Singbewegung did not pander because to do so would be to create 'meaningless, bloated sacred works with little artistic value'.[48]

Bornefeld's language here is reminiscent of that used by many members of the movement in relation to the sacred music of the nineteenth century as being excessively subjective and commercialised. The same can be said for the trope of using historical models, such as the idealised past community of Bach, as a means of highlighting the perceived inadequacies of the present; his use of the word 'renaissance' in relation to the style of the movement is also telling. The argument Bornefeld employed in his attempt to rebut Adorno's dismissal of him was therefore very familiar in the wider context of the sacred music revival and related to the principles of cultural memory established by the Assmanns and discussed previously. Bornefeld perceived the present to be inadequate, in the sense that popular taste and consumerism were dominant at the expense of the principles that he valued. The antidote to this 'inadequate present' was to attempt to reshape it according to a perceived 'golden age' in which community took precedence over society and all members of it were culturally engaged according to the criteria set out by the Singbewegung. The rhetoric being aired in 1957 is broadly the same as that being touted in the late 1920s and early

[47] Helmut Bornefeld, 'Vorwort zu Programmheft, 1957', printed in Summereder (2010), p. 170.
[48] Ibid.

1930s. The examples Bornefeld gave of the music of the Singbewegung--Distler, Pepping and Reda--sought to legitimise the movement of the 1950s by linking it to its highpoint just before 1933, as well as the Baroque past. It thus created a compound counterweight to the commercialised inadequacies of the present, as Bornefeld saw them.

I would suggest, however, that Bornefeld's response to Adorno actually does little to rebut the central criticisms levelled at the Singbewegung. Bornefeld understands Adorno to be attacking the movement on the grounds that it has no artistic autonomy and simply produces music which will be pleasing to church congregations who are accustomed to the sugar of consumerism in their secular lives. As a response, he points to the fact that there is in reality a significant gap between popular taste and Neoclassical style of the Singbewegung. In Bornefeld's view, the movement is not seeking to please its target community; its composers want to engage the community as active participants and to shape it along the lines of past cultural models by challenging it. But Adorno's argument in 'Kritik des Musikanten' was not really that Bornefeld and his colleagues were writing uncritical popular music. Rather, it was that they were trying to break down the barrier between music and society and to merge them in the sense that collective engagement in their music also constituted a harmonious collective form of wider social engagement. This process can be seen, for instance, in Pepping's assertion at the end of *Stilwende der Musik* that the scale should purge itself of chromaticism in favour of pure diatonicism, like the nation.[49] Though Bornefeld tried to argue in the foreword to the 1957 programme that his music was actually doing that which Adorno stated music must (i.e. follow its own laws instead of those of popular taste), his understanding of what amounts to Kitsch within Adorno's work is too narrow.

It seems unlikely that it was the intention of the Singbewegung's members that once every German speaker was a musically-trained Evangelical Christian who regularly performed the work of Hugo Distler and composed new music in the same style, and whose lives were shaped around the movement's ideals, that they would abandon their musical style and ideology and move on to create

[49] Pepping (1934), p. 101.

art in new forms which continued to challenge and critique the society they had created. When Adorno states that art should follow its own laws of motion, he does not mean that it should do so insofar as it achieves its goals for society and then stop. Rather, the point of the process is that it is constant. Regardless of the society in question, the conception of art Adorno outlined in 'Kritik des Musikanten' was something which was always critical, uncomfortable and other to the society in which it manifested itself. This is something that he asserted the music of the Singbewegung was not, preferring instead to wrap itself in the comfort of the past, in a conception of what society could be, if only it would listen. The inability to recognise that which he saw as the proper social function of art was one of the main characteristics that led Adorno to highlight the dangerous similarities between the Singbewegung and National Socialism. The former's 'yearning for community' was also a yearning for its music to be synonymous with that community and Bornefeld missed the point in claiming that the music of Distler, Pepping and Reda, as well as his own, fulfilled Adorno's criteria for music having a proper social function.

Bornefeld had, in fact, already been in contact with Adorno as early as 1954, seemingly with the intention of impressing upon him, as an eminent musicologist, the efforts the summer school was making to promote contemporary music in the sacred sphere and going so far as to invite him to attend Heidenheim that summer. Adorno declined the invitation, citing his prior commitment to the university summer schools taking in place in Frankfurt as an excuse.[50] Despite this, the two entered into correspondence for the next four years and Adorno expressed interest in Bornefeld's 1957 Heidenheim lecture in response to 'Kritik des Musikanten'. The letters between the two are largely technical in nature, with a focus on the possible applications of twelve-tone writing on folk and chorale melodies and their use in contemporary organ and choral music. Bornefeld seems to have been particularly keen to have Adorno come to Heidenheim to hold a lecture and to discuss his reservations regarding the Singbewegung, presumably with the view to convincing him of the

[50] Summereder (2010), p. 169.

movement's merits.[51] Reda remained sceptical, however, of the purpose that would be served by inviting Adorno, writing to Bornefeld that he saw little point in trying to change his position. Giving oxygen to Adorno's damning assessment of all sacred music without nuance or differentiation would only stoke opinion that the Singbewegung had been genuinely disturbed by it and that there was therefore truth to the argument.[52] Instead, Reda favoured remaining silent in public on the issue and was unwilling for Adorno to attend.

Secularisation

Bornefeld's attitude towards shifting cultural tastes in the postwar period fits within a wider discussion happening at the time regarding the increasing secularisation of society. As Thomas Mittmann puts it, the central narrative regarding the Evangelical Church during the 1950s revolves around the Church's need to realign its message in order to survive in a society with rapidly shifting values.[53] This chimes with the writing of Eberhard Stammler at the time of this shift in 1960, whom Mittmann also references, and who observed that an undeniable decline in congregation numbers during the first full postwar decade and a general societal move away from the Church reflected back onto the nature of postwar Protestantism itself as it sought to present itself anew.[54] Within this conception, this move away from more traditional Christian values from the 1950s onwards was met by the Church with an effort to transform its image to keep pace with modern society and its priorities.[55] Despite this, the secularisation paradigm is one which, when presented in simplistic terms, should be viewed with some caution. Ziemann highlights that the view that secularisation was naturally equatable to the decline of religious belief in postwar Germany is one which has been hotly contested in the past two decades. Rather, secularisation can instead be understood as the diluting

[51] Summereder (2010), pp. 169-173.
[52] Ibid., pp. 173-174.
[53] Thomas Mittmann, 'The Lasting Impact of the 'Sociological Moment' on the Churches' Discourse of 'Secularization' in West Germany, in Journal of Religion in Europe, 9 (2016), pp. 157-176, pp. 158-160.
[54] Stammler (1960), pp. 85-86.
[55] Mittmann (2016), pp. 159-160.

of religion's societal role, as a process which realigned its importance relative to other social forces and priorities.[56]

Consequently, within the wider discourse of both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches, secularisation would eventually come to be seen as a tentatively positive and modernising concept which provided them with the opportunity to re-engage with society on its terms, rather than seeking to remake it in their image.[57] As Benjamin Pearson emphasises, this process saw both churches take an active role in the creation of the West-German state on a political level by compromising on their own agendas, to an extent, in order to collaborate both with each other and also with secular elements of society.[58] According to Pearson, there certainly was a tendency among many prominent immediate postwar Evangelical figures to view secularisation with suspicion in light of their experience of 'conservative resistance' to National Socialism. Despite this, as Martin Greschat and Thomas Sauer have shown, a current of belief was developing among a number of different factions within the Church which viewed pluralism of social outlooks and an embracing of the language of the modern world as being the main path to the Church's development and survival in the postwar landscape.[59] This outlook could already be seen during the late 1930s in the writing of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, with his assertion that the Church should free itself in favour of true 'worldliness', that it should be a reflection of the world and not the reverse.[60]

In this sense, secularisation presented the Singbewegung with a problem on two fronts. It was not only the drop in general interest in churchgoing and the cultural practices of the Church on a wider societal level that threatened the movement, but also the shifting attitude of many within the

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[56] Ziemann (2014), pp. 2-7.
[57] Mittmann (2016), pp. 160.
[58] Benjamin Pearson, 'The Pluralization of Protestant Politics: Public Responsibility, Rearmament, and Division at the 1950s *Kirchentage*', in *Central European History*, 43 (2010), pp. 270-300, pp. 270-274. Pearson's main example here is the founding impetus behind the interconfessional political parties the CDU and the CSU. He argues that the Evangelical and Catholic Churches saw compromise and pluralisation as their best hope of realising a broadly Christian society. This was in spite a number of fundamental ideological differences which would widen as the 1950s advanced.
[59] Ibid., pp. 274-277.
[60] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethik* (Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1949), p. 256.

Church itself in a secular direction. A general drop in congregational numbers was clearly an issue for Singbewegung hopes to engage wider society, but the new direction of German Protestantism was perhaps even more so. This re-entering of secularism into the Church 'through the backdoor', as Stammler put it, would have been very worrying for the Singbewegung because the concept of re-shaping Evangelical Christianity according to the demands of society was fundamentally opposed to its central ideology.[61] To return to the assertion of Distler's Lübeck pastor of the early 1930s, Axel Werner Kühl, the central aim of the Singbewegung was to spread its message beyond the bounds of the liturgy and the walls of the Church to reshape society in the image of its idealised community.[62] The aim was certainly not to open the doors of Church to everything it disliked about modern society and allow the movement *itself* to be transformed. It is in this way that the multiple elements of the secularisation debate can be understood to constitute such a source of anxiety for the Singbewegung.

Söhngen and Fortner

The concerns surrounding the secularisation debate can be felt in the postwar writing of Oskar Söhngen, for instance in his essay on the development of sacred music in Hans Böhm's 1959 'Festschrift' for Rudolf Mauersberger's seventieth birthday. Writing in praise of Bornefeld and Reda, Söhngen claims that a rift was growing between the avant-garde, sacred musicians and a broader listening public. The root of this is, again, the doctrine of individualism. On the one hand, the avant-garde are interested only in themselves and unwilling to make any concessions to the taste of the public. On the other, they have no regard for the importance of tradition and are therefore disdaining of all composers with Gebrauchsmusik values, including Hindemith, Stravinsky and the Singbewegung more broadly.[63] In this way, he sees composers of dodecaphony as 'Romantic', in the

[61] Stammler (1960), pp. 85-86.
[62] Distler-Harth (2008), pp. 89-91.
[63] Söhngen (1959), pp. 36-39.

sense that the Jugendbewegung would understand it, because their ideals are based around individualism and art for art's sake. In Söhngen's view, the impulse which pushes the public and the avant-garde away from the music of the Church is an impulse away from community, to scorn the collective in favour of the individual.[64] As with Bornefeld's programme for the 1955 summer school in Heidenheim, there is a hint of frustration in this writing that, if only the public would listen, the Singbewegung could provide the answer to the anxieties of the postwar period by returning a communal identity to West-Germans, as existed in the 1920s and 1930s. In turn, this heavily idealised view of the golden age of the Singbewegung in light of the societal changes with which it was becoming increasingly incompatible gives an inkling of why support for it was gradually beginning to dwindle by the mid-1950s and as to why former associates of the movement, such as Pepping, were coming to be wary of the cultural memory it sought to dredge up.

Given the cracks that were clearly starting to appear in the project during the 1955 session, it is perhaps unsurprising that the decision was taken to postpone the 1956 summer schools in Heidenheim until 1957. Reda was unavailable in any case and Bornefeld saw this as an opportunity to take stock of the purpose of Heidenheim and consider why interest in it was dwindling, in order to renew efforts to revitalise the sacred music revival the following year.[65] The hiatus also coincided, however, with a number of developments that further brought the relevance and viability of the Singbewegung into question. The first of these came at the tenth Heinrich Schütz Festival, which Reda attended with the Mülheimer Singkreis and at which Wolfgang Fortner's dodecaphonic Cantata *Die Schöpfung* (1954) was performed.[66] Born in Leipzig in 1907, Fortner's biography reads as typical for a member of the Singbewegung. Like Distler, he studied composition and the organ at the Conservatoire in Leipzig under Hermann Grabner and Karl Straube, starting in 1927. Following this he went on to teach at the Evangelisches Kirchenmusikalisches Institut in Heidelberg from the early

[64] Söhngen (1959), pp. 39-40.
[65] Summereder (2010), pp. 146-147.
[66] Ibid., p. 152.

1930s.[67] After 1933, he took up a position as leader of the Heidelberg Banner Orchestra for the Hitler Youth and was registered as an NSDAP party member in 1940.[68]

Despite his Singbewegung credentials, the speech Fortner gave at the 1956 Schütz Festival was along similar lines to Pepping's private correspondence with Richard Baum and was highly damning of the future of the movement. On the theme of 'sacred music today', Fortner's speech began by praising the quality of the past achievements of the movement and in particular the choral music of Distler and Pepping. But he then went on to draw a critical distinction between 'autonomous sacred music and music for the function of church services'.[69] In his eyes, this distinction had to be emphasised because an unbridgeable stylistic rift existed between the two and their respective compositional possibilities. It was simply unfeasible to reconcile the mainstream musical currents of the 1950s with the fundamentally tonally-bound nature of the German sacred music canon. There could be no dodecaphonic liturgical music so long as the liturgy existed in its current form.[70] The prospect of this changing, as Fortner saw it, was a remote one and therefore the only outlet for composers of sacred music interested in progressive compositional techniques was to look outside the church to the concert hall, as was the case with Fortner's *Die Schöpfung*.[71] This statement has some similarities with Baumann's 1983 complaint discussed in the previous chapter that, in a Catholic context, composers were also being forced out of the liturgy into non-functional performance spaces, due to its rigidity. As such, composers that continued to cleave to the Church and its traditions were, in essence, becoming obsolete. What might have been fresh and innovative in the 1920s could not be said to be so in 1956.

Unsurprisingly, Fortner's speech on the Singbewegung was met with outrage among many attendees of the Schütz Festival and those who read it when it was published in *Musik und Kirche*

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[67] 'Wolfgang Fortner', Schott Music, https://de.schott-music.com/shop/autoren/wolfgang-fortner, (accessed 23/10/2020).
[68] Prieberg (2004), p. 1631.
[69] 'autonom-geistliche und funktionell-gottesdienstliche Musik', Wolfgang Fortner, 'Geistliche Musik heute', in *Musik und Kirche*, XXVII, (1957), p. 9.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

the following year. In Söhngen's 1959 contribution to the Mauersberger 'Festschrift', he responds directly to Fortner in an attempt to provide a full rebuttal of his argument by downplaying the importance of dodecaphony in contemporary music. Söhngen understands Fortner to be presenting 'modern' music and a rigid conception of dodecaphony as synonymous. In this way, if the latter can be taken to be incompatible with the tonal basis of functional sacred music, the former must be as well.[72] The consequence of this is that 'modern' composers wishing to make a 'Christian statement' with their music cannot do so within the liturgy. As Söhngen puts it, Fortner, and those who agree with him, are fleeing the church in the hope that future congregations will one day understand their music. For the present, he accuses them of withholding their work from being used for the fundamental purpose of sacred music, namely worship, because they perceive their 'emancipated' musical language to be beyond the capacity of the Church.[73]

Söhngen lays out three central criticisms to counter Fortner's assertions and prove the viability of the music of the Singbewegung. Firstly, when Fortner praises the music of Distler and Pepping from the 1920s and 1930s, he neglects to identify one of its key distinguishing factors from the sacred music of the nineteenth century. As is by now familiar from much of the Singbewegung's early rhetoric, one of its key goals was to break with what was seen as the overbearing and bloated sacred music of the previous century, with its focus on empty virtuosity and subjective expression. Though this criticism was also levelled at the secular music of the Romantic period, there is a sense that a stylistic abyss had opened up between the sacred and the secular with the former becoming increasingly stale and backwards. A reflection of this viewpoint can be found in Söhngen's 1961 interview with Pepping for *Sender Freies Berlin*, in which Pepping states that he does not see a good reason for understanding the music of the church as being categorised separately to its profane counterpart. Indeed, it is only relevant and worthwhile when the reverse is true.[74] Söhngen therefore sees one of the main advantages of the Singbewegung that it restored the relevance of the

[72] Söhngen (1959), p. 40.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Pepping (1961), Pepping 9, p. 2.

sacred and secular to each other, with Distler and Pepping's work having a clear stylistic overlap with that of Hindemith, Stravinsky, Weill, Krenek and many other composers involved in Neoclassicism and Gebrauchsmusik.[75] Fortner's failure to recognise this element of the Singbewegung's ideology therefore leads him to the 'erroneous' view that the musical idiom that characterises it has no contemporary relevance and cannot be reconciled with the mainstream of secular music. The fact that the avant-garde of the 1920s may have spoken in a different language to that of the 1950s, while that of the Singbewegung has remained fairly constant, in addition to the fact that other voices existed in the modern music of the 1920s, seems to be lost on Söhngen.

Söhngen's second criticism of Fortner is that it is wrong to claim that liturgical music that speaks with a modern accent simply does not exist. As shown, he saw the interrelationship between sacred and secular art as having effectively been restored in the twentieth century. He points here to Stravinsky's *Mass* (1944-1948), asking what the piece is if not 'modern' music. Further examples include the painter Emil Nolde's (1867-1956) *Abendmahl* (1909) and the painter Ferdinand Léger's (1881-1955) stained glass work *Sacré Coeur d'Audincourt* (1951), both of which are presented as proof of the contemporary relevance of sacred liturgical art which are in keeping with 'modern' secular styles.[76] Söhngen glosses over the fact that these works are respectively Expressionist and Cubist in style, and are by recently dead artists and can therefore hardly be considered to be cutting-edge (Nolde's work was, in fact, already half a century old at his time of writing). Finally, Söhngen asserts that dodecaphony was, in aesthetic terms, not really all that modern anyway. Rather, it was 'old wine in new bottles' and was really just a rehashing of nineteenth-century attitudes of subjective expression and self-indulgence. In this way, it had not been through an intellectual transformation comparable to that of the Singbewegung into an approachable and universal form of objective artistic expression. The style therefore had no future, as Söhngen saw it, until it found a

[75] Söhngen (1959), pp. 40-41.
[76] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

way to shed its regressive late-Romantic expressive ideals in favour of a leaner, more objective message with a greater functional social relevance.[77]

Söhngen's criticism of Fortner is clearly problematic on a number of levels. Most glaringly, however, he does not actually address the main substance of the argument in the Schütz Festival speech, that of incompatibility between dodecaphony and the music of the Singbewegung. In addition to this, his characterisation of the technique seems much more focused on an attempt to rebut the compositional ideology of the Second Viennese School than it is on trying to engage meaningfully with the work of contemporary composers of dodecaphonic music in the 1950s, such as Boulez and other members of the Darmstadt circle. Instead, Söhngen tries to dismiss the relevance of twelve-tone music, presenting it as a thing of the past, as the last-death throes of Romanticism, rather than the increasingly dominant compositional credo of the 1950s. At the same time, he holds up artforms from the 1920s and early 1930s as though they were cutting edge at the time of his writing. In a sense, Söhngen's response to Fortner, as one of the leading voices in the movement following the war, actually underlines the latter's contention regarding the Singbewegung. It may simply not have had the same relevance to contemporary societal issues that it might have had in the first half of the twentieth century. In its obsession with the memorialisation and revitalisation of the pre-1945 past the movement was in danger of becoming permanently fixated on old victories at the expense of being able to move forward artistically by adopting newer styles and engaging meaningfully with contemporary compositional developments. In essence, if Söhngen's conception of cutting-edge avant-garde music was Stravinsky's *Mass*, he really was not listening.

[77] Söhngen (1959), p. 41.

Clytus Gottwald

The consequences of the unravelling of the Singbewegung for the development of sacred music in West Germany at the end of the 1950s are clearly illustrated by the work of the composer and musicologist Clytus Gottwald. Like Fortner, Gottwald was trained in the tradition of the Singbewegung and came into contact with a number of its significant figures. Despite this, he appears to have become increasingly disenchanted with the direction in which the movement insisted on pushing sacred music by the end of the decade. As Hermann Danuser put it, echoing Baumann and Fortner, German sacred music from the mid-twentieth century onwards was increasingly yoked by its liturgical function, meaning that progressives would have to look beyond the walls of the church and to the concert hall for freedom of expression in sacred works.[78] But Gottwald was not content just to shuffle away from the central realm of sacred music, the liturgy, and write works on religious themes for a secular audience. Instead, he sought to criticise the liturgy itself during the 1960s, as a means of carving out an informal sacred space in which some manner of bridge could be established across the divide between the avant-garde and the music of the Evangelical Church—the divide by which Heidenheim had been undone.

Gottwald was an almost direct contemporary of Bertold Hummel, having been born in 1925 in Sandberg in Silesia, then part of the Weimar Republic.[79] Gottwald moved to Frankfurt in 1940 after successfully auditioning for a secondary school specialising in music there and came heavily under the influence of the music of the Singbewegung through his involvement in the student choir.[80] In his later work 'Chormusik und Avant-garde', Gottwald recalls having been hugely enthused by meeting Distler during a spell of teaching in Frankfurt in 1941. He claims that the atmosphere among the other students in his boarding house was particularly shaped by the Hitler Youth, and National Socialist ideology more broadly, and that Distler found this shocking.

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[78] Hermann Danuser, 'Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts', Carl Dahlhaus, ed., *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 7 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1984), p. 253.
[79] Beck (2016), p. 67-69.
[80] Ibid., p. 68.

Nevertheless, Gottwald seems to have been struck by Distler's visit and was further inspired towards pursuing a career as a musician in the Evangelical Church.[81] At this time, Gottwald's main composition teacher was another important figure of the Singbewegung, Kurt Thomas, who had studied and then taught at the Conservatoire in Leipzig during the 1920s, overlapping with Distler.[82]

Following the war, Gottwald studied Theology and Musicology in both Tübingen and Frankfurt, eventually completing his doctorate with a thesis on the Renaissance composer Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet in 1960. At the same time he was active as a choral conductor and continued his professional relationship as a conductor with Kurt Thomas from 1947 onwards following the latter's denazification process and his rehabilitation from Nazism, during which he was fined 50 DM for 'Mitläuferei' ('complicity').[83] From 1958 Gottwald was Kantor at the Pauluskirche, where he remained until 1970.[84] His main early association with the avant-garde came through his leadership of the Schola Cantorum Stuttgart, a sixteen-voice vocal ensemble he founded in 1960. With the Schola Cantorum, Gottwald gained a reputation as an interpreter of contemporary choral works via various collaborations with composers including Mauricio Kagel, Krzysztof Penderecki, György Ligeti and Boulez. In addition, Gottwald was a content editor for New Music at SDR in Stuttgart from 1967 until 1988, which brought him into further collaborative contact with the contemporary music scene of the 1960s onwards.[85]

It can therefore be seen that there are two strands to Gottwald's musical personality. On the one hand, he has a very typical early pedigree for a Singbewegung composer, having been impressed by his contact with Distler and having studied and worked with Kurt Thomas, another member of the Leipzig School. His work from the 1950s, for example his *Sieben Spruchmotetten* and *Missa super Anastaseos himera,* is very much in the model of the Singbewegung and uses the same Neoclassical

[81] Clytus Gottwald, 'Chormusik und Avant-garde', in *"Hallelujah" und die Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns: ausgewählte Schriften* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998), pp. 232-248, p. 235.
[82] Beck (2016), pp. 68-69.
[83] Ibid., pp. 74-75.
[84] 'Clytus Gottwald', Carlus-Verlag, Clytus Gottwald | Carus-Verlag | Page 10 (carus-verlag.com), (accessed 27/11/2020).
[85] 'Clytus Gottwald', MGG Online, MGG Online - Gottwald, Clytus (mgg-online.com) (accessed 27/11/2020).

tropes and semi-functional tonal and modal techniques. As Beck highlights, the repertoire he chose for performance at the Pauluskirche from 1958 onwards was additionally quite conservative, with an emphasis on Schütz and Bach.[86] In contrast, Gottwald had also attended the Musiktage in Donaueschingen in 1958 and was struck, in particular, by a performance of Boulez's *Poésie pour pouvoir*. This influence is borne out in his subsequent works of the following years, such as his *De Profundis* for mixed choir a cappella and three loudspeakers (1962-1964).[87] This work featured along with Krenek's *Pfingstoratorium* and other contemporary pieces in 1965 as part of a long-running series of special concerts put on at the Pauluskirche by Gottwald, a project he worked on at the same time as the SDR programme *Musik unserer Zeit*, in which Kagel and Stockhausen were also involved.[88]

From his early biography, Gottwald can perhaps be seen as representative of many other young German sacred musicians who had initially been enthusiastic about the renewed efforts of the Singbewegung following the Second World War. But the dwindling attendance numbers at summer schools like Heidenheim indicate a growing disenchantment on the part of young Evangelical musicians in the manner of expression available to them. Figures like Bornefeld, Reda, Kurt Thomas and even Rudolf Mauersberger in the GDR had all begun the early stages of their careers, at least, before 1945 and had been active participants in the first iteration of the Singbewegung when the movement was clearly at its strongest. In distinction to this, Gottwald, like Hummel and Baumann, only came to maturity in the post-1945 period, when the freshness of the movement had already passed. As a result, these younger composers were perhaps less invested in the Singbewegung in relation to their identities as musicians and had a different understanding of it in terms of its ideological overlap with National Socialism.

This awareness and disenchantment becomes clearer on examination of Gottwald's academic work from the 1960s and specifically in his article 'Neue Musik in der Kirche – Aspekte und

[86] Beck (2016), pp. 110-113.
[87] Ibid., p. 80.
[88] Ibid., pp. 114-117.

Tendenzen', published in *Musik und Kirche* in 1967. In this piece, Gottwald traced the same tension outlined by Fortner eleven years earlier in his 1956 speech at the tenth Henrich Schütz Festival regarding the seemingly irreconcilable divide between the liturgical demands of the Evangelical Church and the musical language of the avant-garde. In contrast, however, Gottwald approached the problem from a different angle, suggesting that the nature of the liturgy itself needed to be re-examined and even challenged.[89] In other words, if new music could not be made to fit the demands of the liturgy or those of congregational approachability, the solution was perhaps not to flee to the concert hall, but rather to reform the liturgy itself. Gottwald then goes on to state that too often in post-1945 sacred music, continuity with the past had become a more important goal than engagement with contemporary musical issues, and that approaches such as Bornefeld's and Hindemith's, though not without merit, did not truly find a satisfying solution to this issue. This crisis was not only one relevant to sacred music, but to the Evangelical Church generally.[90]

Gottwald further criticised the sacred music of ca. 1925-1950 due to the insistence of many of its composers on preserving tonality, under the banner of intelligibility, when, as he saw it, the doctrine of intelligibility was coming to have ever less actual substance, beyond being a bland ideological dogma. Worse still, this insistence on the communicable quality of music was transforming it into kitsch and putting music at risk of becoming a consumer product susceptible to the 'terror of market forces'.[91] Finally, Gottwald states that it was positive that the developments of the 1920s had sought to combat the reification of late Romanticism, but contends that the solution of looking backwards was ultimately lacking as an idea of the future, due to its nature as a relapse into the past. As a consequence, the longstanding enthusiasm for Baroque music and the pre-Bachians had itself become 'reified' in the exact same manner as the Romantic music the musicians

[89] Clytus Gottwald, 'Neue Musik in der Kirche – Aspekte und Tendenzen, in *Musik und Kirche*, 37 (1967), pp. 119-128, p. 119.
[90] Ibid.
[91] 'Es ist, als hätte die Musik selbst ihre Sprache verloren. Abgewirtschaftet zur bloßen Fassade gibt sie nur den Background ab für diejenigen, die sich auf ihre Kosten aufspielen.' (It is as though the music itself has lost its language. Worn to a bare façade, it only provides a background for those who seek to further themselves at its expense.), ibid., pp. 120-121.

of the Singbewegung had been criticising in the 1920s.[92] In the context of the ideology of the movement, Gottwald's criticism is highly radical because he was stating clearly that the basic concept of using cultural memory as a source for musical and societal renewal upon which the Singbewegung was based was untenable. As he put it, the consequence was that music itself suffers, along with its potential for having a useful social function.[93]

Conclusion

Gottwald's use of terminology and the main focus of his criticism in 'Neue Musik in der Kirche' was clearly influenced by Adorno's rhetoric in his 'Kritik des Musikanten', which he references directly in this essay and elsewhere, but his aim is actually somewhat different. In the early pages of his article, Gottwald moots the concept of an 'informal church service' as a possible solution to the ideological divide between the liturgy and contemporary music. Gottwald critiques the petrified nature of services in the Evangelical Church, pointing to their rigidity as the source of the exclusion of New Music, rather than any issue with the music itself. The solution to this issue could be this new 'informal' approach to the liturgy, in which the traditional structures of the service could be made more fluid, in order to fit the music better. Congregations could be involved in more ways than just the communal singing of chorales, which many of them could not sing in harmony anyway, and the lessons and sermon could become less important, being understood as simply individual and unprivileged parts of the whole rather than its main structural pillars.[94] Additionally, the role of the priest could be realigned so that they are not the leader of a mass, but rather a blank canvas onto which each member of the mass can transcribe their own experience.[95]

Beck believes that Gottwald was not only influenced by Adorno's writing on the Singbewegung from the 1950s in this piece, but also by Ernst Bloch in his work *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*,

[92] Gottwald (1967), p. 122.
[93] Ibid., p. 123.
[94] Ibid., pp. 124-128.
[95] Ibid., p. 125.

published in three volumes between 1954 and 1959, but written between 1938 and 1947.[96] The work explores the concept of utopianism through its expression in art and religion in a range of different contexts.[97] It was published alongside Bloch's growing disenchantment with the socialist project of the German Democratic Republic, which he abandoned for the West in 1959, but was written principally during his years of exile in America from National Socialism.[98] The scope of the work is too broad to cover in detail here, but, in essence, Bloch criticised both consumerism and fascism for feeding on the natural impulse of hope for something better, for utopia, that all members of society experience in order to further their aims.[99] Music, in particular, had an important role to play in this process as the harmonic pull of tonality acted in Bloch's eyes as an analogy for the manifestation of hope as a concept within society.[100]

In a long quotation from the work provided by Beck, Bloch invites the reader to consider a tonal piece, for instance a Baroque or neo-Baroque organ piece. In this piece, one would see the order of society reflected in its tonal function, based around its basic V-I cadential function. Expanding on this, the tonal landscape of the piece is constructed around a hierarchical system, which is parallel to a societal structure based on similar ides of order and hierarchy. Though there will be a mixture of voices in the polyphonic texture, there will generally be one voice, a melody line or a cantus firmus, which will rule over the other voices. If the principles in Bloch's theoretical organ piece are carried over into the singing of a congregational hymn, the same parallels will apply. It can consequently be seen that the abstract concepts of hierarchy, dominance and order implicit in the tonal structure of the organ piece in turn have an actual social effect when translated into a

[96] Beck (2016), pp. 130-131.
[97] Tom Moylan, 'Bloch against Bloch: The Theological Reception of *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* and the Liberation of the Utopian Function', in *Utopian Studies*, 1, 2 (1990), pp. 27-51, pp. 27-28.
[98] Richard Roberts, 'An Introductory Reading of Ernst Bloch's *The Principle of Hope*', in *Literature and Theology*, 1, 1 (1987), pp. 89-112, pp. 90-94.
[99] Maya Berger, '„Das Prinzip Hoffnung" – nur aktuell im Bloch-Gedenkjahr?: Utopie – ein geistiger Sprengstoff', in *Rote Revue*, 64 (1985), pp. 18-21, p. 20-21.
[100] Joachim Lucchesi, 'Musik als intensivste Form der Überschreitung, in Rainer Zimmermann', ed., *Ernst Bloch: das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 301-324, pp. 304-305, 310-312.

performative act on the part of worshippers.[101] Beyond the passage Beck discusses, Bloch goes on to discuss Schönberg and Stravinsky in terms familiar from Adorno's *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, praising the former, along with Berg, for having broken open the traditional hierarchy of the tonal system with pieces such as *Erwartung* and *Wozzeck*.[102] In this way, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* provides a similar criticism of the music of the Singbewegung to Adorno's, as reflected in Gottwald's writing. Far from being radical or disruptive to any given existing social order, the movement's adherence to Neoclassicism and its own orientation towards the restoration of the double utopia of the Baroque past and its successes of the 1920s, ultimately played into the hands of totalitarianism, as both Adorno and Gottwald saw it.

Indeed, the implication in Bloch's writing, echoed in Gottwald's suggestion of breaking up the traditional hierarchy of church services, is that neo-Baroque music and the established function of the Evangelical liturgy are inseparable from the politics and ideology of Germany in the 1930s. This excerpt from Bloch's *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* has telling echoes of Pepping's *Stilwende der Musik*. Pepping was also calling for a move away from the functional cadential hierarchies of tonal music established from the eighteenth century onwards and for a sonic field in which a dominant vertical tonal pull did not push all of the voices in the same direction. Pepping's goal, however, was clearly not to abandon tonality, or perhaps modality, altogether, but rather to re-weight its harmonic function and to strip it back to an earlier, half-imagined, ideal which sought to re-prioritise the hierarchy of melody over that of harmony. Gottwald's vision, channelling Bloch, is instead to question the need for hierarchy in the first place. In calling for the dismantling of the basic structures of the liturgy and the role of the priest as the leader of the sacred community, he is seeking not to re-create an idealised past structure but to engage and challenge the congregation in new terms. Understood in relation to the rhetoric and aims of the Singbewegung of the past, this was a major departure from the former trajectory of Evangelical music and a clear sign that the mood in the air

[101] Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1959), p. 1249, cited in Beck (2016), p. 130.
[102] Ibid., pp. 1280-1284.

by the 1960s and among the generation of composers who came to maturity after the war had moved on from emphasis on cultural memory and the past of the Singbewegung.

With the cancellation of the Heidenheimer Arbeitstage für neue Kirchenmusik at the beginning of the 1960s, the progress of functional sacred music in West Germany would seem to have reached a point beyond which the Singbewegung could go no further. Although there was still a dogged set of composers and theologians trying to push a revival of its heyday in the 1920s, many of them belonged to a generation that were invested in the movement because their careers before 1945 had been shaped by its fortunes. As such, their musical horizons and their relationship with the Evangelical Church had been forged by a historical moment which was becoming increasingly unstuck from the compositional and social realities of the world in which they found themselves following the war. Enthusiasm for projects such as Heidenheim was increasingly lacking among young sacred composers as the 1950s wore on, as demonstrated by the dwindling number of appropriate new works being composed and the lacklustre attendance figures that eventually caused the cancellation of the summer school. In line with composers such as Max Baumann and Bertold Hummel in a Catholic context, young composers, such as Clytus Gottwald, who a generation earlier would have been enthusiastic cheerleaders for the Singbewegung were beginning to flinch at its ideals and chafe at the inflexibilities they perceived in the liturgy.

This growing ambivalence among the musicians who would have been necessary for the survival of the movement was reinforced by increasingly pointed criticism from both within and outwith the Singbewegung. Wolfgang Fortner and Clytus Gottwald displayed a clear scepticism of the possibility of reconciling the compositional techniques of the avant-garde at the time with the demands of liturgical function as it was. Additionally, Gottwald's writing echoed Adorno's harsh indictment of the Singbewegung as borderline, if not actually, culturally fascistic in his writing on it in the 1960s. In light of this, there seems to have been little to recommend the Singbewegung as a viable artistic movement by the end of the early postwar period. Despite the hugely enthusiastic efforts of figures such as Bornefeld and Söhngen, there appears simply to have been little actual

momentum to take the movement beyond the disappointment of Heidenheim. This also demonstrates just how little currency was left in the use of cultural memory as a vital force in shaping the development of German sacred music and how much suspicion it had come to be viewed with by critics of the day. Young composers would have to look elsewhere for inspiration.

Epilogue
A Different History through Memory

In this thesis, I have sought to tell a different story of German music in the first half of the twentieth century to the avant-garde tale that is more conventionally told. As is increasingly being shown in scholarship, there was no definitive zero hour in 1945 that led to a complete abandoning of all past styles of composition, or indeed of the composition of music that looked to the past for inspiration and sought to fulfil a specific cultural function. The Singbewegung, as a principally sacred movement having evolved from the generally secular Jugendbewegung and the Wandervogel, and in parallel to the Jugendmusikbewegung, demonstrates this. The afterlives of the movement in the early postwar period in the West-German Evangelical and Catholic Churches and in the music of Rudolf Mauersberger in East Germany showed that, for a time, there were still composers who saw the musical language and forms of the distant German Baroque past as a starting point for the creation of functional music in the present. This function could manifest itself as the more literal focus on engaging performers of all levels of ability actively in the liturgy of the Church in the case of the work of active proponents of the Singbewegung such as Bornefeld. But echoes of it can also be found in the more professionalised approach of more tangentially related figures such Mauersberger in providing early East-German congregations with a conduit for mourning the traumatic events of the recent past.

But, as I have also shown, the social need for the function this music provided did begin to wane in the postwar years as a result of a number of factors, such as the general secularisation of wider society. Despite an initial period of renewed enthusiasm for the cathartic influence of the Church, dwindling congregations and shifts in congregational taste began to bite by the mid-1950s. Further, although many of the figures discussed in this thesis were enthusiastic about attempting to revive the mission of the 1920s and early 1930s, others were clearly increasingly squeamish about the dangerously close ties of the ideology of the Singbewegung to that of National Socialism. As such, although the history of the Singbewegung certainly requires a shift of the temporal lens with

which music in twentieth-century Germany is regarded, and runs contrary to the zero-hour paradigm, that is not to say that the character of the movement did not change following 1945. Indeed, given the sense of decline that set in within a few years with the West-German Evangelicals, the stifling effect that the Second Vatican Council had on Catholic composers and the more limited development of the musical aesthetic of the Singbewegung in East Germany, the fifteen years or so after the War can in many ways be understood as more of a set of afterlives of its principal flourishing before 1933.

This double layering of historical reference points, of the distant Baroque past and of the movement's early years, as idealised pasts to recreate in the present makes the Singbewegung and its legacies particularly fruitful ground for discussion in terms of cultural memory. As Nora explains, memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon whereas history is a reconstruction of the past.[103] None of the historical touchpoints of the Singbewegung were 'actual' or drawn from a truly unbroken chain of cultural practice. When Distler, Vötterle, Bärenreiter and the wider Schütz revival movement sought to revive Baroque models in the 1920s, they did so as a means of rejecting the inadequacy they perceived in the recent Romantic past and in the present. Bornefeld and Reda sought to evoke both this past, and that of their immediate forebears, in the face of the increasing dominance of the avant-garde and a society which was becoming increasingly ambivalent about church-going and functional religion. In a similar manner, Catholic composers such as Baumann and Hummel saw utility in the music of the prewar movement in attempting to create new music for the liturgy which was approachable for congregations and performers alike. In East Germany, Mauersberger's relationship with the musical vocabulary and focus on the Baroque past and Heinrich Schütz of the Singbewegung before the destruction of Dresden provided him with a means of expressing the trauma of recent events in a manner generally acceptable in a socialist context.

These touchpoints, the music of Schütz, the idealised and engaged congregations of the Baroque past, the death of Distler, along with his own musical output, and the destruction of

[103] Nora (1989), pp. 8-9.

Dresden, among others, were for the Singbewegung not part of a seamless chain of memory but were instead petrified objects of worship, like 'shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded', as Nora puts it.[104] This is why the medium of cultural memory is so beneficial for understanding the particular brand of Neoclassicism that was to be found in the Singbewegung because the movement's goal was from its inception oriented towards using tokens from the past and using them to attempt to counteract the inadequacies of the present, reshaping it in their distorted image. As I have touched upon in the conclusion to the introduction of this thesis, this reading of Neoclassicism in the context of the Singbewegung as seeking to use the past to reshape the present need not be confined to the movement. There is certainly space for using a similar framework drawn from the discipline of memory studies to interpret the music of more famous Neoclassicists, such as Hindemith, Stravinsky and others. In this way, writing a history of German music in the first half of the twentieth century that uses the Singbewegung as its point of focus not only provides a different perspective on a well-known period, but the lens of cultural memory also provides future avenues for understanding the work of those outside the movement who shared a similar preoccupation in utilising the past to engage with the present. Consequently, studying the Singbewegung enriches the existing understanding of how music and the ideologies that surrounded it could be used as memory sites in this period. Further, the movement also demonstrates the continuing relevance of religious heritage and practice to debates regarding postwar identity in the postwar period.

[104] Nora (1989), p. 13.

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