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*In loving memory of my grandmothers and grand aunt*

*Hilia Elan (née Laine), Rita Dreyfus (née Gibson) and Sarah Scriven (née Mindes),*

*fearless women, artists and teachers*

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## Abstract

Over forty-five films made in Nazi Germany foregrounded classical music, despite the reluctance of film composers to quote the classics and worries on the part of the musicological establishment that cinema could only “trivialize” the “great masters.” But rather than flaunting the classical tradition as the property of the Nazi state, these movies expressed conspicuously mixed feelings toward musical heritage, exposing the contestation for cultural value in modern society. The claim to musicality as a Germanic quality—a tenet of self-understanding since the nineteenth century—unravels in unexpected ways in popular cinema, highlighting the potential of mass culture to disrupt ideologemes of national identity.

Part One of this study shows how the Romantic paradigm of absorbed bourgeois listening breaks down in film: images of uninvolved listeners reveal fundamental gaps in the supposed universal appreciation of classical music and point to social strivings toward cultural modernization as well as a politically inconvenient desire for Americanism and its popular idioms. Part Two considers the rhetoric of uplift and aesthetic education in two propaganda features: a film about the Hitler Youth that appropriated elements of amateur musical culture to “ennoble” Nazi populism, and an action movie about the *Luftwaffe* that unwittingly documented the commodity character of Wagner’s music. Part Three demonstrates how film could not resist “queering” the figure of the musician, registering anxieties about the effeminizing effects of classical music and the incompatibility of art with the dictates of militarism and ethno-nationalism. Cinema figures performers as objects of both desire and revulsion and codes them non-normative, foreign and exotic traits associated with persecuted minorities in Nazi Germany: homosexuals, Sinti and Roma, Jews and political dissidents. The mediations of cultural capital in film of the Nazi era therefore adhere to a broader history of consumerism, popularization and social change, in which the overdetermined ideological construct of “Germanness” in music turns out to be both tenacious and brittle, omni-present and yet eminently unstable.

A catalogue of musical quotations in Nazi-era film organized by composer and date is listed in the appendices. Supplementary files contain clips cued in the text.

## Introduction



Figure 1. Fighting over “serious” vs. “light” music in *Wir machen Musik* (Helmut Käutner, 1942)

The long-awaited first kiss in the romantic comedy *WIR MACHEN MUSIK* (Helmut Käutner, 1942) takes place behind an open score of Johann Sebastian Bach when the characters finally break off their duet at the organ to embrace. The female lead Anni—a singer-songwriter in a swing-band called *Franz Sperling und die Spatzen*—has scandalized her crush, the comically snobby music theory teacher Karl, by claiming that Bach composed “everyday” music [*Gebrauchsmusik*] as well as “high art.” She promptly gives a rendition of one such “love-song” he wrote for his sweetheart “little Miss Bach”—the aria “Willst du dein Herz mir schenken”—and before long, Karl is harmonizing along with one hand.<sup>1</sup> *WIR MACHEN MUSIK* was not alone in staging a face-off between “high-brow” and “popular” culture: several Hollywood musicals of the 1930s and 40s also treated the tensions that arose out of the inescapable trend toward popular culture, dominated by American influences, notably swing.<sup>2</sup> But it is hard to imagine the use of Bach’s music provoking the same outrage outside of Germany, where a group of incensed musicologists rushed to the great composer’s defense, so appalled by the vulgarity of the scene that they suddenly uncovered “new research” proving that the aria had been falsely attributed to

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<sup>1</sup> “Kennen Sie das kleine Liebeslied, das der grosse Johann Sebastian Bach für seine kleine Bachin geschrieben hat, als Gebrauchsmusik für den verliebten Alltag?” Anni sings the so-called “Aria di Giovannini,” a work preserved in the second 1725 Bach family composition album called the “Notenbüchlein.”

<sup>2</sup> Examples include the Jeanette MacDonald movies *LOVE ME TONIGHT* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1932), *THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE* (William K. Howard, 1934), *ROSE MARIE* (W. S. Van Dyke, 1936), *MAYTIME* (Robert Z. Leonard, 1937), *BITTER SWEET* (W. S. Van Dyke, 1940).



Bach all along.<sup>3</sup> With the offense against good taste averted, Bach could sleep easy, his music saved from cheap eroticization in the movie theater. [clip: Wir machen Musik 1]<sup>4</sup>

Reactions to WIR MACHEN MUSIK signal that emotions ran high about questions of cultural value in Nazi Germany, in particular the heritage of music denoted at the time by the term *ernste Musik* (serious music). If German musicologists had had their way, the music of Bach, or Beethoven for that matter, would have been banned altogether from cinema and there would be nothing to say today on the subject of this study, classical music in Nazi-era film. As it happened, substantial quotations from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classical canon featured prominently in at least forty-five narrative films made in Germany between 1933-1945.<sup>5</sup> Scenes in which music was performed in the world of the film (rather than heard in the extra-diegetic soundtrack) took up extraordinary stretches of time, presenting protracted excerpts of classical repertoire to the mass audience in the process. Such scenes often took place outside of the symphony hall, opera house or bourgeois salon, the somewhat ossified sites of bourgeois cultural activity of the century past that persisted in mid- to upper-class life as markers of social distinction and national pride. Film instead gives a view into a changing topography of music in daily life, with performances in factories, on the radio waves, at the fairground, on makeshift *Luftwaffe* airbases and in residential urban gardens. In these settings, musical sequences in German film under Hitler foregrounded the unstable status of cultural heritage in contemporary society, representing classical music as an eminently troublesome—and strikingly ambiguous—legacy.

Classical music featured in German film under Hitler as a recurrent interruption in the script, an audiovisual phenomenon freighted with mixed emotions that destabilized, rather than reinforced, ideologemes of national and cultural identity. This study argues that Nazi-era film channels an ambivalence about the place of “high-brow” music in the modern day, presenting classical music as a highly contested

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<sup>3</sup> Heinz Mietzner, “Bunte Gedanken zur Unterhaltungsmusik,” *Das Podium der Unterhaltungsmusik* 294, May 1943: 112. Cited in Alex Jockwer, “Unterhaltungsmusik im Dritten Reich,” (PhD diss., University of Constance, 2004), 405.

<sup>4</sup> Clips cued in the text can be viewed in the supplementary files attached.

<sup>5</sup> These quotations are compiled in Appendices I-II.

cultural domain, where societal fault lines make themselves acutely felt. Viewed as a whole, the musical scene in Nazi-era film is overdetermined. Some sequences call the dictates of interiority into question through shots of distracted or unengaged listeners who, instead of becoming absorbed in the experience, get bored, frustrated or aggressive when classical music begins to play, and express their desire for upbeat tunes and “light” music instead. Others seem to “clutch,” as Pierre Bourdieu put it, at the pieties of high art in a way that appears both “avid and anxious” and “naïve and serious.”<sup>6</sup> Performances of classical music on screen often evoke a sense of nostalgia for a pre-technological age, and appear to lament the dwindling possibilities for reflection and sentimentality. In this sense the topic generates what the media historian Brian Currid terms “an affect of national musical ‘pastness’” that has its modern mass cultural roots in radio programming in the 1920s, when live broadcasts of classical music staged acoustic fantasies of national presence on the airwaves.<sup>7</sup> When classical music sounds in cinema, the technological apparatus of film inevitably registers a note of untimeliness, reflecting the balancing act in German society between popular culture, national traditions and nationalism, and the pressures of modernization.<sup>8</sup> These tensions converge in the paradigmatic figure of the male artist, who is coded at once as an indispensable, charismatic conduit of sublime feeling and a strangely foreign agent of disruption, a member of the dramatic cast who provokes suspicion and symbolic violence by unsettling norms of masculinity, discipline and militarism.

There is no existing reference work or catalogue of musical quotations in films made in Nazi Germany. On the occasion that musical works receive attention in critical literature, they are often imprecisely or erroneously identified, due no doubt in many cases to limited access to materials. But in a larger sense what sometimes appears to be a cursory or even careless treatment of music in film criticism

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<sup>6</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 327. Cited in Brian Currid, *A National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2006), 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>8</sup> Patrice Petro, “Nazi Cinema at the Intersection of the Classical and the Popular,” *New German Critique* 74 (1998): 48.

reflects a certain reluctance to take the intertextual and cultural significance of this topic seriously. This attitude fails to do justice to the films themselves, in which musical quotations are carefully curated and worked into the dramaturgy. The indexes of diegetic quotations appended to this study (Appendices I-II)—while by no means exhaustive—represent a first step in compiling a catalogue intended to aid film history and cultural reception studies to move beyond the current state of research with interdisciplinary methods.<sup>9</sup> The preliminary findings documented here show the contours of a musical corpus in Nazi-era film: for example, the fact that popular cinema privileged chamber music over symphonic repertoire, with an emphasis on the solo piano repertoire. In descending order of frequency, films made between 1933-1945 featured the works of the following composers as part of the drama on screen: Ludwig van Beethoven, Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, Franz Schubert, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Frédéric Chopin, Franz Liszt, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Joseph Haydn, Giuseppe Verdi, Anton Bruckner, Edvard Grieg, Dietrich Buxtehude, Georg Friedrich Haendel, Richard Strauss, Carl Maria von Weber and Christoph Willibald Gluck. At least sixteen movies included extended sequences featuring the music of Beethoven, predominantly piano sonatas and symphonies. Despite Adolf Hitler’s alleged claim that Wagner was integral to “understanding” National Socialist Germany—famously stated in William Shirer’s influential 1960 *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*—quotations of his music featured to the best of my knowledge in just four films out of a total of over 1,150 made in the Nazi Germany.<sup>10</sup> Three of these films contain no more than a few measures of Wagner’s music.<sup>11</sup> American cinema-goers during WWII, by contrast, heard far more Wagner at the

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<sup>9</sup> For quotations in the genre of the *Sängerfilm* or operetta film, and films about the Viennese “waltz kings,” such as Johann Strauss, see Michael Wedel, *Der Deutsche Musikfilm. Archäologie eines Genres 1914-1945* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 101.

<sup>11</sup> Scenes from *Tannhäuser* feature as part of the action in the musical comedy MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934) when the characters attend the Dresden *Semperoper*, and an excerpt from *Götterdämmerung* is repeatedly played in the action film STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941). GROBSTADTMELODIE (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943) includes a few seconds of the overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. In TRÄUMEREI (Harald Braun, 1944), the opening measures of the prelude to *Lohengrin* are heard during a concert. This figure does not include the use of the bridal march from *Lohengrin* in GLÜCKSKINDER (Paul Martin, 1936), the German remake of IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT (Frank Capra, 1934). This excerpt had arguably already long become a musical topic, not unlike Mendelssohn’s, and hence carried the association of “wedding” above and beyond “Wagner.” Herbert Windt arranged the prelude to Act III of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in his scores for Leni Riefenstahl’s films SIEG DES GLAUBENS (1933) and TRIUMPH DES

movies than audiences in Germany. Beyond the common use of the bridal march from *Lohengrin* in wedding scenes, composers in Hollywood—many of them German-Jewish émigrés—frequently embedded famous excerpts from Wagner’s operas to parody the Nazi state, such as in *THE GREAT DICTATOR* (Charlie Chaplin, 1940) and the Bugs Bunny cartoon *HERR MEETS HARE* (Friz Freleng, 1945).<sup>12</sup> The American caricature took on the status of historical truth, leading to the enduring misconception—bolstered by the preponderance of Wagner’s music in nearly every existing post-war documentary about WWII—that his music provided the soundtrack to life in Nazi Germany.<sup>13</sup>

What does classical music mean in this context? Perhaps the best answer is found in the films themselves, in what is coded as “high-brow” or *ernst*. As the term suggests, “serious” music is a construct, defined perhaps primarily by what it is not, namely entertainment, or *Unterhaltungsmusik*.<sup>14</sup> As music historians have shown, the value-laden binary known in German as “E- vs. U-Musik” only roughly translates into current notions of “popular” and “classic” music.<sup>15</sup> The distinction dates back to the nineteenth century but became hardwired in economic reality in Germany around the turn of the twentieth century, when higher subventions and fees were granted to classical over popular music, and radio programming and record production were divided along this structuring opposition. By the time of the Weimar Republic, the category of “popular” music included not only hit songs and dance music but musical forms such as the military march, operetta, waltz and folk-music.<sup>16</sup> *Ernst Musik*—referred to in this dissertation for the purposes of clarity as “classical”—

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WILLENS (1935). See Reimar Volker, “Verfilmet mir den Meister nicht: Wagner im NS-Film” in *Wagner Kino: Spuren und Wirkungen Richard Wagners in der Filmkunst*, ed. Jan Drehmel, Kristina Jaspers and Steffen Vogt (Hamburg: Junius-Verlag, 2013), 66. See also David Imhoof and Margaret Eleanor Menninger, *The Total Work of Art: Foundations, Articulations, Inspirations* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016), 123 and Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 275-276.

<sup>12</sup> See Tobias Plebuch, “Richard Wagner im Film bis 1945,” *Wagnerspectrum* 4, no. 2 (2008): 136-137. Other examples of Wagner arrangements in Hollywood scores include *THE SCARLET EMPRESS* (Josef von Sternberg, 1934), *CITIZEN KANE* (Orson Welles, 1941), *LIFEBOAT* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1944) and Franz Waxman’s score for *HUMORESQUE* (Jean Negulesco, 1946). See also Roger Hillman, *Unsettling Scores: German Film, Music, and Ideology* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 74-75.

<sup>13</sup> Celia Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 275.

<sup>14</sup> Adorno’s famous analysis of the distinction between “light” and “serious” music can be found in Theodor W. Adorno, *Dissonanzen. Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 213 ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Currid, *National Acoustics*, 121.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Currid explains the role of this categoric division in corporate structures and musicians’ organizations in Germany.

has a complex commercial and cultural history in Nazi Germany, evidenced in the films treated in this study, which repeatedly illustrate how these terms were understood through the societal prisms of class, education and heritage. WIR MACHEN MUSIK offers a gloss: the smug, culturally educated *Bildungsbürger* Karl explains to his music-theory class that people who pronounce “Músik” with a stress on the first syllable and a short “i” (instead of a long and stressed “i” in “Musik”) are not referring to “real” music but its “low-brow” cousin, i.e. *Schlagermusik* or commercial hits. The difference, he adds, is akin to saying “Káffee” instead of “Kaffée,” contrasting working-class Berlin dialect with the educated tones of *Hochdeutsch*.<sup>17</sup> [clip: Wir machen Musik 2]

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Part One of this study traces the representation of classical music in film from the Weimar Republic through to WWII as it comes into conflict with depictions of contemporary experience and modern tastes on screen. It shows that film unsettles the historical claim that innate musicality was a key tenet of German identity, showing a plurality of listeners—including bored and excluded ones—and repeatedly questioning the place of “high-brow” musical practice in modern German society. Contrary to the widespread claim that the classics enact a coordinated ideological agenda in Nazi film, I consider how the feature films ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930), RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI (Werner Hochbaum, 1932), BEFREITE HÄNDE (Hans Schweikart, 1939), PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven, 1944), GROBSTADTMELODIE (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943), WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940) and OPFERGANG (Veit Harlan, 1944) provided this musical legacy with an ambivalent platform. This meant allowing the music to resound, but marking its reception as consistently imbricated by the desires in German society for modernization, such as women’s emancipation and the overcoming of cultural elitism.

Part Two demonstrates how the cultural construct of *ernste Musik* plays into representations of aesthetic and political education in two films classified as Nazi propaganda. In HITLERJUNGE QUEX (Hans

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 162.

Steinhoff, 1933) the young working-class Heini rejects his family's communist roots for the Hitler Youth, ultimately sacrificing his life for their cause. Though classical music is conspicuously absent from the film, the drama ennobles the political song (*Fahnenlied*) of the Nazi youth group through associations with amateur musical culture, framing Heini's political awakening in terms of an aesthetic education that includes ear-training and *Hausmusik*. By contrast, the WWII fighter-pilot movie *STUKAS* (Karl Ritter, 1941) is the only Nazi-era film that attempted to stake out a claim for the life-changing effects of Wagner's music, presenting a *Luftwaffe* squadron where the high-ranking officers play an excerpt of *Der Ring* arranged for four-hands. Although this music later appears to "save" a depressed pilot named Wilde when he is taken to Bayreuth, the film offers insights into a process of musical commodification, popularizing the "serious" musical referent by showing Wilde in thrall to the fetish character of the motif as a primarily culinary pleasure. Quite apart from its propagandistic intent, Ritter's film illustrates the steady domestication of "high" musical culture from the commercial publishing of four-hand arrangements in the nineteenth century to the gramophone, representing the Wagnerian leitmotif as an empty signifier, a kind of advertising jingle evacuated of meaning.

Part Three argues that the male musician in Nazi-era film functions as a projection screen for anxieties about masculinity. This figure prompts both fascination and repulsion in cinema, repeatedly exhibiting traits of queerness such as effeminacy and entering into association with typified images of minority groups persecuted by the Nazi regime: homosexuals, Jews and the Sinti and Roma. In a critical mass of films of this period—including *WUNSCHKONZERT* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940), *KOLBERG* (Veit Harlan, 1945), *DREIKLANG* (Hans Hinrich, 1938), *ANNELIE* (Joseph von Báký, 1941), *FRIEDEMANN BACH* (Traugott Müller, 1941), *HEIMAT* (Carl Froelich, 1938) and *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)—musicians figure as liminal members of society, at once desired for their artistry but simultaneously marked as non-normative, a threat to military action and wartime morale. This chapter traces classical musicians in Nazi film as they are coded according to three underlying paradigms: the military deserter, the diseased Jewish body and the exoticized gypsy entertainer.

## Methodology and Disciplinary Networks

This study undertakes close readings of films with substantive musical-dramatic interest; where possible I have focused on films with little critical reception—or none at all. Beyond the films themselves I have drawn on a range of historical documents and archival materials including surviving scripts, publicity materials, production records and correspondence whenever possible. To embed the films in their media context, I refer to trade journals from the world of film and music such as *Film-Kurier* and *Deutsche Musikkultur*, which afford insights into opinions, questions of taste, aesthetic concerns and objections along with debates surrounding cultural production. The diaries of Joseph Goebbels, the head of the Propaganda Ministry, contain frequent comments on the motion picture industry, such as reactions to screenings and meetings with directors. As such they represent an informative, if highly stylized and self-conscious historical source.<sup>18</sup> Internal SS surveillance reports [*Meldungen aus dem Reich*] shed valuable light on the reception of film, music and entertainment in the general population, as does the Digital Humanities project “Trug und Schein” at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, a resource for everyday life in Nazi Germany based on a collection of correspondence.<sup>19</sup>

Nazi-era film is an imperiled area of cultural history in Germany today for several reasons. Although only a small proportion of films from this period are digitized and the celluloid film is constantly deteriorating, the efforts necessary to secure them are lacking due to the sensitivity of the topic: officials and politicians are reluctant or unwilling to support the restoration and preservation of film for fear of being accused of endorsing culture of the Nazi era. In addition, what is left of the historical record in the Federal Archive in

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<sup>18</sup> Since their gradual publication beginning in 1993, film historians have consulted the edition of the diaries for information on the Propaganda Minister’s involvement with certain productions, and his equal investments in the industry as a means of entertainment, a tool of political control and a source of revenue for the Third Reich. See Michael H. Kater, “Film as an Object of Reflection in the Goebbels Diaries: Series II (1941-1945),” *Central European History* 33, no. 3 (2000): 397.

<sup>19</sup> “Trug und Schein: A Correspondence,” [hereafter *Trug und Schein*] accessed July 15, 2020, <https://info.umkc.edu/dfam/en/introduction/>. In 2012, the Nordhoff family made their family correspondence available for the purposes of a public history project at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. The correspondence published online remains in the private ownership of the Nordhoff children and maintains the anonymity of the correspondents.

Berlin, for example, is far from complete: much official documentation from Nazi-era cultural production (such as the records of the Reich Music Chamber) was destroyed in the war or is simply not preserved. The archival record one would need to reconstruct a robust picture of the everyday workings of film production—above all decisions pertaining to the creative process as well as censorship mechanisms—is practically non-existent. Where it does exist, evidence of film music practice often fails to tell us what we would like to know: how composers and directors worked together on dramaturgical decisions and how scenes with musical elements were arranged and cut. Scores for films were not typically preserved; the musicians who played for films rarely appear in credits or in archival documents. Private collections and the estates of individuals in the industry are hard to track down and often uncatalogued. In this sense, the state of historical documentation on film production in Nazi Germany contrasts starkly with e.g. the volume of evidence found in personal estates in the United States, such as, for example, David O. Selznick’s extensive collection: some 2,000 file boxes of memos that provide insights into the making of golden age Hollywood cinema.<sup>20</sup> The Federal Archive, on the other hand, holds no personal file for Alois Melichar, a composer responsible for the scores to over 50 films made in the Third Reich. Melichar was appointed to compile an official list of classical music “cleared” for use in film, and would have had an extensive correspondence with the Reich Music Chamber and Reich Film Chamber.<sup>21</sup> Such holes in the record are not helped by the lack of historical rigor in the slim body of work on film composers: a 2018 monograph on Melichar’s film scores funded by the Austrian government gets around the composer’s ardent ideological commitment to National Socialism with the claim that he could not avoid participating in the “propaganda machine of the Third Reich.”<sup>22</sup> In this case, Melichar’s personal correspondence archived in Munich and available to the public does in fact incontrovertibly attest to

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<sup>20</sup> See Rudy Behlmer, ed., *Memo from David O. Selznick: The Creation of “Gone with the Wind” and Other Motion Picture Classics, as Revealed in the Producer’s Private Letters, Telegrams, Memorandums, and Autobiographical Remarks* (New York: Modern Library, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Reimar Volker, “Per Aspera ad Astra and Back Again: Film Music in Germany from 1927 to 1945,” in *European Film Music*, ed. Miguel Mera and David Burnand (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 20.

<sup>22</sup> Stefan Schmidl, *The Film Scores of Alois Melichar: Studies in the Music of Austro-German Cinema 1933-1956* (Vienna, Austria: MyMorawa, Morawa Lesezirkel GmbH, 2018), 21.



his fervently held anti-democratic, nationalistic and anti-Semitic views.<sup>23</sup> There is doubtless far more archival evidence about the composers themselves that would contribute to a fuller historical picture of this professional network; the time frame and focus of this project allowed for only a limited survey.<sup>24</sup>

This dissertation stands at the intersection of film studies, German studies, musicology and cultural history, an interdisciplinary approach that hopes to reflect the collaborative authorship of the medium of film. An abundance of musical material in German film seems to be a key characteristic of the national cinema: most feature films integrated music not just in films about artists but in genres such as melodrama, war, history and adventure films. As Robert Peck notes, “It would be extremely difficult to name a single film where this was not the case, which may well be unique within the filmic conventions of European cinema.”<sup>25</sup> And while the musicologist Guido Heldt points out the critical mass of films about composers [*Künstlerfilme*] from this period, no single monograph considers the subject in depth.<sup>26</sup> So far, however, our understanding of the complex medial, political, aesthetic and cultural history of music in Nazi-era film has been fragmentary and haphazard, the by-product of research whose primary focus lies elsewhere. Although Linda Schulte-Sasse

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<sup>23</sup> Melichar’s private correspondence with his son leaves one in little doubt as to his cultural chauvinism and self-identification as a National Socialist. In letters from 1943 he wrote, “Unlängst war ich in einer kleinen Kunstaustellung, deren Katalog ich dir beilege. So etwas von Dilettantismus wie dieser zwei Kerle Henning und Krall habe ich noch nie erlebt! Ein typischer Fall von Unterdrückung großer Künstler durch die jüdische Systemzeit!” and “Mein Freund Böhlke [...] ist ein prächtiger Mensch und genau so ein fanatischer Nationalsoz. wie wir.” Alois Melichar to Franz Melichar, Letters of May 10 and 21, 1943, Munich City Library [Münchener Stadtbibliothek], Monacensia, AM B 1040. Melichar tried to whitewash his relationship to the regime after the war by falsely claiming he had been banned from conducting. He also published three books in the 1950s attacking the atonal techniques of Arnold Schoenberg and the avant-garde. In connection with a slander lawsuit in 1960, he tried to clear his name by accusing Theodor W. Adorno retrospectively of having been a Nazi-sympathizer in 1933. For a full discussion of this case see Martin Kirnbauer and Heidy Zimmerman, “Wissenschaft in ‘keimfreier Umgebung.’ Musikforschung in Basel 1920-1950” in *Musikwissenschaft - eine verspätete Disziplin?: Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Stuttgart; Weimar: Metzler, 2000), 340-342. See also Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982), 22.

<sup>24</sup> The existing literature is broadly limited to propaedeutic accounts with biographical references, e.g. Konrad Vogelsang, *Filmmusik im Dritten Reich - Die Dokumentation* (Hamburg: Facta, 1993). See also Reimar Volker, “Von oben sehr erwünscht”: *Die Filmmusik Herbert Windts im NS-Propagandafilm* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2003); Christine Raber, *Der Filmkomponist Wolfgang Zeller: Propagandistische Funktionen seiner Filmmusik im Dritten Reich* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005); and Robert E. Peck, “Film Music in the Third Reich” in *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR: Cultural Politics and Propaganda*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robyn J. Stilwell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), which covers the careers of the composers Giuseppe Becce, Werner Egk, Franz Grothe and Peter Kreuder.

<sup>25</sup> Peck, “Film Music in the Third Reich,” 20.

<sup>26</sup> Guido Heldt, “Hardly Heroes: Composers as a Subject in National Socialist Cinema” in *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny*, ed. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber, 2003), 114–35.

and Sabine Hake both touch on music in their foundational monographs *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema* and *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, the use of music in mainstream narrative cinema in the Third Reich is still poorly understood and under-researched.<sup>27</sup> Brian Currid's 2006 monograph *A National Acoustics* situates close-readings of select films in a highly informative and insightful discussion of mass culture and the role of classical music in the increasingly commercialized conditions of the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany. Some further studies on popular music, such as Axel Jockwer's 2004 doctoral dissertation on "Unterhaltungsmusik im Dritten Reich" offer a nuanced account of the face-off between high-brow and mainstream culture in film of the time.<sup>28</sup> Carolyn Birdsall's 2012 monograph *Nazi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945* notes that music in Nazi cinema "was often given undue emphasis" and makes the intriguing claim that an underlying "concept of German music" was integral to the sensory address of audiences in film of this period. However, her work follows Lutz Koepnick and Michael Wedel in concentrating on the proliferation of musical and operetta genres.<sup>29</sup> In the US context, more recent large-scale critical discussions of the arts under National Socialism omit mention of film-music altogether. Film-music does not receive a mention, for example, in Jonathan Petropoulos' extensive thirteen-chapter 2014 study on artistic practice *Artists under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany*.<sup>30</sup> This dissertation begins to redress this lacuna by exploring how film in Nazi Germany conveyed the Germans' uniquely involved and ambiguous relationship to their music heritage, and gives insights into the markedly mixed feelings about classical music as it comes into conflict with images of modern life in the mass medium of cinema.

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<sup>27</sup> Linda Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) and Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> See Jockwer, "Unterhaltungsmusik."

<sup>29</sup> Carolyn Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes: Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 147; Lutz P. Koepnick, *The Dark Mirror: German Cinema between Hitler and Hollywood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 40-46 and Michael Wedel, *Der Deutsche Musikfilm*.

<sup>30</sup> Jonathan Petropoulos, *Artists under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

It has long been noted that films of the Nazi period cannot be assimilated under a distinct style, a point borne out by the range of case studies treated here.<sup>31</sup> For this reason, this study privileges the term “Nazi-era film” over “Nazi film” or “Nazi cinema,” since the latter connotes a homogeneity and stylistic or ideological consistency that is not reflected in the products of this historical period as a whole. As historical studies on the period have demonstrated, the interrelations of mass culture and political ideology in Germany under Hitler were far from clear cut: the total control often assumed to have been wielded over the film industry by Goebbels’ Propaganda Ministry is not substantiated by the evidence, which indicates that despite the intention to instrumentalize film and media in general to win over the public, state intervention in film production was in practice haphazard and chaotic.<sup>32</sup> Reports from the SS intelligence agency [*Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS*] show that public tastes concerning music and entertainment were closely monitored, while the picture of censorship history is similarly complex: the rating system in the Third Reich was inherited from the Weimar era and censorship guidelines remained vague.<sup>33</sup> At least until the outbreak of war, the hope of selling German films on the export market meant the pageantry of Nazi rallies in feature films was highly exceptional; thereafter explicit political and racialized content was mainly limited to newsreels, with the notable exception of a concentration of nationalistic propaganda features including the overt anti-Semitic feature *JUD SÜß* (Veit Harlan, 1940) in the years 1940-1941.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Laura Heins provides a helpful overview of this discussion of style in *Nazi Film Melodrama* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 27-31.

<sup>32</sup> Early scholarship on Third Reich film focused on a comparatively small sampling of 40-100 films that were considered clear examples of propaganda, whereas the thousand remaining films (including but not limited to melodramas) were largely passed over as insignificant. Since the 1990s, seminal studies on popular cinema [*Unterhaltungskino*] have addressed this issue, seeking to re-evaluate mass entertainment under Hitler and demonstrating the complexity of aesthetic and ideological transformations in German film of this period. See Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996) and Erica Carter, *Dietrich’s Ghosts: The Sublime and the Beautiful in Third Reich Film* (London: British Film Institute, 2004), 2..

<sup>33</sup> Reports are given in *Meldungen aus dem Reich, 1938-1945: die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, ed. Heinz Boberach (Herrsching: Pawlak Verlag, 1984). For an overview of censorship and the film industry see M S Phillips, “The Nazi control of the German film industry,” *Journal of European Studies*, 1/1 (1971), 37-68.

<sup>34</sup> See Phillips, “Nazi control,” 60-61 and Pamela M. Potter, *Art of Suppression, Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016) 17, 30. Box-office earnings are recorded in Gerd Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1969), 409 ff.

This research is indebted to explications of the privileged position of classical music in the formation of German identity by Pamela Potter and Celia Applegate.<sup>35</sup> Thanks to Potter’s work in particular, we now have a far more robust and objective account of both musicology and of the performing arts in the Third Reich, one that does not proceed from the assumption that musical life was the product of totalitarian control dictated by a central ideology.<sup>36</sup> Most recently, she has challenged historiographical paradigms driven by Cold War politics, showing that post-war accounts isolated culture in the Third Reich from a longer continuum of German cultural practices, and perpetuated a dystopian view of cultural production as a self-contained monolith of totalitarian ideology and anti-modern aesthetics.<sup>37</sup> This dissertation amplifies these critical findings by arguing against preconceptions that the German film industry was rendered an agent of ideological control from 1933 and that classical music featured in film as a vehicle of coherent Nazi dogma, serving a representative public relations function whereby German cinema sold itself as cultivated and refined in contrast to its American competitors on the market. The prevailing tendency—found above all in German-language scholarship—to file citations of classical music in Nazi-era film away as instances of the intentional abuse of culture for political ends fails to account for how film mediates cultural capital. When musical scenes are mentioned, they are routinely condemned—and duly dismissed—as examples of ideological

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<sup>35</sup> *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela M. Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>36</sup> In addition to *Art of Suppression*, see Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); “What Is ‘Nazi Music’?” *The Musical Quarterly* 88, no. 3, 2006: 428–455; “Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of ‘Germanization’” in *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 85–110; “Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich” *Central European History* 40, no. 4 (2007): 623–651.

<sup>37</sup> See Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 176. Historians have long questioned the notion that Nazism was a coherent ideology, and that the Third Reich ever achieved the totalitarian control often assumed that it wielded. The “intentionalist” view was first challenged by Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen already in the 1960s, who instead foregrounded the “functionalism” of Nazi rule, detailing the chaotic struggles for power that pervaded Third Reich cultural politics. They argued that Nazism successfully engendered consent among broad swaths of society, appealing to shared prejudices and disillusionment as well as to the desire for national renewal and social reform that cut across the political spectrum, from workers to big business. Norbert Frei, *1945 und wir. Das Dritte Reich im Bewusstsein der Deutschen* (Munich, 2009), 23 and Martin Broszat, “Plädoyer für eine Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus,” *Merkur* 435, (May 1985): 373–385. See also Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 214 and Anson Rabinbach, “The Aftermath: Reflections on the Culture and Ideology of National Socialism” in *Weimar Thought: A Contested Legacy*, ed. Peter E. Gordon and John P. McCormick (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 394. Arendt’s characterization of Nazi Germany as a “temporary alliance between the elite and the mob,” remains relevant. See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1951] (New York: Harcourt, 1973), 333.

appropriation, frequently indicated by the German term *Vereinnahmung* and chalked up to the broader phenomenon of cultural coordination or *Gleichschaltung*.<sup>38</sup> While such reactions are understandably rooted in the attempt to make sense of the barbarism of Nazi rule and the atrocities of the Holocaust, they tend to simplify the history of mass culture in Germany in this period. The notion of “coordination” is problematic inasmuch as it assumes that the Nazis’ murderous campaign of racial and political intolerance—the persecution and genocide experienced by artists—translated at the level of culture into an equally thorough eradication of artistic and commercial influences, that is an “aesthetic nazification,” parsed as ideological domination and the debasement of cultural practice.<sup>39</sup> Used in Nazi Germany to refer to the bureaucratic, biopolitical and racist reorganization of cultural domains, the term *Gleichschaltung* appeared in post-war writings as a placeholder for the idea that Nazi rule imposed *cultural* norms with authoritarian impunity on all artistic practice, according to a set of stable and well-defined ideals. This sense of *Gleichschaltung* as aesthetic totalitarianism persists, despite the evidence of inconvenient truths about Nazi Germany, for example that models for culture were characterized by what culture should not be, rather than by positive models or styles; that forms of Modernism and artistic agency did exist in the Nazi state, and that mass culture bore similarities to practices in the West.<sup>40</sup> As the following section attempts to sketch out, the historical record on film-music likewise indicates that, following the systematic expulsion of Jewish and other discriminated personnel from this professional sector, the industry did not produce a Nazi “style” of film-music, but something more like an echo-chamber, where quoting the classics was a constant topic of debate.

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<sup>38</sup> See most recently Wolfgang Jacobsen, *Nazis können nicht lieben: Drei Filme aus Deutschland* (Berlin: Verbrecher, 2020), 2: “Was verbindet Joseph Haydns Oratorium “Die Schöpfung” mit dem “total Krieg?” Eigentlich nichts! Und doch wurd[e der] Komponist von NS-Autoren vereinnahmt für ihr filmisches Musterbuch der bösen Möglichkeiten, aus dem mörderische Wirklichkeit wucherte.” See also Albrecht Riethmüller, “Zarah Leander singt Bach” in *Attraktion und Abwehr: Die Amerikanisierung der Alltagskultur in Europa*, ed. Angelika Linke and Jakob Tanner (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), 172.

<sup>39</sup> Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 4-9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-15.

## Film-Music in Nazi Germany: Background and Issues

On March 28, 1933, Joseph Goebbels announced his plans for the new “national norms” to members of the film industry in Berlin, a few days before the national boycott of Jewish shops and businesses.<sup>41</sup> Without delay, the board of the largest production company, Ufa [*Universum-Film Aktiengesellschaft*], dismissed Jewish employees from their positions.<sup>42</sup> Werner Richard Heymann, the conductor-in-chief of the in-house orchestra and the composer of the hit operetta *DER KONGRESS TANZT* (1930) emigrated immediately; the director of the film *Eric Charell* was fired on the spot.<sup>43</sup> From November 1933, film composers were required along with all artists to register with the Reich Music Chamber, one of the seven of the Reich Culture Chambers overseen by the Propaganda Ministry, which in the ensuing years from 1935 was able to exclude individuals from their professions on racial and political grounds.<sup>44</sup> The losses to the industry were enormous: Peck estimates that roughly half of the 116 composers working on films released in 1933 never composed music for any more German films after this date, either because they were denied access to the Reich Music Chamber on ethnic or political grounds, emigrated or faced other forms of discrimination. The musicians who were able to continue working or start their careers after 1933—a cohort of c. 25 men and one woman—replaced those at the forefront of the industry in the Weimar years such as Ralph Benatzky, Friedrich Hollaender, Werner Richard Heymann and Franz Wachsmann, a change in personnel that also coincided with the developments

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<sup>41</sup> For a full account of the boycott see Saul Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2006).

<sup>42</sup> Ufa was effectively nationalized in 1937 when the company was forced to sell its shares to the quasi-governmental holding company Cautio Treuhand GmbH, under Goebbels’ aegis. In January 1942, Ufa became an official subsidiary of Ufa-Film GmbH (Ufi), a company into which all German film production was merged as additional production units, including Bavaria Film, Berlin-Film, Terra Film and Tobis AG. For a historical overview of these developments see Felix Moeller, *The Film Minister: Goebbels and the Cinema in the Third Reich* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2000), 37-42.

<sup>43</sup> Volker, “Per Aspera,” 19, 27.

<sup>44</sup> See Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 40-46, 112. It is important to note that the administrative body of the various Reich Culture Chambers, including music and film, was in fact not a Nazi innovation, but rather more like the formalization by the regime of pre-existing lobbies led by musicians and musicologists such as Hans Joachim Moser in the Weimar era to gain increased job security and professional opportunities through a blanket organization. See Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 3; *Art of Suppression*, 2.

in the medium from silent to sound film.<sup>45</sup> Film music became an increasingly privileged and potent site of meaning-making in the mass-cultural landscape of Nazi Germany, reflected in the enormous increase in printed discussions on the topic in the film press. The “league tables” published in the *Film-Kurier* at the end of every calendar year, listed and quantified the output of just three types of practitioner in the film industry: scriptwriters, directors and composers. I was able to compute that, between 1933-1936, articles including the word “Komponist” featured in the magazine a total of 29 times, a figure that rose to 76 from 1937-1939, before reaching its peak in the first year of WWII in 1940 with some 85 articles dedicated to film composers.<sup>46</sup> Despite the severe cutbacks caused by shortages in the final years of the war, there were no fewer than 69 articles about composers published between 1943 and 1945, when the journal ceased publication.<sup>47</sup>

The discourse around film-music in the Third Reich belongs to a larger story of cultural politics in Germany at this time, when the Nazis’ investment in raising the living standards for the racially defined, purified national community involved elevating the “social and economic standing of undervalued professions in the arts.”<sup>48</sup> In March 1934, *Film-Kurier* began to publish a new column, “Die Film Musik.”<sup>49</sup> Appearing once a week, the column was penned by composers themselves and took up close to an entire page of *Film-Kurier*’s five pages of printed text. Here composers lobbied for their demands, such as a greater say in production

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<sup>45</sup> Peck, “Film Music,” 22-24. After the advent of synchronized sound c.1930, German-language cinema had acquired a dominant position on the continent. Throughout the 1930s, the industry catered to German-speaking regions in central Europe and the former Habsburg empire with an average of 140 films per year, far more than its European competitors and second only to Hollywood. Despite significant reductions in production during WWII, the output still remained approximately 100 films per year. All of these films required musical scoring. Peck argues that the loss of these composers does not, however, appear to have affected the *kind* of music being produced in German film thereafter. See also Volker, “Per Aspera,” 20.

<sup>46</sup> From 1941 to 1945 the number remains high: in 1941 *Film-Kurier* published 74 articles on composers and 58 in 1942.

<sup>47</sup> Related keywords listed in the *Film-Kurier* index include “Musik,” “Filmmusik,” “Musikfilm” and “Musiker.”

<sup>48</sup> Pamela Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 179.

<sup>49</sup> Founded in 1919 by the film publicist and publisher Alfred Weiner, the daily *Film-Kurier* had passed into different hands in 1933 after Weiner was forced to sell his assets and flee the country. While during the Weimar Republic the magazine had given attention to film music and composers mostly in passing, the second year of the new political order brought with it decisive shifts in the status afforded musicians working in the film industry. The film music column appeared on page three of its respective issue. Pages one and two were aimed at a broad readership and contained film reviews, journalistic coverage of film productions and the programs of Berlin cinemas, while the third page was typically directed at a more specialized audience. Page four contained commercial listings followed by supplementary sections on e.g. technology that appeared weekly. The regular columns “Filme im Werden,” “Film-Kritik,” “Ecke der Technik” and “Film-Kritik “Tagesschau” remained after 1933; “Der Kurzfilm” disappeared and “Gespräche mit Filmschaffenden” was introduced.

decisions from the script-writing stage. Music, they argued again and again, was not only an element equal to screen drama but often paramount; their work could not be treated as an afterthought.<sup>50</sup> By 1939, the terms of the debate about quoting the classics took on more explicitly nationalistic and racialized contours. Hermann Wanderscheck, the author of the weekly column “Die Woche nach Noten,” attacked the American film industry for having first “used” European classical composers for “Negermusik” in film.<sup>51</sup> The chaotic result, he wrote, was a “monstrosity” [*ein Monstrum*]: “German” music performed by “Jewish singers,” “German” music arranged by “Jewish composers.”<sup>52</sup> The only solution, Wanderscheck concluded, was an international copyright regulation that could ensure the protected status [*Denkmalschutz*] of German music, saving it from horrific defilement [*Schandtaten*] by Hollywood, invoking a paradigm whereby the purity of German art was defiled by international, degenerate forces.<sup>53</sup> Such a law was never promulgated; and the film press further suggests that as the war continued, frustrations mounted about the failure of contemporary film composers to live up to their national promise and the example set by the canon. In 1941, Günther Schwark sparked a heated debate in *Filmkurier* when he attacked film composers for having failed to “realize” the true *Musikfilm* (a term that was itself ill-defined), an interesting example of practice and public discourse entering into open conflict. His article began, “Germany is a musical country. It has produced the greatest composers in the fields of classical and popular music. Only in film do we still get a relatively bad sense of the extraordinary musical talent of our people.”<sup>54</sup> Directors accused composers of failing to write “new” and “proper” film music that could hold a candle to the classics, and in developing an artistic form for cinema that “developed its own film-

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<sup>50</sup> Clemens Schmalstich, “Musik ein gleichwertiger, sogar manchmal überragender Faktor,” *Film-Kurier*, March 15, 1934.

<sup>51</sup> Hermann Wanderscheck, “Wenn Bach und Beethoven erhalten müssen...” *Film-Kurier*, May 20, 1939.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, “Deutsche Liedmusik war in fast jedem Hollywooder Produkt vertreten, und meist waren es jüdische Sänger und Sängerinnen, welche für die deutsche Interpretation sorgten—oder es waren jüdische Komponisten, die die Bearbeitung der deutschen Musik vornahmen.”

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, “Gegen diese musikalischen Schandtaten des amerikanischen Films hilft wahrscheinlich nur eine internationale, urheberrechtliche Regelung, die für Denkmalschutz im Film Sorge trägt.”

<sup>54</sup> Günther Schwark, “Appel an die Komponisten zur Mitarbeit am Film: Die schöpferische Initiative zur Verwirklichung des Musikfilms muß von den Musikern ausgehen,” *Film-Kurier*, July 8, 1941.



musical ideas.”<sup>55</sup> Indignant, composers such as Franz Grothe defended themselves: their advice was sought too late to have any determinative effect on production, and they were rarely sent the material they needed in time to get the bare minimum of composition done for the underscoring, let alone granted the freedom or dramaturgical authority to fashion a filmic vision where music took precedent and guided aesthetic decisions.<sup>56</sup>

Given film composers’ struggles for autonomy, it is unsurprising to learn that they were against quoting the classics in film, not least because it reduced them to the status of arrangers. In a 1938 interview Alois Melichar stated, “I am firmly opposed to the use of classical music in film, for the sole reason that I prefer to compose myself.”<sup>57</sup> His colleagues, the foremost film-composers in Nazi Germany including Hans Otto Borgmann and the oldest member of the group, Giuseppe Becce, all devised variations on the same theme. Theo Mackeben, for example, urged utmost caution when handling the classics [*höchste Verantwortlichkeit erforderlich*]; Hans Carste sanctioned the practice of quoting only on the condition that the plot reflect the inherent “dignity” of the music. Filmmakers should never debase the classics by using them as background music; moreover they were to vouchsafe the “absolute” effect of this music by preventing interruptions of dialogue.<sup>58</sup> The only acceptable setting for music on screen, answered Herbert Windt, the composer of Leni Riefenstahl’s infamous propaganda films TRIUMPH DES WILLENS (1935) and OLYMPIA (1938), was in the correct “milieu,” that is, in films set in the past, or in the concert hall or at the opera.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, at least some contemporary film-writers responded with enthusiasm when classical repertoire was heard in the cinema, rather than new compositions. In his 1937 volume of modern German film history, Oskar Kalbus

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<sup>55</sup> Edmund Nick, “Zur Debatte um den Musikfilm,” *Film-Kurier*, September 11, 1941.

<sup>56</sup> Franz Grothe, “Engste Zusammenarbeit zwischen Autor und Musiker ist nötig: Der Komponist wird zu spät mit dem Stoff vertraut gemacht,” *Film-Kurier*, July 11, 1941.

<sup>57</sup> “Zur Frage der Verwendung klassischer Musik im Film stehe ich vollkommen negativ, schon weil ich lieber selber komponiere.” Wanderscheck, “Sieben Fragen an zwölf Komponisten,” *Film-Kurier*, December 31, 1938, 21.

<sup>58</sup> “Verwendung klassischer Musik bejahe ich unter folgenden Bedingungen: daß der Ablauf der Handlung der Würde solcher Musik entspricht, daß der Zuschauer, wenn es geht, auch bildlich in den Konzertsaal geführt wird, daß diese Musik nie zur Untermalung verwendet wird, also immer absolut wirkt und nie durch Dialoge zerrissen wird.” *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>59</sup> “Verwendung klassischer Musik halte ich nur für möglich im Milieu der betreffenden Zeit (oder es sei im Konzertsaal, Oper und dgl.)” *Ibid.*, 24.

recommended STRADIVARI (Geza von Bolvary, 1935) on account of its “thrilling and passionate” music. The film about a Hungarian military officer and virtuoso violinist (Gustav Fröhlich) in WWI, he told his readers, was “not much to look at” but “exceptionally worth listening to.”<sup>60</sup> Though Kalbus gave Melichar credit as the composer, the score in fact consisted mainly of quotations of Brahms, Chopin, Schubert and Tchaikovsky. Indeed, in a reflection of existent tussles in cultural production, films themselves repeatedly thematized the impossibility of composing “serious” music in the current day that could measure up to the classical canon. Several films made out the task of composing to be a losing proposition in light of the unstoppable success of *Unterhaltungsmusik* with the public. As a preview of the issues treated in this study, this introduction concludes with a closer look at the cultural and political tensions in *WIR MACHEN MUSIK*, a film that made issues surrounding modern-day composition, entertainment and cultural heritage the stuff of jokes.

*WIR MACHEN MUSIK* or: Bach defended against his devotees



Figure 2. Anni leading her band (left) and playing “little Miss Bach” (right). *Wir machen Musik* (Helmut Käutner, 1942)

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<sup>60</sup> “Dieser Film ist weniger sehenswert als ausserordentlich hörens Wert und erlebnis stark durch seine mitreissend, aufpeitschende und leidenschaftliche Musik. Er muss daher kritisch besonders vom Musikalischen aus betrachtet werden, schon weil ihn der musikalischste unter den Filmregisseuren [Bolvary] gedreht und ein Musiker von Ruf in Töne [Melichar] eingerahmt hat.” Oskar Kalbus, “Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst: Teil 3: Der Film im 3. Reich,” unpublished manuscript, 1937, 173. This volume never appeared in print due to its favorable treatment of figures in the industry who by 1937 had been expelled, such as Rheinhold Schünzel. See Joel Westerdale, “An Accident of Resistance in Nazi Germany: Oskar Kalbus’s Three-Volume History of German Film (1935–37),” *Film History: An International Journal* (July 2017): 163–90.

Käutner's WIR MACHEN MUSIK takes the war of the sexes from the Hollywood screwball comedy and translates it into the specific German cultural conflict between *ernste Musik* (Karl) and *Unterhaltungsmusik* (Anni), only to exemplify the blurring of both categories. In the course of the movie, the derivative neo-Romantic compositional style Karl attempts in his opera "Lucrezia Borgia" loses out spectacularly to Anni's irresistible catchy beats and tunes and her popular appeal, while the details of the script appear to parody the pseudo-intellectualizing about classical music in Germany at this time. In the Bach scene, Karl patronizes Anni, doubting that, as a pop-singer, she can ever appreciate musical "high art" of Johann Sebastian Bach as he does, namely with a taciturn and pious attitude. His word choice that everything after Bach is "small and pitiful" [*klein und erbärmlich*] echoed a formulation by Joseph Goebbels in 1935, when the Propaganda Minister exalted the "German" classical canon to scoff at the arrogance of "upstart" modernist composers.<sup>61</sup> Anni responds good-naturedly to Karl's snobbery: Bach fortunately did not take himself as seriously as his devotees, she claims, and delivers a charismatic performance that makes a mockery of fusty doctrinaire beliefs about the untouchability of *ernste Musik*. Only through the medium of film can the audience grasp the point about musical practice: Anni audibly breathes new life into the piece by treating it as though it were one of her own band compositions, slides irreverently between notes and takes a breath in the middle of the word "niemand," tossing convention out the window and turning the aria into a kind of baroque jazz.<sup>62</sup> Her stylistic integrity underscores her argument: "high art" is valuable only when granted an authenticity of expression.

Viewed in its historical context, the scene opens up a zone of critique and subversion, parodying contemporary skirmishes over the ownership of the musical canon. Roughly three years earlier, Alois

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<sup>61</sup> "Johann Sebastian Bach—Sehen Sie, das ist Musik—da fängt's an und da hört's auf. Dagegen ist alles Andere klein und erbärmlich." Following a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with the Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwängler in November 1935, Goebbels wrote in his diary, "Man ist im Tiefsten erschüttert. Der Führer auch da. Ganz benommen sind wir alle am Ende. Großer, großer Beethoven! Wie klein und erbärmlich dagegen die aufgeblasenen Neutöner." *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Elke Fröhlich, Part I, vol. 3, ed. Angela Hermann, Hartmut Mehringer, Anne Munding, and Jana Richter (Berlin: K. G. Saur, 2013), 320. For the history of Modernism in the Third Reich see Pamela Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 176 ff.

<sup>62</sup> The aria Anni sings had been used in the 1940 film DAS FRÄULEIN VON BARNHELM (Hans Schweikart), an adaptation of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's drama *Minna von Barnhelm*.

Melichar had faced a backlash for crafting the entire musical score for the film *DAS UNSTERBLICHE HERZ* (Veit Harlan) out of arrangements of Bach's keyboard works.<sup>63</sup> Richard Ohlekopf, a contributor to the journal *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, condemned the composer for profaning Bach, daring to debase the C major prelude from the Well-Tempered Clavier by adding drums and trumpets.<sup>64</sup> While Melichar claimed arranging the classics was part of the work of the modern film composer, the musicological establishment chastised the score as a creative sham: he had misunderstood the expectations of the German cinema-going public, namely that the composer write his own music befitting the magnitude of the filmic subject, rather than appropriating and devaluing the works of J. S. Bach. It was unacceptable that the mighty D minor toccata for organ was reduced to a kind of sonic wallpaper [*Geräuschkulisse*] which "pattered along" in the background. The majority of listeners would not even be aware they were listening to Bach, Ohlendorf fumed, and indeed, it is possible they never were; musicologists today are now undecided whether even this canonic work is not in fact by one of Bach's contemporaries.<sup>65</sup> The screenplay of *WIR MACHEN MUSIK* appears to channel voices like those of Ohlekopf into Karl's character, parodying their cultural vigilantism about music in cinema. Though Karl and Anni seem to be debating the value of classical vs. popular or jazz music more generally, Karl's use of the key term *Geräuschkulisse* makes clear that he, like Ohlekopf, is hugely exercised about the use of music in the

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<sup>63</sup> Melichar cited his arrangements for *DAS UNSTERBLICHE HERZ* as one of his favorite film projects, in which he "exclusively used music by Bach." Wanderscheck, "Sieben Fragen," 21.

<sup>64</sup> "Die große d-moll-Toccat für Orgel plätscherte buchstäblich an den Ohren der meisten Hörer fühlbar vorüber und wurde mit ihren bewegten Figurationen lediglich wie eine Geräuschkulisse zu dem Spiel der Wellen und dem schaukelnden Schiff empfunden. Das Gleiche gilt natürlich vom 1. C-dur-Präludium aus dem "Wohltemperierten Klavier," das den gequälten Aufstieg des seichen Peter Heinlein veranschaulichen soll (mit Pauken und Trompeten). Bei diesem großgesehenen Thema Peter Heinlein hätte ein begabter Filmkomponist sich vielmehr auf das einstellen müssen, was sein besonders geartetes Publikum von ihm erwartet. Das heißt, er hätte eine eigene Musik schreiben müssen." Richard Ohlekopf, "Bachsche Musik als Film- und Geräuschkulisse," *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 12, 1939, 1-2. Cited in Schmidl, *Alois Melichar*, 12-13.

<sup>65</sup> It was not the first time Melichar had faced reproach for adapting the classics in his film composition. In 1935, Oskar Kalbus had reassured readers that thanks to Melichar's due diligence, no work of Frédéric Chopin had been harmed in the making of the composer biopic *ABSCHIEDSWALZER. ZWEI FRAUEN UM CHOPIN* (Géza von Bolváry, 1934: "Hier kommt es auf die bacchantische Musik Chopins an, die dem Film Glanz und Schwung zu verleihen hat [...] Alois Melichar hat darüber gewacht, daß Chopins Musik nicht profaniert oder gar mißbraucht wird." Oskar Kalbus, *Der Tonfilm: Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst: Teil 2* (Altona-Bahrenfeld: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst, 1935), 11. Chopin had been bestowed with honorary nationality thanks to the theorist Heinrich Schenker's influential reception in the 1920s, who pronounced his genius worthy of "inclusion in the roll of great German masters." See Ian Bent, "Heinrich Schenker, Chopin and Domenico Scarlatti," *Music Analysis* 5, no. 2/3 (1986): 131-149.

movies, “I hold my art too high to debase it as white noise for comedy or romance.”<sup>66</sup> In a Pirandello-like move, Karl’s line points to the very genre of film in which he is a character: the romantic comedy. We might hazard that the reason the scene raised the hackles of the Bach devotees is that Karl’s avowal of the sanctity of Bach’s music is brilliantly made to cede to erotic desire; Anni’s singing brings about the denouement of the kiss. The film makes Karl’s position laughable, modernizing Bach with an irresistible lightness.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 3. Karl after his opera is rejected (left). The couple looking at the camera in the final shot (right). *Wir machen Musik* (Helmut Käutner, 1942)

The unusual ending of the film further ironizes the broader issue of commercializing artistic practice in a scene that enacts the shuttering of discussion. Real life has relieved Karl of his delusions of grandeur: his opera is a flop, whereas Anni’s swinging music [*beschwingte Musik*] lands her on the radio and turns her into a starlet. She finally persuades him to help arrange her melodies, a lucrative business that lands them in a comfortable tax-bracket in a spacious apartment on the Lietzenburger Straße. Viewed in retrospect, it is perhaps not insignificant that the film installs the latter-day film arranger Karl into a Wilmersdorf apartment,

<sup>66</sup> “Also mir steht meine Kunst jedenfalls zu hoch, um sie als humoristische oder erotische Geräuschkulisse zu profanieren.”

<sup>67</sup> The biographies of those involved in this production highlight the ambiguities and professional precarity that attended many of the figures in the film industry in the Third Reich. During the final years of the Weimar Republic, Käutner, who both directed and wrote the screenplay, had been a member of the successful cabaret ensemble *Die vier Nachrichten*, banned by the regime in 1935. Despite the film’s immense popularity, the Reich music chamber banned the composer Peter Igelhoff later in 1942 for writing music that was too “American” and sent him off to the front. Erich Ebermayer, on whose “motifs” the script was based, was initially persecuted by the Nazis for his sexual orientation, but ultimately profited from the regime as a well-paid author. A close friend of Winifred Wagner, Ebermayer wrote a script for a Richard Wagner film that was never made. He took on personal risk by helping his long-time secretary, a Jewish woman named Emilie Heymann to go “underground” by procuring her fake documents. Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2007), 125, 291-292.

formerly a neighborhood populated by a community of German-Jewish musicians purged from German society. [clip: Wir machen Musik 3] In an ironic tone, Karl speaks directly into the camera, telling the viewer that the couple has been happy since he accepted “where his true talents lay,” (i.e. not with classical music), and asks “Did I say too much?” Anni’s character apparently cannot see the camera, and asks, “Who are you talking to?” just as a voice from off-screen cries “Lights out!”—one of only a handful of references in Nazi-era film to an air-raid on a German city. Karl excuses himself to the viewer: they will be reported if he does not comply with the blackout.<sup>68</sup> The slats of the blinds flip shut and the reel cuts after a punctual musical cadence. Our view of Nazi-era cultural politics must accommodate for the fact that Käutner’s sardonic script did not prevent this film from being cleared by the censorship boards for release; on the contrary they rated it “artistically valuable,” “of value for the public,” and “of special mention” by the authorities.<sup>69</sup> WIR MACHEN MUSIK pointed to the demise of the musical pedant, parodying the failed opera composer in Karl, a weak whiner who invites ridicule. The tough and charismatic Anni, by contrast—clearly the star in the picture—charms the crowd with her all-girls swing band, and even wins over Karl with her performative flair. The movie comes to a placative resolution where Karl’s lofty notion of musical composition as art cedes to the workmanship and musical carpentry of arranging, an interesting illustration of the construct of artistic genius or *Geist* imploding under the pressures of modernity. Shown to be a persiflage of quality in the first place, Karl trades in the “breadless art” [*die brotlose Kunst*] of classical music, with its connection to the written work

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<sup>68</sup> “Entschuldigen Sie bitte, aber wir kriegen sonst eine Anzeige.”

<sup>69</sup> “Künstlerisch wertvoll, volkstümlich wertvoll, anerkennenswert.” The predicate system in Nazi Germany was inherited from the Weimar Republic, where two distinct facilities had presided: the centralized *Filmprüfstelle* and the *Filmkammer*, set up at the Central Prussian Institute for Education and Learning (*Preußische Bildstelle beim Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht*) in Berlin. From 1926 the latter issued three predicates that qualified the film’s exhibitor for a partial reduction in entertainment tax, ratings designed to further the development of cultural films: “künstlerisch,” “volksbildend” and “Lehrfilm.” The new legal regulations for the film industry under the *Lichtspielgesetz* of February 1934 incorporated the predication award system into the *Reichsfilmprüfstelle* and gradually expanded the ratings to include “staatspolitisch wertvoll” and “besonders wertvoll,” where the latter entailed a complete remission of the entertainment tax. The former was intended for films with propagandistic value made by the party ministry. For a detailed history see Phillips, “Nazi control,” 44-50.

and text, for the artistically unfulfilling task of creating the live show, a practice that grants Karl a fiscal advantage and the material comforts of middle-class life.

WIR MACHEN MUSIK illustrates a continuity that runs through this study: that putting classical music on screen in Nazi Germany inevitably meant addressing the precarity of this cultural heritage, imbricated by desires among Germans to become fully part of the modern world, and to embrace American modes of production, technology and popular music. As the expressions on the couples' faces behind the blinds suggest, the place of classical music in everyday life in Nazi Germany figured in film as a kind of question mark, a topic that provoked mixed feelings from righteous indignation to cynicism.

## Part One

### Asynchrony and Cultural Dissonances in the Listening Scene

German sound cinema is interested in showing how—or indeed whether—people are listening to classical music. Whether in the form of a live performance or radio broadcast, scenes of classical music reaching the ears of listeners on screen and affecting them occur with enough frequency to constitute a paradigmatic plot device in German films made between 1930-1945. This chapter tracks moments of classical music—what we can term “listening scenes”—as they migrate through film history, beginning in the Weimar era through to the demise of the Third Reich. In writing on Nazi-era film, the diegetic use of classical music is typically understood as primarily political or ideological. Sabine Hake, for example, notes that Detlef Sierck’s 1936 film *SCHLÜßAKKORD* presents Beethoven’s music as a “conduit for powerful epiphanies.” The film, on her reading, asserts “the ability of classical music to give emotional sustenance and create connections across spatial and social divides,” forging “imaginary communities of listeners in, and for, the Third Reich” in contradistinction to the “destructive effect” attributed by the film to jazz and modern music.<sup>1</sup> While this is surely true, Nazi-era film shows a continuity with the Weimar period in complicating such a dichotomy, foregrounding changes in listening practices, documenting desires for entertainment and popular music, and portraying splintered rather than harmonized images of society on screen.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, while a relationship to classical music remains a touchstone of national identity, listening scenes in film of this period indicate social and cultural dissonances, bringing into question the longstanding claim—rooted in the nineteenth century—that musicality was an essential German quality.

This chapter charts the significance and singularity of the listening scene in German cinema from the late Weimar period to the end of the Third Reich and demonstrates points of internal slippage. We can begin

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<sup>1</sup> Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema*, 115.

<sup>2</sup> The idealized concept of “German music” and Germany’s reputation as the leading musical nation far predated the Third Reich. See Applegate and Potter, *Music and German National Identity*, 1-35.



with the basic observation that classical music takes up a lot of screen-time, often suspending the temporal order, intervening in the narrative and demanding the cinema audience engage with the music at the expense of the image. These underlying strivings toward cultural education through film appear to be a struggle for the medium itself: this chapter traces how a utopian promise of cultural uplift through music morphs through the Nazi era into ever more explicit rejections of bourgeois musical culture as a means of spiritual redemption, and instead celebrates trends toward modernization and progress in the Third Reich. By focusing on listening scenes, we see the horizon of possibility shrink for cultural education [*Kulturvermittlung*] through film, as the characters on screen lose interest, express boredom and apathy, and classical music ends up provoking a longing not for a world of Romantic feeling and interiority, but an end to the piece and return to “real” life.

The scene of listening on screen is not a Nazi invention, nor is it unique to cinema. Opera, operetta and theater all have a history of showing listeners on stage. Tracing the genealogy of listening scenes back to the Weimar era reveals continuities that complicate the neat periodization before and after 1933. To address this film-historical continuum, this chapter traces the representation of classical music in film from 1930 to 1944. Following on a close reading of *SCHLUBAKKORD* (Detlef Sierck, 1936), it explores the earlier presentation of classical music as a means of reflection and imaginative escape in the films *ABSCHIED* (Robert Siodmak, 1930) and *RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI* (Werner Hochbaum, 1932) and considers how these values shift over time in *BEFREITE HÄNDE* (Hans Schweikart, 1939), *PHILHARMONIKER* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944) and *GROßSTADTMELODIE* (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943). In the final case studies *WUNSCHKONZERT* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940) and *OPFERGANG* (Veit Harlan, 1944), the reception of classical music on screen is increasingly troubled. German film continues to invest in the vision of an audience as a unified imaginary community, but characters stop listening.

## Musical Literacy in SCHLUBAKKORD



Figure 4. Radio listeners in New York tune into Beethoven's Ninth in Berlin. *Schlubakkord* (Detlef Sierck, 1936)

Detlef Sierck's 1936 melodrama *SCHLUBAKKORD* makes classical music legible for a mass audience.<sup>3</sup> In the sparsely furnished room of a New York tenement block on a cold February night in 1935, a German expat, Hanna Müller (Maria von Tasnady), lies sick with a high fever. Next door, her landlord, the professional singer Mr. Smith (Alexander Engel) has managed to get his hands on a radio for the evening, in time to tune into a broadcast of Ludwig van Beethoven's Ninth Symphony live from the *Philharmonie* in Berlin. Smith's doctor friend Smedley, summoned to care for Hanna, gives him the all clear to switch it on: after all, classical music never killed anyone.<sup>4</sup> Cutting between Berlin and New York, the film shows the sound of the fourth movement, Beethoven's setting of Friedrich Schiller's 1785 poem *An die Freude*, reaching the radio listeners. We see Smith conducting in time with the music, an embodied listening practice that casts fingerlike shadows on the musical score. Through the wall, the delirious Hanna sits up in bed at the line about joy bestowing

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<sup>3</sup> *SCHLUBAKKORD* was the first major melodrama co-written and directed by Detlef Sierck (1897-1987) for the Ufa under the direction of Bruno Duday. The performance on film was recorded by the Berlin Philharmonic, an orchestra that one year earlier in 1935 had "cleansed" its ranks of Jewish players. Sierck left Nazi Germany for Hollywood in 1937 to avoid persecution of his half-Jewish wife Hilde Jary. As Douglas Sirk in the United States he directed some of the most iconic melodramas of the 1950s. See Laura Mulvey, "Notes on Sirk and Melodrama," *Movie 25* (Winter 1977): 53–56.

<sup>4</sup> Smedley invokes the concept of toxicity, "Aber schließlich ist klassische Musik kein Gift!"

“kisses and grapevines” on humanity (“Küsse gab sie uns und Reben”), the sensuality of the text answered by her glinting eyes and lips shown in close-up. [clip: Schlußakkord 1]

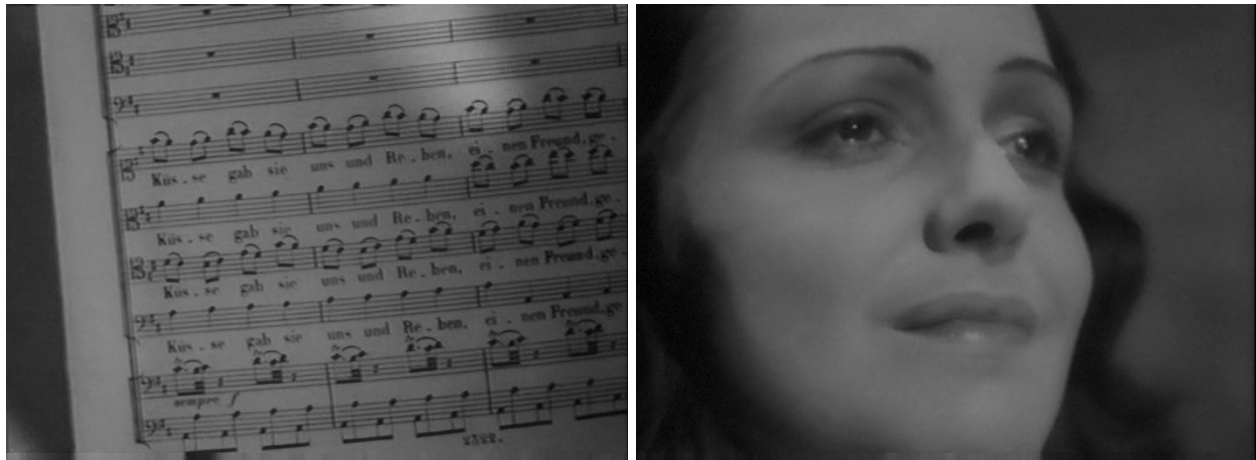


Figure 5. A shot of the score (right). Hanna revived by the music (left). *Schlußakkord* (Detlef Sierck, 1936)

The cinematography puts the vocal score in the frame, zeroing in on the exact measures sung by the four soloists and choir so that the viewer can follow along by reading Schiller’s verses if not the musical notation. At the word “Seele,” the image surges into motion as Smith turns the page, translating the passing of time in the music into kinetic energy on screen.<sup>5</sup> The sequence at once caters to a learned habitus of cultural reception (score-reading) and renders this practice immediate for a mass audience, the juxtaposition of notation and Hanna’s face opening up possibilities to link textual and affective ways of understanding the music. In this sense, *SCHLUBAKKORD* exemplifies the blurring that Miriam Hansen considered to be at the core of modernism between the boundaries of the institution of art, the ideal of aesthetic autonomy and the distinction of high and low, classical and popular culture.<sup>6</sup> For Hansen, the study of modernist aesthetics

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<sup>5</sup> Smith calls himself an “oratorio singer” [*Oratoriensänger*], a term connoting an elevated class of singer for sacred music, someone who appears in a suit rather than a costume and might look down on the earthy operatic stage with its Italianate *bel canto* theatrics. We can identify the score in the frame as the 1863 edition of *Ludwig van Beethovens Werke. Serie 1: Symphonien, Nr. 9* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. [1863]), 208.

<sup>6</sup> Miriam Bratu Hansen, “The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism,” *Modernism/modernity* 6, no. 3 (April 1999): 60. In this seminal piece, Hansen argues in favor of a redefinition of modernism as a “whole range of cultural and artistic practices that register, respond to, and reflect upon processes of modernization and the experience of modernity, including a paradigmatic transformation of the conditions under which art is produced, transmitted, and consumed.”

encompasses cultural practices such as cinema that mediated the experience of modernity.<sup>7</sup> The sound-image relations in SCHLUBAKKORD—as in the further case studies discussed in this chapter—represent a part of the story of mass consumption in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and our understanding of an “economy of sensory perception” theorized by intellectuals such as Walter Benjamin.<sup>8</sup> Sequences in film that depict listening practices represent new modes of “organizing” vision and sensory perception, bringing an experience of “high-brow” culture to the mass public in the cinema.



Figure 6. The vocal score of Beethoven's Ninth. *Schlußakkord* (Detlef Sierck, 1936)

All the same, SCHLUBAKKORD reflects the brittle status of classical music in ways that are paradigmatic for German cinema of the 1930s and 40s; as such we might view the film as a “troubled and fluctuating aesthetic response to conditions of modernity.”<sup>9</sup> The presentation of classical music in Nazi-era cinema represents a modernist phenomenon in its own right, not in the sense of an articulated aesthetic movement or program, but rather as evidence of how the technological, commercial medium expressed a highly

<sup>7</sup> “Innerhalb großer geschichtlicher Zeiträume verändert sich mit der gesamten Daseinsweise der menschlichen Kollektiva auch die Art und Weise ihrer Sinneswahrnehmung. Die Art und Weise, in der die menschliche Sinneswahrnehmung sich organisiert – das Medium, in dem sie erfolgt – ist nicht nur natürlich, sondern auch geschichtlich bedingt.” Walter Benjamin, “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, vol. 1, part 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980), 478.

<sup>8</sup> See Hansen, *ibid.* Benjamin used the word “remote” to describe his relationship to the field of musical inquiry. See Theodor W. Adorno and Walter Benjamin, *The Complete Correspondence, 1928–1940*, ed. Henri Lonitz, trans. Nicholas Walker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 119.

<sup>9</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1989), 98. Cited in Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 177.

ambivalent reception of German cultural heritage. While the Beethoven scene connotes a register of religious devotion in Smith and Hanna's lifted gazes, not every character shares their reactions. The film contrasts the German expat Hanna, a lover of art-music, with the unfaithful, materialistic wife of the conductor Garvenberg: the conspicuously unmusical Charlotte (Lil Dagover) who will adopt Hanna's son Peter. While the experience of hearing Beethoven revives Hanna—prompting her to return to Germany and reclaim her child—Charlotte misses the concert, failing to extract herself from her lover's embrace (an aficionado of astrology and jazz) in time to take her seat in the hall. We see her husband noting her empty chair with dismay from the podium. [clip: Schlußakkord 2] While the first movement gets underway, a disturbance outside the door prompts members of the audience to turn toward their heads: in an unthinkable breach of etiquette, the conductor's wife is demanding to be let in mid-performance. Refused entry, she bitterly reproaches the doorman for "lecturing her" (*Belehrung*) and, once home, sulks to her maid about her husband's "art-religion,": "Aus jedem Konzertsaal macht er eine Kirche!" [clip: Schlußakkord 3] Charlotte displays self-awareness about her own condition, excluded by a mode of cultural communication she does not understand. In tears she tells her maid that her husband is a kind of stranger to her, "always on about Bach and Beethoven and whatever their names are." It is not her fault, she weeps, that she "just isn't musical." [clip: Schlußakkord 4].

In this sense Sierck's film takes care not to present a clear-cut binary of high-brow classical vs. popular music, even offering an insight into the sense of alienation felt by the unmusical listener. We can trace the cultural type of the "sensitive listener" [*der sinnige Zuhörer*] back to E. T. A. Hoffmann and his path-breaking response to Beethoven's instrumental music written in 1810 and revised in 1813.<sup>10</sup> There, he attached the

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<sup>10</sup> "Beethoven hat die gewöhnliche Folge der Sätze in der Symphonie beybehalten; sie scheinen phantastisch an einander gereiht zu seyn, und das Ganze rauscht manchem vorüber, wie eine geniale Rhapsodie: aber das Gemüth jedes sinnigen Zuhörers wird gewiss von *einem* fortdauernden Gefühl, das eben jene unnennbare, ahnungsvolle Sehnsucht ist, tief und innig ergriffen und bis zum Schluss-Accord darin erhalten; ja noch manchen Moment nach demselben wird er nicht aus dem wundervollen Geisterreiche, wo Schmerz und Lust in Tönen gestaltet ihn umfingen, hinaustreten können." E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Rezension der 5. Symphonie von Ludwig van Beethoven," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12, no. 40 (1810), 630–642. "Beethoven has kept the usual order of the movements in the symphony. To some they may seem fantastically arranged one after the other so that the whole thing rushes past like an inspired rhapsody. But the heart of every sensitive listener will surely be deeply and intimately moved and held until the final chord by one single continuous feeling, the nameless premonition of longing. Even after it is finished the listener will not be able to step

idea of musicality for the first time to the source of feeling in the listener, rather than composer or performer, distinguishing a notional class of attuned listeners. While they were bound together in the grips of longing for the music until the “final chord” [*tief und innig ergriffen bis zum Schluss-Accord*], their “insensitive” counterparts in the audience were simply intoxicated by the rush of the symphony propelling itself forward. Hoffmann’s writings inaugurate a crucial paradigm shift: on his account, only the initiated listener gains access to the Romantic realm of spirit. Discussing the subject of playing Beethoven at home, he adds that all others—the unfeeling proto-consumers of Beethoven who consider his music a past-time, a charm for dull ears, or a game with which to show off—should keep their hands off of the music.<sup>11</sup> If Sierck’s film situates itself in the tradition of enraptured listening, rendering the transformative and restorative effects of music on Hanna, it also imports Hoffmann’s typology of the sensitive vs. unmusical listener into the present day, conveying the alienation wrought by cultural elitism and the desire for popular trends and entertainment in its presentation of Charlotte’s character. While existing critical accounts of the film have read the use of Beethoven in the film as an example of cultural chauvinism typical of the Nazi period, it is far from obvious that the sequence articulates a message that is primarily political rather than cultural.<sup>12</sup> Musical imperialism in Germany was far

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out of the wonderful imaginary world where they were surrounded by the sounds of pain and desire.” All translations are my own unless otherwise cited.

<sup>11</sup> “Was nun die Schwierigkeit betrifft, so gehört zum richtigen, bequemen Vortrag Beethoven’scher Composition nichts Geringeres, als daß man ihn begreife, daß man tief in sein Wesen eindringe, daß man im Bewußtsein eigner Weihe es kühn wage, in den Kreis der magischen Erscheinungen zu treten, die sein mächtiger Zauber hervorruft. Wer diese Weihe nicht in sich fühlt, wer die heilige Musik nur als Spielerei, nur zum Zeitvertreib in leeren Stunden, zum augenblicklichen Reiz stumpfer Ohren, oder zur eigenen Ostentation tauglich betrachtet, der bleibe ja davon.” E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Phantasiestücke in Callot’s Manier. Blätter aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Enthusiasten* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1854), 77-78.

<sup>12</sup> Albrecht Riethmüller writes that SCHLUßAKKORD instrumentalizes Beethoven as a “xenophobic weapon of cultural imperialism,” setting up this music as the antipode to jazz as the music of murder and violence in New York. “In dem Passionsverschnitt am Ende ist in Froelichs ‘Heimat’ Johann Sebastian Bach dieselbe kulturimperiale und zu gleich xenophobische Waffe, wie Ludwig van Beethoven es zwei Jahre zuvor, 1936, in ‘Schlußakkord’ von Detlef Sierck (alias Douglas Sirk) war. Die per Rundfunk aus der Berliner Philharmonie nach Amerika gesendete ‘Neunte Symphonie’ heilt Deutsche, die in New York erkrankt sind; den äußersten, morbide gezeichneten Gegensatz dazu bilden Jazz und Mord im Central Park, mit denen ‘Schlußakkord’ beginnt.” Albrecht Riethmüller, “Zarah Leander,” 172. The films Sierck made in the Third Reich have given rise to a polarized reception, decried as evidence of institutional collusion and complicity on the hand and hailed as examples of so-called “inner emigration” and “aesthetic resistance” on the other. Karsten Witte saw in his films, along with the output of directors Helmut Käutner and Werner Hochbaum, a characteristic “absence of violence” and “dearth of ideological impact,” where the director did not propagate a totalizing vision of reality but “gather[ed] up the shards” of the everyday. Karsten Witte, “Ästhetische Opposition? Käutners Filme im Faschismus,” *Sammlung: Jahrbuch für antifaschistische Literatur und Kunst* 2 (1979): 113-114. On Sabine Hake’s reading of the film, the “allusions to

from a Nazi invention, nor do the biographies of the filmmakers indicate that they were mouthpieces for the regime or a particular ideology.<sup>13</sup> As in all the films discussed in this chapter, the treatment of classical music indicates the complexities of cultural self-understanding and the insecurities associated with being a cultural philistine [*Kulturbanause*], a discourse activated by Hoffmann's discussion of listening and cultural value in the early nineteenth-century.

The portrayal of the insensitive listener in Charlotte's character suggests that unmusicality was a troublesome issue in the figurations of German identity in Nazi-era film. At the level of plot, Hanna is the innocent, snow-white-like heroine, whereas Charlotte is the narcissistic stepmother who ultimately takes her own life, clearing the way for Hanna to assume her rightful place at Garvenberg's side. In this sense the musically literate character finds the path to spiritual redemption, physical health and happiness: later in the film, Hanna will win over Garvenberg, recounting how the concert restored her "will to live." Charlotte, meanwhile, appears as a ghostly, yet strangely pitiful presence throughout the drama. This is particularly noticeable toward the end of the film, in the scene where Garvenberg definitively falls for Hanna, who has meanwhile been hired as the family nanny. Returning from the opera where Garvenberg was conducting, Hanna recounts how hearing Beethoven's Ninth on the radio saved her life, recalling the third movement in particular. The *adagio*, as Garvenberg confirms, sitting down at the piano and synthesizing the orchestral piece into a spontaneous keyboard reduction, his gaze fixed on Hanna all the while. [clip: Schlußakkord 5] Heard by the cinema audience for the first time in the film, this music emphasizes the private bond of the two characters, sanctioned by the totemic presence of Beethoven's bust in the background of the shot. As

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[...] above all, classical music reconciled the cinema and its attractions with the demands of high culture and aligned both with a heightened national consciousness." Hake, *Popular Cinema*, 126.

<sup>13</sup> The composer Kurt Schröder (1888-1962) had collaborated with Hanns Eisler on the experimental score for the anti-war film NIEMANDSLAND (Viktor Trivas, 1931) and was excluded from the Reich Music Chamber in 1942 on the grounds that his wife was Jewish, though he received an exemption (*Sondergenehmigung*) to continue writing. Schröder also spent an extended period in the early 1930s working for Alexander Korda, a British director who granted sanctuary to German-Jewish filmmakers who fled Germany after January of 1933, including Paul Czinner and Elisabeth Bergner. After the war Schröder became principal conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Hessen. Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, Kiel 2004, CD-ROM, 2355.

Garvenberg plays, Hanna describes how she imagines the music, “as if one were sitting in an old overgrown garden.” Garvenberg is quick to enter into Hanna’s dream mode of the subjunctive “as if,” adding that the music is like a broad vista after a storm, drops of water dripping off leaves, the smell of wet wood.

The conversation seems to restage a pivotal moment in German literary history: the sudden point of connection in Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, when Lotte and Werther stand at the window at the ball, looking out at a summer storm. There, Lotte laid her hand on Werther’s with the single word, “Klopstock!,” a reference to the ode *Die Frühlingsfeier*.<sup>14</sup> While in Goethe’s novel, the natural world prompts Lotte to name a poet and thereby communicate a cipher for feeling, first-person subjectivity, the dramaturgy of the musical encounter in Sierck’s film shifts the shared cultural frame from literature to music, putting Beethoven’s music in the position of the ode.<sup>15</sup>



Figure 7. Hanna and Garvenberg replay Beethoven's Ninth. *Schlußakkord* (Detlef Sierck, 1936)

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<sup>14</sup> “Wir traten an’s Fenster, es donnerte abseitwärts, und der herrliche Regen säuselte auf das Land, und der erquickendste Wohlgeruch stieg in aller Fülle einer warmen Luft zu uns auf. Sie stand auf ihrem Ellenbogen gestützt und ihr Blick durchdrang die Gegend, sie sah gen Himmel und auf mich, ich sah ihr Auge thränenvoll, sie legte ihre Hand auf die meinige und sagte—Klopstock! Ich versank in dem Strome von Empfindungen, den sie in dieser Loosung über mich ausgoß.” Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers. Synoptischer Druck der Beiden Fassungen 1774 und 1787*, ed. Annika Lorenz and Helmut Schmiedt (Paderborn: Igel Verlag, 1997), 40. In 1787 Goethe added, “Ich erinnerte mich sogleich der herrlichen Ode die ihr in Gedanken lag,” *ibid.* 41. See Arnd Bohm, “‘Klopstock!’ Once More: Intertextuality in *Werther*,” *Seminar* 38, no. 2 (May 2002): 116.

<sup>15</sup> The moment also recalls the association of musical practice and the setting of the overgrown garden in Thomas Mann’s novella *Tristan*. Remembering duets with her violinist father, the amateur pianist Gabriele tells Detlev Spinell, “Mein Vater und ich, wir spielten zusammen... Ja, ich habe all die Jahre in Lieber Erinnerung; besonders den Garten, unseren Garten, hinterm Hause. Er war jämmerlich verwildert und verwuchert und von zerbrockelten, bemoosten Mauern eingeschlossen; aber gerade das gab ihm viel Reiz.” Spinell seizes on the vignette as an illustration of the “Verklärung” of the practical bourgeois family through art. Thomas Mann, *Die Erzählungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1967), 176-177.



Interestingly, though, the cinematography at once undercuts the intimacy of the moment with a visual gloss of cultural elitism, showing that a third party is excluded from the musical connection. If the camera, as in the opening Beethoven sequence, luxuriates in the sensuous canvas of Hanna's face and the glint of her eyes as she looks upwards, now her renewed expression of cultivated listening is juxtaposed with shots Charlotte's face, a ghostly white surface inscribed with the net of the mesh curtain. As Garvenberg declares that he and Hanna have known each other for a long time *through* music ("Dann kennen wir uns schon lange!"), laying his hand on hers, Charlotte's shadow tracks across the wall, emerging just as Hanna says the word "unheimlich." The figuration arouses a latent sympathy for the unmusical interloper. She stands in the way of the couple's happiness not as a two-dimensional villain, but as the spectral presence of modern trends toward popular culture, someone left out of the semantic and experiential plenitude of *ernste Musik*, whose tone-deafness is no fault of her own.



Figure 8. Garvenberg touches Hanna's hand (right). Charlotte's face behind the curtain (left). *Schlussakkord* (Detlef Sierck, 1936)

#### Romantic Suspensions in ABSCHIED and RAZZIA IN ST PAULI

The first sound films made in the final years of the Weimar Republic likewise featured classical music as a hold-over from the past that was unfamiliar to modern subjects on screen. The two movies *ABSCHIED* (Robert Siodmak, 1930), and *RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI* (Werner Hochbaum, 1932) thematize the potential of *ernste Musik*

both to open up spaces of reflection and sentimentality and provoke listeners' incomprehension and aggression. Set respectively in a Berlin boarding house and Hamburg's red-light district, these films embed the sound worlds of Franz Liszt, Robert Schumann and Frédéric Chopin into their urban environments, but suggest that this music is out of sync with the modern day, anticipating a "flattening" of stylistic registers in the age of mass culture, facilitated by radio and records.



Figure 9. (Right) *The new-fangled vacuum cleaner.* (Left) *Bootz plays to the Baron. Abschied* (Robert Siodmak, 1930)

These movies chart an increasingly ambivalent relation to music in German film: able to enliven or soothe, it can equally irritate or disturb the listener. Toward the end of *ABSCHIED*, a man turns up at the door of the Berlin "Splendide" pension.<sup>16</sup> Set in the present day just months after the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, the script, written by Emeric Pressburger and Irma von Cube, drives home the point that lower middle-class existence has become unaffordable. The hard-nosed proprietress Frau Weber (Emilia Unda) reels off the no-frills terms of room and board: gas costs extra, as does breakfast and use of the bathtub. Without warning, the camera cuts to an empty room where the unemployed pianist Bootz can be heard playing Franz Liszt's 1859 *Tarantelle*.<sup>17</sup> [clip: *Abschied* 1] Tongue-in-cheek, the prospective tenant asks, "But the music next door,

<sup>16</sup> *ABSCHIED* was filmed on set at the Neubabelsberg studios, a collaboration between Robert Siodmak, Emeric Pressburger (script) and cinematographer Eugen Schüfftan, known for his work on Fritz Lang's *DIE NIBELUNGEN* (1924) and *METROPOLIS* (1927). The year before, Siodmak and Schüfftan had collaborated on the semi-documentary *MENSCHEN AM SONNTAG* (Robert Siodmak and Edgar G. Ulmer, 1929).

<sup>17</sup> The scriptwriter Emeric Pressburger designed the music in *ABSCHIED* as an "organic" element of the plot, played by Erwin Bootz, a classically trained pianist: "Mit der Absicht, die tonfilmisch toten Stellen zu überbrücken, spielt im Film während seiner ganzen Dauer ein Klavier." Emeric Pressburger, *Lichtbild Bühne*, August 19, 1930.

I'm guessing that's included, right?" to which the proprietress can only respond with a sheepish giggle.<sup>18</sup> The film suggests that for those who find themselves in the societal limbo known as the "Zwischenschicht"—members of the *petit bourgeoisie* struggling to make ends meet—music just as soon exacerbates the "misery of furnished living."<sup>19</sup>

In the movie, the pianist Bootz readily traverses musical spheres, moving from Romantic piano music to jazz improvisation and Argentinian tangos.<sup>20</sup> Systems of aesthetic value are uprooted by technology: *ABSCHIED* begins with a symbolic face-off between vacuum cleaner and piano, what one journalist referred to as "sonic intermezzos" of music and electricity.<sup>21</sup> As the maid Lina curses at the exploding vacuum cleaner, Bootz indulges (not without a sense of irony) in clichés of the Romantic artistic by sitting in half-darkness, complaining that he needs "atmosphere."<sup>22</sup> [clip: Abschied 2] In the drama, Bootz' playing also provides an imaginative escape, such as when a character called "der Baron," an older man with a faint Eastern European accent (Vladimir Sokoloff) who is two years behind on rent, visits the pianist. [clip: Abschied 3] One of the first listeners in Weimar sound cinema, he appears in close-up while Bootz improvises a jazz tune, using a stride left-hand technique reminiscent of Fats Waller, a musician who also breached the jazz-classical divide.<sup>23</sup> [clip: Abschied 4] Behind him, a reproduction of Carl Jäger's iconic 1870 portrait of Ludwig van Beethoven hangs on the wall, their eyes aligned at the same level. Schüfftan's shot organization contrasts the neckerchief

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<sup>18</sup> "So...Aber die Musik hier nebenan, die ist doch wohl inklusive, was?"

<sup>19</sup> Hans Feld spoke of "das Elend möblierten Wohnens" in his review of the film in *Film-Kurier*, August 26, 1930. Ludwig Berger's 1932 comedy *ICH BEI TAG UND DU BEI NACHT* also features the noisy conditions of community living in Berlin.

<sup>20</sup> Bootz' free improvisatory practice—indicated in the script as "tinkling" and "fantasizing"—mixed in snatches of 19<sup>th</sup>-century classical repertoire, connecting visual cuts with thoroughgoing sound. Stiftung deutsche Kinemathek [hereafter: SDK], SDK-11607.

<sup>21</sup> "Tonliche Zwischenspiele: ein improvisierender Musiker (der sympathische, begabte Bootz), ein scharrender Staubsauger." Hanns G. Lustig, review in *Tempo* 198, August 28, 1930.

<sup>22</sup> "Ich brauche Stimmung!" Three years earlier, American cinema awed audiences in *THE JAZZ SINGER* (1927) with the auratic sound of Al Jolson's singing voice and mesmerizing speech. In France, René Clair's sound-film debut *SOUS LES TOITS DE PARIS* (1930) opened with a scene of chorality: a local Parisian neighborhood gathered around a street singer. In the German context, the genre of the *Sängerfilm* would continue this tradition by exhibiting the wonder of the voice. The Terra-Rio German-Italian co-production *EIN LIED GEHT UIM DIE WELT* (Richard Oswald, 1933) showcases the Romanian Jewish tenor Joseph Schmidt and functioned as a vehicle for the commercial recording industry. In a key scene, Schmidt transfixes the staff of a broadcasting house by singing aria "Pays merveilleux, jardin fortune" from Giacomo Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* in the company lobby.

<sup>23</sup> Stride refers to the left-hand technique of striking a bass note on beats one and three and a higher chord on beats two and four.

in the painting with the visibly worn threads of the Baron's jacket, and the lopsided knot of his tie. Turning to face the piano, the flimsy net curtain casting a grid-like shadow over his face, he says, "Wissen Sie, ich möchte auch einmal irgendwohin verreisen!" as though Bootz is able to travel abroad by sounding out American jazz culture.<sup>24</sup>



Figure 10. The Baron listening in front of the Beethoven portrait. *Abschied* (Robert Siodmak, 1930)

The Romantic musical intertexts embedded in the film take this idea of imaginative travel further through their programmatic resonances.<sup>25</sup> The quotation of Liszt mentioned above, for example, is inspired by the literary genre of the *Bildungsroman*: the "Tarantelle" concludes the second volume of Liszt's set of piano suites *Années de Pèlerinage*, a body of work based on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*. Composed as a supplement to book two of the musical protagonist's wanderings, this *presto* dance movement in G minor (literally the dance of the tarantula) was the final piece in a three-part suite entitled "Venice and Naples."<sup>26</sup> While in the first pieces of the suite, Liszt sought inspiration in the loftier subjects of Italian renaissance poetry and the visual arts, the supplemental appendix which concludes with the tarantella

<sup>24</sup> "I want to travel too, you know!"

<sup>25</sup> In the only critical account of the music in this film, the musicologist Jeremy Barham writes that the music "diegetically" legitimated by Bootz' visible performance seems "narratively motivated in ways that counter its 'realistic' basis," creating an ontological tension and a "highly ambiguous and expressive musicalized screen aesthetic." Jeremy Barham, "Music and the Moving Image," in *Aesthetics of Music: Musicological Perspectives*, ed. Stephen Downes (New York: Routledge, 2014), 231.

<sup>26</sup> The first year or book one of the *Années* is set in Switzerland, the second in Italy.

captures the lifeblood of the urban space, here Naples, its lascivious vitality and movement. [clip: Abschied 5] But when Bootz plays this excerpt, his rendition of the thrilling arachnid dance is weighed down with a sense of lethargy, the filigree writing hampered by his slow tempo and excessively lyrical phrasing, which ignores the *capriccioso* marking in the music and indications to accelerate and accentuate the final measures.<sup>27</sup> The visuals of the dreary interior with its exposed pipework and thick curtains brings an irony to the musical referent: this is not “Das Land wo die Zitronen blühen,” just as Bootz’ playing suggests he has little hope of travelling there.

If music prompts a bittersweet mingling of longing and resignation in *ABSCHIED*, Werner Hochbaum’s 1932 film *RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI* represents another blurring of cultural idioms when a motley crew of prostitutes and small-time crooks are treated to an impromptu performance of Chopin.<sup>28</sup> The scene previews a conflict that persists through film in the Third Reich, where the values of musical transport and interiority are both valorized and compromised by modern-day attention spans and the desire for entertainment. *RAZZIA* charts 24 hours in Hamburg’s red-light district in the life of a prostitute named “Ballhaus-Else” (Gina Falckenberg), who leaves her boyfriend “Musiker-Leo” (Wolfgang Zilzer) for the fugitive sailor and petty thief “Matrosen-

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. in the score “scherzando,” “stringendo,” and “rinforzato.”

<sup>28</sup> At the time of its release, Hochbaum claimed his proto-auteur approach to filmmaking captured the Romanticism of the everyday, “So entstand auch mein Film ‘Razzia in St. Pauli,’ wirklichkeitsnah vom Auge des in der Gesellschaft Gefestigten gesehen. Wirklichkeitsnah, wie die Romantik des Alltags überhaupt nur sein kann. Ich schildere das Erlebnis eines Mädchens aus St. Pauli, ein Erlebnis, das ebenso ein Traum sein könnte, das aus dem Nichts sich entwickelt und in Nichts wieder zerfällt,—von einer besseren Welt.” SDK-5535.

Karl” (Friedrich Gnaß). Apart from these leading roles, the cast was made up of local sex workers with no acting experience.



Figure 11. Leo whistles into the mirror (left). Else covers her ears at the sound of the trumpet (right). *Razzia in St. Pauli* (Werner Hochbaum, 1932)

The film articulates an interesting distinction in the way the characters respond to popular versus classical music, anticipating the characters of Hanna and Charlotte in *SCHLUßAKKORD*. [clip: *Razzia* 1] Early on in the film, Leo is freely improvising in the bar while the women complain about mass unemployment and disenfranchisement.<sup>29</sup> The dialogue gives way to a montage of the women’s hands nervously fiddling with a handkerchief and playing solitaire. No one seems to be listening to the light “background” music; if anything Leo’s playing seems to have a soporific effect, seen in the series of motionless hands and dozing figures, only jolted awake when a punter enters the bar and Leo strikes up a dance tune with a glissando, spurring the sleep-deprived women into action.

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<sup>29</sup> Since sound cameras were expensive, the low-budget production *RAZZIA* was shot with silent film cameras and dubbed with sound during postproduction in Berlin. Christian Rogowski, “‘Timid Heresies’: Werner Hochbaum’s *Razzia in St. Pauli* (1932),” in *Continuity and Crisis in German Cinema, 1928-1936*, ed. Barbara Hales, Mihaela Petrescu and Valerie Weinstein (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2016), 43.



Figure 12. *A woman drifts off to the background music (left) while another plays cards (right). Razzia in St. Pauli (Werner Hochbaum, 1932)*

This sequence of “bar music” forms a contrasting pendant to the moment of nineteenth-century Romantic music that follows. After Else tells Leo she is leaving him for Karl, he returns to the piano. Closing the music on the stand, he begins to playing Chopin’s nocturne No. 2 in E-flat major, a work that attained such “hit” status in the Romantic repertoire that it could be considered more “popular” than “serious.”<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless the film shows the performer going “off-script,” expressing his own emotional state through the interiority of the nocturne, a musical form in which Chopin turns the instrument into a singer with a plaintive melody over a sustaining pedal. [clip: Razzia 2]

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<sup>30</sup> A slip in the continuity editing suggests this action was scripted; in the next shot of the (actual) pianist’s hands, the music is back open on the stand. Op. 9 was published in 1832. See David Rowland, “The Nocturne: Development of a New Style,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 47.



Figure 13. Leo plays Chopin (top) One customer stops chewing (bottom left) while another hesitates to play a card (bottom right). *Razzia in St. Pauli* (Werner Hochbaum, 1932)

Before the music sounds, a close-up of the musician's hands coincides with a cut in the sound recording, so that the music emerges out of silence, reminiscent of the hush before the downbeat of a concert. The pianist's interpretation is both unsentimental and highly sensitive, the carefree touch and natural shape to the *rubato* visible in his relaxed low knuckles. While Leo casts his gaze upwards, sighing to himself with a faraway look, the camera cuts away to the listeners. Chewing on a sandwich, the punter from the earlier scene forgets to swallow mid-mouthful, while a card taken from the hand of another man wavers in the air, never to reach the table. A young woman in fur, portrayed with her head slumped forward in the earlier musical sequence, now turns her head infinitesimally slowly, her eyes focused on an internal object. The faint rise and fall of her breathing is visibly synchronized with the music; she swallows with a small gulp of emotion, just at the



moment the pianist reaches the *rallentando* (mm. 12), a physical illustration of the pathos at the end of the phrase before the *a tempo* recapitulation of the theme. Else also lifts her eyebrows, a facial movement that reflects the yearning sense of the *appoggiatura* in mm. 14.<sup>31</sup> Though she nestles into Karl's embrace, the movement suggest a desire for comfort rather than erotic touch, as Else's gaze is likewise faraway, directed away from the body of her lover.

For the listeners envisioned on screen, the music prompts a pause that is well expressed in the somewhat untranslatable German sense of *innehalten*, articulated on film in its temporal and affective dimensions. The music dilates the cinematic moment, attuning the pulse of the bodies on screen to its own rhythmic structure. At the same time, the reflective condition of the listeners suspends them from their quotidian present: card-playing, hustling, flirting. The nocturne is cut short when one man at the table—apparently the only one who is not experiencing a pleasurable musical “transport”—tells Leo to give it a rest and play something “sensible”: the sailors have enough time to “kill themselves” at sea.<sup>32</sup> The objection takes issue with music coded as sentimental: Chopin's waltz might lull the majority of listeners into a state of reflection, but for other provokes nothing but “deadly” boredom.<sup>33</sup> While the woman across the table appears to lean across to shush the rogue philistine, Leo launches back into the band's czardas-like dance, rolling his eyes with contempt.

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<sup>31</sup> Technically the *appoggiatura* is melodic rather than fully harmonic: the B-flat in the right-hand and the F in the bass produce an unstable fourth that lends harmonic tension.

<sup>32</sup> “Hör' doch auf Mensch! [Töten] können wir auf' See! Spiel' doch was Vernünftiges Idiot!” The infinitive is a colloquial use that I have not been able to identify but seems to have the reflexive sense of “kill ourselves.”

<sup>33</sup> See Berthold Hoeckner, “Transport and Transportation in Audiovisual Memory,” in *Beyond the Soundtrack*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 164.



Figure 14. *The sleeping woman awakened by Chopin's music (left). Else and Karl listening (right). Razzia in St. Pauli (Werner Hochbaum, 1932)*

This listening scene lays out a recurring and significant tension that endures throughout the Nazi era in film: how to reconcile inherited values of musical transport and spiritual uplift with a rejection of sentimentalism in mass culture. If Leo is accused of being an “idiot” for playing Chopin, the insult means its inverse: Leo is attacked for putting a surfeit of cultural knowledge on display that makes the listener feel inadequate. Meanwhile the poetics of the film assert a fine but fluid boundary between idioms coded as high-, midde- and low-brow, opening up the question of how the emotional state of reflection exalted in the Romantic tradition fit into modernity in the 1930s.

#### A Feeling for Art: BEFREITE HÄNDE

Further representations of musicality in feature film of the Nazi era call into question rather than instantiate the chauvinistic rhetoric found in German musicological writings of the time, which claimed music was the quintessential expression of national identity. For example, in 1936, the journal *Deutsche Musikkultur*, designed to bridge the gap between musicologists and the lay reader, opened with minister of public education [*Chef des Amts für Volksbildung*] Wolf Meinhard, affirming, “[Die Musik] war von jeher ein hervorragender Wesensausdruck deutschen Geistes und deutscher Kultur, und die Rolle, die sie im Leben unsres Volkes

spielte und spielt, ist eine stärkere und größere als in anderen Ländern.”<sup>34</sup> In the same year, Herbert Gerigk, an ardent National Socialist and consultant to Alfred Rosenberg, published a primer about music history entitled *Meister der Musik und ihre Werke*.<sup>35</sup> Gerigk’s introduction expressed hope that the life-stories of composers collected in the volume would inspire “the necessary veneration for the great musical masters” in readers united by a “kindred mentality and race.”<sup>36</sup> “Our German composers,” he wrote, had “left behind a sacred legacy with which the world cannot begin to compete.”<sup>37</sup> Their works, he further assured the reader, were not there just for the especially “musical” or “educated” among them; they were the “property of the entire people.”<sup>38</sup>

In a sense, cinema in Nazi Germany did go some way in making this musical canon public property by bringing it to the mass audience in the movie theater. And yet the films of this time demonstrate an overdetermined relationship to cultural heritage that gets in the way of any intention for public education. It appears that the more emphatically classical music was programmed in film to validate the artistic sensibility of characters, the more these scenes in practice showed up their own contrivance. Hans Schweikart’s popular 1939 *BEFREITE HÄNDE* is one such example. The film tells a strikingly modern story of women’s emancipation:

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<sup>34</sup> Wolf Meinhard, “Geleitworte,” *Deutsche Musikkultur: Zweimonatsheft für Musikleben und Musikforschung* 1 (1936/1937): 1. See also Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 51. As the historian Michael Wildt points out, the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* long predated the Nazi regime. The term gained traction as early as 1914, and though they defined the buzzword radically differently, almost every political party in the Weimar Republic propagated the “people’s community” as an ideal in their platform. At the outbreak of WWI, for example, Victor Klemperer, like many others, enthused about the societal gains to be won for the nation, writing in his diary that a victory for the “das Deutsche Reich” would bring about the happy outcome of “höhere Brüderlichkeit im Volk.” Following the 1918 revolution, moderate political wing invoked the slogan of the “people’s community” to prevent the outbreak of civil war, with the liberal Jewish jurist Hugo Preuß calling for the establishment of the German “Volksstaat,” based on the unity and equality of all “Volksgenossen.” See Michael Wildt, *Die Ambivalenz des Volkes* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2019), 47, 49-52.

<sup>35</sup> Gerigk was responsible for compiling the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* with Theophil Stengel. As First Officer in Rosenberg’s *Reichsleiter* taskforce (“Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg”), he oversaw the plundering of precious musical manuscripts in occupied countries during WWII. As Potter demonstrates, Gerigk was more interested in racial purity than in eradicating atonal or twelve-tone composition in Germany, arguing in 1934 that “in the right hands” of a German (read: Aryan) composer, “atonality could be an effective means of expression.” Potter, “What Is ‘Nazi Music’?”, 442 and *Art of Suppression*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> “[...] Menschein einer verwandten Geisteshaltung und Rasse [...]” Herbert Gerigk, *Meister der Musik und ihre Werke* (Berlin: Rich. Bong, 1936), 8.

<sup>37</sup> “Was unsere deutschen Tonsetzer hinterlassen haben, ist ein heiliges Vermächtnis, dem die Welt nichts ähnliches an die Seite stellen kann.” *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>38</sup> “Sie sind weder für die besonders ‘Musikalischen’ da, noch für besonders ‘Gebildete,’ sondern sie sind Besitz des ganzen Volkes, ein Besitz, dessen ständig neuer Erwerb eine hohe, weil charakterbildende Aufgabe ist.” *Ibid.*

Dürthen (Brigitte Horney), a single mother with no formal artistic training fulfils her dream of becoming a sculptor, overcoming class and gender barriers to achieve artistic integrity and public recognition in Berlin. A shepherdess from the north of Germany with a passion for wood carving, she makes it to the capital to learn from the glamorous sculptor Kerstin (Olga Tschechowa), only to be exploited as cheap labor in her commercial trinket workshop. Publicly billed as a tale of a “strong woman’s heart,” the film has been read as a dramatization of the dogma of “gesunde Volkskunst,” according to which true “German” art unadulterated by international influences is found in the *Volksgemeinschaft*.<sup>39</sup> Yet the film deviates from our preconceived notions about Nazi ideology, e.g. “Blut und Boden” dogma, in its deeply unfavorable depiction of country life and celebration of the female protagonist’s autonomy in the urban environment, where she extracts herself from a romantic attachment to pursue her career.<sup>40</sup>

It is telling that in a German film about visual art, the screenwriter Ebermayer inserts a scene of musical listening.<sup>41</sup> At the surface level, Dürthen’s receptivity for classical music legitimizes her artistic credentials and the role of intuitive aesthetic understanding in her characterization. Halfway into the film, the businesswoman Kerstin offers the younger woman her ticket to the symphony; she has a better offer, dinner with Joachim von Erken (Carl Raddatz), the owner of the country estate where Dürthen used to work. As the performance of Beethoven’s Fifth gets underway, Dürthen’s quickening breath and clasped hands indicate a spontaneous emotional involvement in the music that culminates in tears. Her reactions are observed closely by Kerstin’s original date for the evening: Ernst Wolfram (Ewald Baiser), a professor of sculpture introduced in an earlier scene in an upscale Berlin bar as a snob who expresses disdain for the fashionable clientele. The

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<sup>39</sup> One of the highest grossing films of the period, BEFREITE HÄNDE was rated “exceptionally artistically valuable” and “culturally valuable.” Lothar Brühne composed and arranged the music. Within 14 months the film had more than quadrupled its production costs in box office earnings. Manfred Hobsch, *Film im “Dritten Reich”: alle deutsche Spielfilme von 1933 bis 1945*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf, 2010), 231.

<sup>40</sup> Helga and Karlheinz Wendtland, *Geliebter Kinotopp: Nachschlagewerk zum deutschen Spielfilm von 1929 bis 1945* (Berlin: Verlag Medium Film Wendtland, 1987-1999), 87.

<sup>41</sup> While still in the countryside, Dürthen is shown to be a lover of folk music. She stokes Kerstin’s jealousy by dancing the polka with abandon with Joachim.

guests in evening gowns sipping cocktails and dancing to American big-band swing music invite his contempt: “Sehen Sie, wie sich alles krampfhaft große Welt spielt?” Six months in Italy drawing inspiration from classical sculpture, he tells his colleague, will be just the dose of artistic authenticity he needs to counter Berlin’s pretensions of international sophistication.



Figure 15. The concert hall (left). Dürthen and Wolfram listening to Beethoven’s Fifth (right). *Befreite Hände* (Hans Schweikart, 1939)

Following this introduction, however, Wolfram belies the medieval Minnesinger associations of his name by making an uncouth and disruptive entrance to the hall, squeezing past the unamused audience members in his row to get to his seat. Once the music starts, the devoted concert-goer and his lofty aesthetic principles seem to cede to an immediate interest in the attractive woman next to him. Throughout the seven-minute sequence, Wolfram is clearly shown to be *pretending* to listen to Beethoven, intermittently looking at the stage but in fact stealing no less than ten prolonged glances at Dürthen beside him. Her absorption in the music in turn motivates a visual pleasure, so that the sight of her absorbs Wolfram, and by extension the viewer in the cinema, yet more intensely than the music.<sup>42</sup> [clip: *Befreite Hände* 1]

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<sup>42</sup> Here the *Philharmonisches Staatsorchester Hamburg* can be heard under the baton of Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Ulrich J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme* (Berlin: Ulrich J. Klaus-Verlag, 1999), 27. Schmidt-Isserstedt had been a composition student of the Modernist composer Franz Schreker in the 1920s. By the early 1930s he had made a name for himself as an interpreter of contemporary music, conducting works by Hanns Eisler, Kurt Weill, Béla Bartók, and Paul Hindemith among others. In 1935, the theater director Heinrich Karl Strohm used his NSDAP connections to land Schmidt-Isserstedt the position of “erster Kapellmeister” at the Hamburg *Staatsoper*; the conductor had been banned from working for a year on the charge of “Musik-Bolschewismus” and his “mixed marriage.” The couple divorced in 1935; Schmidt-Isserstedt remarried an “Aryan” woman but never joined the NSDAP. The same

The cinematography juxtaposes Dürthen's effusive emotional reaction to this emblematic piece of music with intercuts of Kerstin, dressed up and enjoying a modern dining experience with Joachim. Behind her, a rotisserie chicken rotates busily in an electric warming device while Kerstin makes fun of Wolfram's outdated attachment to high culture, saying "Er wollte mich bilden!" Just as the concert appears to convey the raw power that Beethoven as "great German music" wields over the uninitiated listener, the moment is interpellated by the urbane dinner scene, where Kerstin and Joachim ridicule the pretensions of classical music.



Figure 16. The symphony orchestra (left). Kerstin enjoys a modern dining experience at Joachim's. *Befreite Hände* (Hans Schweikart, 1939)

Meanwhile, although the novice listener Dürthen appears to present a vision of spontaneous aesthetic understanding, the mediality of film provides a surfeit of naturalism that borders on the grotesque. By the final movement of the symphony, she is utterly undone by the music. On screen, though, her emotional outburst ends up resembling an involuntary nosebleed: tears roll down her face and she licks them away before audibly blowing her nose into the handkerchief Wolfram hurriedly hands her.<sup>43</sup> Other audience

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year, he recorded the Mendelssohn violin concerto with the Berlin Philharmonic and Georg Kulenkampff, despite the Nazis' attack on the composer. Schmidt-Isserstedt also remained in regular contact with Igor Stravinsky and premiered both *Petruschka* and *Firebird* in Hamburg in 1937 and 1939 respectively. See Hubert Rübsaat, *Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 2009), 28-37, 44, 52. The catalogue of the Berlin Philharmonic concerts documents that Mendelssohn's *Sommernachtstraum* and Violin Concerto in E minor were performed until March 1935 but not after that date. *Konzerte der Berliner Philharmoniker 1900 – 1945*, 673.

<sup>43</sup> Comparable sequences with women crying during concerts are found in *DER TRÄUMENDE MUND* (Paul Czinner, 1932), *ROMANZE IN MOLL* (Helmut Käutner, 1943) and *ALTES HERZ WIRD WIEDER JUNG* (Erich Engel, 1943). The trope appears in Hollywood cinema

members tut at the noise, and as soon as the symphony is over, Dürthen makes a hasty exit; picking up her coat and telling Wolfram that the music is “too much.” While he agrees, suitably impressed, the viewer in the cinema is perhaps relieved to see the end of the scene with its excessively literal display of emotion.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 17. Dürthen crying at the music (left) accepts a tissue from Wolfram (right). *Befreite Hände* (Hans Schweikart, 1939)

Equally jarring, Dürthen’s reactions are at odds with the rhetoric of the music. At the beginning of the symphony, she sighs with a dreamy expression that seems misplaced given the raw drama of the first movement of Beethoven’s Fifth. And her tears in the last movement likewise seem strange given the C major tonality of Beethoven’s final *allegro*, a jubilant mood that the composer famously described as a turn from rain to sunshine.<sup>45</sup> The historical record provides an explanation for this mismatch: the scriptwriter Ebermayer planned the scene not around Beethoven, but around Anton Bruckner’s Fifth Symphony in B-flat major.<sup>46</sup> Somewhere along the way, between script and shoot, the decision was taken to use Beethoven’s Fifth, perhaps due to time constraints or the preferences of the conductor or orchestra. As a result, the tragic

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in films such as *THE MYSTERIOUS LADY* (Fred Niblo, 1928), *HUMORESQUE* (Jean Negulesco, 1948) and *PRETTY WOMAN* (Gary Marshall, 1990).

<sup>44</sup> In the dialogue Wolfram replies approvingly “Eigentlich haben Sie recht. Es ist zu viel.”

<sup>45</sup> This anecdote is reported in Friedrich Kerst, *Beethoven, the Man and the Artist: As Revealed in his Own Words* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1905), 26.

<sup>46</sup> “Das Orchester in leidenschaftlicher Bewegung spielt den letzten Satz der Fünften Bruckners. Die Musik in gewaltiger Steigerung – Dürthens Gesicht. Es ist, als könne sie die Wucht dieser Klänge nicht ertragen. Sie ist erschöpft, am Ende ihrer Kräfte, sie erlebt diese Musik wie kein anderer hier im Saal.” SDK-14566, 196.

monumentalism of Bruckner lost out to the most commercialized, identifiable motif in music history: the declamatory four-note *Schicksals-Motiv* of Beethoven's Fifth.

In the dramatic execution, Brigitte Horney as Dürthen seems to still be following Ebermayer's directions in the script, written to suit a symphony that is not heard. Her opening expression is plausible given that Bruckner's Fifth opens with a deliberately slow walking bass line plucked by the lower strings. One could imagine her tears in the last movement as a response to Bruckner's vast compositional arc, where the climax is endlessly delayed until fugal and chorale ideas merge. Putting "natural" musicality on screen, the film seems to get caught up in its own feet: the precise dramaturgy planned by the scriptwriter gets garbled along the way, producing a mismatch of visuals and music further exacerbated by the condensation of Beethoven's symphony into a medley of the highlights. BEFREITE HÄNDE documents how film popularizes the classics, giving canonic "hits" preference over more challenging works that would have introduced new soundscapes to cinema. The precise alignment of image, music and affect found in e.g. SCHLUBAKKORD and outlined in Ebermayer's script does not get past the production stage. And Dürthen, though visibly overcome by the music, displays no curiosity about the content of this musical heritage. Just as the cinematography de-textualizes the music, decoupling the sound- and image-track and disavowing musical meaning for the purposes of visual representation, the filmmaking has Beethoven resound under a kind of textual erasure, keeping Dürthen in a state of objectified musical illiteracy, a puddle of unsightly tears without language to talk about what she has heard. Overall, then, BEFREITE HÄNDE documents the popularization of the classical music it has gone to such efforts to preserve, fragmenting the totality of the concert experience and pointing to a fundamental incompatibility with the medium of film.



The Cinema goes to the Symphony: PHILHARMONIKER and GROßSTADTMELODIE



Figure 18. The interior of the Philharmonic Hall (left) and a Berlin factory (right). *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

Further scenes of classical music found in Nazi-era film likewise point to the ways that filmic modes of narration and meaning-making jar with notions of aesthetic absorption and interiority. The long durée of, for example, a Romantic symphony appears orthogonal to certain aims and conventions of narrative cinema, namely the aim of entertaining the audience by means of continuity editing, where stories unfold rapidly over short sequences. Monumental Romantic repertoire in German cinema of the Nazi period enters into arresting tensions with the narrative mode of film, such as when romantic plotlines overlap with representations of “serious” music. These trends in mass culture are visible in *PHILHARMONIKER* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944), a costly feature film that Joseph Goebbels hoped would advertise the cultural superiority of the Berlin Philharmonic.<sup>47</sup> The production coincided with the ten-year jubilee celebrations of the Nazi regime, and presented a narrative of the “new age” in the arts beginning in 1933, when the NSDAP “saved” the orchestra from financial ruin.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Part I, vol. 9, 337. In his entry of May 27, 1941, Goebbels discussed the film with the director of *DER EWIGE JUDE*, Fritz Hippler.

<sup>48</sup> Some of the story reflected historical fact: the orchestra had indeed been in dire straits in the late Weimar period due to a lack of financial support from the municipal government, which denied its funding on the basis that the arts were luxury and elite enterprises. After Hitler’s seizure of power, the Propaganda Ministry essentially bought out the Philharmonic in 1934, paying out the shareholder members who traded their autonomy to jump to a high wage-bracket, turning themselves into civil servants in the “Reichsorchester.” See Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 27 and “The Nazi ‘Seizure’ of the Berlin Philharmonic, or the Decline of a Bourgeoisie Musical Institution” in *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, ed. Glenn Cuomo (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 39–66. See also Fritz Trümpi, *Politierte Orchester: die Wiener Philharmoniker und das Berliner Philharmonische Orchester im Nationalsozialismus* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 310; translated as *The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics during the Third Reich*, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

The film put music front and center, billing the symphonic repertoire of Ludwig van Beethoven and Anton Bruckner, and works by Franz Liszt and Johann and Richard Strauss in the opening credits along with the cast and crew.<sup>49</sup> The romantic plot included extended sequences of concerts and rehearsals: musical interpretations by the conductors Hans Knappertsbusch, Karl Böhm, Eugen Jochum and the nearly eighty-year-old Richard Strauss that conveyed the artistic prowess of German musical life, epitomized by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.



Figure 19. Alexander and Maria meet in the lobby of the Philharmonic hall. *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

The plot begins with the orchestra on its knees in 1931, a period retrospectively referred to during the Nazi era as the despised Weimar “Systemzeit.”<sup>50</sup> Will Quadflieg played Alexander Schonath, one of two violinist sons of a Philharmonic cellist (Eugen Klöpfer). Alexander has left the classical world, deserting the struggling Philharmonic for a job playing lucrative “Tanzmusik” in the local “Rio” bar; meanwhile his younger brother Hans (Malte Jäger) has dutifully followed his father into the orchestral ranks and got engaged to Maria Hartwig (Irene von Meyendorff), a childhood friend of both boys and the daughter of the head of the

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The fanfare from the symphonic poem *Les préludes* heard in the film featured as the theme-music for *Die deutsche Wochenschau* from 1941, specifically for announcements about operation “Barbarossa,” Nazi Germany’s assault on the Soviet Union.

<sup>49</sup> These works reflect the staples of the Berlin Philharmonic’s performance repertoire from these years, increasingly performed after the outbreak of war. Misha Aster, *The Reich’s Orchestra: The Berlin Philharmonic 1933-1945* (London: Souvenir Press, 2010), 166-167.

<sup>50</sup> See Victor Klemperer’s discussion of this term in *LTI; Notizbuch eines Philologen* (Leipzig: Reclam Verlag, 1975), 127 (first published 1947).

orchestra's board (Theodor Loos).<sup>51</sup> Long estranged from his family, Alexander finds his way back to the orchestra when he falls in love with Maria. Amid the musical and romantic rivalry between the siblings, Alexander decides to leave the orchestra and his ailing brother (who suffers from a weak heart) under the pretext of the opportunity to lead a swing band on a world tour. After Hans dies—conveniently—of a heart attack, Alexander recommits to the Philharmonic and returns to Maria to recommence a musical life together.



Figure 20. Alexander looks up at the bust of Bruckner in the lobby. *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

In surely the only scene in film history where a Bruckner symphony provides a pretext for a spontaneous date, Alexander encounters Maria in the lobby of the original Philharmonic hall in the Bernburger Straße, on his way to ask her father whether he can re-join the orchestra. [clip: *Philharmoniker* 1] Eugen Jochum is conducting a run-through of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in E major, a standard work in the Berlin Philharmonic's repertoire of the time.<sup>52</sup> The opening *allegro moderato* movement opens with shimmering tremolos in the upper strings, over which the celli play a sublime melody. With this otherworldly

<sup>51</sup> Eugen Klöpfer and Malte Jäger had appeared together as father and son-in-law in *JUD SÜSS* (Veit Harlan, 1940).

<sup>52</sup> Hitler was particularly enamored of Bruckner, who also came from Linz and was celebrated as “groß-deutsch” in the Third Reich. Furtwängler's recording of the Seventh Symphony with the Berlin Philharmonic was among the records in his collection in the *Führerhauptquartier*. This symphony was played at the 1938 *Reichsparteitag* and at the 1943 *Heldengedenktag* commemorative spectacle in Berlin. The episode of *Die Deutsche Wochenschau* from March 21, 1943 showed Hitler entering the courtyard of the Zeughaus to hear the live performance. In his ensuing speech, he declared Bolshevism and international Jewry primary threats before citing a radically reduced figure for the number of war dead. Internal surveillance reports noted that while some viewers broke into tears at the newsreel, others expressed frustration that the music made Hitler's conversation with the wounded totally inaudible: “Es ist aber auch hierzu vielfach verärgert festgestellt worden, daß die Musik die Gespräche des Führers mit den Verwundeten ‘völlig übertönt’ habe.” See *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, vol. 13, 5037-5039. See also Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, “Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and after: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception,” *The Musical Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (1996): 132–60.

music unfolding, Alexander makes his way through the foyer filled with statues of the great composers, stopping at Bruckner's bust to remove his hat in respect. His veneration is occasioned by the act of listening: Alexander is reminded of Bruckner's greatness by the live performance to which he is privy, so that his act of piety is not an automatic gesture to a purely symbolic tradition, but an aesthetically motivated act. Eschewing dialogue for a good few minutes, the film lets Bruckner's symphonic writing speak for itself, in the firm belief that the viewer, like Alexander, will be persuaded that the adulation of the composer is legitimate. When Maria sees him and begins to chat, Alexander breaks off the conversation to suggest they slip into the hall to get a private audience with the orchestra, "Wollen wir ein bisschen zuhören?" Once inside the hall, Alexander's reverence for the music gives way to his interest in Maria, who seems equally taken with him. The characters take advantage of the Romantic music (and the imperative *not* to speak) as a dramaturgical premise to further their own flirtation, casting knowing glances at each other across the empty rows of chairs.



Figure 21. Alexander and Maria exchange glances in the rehearsal. *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

Even as the film places the orchestra and Bruckner's music center-stage, we see that the protagonists are less absorbed in the aesthetic experience of the musical absolute than they are drawn to each other. In the execution of the cinematic scene, *PHILHARMONIKER* literalizes Hoffmann's idea of "der sinnige Zuhörer," so that the sensuality of the music fuses with the physical attraction of the characters. Desirous of one another, they are also bonded by their mutual appreciation for the artistic endeavor as music-loving "soul-mates."



Figure 22. Smokestacks marking 1933 (left) The concert announcement in a Berlin factory (right). *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

Beyond the well-heeled, culturally educated characters from the cradle of the *Künstlermilieu*, the film also depicts “ordinary” Germans in the heart of Berlin’s industrial sector as beneficiaries of the musical tradition. The film dramatizes 1933 as a historic moment of cultural education, where Beethoven is brought to the factory-workers. [clip: *Philharmoniker* 2] The script—also by Ebermayer—restaged a *Werkpausenkonzert*, an initiative run by the NSDAP leisure organization *Kraft durch Freude* where concerts were held in factories in order to provide “every working German regardless of class and wealth with the experience of our great national artistic achievements.”<sup>53</sup> At the structural level, the film reflected this principle by contrasting the opening—where Jochum conducted the first movement of Beethoven’s Fifth on the podium at the Philharmonic hall—with a performance of the second *andante con moto* movement in a Berlin factory.<sup>54</sup> Though the entire ten-minute span of the piece went on to show footage of the orchestra on tour in Granada, Paris and Stockholm, the sequence foregrounded the industry workers as the primary focus of the orchestra’s

<sup>53</sup> “[...] jedem schaffenden Deutschen ohne Unterschied des Standes und Besitzes das Erlebnis der großen nationalen Kunstleistungen.” “Die Musikarbeit der NS-Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude” cited in Trümpi, *Politierte Orchester*, 281.

<sup>54</sup> The factory pictured is likely Siemens or AEG. The script (of which two versions are preserved) is held in the Philharmonic Archive. Ebermayer’s notes read: “Dunkle Wolken überblenden in hellere. Noch etwa 18 Sek überblendet das letzte schöne Wolkenbild in: -Beginn der V. Sinfonie von Beethoven - 2. Satz. Als dramatischer Faktor wird die Handlung jetzt für etwa 260 m von der Musik abgelöst. Die Handlung selbst ruht nicht, wird aber für diese Zeit nur optisch dramatisch weitergeführt.” The script notes that a playback process is to be used to synchronize a recording of the music with the montage. Archiv der Berliner Philharmoniker M V 1944.

cultural mission.<sup>55</sup> It begins with clouds parting over the smoke towers, before the camera enters an engine room where the concert is announced on a chalk board.<sup>56</sup> The visual tropes of listening established in both Sierck and Hochbaum’s films are to some extent picked up here: workers and white-collar members of the company convey a receptive attitude to Beethoven’s music by lifting their eyes upwards, still and thoughtful.<sup>57</sup> If the folded hands in close-up in RAZZIA denoted pause and contemplation, the comparative shot in PHILHARMONIKER marries agricultural associations with the land with the symbol of the wedding ring. Another shot of the factory workers lined up in front of the machines recalls the figures in the depths of the industrial underworld in METROPOLIS (Fritz Lang, 1927).



Figure 23. (Left) Blue- and white-collar employees listening to Beethoven. A close-up of the worker’s hands (right). *Philharmoniker* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)

The emphatically respectful if somewhat vacant expressions of the listeners in PHILHARMONIKER contrasts with another depiction of a *Werkkonzert* in Nazi-era film. GROBSTADTMELODIE (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943) includes a brief clip of Wilhelm Furtwängler conducting the overture to Richard Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* at the AEG plant at Borsigwerke, Berlin. Like BEFREITE HÄNDE, the

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<sup>55</sup> The documentary footage from the tour locations was recorded for the film by a private film company for the RMVP during the Philharmonic’s tour to Spain and France in 1944. Aster, *The Reich’s Orchestra*, 214.

<sup>56</sup> In contrast to the details of the opening credits, which specified individual movements of the symphonies, imitating a concert program, the announcement for the workers in the factory reads simply “Beethoven.”

<sup>57</sup> Reporting on the film in the production phase in the journal *Der deutsche Film* in 1942, Werner Fiedler wrote that the film would prove that the “Berliner spirit possesses an outstanding capacity to resonate with art.” Werner Fiedler, “Berlin im Film,” *Der deutsche Film* 2 (1942), 22.

plot revolves around a young woman fulfilling her professional and artistic ambitions: a talented young photographer, the small-town Bavarian Renate Heiberg (Hilde Krahl) comes to Berlin and manages to make a career as a press photographer, overcoming sexism and regional discrimination. Near the end of the film Renate is sent on assignment to photograph the concert. In the montage sequence that follows, newsreel footage was intercut with studio mock-ups to make it look like Renate was in the various “real” scenarios. Thus she appears to attend a football match, and a rally where Goebbels rails about “Selbstbestimmungsrecht” and fanatical Nazi supporters wave a banner that reads “Deutsch-Österreicher danken dem Führer,” and chanting “Nach Hause, nach Hause gehen wir nicht, bis dass der Führer spricht.” [clip: Großstadtmelodie 1] After a theater rehearsal of Goethe’s *Faust*, it is time for her visit to the factory; the *Werkkonzert* scene crowns the run-down of sport and politics with the transmission of Wagner to the workers.



Figure 24. Factory workers listening to Wagner (left). Renate takes photographs from the audience (right). *Großstadtmelodie* (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943)

In the film narrative, the concert inconveniently gets in the way of Renate’s private life; she wants to meet her boyfriend Rolf off of his plane at Tempelhof but is aggravated to see that she has to go on assignment. The majority of the people portrayed on screen appear unengrossed in the music, if not glazed or distracted. Though he is supposed to be listening, the man next to Renate turns around to look at her camera, bored by the music but curious about her photographic device. A report written in the internal company journal of the AEG electricity company about Furtwängler’s and the Berlin Philharmonic’s performance of the prelude to

*Meistersinger* (likely the same concert featured in Liebeneiner's film) allayed prior fears that this "heavy" music would fall on deaf ears in the audience of thousands in the factory. The world of work and the world of art "harmonized," the author affirmed, since the "German soul" of the music resonated with the "heartstrings" of the workers. Those who exerted themselves for "honest reward" in the factories related to the achievements of musicians mastering their art, and were moved by the passion and "deep immersion" in musical expression.<sup>58</sup> One gets the sense that the author doth protest too much, just as the workers captured in *GROBSTADTMELODIE* seem disconnected and uninvolved in the music. This sequence, too, suggests that the representation of interiority—the withdrawal from the space and practice of sociality—was fundamentally antithetical to the cinematic imperatives. The attempt to document aesthetic immersion in narrative film led to a curious kind of stasis, where images of listeners being "moved" turned into pictures of immobilized audiences.

#### Absorption and Philistinism in *WUNSCHKONZERT*

The film *WUNSCHKONZERT* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940) figures domestic music-making as a polarizing experience, presenting a plurality of listeners typified along class lines. A premiere production about the Nazi state on the home and war fronts, the film broke box office records in 1940.<sup>59</sup> The so-called *Tendenzfilm* mixed elements of light comedy, melodrama and newsreel footage into an idealized vision of contemporary wartime life in the Third Reich; disparate subplots were connected via "Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht," a real radio program broadcast every Sunday from Berlin's *Haus des Rundfunks*.<sup>60</sup> The main plot of the movie began

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<sup>58</sup> Trümpi, *Politierte Orchester*, 282.

<sup>59</sup> *WUNSCHKONZERT* premiered on December 30, 1940 in the Ufa-Palast am Zoo in Berlin. *DIE GOLDENE STADT* (Veit Harlan, 1942) was the highest-earning film of the Nazi period; *WUNSCHKONZERT* was the sixth. Bundesarchiv: BArch R 109-II/14.

<sup>60</sup> The weekly transmission famously served as a "Sprachrohr zwischen Front und Heimat," with host Heinz Goedecke reading out birth and marriages announcements, and playing musical requests from soldiers. The program featured a range of musical acts from revue stars to folk musicians to the Reich's leading orchestras. Broadcast twice weekly from September to March during WWII, it was designed as a treat for listeners to "reward" the ban on listening to foreign broadcasts. The live studio audience in the Masurenallee consisted of soldiers and paramedics. See Jörg Koch, "Das NS-Wunschkonzert," in *Medien in Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Bernd Heidenreich and Sönke Neitzel (Paderborn: Schöningh: Fink, 2010), 258.



at the Olympic games in Berlin, intercutting material from Leni Riefenstahl's 1936 OLYMPIA into a romantic plot line when the charming air-force officer Herbert Koch (Carl Raddatz) offers the young Inge Wagner (Ilse Werner) a spare ticket to the games. When Koch is called away to the Condor Legion in Spain, he sends Inge a musical message via the radio program, requesting Herbert Windt's historic "Olympia-Fanfare."



Figure 25. (Left) Inge and Herbert at the Olympic Games. (Right) Hannah and Friedrich with the baker Hammer. *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

If this contemporary music was the “theme-song” for the romantic couple, Beethoven’s music enters the plot ostensibly to exhibit the centrality of German cultural heritage across the social gamut. The key sequence takes place in a residential building in a small German town in September 1939, where the men are about to leave for the front. A young woman named Hannah Friedrich (Vera Hartegg), pregnant with her first child, assures her schoolteacher husband Peter (Malte Jaeger) that she will manage without him; their neighbor, the local baker Hammer (Hans Hermann Schaufuß), turns up with a cake, prompting Peter to fetch Schwarzkopf (Walter Ladengast), a music student who lives upstairs. [clip: *Wunschkonzert* 1]



Figure 26. Peter goes upstairs to Schwarzkopf's room. *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

In his attic room—a higher realm in spatial and figurative terms—Schwarzkopf is playing the second movement of Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata.<sup>61</sup> Peter, the educated teacher, understands that different behavioral norms prevail here: at the sound of the music he refrains from knocking, curling his hand tentatively around the door instead. Schwarzkopf turns around from the key and softly announces “Beethoven!” in a further reiteration of the “Klopstock!” trope of shared cultural understanding. Peter nods, his face bathed in an unchecked smile and tiptoes over to join Schwarzkopf's mother, his prosaic purpose forgotten at once.

While at the local level of the narrative, the unhurried quality of the movement, as in *RAZZIA*, suspends the action, not every character appears able to immerse themselves in the drawn-out act of musical communion. When Schwarzkopf continues to play on past the first major cadence (mm. 16), the mundane order of the day interrupts the performance: from below, the baker Hammer yells that the coffee is ready. While the music moves away from the pastoral calm of the opening into the darker tonal landscape of the relative minor, the baker's call is left unanswered, forcing him to traipse upstairs and burst onto the scene of *Hausmusik*.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to his middle-class *Bildungsbürger* neighbors, the telltale-named Hammer represents

<sup>61</sup> The scenography at once alludes to the trope of “der arme Poet,” in Carl Spitzweg's famous painting of 1839, an image that pays homage to music in the title of Johann Joseph Fux's 1725 textbook on counterpoint, “*Gradus ad Parnassum*.”

<sup>62</sup> For a history of *Hausmusik* at this time see Celia Applegate, “The Past and Present of *Hausmusik* in the Third Reich,” in *Music and Nazism*, 145–47.

the salt of the earth, working-class type, with no background in concert etiquette. His loud entrance causes the camera to lurch toward the door, as though the mechanical apparatus is startled by the interruption. Hammer, significantly, does not “hear” the music, asking Peter “Ja? was ist denn?” There is nothing wrong with his hearing, he is simply unversed in the value system that elevates this aesthetic sustenance above the materiality of coffee and cake. In response to Peter’s reproach of “Beethoven!” the baker tiptoes to the armchair in an exaggerated charade of deference. His physical cues communicate the character’s non-relation with the music and its affect, providing the possibility of comic relief for cinemagoers who might be feeling similarly out of place.



Figure 27. Hammer comes in and moves the music to sit down. *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

The cinematography contrasts Hammer’s reactions with those of his fellow listeners. For example, as Beethoven’s music moves toward a recapitulation of the main theme, Schwarzkopf’s mother mirrors the falling chromatic line toward the home key with her body language, taking off her glasses and putting down her knitting, her shoulders falling with a contented exhale as the reprise is sounded. Peter smiles when he recognizes the opening melody and his gaze shifts away from the piano: he is no longer *watching* Schwarzkopf, but rather transported by the repetition of the original theme. His body seems attuned to the shape of the phrase: he nods just as the melody reaches the second measure, inadvertently tracing the accented

second beat with his right hand, in a cinematic formula of sensitive listening familiar from SCHLUBAKKORD.

[clip: WK 2a]



Figure 28. Schwarzkopf's mother exhales (left). Peter follows the musical reprise (right). *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

This scene has been interpreted as an illustration of “fascist discourse,” where music manifests “a ‘natural’ talent that unites the spirit and emotions of the *Volk*.”<sup>63</sup> Marc Silberman, for example, writes that all the listeners are “drawn intuitively by the music” into the room and “sit down to listen with transfigured faces as their heads all sway in rhythm.”<sup>64</sup> But what the scene in fact shows is the listeners’ non-uniform responses to Beethoven’s music; the access to a higher sensuous realm is emphatically denied Hammer the baker. As much as Peter and Schwarzkopf’s mother seem, in Hoffmann’s words, the very image of people “deeply and intimately moved” by the music [*tief und innig ergriffen*], Hammer looks more like someone attempting to sleep in an airplane seat. Squirming in his chair, he tries and fails to prop up his heavy head with one hand, sulkily accepting that he is committed for the long haul. In the continuum of German cinema, he is an iteration of the rowdy man in the bar in *RAZZIA*, bored by the dictates of musical piety. When after a remarkably long stretch of music—more than two and half minutes—Hannah creeps in soundlessly, Hammer jumps at the interruption, hissing “Beethoven!” at the newcomer. If anything, his efforts to enforce the

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<sup>63</sup> Marc Silberman, *German Cinema: Texts in Context* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 75-76. Silberman incorrectly identifies the piece as the *Moonlight* sonata.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

behavioral codex of the musical space cast him as the Shakespearian fool: the teacher's wife Hannah, of course, does not need disciplining, and the audience can collectively muse at Hammer's attempt to police a cultural practice to which he poses the single threat.

While the Beethoven sequence in *WUNSCHKONZERT* begins by transforming the domestic into the exceptional, suspending dialogue and the business of the day, it ends by highlighting the non-universality of the aesthetic experience for the characters on screen. And though the *ad hoc* recital momentarily creates an idea of the domestic idyll that is counterposed with the agonistic space of the front—exalting Beethoven's music as the cultural heritage for which the men are going to war—even this assumption becomes unsettled. The close of the sequence suggests that the Romantic lyricism beneath the eaves already belongs to a bygone age, staging a clash between the timelessness of Beethoven inside and the marching on the street outside. As Schwarzkopf's performance prolongs the men's departure, the camera swivels over the attic roof to columns of soldiers below, flanked by townspeople giving a right-armed salute. For a brief moment, Beethoven's phrase meshes with the sound of soldiers singing the marching song "Rosemarie" below before it is drowned out.<sup>65</sup> In this sense *WUNSCHKONZERT* no sooner emblemizes classical music as cultivation than it disrupts its long *durée*, forcibly integrating Beethoven into an existing multiplicity of musical mass culture, and hinting at the possibility that the majority of the populace, represented by the crowds on the street, might well opt for "Rosemarie" over Beethoven.

#### Art-music as *memento mori*: OPFERGANG

In Veit Harlan's melodrama *OPFERGANG*, classical music appears to have ossified into a relic. Filmed in 1942 but only released in December of 1944, the movie is an experiment in stylistic excess, known today as a

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<sup>65</sup> Reinhard Andress identifies the song in "Verschoben, aber nicht aufgehoben: Zur Topographie der Liebe im Kontext von Volksgemeinschaft und Krieg in erfolgreichen NS-Filmen," in *Monatshefte* 91, No. 3 (Fall 1999): 361. The composer was Herms Niel.

morbid kitsch fest, not least due to the lurid Agfacolor tones that lend it a palpable feeling of decline. The production history gives some insight into the fever-dream that was cultural production in late-stage National Socialism: Harlan's adaptation of a popular 1925 novella by Rudolf G. Binding was notoriously held back by Goebbels, who condemned the director of *JUD SÜß* (1940) for threatening morale on the front by eroticizing death [*Todeserotik*] in a portrayal of marital infidelity.<sup>66</sup> The plot related a sterile *haut bourgeois* marriage of two cousins from an elite senatorial family in Hamburg: Albrecht (Carl Raddatz) and Oktavia Froben (Irene von Meyendorff). Even before they are married Albrecht is far more drawn to their mysterious neighbor, the nymph-like Aels (Kristina Söderbaum), a force of nature with obscure Nordic origins.<sup>67</sup> Their affair ends with a gender-bending twist when Aels, who has an illegitimate daughter in Hamburg's working-class port district, becomes bed-ridden with typhus. Her only joy comes from seeing Albrecht greet her on his horse every morning, but he too falls ill with the disease, at which point Oktavia takes it upon herself to dress up as her husband and ride past the feverish Aels' window every morning in his stead. The "great sacrifice" of the title consists in this act of altruistic cross-dressing, the placating of the mistress by the wife. Aels dies and Albrecht returns to the selfless Oktavia.

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<sup>66</sup> On July 24, 1943, Goebbels noted in his diary, "Ich führe den Herren abends den neuen Harlan-Film 'Opfergang' vor, der farblich außerordentlich gut geraten ist. Leider ist er inhaltlich wieder, wie 'Immensee,' etwas überspitzt. Harlan arbeitet zuviel mit mysteriösen Chören, und auch sein Dialog ist etwas zu sentimental und äußerlich aufgebaut. Ich muß gelegentlich Harlan einmal ins Gebet nehmen. Er bewegt sich augenblicklich auf einer Linie, die nicht besonders viel Erfolg verspricht. Er muß wieder auf den Boden der Tatsachen zurückgeführt werden." *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Part 2, vol. 9, 156. The film continues to polarize opinion in present-day Germany: its restoration at great expense by the F. W. Murnau-Stiftung in 2016 sparked debate.

<sup>67</sup> Oktavia is not sure whether Aels is from Sweden or Finland.



Figure 29. Albrecht hears Schubert in the empty drawing room (left) Oktavia serves him tea upstairs (right). *Opfergang* (Veit Harlan, 1944)

Though the composer Hans Otto Borgmann's Wagnerian-sounding score runs through the film, quotations of nineteenth-century piano music are embedded in the narrative when Albrecht first visits the Froben family house. In these scenes, Romantic music serves as the soundtrack to fossilized bourgeois life in the museum-like interior of the Hanseatic mansion. When Albrecht returns to Hamburg from a colonial sea voyage to Africa, he enters the vast drawing-room to the sound of Franz Schubert's "Impromptu" No. 3 in B flat major. The musical element was made for film: it played next to no role in Binding's novel. From the outset there is something uncanny about the musical moment. The grand piano in the shot is obviously unoccupied; Oktavia is playing upstairs on a second instrument. As the music continues and the volume increases, Albrecht contemplates the family coat of arms in the stained glass, an emblem of the frozen pageantry of a past era. [clip: *Opfergang* 2] He passes the time by adjusting the wire on a model ship, and just as the music reaches the end of a phrase, the grandfather clock chimes. Albrecht reads out the inlay, a German rendering of the Latin saying *ut hora sic fugit vita*, "Eine dieser Stunden wird deine letzte sein." Like the clock, Schubert's music is a reminder of death, of the passing of time un-lived, characterized for the sea-faring Albrecht by the absence of vital experience. Upstairs, Oktavia also lives in a room where the shards of daylight also filter through closed shutters. Her piano-playing is part of the privilege of the daughter of high-society,

or *höhere Töchter*.<sup>68</sup> But the picture of the family playing piano quartets on Sunday only inspires dread in Albrecht, who answers his future wife’s claim that music is “her whole life and passion,” with the remark that he would never have the patience to sit through a whole quartet anymore.<sup>69</sup>



Figure 30. Cut flowers at the start of the Chopin sequence (left) and the grandfather clock in the drawing room (right). *Opfergang* (Veit Harlan, 1944)

Once engaged to Oktavia, Albrecht is required to join the family for one of their Sunday morning culture rituals, what they call the “geistige Vorspeise” before lunch. Oktavia is playing the same Chopin nocturne featured in *RAZZIA*, but where there the music visibly transfigured the listeners, here it only stretches time for the deadly-bored Albrecht, who looks down at his watch and starts to fiddle. Unlike the baker in *WUNSCHKONZERT*, Albrecht has no excuse for infringing on concert etiquette, so that when he tiptoes across the room, too restless to sit still, Oktavia’s mother visibly shakes her head at him. [clip: *Opfergang* 2] The quality of the playing has also lost its luster since 1932: Oktavia’s refined but mannered touch exudes a false pathos, while her heavy-handed accents in the last few bars of the nocturne domesticate the nocturne into a sort of lullaby. After the senator reads out one of Friedrich Nietzsche’s *Dionysian-Dithyramps*, “Die Sonne sinkt,” Albrecht stages a one-man uprising, throwing open the shutters to let the sun in. He holds the family’s

<sup>68</sup> The only mention of music in the literary text comes when Oktavia emerges “[...] in unverhohlener und doch gedämpfter Freude aus dem Musiksaal.” Rudolf G. Binding, *Opfergang* [1925] (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening Verlag, 1933), 131.

<sup>69</sup> “Also die Ruhe mir ein Quartett anzuhören, die habe ich schon lange nicht mehr.”



Sunday program of Chopin's "Nachtstücke," as he calls them, along with Nietzsche's poetry of "Umnachtung," in contempt, not because he is too stupid to understand their meaning, he insists, but because they amount to a rejection of life.<sup>70</sup> In Harlan's film, classical music, like "philosophy," has become an authoritarian practice of submission, an experience of carceral frigidity that deadens the spirit.

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The ambivalence toward classical music from 1930 through the Nazi period makes itself felt in between the films, where the comparative listening scene emerges as a cultural "vernacular," refracting tensions in society and culture particular to Germany. Cinema repeatedly pointed up a multifarious cast of listeners, whose reactions ranged from genuine feeling to resentment and outright aggression toward the classical canon, repeatedly framed as a stale cultural holdover from a different century. Harlan's *OPFERGANG* reached audiences in movie theaters in Nazi Germany in 1944 at the same moment that the exiled Austrian literary critic Leo Spitzer published his classic treatise on historical semantics, beginning with the line "It is a fact that the German word *Stimmung* as such is untranslatable."<sup>71</sup> The musical dimension that resonates in the term "Stimmung," derived from the sense of tuning a musical instrument, found manifold expressions in German sound cinema from 1930-1945 as music entered the frame and flowed into the bodies of the listeners on screen. But the audio-visions in film conveyed the distinct sense that the intention of "reminding" ordinary Germans of their musical inheritance was at odds both with the cinematic medium and the realities of mass culture and society. The story cinema tells is instead one of "Verstimmung," in which representations of music on screen end up revealing the distempered humors of the modern body politic.

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<sup>70</sup> "Wahrscheinlich hältst du mich für zu dumm, um das Gedicht zu verstehen?"

<sup>71</sup> Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony. Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung."* ed. Anna Granville (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963), 5.

*Jetzt kommen meine Attribute, Modificationen, Affectionen und Accidenzien,  
wo ist mein Hemd, meine Hose?  
– Hal, pfui! der freie Wille steht davorn ganz offen.  
Wo ist die Moral, wo sind die Manschetten.  
Die Kategorien sind in der schändlichsten Verwirrung,  
es sind zwei Knöpfe zuviel zugeknöpft,  
die Dose steht in der rechten Tasche. Mein ganzes System ist ruinirt.  
Georg Büchner, Leonce und Lena*

## Part Two

### On Aesthetic Education: Musical Uplift, Fetish and Propaganda

The distinction between classical and popular music so present in the German cultural frame gets blurred in Nazi-era films that mobilize nationalist sentiment. This chapter considers the centrality of musical education in two feature films conventionally understood as classic examples of propaganda: *HITLERJUNGE QUEX* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933) and *STUKAS* (Karl Ritter, 1941). Made in the first year of the Nazi regime and in the second year of WWII respectively, these films advertise the attractions of the Hitler Youth and the *Luftwaffe*, and present both as musical communities. While any citation of classical or *ernste Musik* is conspicuously absent from *QUEX*, the film's seductive representation of the Hitler Youth appeals to the values of amateur musical traditions in Germany. In the film, the adolescent Heini crosses the tracks from his working-class, communist-sympathizing parents to join the Nazis, enticed by the group's hymn "Uns're Fahne," one of the numerous *Fahnenlieder* common across the political spectrum in this period. The dramaturgy invests Heini's development with elements of collective musical practices from the turn of the twentieth century, such as the *Jugendbewegung* and *Wandervogel* movements, as well as ear training and choral singing. We can contrast this elevation of the political song with the devaluation of Richard Wagner's music in Karl Ritter's movie *STUKAS* (1941). There, a pop-music loving fighter pilot named Wilde gets to know an excerpt of *Götterdämmerung*—the last opera in the *Ring* cycle—through in a four-hand arrangement played by the high-ranking, culturally educated members of his *Luftwaffe* squadron. In the climactic scene, a visit to the Bayreuth Festival "cures" Wilde of a debilitating depression, prompting him to rush back to his military base. Yet despite the intention to use Wagner to stage the epiphany of national consciousness, *STUKAS* illustrates what

Theodor W. Adorno would term “regressive” listening within the broader frame of music and commercialization. The film presents the fetish character of Wilde’s attachment to the Wagnerian leitmotiv, thereby expressing the domestication of Wagner’s music that in a sense begins with the commercial production of four-hand piano arrangements. Paradoxically, then, the only extended film of the Nazi era that foregrounded Wagner’s music pits this “serious music” against the gramophone record only to sublimate the distinction, unwittingly dramatizing the birth of the musical commodity out of the spirit of the *Ring*.

### Musical Address and Nazi Propaganda

Both films discussed in this chapter were banned as propaganda in 1945 and finally restricted in 1949 by the Western Allied Forces in a list of circa three hundred and fifty Nazi-era films banned to prevent the dissemination of Nazi ideology.<sup>1</sup> Today, around 40 of these films, including *HITLERJUNGE QUEx* and *STUKAS*, remain restricted [*Vorbehaltsfilme*] by the rights-owning Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau Association, meaning that they are effectively unavailable on the commercial market in Germany today; any public screening must receive prior approval by the foundation and take place under specific conditions, including a historical introduction and subsequent audience discussion led by a historically informed specialist.<sup>2</sup> How to distinguish between the cinema of “propaganda” and “entertainment,” and to what end, in any national cinema, is a fraught question and one of the main pitfalls of critical work on film of the National Socialist period. As Linda Schulte-Sasse points out, the use of the term “propaganda” defines the subject position of both writer and audience as one of moral and aesthetic superiority, free of ideological bias.<sup>3</sup> During the Nazi period, the term meant something like “advertising” (a usage still found in the German *Mundpropaganda*) and had a wide

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<sup>1</sup> Allied forces led a quadripartite meeting on 28 September 1945 to determine the guidelines for postwar censorship of German films. They banned films which “glorified the ideology of Fascism, Nazism or racial distinction.” See Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 270-271.

<sup>2</sup> The enduring legacy of post-war era censorship mechanisms is still contested. Felix Moeller’s 2014 documentary *VERBOTENE FILME* argues that the effective illegality of feature films from the Nazi period foments current-day extremism by contributing their glamorization in Neo-Nazi circles.

<sup>3</sup> Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 2-3.

application in Germany under Hitler. It is helpful to distinguish with Stephen Lowry between “propaganda” as the direct dissemination of specific ideas and beliefs, and the encompassing concept of “ideology” designating all cultural processes that contribute to the definition of the social identity of individuals.<sup>4</sup> As mentioned, the use of the term in the historiography of the Third Reich often implies a coherent, hegemonic and totalizing *aesthetic* regime in cinema that we will want to challenge. When the term “propaganda film” is used here, therefore, it indicates a marked ideological thrust found in the films and signals their later reception, rather than crediting these artefacts with a daemonic power of manipulation that they do not possess; this characterization only clouds the work of criticism and at worst fuels a fascination with the “forbidden.” The close-readings that follow intend to shed light on the modes of audience address in these films, and their implication in complex socio-historical traditions.

The readings presented here suggest we revise the account of music in Nazi-era film understood as an acoustic onslaught. The film historian Karsten Witte, for example, termed Third Reich cinema “a barrage on the eyes and ears,” derivative and primitive in character.<sup>5</sup> On Witte’s account, Nazi cinema automatized the sensorium by weaponizing image and sound, underscoring an ecstatic visual register (the oceanic pageantry of flags and uniformed masses) with thickly scored tidal waves of symphonic orchestration. While a mode of audiovisuality riven through with the fanaticism of a Nuremberg rally, aimed at awing viewers into obeisance characterizes a film like *TRIUMPH DES WILLENS* (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935), this is the exception rather than the rule. Mainstream propaganda films with far broader popular reception than Riefenstahl’s aestheticized output figured listening as a participatory, reflective and personal experience. The notion that music in the Third Reich cinema overwhelmed the ear dates back to the earliest writings on Nazi propaganda

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<sup>4</sup> See Stephen Lowry, “Der Ort meiner Träume? Zur ideologischen Funktion des NS-Unterhaltungsfilms,” in *montage AV. Zeitschrift für Theorie und Geschichte audiovisueller Kommunikation* 2 (1994), 55.

<sup>5</sup> “German cinema of the Third Reich had little to call its own [...] Appeals to the senses in the form of flags and masses went hand in hand with a profusion of dissolves. The visual symphony ended in a flood of images, a flood that involved an apotheosis, an ecstasy of annihilation. The attempt to fashion a sense for unequivocal images necessitated an assault on the senses, a barrage on the eyes and the ears.” Karsten Witte “The Indivisible Legacy,” *New German Critique* 74 (Spring - Summer, 1998): 29.

by German cultural critics such as Siegfried Kracauer in exile in the US during WWII. In his 1942 pamphlet *Propaganda and the Nazi War Film* published in New York, Siegfried Kracauer wrote that Nazi cinema blended “commentary, visuals, and sound” into an effective medial “polyphony” in order to achieve “a psychical regression whereby to manipulate people at will.”<sup>6</sup> Critical work over the past three decades has likewise repeated the line that cinema under Hitler is characterized by lush scoring, designed to distract audiences and “beat [them] into delightful submission.”<sup>7</sup> This general view of music, however, does not take account of the representation of characters in film who undergo journeys of musical growth, from speechlessness to song and from philistinism to cultivation. Features that explicitly valorized Nazism as a youth movement and propagated German military might also aligned musical memory with identification and empowerment. They coded listening as a form of belonging, a relation found in the morphological closeness of “zuhören” and “zugehören.”<sup>8</sup> The following readings demonstrate how these features did more than overwhelm the audience with sound: they sold a promise of musical education, which in turn attempted to reconcile the proletarian roots of the Nazi movement with bourgeois and amateur musical culture in Germany, appealing to desires for upward social mobility and making the notional “Volksgemeinschaft” palatable to middle-class sensibilities.

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<sup>6</sup> Based on readings of the two films he had access to, SIEG IM WESTEN and FEUERTAUFE, Kracauer concluded that “[...] the Nazis employ a sumptuous orchestration,” and that music was employed to “affect the visuals with intensified strength.” Siegfried Kracauer, *Propaganda and the Nazi War Film*, pamphlet published by the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1942, vi.

<sup>7</sup> See Koepnick, *Dark Mirror*, 46. Rentschler refers to the “concerted” use of sound and music in propaganda features and comments that Nazi film is characterized by “galvanizing soundtracks.” Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 216-217.

<sup>8</sup> Heidegger relates *hören* and *gehören* in *Heraklit*, “Wir Menschen hören aber nur z.B. den Donner des Himmels, das Rauschen des Waldes, [...] das Ratten der Motoren, den Lärm der Stadt [...], insofern wir dem allem in irgendeiner Weise gehören und nicht gehören.” Martin Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 55 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1975), 247.

## Political Awakening and Aesthetic Education in HITLERJUNGE QUEX



Figure 31. *The Hitler Youth group at the piano (right) in Hitlerjunge Quex (Hans Steinhoff, 1933). (Right) St. Cecilia (Michiel Coxie, 1569), Museo del Prado.*

The music of the Nazi movement figured in *HITLERJUNGE QUEX* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933) [hereafter: *QUEX*] not as violence, but as a means of cultural and ethical education, open to anyone who wanted to join. The above image shows the members of a local Hitler Youth group in their Berlin headquarters, the so-called *HJ-Heim*, with the attending associations of security and comfort. Led by the young man at the piano, the boys are shown in a sing-along of their youth anthem, an updating of an age-old scene of close harmony, such as those found in Renaissance depictions of Saint Cecilia at the keyboard.<sup>9</sup> [clip: *Quex* 1] In *QUEX*, the group leader is the competent pianist and the younger boys stand with hands dutifully folded, the light casting their individual features into relief as they sing. In contrast to the commonly cited characteristics of intoxication and excess, this scene suggests that the film sold Nazism as a kind of musical communion, a way for individuals to lend their voices to a collective.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Celia Applegate's discussion of *Hausmusik* in: *Necessity of Music*, 260-274.

<sup>10</sup> The 1920s in Germany saw an increase in old and new forms of musical amateurism. See Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 4-9.

HITLERJUNGE QUEX (Hans Steinhoff, 1933) was produced under the protectorate of Baldur von Schirach, the *Reichsjugendführer* in command of the entire Hitler Youth [*Hitlerjugend*; hereafter HJ].<sup>11</sup> The film was set in the so-called “Kampfzeit” of 1932, a period dominated by civil-war-like conflict as the NSDAP attempted to seize control of Berlin’s urban proletariat from the Communist Party.<sup>12</sup> The plot was based on real events of January 1932, when a 15-year old member of the HJ named Herbert Norkus had been stabbed to death in Berlin as he distributed NSDAP leaflets. The right-wing press hailed him as a martyr murdered at the hands of the Communists; the writer Karl Aloys Schenzinger published a novel of the story in the populist, far-right *Völkischer Beobachter*.<sup>13</sup> In the Ufa adaptation, the teenage Heini (Jürgen Ohlsen) is a native of the “red” Berlin neighborhood of Beusselkiez, the son of an alcoholic, unemployed WWI veteran named only as “Vater Völker.” Despite the efforts of Stoppel, the local Communist organizer to recruit Heini, he is drawn to the HJ, and finally persuades them of his loyalty by warning them of Stoppel’s plot to attack their headquarters. In return, the group leader [*Bannführer*] Kaß rewards him with the baptismal name of “Quex,” a neologism from “Quecksilber” (or quicksilver) that denotes his mercurial speed and value as a go-between.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the associations with liquidity are apt, since the narrative celebrates the redirection of Heini’s political allegiances, positively coding his desertion of the Communist party as visionary emancipation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In early 1933 the HJ had 108,000 members; publicity campaigns to boost enrollment launched after January 30 appealed to urban youth with outdoor activities such as those shown in *QUEX*, e.g. camping trips and solstice celebrations. See also Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 54.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Prümm, “Der Ohrenzeuge. Filmerinnerungen in den autobiographischen Romanen von Ludwig Harig” in: Benno Rech, *Sprache fürs Leben, Wörter gegen den Tod: Ein Buch über Ludwig Harig* (Blieskastel: Gollenstein, 1997), 92.

<sup>13</sup> Schenzinger adapted his 1932 novel for the screen with Bobby E. Lühge. During denazification proceedings after the war Schenzinger was classified as a *Mitläufer* and sentenced to a penalty of 130DM. His post-war novels remained extremely popular, selling over 7 million copies in 1987. Hobsch, *Der Film im “Dritten Reich,”* vol. 2, 545. See also Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 55 and Horst Claus, *Filmen für Hitler: die Karriere des NS-Starregisseurs Hans Steinhoff* (Vienna: Verlag Filmarchiv Austria, 2013), 556.

<sup>14</sup> Schulte-Sasse reads Heini’s name as “a mediating bridge” between Nazism and communism, culminating in his father’s political turn toward the former. Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 263.

<sup>15</sup> The name both bears a further resonance of poison and recalls Mephisto’s characterization in terms of chemical instability in Goethe’s *Faust*, “hast/Du rotes Gold, das ohne Rast,/Quecksilber gleich, dir in der Hand zerrinnt.” Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust-Dichtungen*, vol. I, ed. Ulrich Gaier (Stuttgart, Reclam, 1999), 77.

QUEX exploited musical address to romanticize Heini's conversion to National Socialism in ways that have not sufficiently been explored in the critical reception.<sup>16</sup> Through a semi-documentary use of sound, the film framed Heini/Quex's biography as the collective "deep story" of the disillusioned young people in Germany. The opening credits announce the key motif of the film, "Uns're Fahne flattert uns voran," the chorus of the HJ anthem "Vorwärts, Vorwärts, schmettern die hellen Fanfaren."<sup>17</sup> The text by Baldur von Schirach was doubtless already familiar to some HJ members, but the musical setting was made for film, composed by Ufa's in-house composer, Hans-Otto Borgmann. [clip: Quex 2] The sound of "Uns're Fahne" set an intentionally non-professional tone: a recording of voices without specialist training, likely members of the HJ group enlisted to act in the Ufa production.<sup>18</sup> This lent a rawness to the film's aural profile, where the "grain" of unpolished voices addressed the audience in the cinema. Borgmann's song was released as a consumer product with the film, a canny co-ordination of the commercial cinema industry that created a feedback loop between cinema and reality.<sup>19</sup> "Uns're Fahne," an example of the genre of *Fahnenlied* associated with political movements from the beginning of the twentieth century, became part of the mandatory educational program of the HJ at the time of the film's release: boys were required to memorize the so-called *Pflichtlied* upon entry and were tested on their knowledge half a year later.<sup>20</sup> With its promises of "bread" and "freedom," the text co-opted core elements of socialist youth songs, diverting the aim of class emancipation toward devotion to Hitler and the flag.

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<sup>16</sup> Claus' *Filmen für Hitler* stops short of analyzing the audio register. Prümm notes the seduction of music and voices in the film. Prümm, "Der Ohrenzeuge," 93.

<sup>17</sup> "Forward! Forward! Blare the bright fanfares."

<sup>18</sup> The source of this recording is not given.

<sup>19</sup> The adolescent who played Heini (Jürgen Ohlsen) had no prior acting training; Steinhoff and Ritter discovered him at a Berlin lake. Claus, *Filmen für Hitler*, 276. While the credits listed Drews and George, they did not give Ohlsen's name, listing him simply as "ein Hitlerjunge."

<sup>20</sup> See Ulrich Günther, "Musikerziehung im Dritten Reich – Ursachen und Folgen," *Geschichte der Musikpädagogik*, ed. H. C. Schmidt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986), 85-173. See also Wolfgang Pfeiffer, "Jugend - Musik - Sozialisation: Perspektive der Musikdidaktik," in *Handbuch Jugend – Musik – Sozialisation*, ed. Robert J. Heyer, Sebastian Wachs and Christian Palentien (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2013), 191.



The audience at the premiere of the film in Munich in September 1933 heard Borgmann's song played by a full symphony orchestra before the curtain went up. The dramaturgy of the "Festakt" premiere firmly inserted this music into the nineteenth century Austro-German musical tradition: before the *Fahnenlied*, the orchestra performed of the first movement of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony.<sup>21</sup> In line with the equalizing of Bruckner and Borgmann in the cinema, the film frames Heini's movement toward the Hitler Youth as a result of innate *aesthetic* preferences, coded in the film as "good taste." At stake in the plot is the boy's political capital: the youthful energy he can bring to party activism in the volatile and economically devastated landscape of late-Weimar Berlin. Just as the film begins with the local communist youth leader Stoppel asking Vater Völker whether Heini has been "organized," the ensuing drama emphasizes that the HJ grants him an ethical code and aesthetic sense of order. In a key scene early on, Stoppel takes Heini on a weekend trip with the rowdy communist youth [known as die *Kommune*] to Berlin's Müggelsee. [clip: Quex 3] In one of its many appropriations of socialist film-making, the film takes the woodland setting from Slatan Dudow's 1932 *KUHLE WAMPE ODER WEM GEHÖRT DIE WELT?*—made in collaboration with Bertholt Brecht and Hanns Eisler—and rebrands it as a place of violence and excess.<sup>22</sup>

While *KUHLE WAMPE* figured the utopian potential of a commune on the outskirts of Berlin as a release from the misery of urban poverty, *QUEX* recoded the "communal" in *Kommune* as chaos and sexual transgression. In the youth camp sequence, the film establishes an explicit binary of communist versus nazi that is filled out semantically at the level of music. Heini's decision to abandon the *Kommune* is staged implicitly as the rejection of *Unterhaltungsmusik* of the entertainment industry, and a turn toward the "tasteful," "national" and inherently more "classy" music of the Hitler Youth with its promise of social order and uplift. Already

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<sup>21</sup> Claus, *Filmen für Hitler*, 280. Claus writes that the "Reichssymphonieorchester" played for the premiere but does not specify. It seems unlikely that the Berlin Philharmonic would have travelled to Munich for this occasion to play instead of a Bavarian orchestra. The catalogue shows the Philharmonic gave concerts in Berlin on September 5 and 19; no performances are listed for September 12, the date of the Munich premiere. *Konzerte der Berliner Philharmoniker 1900 – 1945*, 635.

<sup>22</sup> Rentschler notes that the film recycles intertextual borrowings from the Weimar era in order to presage a new cinema. Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 61.

alienated by the Communist group's gambling and drinking, Heini becomes visibly upset by the erotically-charged spanking game of "Schinkenklopfen."<sup>23</sup> When Gerda, an older flirtatious teenager, teases Heini for his prudishness, he walks away, passing a clearing where couples are dancing in a round. [clip: Quex 4] The image sparks associations with Arthur Schnitzler's 1920 theater piece *Reigen* or *La Ronde*, banned for its candid portrait of sexual desire wreaking havoc on social hierarchies. In the film, Heini seems equally put off by the music: an accordion playing the popular song "Das ist die Liebe der Matrosen," whose lyrics tell of the joys of having "a girl in every port."<sup>24</sup> Werner Richard Heymann had composed the tune two years earlier for the operetta film *BOMBEN AUF MONTE CARLO* (Hanns Schwarz, 1931); by the time *QUEX* was made, both men had left the country, fleeing persecution.<sup>25</sup> The quotation of this piece of popular music in the film defamed it as the music of moral corruption, and by extension served as a slur against the composer and German-Jewish film practitioners more generally. As Jewish members of the entertainment industry were being purged, their music vilified as "un-German" and "bolshevist" by the Nazi regime, *QUEX* presented Heini as a naïve, yet preternaturally discerning listener, an upstanding adolescent unreceptive to the tasteless popular music of his time.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The game consists of someone bending over to receive a spank before guessing the identity of the spanker.

<sup>24</sup> "Auf die Dauer, lieber Schatz, ist mein Herz kein Ankerplatz. Es blüh'n an allen Küsten Rosen, und für jede gibt es tausendfach Ersatz." "My heart, sweetheart, is no place to cast your anchor long term. Roses blossom on every shore and for everyone there are a thousand more to be had." The text by Robert Gilbert marries cynicism about the navy's military prospects ("die Sache wird schon schiefgehen") with the motivations of the libido: combat serves as pretext for noncommittal sexual relationships.

<sup>25</sup> *QUEX* was filmed from 10 July into mid-August 1933. The cameraman, Konstantin Tschet, would have been intimately familiar with Heymann's song from his work on the set of *BOMBEN AUF MONTE CARLO*.

<sup>26</sup> Heymann was appointed general musical director of the Ufa in 1926. By 1933 he was the most successful film composer in the country with the scores to ten sound films under his belt including the iconic song "Das gibt's nur einmal, das kommt nicht wieder," from *DER KONGRESS TANZT* (1931). Heymann was forced into almost a decade of exile in Paris, London and finally Hollywood. There he went on to compose the scores for some of Ernst Lubitsch's most iconic productions: *NINOTCHKA* and *TO BE OR NOT TO BE*. See Wolfgang Trautwein, *Werner Richard Heymann: Berlin, Hollywood und kein Zurück* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2011).



Figure 32. (Left) *The communist camp revelers.* (Right) *Heini's first view of the HJ camp.* *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

If the HJ song states that “the flag is the new age,” Heini turning his back on the popular song speaks for his desire for “decent” music, rid of the taint of libertinism. The musical idioms of the two party-affiliated youth groups are distinguished in terms of their vulgar versus civilized manifestations: while the music played at the Communist camp fuels intimate dancing, the HJ song signals chaste, single-sex chorality.<sup>27</sup> Through the interplay of music and image, the film stylizes the activities of the HJ as epiphanic aesthetic experience, in contrast to the semi-darkness of the Communist camp. Heini finds the neighboring HJ camp by following his ears. Over a single exceptionally long 120-meter tracking shot, he ducks through the pine trees, almost totally disappearing from view on the screen.<sup>28</sup> The radical reduction in light encourages the audience to train their attention toward the changes in sound. Slowly, music from off-screen becomes tantalizingly more audible—an example of what the film theorist Michel Chion termed the vocal character of the *acousmètre* unique to cinema.<sup>29</sup> As Heymann’s jig is slowly superseded by a broader military meter, a march played by a brass band, so too does *Reigen* cede to *Reihe*, and arbitrary cyclicity to linear order. Heini hears the opening measures of “Uns’re Fahne” from a distance and stops with head bowed as the opening “Vorwärts” figure of

<sup>27</sup> In later scenes we also see members of the *Bund deutscher Mädels*, but the two sexes do not mix.

<sup>28</sup> The length of shot is cited in Claus, *Filmen für Hitler*, 285.

<sup>29</sup> Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman and Walter Murch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 129-131.

the verse synchronizes with the beat of drums. In a highly controlled sound edit, the texture of the scoring, such as the flourishes of clarinet trills in the upper register, becomes fully audible just as the lighting charts Heini's progress from darkness into the glow of the bonfire below. Only after he has scrambled through the trees does he first glimpse the camp, a shot that is timed to appear with the second repeat of the refrain. After the suspense of semi-blindness, the image of rows of uniformed bodies flanked by the Nazi insignia rewards Heini's quest, first for the source of the sound, and then the light.

The cinematography underscores the binary whereby the *Unterhaltungsmusik* of the Communist camp appears deprived in the same measure as the music of the HJ embodies discipline and respectability. Middle-range shots give Heymann's music a sense of claustrophobia, whereas a long shot view of the HJ boys orders the elements of the image, rendering it both ornamental and manageable for the eye.<sup>30</sup> The use of sound achieves a similar dichotomy: where the recursive figures of the accordion quickly begin to grate, the HJ song enters at a low volume before reaching full definition in the refrain. The publicity materials presented the film as an opportunity for musical education: the issue of the illustrated *Film-Kurier* dedicated to QUEx featured musical staves with the chorus of "Uns're Fahne" for readers to learn and sing along to. As though falling into step with the repeated motif in the film of light triumphing over darkness—the coopting of Enlightenment and religious iconography in the service of nationalism—the musical notation was printed as a graphic inversion of the norm. Just as the fire illuminated the raised arms of the HJ, the musical notes figured not as ink but as light, white symbols on a black background.

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<sup>30</sup> See also Ulrich Schröter, "Hitlerjunge Quex': Nationalsozialistische Gesinnung - der Verlauf einer politischen Karriere 'bis in den Tod'" in *Märtyrrellegenden im NS-Film*, ed. Martin Loiperdinger (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1991), 119.

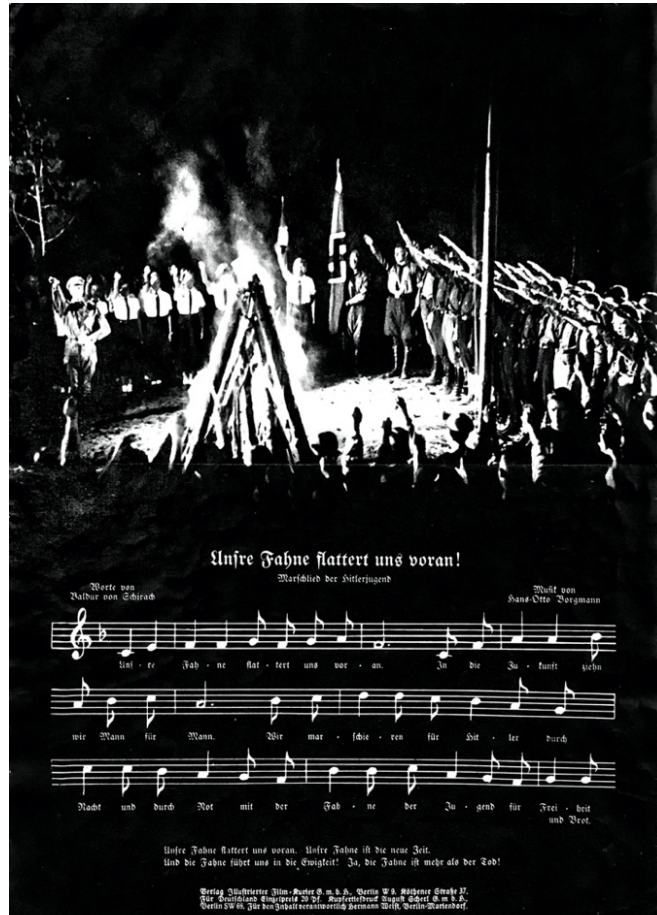


Figure 33. Publicity for *Quex* in *Illustrierter Film-Kurier*, September 1933, No. 2016. Reproduced with permission of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek

In *QUEX*, Heini’s political awakening is dramatized as the successful attainment of the aural skills that form a part of classical music education: remembering a melody and singing it back with accuracy. These basic fundamentals that we might classify under general ear training, or *Gehörbildung* in German, feature as the key building blocks in Heini’s self-directed liberation from the violence and hopelessness of his familial situation to his ultimate beatification. Heini’s experience at the HJ camp shows the military song migrating into his body: after sleeping in the brushland above the camp, he silently joins in the morning rendition of “Uns’re Fahne,” marching in place to the beat. Back to Berlin, Heini relays his “colossal” experience with the “boys with the swastika” to his mother (Bertha Drews), jumping to defend them when she reacts with horror.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The film makes a clear terminological distinction between “die Nazis,” used solely by the Communist-sympathizing proletariat as a derogatory term, and the self-referential language used by the HJ. There the characters refer to each other as “die Jungs” or “Burschen.” Heini refers to them as “die Anderen.”

[clip: Quex 4] Brimming with enthusiasm, he tellingly cites the group song as the best evidence that the boys were respectable: “No, Mom, they’re really not that bad! They did cooking, gymnastics, swimming... And singing! They sang such a good song, I’m telling you! How did it go again?”<sup>32</sup> Standing in his kitchen, Heini does his best to reconstruct the melody, gingerly voicing the first phrase, his furrowed brow loosening as it comes back to him. An impossibly brief smiles flash across his face, the edges of his eyes creasing into softness as he enters a momentary trance before gleefully exclaiming, “Wait a second, now I have it!”<sup>33</sup>



Figure 34. Heini performs the HJ song for his mother. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

This moment in the film is imbued with a sense of wonder: Heini surprises himself by remembering the song, and since the preceding sequences contain only instrumental versions, his articulation of the text is the first in the film.<sup>34</sup> His rendition takes on an evangelical aspect, proclaiming the liturgy of what the HJ leader mystically terms “the movement,” and reaching outside the narratological borders of the drama to the statement of the song in the opening credits. The arrangement of the figures in the shot likewise mimics the iconography of the annunciation, casting Heini as the angel Gabriel relaying the good news: Mother Völker sits with her back to the window in relative darkness, while Heini leans forward, his face lit by the sun coming

<sup>32</sup> “Du, Mutter, die sind aber gar nicht so schlimm! Die haben abgekocht, geturnt und geschwommen... Und gesungen! Ein Lied haben sie gesungen, sag’ ich dir! Wie ging das noch...”

<sup>33</sup> “Warte mal, jetzt hab ich’s!”

<sup>34</sup> Several accounts of the film erroneously refer to the lyrics of the song in the HJ camp sequence, probably due to lack of access to a digital copy for reference. Rentschler remembers hearing voices, remarking that, “Gradually, the commune’s accordion gives way to brass fanfares and a song, a strident tempo and spirited lyrics.” Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 62. Prümm likewise writes that “the group belts out their rousing song at the top of their voices.” Prümm, “Der Ohrenzeuge,” 94.

in the window. Historians have demonstrated how National Socialism cast itself as an ethno-religion, appropriating the tropes of Christian theology in its repetition of the mystical communion of a communal body.<sup>35</sup> QUEX figured its hero Heini as the angelic bringer of good tidings, personifying National Socialism through his faltering voice as a movement for the sincere.

We might situate Heini's display of auto-didactic musical development in the broader cultural frame of amateur music-making in Germany. At the time QUEX was made, amateurism was gaining prestige as a form of national bonding and identification under Hitler. At the launch of the first annual "Day of German Hausmusik" [*Tag der deutschen Hausmusik*]<sup>36</sup>—a festival inaugurated in 1933 by Goebbels's Reich Music Chamber—the music educator and leader of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* Fritz Jöde welcomed the event as evidence that the Germans had once again become a "singing people" [*singendes Volk*].<sup>37</sup> Contemporary journals from 1933 distanced the cultural practice from its bourgeois origins in the nineteenth century, framing group song instead as a the marker of a new moment of national renewal.<sup>37</sup> QUEX appears to mirror this politicization at the national level, and the coordination of amateur musical life in Germany as a display of unity. As a budding amateur musical subject, Heini enters into the HJ as an *ersatz* family, in which the hallmarks of nineteenth-century *Hausmusik* practice, such as domestic singing, were melded with the nationalist devotion to *Führer* and flag. This is the sense in which the film activates associations with *ernste Musik*: not by quoting classical music but by appealing to a cultural sensibility that valorized the non-professional artistically inclined individual, or *Laie*.

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<sup>35</sup> Rabinbach, "The Aftermath," 399.

<sup>36</sup> Applegate, *Necessity of Music*, 271.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.



Figure 35. Heini's father hears him singing the HJ song. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

The film characterizes the HJ members with an authenticity that can be heard in their voices. In the expository HJ camp sequence, for example, the speech by the group leader Kaß conveys a naturalism: amidst the audible crackling of the fire, his voice cracks with feeling as he repeats the word “Deutschland,” revealing the film’s investment in vocal quality. Heini’s father, by contrast, weaponizes his voice to punish his son for singing. From next door, his brows lift at the sound of the song, his expression ceding to confusion, then disbelief and rage as he makes out the line “Wir marschieren für Hitler.” The text rather than the music offends the ears of the “red” Völker, an indication that in their “flag-songs” and beyond, the KPD and NSDAP shared more than either liked to admit. If Heini’s father mistakes the HJ anthem for a revolutionary song of the proletariat, this slip-up lays the groundwork for a key political argument that the film will advance, namely



that Germany's workers have to take just a small step to realign their party affiliation and opt for the Nazi "alternative."<sup>38</sup>



Figure 36. (Top) Vater Völker beats Heini while making him sing the *Internationale*. (Bottom) Mutter Völker covers her ears. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

Whereas the film codes Heini's integration into the Nazi party as a matter of autodidactic musical uplift, his father's unthinking allegiance to the Communist party is parsed as brutal sonic violence, indeed as the instrumentalization of music for the purpose of torture. Völker enforces a musical re-education program on his son, bellowing out the first line of the "Internationale," a song whose opening word is the family name: "Völker, hört die Signale! Auf zum letzten Gefecht!" [clip: Quex 5] When Heini does not join in, Völker choreographs his blows to the beats of the song, rhythmically slapping his son with every half measure. A rare close-up shows Heini's mother covering her ear to block out the sound as her husband hoarsely blears out the

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<sup>38</sup> The narrative trajectory traced by Heini's father mimics the biography of Heinrich George himself, who moved from the KPD to the NSDAP at the Nazis assumed power. His alliterative name "Vater Völker" typifies George's character as the "father of all peoples."

word “Gefecht,” bullying Heini and gripping him by the scruff of his neck. In tandem with the line, “Die Internationale erkämpft das Menschenrecht!” the image literalizes the film’s presentation of the moral hypocrisy of the KPD and their empty slogans. If the sequence at the HJ camp structured a trajectory from darkness to light, the final shot of Heini croaking through the “Internationale” ends in a rapid fade into black. And while his recitation of “Uns’re Fahne” was pitch-perfect, the film demonstrates that Heini is rendered unmusical by the violence: fighting back tears, he comes out with the wrong pitches, his voice catching in his throat.



Figure 37. The sequence fades into dark. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

The remainder of the film presents everyday musicality as a cornerstone of HJ culture, and tracks Heini’s integration into the group as a process of acculturation in which he finds his singing voice. His father’s abusive behavior only makes Heini more intent on joining the HJ, and he approaches Fritz Dörries who is leafletting students as they leave the vocational printing school. Fritz, the son of a wealthy doctor, invites Heini to his house, where his sister Ulla is making dinner in the kitchen. “Do you hear that? My sister’s singing in the kitchen, she makes the most fabulous pancakes,” Fritz says as Heini takes in the plush interior. [clip: Quex 6] Ulla’s everyday song adds to the picture of comfortable bourgeois existence, with its offer of plentiful food. This is not insignificant: the text of the HJ-anthem addressed the real issue of hunger in 1930s Germany with the promise to remedy “need” with “bread,” rhyming “Not” and “Brot.” If this scene shows singing to be an integral part of the domestic comfort Heini craves, the dramaturgy of the later sequence where the HJ boys

sing “Uns’re Fahne” sacralizes the crude military march into a hymn. In a space framed by an arch, where the piano occupies the position of the altar, the *HJ-Heim* appears to fuse the institutions of the church and the choral society. Filmed from behind, the boys are shown in a devotional attitude, arranged in rows as though along pews.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 38. (Left) Heini at dinner at Ulla and Fritz' house. (Right) The boys in the *HJ Heim* singing the anthem. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

Even before he is formally accepted into the group, Heini is invested in the musical activities of the HJ. When Stoppel threatens to put an end to the boys’ singing, audible on the street—“Do you hear that singing? Soon the song will be over”—Heini is spurred to action.<sup>40</sup> [clip: *Quex* 7] He manages to warn Ulla of the Communists’ plot to attack and later learns by eavesdropping on Stoppel’s gang in the “red” pub that the HJ have successfully destroyed the explosives they stockpiled. Walking out onto the street, Heini raises

<sup>39</sup> We might also think of the principle of *Musikpflege* defended by Carl Friedrich Zelter, the second director of the Berlin *Singakademie*, who aimed to make the Bach’s sacred music accessible to the public beyond the performance context of the church. Celia Applegate, “How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 3 (1998): 289 ff.

<sup>40</sup> “Hörst du det Singen? Hat sich bald ausjesungen, du.”

his voice in the chorus of “Uns’re Fahne,” an expression of moral righteousness symbol and political agency.<sup>41</sup>

[clip: Quex 8]



Figure 39. Heini hears the his informing has saved the HJ (left) and exits the bar singing (right). *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

The finale of the film contrasts Heini’s vocalicity with his enemies’ use of sound as a tactical signal. When Stoppel’s gang pursue Heini, out for blood in revenge for his betrayal, they communicate using a sonic code, a whistle-chain such as the one that the homeless underground network in Fritz Lang’s movie *M* (1931) used to chase Peter Lorre’s character. In a clever revision of this canonical moment in early sound-film, Borgmann heightened the tension of the “hunt” sequence with a continuous passage of thoroughgoing orchestral music: nervy staccato figures in the winds and stabbing high strings that anticipate Bernard Hermann’s scoring for *PSYCHO* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1960), and the thriller or even “slasher” genre more generally. [clip: Quex 9]

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Koepnick’s reading of *QUEX* in a group of Nazi-era films where protagonists relapse into silence or assume “stylized positions of muted suffering.” Koepnick, *Dark Mirror*, 32.



Figure 40. Heini is chased by the communist youth (left). His look of terror as the drummer man gives him away (right). *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933)

Chased into the fairground, Heini gives away his location in a tent when he backs into a mechanical drummer-man doll and inadvertently activates the mechanism, gasping at the noise. Rapid-cut montage intersperses his panic-stricken face with a view of the tent before a blood-curdling cry signals his stabbing. With a moribund squelch, he staggers through the mud to his HJ friends and collapses on Fritz' lap, his supine pose and slack limbs draped over the body of his *ersatz*-mother in a shot that recalls Christ and the Virgin Mary in Renaissance figurations of the *Pietà*.



Figure 41. (Left) Heini's dead body. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hans Steinhoff, 1933). (Right) Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1499)

The final moments of the film restate Heini's symbolic value both as the sacrificial lamb of the Nazi movement and as the emergent vocal subject. In response to Fritz' stricken "Quex!" Heini wheezes, "Uns're

Fahne... flattert uns..." before his voice gives out. If it appears that the HJ song is undone, asphyxiated into air, the lapse into muteness is immediately answered with a chorus of thousands. A crescendo of eight drumbeats pave the way for a fully scored, choral recording of "Uns're Fahne," supported by instrumental parts, an emphatic orchestration of the song visualized in an image of a sea of uniformed HJ members marching wave upon wave into the camera. QUEX presented the path to National Socialism as a journey of musico-aesthetic education, elevating the military march to the music of respectability. The film mimicked the formal rejection of classical music in the *Jugendmusikbewegung* and the emphatic dissolution of professional and amateur performers in service of a populist or "völkisch" ideal, that nonetheless depended on practices such as ear training and choral singing. Heini's transformation from a hitherto "unorganized" aesthetic subject, someone with no relation to their own voice, takes place at the moment he trusts in his musical memory, empowered by his ability to reconstruct the song and voice the pitches. The persuasive rhetoric of the film turns on this process of auto-didacticism: Heini's newfound agency and vocal integrity is powerfully contrasted with the sonic violence of the "Internationale," so that the refrain of Communism is defamed as unthinking dogma, the music of National Socialism the choice of the thinking youth entering the community of the *Volk*.

## The Commodity Character of Listening: STUKAS



Figure 42. (Left) The men of the squadron haul a piano onto the airbase. (Right) Dr. Gregorius and Bork toast to a successful mission. *Stukas* (Karl Ritter, 1941)

Contrary to common preconceptions about films made in the Third Reich, importing the cult of Wagner and “serious” musical culture into Nazi-era cinema turned out to be as unwieldy an endeavor as moving a piano. In all of wartime cinema, only one feature film integrated Wagner’s music into the action: Karl Ritter’s 1941 film *STUKAS*. The so-called *Zeitfilm*, or film of the present moment, fictionalized everyday life in a *Luftwaffe* squadron, made up of pilots flying the “Sturzkampfflugzeug,” the Ju 87 “precision” model of dive bomber which visited death and carnage on the French and Belgian populations in the first years of the war. Not figured in the film, the Stuka dive bombers were equipped with an instrument of sonic terror, a siren nicknamed the “Jericho-Trompete” that were used to disorient and distress their victims. Ritter, a veteran aviator in WWI and personal friend of the Wagner family, had worked as a producer on *QUEX*; roughly seven years later, he directed his own film about music and uplift, even managing to shoot a sequence in the *Festspielhaus* at Bayreuth.<sup>42</sup> If *QUEX* showed a young person devoting himself to the Nazi movement in the first

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<sup>42</sup> Ritter had helped develop Germany’s first military flight school at Döberitz in 1911. A decorated aviation veteran, he moved to film when he was unable to continue training pilots as a result of the restrictions on German military activities imposed by the treaty of Versailles. Ritter grew up in a professional musical milieu: his mother was a trained opera singer and his father a professor at the Würzburg music conservatory. Ritter married Erika Ritter (no relation), the cousin of Richard Wagner’s son Siegfried, entering into the Wagnerian family circle at Bayreuth in the early 1920s where he also met Adolf Hitler. William Gillespie, *Karl Ritter: His Life and “Zeitfilms” under National Socialism* (German Films Dot Net, 2014), 1-2.

year of the regime, STUKAS appealed to the power of Wagner's music to shake the philistine [*Banause*] to the core and remind them of their place in the military unit. But in the execution, the film offered an illuminating view into the clash of traditional musical values with the forces of modern consumer culture.

In QUEX, the educated class of the *Bildungsbürgertum* remained just beyond Heini's purview, hinted at in the image of the name "Sanitätsrat Dörries," engraved on the gold-plated doorbell of Fritz and Ulla's spacious apartment. In STUKAS, the military hierarchy of the air-force squadron included an explicit representation of the professional class (*Offiziere*) at the helm. Major Bork (Carl Raddatz) and the military doctor Gregorius (O. E. Hasse) hold sway over a troop of younger pilots whose names and attitudes indicate their uncultivated backgrounds: the "low" sergeant Niederegger (Lutz Götz), who serves as resident dogsbody, and the unruly captain [*Staffelkapitän*] Wilde (Hannes Stelzer), whose musical tastes are firmly located in the realm of *Unterhaltungsmusik*. If in QUEX the *HJ-Heim* represented a homosocial replacement for the family unit, complete with group song around the piano, STUKAS restages this scenario by inserting the nineteenth-century practice of four-hand piano playing into modern day of WWII. While the two musically learned members of the company like nothing more than to indulge in duet transcriptions of Wagner at the piano, their musical proclivities prompt groans from the more boorish members of the squadron, required to sit quietly and be moved by the music.<sup>43</sup> Bork and Gregorius appear to be old chums with a history of playing chamber music. At the opening of the film, the group sits down to a meal in their wooded camp, gleeful to have made it back after bombing the Belgian city of Liège.<sup>44</sup> Bork is eager for Niederegger to "find" him a piano (by which he means expropriate one from the local civilian population) so he can play with the doctor. Alas, says the sergeant, the only thing people "play" these days is the radio.<sup>45</sup> [clip: Stukas 1] But it is not just

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<sup>43</sup> See Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, No. 2 (1999).

<sup>44</sup> Ritter's use of aerial footage and the prominence of Wagner's music in the film raise the question of whether the famous quotation of the "Ride of the Valkyries" in APOCALYPSE NOW (Francis Ford Coppola, 1979) alludes to STUKAS.

<sup>45</sup> "Die Leute spielen alle nur Radio!"



the occupied civilians who rely on technology for entertainment: when Wilde enters, he complains that no one has thought to put a record on. His question “Warum denn keine Musike?” employs a colloquialism, the terminal “-e” connoting the light, popular character of the tunes he has in mind to fit the celebratory mood of the moment.<sup>46</sup> Grabbing the gramophone, he puts on a military march, pumping his arms in time with the beat.

In the course of the film, the music from Wagner’s *Ring* played by Bork and Gregorius on the piano repeatedly fails to grab the attention of its intended audience. The unfamiliarity of a character like Niederegger with the milieu of classical music serves as comic fodder: when the sergeant finally hauls a piano into the camp, he mispronounces the name of the manufacturer, “Jawohl Herr Hauptmann, ist ein Blechstein! Uh... Bechstein!” The verbal blunder brings about a Magritte-like disjuncture of word and image, deforming the polished wood of the instrument into a hulking lump of tin. It also points to a possible real materialistic intention of the line in the script, product placement for the Bechstein company, one of the first businesses to declare its support for Hitler.<sup>47</sup> [clip: Stukas 2] The remainder of the sequence reaffirms how the performance of *Hausmusik* throws barriers of class into relief; the German genius of Richard Wagner appears to un-coordinate the social cosmos, moving the younger pilots further away from their two superiors. When Bork finally joins Gregorius at the keys, they launch into one of the so-called “bleeding chunks”—the final section of the prelude to *Götterdämmerung* known as “Siegfried’s Rhine Journey”—an excerpt popularized in commercial arrangements to be played at home.<sup>48</sup> The start of the music provokes an audible lack of enthusiasm, “Oh no, here comes the classical music. The two symphony players are back together.”<sup>49</sup> When one pilot volunteers the wisdom that “high-class” music can reduce even the most brutal of murderers to

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<sup>46</sup> “Warum denn keine Musike?”

<sup>47</sup> Hans Rudolf Veget, “Nazi Cinema and Wagner,” *Wagner Journal* 9, no. 2 (July 2015): 49.

<sup>48</sup> The term “bleeding chunk” originated in a program note by Donald Tovey from 1935: “Defects of form are not a justifiable ground for criticism from listeners who profess to enjoy the bleeding chunks of butcher’s meat chopped from Wagner’s operas and served up on Wagner nights as *Waldweben* and *Walkürenritt*.” Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1935-1944), vol. 2, 71.

<sup>49</sup> “Ai weh’, jetzt wird’s klassisch. Die beiden Symphoniker sind wieder zusammen.”

tears, another laconically retorts, “just not philistines.” Wilde dissents that even they can be moved to tears by *edle Musik*, before immediately contradicting his own claim, interrupting the first chords to ask when they can get back to dropping bombs, “Hesse! When’s our next mission?”<sup>50</sup>



Figure 43. (Left) Bork smiles at Gregorius while playing four-hand piano. (Right) The men argue about concert etiquette. *Stukas* (Karl Ritter, 1941)

In fact, every time Bork and Gregorius begin playing Wagner, the camera cuts to the pilots forced to listen, the lower-ranked men who resemble a rowdy class of high school students. Even Adorno made the point in 1933 that having to listen to four-hand playing was “never a joy,” a musical practice designed for the enjoyment of the players.<sup>51</sup> The immediate material desires of the men take priority over any interest in the music: on the first occasion, the joker of the group, Loos (Karl John), attempts to secure an *Oktoberfest*-style grilled chicken leg to get him through the tedium. When his comrade teases him that only animals think of food all the time (human beings “live from spirit” or *Geist*) Loos cries “Who cares about spirit, I want my chicken!”<sup>52</sup> In a later nighttime scene, Bork and Gregorius repeat the duet, their faces brimming with joy, in

<sup>50</sup> The *Illustrierte Film-Kurier* program for the film summarized the musical moment as both the echo and prelude of battle, “Währenddessen schleppen der Feldwebel und sechs Mann ein Klavier in das Zeltlager, und als der Kommandeur Bork wieder gelandet ist, klingen die vollen Akkorde aus “Siegfrieds Rheinfahrt” über das weite Feld. Es ist wie ein nachhallen des eben erlebten Kampfes und wie eine Ouvertüre zum neuen Einsatz, der die Gruppe mitten in das Feuer von vierzig Hurricanes hineinführt.” Akademie der Künste, *Filmprogramm-Sammlung* 3826.

<sup>51</sup> “Das Zuhören beim Vierhändigspielen vollends ist kaum je eine Freude.” Theodor W. Adorno, “Vierhändig, noch einmal” (1933), reprinted in *Impromptus: Zweite Folge neu gedruckter musikalischer Aufsätze* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1968), 144. See also Philip Brett, “Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire,” *19th-Century Music* 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1997), 149-176.

<sup>52</sup> “Der Mensch lebt von Geist!” “Ach Geist, ich will mein’ Huhn!”

direct contrast to the inert group of listeners. The pilot Lothar protests when he gets picked on for snoozing, “I’m telling you I wasn’t asleep!” [clip: Stukas 3] The film forecloses a common understanding of musical culture and taste among the ranks: quite apart from the foreign targets of the air-force’s barbaric bombing campaigns, the leadership of the squadron cannot seem to bring culture to their own home-grown “Banausen,” whose base appetites and needs constantly get in the way of the mandatory house-concerts.

Though four-hand transcription in fact anticipated the technologies of the radio and phonograph by bringing the concert hall into the domestic space, the practice seems long overtaken by the mechanized music industry in STUKAS.<sup>53</sup> In one revealing episode later in the film, Niederegger transports a player piano into the village house the squadron has requisitioned. Beaming with pride, he reports the “piano with electric motor” to Bork, and cannot understand his superior’s reaction that the thing is “ghastly” [*scheußlich*]. He thought the Major would be relieved to get a break from playing and listen to some “real music” for a change. Never mind, Bork reassures him, you meant well. [clip: Stukas 4] Wilde for his part is thrilled to find the player piano added to the company’s retinue. Plugging it back in after Bork has ordered it off, he starts dancing along to the tones of circus “screamer” music, the ubiquitous “Entrance of the Gladiators” march composed in 1897 by the Czech composer Julius Fucík.<sup>54</sup> “You see Heinz, that’s what I call music!” he declares defiantly. While interchanges like this serve a comic function in the film, they reflect a reality about the reception of Wagner in the Third Reich. Despite Hitler’s personal preferences, interest in Wagner’s music waned significantly in Nazi Germany, in line with a downward trend that dated at least as far back as the end of WWI.<sup>55</sup> Contrary to the myth of Wagner’s privileged place in culture under Hitler, performance statistics demonstrate that productions of his operas decreased most rapidly between 1936-1943, during which period the composer

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<sup>53</sup> See Thomas Christensen, “Four-Hand Piano Transcription,” 256.

<sup>54</sup> Julius Fucík (1872-1916) composed “Entrance of the Gladiators” (Op. 68) in 1897. The composer’s nephew (also named Julius Fucík) was a prominent member of the Czech resistance who was executed by the Nazis at Plötzensee in 1943.

<sup>55</sup> See Potter, 2006, 87..

sank from first to fifth place in terms of number of productions in Germany as a whole.<sup>56</sup> Winifred Wagner's joint plan with Hitler to make up for the depleted audience at the Bayreuth Festival in the summer of 1940 by rebranding it the *Kriegsfestspiele* and filling the theater with wounded soldiers and armament workers, went similarly awry: the majority of the maimed veterans, who had never been to the opera before, were forced to listen to long lectures designed to "attune" them to Wagner's themes and instruct them about when applause was permitted. For many who were expecting a period of respite from war in the pleasant green surroundings of Bayreuth, the hours endured on the un-cushioned wooden chairs in the theater along with the mandatory educational program left them swearing they would never listen to Wagner again.<sup>57</sup>

In this context, it is all the more interesting that the strand of the plot that "tames" Wilde into appreciating Wagner's music ends up charting the real processes of commodification in the music industry, from the four-hand arrangement of the operatic excerpt to the gramophone record. Ritter seems to want to trace an upward development from popular to serious music, but the movie actually gives insights into how listening itself has become an alienated, egocentric act of recognition that Adorno would term "regressive." In the plot, Wilde becomes depressed after his plane is shot down. Though he recovers physically, he loses the will to return to his company.<sup>58</sup> Ursula, the resident nurse in the military hospital (Else Knott), lives up to her saintly namesake by advocating for a healing pilgrimage, convincing the doctor to let her take the chronically "apathetic" airman to Bayreuth to hear Wagner.<sup>59</sup> Her proposal rests on the transformative power of the music, which she formulates as *Ergiffenheit*: no one leaves Bayreuth without feeling it, she assures the

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<sup>56</sup> Potter, "Music in the Third Reich," 87.

<sup>57</sup> Winifred Wagner's decision to suspend Bayreuth for the duration of the war was overturned by Hitler in April 1940 when he insisted the festival take place and guaranteed extensive financial support and the release the necessary technical and artistic personnel from military service. Circa 20,000 soldiers and workers in uniform attended the festival. The entire operation was funded and coordinated by the Nazi leisure organization *Kraft durch Freude*. See Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner, oder, Hitlers Bayreuth* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2002), 408-413.

<sup>58</sup> Wilde describes himself as dispensable and broken to comrades from the squadron when they come to visit, "Mich hat's erwischt [...] Ja, bei mir ist allerhand zum Teufel gegangen."

<sup>59</sup> The doctor summarizes Wilde's condition as "immer noch die alte Apathie."

doctor, casting a devotional gaze up toward the ceiling. He is skeptical: “But our dear Wilde has absolutely no feeling for serious music!”<sup>60</sup> [clip: Stukas 5]



Figure 44. Wilde depressed in hospital (left). Ursula persuades the doctor to let her take him to Bayreuth (right). *Stukas* (Karl Ritter, 1941)

In trying to counter the doctor’s claim, the film paradoxically suggests that Wilde can only hear Wagner like a pop-song. Sitting with Ursula at the nearby Bürgerreuth café overlooking the vista before the show begins, his feeling for nationhood seems at an all-time low. In response to Ursula’s rhetorical “Isn’t our Germany splendid?” Wilde can only muster the lackluster reply “Yeah, damn beautiful.”<sup>61</sup> Nestled in the landscape, the opera house figures as a symbolic bearer of cultural heritage, but Wilde does not get the message: as Ursula cranes round toward the *Festspielhaus*, he fails to follow her lead, his gaze fixed away toward the right of the shot. Only when the sound of brass reaches Wilde’s ears does he turn to face the opera house, where a fanfare is calling the audience to their seats. The leitmotif is “Siegfried’s Horn Call,” heard numerous times in the film in the piano arrangement.<sup>62</sup> [clip: Stukas 6]

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<sup>60</sup> “Weil unser gute Wilde überhaupt keinen Sinn für ernste Musik haben soll!”

<sup>61</sup> “Ist es nicht herrlich, unser deutsches Land?” “Ja, verdammt schön.” The nurse’s use of the possessive pronoun “our” recalls a pivotal point in *QUEX* when Kass wins Heini’s father over by rephrasing the statement “Berlin is in Germany” as “Berlin in *our* Germany.”

<sup>62</sup> This fanfare actually belongs to *Siegfried*, whereas the next sequence shows Wilde watching *Götterdämmerung*. This conceit fulfilled two aims: it replaced the foreboding “curse” motif that is heard before *Götterdämmerung* with the upbeat “horn call;” and thereby inserted a musical referent that was already familiar to Wilde (and the cinema audience).



Figure 45. Wilde looks away from the opera-house (left) before recognizing Siegfried's horn-call (right). *Stukas* (Karl Ritter, 1941)

Wilde's reaction indicates that he relates to Wagner's music only in terms of his prior experience: he bursts out with "Wait, nurse, I know that music! Even *I* know that!" This portrait of aesthetic subjectivity parallels Heini's triumphant cry of "Now I've got it!" in *QUEX* when he manages to sing "Uns're Fahne." There, the first-person pronoun signaled Heini's new understanding of himself as a musical subject-in-training. In *STUKAS*, by contrast, Wilde's egocentrism signals a broader issue in musical aesthetics: what Adorno termed the fetish character of the Wagnerian leitmotif, that prompts the listener to seek what is familiar in order to re-enjoy it. In the idiosyncratic compositional techniques of Richard Wagner, Adorno saw the musical expression of Marx's theory of the commodity, which he saw anticipating the hit song or the advertising jingle. The reification of culture into cultural property, Adorno writes, the very "memorability of disconnected parts [...] has a precursor in great music itself, in the technique of late romantic compositions, especially those of Wagner."<sup>63</sup> In *STUKAS* neither Wagner nor his music-drama are ever named; rather Wilde's deictic "das" points to his personal archive of memory, divorced from cultural history and the concept of the work of art as a whole. Stereotyped as the essentialized popular listener, someone for whom music

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<sup>63</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, new trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 298. See also Adorno's chapter on motif in: *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: NLB, 1981), 43-61.

means the repetitive military march reified in the gramophone record, Wilde reacts to Siegfried's leitmotif as to a catchy tune, ironically enacting Adorno's critique of Wagner's style.

If Wilde first hears the leitmotif literally divorced from the opera as a brass fanfare, we might expect him to enter into the full Wagnerian aesthetic experience in the theater. The film could have shown him coming to understand the place of Bayreuth and its artistic significance in European cultural history, or arriving at an appreciation of e.g. Siegfried's heroism. But what is striking about the sequence is Wilde's rejection of the aesthetic absorption in the Wagnerian experience. Indeed, his reaction to the performance of *Götterdämmerung* shows Wilde can only relate to *Götterdämmerung* as to an *aide-memoire* of the four-hand transcription. When the camera pans in on the pilot sitting next to Ursula in the dark interior of the theater, "Siegfried's Rhein Journey" resounds for the first time in Wagner's full orchestration. The visual intercut, however, suggests that Wilde now "sees" the four-hand arrangement, moving from a medium close-up of his face to a shot of Bork and Gregorius swaying at the keyboard. [clip: Stukas 7] As he listens, the camera cuts away to two further visions of his comrades returning to the fold, heartily welcomed back by Bork's reassertion of the military pecking order, where every man knows his respective station: "Children, you made it home." As the music unfolds, Wilde's "visions" of the airbase reassert ingrained class structures: Bork relating to the philistines in their permanent state of infancy. The intercuts show a double sense in which Wagner's music has become entertainment: not just the commodified form of the duet, but the camaraderie—or *Unterhaltung* in the sense of conversation—occasioned by an exclusive cultural practice that prompts the lower-ranking men to bond about *not* understanding the music. With a good four hours of the opera to go, Ursula has to physically restrain Wilde from getting up to leave: It's wonderful, he assures her, but the two of them should listen to it on the piano, four-handed. That really sounds like something!<sup>64</sup> Wilde's reaction articulates the historical continuum between the piano transcription and the phonograph record by

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<sup>64</sup> "Aber das sollten wir einmal auf dem Klavier hören, vierhändig! Wie das klingt!"

relating to the full Wagnerian experience as a to game of “name that tune,” an alienation of classical music from the stage to the catch-phrase that is bound up with the history of editions published for home entertainment in the pre-gramophone age.<sup>65</sup> Instead of taking in the aesthetic plenitude of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the film showed Wilde responding with an appetitive desire to hear the catchphrase again, to return to the site of the Wagnerian spin-off.<sup>66</sup>



Figure 46. Wilde in the act of recognition during the opera (left). Visions of lost pilots returning to the squadron (right). *Stukas* (Karl Ritter, 1941)

In a remarkable moment of inadvertent irony, the sequence ends with Wagner’s “downfall” motif, one of the many instances in cinema of the Third Reich where the music seems to go off-script. Wilde’s final vision shows the two pilots Schwarz and Prack returning to the company. They arrive at the front steps of the *chateau* just as the watery Rhine motif (mm. 124) gives way to pairs of descending thirds over a major

<sup>65</sup> In his 1933 essay “Vierhändig, noch einmal,” Adorno lamented the loss of four-hand playing as an *active* form of musical reception, superseded by the passivity of radio or phonograph listening. In this instance he looked past the commodity character already inherent in the arrangement and reproduction of music for domestic consumption to recall with nostalgia the role that the “bound green volumes from Haydn to Brahms” played in his musical education. “Vierhändigspielen legten mir die Genien des bürgerlichen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts als Geschenk an die Wiege im beginnenden zwanzigsten. Die vierhändige Musik: das war die, mit welcher sich noch umgehen und leben ließ, ehe der musikalische Zwang selber Einsamkeit und geheimes Handwerk befahl.” Adorno, “Vierhändig, noch einmal,” 142.

<sup>66</sup> A 1943 volume on film technique praised *STUKAS* for distinguishing between how the “mature” Wagnerian (i.e. Bork) and the “unmusical” person (Wilde) related to leitmotif, “Der Wagnerliebhaber hat jahrzehntelang unter den verschiedensten Situationen Motive von Wagneroperen gehört. Wenn überhaupt, so wäre er in stände, mit den verschiedensten Motiven jeweilig die mannigfaltigsten Situationen zu assoziieren. Ganz anders wäre es (und so ist es denn auch in dem gedrehten Film), wenn ein unmusikalischer Mensch im Fliegerhorst zum ersten Male [...] bewußt mit Wagner bekannt gemacht wird. Ihm wird man ohne weiteres glauben, daß beim nachträglichen Erklingen dieser Melodien zugleich auch der Ort und die Umstände lebendig werden, die sie einmalig und ausdrücklich damit in seinem Bewußtsein verknüpft haben.” Edmund Theodor Kauer, *Der Film* (Berlin: Dt. Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1943), 96.



sixth-chord pedal tone: the minor harmony of the “Götterdämmerung” motif established at the very outset of the *Ring* cycle, when Erda warns Wotan to give up the ring in *Rheingold*.<sup>67</sup> [clip: Stukas 8] While the climax of the Bayreuth sequence in STUKAS depicts the happy family of the *Luftwaffe* reunited, the music portends a prophecy of decline, the twilight of the known world order.

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The two films discussed here present a structural parallel—however inverted—whereby the *Fahnenlied* of the Hitler Youth and its educative rise fulfils the same function as the popularization of Wagner’s opera, affirming the return of the musicalized subject into the communal body of homosociality. QUEX appropriates the political marching song—a musical form related to the modern-day European football chant or team anthem—and ennobles it by stylizing the Hitler Youth as the refined, sanitized alternative to Communist youth culture. Via associations with amateur musical traditions, the film generated a compelling narrative of the aesthetic formation of the individual and channeled desires for communitarian belonging toward a promise of moral, economic and cultural uplift. In STUKAS, by contrast, a narrative about cultivating the military community with a course of musical therapy doubles down on the foreclosure of aesthetic development. In this sense we might say STUKAS disciplined the listener into submission, but not because music operates as the instrument of what Susan Sontag called “fascinating fascism,” holding the listener in thrall to an overwhelming ecstasy of wholeness.<sup>68</sup> The film instead represented Wagner’s music in fetishized form, inadvertently pointing to the commercialization of the senses, part of a twentieth-century history of perception that reached beyond the borders of the Third Reich.

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<sup>67</sup> “Höre! Höre! Höre!

Alles was ist, endet!

Ein düst'rer Tag dämmert den Göttern:

dir rath' ich, meide den Ring!” *Das Rheingold*, Act I, scene 4.

<sup>68</sup> Susan Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” *New York Review of Books*, February 6, 1975.

### Part Three

#### Othered Musical Bodies



*Figure 47. Annelie's son Reinhold on leave from the army. Annelie (Joseph von Bány 1941)*

This chapter considers how the grammar of film in Nazi-era cinema codes the figure of the musician as a site of unsettling indeterminacy. A source of pleasure and entertainment, the musician is also repeatedly marked as queer or foreign in films made in the Third Reich. In particular, films made from the late 1930s through WWII noticeably “other” the body of the artist in ways that evoke associations with the members of the population persecuted, repressed and murdered by the regime: Jews, homosexuals and gypsies. This chapter considers a range of striking portrayals in *WUNSCHKONZERT* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940), *KOLBERG* (Veit Harlan 1945), *DREIKLANG* (Hans Hinrich, 1938), *ANNELIE* (Joseph von Bány 1941), *FRIEDEMANN BACH* (Traugott Müller, 1941), *HEIMAT* (Carl Froelich, 1938) and *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* (Herbert Maisch, 1944). The numerous acts of physical and psychological abuse experienced by musicians on screen indicate not only the conflicted positions toward the arts in Nazi Germany, but the traces of the collective violence that had

ethnically cleansed the core of its musical community.<sup>1</sup> Viewed in the aggregate as a strangely persistent “type,” in Nazi film, the ambiguous status of the musician—both admired and reviled—indicates anxieties about a crisis of German musical heritage in the context of ethno-nationalism.

#### Musical Deserters in WUNSCHKONZERT and KOLBERG

The musician appears to pose a problem for cinema of the Third Reich. The film WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940) does not leave the pianist Schwarzkopf (Walter Ladengast) in his attic room: after marching off to war as an active combatant in the *Wehrmacht* on the Western front, the young man receives the questionable honor of a “hero’s death” [*Heldentod*], sacrificing himself by playing a church organ to lead his company—lost on patrol—out of the fog back to safety.<sup>2</sup> The sight of a German soldier dying on screen was exceptionally rare in Nazi cinema. In WUNSCHKONZERT, Schwarzkopf’s music reveals his location and draws enemy grenade fire that strikes him at the keyboard in a scene that echoes the mute Katrin in Bertholt Brecht’s *Mutter Courage*, who beats a drum to warn the townspeople of an impending raid. Peter runs back up to the organ loft to find Schwarzkopf slumped over the keys. Taking hold of his neck, he turns it toward the camera to reveal a face blackened by a bloody wound, the musician’s moniker literalized into a “schwarzer Kopf.” [clip: WK 1]

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<sup>1</sup> The purge of artistic personnel affected not only Jews but Sinti and Roma people, non-whites, and those deemed political, social, and sexual “deviants.” See Pamela Potter, “Music in the Third Reich,” 96-97.

<sup>2</sup> The music Schwarzkopf plays is a classical pastiche by the film composer Werner Bochmann, who embedded the theme of the Olympic fanfare in a “sound-alike” of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century organ writing, evoking the styles of Max Reger, the British composers Edward Elgar and Gustav Holst, as well as Franz Liszt in *Les préludes*. The music in this scene has been frequently misidentified in secondary literature as a quotation: Schulte-Sasse writes Schwarzkopf is playing Max Reger’s “Ein’ feste Burg” and offers an extended reading based on the Lutheran 1529 hymn. Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 297. In his 1999 article, Reinhard Andress claims that Schwarzkopf performs a “mighty Bach toccata,” perhaps repeating Marc Silberman’s initial erroneous attribution of Bach. Andress, “Verschoben, aber nicht aufgehoben,” 361 and Silberman, *German Cinema*, 78. In her 2004 study, Mary-Elizabeth O’Brien hedges that the character’s death is set to “a variation on Bach and the Olympic fanfare.” Mary-Elizabeth O’Brien, *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2004), 130. See also Guido Heldt, “Front Theatre: Musical Films and the War in Nazi Cinema” in *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 64.



Figure 48. Schwarzkopf playing the organ without his helmet (left), discovered dead by Peter (right). *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

After removing the musician from the vision of the “people’s community,” *WUNSCHKONZERT* neutralized the art-music Schwarzkopf represented in the Beethoven scene with an emphatically popular musical eulogy. In one of the final sequences of the film, the radio show host Heinz Goedecke introduces the song “Gute Nacht, Mutter,” a hit written by Werner Bochmann in 1938, as Schwarzkopf’s “favourite” song, supposedly discovered by his mother on the last page of his notebook.<sup>3</sup> Live in the broadcasting house, the singer Wilhelm Strienz has just begun the schmaltzy tune when the camera cuts away to an image of a radio speaker. As it pans left, the sheet music strewn about rings a bell: we are back at Schwarzkopf’s piano in the *gute Stube*. With the film nearing its endpoint, the scene of *Hausmusik* is re-scored, so that the slow movement of the *Pathétique*—now visualized in a pan across the open score on the piano—is overwritten by the pathos of the pop-song. As if to drive home the point, the mechanical apparatus of the radio inserts itself into the domain of a romantic Beethovenian sensibility, encroaching on the rightful place of the idol, present in miniature bust form, on the lid of the piano. [clip: WK 2]

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<sup>3</sup> Bochmann, like Herbert Windt, was a former student of Franz Schreker in the 1920s. His career in film began at Ufa in 1933; during WWII he composed the music to 42 films, including *QUAX*, *DER BRUCHPILOT* (1941), *FRONTTHEATER* (1942) and the comedy *DIE FEUERZANGENBOWLE* (1944), still a cult classic screened annually in German university towns today.



Figure 49. Beethoven and the radio in Schwarzkopf's room (left) and his music on the piano (right). *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

At its close, the movie has disposed of the musician's body and recast his devotion to Beethoven's lyricism. This should give us pause. Was Schwarzkopf chosen by his superior to stand guard at the church because he was somehow considered unfit for active combat? When he began to play, was he trying to save his company out in the field, or simply giving in to a selfish desire to hear his own fingers on the keys?<sup>4</sup> Might we read his symbolic death at the organ not as altruism or martyrdom, but as a form of desertion or cowardice, the costly choice of art over life, not to mention war? The reading of Schwarzkopf as, at once, a musical savior and military deserter seems is corroborated by further examples of draft-dodgers in Nazi-era cinema. Consider Veit Harlan's history film *KOLBERG* (1945), a monumental expression in the genre of the *Durchhaltefilm*, shot in gaudy *Agrafacolor* tones in 1943.<sup>5</sup> With the aid of an unlimited budget, Harlan's production dramatized the valiant resistance of the small Pomeranian town of Kolberg during the Napoleonic siege of 1807.<sup>6</sup> Holding out in the face of certain destruction from a superior army, the mayor of Kolberg, Joachim Nettelbeck (played by Heinrich George) wins over the Prussian field marshal Gneisenau (Horst

<sup>4</sup> Schwarzkopf also seems to be a hold-over from the German Romantic literary imagination, a modern-day Joseph Berglinger who dies of artistic enthusiasm [*Kunstenthusiasmus*]. Berglinger appears in *Herzensergießungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* published in 1797. Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Werke*, ed. Markus Schwering (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2007), 27.

<sup>5</sup> With a script co-authored by Fritz Lang's former wife Thea von Harbou and Joseph Goebbels, the movie was the last feature to receive the predicate "Film der Nation."

<sup>6</sup> Veit Harlan and Alfred Braun were primary authors on the script. Hobsch, *Film im "Dritten Reich,"* vol. 3, 306.

Caspar), taking his knees with the mantra “Better to be buried under the rubble than capitulate!” The supplication does the job, and the two embrace as Gneisenau swears a joint martial death, “Jetzt können wir zusammen sterben!”<sup>7</sup>

If the town of Kolberg is epitomized in the film as the moral “stronghold,” the “star” shining in the “night” of Prussia’s darkest historical hour, it is certainly no thanks to the resident musician in the mayor’s family. At the beginning of the film, the stalwart Prussian nationalist Nettelbeck bitterly regrets sending his nephew Claus (Kurt Meisel) to music school in French Strasbourg; he might have learned the violin, but that seems to be all. Worse yet, the young man appears to have picked up a positive attitude toward Napoleonic rule and an excess of “sentimental feelings.” Implying an inherited genealogical taint and a surfeit of effeminacy, Claus’ father affirms that his musical son got “more of his mother’s blood,” the only person in the clan not to go into the family farming business.<sup>8</sup> [clip: Kolberg 1] Claus, a self-identifying “citizen of the world,” enters the film a skeptic with outright anti-war views, telling his uncle over a beer that the mayor’s jingoism and refusal to engage in diplomacy is the reason their lives are dominated by perpetual military conflict.<sup>9</sup> [clip: Kolberg 2] Nettelbeck responds by translating Claus’s politics into an image of emasculation,

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<sup>7</sup> “Lieber unter Trümmern begraben als kapitulieren!” The actor Horst Caspar (1913-1952) was issued with special permission [*Sondererlaubnis*] to waive his “un-Aryan” family record given his status in Nazi Germany as a “Mischling zweiten Grades” and enjoyed a successful career in theater and to some extent film right through the Third Reich. See Paul Fechter, *Horst Caspar* (Berlin: Daehler, 1955).

<sup>8</sup> He adds that she stayed in Kantersdorf in Lower Silesia, current day Kantorowice in Poland.

<sup>9</sup> “Gegen Kanonen kann man nur Kanonen richten; keine setimentalen Gefühle.”

where the local men willingly bring about their enslavement in their “own house,” subjugating themselves as “vassals” where they could be “lords.”<sup>10</sup>



Figure 50. Nettelbeck (left) and Claus (right) arguing about Napoleon. *Kolberg* (Veit Harlan, 1945)

If these initial sequences present Claus as a rogue element in the Werner family’s patriarchal order, more “at home” discussing the “European question” with the ship owner Goldow over a drink than working on the farmstead, the rest of the film conveys his disavowal of nationalism in terms of musical expression.<sup>11</sup> Back at the farm, the family is visited by Lieutenant Ferdinand von Schill (Gustav Diessl), the cavalry captain who will later coordinate Kolberg’s citizens’ militia. Claus’ sister Maria (Kristina Söderbaum) is busy at the loom when her beloved Schill stumbles, faint from his war-wounds. [clip: *Kolberg* 3] Just as the moment his legs give out, the manic sound of a violin cuts into the scene, the opening not of a musical piece, but a technical study that we can identify as étude No. 2 from Rodolphe Kreutzer’s 1796 collection *42 Études ou Caprices* for violin.<sup>12</sup> The audiovisual dramaturgy of the moment is intentionally odd; even the characters seem confused.

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<sup>10</sup> “Vasallen werden wo wir Herren sein könnten. Knechte im eigenen Haus.”

<sup>11</sup> Here as in *PHILHARMONIKER* (Paul Verhoeven, 1944), the dialogue pits the value of internationalism, travel and global business against claims to identity formulated in regional or national terms. The name Goldow prompts associations with the typifying traits of capitalism and commerce in anti-Semitic rightist ideology.

<sup>12</sup> The pedagogical volume is still a mainstay of violin technique today. Kreutzer’s approach to the study of the violin emerged out of the French school of violin playing and was developed in part to demonstrate the possibilities of the Tourte bow, innovative in its time and since widely adopted in modern bowing technique. Kreutzer was half-German but born in Versailles. He served as violin professor at the Conservatoire de Paris from 1795 to 1826 and is along with Pierre Rode and Pierre Baillot considered the founder of the French school of violin playing. See David Charlton, “Rodolphe Kreutzer,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/>.

Lightheaded, Schill formulates the question, “Who’s fiddling up there?” prompting Maria to rush upstairs to shut Claus up.<sup>13</sup> The sound of his violin offends by its very presence: the major tonality and repetitive finger patterns designed to improve dexterity strike an impertinent note, out of sync both temporally and harmonically with the somber news of the military crisis and Schill’s invalid state. To add insult to injury, the national overtones of the music expresses Claus’ commitment to the French school of violin pedagogy, bringing the Paris conservatory—and the dedicatee of Beethoven’s *Kreutzer* sonata—into the Prussian farmhouse. As the visual organization of the sequence implies, the musician is a renegade, pictured with his back to the camera, his music stand oriented toward the window.

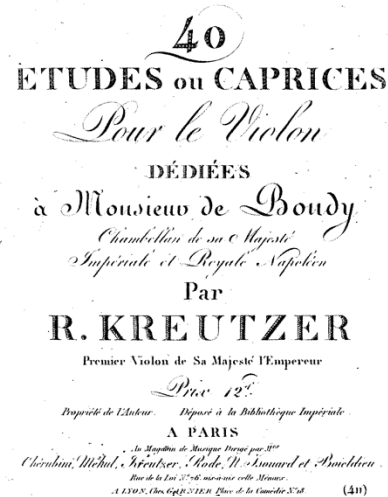


Figure 51. Claus practicing a Kreutzer étude (left). The cover of the first 1796 edition (right). Kolberg (Veit Harlan, 1945).

Claus will go on to betray his family and town outright, fraternizing with Napoleon’s troops when they occupy the family farmstead and bowing to pressure in raising a glass to the emperor, a symbolic gesture for which his father disowns him.<sup>14</sup> Before these dramatic events, Claus articulates his liminal position at the periphery of the family during their 1807 new year’s celebration in a puzzling scene that illustrates the bipolar representation of the musician in film.

<sup>13</sup> “Wer geigt denn da oben?”

<sup>14</sup> Claus’ father “Bauer Werner” (Otto Wernicke) says he is haunted by the vision of Claus toasting “Vive l’empereur,” proof, as he says, that the French have “stolen” his son.





Figure 52. Maria decorates the tree (left) while Claus plays the first movement of the *Moonlight sonata* (right). *Kolberg* (Veit Harlan, 1945)

When Bauer Werner argues that they need to keep their spirits up, Maria lights the candles on the Christmas tree, bringing light into the room. Claus, meanwhile, sits down at the piano and of his own accord starts to play Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Moonlight sonata*, suffusing the space with a sense of foreboding in a scene that re-stages Schwarzkopf’s *Pathétique* performance in *WUNSCHKONZERT* but in a minor key. Hardly the upbeat music his father was hoping for, the music is nonetheless a sensitive choice both in terms of instrument and repertoire.<sup>15</sup> Claus forgoes the showy virtuosity of the violin with its dance origins, opting for the tame sociality of the piano and the brooding tones of Beethoven’s most iconic sonata. The cinematography seems to suggest a consonance between the dark interiority of the sonata and atmosphere in the room: Nettelbeck’s “inconsolable” mood and Maria’s brother Friedrich’s desperate fear that Schill will hurt her. [clip: *Kolberg* 4] Claus’ musical lament in C# minor aptly “underscores” the affective state of the characters as they converse, and the performance appears to encourage their emotional honesty, “mood music” that cuts through the colorful surface of festivity into the pessimism below.

When *Kolberg*’s citizen militia fires on the French, Claus suffers a sort of nervous breakdown. Shell-shocked by the sound of the canon and artillery, he rams his hands against his ears, crying “Ich kann es nicht

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<sup>15</sup> Beethoven entitled this sonata (No. 14, Op. 27, No. 2) of 1801 “Quasi una fantasia.”

mehr hören!” [clip: Kolberg 5] In diametric opposition to the stately calm of Gneisenau on horseback, the shuddering Claus turns his back on the camera again, clutching his violin, shoulders raised in a posture of expressionistic distress reminiscent of the crazed Cesare at the end of *DAS CABINET DES DR. CALIGARI* (Robert Wiene, 1920).



Figure 53. (Left) Cesare in the asylum at the close of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920). (Right) Claus driven mad by the noise of canons and artillery. *Kolberg* (Veit Harlan, 1945)

Claus never joins the people’s army and dies in disrepute, falling victim to enemy fire while trying to retrieve his violin from a neighbor’s house after Nettelbeck organizes the southern part of the city to be tactically flooded. [Clip: Kolberg 6]<sup>16</sup> “You got *your* stuff out in time but my violin wasn’t important enough, according to the farmer!” Claus yells to Maria, climbing through the window. She begs him to get out of the water: his violin is *not* a matter of life or death.<sup>17</sup> The film would suggest otherwise: Claus meets his end spewing a stream of insults at the family, accusing them of representing a topsy-turvy world view (“Wahnsinn”) in which his violin is left to “drown.” When Maria, appalled, asks what he has turned into, Claus fumes, “What I’ve made of myself!” just before he is shot.<sup>18</sup> Like Schwarzkopf, Claus dies in a scene overwrought with biblical dramatics, in a diluvian conflagration, fixated on his instrument and far from the

<sup>16</sup> “Deine Drecksachen rausgeholt aber meine Geige ist nicht lebenswichtig, sagt dieser Bauer!”

<sup>17</sup> “Die ist ja auch gar nicht so wichtig! Da hat er ja ganz recht!”

<sup>18</sup> “Was ist aus dir geworden?” he replies “Was ich aus mir gemacht habe!”

call of duty. Where both men should be *ingerückt* or “called up,” they are oddly *entrückt*, emphatically isolated from the social and military community due to their musical tendencies. While Nettelbeck’s final words of comfort to Maria at the end of the film assure her that she loyally “manned” her post, her musical brother swerves violently off course, expressly contravening his marching orders.<sup>19</sup>

Even as the curtain closed on the Third Reich, musically inclined characters in film evoked an aesthetic fascination and a kind of moral unease in equal measure. The fate of Schwarzkopf in *WUNSCHKONZERT* and Claus in *KOLBERG* reflects the Nazi regime’s ambivalence toward the performing arts and the artistic persona, and positions which seesawed between awe and suspicion. In his 1937 address to the Reich Film Chamber, for example, Goebbels expounded on a vision of the artist as a kind of “designer” of feeling,

Die Kunst ist nichts anderes als Gestalter des Gefühls. Sie kommt vom Gefühl und nicht vom Verstande her; der Künstler ist nichts anderes als der Sinnggeber dieses Gefühls. Er unterscheidet sich vom normalen Menschen nicht dadurch, daß er Gefühle hat, sondern daß er die Kraft besitzt, Gefühle zu formen. Er wird dann im Herzen der Menschen einen Widerhall finden, wenn er die wunderbare Gabe besitzt, gerade jene Gefühle zu formen, die in den Herzen der Menschheit lebendig geworden sind.<sup>20</sup>

If Goebbels saw great potential for political control in the powers of the artist to attune the emotional sensorium of the people, his speech also implied the possibility that the artist might go off-message and give shape to emotions less in tune with his ideological agenda. Roughly three years later, in the first year of WWII, the Propaganda Minister was less enthusiastic about artists’ talents. In a 1940 speech, he ordered German artists—above all actors and musicians—to do their part for the war effort, warning that those found “shirking” their responsibility were not worthy of living in such a “great historical moment.”<sup>21</sup> With the war in action, Goebbels repeatedly characterized musicians as “slackers” and “deserters,” encapsulated in the

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<sup>19</sup> “Du bist auf deinem Platz geblieben.” The expression is used in dog-training.

<sup>20</sup> “Rede des Herrn Reichsministers Dr. Joseph Goebbels auf der I. Jahrestagung der Reichsfilmkammer” in *Jahrbuch der Reichsfilmkammer 1937*, ed. Oswald Lehnich (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1937), 61-62.

<sup>21</sup> Speech of August 10, 1940, quoted in Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany*, 147.

derogatory term “Drückeberger.”<sup>22</sup> In 1942, he noted public complaints in his diary about performers enriching themselves at the cost of the state by demanding high fees to entertain troops on the front. Denigrating artists as “das Künstlervölkchen,” he declared that musicians needed to be more closely monitored and kept on a short leash since their sense of national responsibility was, at best, limited.<sup>23</sup> The comment reflected the reality that many members of the culture industry were officially exempt from military service in WWII, granted the status of “indispensable” or “UK-gestellt.”

As a subject for narrative cinema, the artist also refused to budge. In May 1943, Goebbels ordered the script officer at Ufa, Kurt Frowein, to convene with all production heads to come up with new material for scripts. “It cannot go on like this that our films,” he noted in his diary “are constantly set in the milieu of artists and doctors.” Scriptwriters were “over-egging” the professional class of musicians and medics, laying it on too thick, and audiences, he claimed, were getting fed up with the overrepresentation of these privileged classes on screen.<sup>24</sup> Goebbels’ insistence on shifting course away from the artist as subject contained a further political dimension: the “intellectuals,” he wrote—a category among which artists numbered—were “outdoing” one another with defeatist statements; meanwhile the intelligence agency reported that the tendency to “trivialize” the danger posed by the “Bolshevists” was no longer contained to intellectual circles.<sup>25</sup> In the last years of the war, however, the mechanisms in place in the office of Reich Film Dramaturgy

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<sup>22</sup> In his diary entry of March 3, 1945 Goebbels referred to desertion [*Deserteursunwesen*] as an existential problem as defectors “threatened” the continuation of the conflict. See *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, vol. 15, 406. The term “Fahnenflucht” as well as other derogatory designations such as “Drückeberger und fahnenflüchtige Lumpen” and “Drückeberger-Gesinde” also belongs to this semantic field, expressed in the context of fears of Communist or left-wing secessionist uprisings. For a detailed account of “desertion” in the final phase of the war see Sven Keller, *Volksgemeinschaft am Ende: Gesellschaft und Gewalt 1944/45* (Munich: De Gruyter, 2013), 345-347.

<sup>23</sup> “Geklagt wird im Volke sehr stark über die hohen Gagen bei der Truppenbetreuung [...] Man muß das Künstlervölkchen ständig unter scharfer Beobachtung halten. Ein nationales Verantwortungsbewußtsein kennt es nur in einem beschränkten Sinne. Es muß straff geführt werden, weil es sonst immer wieder versucht, über die Stränge zu schlagen.” Diary entry of March 1, 1942. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, vol. 3, 389.

<sup>24</sup> “Es geht nicht an, daß unsere Filme dauernd nur im Künstler- oder im Arztmilieu spielen. Andere Berufe kommen dabei zu kurz, der Künstler- und Arztberuf dagegen wird so dick aufgetragen zur Darstellung gebracht, daß diese Darstellungsweise dem Publikum allmählich über wird.” *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 380.

<sup>25</sup> “Bedenklicher noch erscheint mir die von den Reichspropagandaämtern gemeldete Bagatellisierung der bolschewistischen Gefahr, die jetzt schon etwas über die intellektuellen Kreise hinausreicht.” *Ibid.*

[*Reichsfilmdramaturgie*] to monitor film treatments before they got to the script stage were increasingly falling by the wayside. By July 1943, Goebbels was trying to work out how to backpedal and streamline the interference in the production process posed by the film censorship office of the *Reichsfilmintendanz*, set up in February 1942: production chiefs such as Wolfgang Liebeneiner argued that the amount of red-tape around getting scripts approved was killing filmmakers' creativity and enthusiasm.<sup>26</sup> As it was, scripts about musicians and their psychological and existential crises continued to make it onto the silver screen as the Third Reich neared its demise. Artists not only remained in film until 1945: they featured as agents of disruption, voices of defeatism and bodies of contagion.

#### Effeminacy and Militarism: DREIKLANG and ANNELIE

The late Weimar-era films discussed in Part One thematized the musician's ambiguous relationship to masculinity. "Musiker-Leo" in *RAZZIA* begins to play Chopin when he is cuckolded by Else, so that the lush sensuality of the music compensates for Leo's failure to retain his girlfriend with "real" erotic capital. In *ABSCHIED*, the pianist Bootz remarks he has no reason to tidy his room because he has no hope of finding a girlfriend; he couldn't blame the last one for leaving a "vagabond" like him. In the drama, his solitary search for Romantic inspiration cuts him off from the romantic (with a small "r") interactions of the other characters. The script used the epithets "small and puny" [*mickrig*] to describe Bootz, as if to indicate that the camera should emphasize the physical qualities of the real man Erwin Bootz.<sup>27</sup> Six years prior to Siodmak's film, Thomas Mann had placed the latter adjective in the mouth of a character to describe the character of Leo Naphta in *Der Zauberberg*. In the 1924 novel, Hans Castorp's cousin Joachim Ziemßen (a character introduced as "made for uniform") declares Naphta a "dubious" [*zweifelhaft*] figure to whom he took an immediate

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<sup>26</sup> Moeller, *The Film Minister*, 47.

<sup>27</sup> "Während des Vorspanns hört man, vom Klavier begleitet, das Lied vom *Abschied*.

1. Bild. Zimmer Bootz.

1. Halbnah: Der kleine mickrige Bootz am Klavier spielt die letzten Takte des Liedes." SDK-11607.

disliking. Naphta's facial features and diminutive stature are for Ziemßen the sure signs of a Jewish otherness, "Und dabei hat er ja eine Judennase, sieh ihn dir doch an! So miekriq von Figur sind auch immer nur die Semiten."<sup>28</sup> Hans Castorp forgives his cousin's prejudice by ascribing it to his own military ambitions,

Die Miekriqkeit, – das ist nur das Militär, das da aus dir spricht. Aber die Chaldäer hatten auch solche Nasen und waren doch höllisch auf dem Posten, nicht bloß in den Geheimwissenschaften. Naphta hat auch was von Geheimwissenschaft, er interessiert mich nicht wenig.<sup>29</sup>

In this exchange, Mann suggests that anxieties about physical deficiency (which the tubercular Joachim harbors about himself) feed a circular logic of anti-Semitism: Joachim considers Naphta unfit for military service because of his Jewish traits, while the literal uselessness of his physique brands him as other, i.e. Jewish. Meanwhile, for Hans, the Jewish-coded Naphta—Thomas Mann's literary reimagining of the philosopher and intellectual György Lukács—holds a mystic allure which outweighs his physical form.

A similar complex of revulsion and attraction attaches the depictions of musical bodies in Nazi cinema. In addition to *Schwarzkopf* and *Claus*, a surprising number of films draw attention to the deficient military qualities of male musicians, the other side of the coin to softness and effeminacy. The 1938 drama *DREIKLANG* (Hans Hinrich), for example, organized its oedipal conflict—the musical triad of the title—by pitting Albert von Möller (Paul Hartmann), a retired military commander with a passion for building model planes, against his music-loving son Ulrich (Rolf Moebius), a recent graduate from school and keen violinist.<sup>30</sup> The two fall for the same woman, the glamorous but impoverished divorcée Cornelia Contarini (Lil Dagover), who happens to be a highly accomplished pianist.<sup>31</sup> Albert's anxiety that Ulrich's passion for music signals his effeminacy emerges early in the film. When his father presents him with a gift of 100 Mark to buy the "complete" volume of Beethoven sonatas he has been coveting, Ulrich appears to try to kiss him in

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas Mann, *Der Zauberberg* [1924] (S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 529.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> One of the many films made in the Nazi era set in the time before WWI, the Ufa film is set in the *Garnisonsstadt* of Klausenburg (present-day Cluj-Napoca in Romania) in 1910.

<sup>31</sup> The film is allegedly based on *Pervaja Ijubov* by Ivan Turgenev and *Vystre'* by Alexander Pushkin.

gratitude. But Albrecht thrusts him away with cries of “Haltung, Uli, Haltung!”—rebuking his son’s attempt at affection as a loss of military composure.<sup>32</sup> [clip: Dreiklang 1] While Albert claims to hold his son’s musical talent in high regard, he warns in no uncertain terms about his fear of ending up with a “pale, soft artist with a pompadour” for a son. Keen to please, Ulrich is quick to assent to the lightly veiled homophobic slurs that he is also disgusted by “that sort of thing.”<sup>33</sup>

The father-son relationship recalls several characters in Thomas Mann’s works, particularly *Buddenbrooks*, in which the decline of the male line into decadence and decay coincides with the younger generation succumbing to the allures of music. This nexus of music and feminization in *DREIKLANG* prefigures a comparable conflict in *ANNELIE: DIE GESCHICHTE EINES LEBENS* (Joseph von Bány, 1941), a feature banned as a propagandistic *Durchhaltefilm* by the Allies in 1945.<sup>34</sup> A filmic reworking of the literary form of the *Bildungsroman*, the plot mapped the milestones in its female protagonist’s biography onto watershed moments in German historical consciousness: her birth year of 1871, for example, coincided with Germany’s final unification as a politically and administratively integrated nation state as a result of the Franco-Prussian war. The drama ends with her peaceful death as a beloved matriarch at seventy, in the present-day of 1941, with her son Reinhold doing his part for his country in the Wehrmacht. In the course of film, though, Reinhold has to be made fit for service. His mother’s characteristic flaw of consistently arriving fifteen minutes late translates in her son into an intense draw toward music. When the character is first introduced as a young

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<sup>32</sup> Albert refers to “die große Sonatenausgabe.”

<sup>33</sup> “Meine größte Sorge ist. . . ich möchte keinen blassen, verweichlichten, Schmalztollenkünstler zum Sohn haben. Sondern einen Mann!” Ulrich replies, “Darauf kannst du dich verlassen Vater. Sowas ist mir selber widerwärtig!” The *Schmalztolle* refers to a pompadour hairstyle.

<sup>34</sup> The Ufa production was the Hungarian director Josef von Bány’s first serious success after entering the German industry in 1939 with the international co-production *Menschen vom Varieté*. His fluid visual style soon earned him recognition, as did the expressive transitions and striking optical effects in his films. Von Bány served as assistant director to the elder Hungarian director Géza von Bolvary in the 1930s and followed in his footsteps with what Rentschler terms “formal razzle-dazzle.” See Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 197, 376. The film won Luise Ullrich the Volpi award for best actress at the 1941 Venice Biennale Festival, where she was fêted for her portrayal as a “heroine of the everyday.” Kreimeier sees in the film a line of continuity in representations of the idealized German woman as the embodiment of interiority and intimacy, or “Innigkeit” and “Innerlichkeit.” See Klaus Kreimeier, “Von Henny Porten zu Zarah Leander: Filmgenres und Genrefilm in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus,” *Montage AV, NS-Film: Modernisierung und Reaktion*, 1994: 50.

boy in a bedtime scene, he begs to stay up for a quarter hour to continue playing the piano. [Clip: Annelie 1] His mother indulges him, and the fifteen minutes turn into a number of years, conveyed cinematically as a “flash-forward.” The montage—presumably constructed in close collaboration with the film composer Georg Haentzschel—condenses years of practice at the piano into a coming-of-age story. The young Reinhold’s ankle-sock clad feet hover above the pedals as he plays Muzio Clementi’s *Sonatina No. 1 in C major*, a staple of beginners.<sup>35</sup> In the following shot, his grazed knees and longer legs now comfortably reach the pedals, giving shape to the minuet dance figures in Schubert’s famous *Impromptu* of 1827 with coltish impatience.<sup>36</sup> And after the final dissolve, the suit trousers of a grown man are shown to the sound of Franz Liszt’s third *Concert Étude* in D-flat major, subsequently nicknamed “un sospiro” or “a sigh.”<sup>37</sup> Only now does the camera cut to Reinhold’s hands, showcasing the technical challenges of the piece with its flowing arpeggio patterns and complex hand-crossings. The young man’s development spans a musical journey of increasingly demanding repertoire across the long nineteenth century, moving from classicism through early and late romantic style.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Published in 1797, Clementi’s six sonatinas for beginners progress in technical difficulty throughout the volume.

<sup>36</sup> Op. 142, No. 2 in A flat major (D. 935).

<sup>37</sup> This piece plays a central role in the 1948 Hollywood drama *LETTER FROM AN UNKNOWN WOMAN*, directed by the exiled Max Ophüls with music by Daniele Amfitheatrof. Koepnick discusses the cultural transfer in German ex-pat communities in Hollywood in the 1940s in *Dark Mirror*.

<sup>38</sup> Haentzschel is also inserting himself into this canon in the sequence as the writer of music for toddlers.





Figure 54. Reinhold growing up, shown in three successive shots at the piano pedals. *Annelie* (Josef von Báky, 1941)

As an advanced piano student, Reinhold becomes teacher's pet. [clip: *Annelie* 2] The camera cuts to the professor demonstrating the final measures of one of the lesser known Beethoven piano sonatas, No. 22 in F major. Standing at the side of the piano, Reinhold moves his fingers, playing along silently on the body of the instrument. His haptic impulse anticipates in visual terms the philosophical creed now expounded by the musical master. The august pedagogue preaches an ideology of interpretation to the group: the essence of music is passion, so that the etymology contains the task of the performer, to re-experience the suffering [*nachleiden*] of the composer, deified as the creator, or *Schöpfer*. Lesser mortals incapable of recreating this pain should keep their hands away from the piano; they will only "butcher" the music [*verhunzen*], a term that belongs to the reactionary and racialized discourse of degeneration. Reinhold's demonstration earns the professor's approbation, but his praise sums up the tensions inherent in musicality, a curious mix of technical arsenal and a feeling for suffering, "Gut, Laborius, Sie haben das Zeug dazu, Sie haben...die Passion!"



Figure 55. (Left) Martin's reaction when he hears that Reinhold is in love with music. (Right) Reinhold invites the suspicion of his classmates when singled out for his musical talent. *Annelie* (Josef von Báky, 1941)

The ensuing scene articulates that Reinhold's devotion to music incurs his father's suspicion. The surgeon Martin Laborius is less than pleased to discover that his son is failing his medical degree and will never take over his practice. [clip: *Annelie* 3] Something is "not right with the boy," Martin tells his wife, assuming that his son is wasting his time with a girlfriend (*Geliebte*) and demanding to know her identity. A music lover herself, Annelie cannot help but indulge in some word play, affirming that Reinhold has been with "her" for some time: her name is "die Musik." While the stunned Martin appears to be in the midst of formulating the "queer" implications of Reinhold's immaterial love object ("Die Musik! Ja dann... dann ist er also...") the film abruptly cuts off the sequence, leaving the predicate unsaid. The rupture in the dialogue creates an ellipsis that renders the musically talented Reinhold ineffable, a body that the voice of male authority cannot describe. The camera returns to the parents' discussion, but Martin's utterance is never heard. Grasping for a means to understand his son's choice of music over medicine, he comforts himself with the thought that music is also a type of painkiller ("Na schließlich, Musik ist auch eine Arznei"), a line that recalls Dr. Smedley's words in *SCHLÜBÄKKORD*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The idea recalls a rich discourse in the philosophy of music from antiquity to Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. See for example Andrew Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 267. Nazi-era cinema provides a few examples of musical and medical discourses intersecting, such as in *ICH KLAGE AN* (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1941) and *AM VORABEND* (Gerhard Menzel, 1944).

The scene brings out an irreconcilable tension in German cinema's view of music, namely that it is at once curative and degenerate, the liquor of spiritual sustenance and cause of decay. In *ANNELIE*, the extended Beethoven scene that follows restates this point. [clip: *Annelie* 4] Like Schwarzkopf, Reinhold effectively delays the departure of the men of the family leaving for the front, this time in 1914. In uniform, Reinhold performs the first movement of Beethoven's sonata No. 22—a musical farewell before the devastation of the war that will kill his father. Though Annelie's nervous glance toward the grandfather clock shows it is just a few minutes before six, Reinhold has only reached the development section of the piece. His performance will exceed the allotted time, yet his playing asserts its own internal meter without a hint of rushing. Indeed, the markedly restrained, even shallow character of the minuet movement exacerbates the tension visible on the faces of the listeners. This particular sonata is an eccentric choice, a modest piece wedged between two of the most prominent and best loved works in the repertoire: the bright *Waldstein* and the stormy *Appassionata* sonatas. Unlike its neighboring classical 'hits,' the sonata Reinhold plays is barely ever performed. One might venture this is due to its evasive character and persistent failure to develop: in the first movement, Beethoven avoids harmonic progressions, ending every one of the first eight-bar phrases back in the home tonic of F major.

In the filmic dramaturgy, the recursive nature of the harmonic writing frustrates the emotional tenor of the moment, expressing in musical language Reinhold's unwillingness to leave, and forcing his listeners to remain seated despite the advancing hour and call of duty. There is, moreover, a certain pathos in the choice of sonata: the implication that Reinhold's musical career is being cut short, as though he will never graduate onto Beethoven's more challenging works. Suffused with a mood of pre-emptive regret, the performance meanders through a quasi-improvisatory fantasia-like structure. Its introverted mood forgoes the emotional excess of the *Appassionata*, insisting on a relatively "dispassionate" character suited to the sensibility of German

*Empfindsamkeit*.<sup>40</sup> The subdued effect of the music produces what we could term an anti-melodramatic moment, where the emotional intensity is located in the very inability of the figures to burst out in tears or cries, not least due to the formalized Biedermeier-like setting. Reinhold's performance offers a muted lament for a past world order and the death knell of the Romantic German nineteenth century, which began with the "moment of German music."<sup>41</sup>

If Reinhold provides a conduit to the musical culture of a pre-world war era, evoking a retrospective longing, his performance—as in *WUNSCHKONZERT*—meets resistance from the outside world and the call to military action. The sequence comes to a dramatic close as the pianist lingers on a series of trills that go nowhere, suspending the listeners in the anticipation of a cadence. At last, with the coda-like recapitulation of the theme, a flicker of relief on the grandfather's face acknowledges that the key is returning home, but no sooner does this happen than the music is beset by sonic interference, the insidious tinny blaring of a military band from the street.<sup>42</sup> Penetrating into the soundscape of interiority, the marching song draws nearer. While at the parallel moment in *WUNSCHKONZERT* the camera wandered out onto the street, leaving the eaves of high culture for the marching columns, von Báky's film remains trained on the faces inside.

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<sup>40</sup> In this sense the dramaturgy of the musical moment invokes the historical discourse of musical "Vortrag" in German culture, the emergence of ideas about the role of the performing artist that date back to Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach and his "Vom Vortrage" in *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, published in 1753. Here C. P. E. Bach describes how players can express musical affect to move their listeners and urges performers to learn to think "as though singing," "singend denken." The text stresses the incomplete and provisional nature of notated music on the page, which offers a mere scaffold that the musician must fill in with character and emotion. See Günther Wagner, "Historismus und Aufführungspraxis: Einige Bemerkungen zur frühen Geschichte," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (2000): 58-60.

<sup>41</sup> For a fuller discussion of this term see David E. Wellbery, *The Specular Moment: Goethe's Early Lyric and the Beginnings of Romanticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996) and Berthold Hoeckner, *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>42</sup> See mm. 131-136. It is only after the men have left the house that the audience can make out, from Annelie's position on the terrace, the text of the marching song,

Die Vöglein im Walde,  
sie singen ja so wunderschön,  
in der Heimat, in der Heimat  
da gibt's ein Wiedersehen.



Figure 56. Annelie's father hears the marching song from the street (left). Annelie listens to Reinhold play as the clock ticks on (right). *Annelie* (Josef von Báky, 1941)

The song collides in timbre and key with the piano sonata, provoking reactions of wordless horror in the family audience, yet Reinhold refuses to interrupt his performance, defiantly persevering though the song threatens to drown out the piano. When he reaches the end of the movement, he exhales, bowing his head in resignation.



Figure 57. Reinhold comes to the end of his performance. *Annelie* (Josef von Báky, 1941)

The profile view of his upper body shows a slackening, as if Reinhold has already renounced the upright posture or *Haltung* appropriate to the men's imminent mobilization. His body language suggests a lack of enthusiasm just as his performance resisted the clock. After the men say their farewells, Annelie returns inside, the sound of the troops' refrain still audible. Far removed from a triumphalist mode, the sequence ends with a shot of her hand caressing the lustrous surface of the piano where Reinhold's Beethoven score edges into view.



Figure 58. (Left) Annelie closes the piano after the men leave for the war. *Annelie* (Josef von Báky, 1941). (Right) Schwarzkopf's portrait on top of a pile of music at the close of *Wunschkonzert* (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)

If Reinhold's performance in *ANNELIE* induces a profound sense of dread about military duty and the losses of WWI, the remainder of the film will work to militarize him and turn him away from his musical proclivities. Although he still heads straight for the piano on a fleeting visit home from the service, by the end of the movie in the present of 1941, his musicality has been all but forgotten.<sup>43</sup> Passing through Berlin on an army train, Reinhold—now a married man and a veteran soldier—manages to phone his mother to wish her happy birthday. [clip: *Annelie* 5] As in *WUNSCHKONZERT*, the film ends by mediating the voice of the classical musician through modern technology. If there the radio made Schwarzkopf mainstream, here the electrical

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<sup>43</sup> In the preceding scene, the seventy-year-old Annelie is comforting Reinhold's wife and assuring her that she will get through the pain of separation.

signals of the phone line demonstrate the priorities of a new present, where live performance no longer threatens to suspend military action and stir up the liquid emotions of interiority. By translating the effeminized, indeterminate body of the musician into phone and radio signals, the symbolic register of Nazi-era features such as WUNSCHKONZERT and ANNELIE suggested that those with an excess of feeling, a tendency to be “out of time,” or out of step with the marching orders of the day would end up ceding to mass technology. Characters whose musicality represents a cultural remnant of sentimentality are replaced by the apparatus, just as the speaker comes to dominate the space where Schwarzkopf gave voice to Beethoven’s *Pathétique*. In German film, we see an old era of sensibility or *Empfindsamkeit* giving way to the paradigm of receptivity encapsulated in the mass broadcasting technology of the *Volksempfänger*.<sup>44</sup>

#### Receptivity and the Composer in Film: FRIEDEMANN BACH

Cultural policy in Nazi Germany demonstrated a sustained interest in generating public receptivity to music, a phenomenon formulated in terms of *Empfangsmöglichkeit* and *Empfangsbereitschaft*.<sup>45</sup> In 1936 the president of the Reich Music Chamber Peter Raabe employed the metaphorical language of fertility to argue that public ownership of musical culture was a basic principle of National Socialism.<sup>46</sup> The challenge of promoting the cultural “goods” of the nation [*Volksgut* or *Kulturgut*], Raabe declared, lay in creating the necessary conditions for public “reception” of this heritage. Herbert Gerigk’s introduction to his 1936 classical music primer *Meister der Musik* likewise described the need to generate public interest for the lives of composers so that they would

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<sup>44</sup> The origins of the discourse of receptivity and the sentimental reach back to Friedrich Schiller’s *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*: “So lange der Mensch noch reine, es versteht sich, nicht rohe Natur ist, wirkt er als ungetheilte sinnliche Einheit und als ein harmonierendes Ganze. Sinne und Vernunft, empfangendes und selbstthätiges Vermögen, haben sich in ihrem Geschäfte noch nicht getrennt, viel weniger stehen sie im Widerspruch mit einander.” For a contemporary German edition of Schiller, see Heinrich Meng, *Schillers Abhandlung über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung, Prolegomena zu einer Typologie des Dichterischen* (Frauenfeld/Leipzig: Huber & Co. Aktiengesellschaft, 1936), 119.

<sup>45</sup> This was not a Nazi invention: from the 1920s onwards, initiatives had been taken in German society to make musicology relevant for the public, efforts that manifested themselves in the editing of early and folk music, as well as publications for the *Jugendmusikbewegung*. See Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 7-8.

<sup>46</sup> “Zum Empfang von Kulturgut ist die Empfangsmöglichkeit und die Empfangsbereitschaft Voraussetzung. Beide zu steigern ist die nächste und wichtigste Aufgabe derer, die für die Verbreitung von Kulturgütern verantwortlich sind.” Peter Raabe, “Geleitworte,” *Deutsche Musikkultur: Zweimonatsheft für Musikleben und Musikforschung* 1 (1936/1937), 3.

be receptive [*aufnahmebereit*] for the works themselves.<sup>47</sup> Primary sources on everyday life in Nazi Germany suggest that members of the public also framed aesthetic experience in terms of receptivity. The correspondence between a married couple from rural Saxony demonstrates how film, and music in particular, served to generate emotions. In one letter from January 1941, Roland, a village schoolteacher stationed in Nazi-occupied Salonica, complained to his 21-year old wife Hilde about an unfulfilling evening at the cinema.<sup>48</sup> “A serious film, hardly moved me at all. Was I not receptive today? Or was the actress not expressive enough?”<sup>49</sup> In his letters, the former music student from a middle-class background avowed a growing aversion to frivolity in film, complaining in May 1942 that the cinemas were showing “nothing but shallow films,” which he felt “not the slightest urge to see.”<sup>50</sup> Beyond the sense of intellectual vacuity, Roland’s use of the word “seicht” also conveyed a judgement of taste or class, something like “banal” or “low-brow.” In this regard his sentiments echoed the general atmosphere documented in internal surveillance reports. By early 1943, while public political speeches and “Die Deutsche Wochenschau” newsreels trumpeted the upkeep of morale and steadfastness in the *Volksgemeinschaft*, informants in the population gave a sense of the general mood. In the wake of revelations about the situation at Stalingrad, surveillance reports relayed widespread terror and panic [*Angstpsychose*] as confidence in a victory rapidly evaporated.<sup>51</sup> As a result, the public had become hyper-sensitive when it came to radio programming, calling out the mass media for

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<sup>47</sup> “Es wird die notwendige Ehrfurcht vor dem bedeutenden Musikstück und seinem Schöpfer nur fördern, wenn man etwas über die näheren Umstände seines Werdens erfährt und über die zeitliche Einordnung. Mancher wird wohl gar erst durch die Kenntnis der besonderen Schicksale eines Meisters aufmerksam und dann auch für sein Schaffen aufnahmebereit.” Gerigk, *Meister der Musik*, 7.

<sup>48</sup> *Trug und Schein* [411101–1-1]. “Hilde” and “Roland” are pseudonyms given by the editors; the name of the village in Saxony is not given. Roland’s time in Thessaloniki encompassed the concentration and deportation of Greece’s most ancient Jewish population, a community numbering circa 50,000 people. In March 1943, the Nazis began deportations of c. 45,000 people from the two ghettos set up to the East and West of Thessaloniki to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen.

<sup>49</sup> “Ein ernster Film. Er hat mich kaum berührt. War ich nicht empfänglich heute? Oder war die Hauptdarstellerin nicht ausdrucksvoll genug?” *Trug und Schein* [411101–1-1]. The film was the 1939 drama *DIE BARMHERZIGE LÜGE* (Werner Klingler).

<sup>50</sup> “Bei uns laufen jetzt lauter seichtere Filme, zu denen ich auch nicht die mindeste Lust verspüre.” *Trug und Schein* [420514–1-1].

<sup>51</sup> An internal report from 1 February 1943 remarks on the general mood in the context of the ten-year anniversary celebrations of the *Machtergreifung* on 30 January: “Die sich in der letzten Zeit entwickelnde *Angstpsychose* in der Bevölkerung ist gehemmt und die infolge der militärischen Lage stark beeinträchtigte *Siegeszuversicht* der Volksgenossen wieder gestärkt werden.” *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, vol. 12, 4733.



featuring comedy shows and uplifting music [*lustige Musik*] that offended their “serious and contemplative” state of mind.<sup>52</sup>

Within the broad field of melodrama, we might understand the proliferation of the uniquely German genre of the “classical music film” [*der ernste Musikfilm*] in the Nazi period in the context of the public’s desire for cultural value and emotional depth.<sup>53</sup> Particularly during the wartime years, a series of unlikely candidates in the musical canon were chosen for filmic treatment, tragic figures who complicate Karsten Witte’s claim that all artist films of the Third Reich “deliver usable models of statehood.”<sup>54</sup> Nazi-era productions about musicians dramatized the fate of Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (*ES WAR EINE RAUSCHENDE BALLNACHT*, 1939)—who succumbs to cholera—and Robert Schumann (*TRÄUMEREI*, Harald Braun, 1944) who goes mad in the shadow of his wife Clara’s solo career and ends up an institutionalized schizophrenic.<sup>55</sup>



Figure 59. Clara Schumann comforting the paranoid Robert (left). Robert tells Johannes Brahms about his dark visions (right). *Träumerei* (Harald Braun, 1944)

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<sup>52</sup> “In der ernsten und nachdenklichen Verfassung, in der sich die Volksgenossen durchweg befinden, sei man zumeist sehr empfindlich gegenüber lustige Sendungen, einzelnen Musikstücken [sic] und Liedertexten. Z. B. wird in einer Einzelstimme kritisiert, daß am 25. Abends nach dem PK-Berichten lustige Musik gebracht worden sei. Es wird zustimmend vermerkt, daß in der letzten Woche der heitere Ton nicht mehr so stark wie bisher in den Vordergrund gestellt worden sei.” *Ibid.*, 4735.

<sup>53</sup> In her study of melodrama in Nazi cinema, Laura Heins notes that the lack of genre theory in German film during the Third Reich led to a proliferation of “remarkably vague” categories to describe differences in narrative type and emotional register. Laura Heins, “The Domestic War: Film Melodrama and German Fascism,” (PhD. diss., Yale University, 2005), 24.

<sup>54</sup> Karsten Witte, *Lachende Erben, toller Tag: Filmkomödie im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Vorwerk, 1995), 219.

<sup>55</sup> On 15 April 1944 Goebbels told Ufa-Production head Wolfgang Liebeneiner that *TRÄUMEREI* had turned out “too dark and pessimistic.” *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Part 2, vol. 12, 111.

The eccentric Gustaf Gründgens production *FRIEDEMANN BACH* (Traugott Müller, 1941) offers a further example of the confluence of music and dysfunctional masculinity. The melodrama sensationalized the life story not of the great Johann Sebastian Bach, but his eldest son, Friedemann, explaining his failed career as the result of the anxiety of influence. Unsatisfied by frothy ballet commissions at the Dresden court, the composer tries to land a job at the cathedral in Braunschweig, but is rejected by the conservative jury for his “rebellious” musical style. Asked to compose something in the style of his father, Friedemann plagiarizes an early organ concerto, is found out and shunned. Descending into penury and madness, the protagonist dies at the end of the film in a senseless duel defending his father’s honor, deranged and destitute.<sup>56</sup>



Figure 60. *Friedemann Bach* deranged and wounded at the end of the film. *Friedemann Bach* (Traugott Müller, 1941)

In one of the many extended musical sequences in the movie, the abject Friedemann is shown playing the Chaconne from his father’s Partita No. 2 in D minor, a piece long considered the pinnacle of the solo violin repertoire.<sup>57</sup> Refused entry to the professional world of church music, the composer has broken off contact with his family and joined a travelling theater troupe [*Komödianten*] when he is tracked down by his brother, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Wolfgang Liebeneiner). The choice of musical referent draws the restless fantasia-like wanderings of the Chaconne into association with the nomadic, uprooted life of the

<sup>56</sup> Gründgens’ film was based on the 1858 popular novel by Albert Emil Brachvogel which enjoyed continued success in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was reprinted twice in the Third Reich in 1936 and 1942.

<sup>57</sup> BMV 1004, probably written c. 1720. See Alexander Silbiger, “Bach and the Chaconne,” *The Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 3 (1999): 369. The violinist in the film is not credited.

actors, who can be heard discussing their economic precarity. But it also indicates a regression into an oedipal crisis, suggesting that Friedemann has given up trying to find his own voice and accepted his fate in his father's shadow.<sup>58</sup> [Clip: Fr. Bach 1]



Figure 61. Friedemann playing his father's Chaconne, figured as a pair of dangling legs. *Friedemann Bach* (Traugott Müller, 1941)

The reception of the film in press outside of Nazi Germany shows that the national cinema won recognition for bringing “serious” musical culture to the self-identifying bourgeoisie and less culturally sophisticated audiences. One review in the Lucerne *Filmberater* complimented the film as yet another example of German cinema suitable not just for mere “entertainment addicts” but the “artistically inclined.”<sup>59</sup> In October 1941, the Berlin film-press boasted that the movie had left a “deep impression” on audiences as far away as the Bulgarian capital of Sofia, bringing the “intimacy and visionary power of [classical] music” to a population praised as “already very musically educated” but only now introduced to the essence of “German intellectual and cultural life” embodied in the music of the Bach family.<sup>60</sup> If Gründgens’ film functioned as a

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<sup>58</sup> Existing literature on Nazi-era film discusses effeminacy in visual terms. Schulte-Sasse argues that FRIEDEMANN BACH contravenes cinematic gender norms in figuring the male protagonist as an object of the gaze who receives demeaning looks and comes to “stands for the women in front of the screen.” Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 221. See also Heide Schlüpmann, “Faschistische Trugbilder weiblicher Autonomie,” *Frauen und Film* 44/45 (October 1988), 47.

<sup>59</sup> “Wir freuen uns, wieder einmal einen deutschen Film zu sehen, den man ohne jeden Vorbehalt-nicht bloß für Unterhaltungssüchtige zulassen-sondern künstlerisch Interessierten empfehlen darf.” *Der Filmberater*, Lucerne, No. 9a, September 1941, cited in Hobsch, vol. 2, 182.

<sup>60</sup> “Es geschieht selten, daß ein Film einen so nachhaltigen, tiefen Eindruck hinterläßt wie “Friedemann Bach.” Er ist in seiner ganzen Art dem bulgarischen Filmpublikum etwas vollkommen Neues. Zunächst ist die Bachsche Musik dem an sich sehr musikgebildeten Sofioter Publikum wohl doch noch etwas fremd, aber durch den Film wird sie ihm verständlich gemacht und nahegebracht [...]

public relations effort for Nazi Germany abroad, its citation of Bach's music served as a virtual space of connection for Germans separated by the war. For Hilde and Roland, both amateur choral singers from Bach's native Saxony, FRIEDEMANN BACH stepped in as a proxy for music-making. Apart for an indeterminate length of time, Hilde and Roland sought solace in the shared experience of cinema, bridging the distance through their emotional responses to the music. In summer of 1941, Hilde wrote in exalted tones after seeing FRIEDEMANN BACH, describing how the musical elements of the film had moved her to tears,

[ich v]erfolgte klopfenden Herzens seinen Aufstieg [z]u Ruhm und Ehre, erlebte die Tage seines Glückes nach—und empfand sein Ringen mit um die echte Kunst—bis er dann zuletzt in Armut und Elend endet. Über allem Spiel auf der Leinwand spannte sich aber die wunderbare, unvergängliche Musik dieses größten Meisters wie ein zarter Schleier. Und doch auch war sie so wuchtig, so eindringlich—so erhaben! Ach Du!! Mein Herzlieb! Ich habe weinen müssen—musikalisch war dieser Film großartig! Wenn Du ihn doch sehen könntest! [...] Glaubst, es war mir wie ein Geschenk, daß ich diesen Film sah. So befriedigt ist man selten von einem Film.<sup>61</sup>

Unlike Roland, Hilde did not have much formal musical education, and did not differentiate between the citations of Johann Sebastian versus Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's music. Father and son rather melded in her reception into the timeless music of a single "great master." Striking is her praise for the film's successful mediation of high culture, which takes on the marks of religious experience: the sublime quality of the music has a penetrative force to which she gladly submits and which grants profound emotional satisfaction.

#### ROMANZE IN MOLL and Moral Corruption

The historical record of everyday life in the Third Reich from the ground up indicates that not everyone was as positively disposed toward the sublime effects of the classical music film as Hilde. From men at the front to the corridors of power in Nazi Germany, films like FRIEDEMANN BACH aroused suspicion: what were movies

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Gerade für das Ausland trägt dieser Film wieder viel zum Verständnis des deutschen Geistes- und Kulturlebens bei: Er lenkt den Blick auf die ewigen Werte, die die deutsche Kunst geschaffen hat und wird hier mit größtem Beifall aufgenommen." *Film-Kurier*, November 4, 1941, cited in Hobsch, *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Trug und Schein* [410728–2-1].

about Bohemian, counter-cultural artists doing in the *Volksgemeinschaft*? In 1943, Helmut Käutner's melodrama *ROMANZE IN MOLL* prompted a formal complaint that reached the highest level of the Reich Propaganda administration [*Reichspropagandaleitung*]. The film was based on Guy de Maupassant's 1883 novella *Les bijoux* and narrated the story of a *pètit-bourgeois* woman named Madeleine (Marianne Hoppe) rejecting the tedium of marital life for a whirlwind affair that ends in her suicide. Though Maupassant's novella had nothing to do with music, the screenwriter Willy Clever recast Madeleine's lover Michael (played by Ferdinand Marian) as a charismatic composer in the film adaptation. As in many films of the time, the female protagonist turns out to be the real musical talent: in a pivotal scene Madeleine revises Michael's musical sketch, insisting that he change the tonality of his orchestral "romance" from major to minor. Initially skeptical of her disregard for convention (a "romance" is usually happy), Michael recognizes the brilliance of the move and premieres the work to popular acclaim.

Calling on a long-standing cultural association between music-making and desire, Madeleine's artistic inspiration in the film provokes her sexual liberation, with the scene at the piano marking the upbeat to the affair. In Nazi Germany, the film provoked intense attention and condemnation. Goebbels was impressed with Käutner's film, deeming it an "exceptionally effective avant-garde work" upon a first viewing.<sup>62</sup> One member of the *Wehrmacht*, meanwhile, was notably less enthusiastic in his response. In July of 1943, Georg Eckstein, a Private from Berlin's Siemensstadt district submitted a 4-page diatribe to *Das Schwarze Korps*, the official newspaper of the SS, protesting the film's endorsement of extramarital relations. Eckstein attacked the entire national film industry for encouraging "hundreds of thousands" of soldiers' wives to be unfaithful; the war, he said, had already made him a stranger to his own wife, and now she had an excuse to follow her

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<sup>62</sup> "Helmut Käutner führt mir einen neuen Film 'Romanze in Moll' vor, der eine außerordentlich wirkungsvolle Avantgardistenarbeit darstellt." Diary entry from January 10, 1943. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, vol. 7, 90. According to one Käutner biography, soldiers who had seen the film in the *Frontkinos* launched a letter campaign via military post lobbying for the film's domestic release, eager to share reactions to the film with loved ones at home. See Peter Cornelsen, *Helmut Käutner. Seine Filme, sein Leben* (Munich: Heyne, 1980), 56.

urges.<sup>63</sup> To his horror, his wife had averred her “deepest sympathy” for Madeleine’s decision to pursue an affair when the couple left the cinema on Eckstein’s last day home on leave. Citing the influence of film on popular opinion, his letter invoked bourgeois moral codes before segueing into an argument about “cleansing” the body politic of diseased elements. The classical musician on screen, he wrote, was the fictional alter ego of a “sick” screenwriter,

Wenn der Musiker in der “Romanze” nun ein Manuskriptschreiber war, der sich erleichtern wollte. . . . . bitte nichtig, nicht etwa bewußt aber so wie ein Maler sein Werk mit der Seele malt? Wir haben den Film entjudet, weil die jüdische Seele für ein gesundes Deutschland Gift ist. Ich meine das [sic] ein Deutschland in der höchsten Phase seines Lebenskampfes nicht aufnahmefähig ist für kranke Seelen. Was wir brauchen ist Kraft und widerstands [sic] Willen der keine Konzessionen macht. Dazu muss auch der Film beitragen.<sup>64</sup>

Eckstein’s language echoed Goebbels’ formulation of the figure of the “sick mind” in his Kaiserhof speech about censorship and film production of March 28, 1933, where he mentioned artistic freedom before warning that there would be no place for “deviant experiments.”<sup>65</sup> Viewed in its medial context, Eckstein’s equation of the musician with the “poisonous Jewish spirit” was surely to some extent the product of an unconscious filmic association: three years prior in 1940, Ferdinand Marian had played the title role in Veit Harlan’s anti-Semitic propaganda film *JUD SÜß*. His character remained burned in the memories of viewers thanks to the film’s notorious depiction of the Jewish banker Oppenheimer raping the innocent Christian woman Dorothea, played by Kristina Söderbaum. Despite the absence of any racially coded indicators, the artist on screen was legible to the Private as the avatar of persistent Jewish contagion, in need of purging from the filmic imaginary as from the notional body of the German nation on its way to full health.

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<sup>63</sup> Eckstein suggested film focus on topical “issues” such as “the race question,” or inspire with tales of camaraderie among infantry and marine corps. This correspondence is published in *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP. Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes*, ed. Peter Longerich (Munich et al.: K. G. Saur and R. Oldenbourg, 1992), vol. 4, 561.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> “Von der Stelle, wo die Zensur einsetzt, bis zu dem Film hinauf, der aus dem ganzen künstlerischen Schaffen heraus als Muster angesehen wird, ist ein so weiter Spielraum, dass jedes künstlerische Schaffen sich frei gestalten kann. Unterhalb dieser Schnittlinie gibt es kein Pardon. Dort beginnen gefährliche Experimente, die nur zu oft als *Ausschreitungen eines kranken Gehirns* anzusprechen sind.” Cited in Gerd Albrecht, *Film im Dritten Reich* (Karlsruhe: Doku-Verlag, 1979), 30.

Present Absences: Gypsy Music in HEIMAT and DIE ZAUBERGEIGE

Eckstein's letter was earmarked high-priority and rapidly forwarded to the highest level of the NSDAP, the Party Chancellery head-office (*Parteikanzlei*); internal correspondence party claimed his view represented "das gesunde Volksempfinden" and vowed to adopt his suggestions. The incident indicates the incongruities between the populist, ethno-nationalist discourse of the NSDAP and the rather more chaotic "messaging" of the films themselves, particularly in their portraits of the artist. The picture that emerges is complex and contradictory, indebted to Romantic thought, and the cultural turn connoted by the term *Kunstreligion* that heroized the artist as being in a class of their own. Paradoxically, many films that valorized classical music and the arts at once reformulated the thought that the artistic personality was at heart a kind of wanderer, bound not to the land but to the search for artistic fulfilment. In contravention of official dogma, musicians in Nazi-era film can be heard regularly rejecting the lures of national identity, associating themselves as in FRIEDEMANN BACH with the itinerant traveler and minorities on the periphery of society.<sup>66</sup>

This dimension of the musician comes to expression in HEIMAT (Carl Froelich, 1938), a melodrama with high production values that starred Zarah Leander as the opera singer Maddalena dall'Orto. Originally Magda von Schwartz, the mezzo-soprano has been making a name for herself in the US for twelve years; at the start of the film she returns incognito to her small German hometown, the *Residenzstadt* Ilmingen, where she has been booked as a soloist for Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. Her real intention is to make amends with her father (Heinrich George) and retrieve her illegitimate daughter; the film ends with Magda singing the alto aria "Buss' und Reu knirscht das Herz in zwei," a fitting expression of contrition as she is reconciled with her family and "homeland." Set in pre-WWI Germany, however, the emphasis on belonging and identity in the script is complicated even at the level of voice, since Leander's Swedish accent in German

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<sup>66</sup> We might also think of this characteristic in terms of Richard Wagner's associations with the mythic figure of the wandering Jew in *Der fliegende Holländer*, and in the character of Kundry in *Parsifal*. See the discussion of the figure of the Jew and community in David J. Levin, *Richard Wagner, Fritz Lang, and the Nibelungen: The Dramaturgy of Disavowal* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 91.

belies her alleged “native” roots. Likewise, the real identity of Leo Slezak, one of the greatest tenors of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, who in the film plays Magda’s accompanist Rohrmoser, interferes with the narrative. The character is said to hail from Bavaria, but audiences would likely have associated the Moravian Slezak with the Vienna State Opera, and perhaps have known about his origins in Moravia in the Austro-Hungarian empire, now in the Czech Republic.

From within the drama, the characters thematize the vicissitudes of “home” in the life of the musician. In an early expository sequence, Rohrmoser and Magda squabble about the definition. Checking the state of the piano (“out of tune”) in their Ilmingen lodgings, Rohrmoser starts to improvise at the piano. The scene echoes Bootz’s role in *ABSCHIED*, his position on the liminal point between the musical illustrator of silent-film and diegetic character. Here, too, Rohrmoser’s playing first provides a kind of background music, before announcing a programmatic quality. He first quotes the film’s theme song “Drei Sterne sah ich scheinen” by Theo Mackeben, but when as Magda gets up to look out the window, he switches “track” to the famous last nocturne of Franz Liszt’s set *Liebesträume*, No. 3 in A-flat major, a piece based on Ferdinand Freiligrath’s poem, “O lieb, so lang du lieben kannst.” [clip: *Heimat 1*] Speaking over Liszt’s music—the paradigm of the touring, cosmopolitan composer—Rohrmoser says, “Jetzt wird es ernst, meine Tochter.” The remark refers to Magda’s plan to go “undercover” in her own town, but there is an equally important double-entendre involved, the shift from Mackeben’s popular song to the sound of Liszt’s Romantic character piece, a kind of musical interim station on the way to the sacred Bach passion that will conclude the film. Rohrmoser’s invocation of a filial bond implies he and Magda belong to a musical clan, the select class of artists whose understanding of “serious” music overrides familial blood relations. This is perhaps the issue the film will try to right: Magda is returning to her backwater hometown. But the sensuous address of the music suggests that



the “dream of love” expressed in the universal language of European art-music shapes identity far more radically than the accident of birth.



Figure 62. (Left) Magda looks out of the window as Rohrmoser (right) plays the piano. *Heimat* (Carl Froelich, 1938)

The point is underscored by the shot juxtaposition: as Magda looks out of the window at the local street, Rohrmoser acts out in word and music the Romantic idea of music [*Kunstanschauung*] as a “realm of deepest night.”<sup>67</sup> While playing, he narrates a fantasy of the artist’s transcendental homelessness, in which the two elope on tiptoe into the night. His lines reimagine Liszt’s nocturne as a gateway to another world, something like the magic door to the theater of the musical sublime in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s 1813 novella *Don Juan*. Declaring her voice wasted on the provincial audience, Rohrmoser rejects Magda’s point that the backwater is her home with the words, “Ich denke wir Zigeuner sind *hier* zuhause Magda, hier!” The line coincides with the first point of development in the music, where the bass line turns chromatic, departing the major to an unstable, darker-sounding D-flat minor chord.<sup>68</sup> At this moment, Rohrmoser adopts the first-person plural, addressing Magda as part of a collective of artists *as* self-identifying gypsies. The music actualizes his claim, expressing the deictic “here” in the excursion to an unexpected harmonic region. As

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, “Beethovens Instrumentalmusik öffnet uns das Reich des Ungeheueren und Unermesslichen. Glühende Strahlen schießen durch dieses Reiches tiefe Nacht (...), die alles in uns vernichten, nur nicht den Schmerz der unendlichen Sehnsucht!” E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Rezension der 5. Symphonie” [p.n.].

<sup>68</sup> The F-flat in the base makes this a first inversion chord, unstable compared to the rootedness of the opening chord of the melody. In rhythmic terms Liszt will further emphasize the dark harmonic color with the indication of *poco cresc. ed agitato* for the performer.

Liszt's nocturne comes to expression in performance, it sublimates the imperative of national affiliation and opens up "another country," a utopia for the itinerant artists.<sup>69</sup> With a note of pathos, Rohrmoser adds, "Hier gibt es auch keine Enttäuschungen."

Musicians in Nazi-era cinema frequently experience disappointment and ostracization. A further subset of films foregrounded the incantatory power of the performer over the mass public, and represented the musician as the object of symbolic violence from wider society. Productions such as *STRADIVARI* (Geza von Bolvary, 1935) and *DER EWIGE KLANG* (Günther Rittau, 1943) focused on the materiality of the instrument of the violin as the source of "das wahre Künstlertum."<sup>70</sup> Set in an undefined, idealized historical past pre-WWI, these movies exoticized the cultural "type" of the Hungarian gypsy violinist, a recurrent presence in German cinema of this period.<sup>71</sup>



Figure 63. Andreas pictured as shadow (left) playing the stolen Stradivarius. (Right) The museum theft discovered. *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

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<sup>69</sup> Rohrmoser anticipates the wanderings of Friedemann Bach in the 1941 film, who joins a travelling circus group after he is accused of plagiarism. The Saxon gravedigger does not recognize him, and calls him "einer von den fahrenden Glocken, die gestern hier vorbeigezogen sind."

<sup>70</sup> *DER EWIGE KLANG* dramatizes the conflict of two brothers from the prestigious Buchner violin-making family in Mittenwald. The main protagonist Berthold rejects the family trade (and his brother's dream of making an instrument as fine as a Stradivarius or Stainer) to pursue a performing career, deserting the Bavarian alps for international fame.

<sup>71</sup> In *STRADIVARI*, Gustav Froelich plays a Hungarian violinist named Sandor Telecki who goes on a hunt to find a Stradivarius violin. The protagonist of *DER EWIGE KLANG* is taken under the wing of an Eastern European teacher, played by the Romanian virtuoso Georges Boulanger. See also the discussion of gypsy music in Nazi-era mass culture in Currid, *National Acoustics*, 171-215.

A vision of the musician as at once native and foreign comes to particularly strange expression in *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* (Herbert Maisch, 1944), a film based on a bestselling novel of 1940.<sup>72</sup> The title has a fairytale ring to it, setting off associations with the classical myth of Orpheus and its cultural afterlives, including Emanuel Schikaneder's *Die Zauberflöte*, and the many literary treatments of the legend of the pied piper of Hamelin.<sup>73</sup> Goebbels called the feature starring Will Quadfleig a “pretty” film that delivered a “sympathetic” portrait of the artist, leaving aside how the musical protagonist Andreas is figured as a crazed individual, plagued by kleptomaniacal compulsion.<sup>74</sup>



Figure 64. Andreas shows Agnes the Stradivarius in the vitrine. *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

The movie tells the tale of a struggling musician [*freier Berufsmusiker*] named Andreas Halm in Friedberg in Hessen. Eager to prove himself to the visiting virtuoso Helmesberger, Andreas steals a Stradivarius from the

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<sup>72</sup> Gerhard T. Buchholz and Erich Ebermayer adapted Kurt Kluge's novel for screen. A reporter for *Film-Kurier* argued the film showed how cinema as a medium that had come into its own. “Eingangs sei festgestellt, dass die Uraufführung dieses Films (im Taentzien-Palast) zu einem ganz großen, fast sensationell zu nennenden Publikumserfolg führte. Und zum Zweiten ist zu sagen: dass dieser Erfolg nicht, wie man hätte denken können, ein literarischer, sondern rein filmischer war.” *Film-Kurier*, May 1944, cited in Hobsch, vol. 6, 192. *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* was rated “künstlerisch wertvoll.”

<sup>73</sup> The book is not related to Werner Egk's opera of the same name.

<sup>74</sup> “Hier wird ein junges Künstlerleben von der sympathischsten Seite aus gezeigt. Die Kinder haben einen großen Spaß daran.” *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Part 2, vol. 10, 552. As the “DDR 1” stamp on the top left-hand corner of the film copy cited here indicates, *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* was broadcast on television in the GDR.

courtly instrument collection in Bad Homburg.<sup>75</sup> He is pardoned for his crime when Agnes (Gisela Uhlen), a local piano student in love with Andreas, vouches for the musician, allowing him to step in for Helmesberger and dazzle the landgrave with a performance of the Brahms violin concerto. The production team took care to recruit the finest musicians to record the numerous performances in the film: the Moravian violinist Gerhard Taschner was hired to be the sound behind the “magic violin,” a young virtuoso whom Wilhelm Furtwängler had personally appointed concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic in 1941 when Taschner was just nineteen.<sup>76</sup>

DIE ZAUBERGEIGE traffics in symbolism that frames the listener as a consumer, integrating an overt discussion of music, capital and desire into the dialogue and cinematography. A striking sequence roughly five minutes into the film links the topic of the performing arts with the finitude of the body. In the setting of the barber’s shop, Agnes’ *Spießbürger* uncle Kegel (Hans Hermann Schaufuß) is giving the corpulent local “Metzgermeister” Pröhle (Fritz Kampers) a shave. [clip: Zaubergeige 1] He expresses his concern that Andreas is threatening his niece’s honor, implying their chamber music is a pretext for illicit behavior. With a degree of emotional investment that suggests a denial of his own personal interest, Kegel inveighs against the corrupting effect of musicality as an inherited taint, “Sein Vater war genau so Einer.”<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile, in the “background” of the scene, Agnes can be heard practicing her part to the opening of Beethoven’s *Spring* sonata. [clip: Zaubergeige 1a] In all its apparent pastoral innocence, the music nonetheless connotes a musical-romantic attachment and meets with Kegel’s suspicion. The incomplete texture of the music points to the problem: without the violin part, Beethoven’s sonata is only half there, so that Agnes’ playing implies a desire

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<sup>75</sup> Kurt Kluge, *Die Zaubergeige* (Stuttgart: Engelhorn’s Nachf. Adolf Sperman, 1940), 8. The film relocated the action to Hessen, near Bad Homburg.

<sup>76</sup> Taschner (1922-1976) was born in Jägerndorf, Silesia (now Czech Krnov) and studied in Budapest and Vienna. The Vienna Philharmonic led by concert-master Wolfgang Schneiderhahn recorded the orchestral passages

<sup>77</sup> “His father was exactly the same type.”

to be joined by her partner, a symbolic “manning” of the musical part that the barber fears will bring about Agnes’ corruption.<sup>78</sup>

As the film goes on to elaborate, competing views of the musician as an agent of corruption vs. enervation are dialectically implicated in the film. The dialogue introduces this conflict when the Schnitzseller Pröhle—a character whose name places him in phonetic proximity to the proletariat (*Prolet*)—vigorously defends life and live music. He tells the barber to calm down (all artists are “a bit crazy”) and refuses to entertain his morbid fascination with the recent death of a privy councilor. So hung up is the barber, meanwhile, with the petrified hierarchy of the court that he “mishears” the butcher’s question about Andreas’ upcoming quartet concert and answers with a kind of Freudian slip that it will be “a huge funeral.” With the confusion cleared up, the barber admits that music “sometimes scares him a little,” whereupon which the business-oriented Pröhle loses his cool, “Ach Quatsch! Musik ist gut! Musik steigert den Umsatz! Wir sollten auch noch viel mehr Musik haben!”<sup>79</sup> In an obvious departure from the conventions of narrative cinema, he directs this endorsement of music as a public and commercial “good” straight into the camera lens. The plump Pröhle looks the viewer in the eye, transgressing the filmic fourth wall in a kind of meta-reflection on DIE

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<sup>78</sup> Later in the film the archivist Mittenzwey encourages Kegel’s fears with his view Andreas and Agnes are doing more than playing music, “So... Musizieren nennt man das jetzt!”

<sup>79</sup> “Nonsense! Music is good! Music helps with turnover! We should also have way more music!”

ZAUBERGEIGE as a *Musikfilm*, a genre that secured box office returns by appealing to audiences' desire for music in the movie-theater.



Figure 65. Pröhle looks into the camera while talking about the commercial gains of music. *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

The film shows that Andreas is excessively invested in possessing the “magical” violin, a desire that occludes any interest in Agnes—evident in a dream-like sequence toward the end when she chases after Andreas as he runs toward a windmill with the stolen instrument. “Nur noch Musik!” he yells, trying to shake her off. [clip: *Zaubergeige* 2] Before he gets his hands on the Stradivarius, Andreas bitterly complains about the dead tone of his old violin: “Wie das klingt. Trocken. Hölzern. Glanzlos.” [clip: *Zaubergeige* 3] At the court’s instrument collection, he leers over the violin encased in its glass vitrine, his hands trembling. This moment in Kluge’s novel marks Andreas with a touch of the monstrous: “Die Gestalt dieser Geige saugte Andreas mit seinen Augen in sich, ihre Seele hörte er in seiner Seele wiedertönen: er war wirklich ein Geiger.”<sup>80</sup> The literary figuration of the musician as a kind of vampire who “sucks in” the image of the violin is striking given the anti-Semitic trope found e.g. in Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* that vilified Jews as leeches on the social body.<sup>81</sup> In the film, Andreas begins a musical incantation, bearing his teeth and half-singing the

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<sup>80</sup> Kluge, *Die Zaubergeige*, 10.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. “Noch schlimmer lagen die Dinge bei der Wirtschaft. Hier war das jüdische Volk tatsächlich ‘unabkömmlich’ geworden. Die Spinne begann, dem Volke langsam das Blut aus den Poren zu saugen” and “Zum ersten Male bekäme Deutschland Verbündete, die nicht als Blutegel an unserer eigenen Wirtschaft saugen, sondern sogar zur reichsten Vervollständigung unserer technischen Rüstung ihren Teil beitragen könnten und auch würden.” *Mein Kampf: Eine Kritische Edition*. Adolf Hitler, ed. Christian Hartmann, Thomas Vordermayer, Othmar Plöckinger, and Roman Töppel (Munich; Berlin: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 2016), 212, 756.

rhythmic opening of the third movement of the Brahms violin concerto while beating the air with his fists.<sup>82</sup> The musical referent in the film bears the further irony that Brahms dedicated his concerto to Joseph Joachim, the Jewish Austro-Hungarian violinist who remained in the canon in Nazi Germany due to the efforts of his godson, the musicologist Hans Joachim Moser, who made it a point to hide his Jewish origins.<sup>83</sup> Joachim is still present in *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* as Andreas' idol, unnamed but sounded out in music.<sup>84</sup> [clip: Zaubergeige 4]



Figure 66. Andreas lusts after the violin (left) in *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944). The painter in *Die Gang in die Nacht* (F. W. Murnau, 1921) realizes his sight is failing him again (right).

The low camera angle of the shot and its affective register echo landmark silent films of the Weimar era and their visions of crazed artists, such as the earliest surviving Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau film *DER GANG IN DIE NACHT* from 1921. In this narrative drama Conrad Veidt plays a blind painter whose sight is restored by a doctor. In a memorable sequence, the artist realizes his eyes have deteriorated again when he tries to read a book. In *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE*, Quadflieg's overwrought acting and the uncomfortable proximity of the camera recall the expressionism of Weimar's "shell shock cinema."<sup>85</sup> When Agnes asks concernedly whether

<sup>82</sup> The year of the plot in the novel is unspecified but references to telegraphing and "Lichtspiel" locate it at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The film suggests it is set earlier c. 1850, so that the musical referent is anachronistic: Brahms did not compose his violin concerto until 1878.

<sup>83</sup> For the history of Moser's role in German musicology see Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> Joachim also composed his own violin concerto, Concerto No. 2 in D Minor (Op. 11), which he entitled "in the Hungarian Manner."

<sup>85</sup> See Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Andreas is feeling alright, he is figured in close-up with his eyes wild and lips moistened, saying he “cannot take it anymore.”

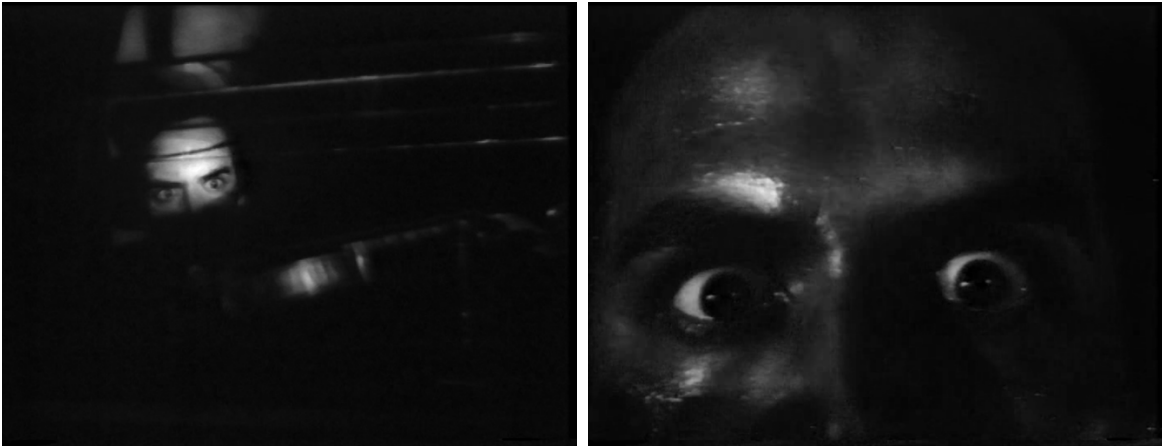


Figure 67. Andreas breaks into the instrument collection to steal the violin at night. *Die Zauberflöte* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

Associated with the vampiric in his lust for the violin, Andreas is demonized by the two older members of his string quartet as an outsider and a threat to public morals. Arriving late to a rehearsal, Andreas is subject to racialized abuse from the first violinist, who likens him to a gypsy, “Der sauft und schwelgt wie ein Zigeuner!”<sup>86</sup> The film extends this association further by portraying his musical talent as a type of wizardry that invites wonder and the threat of violence. During a visit to a violin shop where Andreas tries out some instruments he cannot begin to afford, his playing entrances the violinmaker Schümichen, who declares him “a master.” [clip: *Zauberflöte* 5] Once again here, Nazi-era cinema prioritizes sound over the visual register: Quadflieg’s miming is crude and poorly synchronized, yet the professional quality of the audio track (a segment of the Bach Chaconne) validates Schümichen’s enraptured reaction. Begging Andreas continue playing, he lapses into a reverie, “Nicht aufhören bitte, nicht aufhören! Wie das singt! Wie das strömt!” From the perspective of the listener, the structure of musical pleasure contains the worrying potential of its own negation: the sound is no sooner enjoyed than its end is feared, the anticipation of loss when the music stops.

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<sup>86</sup> The term “Zigeuner” is taken from Kluge’s text. Kluge, *Die Zauberflöte*, 45.



Like a drug, the sound of the violin visibly mesmerizes the listener: Schümichen is portrayed in dramatic *chiaroscuro*, lit from one side in a state of auditory intoxication, his mouth rounding into the liquid “ö” vowel as he lingers on the word “strömt.”



Figure 68. Schümichen revels in the sound of Andreas playing. *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

The musician’s capacity to entrance prompts aggression in the climactic sequence of the film, set at the fairground. In the final year of the Nazi regime, *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE* returns to the site of the terrifying finale of *HITLERJUNGE QUEx*. The threat of violence likewise attends the *Jahrmarkt* sequence in *DIE ZAUBERGEIGE*. Here the butcher Pröhle persuades Andreas to accept two sausages in return for a live performance, “Zahlen Sie nicht in bar, zahlen Sie in Musik!” A few dances will “lure the customers in.”<sup>87</sup> The moment activates an association with Shylock’s contract in *The Merchant of Venice*, though in Pröhle’s carnal economy, the currency of flesh is pegged to the value of mass entertainment. The equivalency is highlighted by a close-up of his porcine wares, as if Andreas can overcome castration by plying his musical trade.

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<sup>87</sup> Pröhle is enthusiastic about the commercial gains of dancing, “Ja Tänze! Wo es Tänze gibt, da sind die Mädchen. Und wo die Mädchen sind, da gibt’s Geschäft!”



Figure 69. Pröhle offers to pay Andreas in sausages for his performance. *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

As Andreas prepares to play, the camera cuts away to the archivist Mittenzwey engaged in a fairground shooting game where players take aim at a series of targets, musician figures painted on wooden cutouts. Out of all the brass and string players, Mittenzwey is desperate to shoot the violinist, “Ich nehme den Geiger! [...] Ich knall’ ihm einen vor den Kopf, ich erledige ihn!” He misses, and the wooden figure takes its revenge, emitting a cacophonous ditty and mechanically jerking in a grotesque caricature of fiddling. [clip: *Zaubergeige* 6] His colleagues joke that the attempted shot achieved the opposite effect, causing the violinist to play.



Figure 70. Mittenzwey (left) takes aim at the violinist cut-out at the fair (right). *Die Zaubergeige* (Herbert Maisch, 1944)

Andreas now takes center stage, beginning a series of trills and cadenza-like figures that lead into an arrangement for solo violin and orchestra of one of Johannes Brahms’ *Hungarian Dances*, No. 17 in F# minor,

first published in 1880.<sup>88</sup> In an iconic instance of integrating folk music into the European tradition, Brahms derived all but a few of the melodies from well-known Hungarian songs, dances or *csárdás*.<sup>89</sup> The dance heard in this sequence is likewise based on a folk melody, rather than one of Brahms' compositions. Andreas' musical voice conjures the figure of the gypsy with stylistic hallmarks of playing *alla zingarese* that Franz Liszt listed as "oriental ornamentation, accelerating rhythms, [...] opulence of runs, grace notes, scale, arpeggios, diatonic and chromatic passages, numerous trills and glissandi."<sup>90</sup>

In its citation of Johannes Brahms' reworking of folk melodies, the performance sequence makes a striking inference: German art-music owes some of its "magic" to the appropriation of gypsy traditions and musical styles.<sup>91</sup> The film makes the point explicit: while Andreas launches into the *vivace* section of the dance, his fellow quartet member Professor Lichtermark (Eugen Klöpfer) applauds vigorously with the crowd. "Ein Zigeuner, was?" he asks his colleague, who replies, "Ja, großartig!" As the editing brings out, the enthusiasm of the crowd stands in a dialectical relationship to the violence directed at the magnetism of the musician. Though the camera moves from the shooting game to Mittenzwey's threats to alert the police on the grounds that Andreas is playing illegally (without the necessary *Gewerbeschein*), Lichtermark assures the archivist that he will "never get the violinist" ("Den kriegen Sie nie tot"). "Die Zaubergeige" turns out to be a pseudonym for "die Zigeunergeige": the ambivalent musical "other." At the close of the sequence, even the magical quality of the instrument is revealed to be a red-herring; as Lichtermark tells Agnes, "it's not about the violin, but

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<sup>88</sup> Originally written for four-hand piano, the popularity of the dances catapulted the composer to world-wide fame, giving rise to numerous transcriptions for orchestra and solo instruments. Alois Melichar interspersed some passages of original film music into the sequence so that becomes a Brahms-Melichar medley.

<sup>89</sup> Only No. 14 and 16 of the twenty-one dances contained Brahms' original themes. See Max Peter Baumann, "The Reflection of the Roma in European Art Music," *The World of Music* 38, no. 1 (1996): 119-120.

<sup>90</sup> Franz Liszt, writing in 1859, idealized the Gypsy art as "an expression of indignation against every fetter" and celebrated its ability to break through conventional musical norms. See *ibid.*, 111; Klára Hamburger, "Franz Liszt und die 'Zigeunermusik'" in *Die Musik der Sinti und Roma. I: Die Ungarische 'Zigeunermusik'* (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum der Deutschen Sinti und Roma, 1996), 83-98 and Michele Calella, "Die Domestizierung des Zigeuners: Liszt, Joachim und das Violinkonzert in Ungarischer Weise Op. 11," *Anklaenge: Wiener Jahrbuch Für Musikwissenschaft* (2008), 139-60.

<sup>91</sup> The repertoire Gerhard Taschner performed during WWII reflects the prominence of gypsy-inspired compositions in mainstream classical culture of the time. A program from January 11, 1942, for example, lists him playing the Brahms *Hungarian Dances* with the Berlin Philharmonic. *Konzerte der Berliner Philharmoniker 1900 - 1945*, 810.

how you play it.”<sup>92</sup> The film’s depiction of the virtuoso—and the citation of Brahms’ *Hungarian Dances*—mark the simultaneous exoticization and demonization of the gypsy musician in German culture, a phenomenon that long pre-dated the Nazi era.<sup>93</sup> The sequence ends with an aerial shot of the seething masses, the butcher among them, spinning in couples around the market-place. If *HITLERJUNGE QUEX* announced the coming of the Nazi age with Heini Völker’s disgust at the libidinal energies of the collective round-dance at the Communist youth camp, German cinema returns to this scene of Bacchic excess in 1944, recoding the national populace swept away in the formation of *Reigen*, or *La Ronde*, blissfully in thrall to the musical demagoguery of a gypsy violinist.

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The musician in Nazi-era film, one could conclude, is a kind of a *Zwitterwesen*, a figure on the edge. Of indeterminate sexual orientation, their body is marked in popular consciousness by racial contagion and the threat of degeneracy, rejected and fetishized at once. In *ANNELIE*, Reinhold’s musicality effectively alienates him from the family unit, suggesting as in *WUNSCHKONZERT* and *DREIKLANG* that the musician is inherently “out of action,” at odds with militarism and yet essential to the emotional core of the film. In *KOLBERG*, the Napoleonic sympathizer and French conservatory-trained musician Claus receives his just deserts for valuing music over nationalism, but his question of whether music is perhaps “lebenswichtig,” or essential to life, after all, echoes in his wake. The artist interrupts the texts of German films of this period, disturbing ideologemes of chauvinism with gestures toward European rather than German identity, unsettling with recitals of pathos, and musical spectacles of exotic vitality. As in the longer continuum of German culture, the figure of the musician seems to be granted the special status of indispensable or *unabkömmlich* in wartime cinema of the Third Reich. Not unlike their real historical counterparts in the national film industry, the artists on screen

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<sup>92</sup> “Man muss sie bloß zu spielen verstehen!”

<sup>93</sup> In this sense the film repeats the tendency in Western European classical music to figure gypsies or Roma where “those shut out become simultaneously those longed for in the compensation of unadmitted feelings.” Cf. Baumann, “The Reflection of the Roma,” 96. See also Currid, *National Acoustics*, 182.

avoided active combat, as though their musical talent made them too valuable to be used as cannon fodder. In interviews after the war, Norbert Schultze, the composer of KOLBERG as well as many other prominent Third Reich productions, discussed with candor his successful efforts to be exempted from military service based on his musical skills.<sup>94</sup> The cast of fictional musicians in the wartime cinema of Nazi Germany might be seen against this historical background, riven with the hypocrisy of a culture industry that had ethnically cleansed its own members, now peopled by practitioners, including musicians, evading military service under the pretext of helping win the war of “spirit” [*die geistige Kriegsführung*].<sup>95</sup> Like the musical malingerer practicing his violin as Napoleon’s troops rolled in, these men too were sitting at the piano as the bombs fell, composing film scores to lavish productions like KOLBERG in the ashes of a capital that by 1945 no longer had a flagship “Premieren-Kino” in which to host the opening night.

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<sup>94</sup> Norbert Schultze describes the process in the 1993 documentary about his life DEN TEUFEL AM HINTERN GEKÜSST (Arpad Bondy, Margit Knapp).

<sup>95</sup> “Dieser Krieg wird nicht nur mit den Waffen an der Front, sondern ebenso sehr auf den Schlachtfeldern des Geistes entschieden.” 10 February 1944, Wilhelm Weiß, “Hauptschriftleiter” of the *Völkische Beobachter*. *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP*, vol. 2, 999. The phrase “geistige Kriegsführung” first appears in Goebbels’ diary in 1935. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*. Part 1, vol. 3/1, 195-196.

## Coda



Figure 71. The Degenhardt family visit the ruins of St. Mary's Church, Lübeck.  
Promotional photo for *Die Degenhardts* (Werner Klingler, 1944)

### DIE DEGENHARDTS: Culture as Back-Projection

Film in the Third Reich was not a mirror of society. Its representations of cultural identity were more like the illusory settings produced by that cinematic contrivance of the back-projection [*Rückprojektion*], the screen that gave the impression of a world outside, the view from the train compartment or landscape in which the characters appeared to move. In the final years of the war, the German film technicians who specialized in back-projection found their skills in higher demand than ever, as they were called on to produce convincing

images of intact German cityscapes now devastated beyond recognition.<sup>1</sup> Like these so-called *Rückprojbilder*, classical music filled in the sensuous world of cinema and made reference to the past: a pre-technological cultural history where it represented a central tenet of German self-understanding. As this study suggests, however, the illusion of a national musical identity could not help but draw attention to itself, pointing up all that was “uncoordinated” in Nazi-era society, particularly when it came to musical tastes and attitudes. Like the imperfectly synchronized image of the view out of the rear window in a film scene, cinematic audio-visions of German national unity and inborn musicality were full of glitches, lampooned by inattentive and uncomprehending listeners, riven with the pressures of modernization and consumerism, and colored with associations of deviancy and decline. The extent to which we read these as intentional gestures of subversion and resistance remains open to question, but the case studies explored here suggest that no sooner was classical music put on screen than it was subject to interruption, erasure and abuse: a striking inversion of the “care” for the classics that the film industry and its composers avowed to ensure.

As a last example, we can consider how the construct of the Germans as *das Volk der Musik* figures in one of the last “morale-booster” films of the war, *DIE DEGENHARDTS* (Werner Klingler, 1944). The movie played along the lines of the 1942 MGM war drama *MRS. MINIVER* (William Wyler), a film that encouraged patriotic feeling in the West with the story of a middle-class British housewife (Greer Garson) whose life is upturned by German air-raids in the first months of WWII. In the German version of this tale of national spirit, Heinrich George plays the protagonist Karl Degenhardt, a civic gardening official and passionate amateur musician. When his eldest son is killed in action, Karl receives the title of town surveyor [*Inspektor*] in recognition of his sacrifice; the film ends with the retiree sitting with his fatherless grandson, assuring his

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<sup>1</sup> The Ufa studio division that specialized in back projection played an increasingly essential role in film productions in the final years of the war, called on to fabricate a vision of the whole. Filmmakers also used old footage, such as in the montage of the Hamburg’s old city center at the opening of *OPFERGANG* (Veit Harlan, 1944). See Eric Rentschler, *The Use and Abuse of Cinema: German Legacies from the Weimar Era to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 140.

wife that however many are killed, there are always new offspring to take their place. The movie was meant to steel the public for further aerial bombardment by the Allies, and is the single feature made in the Third Reich that shows a German city in ruins.

The bombing of Lübeck is dramatized as an atrocity of cultural, rather than human, dimensions, a barbaric attack on the arts. The night before the bombing, Karl Degenhardt plays the French horn with the amateur civic orchestra in a performance of Joseph Haydn's *Creation* (Hob. XXI), hours before the enemy planes destroy the cultural treasures in Lübeck's *Marienkirche*—including the organ of Dietrich Buxtehude.

[clip: Degenhardts 1]



Figure 72. Karl explains the fresco to the sounds of Buxtehude (left). (Right) The figure of death. *Die Degenhardts* (Werner Klingler, 1944)

There is some insight about the artificiality, or contrivance, of the cinematic enterprise in Nazi Germany and its entanglements with high culture to be gleaned from *DIE DEGENHARDTS*. In an early scene in the film, Karl Degenhardt leads the family—along with a work colleague, Jürgen, whom he hopes will marry his daughter—on a mandatory Sunday outing to the *Marienkirche*, not to attend a religious service but as a devotional trip to the historic site of artistic life. Entering the church, the family unit heads straight for the side chapel where Berndt Notke's late medieval *Totentanz* fresco series is housed. As they cross the steps, the somber sound of the organ—the opening of Buxtehude's *Ciacona in C minor*—pipes through the space,



increasing in volume to lend gravitas to the scene. Karl exclaims, “You see! Today it looks totally different again!” articulating an underlying principle: great art serves as a constant, self-renewing accompaniment to experience, mutable in its impression and enlivened in the moment of contemplation. The visionary quality of the painting means it is unmarked by the intervening centuries; Notke’s rendering of the human condition is still fresh. “When you think,” Karl marvels, waving his cane, “that this was painted five hundred years ago...” 1463! pipes his eldest son Jochen, an organ-maker in training. As Karl explains the gamut of fifteenth-century society represented in the image, Buxtehude’s ground bass *ostinato* reasserts the *memento mori* message: just as death, the “bone-man,” comes to take each mortal by the hand, sublimating distinctions of wealth and class with his apparition, so too does the unyielding bass line govern the melodic variations above, repeating with resolute certainty. The Chaconne, the musical pendant to the *danse macabre*, reaches a cadence and breaks off just as the family emerges from the chapel to wonder at the vast organ, the hallowed site, Karl’s son explains, of Buxtehude’s artistic activity and the destination of Johann Sebastian Bach’s famous pilgrimage. [clip: Degenhardt 2]

The only “authentic” work of art in the sequence, we could argue, was Buxtehude’s music, since the fresco and organ featured on screen were nothing but elaborate fakes. While his chaconne survived the British fire-bombing, the other cultural artefacts were less fortunate, reduced to rubble on the night of March 29. This film sequence attests to the centrality of cultural heritage for German mass culture: cinema audiences were presented with an image of Lübeck as a “city of culture,” but what they saw on screen was an imitation, a mock-up based on photographs of the lost originals. If the film sequence rooted an appreciation of German genius in its auratic, material singularity, what viewers saw on screen was a series of elaborate reconstructions. The set-designer Fritz Maurischat recounts in his unpublished memoirs how the film presented the appealing (if frankly preposterous) challenge of “reconstructing” the interior of the church with painstaking attention to detail, so that viewers including Lübeck locals would take it for the real thing. Despite the scarcity of the times, materials such as wood, glass, and nails, needed for genuine reconstruction efforts,

were requisitioned in May 1943 for the film shoot.<sup>2</sup> According to Maurischat, Heinrich George insisted that no expense be spared; the organ was constructed in Berlin’s Grunewald studio using real pipes ordered from the organ-maker Wilhelm Sauer in Frankfurt an der Oder: the result filled an entire wall of the studio, complete with imitation baroque carpentry. At the premiere in Lübeck in 1944, a Hamburg newspaper reported that “the hearts of the Lübecker guests seemed to stop beating” as they looked at the frescoes, the gallery, and Buxtehude’s organ, reincarnated for the silver screen, intact at the beginning of the film, and devastated by the end.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 73. (Right) The Buxtehude-organ reconstructed for film. (Left) The family admiring the instrument. *Die Degenhardts* (Werner Klingler, 1944)

If the physical embodiments of late Gothic art had already fallen victim to war, the film—like so many in this study—also documented the struggle to maintain bourgeois musical culture. Just before the sightseeing tour, Karl tries to practice the joyful finale of Part One of Haydn’s *Creation* on the horn in his garden. From a balcony above, a neighbor hurls a torrent of abuse at him, citing an official, unanimous tenants’ ruling. “Noise,” she screams down, is only permitted for two hours every weekend at the time when the rugs are being beaten.[clip: Degenhardts 3] Karl counters her denunciatory tone with an appeal to artistic sensibilities: “It’s by Haydn, I’ll have you know!” But the neighbor has never heard of Haydn, and yells

<sup>2</sup> Fritz Maurischat, unpublished manuscript. SDK-NL Fritz Maurischat 4.3 – 2000/13, 372. I am grateful to Wolfgang Jacobsen for directing me to this source.

<sup>3</sup> Maurischat, *ibid.*, 372. Maurischat is quoting from the *Hamburger Anzeiger*, July 2, 1944.

something about “die olle Heidin,” tellingly garbling the sacred name of the composer into an accusation of heathen incivility. Karl wobbles to his feet, fuming that people have become so “unmusical” that they don’t have the faintest clue. DIE DEGENHARDTS reminds us that *ernste Musik* only comes into view when it is unrecognized by philistines, and that some members of modern-day society would gladly outlaw it as sound pollution. This study has argued in favor of listening out for these socio-historical resonances in Nazi-era film. It outlines a critical mass of films that engage with classical music and analyzes the cinematic treatment of this cultural construct; a next step would compare national cinemas in the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union. The relationship of German film in the Nazi period to cultural heritage is anything other than indifferent, but the products of mass culture show a sense of duty to the musical canon and inherited beliefs about cultural superiority coming apart at the seams. The music rings through the films, but—as at the end of DIE DEGENHARDTS—the organ is surrounded by rubble.



Figure 74. Jochen goes to check on the organ after the bombardment. Promotional photograph for *Die Degenhardts* (Werner Klingler, 1944)

## Appendix I

### Quotations of Musical Works in Nazi-era Film by Composer

Composer	Film Title	Film Composer	Works Quoted	Op.
Johann Sebastian Bach	HEIMAT (Carl Froelich, 1938) <sup>1</sup>	Theo Mackeben	St. Matthew Passion	BWV 244
	DAS UNSTERBLICHE HERZ (Veit Harlan, 1938)	Alois Melichar	Prelude No. 1 in C major, The Well-Tempered Clavier I	BWV 846
			Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D minor	BWV 903
	FRIEDEMANN BACH (Traugott Müller, 1941)	Mark Lothar	Concerto for 3 Keyboards in C Major	BWV 1064
			The Musical Offering	BWV 1079
			“Komm, süßer Tod”	BWV 478
			Violin Partita in D minor	BWV 1004
	WIR MACHEN MUSIK (Helmut Käutner, 1942)	Peter Igelhoff	Prelude No. 15 in G major	BWV 860, 1
			“Willst du dein Herz mir schenken”	BWV 518
	DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Violin Partita in D minor	BWV 1004
Wilhelm Friedemann Bach	FRIEDEMANN BACH (Traugott Müller, 1941)	Mark Lothar	Fantasia in D minor	F 18
Ludwig van Beethoven	MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934)	Clemens Schmalstich	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, “Pathétique”	Op. 13
	LIEBESERWACHEN (Herbert Maisch, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 61
	SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936)	Kurt Schröder	Symphony No. 9 in D minor	Op. 125
	DIE UNBEKANNTE (Frank Wysbar, 1936)	Hans-Otto Borgmann; Herbert Windt	Symphony No. 7 in A major	Op. 92
	DIE KREUTZERSONATE (Veit Harlan, 1937)	Ernst Roters	Violin Sonata No. 9 in A major, “Kreutzer”	Op. 47
	DREIKLANG (Hans Hinrich, 1938)	Kurt Schröder	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, “Pathétique”	Op. 13
			Piano Sonata No. 17 in D minor, “Tempest”	Op. 31 No. 2
			Violin Sonata No. 5 in F major, “Spring”	Op. 24
		Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, “Pathétique”	Op. 13	

<sup>1</sup> Dates refer to the year of the film’s premiere.

	BEFREITE HÄNDE (Hans von Schweikart, 1939)	Lothar Brühne	Symphony No. 5 in C minor	Op. 67
	WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)	Werner Bochmann	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, "Pathétique"	Op. 13
	ANNELIE (Josef von Baky, 1941)	Georg Haentzschel	Piano Sonata No. 22 in F major	Op. 54
	WEN DIE GÖTTER LIEBEN (Karl Hartl, 1942)	Alois Melichar	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"	Op. 27, No. 2
	AM VORABEND (Gerhard Menzel, 1944)	Willy Schmidt- Gentner	Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major	Op. 58
	DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Violin Sonata No. 5 in F major, "Spring"	Op. 24
	PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Symphony No. 5 in C minor	Op. 67
	SOLISTIN ANNA ALT (Werner Klingler, 1945)	Herbert Windt	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"	Op. 27, No. 2
	KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945)	Norbert Schultze	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"	Op. 27, No. 2
Georges Bizet	DER FALL RAINER (Paul Verhoeven, 1942)	Norbert Schultze	<i>Carmen</i>	
	DER EWIGE KLANG (Günther Rittau, 1943)	Franz Grothe	<i>Carmen</i>	
Johannes Brahms	LIEBESERWACHEN (Herbert Maisch, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 77
	STRADIVARI (Géza von Bolváry, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Hungarian Dances, No. 17	WoO 1
	TRÄUMEREI (Harald Braun, 1944)	Werner Eisbrenner	Wiegenlied	Op. 49, No. 4
	DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Hungarian Dances, No. 17	WoO 1
			Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 77
Anton Bruckner	PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Symphony No. 7 in E major	WAB 107
Dietrich Buxtehude	DIE DEGENHARDTS (Werner Klingler, 1944)	Herbert Windt	Chaconne in C minor	BuxWV 159
Frédéric Chopin	MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934)	Clemens Schmalstich	Waltz in C-sharp minor	Op. 64, No. 2
	ABSCHIEDSWALZER (Géza von Bolváry, 1934)	Alois Melichar	Étude in E major	Op. 10, No. 3
	STRADIVARI (Géza von Bolváry, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Waltz in D-flat major	Op. 64, No. 1
	STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941)	Herbert Windt	Polonaise No. 3 in A major, "Militaire"	Op. 40, No. 1
	RUF AN DAS GEWISSEN (Karl Anton, 1944)	Franz R. Friedl	Prelude No. 15 in D-flat major	Op. 28, No. 15
	OPFERGANG (Veit Harlan, 1944)	Hans-Otto Borgmann	Nocturne in E-flat major	Op. 9, No. 2

Christoph Willibald Gluck	HEIMAT (Carl Froelich, 1938)	Theo Mackeben	<i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	
Tommaso Giordani	SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936)	Kurt Schröder	“Caro mio ben”	
Umberto Giordano	MUTTERLIED (Carmine Gallone, 1937)	Alois Melichar	<i>Andrea Chenier</i>	
Edvard Grieg	ALTES HERZ WIRD WIEDER JUNG (Erich Engel, 1943)	Theo Mackeben	“To the spring,” Lyric Pieces, Book III	Op. 43
Georg Friedrich Händel	SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936)	Kurt Schröder	Judas Maccabeus	HWV 63
Joseph Haydn	MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934)	Clemens Schmalstich	Cello Concerto No. 2 in D major	Hob. VIIb/2
	DIE DEGENHARDTS (Werner Klingler, 1944)	Herbert Windt	The Creation	Hob. XXI/2
Franz Liszt	HEIMAT (Carl Froelich, 1938)	Theo Mackeben	<i>Liebesträume</i> , No. 3 in A-flat major	S. 541
	ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941)	Georg Haentzschel	Trois études de concert, No. 3 in D-flat major	S. 144
	TRÄUMEREI (Harald Braun, 1944)	Werner Eisbrenner	Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major	S. 124
			12 Études d'exécution transcendante: No. 7 “Eroica”	S. 139
	PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Les préludes	S. 97
	SOLISTIN ANNA ALT (Werner Klingler, 1945)	Herbert Windt	Années de pèlerinage, Vol.II, “Tarantelle”	S. 159
			Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major	S. 124
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	EINE KLEINE NACHTMUSIK (Leopold Hainisch, 1939)	Alois Melichar	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
			“Eine kleine Nachtmusik”	K. 525
	KLEIDER MACHEN LEUTE (Helmut Käutner, 194)	Bernhard Eichhorn	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
	WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940)	Werner Bochmann	<i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	K. 492
	WEN DIE GÖTTER LIEBEN (Eduard von Borsody, 1942)	Alois Melichar	<i>The Magic Flute</i>	K. 620
			Requiem	K. 626
			Piano Sonata No. 11 in A major	K. 331
	MUSIK IN SALZBURG (Herbert Maisch, 1944)	Alois Melichar	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
			<i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	K. 492
	SOLISTIN ANNA ALT (Werner Klingler, 1945)	Herbert Windt	Piano Sonata No. 11 in A major	K. 331
		Symphony No. 40 in G minor	K. 550	

	DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Symphony No. 41 in C major "Jupiter"	K. 551
Johann Pachelbel	FRIEDEMANN BACH (Traugott Müller, 1941)	Mark Lothar	Canon and Gigue in D major	PWC 37
Giacomo Puccini	STARKE HERZEN (Herbert Maisch, 1937)	Herbert Windt	<i>Tosca</i>	
Franz Schubert	LEISE FLEHEN MEINE LIEDER (Willi Forst, 1933)	Willy Schmidt-Gentner	Winterreise: "Der Lindenbaum"	D 911
			"Heidenröslein"	D 257
			Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
			"Ständchen"	D 957, No. 4
	ICH SEHNE MICH NACH DIR (Johannes Riemann, 1934)	No credit	"Ständchen"	D 957, No. 4
	STRADIVARI (Géza von Bolváry, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Winterreise: "Der Lindenbaum"	D 911
	DREI MÄDERL UM SCHUBERT (E. W. Emo, 1936)	Alois Melichar	Fantasy in C major, "Wanderer"	D 760
	DIE UNBEKANNTE (Frank Wysbar, 1936)	Hans-Otto Borgmann	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
	RENATE IM QUARTETT (Paul Verhoeven, 1936)	Norbert Schultze	String Quartet No. 14 in D minor, "Death and the Maiden"	D 810
			String Quartet No. 13 in A minor, "Rosamunde"	D 804
	ANNELIE (Josef von Baky, 1941)	Georg Haentzschel	Impromptu in A flat major	D 935
	DER FALL RAINER (Paul Verhoeven, 1942)	Norbert Schultze	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
	OPFERGANG (Veit Harlan, 1944)	Hans-Otto Borgmann	Impromptu No. 3 in B-flat major	D 935
	AM VORABEND (Gerhard Menzel, 1944)	Willy Schmidt-Gentner	Symphony No. 9 in C major, "Great"	D 944
	DER GEBIETERISCHE RUF (Gustav Ucicky, 1944)	Willy Schmidt-Gentner	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
Robert Schumann	MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934)	Clemens Schmalstich	"Ich grolle nicht," <i>Dichterliebe</i>	Op. 48
	MAZURKA (Willi Forst, 1936)	Peter Kreuder	"Träumerei," <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15
	DAS HOFKONZERT (Detlef Sierck, 1936)	Edmund Nick	"Die Soldatenbraut"	Op. 64, No. 1
	TRÄUMEREI (Harald Braun, 1944)	Werner Eisbrenner	"Träumerei," <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15
			Symphony No. 4 in D minor	Op. 120

	SOLISTIN ANNA ALT (Werner Klingler, 1945)	Herbert Windt	“Von fremden Ländern und Menschen,” <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15
Richard Strauss	PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven, 1944)	Alois Melichar	Festliches Präludium	Op. 61
Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	LIEBESERWACHEN (Herbert Maisch, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35
	STRADIVARI (Géza von Bolváry, 1935)	Alois Melichar	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35
	SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936)	Kurt Schröder	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71
	DIE KREUTZERSONATE (Veit Harlan, 1937)	Ernst Roters	<i>Eugene Onegin</i>	Op. 24
			Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35
	FRAUENLIEBE-FRAUENLEID (Augusto Genina, 1937)	Peter Kreuder	Piano concerto No. 1 in B-flat minor	Op. 23
	BAL PARÉ (Karl Ritter, 1940)	Theo Mackeben	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71a
	ES WAR EINE RAUSCHENDE BALLNACHT (Carl Froelich, 1939)	Theo Mackeben	Symphony No. 4 in F minor	Op. 36
			<i>Eugene Onegin</i>	Op. 24
			<i>Sleeping Beauty</i>	Op. 66
			<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71a
			Capriccio Italien	Op. 45
			Piano concerto No. 2 in G major	Op. 44
		Symphony No. 6 in B minor, “Pathétique”	Op. 74	
	MANN FÜR MANN (Robert Stemmler, 1939)	Friedrich Schröder	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71
Giuseppe Verdi	MUTTERLIED (Carmine Gallone, 1937)	Alois Melichar	<i>Ballo in Maschera</i>	
	ALTES HERZ WIRD WIEDER JUNG (Erich Engel, 1943)	Theo Mackeben	<i>Otello</i>	
Richard Wagner	MUSIK IM BLUT (Erich Waschneck, 1934)	Clemens Schmalstich	<i>Tannhäuser</i>	WWV 70
	STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941)	Herbert Windt	<i>Götterdämmerung</i>	WWV 86D
	GROBSTADTMELODIE (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943)	Werner Bochmann	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i>	WWV 96
	TRÄUMEREI (Harald Braun, 1944)	Werner Eisbrenner	<i>Lohengrin</i>	WWV 75
Henryk Wieniawski	DIE KREUTZERSONATE (Veit Harlan, 1937)	Ernst Roters	Polonaise No. 2 in A Major	Op. 21



## Appendix II

### Quotations of Musical Works in Nazi-era Film by Year

Year		Film Title	Composer	Works Quoted	Op.
1933	1.	LEISE FLEHEN MEINE LIEDER	Franz Schubert	“Der Lindenbaum,” <i>Winterreise</i>	D 911
				“Heidenröslein”	D 257
				Symphony No. 8 in B minor, “Unfinished”	D 759
				“Ständchen”	D 957 No. 4
1934	2.	MUSIK IM BLUT	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, “Pathétique”	Op. 13
			Frédéric Chopin	Waltz in C-sharp minor	Op. 64, No. 2
			Joseph Haydn	Cello Concerto No. 2 in D major	Hob. VIIIb/2
			Robert Schumann	“Ich grolle nicht,” <i>Dichterliebe</i>	Op. 48
			Richard Wagner	<i>Tannhäuser</i>	WWV 70
	3.	ABSCHIEDSWALZER	Frédéric Chopin	Étude in E major	Op. 10, No. 3
	4.	ICH SEHNE MICH NACH DIR	Franz Schubert	“Ständchen”	D 957 No. 4
	5.	LIEBESERWACHEN	Ludwig van Beethoven	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 61
		Johannes Brahms	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 77	
		Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35	
1935	6.	STRADIVARI	Johannes Brahms	Hungarian Dances, No. 17	WoO 1
			Frédéric Chopin	Waltz in D-flat major	Op. 64, No. 1
			Franz Schubert	“Der Lindenbaum,” <i>Winterreise</i>	D 911
			Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35
1936	7.	SCHLUBAKKORD	Ludwig van Beethoven	Symphony No. 9 in D minor	Op. 125
			Tommaso Giordani	“Caro mio ben”	
			Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71
			Georg Friedrich Händel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	HWV 63
	8.	DREI MÄDERL UM SCHUBERT	Franz Schubert	Fantasy in C major, “Wanderer”	D 760
	9.	DIE UNBEKANNTE	Ludwig van Beethoven	Symphony No. 7 in A major	Op. 92
			Franz Schubert	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, “Unfinished”	D 759
10.	MAZURKA	Robert Schumann	“Träumerei,” <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15	
11.	DAS HOFKONZERT	Robert Schumann	“Die Soldatenbraut”	Op. 64, No. 1	
1937	12.	DIE KREUTZERSONATE	Ludwig van Beethoven	Violin Sonata No. 9 in A major, “Kreutzer”	Op. 47
			Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	<i>Eugene Onegin</i>	Op. 24

			Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 35
		Henryk Wieniawski	Polonaise No. 2 in A Major	Op. 21
	13. FRAUENLIEBE-FRAUENLEID	Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Piano concerto No. 1 in B-flat minor	Op. 23
	14. MUTTERLIED	Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Ballo in Maschera</i>	
1938	15. HEIMAT	Johann Sebastian Bach	St. Matthew Passion	BWV 244
		Christoph Willibald Gluck	<i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	
		Franz Liszt	<i>Liebesträume</i> , No. 3 in A-flat major	S.541
	16. DAS UNSTERBLICHE HERZ	Johann Sebastian Bach	Prelude No. 1 in C major (WTC I)	BWV 846
			Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D minor	BWV 903
	17. DREIKLANG	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, "Pathétique"	Op. 13
			Piano Sonata No. 17 in D minor, "Tempest"	Op. 31 No. 2
		Violin Sonata No. 5 in F major, "Spring"	Op. 24	
		Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, "Pathétique"	Op. 13	
1939	18. BEFREITE HÄNDE	Ludwig van Beethoven	Symphony No. 5 in C minor	Op. 67
	19. EINE KLEINE NACHTMUSIK	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
			"Eine kleine Nachtmusik"	K. 525
	20. RENATE IM QUARTETT	Franz Schubert	String Quartet No. 14 in D minor, "Death and the Maiden"	D 810
			String Quartet No. 13 in A minor, "Rosamunde"	D 804
	21. ES WAR EINE RAUSCHENDE BALLNACHT	Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Symphony No. 4 in F minor	Op. 36
			<i>Eugene Onegin</i>	Op. 24
			<i>Sleeping Beauty</i>	Op. 66
			<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71a
			Capriccio Italien	Op. 45
			Piano concerto No. 2 in G major	Op. 44
			Symphony No. 6 in B minor, "Pathétique"	Op. 74
	22. MANN FÜR MANN	Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71
1940	23. WUNSCHKONZERT	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 8 in C minor, "Pathétique"	Op. 13
		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>Marriage of Figaro</i> (ouverture)	K. 492
	24. KLEIDER MACHEN LEUTE	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
	25. BAL PARÉ	Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky	<i>The Nutcracker</i>	Op. 71a
1941	26. FRIEDEMANN BACH	Johann Sebastian Bach	Concerto for 3 Keyboards in C Major	BWV 1064
			The Musical Offering	BWV 1079

			Violin Partita in D minor	BWV 1004	
		Wilhelm Friedemann Bach	Fantasia in D minor	F 18	
		Johann Pachelbel	Canon and Gigue in D major	PWC 37	
27.	ANNELIE	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 22 in F major	Op. 54	
		Franz Liszt	Trois études de concert, No. 3 in D-flat major, "Un Sospiro"	S. 144	
		Franz Schubert	Impromptu A flat major	D 935.	
28.	STUKAS	Frédéric Chopin	Polonaise No. 3 in A major, "Militaire"	Op. 40, No. 1	
		Richard Wagner	<i>Götterdämmerung</i>	WWV 86D	
1942	29.	WIR MACHEN MUSIK	Johann Sebastian Bach	"Willst du dein Herz mir schenken"	BWV 518
				Prelude No. 15 in G major	BWV 860, 1
	30.	WEN DIE GÖTTER LIEBEN	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"	Op. 27, No. 2
			Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>The Magic Flute</i>	K. 620
				Requiem	K. 626
				Piano Sonata No. 11 in A major	K. 331
1943	31.	DER FALL RAINER	Georges Bizet	<i>Carmen</i>	
			Franz Schubert	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
	32.	DER EWIGE KLANG	Georges Bizet	<i>Carmen</i>	
	33.	ALTES HERZ WIRD WIEDER JUNG	Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Otello</i>	
			Edvard Grieg	"To the spring," Lyric Pieces, Book III	Op. 43
	34.	GROBSTADTMELODIE	Richard Wagner	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i>	WWV 96
	35.	TRÄUMEREI	Johannes Brahms	"Wiegenlied"	Op. 49, No. 4
			Franz Liszt	Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major	S. 124
			12 Études d'exécution transcendante: No. 7, "Eroica"	S. 139	
		Robert Schumann	"Träumerei," <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15	
			Symphony No. 4 in D minor	Op. 120	
1944	36.	OPFERGANG	Franz Schubert	Impromptu No. 3 in B-flat major	D 935
			Frédéric Chopin	Nocturne in E-flat major	Op. 9, No. 2
	37.	PHILHARMONIKER	Ludwig van Beethoven	Symphony No. 5 in C minor	Op. 67
			Anton Bruckner	Symphony No. 7 in E major	WAB 107
			Franz Liszt	Les Préludes	S. 97
		Richard Strauss	Festliches Präludium	Op. 61	

	38.	DIE DEGENHARDTS	Dietrich Buxtehude	Chaconne in C minor	BuxWV 159
			Joseph Haydn	The Creation	Hob. XXI: 2
	39.	DIE ZAUBERGEIGE	Johann Sebastian Bach	Violin Partita in D minor	BWV 1004
			Ludwig van Beethoven	Violin Sonata No. 5 in F major, "Spring"	Op. 24
			Johannes Brahms	Hungarian Dances, No. 17	WoO 1
				Violin Concerto in D major	Op. 77
	40.	RUF AN DAS GEWISSEN	Frédéric Chopin	Prelude No. 15 in D-flat major	Op. 28, No. 15
	41.	MUSIK IN SALZBURG	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	K. 527
				<i>Marriage of Figaro</i>	K. 492
	42.	AM VORABEND	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major	Op. 58
			Franz Schubert	Symphony No. 9 in C major, "Great"	D 944
	43.	DER GEBIETERISCHE RUF	Franz Schubert	Symphony No. 8 in B minor, "Unfinished"	D 759
	1945	44.	SOLISTIN ANNA ALT	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"
			Franz Liszt	Années de pèlerinage, Vol.II, "Tarantelle"	S. 159
				Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major	S. 124
			Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Piano Sonata No. 11 in A major	K. 331
				Symphony no. 40 in G minor	K. 550
			Robert Schumann	"Von fremden Ländern und Menschen," <i>Kinderszenen</i>	Op. 15
45.		KOLBERG	Ludwig van Beethoven	Piano Sonata No. 14 in C-sharp minor, "Moonlight"	Op. 27, No. 2

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## Supplementary Materials (Clips)

### Introduction

WIR MACHEN MUSIK (Helmut Käutner, 1942): 1. *Gebrauchsmusik*  
WIR MACHEN MUSIK (Helmut Käutner, 1942): 2. *Musik-Kaffee*  
WIR MACHEN MUSIK (Helmut Käutner, 1942): 3. *Anzeige*

### Part One

SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936): 1. *Die Neunte*  
SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936): 2. *Belehrung*  
SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936): 3. *Konzertsaal-Kirche*  
SCHLUBAKKORD (Detlef Sierck, 1936): 4. *Nicht musikalisch*  
(SCHLUBAKKORD Detlef Sierck, 1936): 5. *Musik als Rettung*

ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930): 1. *Music incl.*  
ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930): 2. *Boots Stimmung*  
ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930): 3. *Baron Zigarette*  
ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930): 4. *Baron verreisen*  
ABSCHIED (Robert Siodmak, 1930): 5. *Tarantelle*

RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI (Werner Hochbaum, 1932): 1. *Improvisation*  
RAZZIA IN ST. PAULI (Werner Hochbaum, 1932): 2. *Chopin*

BEFREITE HÄNDE (Hans Schweikart, 1938): 1. *Concert*

PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven 1944): 1. *Bruckner*  
PHILHARMONIKER (Paul Verhoeven 1944): 2. *Beethoven Werkkonzert*

GROßSTADTMELODIE (Wolfgang Liebeneiner, 1943): 1. *Montage Werkkonzert*

WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940): 1. *Beethoven*

OPFERGANG (Veit Harlan, 1944): 1. *Schubert*  
OPFERGANG (Veit Harlan, 1944): 2. *Chopin*

### Part Two

HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 1. *Fahne am Klavier*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 2. *Credits*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 3. *Wald*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 4. *Ein Lied*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 5. *Fahne / Internationale*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 6. *Eierkuchen*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 7. *Ausgesungen*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 8. *Verpiffen*  
HITLERJUNGE QUEx (Hans Steinhoff, 1933): 9. *Rollkommando*

STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 1. *Keine Musike?*

STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 2. *Blechstein*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 3. *Schlafen*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 4. *Player-piano*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 5. *Ergiffenheit*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 6. *Bayreuth*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 7. *Götterdämmerung*  
STUKAS (Karl Ritter, 1941): 8. *Downfall*

### Part Three

WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940): 1. *Heldentod*  
WUNSCHKONZERT (Eduard von Borsody, 1940): 2. *Gute Nacht, Mutter*

KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 1. *Musikschule*  
KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 2. *Weltbürger*  
KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 3. *Kreutzer*  
KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 4. *Beethoven*  
KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 5. *Claus*  
KOLBERG (Veit Harlan, 1945): 6. *Geige*

DREIKLANG (Hans Hinrich, 1938): 1. *Ein Mann*

ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941): 1. *Reinhold Piano Montage*  
ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941): 2. *Die Passion*  
ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941): 3. *Die Musik?*  
ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941): 4. *Beethoven*  
ANNELIE (Josef von Báky, 1941): 5. *Reinhold am Apparat*

FRIEDEMANN BACH (Traugott Müller, 1941): 1. *Bach Chaconne*

HEIMAT (Carl Froelich, 1938): 1. *Liszt*

DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 1. *Friseur Kegel*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 1a. *Frühlingssonate*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 2. *Nur noch Musik!*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 3. *Hölzern*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 4. *Stradivarius*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 5. *Nicht aufhören!*  
DIE ZAUBERGEIGE (Herbert Maisch, 1944): 6. *Zigeunergeige*

### Conclusion

DIE DEGENHARDTS (Werner Klingler, 1944): 1. *Die Schöpfung*  
DIE DEGENHARDTS (Werner Klingler, 1944): 2. *Totentanz*  
DIE DEGENHARDTS (Werner Klingler, 1944): 3. *Unmusikalisch*