

The Celebration of Beethoven's Bicentennial in 1970: The Antiauthoritarian Movement and Its Impact on Radical Avant-garde and Postmodern Music in West Germany

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Avant-garde Music and the New Leftist Spirit

Although in West Germany and elsewhere, the musical fields in which the revolutionary climate of the 1960s and 1970s manifested itself most clearly were undoubtedly rock music and the singer–songwriter scene, the significance of the New Leftist spirit¹ for West German avant-garde music since the late 1960s cannot be neglected.² As in the rest of Europe, in the Federal Republic the students and intellectuals of the so-called New Left protested against a corrupt state and demanded significant reforms of German society. Whereas the young revolutionaries and intellectuals occupied universities and public places and demonstrated against Western injustices such as the Vietnam War, avant-garde musicians, believing in music as a humanizing force, initiated a revolt mainly by musical means.³ But like their counterparts in the universities and elsewhere, they devoted themselves to the sociopolitical upheaval in manifold ways: by distancing themselves from the so-called bourgeois, conservative society; by performing what they considered to be indefensible social conditions; and by suggesting alternative forms of sociopolitical behavior.

The New Leftist critical attitude toward the bourgeoisie and “bourgeois” music enterprise led to the rejection of the classical–romantic ideal of beauty and the development of an aesthetics of negativity that drew on Theodor W. Adorno's *Negative Dialectic* and was promoted by composers such as Helmut Lachenmann and Nicolaus Huber.⁴ Other composers, among them Hans Otte, sympathized with one of the key concerns of the New Left: the working conditions of laborers, especially

assembly-line workers and employees in heavy and metalworking industries.⁵

In addition to the negative, deprecatory attitude, the leftist intellectual climate of “1968” also stimulated positive compositional poetics. The New Leftist spirit manifested itself particularly clearly in the new enthusiasm for improvisation and musical creativity. Both were seen as pedagogical instruments that served to performatively change social behavioral modes in the musical field, and were believed to be transferable to the practices of everyday West German society from where in the end they would lead to the transformation of state institutions. Dieter Schnebel’s *Schulmusik I* of 1974, a collection of instructions and pictograms that indicate various musical group actions, thus was intended to train young musicians to act jointly.⁶ In line with the advent of the alternative cultures in the early 1970s, avant-garde composers such as Schnebel and Gerhard Stäbler turned against what Adorno had labeled omnipresent rationalization and instrumental reason and, instead, revitalized first nature, subjectivity, and creatureliness.⁷

Although in the field of serious music the New Leftist revolt manifested itself first and foremost in contemporary music, i.e., what is labeled “new,” “avant-garde,” or “experimental” music, the spirit of “1968” also spread to the classical field, though more subtly. It was above all young music critics who introduced the “virus,” as the New Leftist critique was considered by conservative observers, to the traditionally conservative area of classical music by reviewing concert performances and recordings from the viewpoint of their new sociopolitically oriented value system.⁸ Apart from that, the classical concert enterprise remained immune to the fever of “1968.” Business seemed to go on as usual—at least on the surface. Subliminally, however, the New Leftist climate provoked a general change in the attitude toward the great composers of the past, one that has been overlooked thus far. This change in attitude articulated itself especially in the Beethoven bicentennial.

The Beethoven Bicentennial

At first glance, the Beethoven bicentennial of 1970 was an ordinary Beethoven celebration year. Concert organizers, writers on music, and radio producers celebrated Ludwig van Beethoven with numerous and diverse events and projects that aimed to commemorate and salute the oeuvre and life of the great master. The orchestra Jeunesses Musicales Berlin, for instance, dedicated an entire concert to his music on the eve of his birthday;⁹ the students in Hans Leygraf’s piano class at the State

Conservatory for Music and Theater (Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Theater), Hanover, performed all the piano sonatas in November and December 1970;¹⁰ and the record market was flooded with new recordings of Beethoven's music.¹¹ Hans Conrad Fischer, who had produced a film on Mozart three years earlier, was commissioned to carry out a similar project on the life of Beethoven: *Ludwig van Beethoven* premiered in New York and London in 1970 and in Vienna in 1971.¹² The restoration of Beethoven's birth house in Bonn was completed right in time for the celebrations.¹³ The number of publications on Beethoven released in 1970 rose enormously,¹⁴ among them were *Beethoven: Sein Leben und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern und Texten* and the festschrift *Beethoven im Mittelpunkt*.¹⁵

A closer examination, however, reveals surprising deviations from the usual great-masters' celebration rituals. First, the climate was marked by provocation and skepticism. Broadcasts of the Beethoven symphonies cycle over nine evenings (24 December 1970 to 1 January 1971) on Hessian Radio were preceded by commentaries responding to the somewhat elliptic, yet therefore all the more suggestive question "Still Beethoven today?" (Heute noch Beethoven?) of the cycle's editor, Leo Karl Gerhartz.¹⁶ The title of a conversation between literary theorist, critic, poet, and musicologist Hans Mayer and the Adorno and Cage specialist Heinz-Klaus Metzger, broadcast by North-German Radio (NDR) on 8 January 1970, indicated a similarly provocative attitude: "Unfashionable Reflections at the Beginning of a Beethoven Year" ("Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen zum Beginn eines Beethoven-Jahres").¹⁷

The second distinguishing mark of the Beethoven bicentennial was the involvement of avant-garde composers. Their presence was notable not only because their atonal compositional style was "naturally" somewhat adversarial to classical, tonal music, but also because many were invited by established, state-subsidized cultural institutions that seemed to feel a need for fresh air to complement the familiar celebratory agenda items. For example, West German Radio (WDR) and the Third Television Program commissioned the first project in Mauricio Kagel's *Ludwig van* group,¹⁸ the film *Ludwig van*.¹⁹ Having received a second commission from the Laboratorio Alea of Madrid,²⁰ Kagel further exploited the material and concept used in the so-called *Musikzimmer* (music room) scene²¹ of the film for a concert piece of the same title,²² which materialized in a recording and a score.²³ His German composer colleague Karlheinz Stockhausen was not only commissioned by Municipal Concerts (Städtische Konzerte)²⁴ to equip all rooms and spaces of the Beethovenhalle, Bonn's main concert hall, with contemporary electronic instrumental and vocal music in early 1970,²⁵ but he

also designed the indeterminate work *Kurzwellen für Beethoven*, initiated by the Düsseldorf Work Association of Cultural Organizations (Düsseldorfer Arbeitsgemeinschaft kultureller Organisationen).²⁶ Two other works that deserve mention in this context are *Unser Ludwig 1970* by the Berlin-based composer Wilhelm Dieter Siebert²⁷ and Giuseppe Chiari's *Al chiaro di luna di Beethoven*, the latter performed frequently by Frederic Rzewski around 1970 and produced by Radio Bremen.²⁸ Siebert's and Chiari's works were not commissions, but were similarly driven by the impulse to contribute to Beethoven's bicentennial.²⁹

What made the contributions of contemporary composers to the Beethoven bicentennial peculiar in the most equivocal sense was the specific musical means that these composers chose for the occasion. Instead of composing a piece in their own individual styles, they created collages that consisted—completely or predominantly—of fragments from Beethoven's compositions. Furthermore, all compositions except Siebert's made use of the distortion and alienation of sound. Because it is the general concepts and not so much the design of the details which make these pieces interesting for the subject matter of this article, I will focus on the former. To begin with Kagel's score (of which I consider the film, the concert, and the recording as false or inverse compliants):³⁰ following surrealist montage techniques, Kagel's indeterminate score of *Ludwig van* consists of photos of the set design of the film. Each page of the part graphic, part conventional score shows a detail of a piece of furniture or other object of the set which in the film had been wrapped in pages from Beethoven's scores (Figures 1 and 2).

For the performance of this piece, Kagel asks its performers—any number and any combination of instruments—to choose a sheet and play what they can decode. Kagel instructs them to play those passages, which are visually blurred, in a distorted manner. The resulting polyphonic structure arises from the coincidental combination of sheets chosen by the performers.³¹

The fragmentary and distorted character of Stockhausen's *Kurzwellen mit Beethoven*,³² a composition he later excluded from his work list,³³ is inspired by the distinctive soundscape of shortwave broadcasts—whistling, clicking, and all sorts of noise, including white noise³⁴—that Stockhausen developed in his indeterminate piece *Kurzwellen* (Shortwaves) for five performers³⁵ and that served as the basis for *Kurzwellen mit Beethoven* (Figure 3).

In *Kurzwellen mit Beethoven*, the improvisations indicated by the score of *Kurzwellen*³⁶ are stimulated by four individual tapes³⁷ of collages of fragments of Beethoven's music which Stockhausen prepared electronically and distorted in a way that makes them imitate shortwave

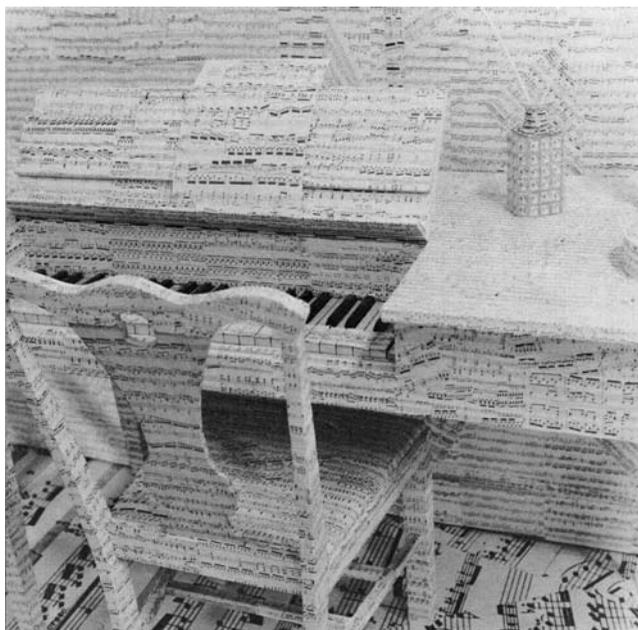


Figure 1. Mauricio Kagel, *Ludwig van* (film), Musikzimmer scene. © 1971 by Universal Edition A.G., Vienna/UE 14931. Used by permission.

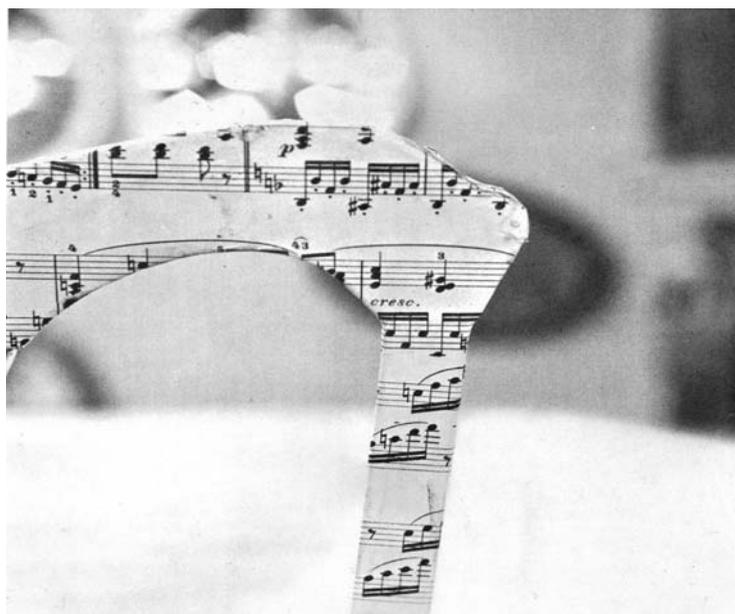


Figure 2. Mauricio Kagel, *Ludwig van* (score). © 1971 by Universal Edition A.G., Vienna/UE 14931. Used by permission.

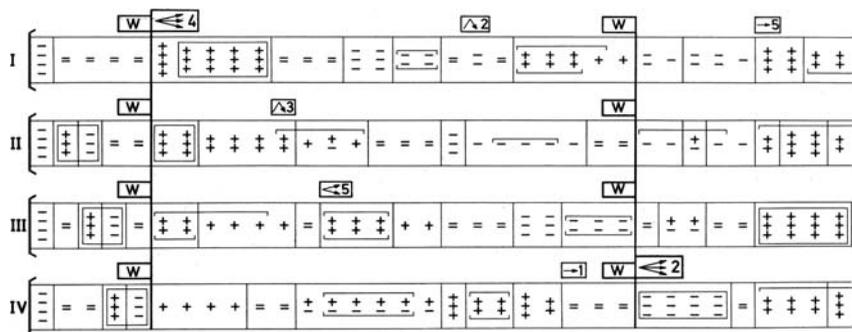


Figure 3. Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Kurzwellen*. © 1969 by Universal Edition A.G., Vienna/UE 14806. Used by permission. The example depicts one-fourth of the score. The symbols “+,” “-,” and “=” indicate how the instrumentalists relate their events to the preceding one (of any fellow-performer) as regards pitch, intensity, length, or number of elements.

broadcasts. The result not only begs to be interpreted as one of Stockhausen’s megalomaniac procedures—*Kurzwellen mit Beethoven* seems to envision a world in which all existing shortwave radio stations broadcast the music of Beethoven exclusively—but it also complies strikingly with the aesthetics of Kagel’s *Ludwig van* group.

In contrast to the works of Kagel and Stockhausen, who created total collages that consisted wholly of foreign material without being complemented by any newly composed music, Wilhelm Dieter Siebert’s *Our Ludwig 1970*³⁸ for choir, narrator, piano, and tape added to the quotations from Beethoven’s “Hammerklavier” Sonata not only new music, but also musical and verbal material from other sources: segments of the master’s conversation books, scholarly commentaries, and advertisements. Like Kagel, however, Siebert split the “Hammerklavier” Sonata into twenty-one segments and chunks, and he underscored the fragmentary character by “confusing” the original order of those snippets³⁹ and by repeating groups of bars several times⁴⁰ (Figure 4).

The score of Chiari’s *Al chiaro di luna di Beethoven* consists of a description asking the pianist to play the entire first movement of the “Moonlight” Sonata (Sonata “Al chiaro di Luna”). Once the performance had begun, a distorted recording of the same music was to fade in and then out again before the pianist stops. In Rzewski’s performances of Chiari’s piece in Europe and North America, the distorted recording was supplied by a Moog synthesizer that made the “Moonlight” Sonata sound like “Beethoven under water.”⁴¹

In sum, the composers’ means were different, but the sounding results were similar: they presented a “Beethoven torn apart and

The image shows a page of musical notation for 'Unser Ludwig' by Wilhelm Dieter Siebert. It includes piano accompaniment and a choir part. The piano part starts with a 'Presto' tempo marking and includes sections marked 'Prestissimo' and 'Tempo I.' with an 'allacca Chor' instruction. The choir part is marked 'CHOR' and includes a 'fine' and 'd.s. al fine' instruction. There are several handwritten annotations in German: 'Der Chor geht vom Klavier weg und singt mit Imper-Snip.' (The choir goes from the piano and sings with Imper-Snip.), 'SPR: wird eine Plowmarkt:' (SPR: will be a Plowmarket:), and 'Hörst- Händer.' (Hörst- Händer.).

Die Gesamt-Edition der Werke Beethovens, deren Bestandteil der vielfarbige Bildband ist, vermittelt dem Hörer, Leser und Betrachter unmittelbaren Zugang zum Genie Beethovens und zu der größten Zeit in der dieser Komponist lebte. Sie können unsere Jubiläum-Ausgabe — 12 Schallplattenkassetten mit Bildband — zum einmaligen Sonderpreis von 975,— DM erhalten. Die Veröffentlichung der 12 Kassetten erfolgt im monatlichen Rhythmus. Wenn Sie es wünschen, können Sie diese Summe in 12 Teilbeträgen jeweils bei der Abholung des Buches und der 12 Kassetten entrichten.

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Ihr Fachhändler nimmt Ihre Einschreibung für die Beethoven-Edition entgegen. Auch wird er Sie gern über weitere Einzelheiten unterrichten.

Figure 4. Wilhelm Dieter Siebert, *Unser Ludwig*, p. 12. Used by permission.

alienated.” It is noteworthy that this sort of “ironic evaluation”⁴² of the music of preceding composers did not originate with Kagel et al. The radical avant-gardists could draw on numerous examples from colleagues who in the 1960s had used montage techniques extensively: first and foremost Berio in his *Sinfonia* (1968), Lukas Foss with his *Baroque Variations* (1967), Bernd Alois Zimmermann in various compositions, as well as Johannes Fritsch in his *Modulation I* (1966). However, what distinguished the “Beethoven 1970” pieces from those compositions was the explicit reference in their titles to the composer whose material they were deploying and ripping apart. Consequently, in the New Leftist

climate, their Beethoven-torn-apart clearly signaled the composers' attempts to spread the "1968" sociocultural and political critique to the realm of classical music—like the question "Still Beethoven today?" which suggested the obsolescence of Beethoven. Why did the radical avant-gardists refer explicitly to the source of their deconstructive efforts and specifically target Beethoven and his bicentennial?

Various monographs on the history of the Beethoven image, by Arnold Schmitz (1927), Leo Schrade (1937), William S. Newman (1983), David B. Dennis (1996), and Esteban Buch (1999), have traced the ways in which the great master Beethoven was viewed, from the time of his death to the present day, and have demonstrated the dependence of these images on the sociocultural and political climates of the different time periods. The publications reconstruct the various associations with Beethoven that political leaders from all sectors of the political spectrum (right–left, democratic–totalitarian, German–French–Soviet) generated, promoted, and used to reinforce propaganda for their political actions.⁴³ Particularly for the Third Reich, much evidence has been assembled.⁴⁴ However, the student and protest movements and the New Leftist climate have been touched upon only marginally.⁴⁵ The following investigation of the reasons for a critique of Beethoven in the context of the Beethoven bicentennial and of "1968" will contribute a small, but I hope not insignificant chapter to the history of that image. This is not, however, the main objective of the article, but rather a side effect.

The main purpose is to shed light on the impact of the Beethoven bicentennial and the antiauthoritarian movement on West German music since the late 1960s, with specific attention to the emergence of so-called postmodern music in the 1970s. In this context, I will use the term "West German postmodern music" as it has been established in the German discourse on music, namely as label for a group of works composed between the early 1970s and the early to mid-1990s that shared a pluralism of styles, the mixture of high and low art, the display of "neoromantic" characteristics produced by expressive articulation, the reintegration of major–minor tonality, and—most important in this context—the adoption of stylistic peculiarities or idioms of earlier composers. Some concepts of "postmodernism" developed outside the context of West German contemporary music may not apply to West German compositions labeled with this term. Conversely, some features of West German postmodern compositions may not conform to prevailing ideas of postmodernism. However, this does not call into question the established use of the term in the discourse on West German

music.⁴⁶ The term “postmodern music” is used here purely as a label whose signifier has no further meaning unto itself.

A first step in achieving the article's objectives—understanding the contribution to the history of Beethoven images and analyzing the impact of the Beethoven bicentennial and the antiauthoritarian movement on West German music history since the late 1960s—will be to carve out the reasons for the New Leftist interest in deconstructing Beethoven. For this purpose, I will focus primarily on Kagel because, immediately after the Beethoven bicentennial, the *Ludwig van* group, and here especially the film, was praised as one of the core contributions to the anniversary. Critics declared that Kagel's works represented the essence of the Beethoven bicentennial.⁴⁷

The Beethoven Year in Light of the New Leftist Climate

In an interview with musicologist and music producer Karl Faust published in the journal *Musik und Bildung* in 1971, Kagel expressed doubts about the “law” of *Werktreue* (faithfulness to the work) which, according to the prevailing ideas of the time (still held today), steered the interpretative work of a performer. Kagel also suggested that Beethoven's compositions did not need further promotion since they already dominated the music market. Engaging in his typical metaphorical rather than explicit rhetoric, he stated:

Our idea of *Werktreue*—especially with regard to the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth century—needs to be laid to rest. The pathological efforts to make *well-known* musical pieces of the past *even more well-known* resulted in a tendency toward restraint and social acceptability in the interpretation of classical music. Instead of single works, the *essence* of the master should be interpreted today.⁴⁸

As a kind of therapy, Kagel recommended compositional techniques that tried to capture Beethoven's true essence—in his view, the music's unpredictable character⁴⁹—by increasing “the subjectivity of the musician [and integrating] performance and compositional techniques that are apparently incongruent with the music to be performed.”⁵⁰ It is obvious that Kagel applied this method, the destruction of the unity of the well-balanced and fully rounded work, to the *Ludwig van* group by using an indeterminate, fragment-oriented collage technique. For Kagel, the apparent distortion of familiar Beethoven works encouraged audiences to listen more carefully and thus enabled them to experience Beethoven more authentically than when listening to conventional

interpretations. In using distortion, the *Ludwig van* pieces also complied with the program that the music critic Gerhard R. Koch had described early in the Beethoven year. In order to rescue Beethoven, he recommended that “meaningful musical interpretation [of Beethoven’s works] should aim at scratching off the gypsum and varnish, and washing away the layer of dirt of holy convention,”⁵¹ i.e., make Beethoven’s music appear in a new light.

Although, in light of the interviews, Kagel’s program carried out in the *Ludwig van* group seemed to be an effort to *rescue* Beethoven and an attempt to effect a moderate *reform* of performance practice, his (as well as Stockhausen’s, Siebert’s, and Chiari’s) Beethoven pieces invited audiences to detect a rather more revolutionary than protective attitude in them toward the Viennese classical composer. Above all, however, it was the quotation of Beethoven’s music that served as a basis of Kagel’s collages that was ambiguous in and of itself. Investigations of the use of quotations in the postmodern 1980s and 1990s have shown that the meaning is generally vague. As Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl pointed out in a monograph on “figures of quotations,” quotations can indicate a variety of relationships between the source and the new context, from the most positive and beneficent to the most negative and destructive. Quotations are “outfitting and accessory,” “friend,” “betrayal,” “original,” “raped,” “contaminant,” “missing link,” “invocation of the absent,” “treasure,” “decoration,” “finish,” and “token of a game.”⁵² Neither Adorno’s claim that “as in all other areas of human knowledge, the quotation [in music] represents authority,”⁵³ nor Derrida’s notion that quotation entails the quotation’s alienation from its original context, describe the phenomenon completely.

The “Beethoven 1970” compositions thus could imply homage to the great master, the acknowledgment of his authority, and the caring interest for the revived oeuvre and its creator, or the appropriation of the predecessor’s intellectual property and its distortion in the new context, that is, a violent impulse that destroys the completeness of the work. Yet what nonetheless helped to determine—even though never completely and with certainty—the concrete meaning of the Beethoven pieces was their sociocultural context: the New Leftist critical climate of the 1960s and 1970s.

By the late 1960s, Kagel was famous not only for his imaginative, unconventional compositional procedures for instrumental theater that expanded the established notion of music through the “composition” of gestures and pictures as well as sounds, but also for the intense sociopolitical critique which his compositions initiated of the Western music world and of society in general. Moreover, through his works, Kagel

aligned himself with the New Leftist critical value system, even though he never took an explicit stand in favor of the student and protest movements.⁵⁴ The title of the 1962 composition *Antithese* (“antithesis,” or counterclaim) not only indicates his intention to question established truths, but by referring to the Hegelian concept it also alluded to the leftist critical spirit, which drew heavily on Hegelian philosophy. And the composition itself, combining American experimental⁵⁵ and European avant-garde traditions, evoked the protest spirit of the early 1960s.⁵⁶ In another example, his *Hallelujah* of 1969, Kagel joined the concerns of the rebelling students by criticizing unreflective and/or irresponsible modes of practicing the Christian faith, including the Catholic church’s role in Nazi Germany.⁵⁷

Against this background, audiences and critics hardly could interpret the de-familiarized, fragmented use of Beethoven’s work in the *Ludwig van* group as a naïve and friendly celebration of Beethoven. They could also categorize other details of the work group as “critical” or “challenging” and disrespectful of the great master. For instance, Kagel whimsically doubled the semantic ambiguity of quotations in the title and subtitle of the score. *Ludwig van* can equally be read as “Ludwig fun,” that is, fun *with* or *about* Beethoven. The subtitle “Homage by [not à] Beethoven” (Hommage von Beethoven) suppressed and ironized the impetus to do honor that usually characterizes a homage. (Who was honoring whom?) In addition to deconstructing Beethoven, Kagel also revealed a playful attitude toward his famous ancestor by “invading” Beethoven’s compositional terrain. In the interview with Faust, Kagel mentioned—casually and obviously not completely seriously—“I also invented an Andante for viola with piano accompaniment because Beethoven did not write a sonata for this instrument and the performer was unhappy about this; ([the Andante] combined the viola part of the fourth movement of the string quartet op. 131 and the Largo of the ‘Hammerklavier’ Sonata, both in A major).”⁵⁸

Whereas Stockhausen’s *Kurzwellen für Beethoven* are more difficult to interpret—I will leave this to a later section of this article—Siebert’s and Chiari’s works are easily explained in terms of the New Leftist climate. Chiari’s *Al chiaro di luna di Beethoven* acoustically “drowned” Beethoven’s composition (through Moog synthesizer distortions) in Rzewski’s performance version. And Siebert’s half-scenic composition revealed itself as persiflage. Like Kagel, who by means of the distorted scoring in the *Musikzimmer* scene sought to imitate what the deaf Beethoven may have heard,⁵⁹ Siebert focused on the composer’s deafness by including segments from the conversation books that were to be read and sung. In doing so, Siebert drew attention to an aspect of

Beethoven's biography that contradicted the traditional heroic image of the composer. The absurdity, not tragedy, of the Beethoven myth was emphasized by juxtaposing the banalities of the conversation books with false adulation, not true admiration, for the composer. This becomes apparent in Siebert's performance instructions: "The choir gathers around the piano and *admires* the pianist who plays the second movement of the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata and adores him."⁶⁰

What was, however, the reason that Beethoven and the bicentennial in particular became the target of New Leftist deconstruction?

The West German Student and Protest Movements: An Antiauthoritarian Movement

It is well known that antiauthoritarian ideals are closely connected with the rebellious spirit of 1968. Whereas today the term "antiauthoritarian" is first and foremost associated with the development of North American and West European pedagogy in the 1960s and 1970s, a pedagogy that emphasized freedom from repression and encouraged creativity, in the Federal Republic the term also served as a label for the student and protest movements. Only through a history of the term can we understand the ways in which the West German New Leftist movements were more *antiauthoritarian* than the American or British movements of the same time period.

The origins of the term "antiauthoritarian" can be traced back to political theories about socialism and communism. The so-called anti-authoritarian socialists were a branch of the socialist and communist movements which in the late nineteenth century became somewhat famous for having been severely criticized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Like the anarchist branch, the antiauthoritarians refused to accept authority, even within the framework of socialist–communist concerted actions and thus, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, threatened the movement of this time period.⁶¹ The actual triumphant launch of the concept of antiauthoritarianism, however, was not this late nineteenth-century quarrel, but sociological and psychological discussions by the leading scholars of the critical and Marxist-oriented Frankfurt School from the 1940s onwards.

As early as 1933, Wilhelm Reich sought to explain the reasons for the emergence of fascism by claiming the existence of a fundamental causal relationship between the authoritarian repression of—first and foremost sexual—drives and the ideology of fascism.⁶² Drawing implicitly on Reich, Erich Fromm, director of the social–psychological department of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research since 1930, further

developed the theory of the authoritarian, or more exact, authority-bound character. Additionally, he emphasized the role of the family in the development of the social character or personality of an individual.⁶³

Up to this point, the theory of the origins of authoritarian and fascist behavioral modes had been developed in Germany during the Weimar Republic and early Third Reich. With the exodus of Jewish and communist-oriented scholars during the Third Reich, the researchers as well as the theory emigrated across the Atlantic Ocean to the United States. In the early 1940s, Max Horkheimer, who had arrived in Los Angeles in 1941, revived the original political meaning of the term. In his "The Authoritarian State," he presented a definition of the authoritarian state—first and foremost, but not exclusively, Nazi Germany—as a regime that is "repressive in all its forms" and destroyed "any initiative on the part of those ruled."⁶⁴

Both strands of inquiry, the sociopsychological and the political, were developed further by a research group at the University of California, Berkeley, in which Horkheimer's philosophical ally, colleague, and friend, Adorno, played a leading role. In the 1940s, Adorno and fellow scholars such as the social psychologist R. Nevitt Sanford, the psychiatrist and psychologist Daniel J. Levinson, and the psychoanalytic psychologist Else Frenkel-Brunswik (originally from Austria) investigated the concept of the "authoritarian personality." Like Reich, they sought to find the reasons for the advent of National Socialism and fascism in Germany and argued that individuals who had been victims of authoritarian and repressive pedagogy during childhood were most likely to develop an authoritarian personality. Furthermore, these individuals were also susceptible to serving the needs of an authoritarian state by themselves behaving repressively and in an authoritarian manner.⁶⁵ Copying Fromm's research method of the mid-1930s, they based their findings on the results of a detailed questionnaire that had been used in a series of interviews. The study was published under Adorno's name in 1950, five years after the end of the Second World War and the public acknowledgment of the Nazi atrocities.⁶⁶ The research of the Berkeley group thus could easily be understood as an investigation that sought to explain the causes of the Holocaust.

In the late 1960s, with Adorno and Horkheimer having returned to Frankfurt in 1949, the two branches of the authoritarianism concept, the political-theoretical and the sociopsychological, were adopted into the ideology of the New Left. The West German student leader Rudi Dutschke applied the term "antiauthoritarian" to the New Leftist intellectuals' protest against the manifestations of authority in the Federal Republic, first and foremost among those the passage of the emergency

acts in May 1968.⁶⁷ The students' revolt was now construed as a fight against the authoritarian state and the menace of a new world war and genocide. They saw the latter prefigured in current authoritarian modes of behavior that manifested themselves in strict social hierarchies in the workplace and the family, such as submissive greeting formulas and stiff dress codes.⁶⁸

It is this general authoritarian climate that distinguishes West Germany of the 1950s from, for example, the United States where at least in academic life behavior had become much more antihierarchical already in the 1940s. Adorno, for example, who had left Germany in 1934, considered the relationship between professors and students at North American institutions of higher education much more relaxed than in Germany. Ten years after his return to Europe, he wrote in his 1959 article "On the Democratization of German Universities":

As for the inner enterprise of German universities, the question of democratization is essentially one of authority. The traditional authority-bondage of the students dissolves itself unquestionably in the course of the adjustment of the academic system to American norms that probably follows an immanent social law and can by no means be dismissed as superficial Americanization. When, ten years ago, I returned from America to the Frankfurt University there were still numerous students who, when they spoke with their professor, clicked their heels together.⁶⁹

Moreover, in the United States, the participatory, antihierarchical, and antiauthoritarian impetus of the students—the politically engaged as well as the apolitical groups—appeared to have been encouraged by scientists inspired by the UC Berkeley research group.⁷⁰ Intense empirical research on the behavior of college students, by Sanford and the psychologists Jane Loevinger, George G. Stern, and Joseph Katz, led to the conclusion that one of the main purposes of a college education had to be to overcome authoritarian attitudes (attributed to college freshmen) and to form antiauthoritarian personalities.⁷¹ This personality type was marked by the ability to think critically and independently and to develop strong political opinions.⁷² Adopting the theories on authority and authoritarianism, as West German students inspired by Rudi Dutschke had done, therefore did not make much sense for their American counterparts. Here, antiauthoritarianism did not serve as a typically New Leftist topic or as an identity-generating issue.⁷³ The clashes of the Free Speech Movement with the management of UC Berkeley and the California police in the winter of 1964 might be

considered a fight against forces that were behaving in an authoritarian manner, but the starting point of the movement was not dissent about authority, but the conflict between the university's management and the students over the question whether civil rights activists were permitted to give a talk on campus.

Whereas the term "(anti-)authoritarian" did not play a significant role in the American New Leftist discourse, in West Germany, the anti-authoritarian spirit enthused many of the New Leftist protesters. "Authoritarian" became an omnipresent buzzword. For example, Rolf Tiedemann, Adorno's assistant in the early 1960s and later editor of his writings, identified the "ideology of the authoritarian character" and "stereotypes of fascistic thinking" with the German police, including the state officials who had killed Benno Ohnesorg during a demonstration in June 1967.⁷⁴ Moreover, Reich's sexually oriented concept of the authoritarian character perfectly supported the change in lifestyles and sexual relationships.⁷⁵

Not surprisingly, the antiauthoritarian wing of the New Left also showed its influence in the musical field. Immersed in its intellectual climate, musicians and music students felt obliged to join the fight against authoritarian figures. They not only unmasked former National Socialist academics, i.e., those personalities who had been proven to be susceptible to authorities, especially the Nazi authorities,⁷⁶ but they also called attention to aspects of the old-fashioned, uptight German educational methods and mores oriented toward practice and discipline which still prevailed in conservatories and orchestras. For this critique, the music students could draw on an argument that—again—Adorno had endorsed in an article published in *Dissonances* in 1956. (Adorno's writings, especially his *Philosophy of New Music*, but also *Negative Dialectics* and *Dissonances*, had become almost obligatory reading for politically motivated music students in the late 1960s).⁷⁷ Underscoring the relevance of social relationships in music as a seismograph for the whole society, Adorno had stated:

The orchestral apparatus is alienated from both itself—because no member ever precisely hears everything that happens around him—and the unity of the music to be presented. This conjures the alienated institution of the conductor in whose musical and social relationship to the orchestra this alienation is prolonged. . . . Because, however, submission to a person is technically required by the matter, and because as regards the conductor, the authority of the person and of the matter merge, the original resistance has to search for reasons. They are offered abundantly. If one observes how, after a successful performance, conductors ask the

orchestra to stand up, one feels the awkwardly assiduous attempt to correct the relationship outwardly as well as the continuous renitence that ignores such correction because it does not change anything about the basic relationship. Yet, recalcitrant people are willing to bow when they scent power. The social psychology of the orchestra musician is that of the Oedipal character, oscillating between rebel and duck. The resistance against authority has shifted: what has been rebellion once and might as such ever still feel that way, attaches itself to such instances of authority in which it, as not authoritarian enough, makes a fool of itself. . . . Yet, the overall questionable esprit de corps which is related to the authoritarian-bound syndrome cement together occasionally the productive co-operative of conductor and orchestra.⁷⁸

Adorno's analysis of the complex psychosocial relationship between conductor and orchestral musicians, and the paradoxical role that authority and rebellion play in this relationship, resonated with the New Leftists' concerns, though perhaps in a simplified and less ambiguous way. Orchestral music and the contemporary music scene in general were considered to be inherently authoritarian and antidemocratic because of their hierarchical structures.⁷⁹ Furthermore, educational methods and the purpose of music education were criticized as repressive and ruthlessly profit-oriented. In 1970, the composer and music writer Konrad Boehmer, who had moved to the Netherlands in 1966, described the education of musicians at German conservatories as all "drill and coercion—both socially sanctioned—that seek to produce musicians who perpetually reproduce musical values [i.e., the classical concert repertoire] with a reactionary ideological basis."⁸⁰ Not coincidentally, such ideas corresponded perfectly with the program of the antiauthoritarian political movement. Student leader Hans-Jürgen Krahl, for instance, considered authoritarian behavior and achievement-oriented attitudes as two sides of the same coin and encouraged resistance from his fellow protesters. In an unfinished article from 1969, he wrote that the "antiauthoritarian consciousness is neither willing to submit to the *repressive, achievement-oriented, disciplining and socializing* demands of the political struggle, nor to yield to the theoretical, scientific, equally achievement-oriented criteria of reflection."⁸¹

In addition to criticizing their own educational situation, the students searched for solutions to the problems they had identified. In December 1968, the first student protest in the field of music had taken place. Before the premiere of Hans Werner Henze's oratorio *The Raft of the Medusa* on 9 December 1968 in Hamburg, students distributed a flyer in which they invited Henze, whose New Leftist activism and engagement had only recently become known, to develop with them

“models of music making that cannot be manipulated by state subsidies.” The students called on Henze to help “break up the authoritarian structures of the orchestra and the whole musical enterprise and to convey to the musician a new critical consciousness” that would go beyond the mindless reproduction of music on cue.⁸² Paying tribute to these insights into the intertwining of authority and orchestral performance structures, avant-garde musicians (as well as those of the early-music movement⁸³) developed ensemble structures and performance practices that avoided not only a conductor and hierarchal relationships between the musicians, but also the use of a score.⁸⁴

The imperatives of antiauthoritarianism also initiated a serious critique of the classical canon and the established concert repertory. It is this critique, driven by the New Leftist antiauthoritarian impetus, in which the Beethoven celebrations of 1970 originated.

Beethoven as Target of Antiauthoritarian Critique

In light of the antiauthoritarian imperative, the compositional concept of the “Beethoven 1970” pieces (i.e., their fractured character), the pun in the title *Ludwig van* (fun), and the mode of addressing Beethoven in the titles were clearly readable as inspired by an antiauthoritarian impulse. *Ludwig van* and *Our Ludwig* called the master by his first name. While this might have been considered common practice in English-speaking countries, in authoritarian Germany, where students used the formal address with each other throughout the 1960s, the use of the first name only in the titles was clearly meant as provocation, indicating that the distance, respect, and high esteem in which a figure of authority was to be held according to traditional, conservative manners, was no longer applicable. In brief, despite Kagel's claim to seek to *rescue* Beethoven's music and bring about a moderate *reform* of performance practice, his aggregate treatment of Beethoven implied the rejection of authority, or to be more exact, the rejection of *music historical* authority manifesting itself in the ideology of traditions, canons, and great masters.⁸⁵

The comments of music journalists are even more revealing. They show that the antiauthoritarian message did not fail to provoke audiences. Gerhard Brunner, who reported on the Viennese world premiere of the film *Ludwig van*, considered the outraged reactions of audience members who shouted “filth” and “mindless crap” manifestations of their *devotional* belief in the authority of “holy traditions” and “eternally valid values.”⁸⁶ That is, Brunner reproached listeners for their conservative attitude and authoritarian personality.⁸⁷ He welcomed

Kagel's film as an effective attack on the consumers of classical music, including critics, and their dependence on authorities that he considered deeply connected with the aesthetic preference for classical music. In Brunner's view, Kagel's film served as an affront to those—concert organizers and audiences—who actively or passively participated “in the gigantic convergence of culture and commerce that we have to thank for the beautiful years of jublations and festivals.” These jublations and festivals were “the most visible signs of our belief in *authorities*, an adherence to the notion of the indestructibility of the classic tradition.”⁸⁸ In other words, Brunner—as well as the premiere's indignant audience—interpreted Kagel's treatment of Beethoven's works as a rejection of the authority the great master Beethoven epitomized. The opinion that an innate connection existed between the specific approach to works of the classical–romantic canon (here, Beethoven) and the antiauthoritarian orientation was shared by Koch. In the context of the events of the Beethoven year discussed earlier, the music critic recommended a new, antiauthoritarian attitude toward Beethoven that should comprise “a lively, engaged, *critical* relationship to [Beethoven's] works, an honest point of view,” and “the *boldness* to no longer consider Beethoven a sacred cow. The *authoritarian* claim of the classic culture must be abolished.”⁸⁹ This was Koch's call to revolution in the field of classical music.

Similarly, in his 1970 review of Kagel's recording of *Ludwig van* in the *Neue Musikzeitung* (NMZ), Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich, critic and associate editor of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, attributed to Kagel anti-authoritarian and New Leftist critical intentions. Kagel's composition sought to “alienate Beethoven from himself,” “disguise the naturally grown appearance of the composition as arbitrary composite,” “question the sacrosanct this-way-and-not-another,” and to “criticize the deceitful brilliance of accurate chamber-music bravura.”⁹⁰ Drawing on the ambiguity between caring rescue and reckless destruction, a result of collage technique, Jungheinrich underscored the deconstructive, aggressive impulse of Kagel's use of it. He considered the collage to be an attempt to overcome the threat posed by the great master's authority and omnipresence, which he compared to a vampire.

Undoubtedly, there is . . . the vampire aspect. Here [in Kagel's composition], Beethoven, who—especially during this Beethoven year—is an undead who sucks from the living composers the little trickle of publicity they do have, is bereft of his own expression. What is ingenious about Kagel's procedure [the combination of various quotations of Beethoven] is that he [Beethoven] partially divests himself of lifeblood with his own

sounds. This certainly hurts the memorial to Beethoven more than a montage that juxtaposes individual melodic fragments, different compositional material, like essentialities, holy in themselves.⁹¹

With the metaphor of the vampire, Jungheinrich suggests a psychoanalytical interpretation of Kagel's compositional strategy that can be seen as a combination of two Freudian syndromes: patricide and the identification with the aggressor. Because of his compositional potency and authority, Beethoven acted as an almighty and omnipresent father figure contemporary composers needed to kill in order to reach adulthood and become independent. This "murder" was carried out in an act that adopted the weapons of the father,⁹² the person whom the adolescent had identified as aggressor. Therefore, Kagel sucked the blood of Beethoven who in turn had sucked the blood of living composers. Siebert's compositional procedures can be seen to possess a similar patricidal impetus. He minimized Beethoven, the father figure, by suppressing the image of the hero and exposing the handicapped and embarrassing features of the master.⁹³

But why was it Beethoven's bicentennial that produced such antiauthoritarian avowal in classical and avant-garde music? Other celebrations scheduled during the period of the student upheavals and revolt, such as the centenary of Hans Pfitzner in 1969 and the tercentenary of Heinrich Schütz in 1972, received little attention from anti-authoritarian critics. Why was Beethoven in particular associated with authority and repression? As Dennis and Buch have demonstrated in their monographs on the history of Beethoven images, the National Socialists had successfully constructed a heroic and aggressive Beethoven image.⁹⁴ How much this image had been internalized by Germans and was still haunting them twenty-five years after the collapse of the Third Reich becomes evident in various sources.⁹⁵ (In contrast, Wagner, who had been even more useful to the National Socialists, had been more radically "denazified" after Zero Hour.) For instance, in *Dissonances*, Adorno characterized Beethoven's music as authoritarian, repressive, and indirectly violent because, from his vantage point in 1956, it claimed to convey the transcendental, irrefutable truth and evidence ("So it is") by dishonest rhetorical means, such as recapitulation. Most strikingly, Adorno put forth an image of Beethoven in this article that contradicted the one he had developed in the 1930s for a monograph which remained unfinished: Beethoven as the epitome of the enlightened composer.⁹⁶

That the affirmative gesture of the recapitulation in several of the greatest symphonic movements of Beethoven . . . embraces the *violence* of the *repressive*, the *authoritarian* “So it is” . . . is Beethoven’s forced tribute to the ideological essence under whose spell even the most superior of music that ever signified freedom in light of continuous *bondage* must fall. The assurance that the recurrence of the theme is the sense, i.e. the self-revelation of immanence as the transcendent, is the cryptogram for the fact that reality, which only reproduces itself and is welded into a system, makes no sense. Instead of sense, it [i.e., reality] plants its total functioning.⁹⁷

Although Adorno’s argument on meaning and effect of recapitulation is little convincing—if true, then all music based on the sonata form must be considered authoritarian, repressive, and indirectly violent—the suggested connection between Beethoven, authority, and violence certainly mirrored what many Germans—consciously or unconsciously—associated with Beethoven in the decades after 1945.⁹⁸ This became most clearly apparent in the context of the Beethoven bicentennial. The connection established between the Beethoven image and violence and, according to Reich et al., authoritarian National Socialism⁹⁹ led to a noteworthy event that—*quelle coincidence!*—happened at the end of the Beethoven year. Recognizing its significance, freelance journalist Hanspeter Krellmann mentioned it in his 1971 review of the Beethoven bicentennial entitled “Song of Joy.”¹⁰⁰

In the middle of the night of 5 November 1970, male nurse Ekkehard Weil (age 21) shot and hurt a Soviet sentry at the Russian cenotaph in West Berlin. Newspapers reported that Weil, who had sworn to uphold the nationalist cause, had shaped his life and environment by collecting objects that he thought expressed his Germanness. A search of his accommodations turned up portraits of Beethoven, in addition to images and writings of Hitler. As regards this list, only few [of the readers] might have stumbled upon this story and registered this most peripheral, in any case most macabre, contribution to the Beethoven year 1970. Here was a bitter and certainly mentally disturbed sniper who collected images of Beethoven because he identified Beethoven, like other men, objects, or symbols, as typically German. The facts of the case are symptomatic [of fascist inclinations]; scorn for Weil is not appropriate.¹⁰¹

Weil’s behavior indirectly confirmed Adorno’s theory that “the image of the leader satisfies the twofold desire of individuals who are commanded by others: to submit to authority and, at the same time, to act themselves as authorities.”¹⁰² Identifying closely with the ideology

of the Third Reich and submitting himself indirectly to its leaders, Weil acted as an authority by shooting people who for him represented the ideological enemy, in this case the Soviet sentry representing Soviet Communism, for National Socialists one of the primary enemies.¹⁰³

For his collection of memorabilia, Weil could draw on established models. One example not mentioned in Dennis's and Buch's monographs is the Nazi propaganda film *Musical Request Program (Wunschkonzert; 1940)*¹⁰⁴ which features a young German Wehrmacht soldier whose nostalgia is conveyed in the film through music. Not only is he shown playing the piano, the piano is also decorated with a bust of Beethoven. A third, better known example demonstrates how much the connection between Beethoven and fascism and/or violence had become internalized by Europeans and North Americans at the end of the 1960s: Stanley Kubrick's *Clockwork Orange* of 1968, based on Anthony Burgess's novel of 1962. The film's hyper-violent characters love to listen to classical music, especially Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.¹⁰⁵ If, however, in 1970 Beethoven was generally associated with Nazi totalitarianism, Stockhausen's *Kurzwellen für Beethoven* could similarly be interpreted as an upshot of the totalitarian Beethoven image. By mimicking a global broadcast of Beethoven works, *Kurzwellen für Beethoven* showed an omnipresent, *total* Beethoven—without evaluating the totalitarian feature of this presentation.

The antiauthoritarian revolt had by no means an only temporary impact on the music scene. The skepticism toward the great masters that the revolt had brought about also affected the so-called postmodern generation of composers in West Germany during the 1970s.

Postmodern Music and the Crisis of the Philosophy of History

A significant, though not indispensable feature of the cultural–historical period of postmodernism, as commonly defined, is the use of stylistic and literal quotations. By applying postmodernist concepts to the musical field, scholars have argued that postmodern music—in West Germany the term applies to music composed since the mid-1970s—was inspired by the dramatic and fairly sudden change in musicians' attitudes toward ideas developed in the philosophy of history, an intellectual field that had spurred not only technical developments and sociopolitical improvements since the Enlightenment, generally aiming at achieving a comfortable, happy life for all human beings, but had also driven progress in music. Over the past 250 years, general history as well

as the history of music had been understood in terms of progress and innovation and had been driven by the belief in the benignity of innovation and progress. Since the mid-1970s, however, history, as it had been conceived by philosophers and historians (and therefore music history, too), seemed to have been severed from the idea of progress as the driving force of change.¹⁰⁶ In light of the political and humanitarian catastrophes of the twentieth century—two world wars and the Holocaust—the recent past did not appear to have developed progressively and, thus, the belief in progress as the amelioration and improvement of the human condition did similarly not appear to be justified. Intellectuals concluded that world history was not determined by *progress*, but by *decline*.¹⁰⁷ In brief, key modernist concepts were no longer valid. Intellectuals expressed this new worldview by dubbing the historical period which, from their perspective, had followed modernity proper not by referring to its character or peculiarities but by marking it as merely coming after the preceding epoch. In other words, it was defined not by *what it was*, but by *what it wasn't*. This was primarily indicated by the prefix “post” and manifested itself in terms such as postmodernity, poststructuralism, and *posthistoire*.¹⁰⁸

In music, this pessimistic worldview articulated itself in theories such as Carl Dahlhaus's of 1983. Dahlhaus observed the loss of confidence that music would “be carried by history as an objective spirit [in the Hegelian sense]”¹⁰⁹ as an explanation for the emergence of “New Expressivity” (*Neue Expressivität*), as postmodern music was labeled shortly thereafter (in addition to other labels such as “*Neue Einfachheit*” and “*Neotonalität*”).¹¹⁰ Explicitly drawing on Jürgen Habermas but in fact also paraphrasing Dahlhaus, Hermann Danuser described the compositional

comeback of genres in recent music as post-avant-garde or postmodern . . . as a time period of a “turnaround,” a crisis of the economical, cultural, and also political idea of progress that occurred around the middle of the 1970s in Europe and which, in the fields of art and aesthetics, ended the decade-long reign of the philosophy of history and introduced the idea of a subjectivity which is unreservedly open towards the past.¹¹¹

Danuser and musicologist and radio producer Ulrich Dibelius added further to the loss-of-history explanatory model. They argued that in the past the commitment to the idea of progress had driven avant-garde composers and had prevented them from adopting older, “obsolete” compositional techniques. According to both authors, the critique and crisis of the idea of progress¹¹² in the 1980s and 1990s had led to the “collapse of

the avant-garde"¹¹³ and the "restitution of tradition."¹¹⁴ Thus, after radical musical avant-gardism, which had manifested itself in 1950s serialism as well as indeterminism and the extension—or delimitation—of musical material in the 1960s, a compositional technique developed that turned to comparably moderate, clearly backward-looking styles. The music of Wolfgang Rihm (b. 1952), Wolfgang von Schweinitz (b. 1953), Manfred Trojahn (b. 1949), Detlev Müller-Siemens (b. 1957), Hans-Jürgen von Bose (b. 1953), Hans-Christian von Dadelsen (b. 1948), and Wilhelm Killmayer (b. 1927)¹¹⁵ was immersed in "neoromantic" expression, allusions to major–minor tonality and—most relevant in this context—the mimicry of stylistic idiosyncrasies of classical–romantic heroes such as Mahler, Beethoven, and Schubert. It was the loss of the concept of history-as-progress, scholars argued, that permitted this generation of composers to come to the fore.

The composers themselves confirmed the cultural–critical, posthistorical interpretation of the musicologists. In 1978, at the age of twenty-six and two years after the premiere of his orchestral *Morphonie–Sektor IV*, the start of his career, Rihm stated that "New Music . . . relieved from the dependence to expose *new* modules [i.e., the coercion to be innovative], has come to itself. . . . It is free to build."¹¹⁶ In the same context and like Rihm, Bose explained that his compositions are based on the "longing for a lost beauty and content [on the one hand] and the rejection of feigned belief in progress [on the other]."¹¹⁷

The end-of-history narrative was extremely successful in the 1980s and 1990s and intellectuals referred to it at any opportunity. The topos was so electrifying that the term "end of history" developed into a dictum.¹¹⁸ It is therefore by no means surprising that musicologists thought the idea apt also to explain the emergence of postmodern music. However, what has been neglected thus far is that this model cannot fully account for the fact that several postmodern composers imitated especially compositional idioms of the so-called grand masters: Mozart, Brahms, Beethoven, and Schubert. The phenomenon becomes most apparent in compositions that name the source of the adoption, as in Müller-Siemens's *Sieben Variationen über einen Ländler von Franz Schubert* for wind instruments and string quintet (1977–78), Killmayer's *Brahms-Bildnis* for piano trio (1984), Rihm's *Erscheinung: Skizze über Schubert* for piano (1978), Schweinitz's *Mozart-Variationen*, op. 12, for orchestra (1976, performed no fewer than nine times in West Germany between 1975 and 1978)¹¹⁹ and *Streichsextett-Hommage á Franz Schubert*, op. 16 (1978).

What was striking in these compositions was that composers not only imitated past compositional styles and languages in general, which

could easily be related to the idea of the loss of history, but that they also availed themselves of the recognizable idioms of individual composers. Thus the question arose, as Richard Taruskin put it, “Why evoke the styles of particular ‘masters’ rather than use the language of tonality in a more generic way that might ultimately become one’s own?”¹²⁰ Moreover, the postmodern composers’ fondness for referring to the great masters did not comply with another explanation for the naissance of postmodernism: the loss of the human subject¹²¹ that, according to the philosophy of history, had advanced history by improving society and living conditions.¹²² In contrast to this essential thread in postmodern narratives of the 1980s, the revival of the heroic and genius ancestors and the use and development of borrowed musical material suggested rather that the subject was more alive than ever. As Jann Pasler claimed in 1993, “the ‘subject(s)’ of a composition [categorized as postmodern] and its meaning have in some ways never been more important.”¹²³

Following from the discussion in the preceding sections of this article, the solution to the obvious paradox is apparent: The obsession with the great masters and the specific way in which postmodern compositions made reference to them reflect not so much what is usually considered to be the postmodern zeitgeist (i.e., in the sense of the abstract ideas of the loss of trust in history, progress, and innovation, the anything-goes, *posthistoire*, and the death of the subject); rather, this phenomenon reflects the sociopolitically, concretely informed new approach to authorities inspired by the antiauthoritarian movement in West Germany. This further suggests the need for an investigation of the degree of influence of the antiauthoritarian impulse on the approach of the subsequent generation of composers, especially Schweinitz, Müller-Siemens, Bose, and Rihm. For this, a specific pool of compositions will stand in for the larger music historical context in which the above-mentioned postmodern compositions have to be situated. I will dub this pool, a genre on its own, “variation-and-homage compositions.”¹²⁴

Important contributors to this genre, which was strongly informed by neoclassical aesthetics¹²⁵ and predominated the West German contemporary music scene,¹²⁶ were composers such as Boris Blacher,¹²⁷ Benjamin Britten,¹²⁸ Alfredo Casella,¹²⁹ Werner Egk,¹³⁰ Hans Werner Henze,¹³¹ Philipp Jarnach,¹³² Bohuslav Martinu,¹³³ and Ralph Vaughan Williams,¹³⁴ whose homage-and-variation pieces, composed from 1910 through the 1960s,¹³⁵ were regularly performed in concert or radio programs (between three and fifty times). As in the avant-garde “Beethoven 1970” pieces and the postmodern compositions mentioned above, these composers frequently used tonal material as well as well-known themes by

Clementi, Paganini, Scarlatti, Rameau, Purcell, and Thomas Tallis as source material. Typical titles were *Sweelinck-Variationen* (Karl Höller, 1951) or *Hommage à Mozart* (Blacher, 1956), i.e., they explicitly refer to preceding composers.¹³⁶ These compositions, which mostly belong to what Arnold Whittall called the European “moderate mainstream,”¹³⁷ have to be considered, with the avantgarde “Beethoven 1970” pieces, the music historical context from which postmodern music emerged in the mid-1970s.

Postmodern Music and the Impact of Antiauthoritarianism

Müller-Siemens was twenty-one when he composed his *Seven Variations on a Landler by Franz Schubert* in 1977–78.¹³⁸ He had been a truly gifted child and at the age of thirteen had started to study composition, piano, and conducting at the music conservatory in Hamburg with György Ligeti and others. The first piece on his work list dates from 1975, when he was eighteen years old. In *Seven Variations*, Müller-Siemens not only adopts musical material from Schubert, he also presents the theme, the *landler* for piano in A minor, and the variations that build on the theme, in a subtly distorted manner that clearly refers to the musical language that Kagel, Stockhausen, and Siebert had created in their Beethoven collages (Figure 5).

The statement of the theme quotes Schubert's *landler* almost as is; the melody and harmonies are the same, only the scoring and—slightly—the articulation have been changed. The piano is replaced by woodwinds (clarinet, bassoon, and French horn) and strings (violins I and II, viola, and cellos I and II), each playing solo and thus recreating the theme in a rather crude sound. Müller-Siemens enhances the specified sound quality by intensifying the articulation. Whereas Schubert's directions—a relatively large number of *sforzandos* and crescendo–decrescendo sequences within the sixteen-bar period—generate a lachrymose expression if played on a piano, the performance by a chamber ensemble in Müller-Siemens's setting lends it an agitated, eccentric, and fractured character, which the composer further intensified by adding another crescendo–decrescendo sequence to the ones in Schubert's score (see Figure 6, highlighted sequence).¹³⁹ In combination with the orchestration, the *sforzandos* and crescendo–decrescendo sequences lead to an overload of the simple homophonic, chorale-like texture of Schubert's *landler*. In addition, Müller-Siemens breaks down the steady flow of the music by having the instruments switch between registers, as well as between playing and rest. The degree to which this

Variationen über einen Ländler von Schubert

Thema (1-66)

regelmäßig leicht gemindert

Detlev Müller-Siemens (1978)

Viol. I, Viol. II, Vla., Vcl. 1, Vcl. 2, Kb., Fl., Kl., Horn, Fag., Tr., Schlagz.

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Figure 5. Detlev Müller-Siemens, *Seven Variations on a Ländler* by Franz Schubert, pp. 1 and 2. © 1978 by Ars Viva Verlag, Mainz. All rights reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors LLC, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Ars Viva Verlag/Schott Music, Mainz.

Figure 6. Detlev Müller-Siemens, *Seven Variations on a Ländler* by Franz Schubert, Variation 3, p. 15. © 1978 by Ars Viva Verlag, Mainz. All rights reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors LLC, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Ars Viva Verlag/Schott Music, Mainz.

dissociating interference with Schubert's composition, which aimed at aggravating the contrasts and breaks, suited the avant-garde musical aesthetics around 1970 becomes apparent when considering Kageł's

comments on the *sforzandos* in Beethoven's compositions in a 1971 interview with Felix Schmidt, principal arts editor of *Der Spiegel*. In classical concerts,

the *sforzandos* . . . are still performed according to the axiom that they are merely an accent in the context of the last indicated intensity. This way the climax is domesticated. I do not want to claim that *sforzandos* should unhinge the musical recital, but they have to come across as more brittle, edgy.¹⁴⁰

The specific aesthetics recognizable in the theme of Müller-Siemens's *Seven Variations*—the breakdown of the smooth, intact appearance of the music—is fully developed in the variations. All variations not only show a ragged sound surface generated by the polyphonic independence of the voices,¹⁴¹ but here the composer also intensifies the tendency toward fragmentation of this polyphonic technique through elaborate dynamic directions: extreme crescendos and diminuendos from *pp* to *ff* in the third variation,¹⁴² crescendo to *ff* and *subito p* (in the second variation), and in numerous open-ended crescendos, attributed to individual voices independently of the dynamic markings of the other voices. Most notably, these dynamic changes have to be carried out within a few seconds¹⁴³ (Figure 6).

A similar characteristic can be found in a work composed two years earlier: the *Mozart-Variationen* with which Schweinitz first made his name in 1977 at the age of twenty-four.¹⁴⁴ The composer based the statement of the theme of his work on bars 1–16 and 59–61 of Mozart's *Masonic Funeral Music*, whose end Schweinitz transformed into a majestic climax with timpani roll and screaming brass call (four French horns, three trumpets, three trombones, two tubas). As in Müller-Siemens's *Seven Variations*, the theme is presented in the original form¹⁴⁵ and with a change in the scoring (Schweinitz replaces three basset horns and two French horns with four French horns and adds a bass clarinet to the contrabassoon). Unlike in Müller-Siemens's piece, this does not affect the general character of the piece's timbre, except for the third and following variations where the *fluta a tiro* (swanee whistle) contributes to an overall sickly-sweet timbre. The theme is followed by six variations and a coda of twenty-five bars. The variations alter motifs and their harmonic contexts drawn from Mozart's *Funeral Music*, such as the distinctive climactic figure, consisting of the insistent repetition of the upper note and prepared by an upward leap (violin I, mm. 16–19), on the harmonic fundament of I7/iv–iv–II7/V; the stepwise downward movement from scale degree 3

(tonic) to the leading tone (dominant) (oboes, mm. 13–16); the haunting, grievous lament call e-flat–d at the beginning (oboes, mm. 1–2 and 7–8), which develops in the first variation into an *idée fixe*. The lusciously expanded turn figure derived from the first violin in m. 8 draws, together with the “inexact unison,”¹⁴⁶ on Mahler’s symphonic style¹⁴⁷ (Figures 7 and 8).

Variationen über ein Thema von Mozart für großes Orchester

Wolfgang von Schweinitz, op. 12

The image shows a page of a musical score for a large orchestra. The title is 'Variationen über ein Thema von Mozart für großes Orchester' by Wolfgang von Schweinitz, op. 12. The tempo is marked 'Adagio (♩ = 40)'. The score includes parts for Flauto piccolo, Flauto, Oboi, Clarinetto, Clarinetto basso, Fagoti, Contrafagotto, Corni, Trombe, Tromboni, Tuba, Timpani, Percussione, Violini, Viote, Violoncelli, and Contrabbassi. A section labeled 'A' is indicated by a box above the score. The score shows the beginning of the piece with various dynamics like p, f, and mf.

Figure 7. Wolfgang von Schweinitz, *Variations on a Theme by Mozart*, op. 12, pp. 4 and 5. © Hans Sikorski Verlag GmbH & Co. K., Hamburg. Used by permission.

THEMA

The musical score for 'THEMA' is a complex orchestral arrangement. It begins with a box labeled 'B' and includes the instruction 'scharf abreißen to be cut off very short'. The score is divided into several systems of staves. The first system includes Piccolo (Pic.), Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Clar.), Clarinet in Bass (Clar. b.), Bassoon 1 (Fag. 1), Bassoon 2 (Fag. 2), and Contrabassoon (C-fag.). The second system includes Cor Anglais 1 (Cor. 1), Cor Anglais 2 (Cor. 2), Trumpet 1 (Tr-be 1), Trumpet 2 (Tr-be 2), Trumpet 3 (Tr-be 3), Trombone 1 (Trom. 1), Trombone 2 (Trom. 2), Trombone 3 (Trom. 3), Timpani (Timp.), and Percussion (Perc.). The third system includes Violin 1 (Vni 1), Violin 2 (Vni 2), Viola (Vle), Violoncello (V-c), and Double Bass (C.b.). The score features various dynamic markings (p, f, pp, ff, mf) and performance instructions such as 'gr. C. pp' and 'mf mecco'. A box labeled 'B' is also present at the beginning of the string section.

Figure 7. Continued.

The obsessive repetitions of the turn figure, the luscious instrumentation (from the third variation onwards) and the non-Wagnerian “redemption” cadence¹⁴⁸ right before the coda effect a kitschy atmosphere that, as in Müller-Siemens’s *Seven Variations*, is complemented (and contrasted) by the disintegration of the smooth surface of the music. As in Schubert’s ländler, this disintegration results from the intensification of the given features of the theme: the abrupt changes between *p* and *f* from one bar to the next in the theme (mm. 9–16).¹⁴⁹ Schweinitz achieves this through the many short crescendo–

5. VARIATION. ADAGIO
 Langsam und mit größter Intensität im Ausdruck ($\text{♩} = 60$)
 (Lento e con massima intensità nell'espressione)
 Gezogen, großer Ton! / Broadly, with full tone!

Turn figure

Downward scale

Figure 8. Wolfgang von Schweinitz, *Variations on a Theme by Mozart*, op. 12, fifth variation, p. 24. © Hans Sikorski Verlag GmbH & Co. K., Hamburg. Used by permission.

decrecendo sequences that overlap between the different voices. The young composer thus situates his piece in relation to radical avant-garde aesthetics: a shredded musical texture, similar to those found in some works by Luigi Nono and that which originated in late-romantic patchwork orchestration, especially Mahler's dissociative style.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, Schweinitz destroys the appearance of a well balanced and fully rounded

composition through the use of microtones and glissandos that produce an out-of-tune sound.

Although Müller-Siemens's and Schweinitz's sound world of abruptness and fragmentation resembles the sound world of Kagel's and Stockhausen's pieces, the postmodern composers achieved this by different musical means—this is probably the reason why not the aesthetic *similarities*, but the aesthetic *differences* between avant-garde and postmodern compositional techniques in West Germany have usually been emphasized. Whereas in the total collages of the avant-gardists the abrupt, unmediated beginnings and endings of musical phrases and their interplay derive naturally from tears and folds in the paper and the fuzziness of the photos (Kagel), or the simulation of the shortwave broadcast distortion (Stockhausen), it is the rich repertoire of articulation instructions that fragment the dense texture in Müller-Siemens's and Schweinitz's compositions.¹⁵¹ That is, fragmentation is the result of the traditional subjectivity of the composer, not of the imposition of an exterior coincidental principle. These differences were of course predetermined by the choice of form. Unlike the collage, which Kagel, Stockhausen, Siebert, and Chiari chose, the variation form allowed the young postmodern composer to display his technical accomplishments.¹⁵²

To what degree, however, can the specific mode of adaptation and developing of musical material, even of whole sections or complete compositions such as those of Schubert and Mozart by Müller-Siemens and Schweinitz, be considered stimulated by the anti-authoritarian impulse of the student and protest movements of the 1960s and its manifestations in avant-garde compositions inspired by the Beethoven bicentennial of 1970? In what follows, I will avail myself of a cross-check by relating the postmodern compositions discussed above to the mainstream "variation-and-homage compositions," the latter serving as a foil to define more distinctly the postmodern composers' idiosyncracies.

The majority of mainstream variation-and-homage pieces, such as Paul Hindemith's *Symphonic Metamorphoses on Themes of Carl Maria von Weber* (1943) and William Walton's *Variations on a Theme by Hindemith* (1962),¹⁵³ were, like those by Müller-Siemens and Schweinitz, scored for a large late-romantic orchestra or an ensemble that appeared clearly oversized in comparison with the original scoring. Not unlike Müller-Siemens's postmodern *Seven Variations*, these pieces' massive, sublime character far exceeded the often rather simple styling of the compositions on which they drew. Unlike Müller-Siemens's *Seven Variations*, however, these compositions, which often belonged to the neoclassical

tradition, were for the most part fully tonal. Anton von Webern's *Fuga (Ricercata) a sei voci* of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Musical Offering* (1934/35), Igor Stravinsky's *Monumentum pro Gesualdo* (1960), and Hans Werner Henze's *Telemanniana* (1967) are simply reinstrumentations of compositions originally conceived as chamber music.

What is typical of all these compositions is their playful, confident, and sanguine character that, together with the rich, colorful orchestration, leads to their over-glorification, transcendence, and overwhelming charisma.¹⁵⁴ The emphatically confident and positive tone of the homage-and-variation pieces, a tone which is by no means typical for the majority of the European mainstream of the 1950s and 1960s,¹⁵⁵ obviously achieved what Kagel later criticized in his comments on *Ludwig van*: they made great music appear even greater. Furthermore, the variation pieces offered the younger composers in particular a good occasion to demonstrate their skills, placing them in the company of the established masters. Thus, the skillfulness of the variations or homages served to celebrate both the predecessor and the follower.

In contrast to the predominantly conservative and hagiographic character of classic homage-and-variation compositions before 1970, the postmodern compositions show an undeniably innovative orientation. Works such as Müller-Siemens's *Seven Variations* and Schweinitz's *Variations on a Theme by Mozart*, as well as other compositions of the younger generation in the 1970s, such as Rihm's *O Notte (Hommage a Dallapiccola)* and Frank Michael Beyer's *Streicherfantasien zu einem Motiv von J.S. Bach*, displayed a demonstrative disdain for wholeness; some of them additionally subverted any grand appearance of the music by generating pretentious kitsch.

In keeping with this orientation toward deconstruction, dissociation, and kitsch, composers designed an image of the great masters that was anything but heroic or respectable. This is most apparent in the 1972 composition *Schumann in Edenich* for piano, electronic organ, and percussion by Killmayer, a composer originally aligned with the moderate mainstream who became more prominent through the attention that the "young generation" of postmodern, neoexpressionist composers emerging in the early/mid-1970s attracted.¹⁵⁶ The Schumann to which Killmayer's composition refers is not the highly gifted young man, but rather the insane, run-down composer who had relocated to an asylum for mentally ill patients.¹⁵⁷

Killmayer states in his commentary to the 1972 recording that the composition is related to the experience of the artist in a society that he does not understand. "This young man had become more and more a 'foreigner' in an environment that wanted to be adult, 'grown-up.' He was

afflicted with this.”¹⁵⁸ In contrast to the established view of the compositional genius who stands above aesthetic laws because his works transgress compositional rules in innovative ways,¹⁵⁹ in his composition Killmayer characterizes Schumann’s madness as simple mental illness that manifests itself in the romantic composer’s difficulty in relating to the world.¹⁶⁰

The title’s allusions are captured by the music. What in Leo Navratil’s popular monograph *Schizophrenie und Sprache* of 1966 was labeled perseveration, the clinging or cleaving to an object or thought that manifests itself in verbal repetition,¹⁶¹ is transformed in Killmayer’s composition into the obsessive repetition of a simple, short melodic figure (mm. 1ff, 30ff, 87ff) (Figure 9).

The emulation of perseveration is complemented by threatening percussion sounds of a clichéd, film-music-related kind;¹⁶² eerie humming of the performers (mm. 36ff); and a dissonant organ pedal (mm. 71ff). The work operates, in brief, with simple onomatopoeic allusions. Although the obsessive recurrence of the melodic figure serves as a rudimentary structure for the piece, the arbitrary sequence of single musical ideas in between creates a dissociative musical form that seems to mirror the mental self-dissociation found in schizophrenic patients—absent-mindedness, lack of logical order and no pursuit of a rational cognitive goal, complemented by the volatile change of topics.¹⁶³ Moreover, the musical structure is by no means artistically elaborated.

Killmayer’s interest in insanity was not unique in the 1970s; it was shared by Rihm, who set the poems of Ernst Herbeck, called *Alexander (Alexanderlieder, 1975–76, and Neue Alexanderlieder, 1979)*. He also composed music on poems of Friedrich Hölderlin (*Hölderlin Fragmente, 1977*) and the rapist, poet, and artist Adolf Wölfl (Wölfl *Liederbuch, 1980*) as well as a chamber opera about the eighteenth-century poet Jakob Lenz (*Jakob Lenz, 1977–78*). All four had been diagnosed with mental illness.

The postmodern musical works on mentally ill composers, like Killmayer’s *Schumann in Endenich* which depicts the mad author who is driven neither by genius nor by muses but rather by a mundane psychological disorder, reveal the dramatic shift in the image of the grand masters and the postmodern composers’ relation to them. Whereas the pre-1970 homage-and-variation compositions seem to shout self-confidently, “You (the grand master) are great and I am great!” and “I want to be as great as you are!” the postmodern compositions show neither self-confidence nor admiration, but rather the expectation of the great master’s decadence and decline.¹⁶⁴ Displaying not the figure of the compositional doyen and grand master, but the moronic, morbid, disintegrating or, at least, depressed, lugubrious, and/or hypersensitive artist,

Schumann in Enderich

Wilhelm Killmayer
(1972)

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Figure 9. Wilhelm Killmayer, *Schumann in Enderich*. © 1974 by Schott Music, Mainz. All rights reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors LLC, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music, Mainz.

best exemplified by Schubert, Beethoven, Brahms, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,¹⁶⁵ and Mozart, the postmodern composers—Killmayer, Rihm, Müller-Siemens, and von Schweinitz—took over where their avant-garde, New Leftist-oriented, antiauthoritarian older brothers had left off:

after the murder of the father has been taken care of. The great master has been taken from his pedestal.¹⁶⁶

The depiction of mental degeneration, however, by means of which Killmayer and Rihm abandoned the concept of the hero and grand master, as the antiauthoritarian-oriented avant-garde composers had done before in the Beethoven year, does not equal the death of the author and/or loss of the subject that the postmodern discourse had defined as characteristic for postmodernism in general. (This is not to say that Killmayer and Rihm—as well as Müller-Siemens and Schweinitz—cannot be reasonably classified as postmodern composers.¹⁶⁷ On the contrary, the criteria of postmodernism, such as the death of the author, that have been claimed to be “typical” for postmodernism in general need to be put in perspective.)

The complex relationships between the 1970 Beethoven bicentennial, the New Leftist antiauthoritarian movement and its impact on the attitude toward the great masters in avant-garde music, the history of the Beethoven image, and the transformation of homage-and-variation compositions over the course of the twentieth century, and—finally—all these factors’ influence on postmodern music trace a specific West German story. Although the peculiar focus on the great masters in postmodern music has also been observed in other cultural regions, such as by Taruskin for the United States and by Pasler for France, this article does not seek to explain postmodern music in general. On the contrary, the West German example sheds light on the significance of specific sociocultural and political contexts that prevail in a particular country and complement international trends (in this case, Western postmodern ideology), on the one hand, and the individual preferences of composers, on the other.¹⁶⁸ A topography of postmodern music remains to be written. This is not to advertise nationalist chauvinism, but rather to emphasize the importance of sociocultural contexts for the development of composition, performance, and music reception.

The West German example furthermore suggests the need to distinguish between two types of postmodernism that manifested themselves in music: the antiprogressive, neoconservative, and apolitical type, often closely connected with the posthistorical loss of trust in innovation and progress,¹⁶⁹ on the one hand, and the type that prolonged the revolutionary, engaged climate of the student and protest movements.¹⁷⁰ Most importantly, both to some extent can look the same, i.e., have similar characteristics. Stylistic pluralism, for instance, can be the effect of a disinterested, “anything goes” attitude as much as of engaged democratization.¹⁷¹ Investigating these differentiations further, however, will be the topic of other papers.

Notes

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1. In different areas of the world, different codes have been developed to refer to the student and protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s: "1968" or "the sixties" or the "New Left" or "new social movements." These terms generally denote a time period of political upheaval and sociocultural change that started at the end of the 1950s and terminated in the mid-1970s, in West Germany with the so-called German Autumn in 1977. The end of the 1960s—1967 or 1968—is usually considered the climax of this significant period of the later twentieth century.
2. For a comprehensive investigation of this subject matter in West Germany and the United States, see Beate Kutschke, *Neue Linke/Neue Musik* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2007). On the relationship between "1968"/the sixties and music in France, see Eric Drott, "Free Jazz and the French Critic," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61, no. 3 (2008): 541–81; for the Netherlands, see Kailan R. Rubinoff, "The Early Music Movement in the Netherlands: History, Pedagogy and Ethnography" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2006; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006); and Robert Adlington, "'A sort of guerrilla': Che at the Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 2 (2007): 167–93; the Western world, David Robb, *Protest Song in East and West Germany since the 1960s* (Rochester, NY: Camden, 2007); Arnold Jacobshagen, *Rebellische Musik* (Cologne: Dohr, 2007); Beate Kutschke *Musikulturen in der Revolte* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008); Robert Adlington, ed., *Sound Commitments: Avant-garde Music and the Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and—serving as a very short introduction—Richard Toop, "Expanding Horizons: The International Avant-garde, 1962–75," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 453–63, esp. 472f.; in South and Middle America: Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and James E. Perone, *Music of the Counterculture Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004); for the

role that Beethoven played in avant-garde music between 1968 and 1977, Stephen Loy, “Beethoven and Radicalism: Socio-political Engagement and Awareness of Tradition in New Music, 1968–1977” (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2006) (unpublished). (Stephen Loy relates, like I do, the quotations of Beethoven to the student and protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. He also analyzes Kagel’s *Ludwig van* and Stockhausen’s *Kurzwellen für Beethoven* [see the section “The Beethoven Bicentennial”], yet his analysis leads to different results.)

3. The avant-garde music scene became active when the mainstream student protests culminated in 1967 and 1968 (the climactic events were the killing of the student Benno Ohnesorg by the police during a student demonstration against the Iranian Shah in West Berlin on 2 June 1967 and the shooting of student leader Rudi Dutschke by a mentally challenged worker on 11 April 1968)—and then declined.

4. Helmut Lachenmann’s *Guero* (1969) for piano, for instance, suspended the mellow piano sound. The periodically oscillating sound of the piano, resulting from the strike of the hammer against the strings, was replaced by noises produced by scratching the piano’s tuning pegs, strings, and keys themselves. Nicolaus A. Huber’s *Harakiri* (1971) rejected not only “beautiful” sounds, but also musical structure. He reduced the music to a single, coarse, breathy crescendo, produced by thirteen heavily out-of-tune violins with slack strings, followed by a prerecorded thunderstorm and a political–poetical declaration at the end.

5. Hans Otte’s *Zero* for orchestra and choir of 1971 depicted “the merciless monotony of working life without major aesthetical rupture and mediation” (Clytus Gottwald, “Viel Lärm um nichts,” *Melos* 39 [1972]: 257) by simply demanding that the performers repeat a single ten-second musical event (“klangliches Ereignis”) 224 times.

6. See the score for Dieter Schnebel, *Schulmusik I* (Mainz: B. Schott’s & Söhne, 1974), 12.

7. This spirit manifested itself in the replacement of culturally established “artificial” musical figures, such as the sigh figure, with “ordinary,” natural sounds, such as real sighs, screams, whimpering, etc. Furthermore, compositions—especially Schnebel’s *Maulwerke* (1968–74) “for organs of articulation and devices for reproduction” and Gerhard Stäbler’s *drüber . . .* (1972/73)—drew attention to the body of the performer, her gestures, her movements as *center*, not just *side-product* or *means* of the sound production.

8. The activists of “1968” or “the sixties,” i.e., the student and protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s, generally belonged to the generation born in the 1940s. Similarly, the musicians and composers who immersed themselves in the New Leftist spirit were between twenty-five and forty years old. See Martin Elste, “Die Politisierung von Sprache und Kriterien der Musikkritik nach 1968,” in *Musikkulturen in der Revolte*, 65–73.

9. Gottfried Eberle, “Jeunesse ehrt Beethoven,” *Neue Musikzeitung* 20, no. 1 (February–March 1971): 16.

10. Reiner Dahlgrün, “Beethoven als Prüfstein,” *Neue Musikzeitung* 20, no. 1 (February–March 1971): 7.

11. Wolfgang Seifert, “Beethoven und kein Ende: Kritischer Überblick über die Beethoven-Literatur am Ende des Jubiläumsjahres,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 131 (1970): 609–14, here 609.

12. Rudolf Klein, "Ein Beethoven-Film in Wien," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26 (1971): 241.
13. Friedrich Hommel, "Stockhausen in der Beethovenhalle," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 131 (1970): 7–8, here 7.
14. Between 1969 and 1970, the number of publications increased from 34 to 147 items per year; between 1971 and 1972, it receded again to 74 and 38 items per year (see RILM, accessed in November 2008).
15. *Beethoven, sein Leben und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern und Texten*, ed. Howard C. Robbins Landon (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970). *Beethoven im Mittelpunkt*, ed. Gert Schroers (Bonn: Thenée, 1970).
16. The authors were Mauricio Kagel, the East German musicologist Georg Knepler, the conductor Michael Gielen, Hans-Wilhelm Kulenkampff (director of the department of music at the Hessian radio), Hilmar Hoffmann (departmental head of culture [Kulturdezernent] of Frankfurt), Nikolaus A. Huber, the Swiss musicologist Hansjörg Pauli, Dieter Zechlin (professor of piano at the Deutsche Hochschule für Musik in East Berlin), and Gerhard Rühm (Austrian author, composer, and artist). I owe Andreas Maul (Hessian Radio, music production: dramaturgy) a debt of gratitude for assembling the manuscripts of the introductory texts for the symphony cycle.
17. See *Beethoven '70. Adorno, Kagel, Metzger, Pauli, Schnebel, Wildberger*, no editor (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1970), 7.
18. Mauricio Kagel, *Ludwig van* (film) (1969), in *The Mauricio Kagel Edition* (DVD) (Munich: Winter & Winter, 2006).
19. Joachim Kaiser, "Kagel und der 200. Geburtstag Beethovens," *Melos* 37 (1970): 365–66, here 365.
20. Tomás Marco, "Uraufführung von Kagels 'Ludwig Van' in Madrid," *Melos* 37 (1970): 196–97, here 197. "Laboratorio Alea," a studio of electronic music founded by Luis de Pablo, was financed by the brothers Huarte, who were in the construction industry. It aimed to support composers through grants and commissions. Associated with the studio was the group of composers *Alea Música Electrónica Libre*, consisting of Eduardo Polonio, Luis de Pablo, and Horacio Vaggione. Polonio participated in the Darmstadt International Summer Courses from 1966 to 1969 and, in this context, became interested in Kagel's works and experimental music theater. It was most likely Polonio who instigated the commission of Kagel's composition (*Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio et al., vol. 7 [Madrid: SGAE, 2000], 876). I am indebted to David Sanchez for this information.
21. See Knut Holtsträter, "Kompositionsweisen in Mauricio Kagels filmischer Arbeit zu *Ludwig van*," in "*Alte*" *Musik und "Neue" Medien*, ed. Jürgen Arndt and Werner Keil (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2003), 56–103, here 94.
22. The film was premiered in Vienna on 28 May 1970; the composition was premiered by the Cologne Ensemble for New Music in Madrid on 20 January of the same year.
23. Mauricio Kagel, *Ludwig van* (LP) (Deutsche Grammophon, 1970). The performers were Carlos Feller (bass), William Pearson (baritone), Bruno Canino (piano), Frederic

Rzewski (piano), Saschko Gawriloff (violin), Gérard Ruymen (viola), and Siegfried Palm (cello). Mauricio Kagel, *Ludwig van* (score) (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970).

24. *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Dokumentation 1969/70–1970/71*, ed. Ernst Thomas (Darmstadt: Deutsche Sektion der IGMN, 1971), 106.

25. Hommel, “Stockhausen in der Beethovenhalle,” 7.

26. Gerhard R. Koch, “Beethoven–Stockhausen,” *Neue Musikzeitung* 19, no. 3 (Juni–Juli 1970): 14.

27. The work was premiered by the Group New Music Berlin (Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin) of whom Siebert was a member and cofounder (in 1965). The performers were the Rosy Singers (vocal quintet), Rolf Kuhnert (piano), Helmut Krauss (speaker), and tape. Phone interview of the author with Wilhelm Dieter Siebert, 5 January 2009. The ensemble’s significance for the New Music scene during the Cold War in West Berlin cannot be underestimated. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, at the climax of the New Leftist protests in Berlin, the Group New Music Berlin organized joint concerts with foreign composers who had come to Berlin for a year on a stipend from the DAAD. Among them were Morton Feldman (1971), Frederic Rzewski (1963), Mario Bertoncini (1973), and Cornelius Cardew (1973).

28. *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 45.

29. Phone interview of the author with Wilhelm Dieter Siebert, mid-November 2008. Two other, but far less radical compositions that explicitly referred to the Beethoven bicentennial were Ján Cikker’s *Hommage à Beethoven* (1969), premiered in a symphonic concert in the broadcasting studios Hannover in 1970–71, and Friedrich Voss’s *Dithyrambus on a Theme by Beethoven* (*Dithyrambus über ein Thema von Beethoven*), commissioned by the city of Bonn and premiered on 6 October 1970 by City Concerts (Städtische Konzerte) (*Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 43 and 106).

30. Although both the film and the recording were obviously conceived independently of the published score, I consider both to be fictional realizations, faked performances, or “complants” of the score, to use Nelson Goodman’s term (Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art* [Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 1976], 143ff.). As Björn Heile put it, “the score is only a by-product of the film” and “the method of distribution and communication is reversed in comparison to the norm in concert music.” Heile, *The Music of Mauricio Kagel* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 108.

31. A similarly dissociative, torn-apart Beethoven, like in the collage, can be found in the sound track for the *Musikzimmer* scene of the film, the concert in Madrid, and on the recording. They were produced by procedures related to, but by no means identical with, the suggestions in the score. What they share is their carefully conceived fragmentary character. According to the sketches archived in the Paul Sacher Stiftung Basel, the music for the film scene is an artificial, well-planned collage of various compositions by Beethoven whose order and orchestration, a heterogeneous chamber ensemble of flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, trumpet, trombone, zither, guitar, violin I and II, viola, violoncello, double bass, timpani, and piano, enhances the effect of dissociation. (See the reconstruction of the creation process of the *Musikzimmer* scene on the basis of sketches in the Paul Sacher Stiftung Basel in Holtsträter, “Kompositionsweisen in Mauricio Kagels filmischer Arbeit zu *Ludwig van*.”) For the film scene Kagel simply combined several sound tracks with each other (Heile, *The Music of Mauricio Kagel*, 108).

The fragments on the recording, in contrast, are longer and are played in a partially coordinated way by the different groups (a string quartet, a piano accompanying a singer, a cello, or a violin). Yet, to balance out this attenuation of fragmentation, they are alienated by an effects pedal, including a reverberator and chopper. Kagel also intensifies these discordant, noisy appearances produced with the effects pedal by prolonging the dissonant sounds. See Holtsträter, "Kompositionsweisen in Mauricio Kagels filmischer Arbeit zu *Ludwig van*," 101.

32. When asked by the Düsseldorf Work Association of Cultural Organizations to deliver a lecture on Beethoven, Stockhausen proposed a night-long meditation on Beethoven's music which then became *Kurzwellen mit Beethoven*. The piece was premiered in the Robert-Schumann-Saal in Düsseldorf on 17 December 1969, "at the beginning of the Beethoven year 1970." Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Kurzwellen mit Beethoven," program text for the premiere, written on 20 July 1969, in Stockhausen, *Texte zur Musik 1963–1970*, vol. 3 (Köln: DuMont, 1971), 121–22, here 121.

33. Email from Suzanne Stephens to the author, 19 June 2007. (Stockhausen composed more than forty pieces for the clarinetist Suzanne Stephens.) Stockhausen made this decision in the late 1990s when he issued authorized recordings of his pieces through his publishing house, the Stockhausen Verlag. According to Kathinka Pasveer, Stockhausen had serious concerns regarding the work's compositional substance and the aesthetic–ethical legitimacy of quotations in general. Kathinka Pasveer, email to the author, 16 July 2009.

34. Some remarks on the origins of the soundscape of shortwave broadcasts are in order. Radio stations broadcast on different wavelengths with differing properties: long, medium, short, and ultra shortwaves. Because shortwaves have the advantage that they can be sent and received around the world, they were particularly popular during the Cold War when the states of the Eastern Bloc prohibited listening to broadcasts by their opponents and impeded reception through jamming, i.e., the broadcasting of disturbing signals on the same frequency. Apart from these intentional disturbances, shortwaves are additionally vulnerable to the activity of the sun or thunderstorms. It is these disturbances that cause the familiar shortwave sounds: whistling, clicking, and all other sorts of noise, including white noise.

35. The composition was premiered in 1968 at the *Pro music nova* festival in Bremen. The instruments are not specified. However, when Stockhausen created the piece, he had in mind the improvisation ensemble that had toured with him since 1964 and with which he premiered and recorded the piece. The recording was issued under the title *Stockhausen–Beethoven—op. 1970* (Deutsche Grammophon, 1970). The members of the ensemble were Aloys Kontarsky (piano), Harald Bojé (electronium), Johannes G. Fritsch (playing the viola with contact microphones), Rolf Gehlhaar (large tam–tam), and Stockhausen (acting as sound director).

36. Not unlike Cage's *Imaginary Landscape* of 1951, every musician in Stockhausen's *Kurzwellen* is equipped with her instrument and with a shortwave receiver which generates the musical material on which her imitation and improvisation is based. Each musician searches independently of the others for such a sound event. Stockhausen limited the way in which the musicians transform the material of the shortwave receivers through time-related directions in the score. They instruct the performers to relate to the precomposed received material by "first, imitating, then modulating and transposing in time" either the "rhythm, timbre, melodic contour [or] envelope," i.e., intensity.

Stockhausen, "Kurzwellen für sechs Spieler," program text of 1968 and program text of 3 July 1969, in his *Texte zur Musik 1963–1970*, 3:112–20, here 113 and 115. He furthermore directs the musicians not only to react to the shortwave material autonomously, but also to interact and perform with the other musicians. Stockhausen merges all sounds by transforming them simultaneously with electronic filters.

37. They replace the shortwave receivers of the musicians in *Kurzwellen*.

38. Wilhelm Dieter Siebert, *Unser Ludwig 1970* (score), unpublished. I am indebted to Siebert for providing me with a copy of the score and for answering various questions.

39. A fragment of the third movement is inserted between the first and second movements' segments; the mm. 162–68 of the second movement before these ones of 113–14.

40. Mm. 162–68 of the second movement are played in the order: four times mm. 162–68, one time mm. 165–68, and one time mm. 162–66.

41. Email of Frederic Rzewski to the author, 4 November 2008. Many thanks are due to Frederic Rzewski who performed the piece on numerous occasions between 1969 and 1970 and who provided me with information about Chiari's composition which is no longer available. Chiari died in May 2007. Rzewski's tape may still exist (email of Rzewski to the author). Another of Chiari's composition that drew on Beethoven is *Variations on "Fuer Elisa" by Ludwig van Beethoven* (See the exhibition catalogue *Giuseppe Chiari: oeuvres, livres, documents*, Musée d'art moderne, Paris, 30 January to 7 March 1976).

42. Toop, "Expanding Horizons: The International Avant-garde," 461.

43. See William S. Newman, "The Beethoven Mystique in Romantic Art, Literature, and Music," *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 354–87; David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics 1870–1989* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); and Esteban Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999). According to these writings, the Beethoven image is ambivalent, oscillating between celebrating Beethoven as warrantor of liberty and democracy, on the one side, and violence and fascism, on the other.

44. Dennis demonstrates in detail how, during the Third Reich, the image of Beethoven was shaped to reflect National Socialist ideals and depict him as violent composer. It was a "Nordic" and "folk-like Beethoven image," combined with the repression of the "leftist, idealist, humanitarian" Beethoven (143). Other authors constructed a link between Beethoven and Hitler (see for instance Eugen Hadamovsky, *Dein Rundfunk* [Munich: Eher, 1934] or again Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, 151 and 160). For the adaptation of Beethoven for the purposes of World War II, see in particular Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, 166 and 167.

45. Buch dedicates several pages to the Beethoven bicentenary and Stockhausen's and Kagel's "Beethoven 1970" pieces. Yet, except for the general contextualization of these instances with "the critique of the left" of the "bourgeois establishment," the intense impact of the New Left on the Beethoven reception around 1970 remains unexplored. Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven*, 262.

46. Similarly, the question whether postmodern compositions contain not only *post-modern*, but also *modern* features, as Alastair Williams has pointed out in regard to

Rihm's compositions, is not relevant in this context. Williams, "Swaying with Schumann: Subjectivity and Tradition in Wolfgang Rihm's 'Fremde Szenen' I–III and Related Scores," *Music & Letters* 87, no. 3 (2006): 379–97, here 384.

47. For instance, the music critic Hanspeter Krellmann, in his review of the Beethoven bicentennial from early 1971, stated rather vaguely that "with Kagel, an important, fruitful key word that perhaps incites contradiction has been dropped." Krellmann, "Song of Joy," *Musica* 25 (1971): 9.

48. "Über die Komposition 'Ludwig van.' Karl Faust im Gespräch mit Mauricio Kagel," *Musik und Bildung* 3 (1971): 555. (Italics added.)

49. Mauricio Kagel and Felix Schmidt, "Beethovens Erbe ist die moralische Aufrüstung," *Der Spiegel* 37, 7 September 1970, 195–98, here 195.

50. "Über die Komposition 'Ludwig van,'" 555. Kagel also reported, "I permit the musicians to intentionally perform imperfectly because this is not allowed in professional music" (556). The fragmentary character typical of Kagel's *Ludwig van* was obviously inspired by the ambition to emulate Beethoven's personal way of listening during a time when he was becoming increasingly deaf. "The ideal would be to perform Beethoven as he heard it. This means: 'badly.' I tried this as a composer in the film version of *Ludwig van*. The key idea was to re-orchestrate his music so that certain sound fields and frequencies that a deaf person barely hears, or hears in a distorted manner, are treated correspondingly." Kagel and Schmidt, "Beethovens Erbe ist die moralische Aufrüstung," 196.

51. Koch, "Beethoven a tempo," 124. Similarly, Hansjörg Pauli stated in 1970 that the "traditional Beethoven interpretation has made itself into an advocate—of the audience and against the work." Hansjörg Pauli, "Un certain sourire," in *Beethoven '70: Adorno, Kagel, Metzger, Pauli, Schnebel, Wildberger* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1970), 29.

52. Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, *Figuren des Zitats* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998).

53. Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music* (1948), trans. Arne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster (New York: Seabury, 1973), 48.

54. Björn Heile's "Avantgarde, Engagement und Autonomie: Mauricio Kagel in den sechziger Jahren" (presented at the conference "1968: Musik und sozialer Protest" [2005] and published in *Rebellische Musik*, ed. Arnold Jacobshagen [Cologne: Dohr, 2007], 81–91) mentions some interesting points regarding Kagel's relationship with the New Left. However, the overall argument of the article remains vague. Heile's main thesis is that Kagel "fell out with his former political companions" and "dissociated himself from the West-German Left" around 1970. Heile supports this claim with a series of observations that, in my view, do not hold up. For instance, when referring to Kagel's composition *Con voce* which criticized the crushing of the Prague Spring, he seems to suggest that Kagel distanced himself from the New Left, thereby implying that the New Left agreed in principle with the politics of the Warsaw Pact states (what it indeed did *not*) and that any critique of the latter's politics would automatically imply an anti-New-Leftist attitude. Historians still have not sorted out whether the New Left was biased for or against the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops. It seems that some fractions of the New Left criticized it (in accordance with right-wing positions), while others justified it. Kagel's reference to the crushing of the Prague Spring in a composition therefore does not define his relationship to the New Left. It can indicate

distance to the New Left as a whole as much as sympathy with the fraction of the New Left critical of the invasion. It is similarly unclear what it means that, as Heile mentions, Kagel stated that he could not talk about music with “leftists.” It is a well-known fact that the New Leftist activists’ interest in and understanding of avant-garde music was practically nonexistent. Kagel simply shared the experience of his fellow avant-garde composers, who explicitly sympathized with the New Left. This does not exclude the possibility that a composer’s work is nonetheless strongly influenced by and reflects New Leftist theories and ideas (as Kagel’s compositions in fact do). Furthermore, the fact that, in the early 1970s, New Leftist critics such as Jungeinrich reproached Kagel’s music as not radical enough might be interpreted as evidence that some New Leftist writers on music no longer considered Kagel a companion. However, this does not tell us anything about Kagel’s attitude toward New Leftist ideas and ideologies in the early 1970s. Neither does it prove that Kagel “fell out with his former political companions,” Heile claims (p. 89). Heile does not define who Kagel’s former political companions were and how his former positive relationship to them manifested itself (e.g., personal contacts to New Leftist activists, support of their political activities or compositions, or statements articulating sympathy with New Leftist theories and ideas). Also, another difficulty with Heile’s argument is, in my view, his assumption that New Leftist tendencies are basically identical with an artistic impetus aiming at the abolishment of the institution “art” and the integration of art into life (p. 82). This supposition overlooks the fact that the New Leftist spirit articulated itself in a large variety of artistic forms, topics, techniques, etc. that exceed by far the “art is life” thesis (see my *Neue Linke/Neue Musik*). Björn Heile and I have discussed these matters when I coedited his article for Arnold Jacobshagen’s volume in 2006 and again this year. Heile suggested that I include this note on his article, despite its critical character and despite my concerns. I highly appreciate his openness toward unrestricted scholarly discussion.

55. Kagel dedicated the piece to Cage.
56. A tape, for instance, added the whistling of demonstrations.
57. See Kutschke, *Neue Linke/Neue Musik*, chap. 2.
58. “Über die Komposition *Ludwig van*,” 556. One should note, however, that Kagel’s statement is in itself absurd because there is no Largo in A major in the “Hammerklavier” Sonata, only an Adagio sostenuto in F-sharp minor.
59. See previously quoted statement from Kagel and Schmidt, “Beethovens Erbe ist die moralische Aufrüstung,” 196n50.
60. Siebert, *Unser Ludwig 1970*, 11. (Italics added.)
61. See, for instance, Friedrich Engels, “On Authority” (1873), in *Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 730–33.
62. Wilhelm Reich, *Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1933), trans. Theodore P. Wolfe (New York: Orgone Institute, 1946). According to Reich, the repression of sexuality makes social power inscribe itself into the bodies of the underdogs and distorts the consciousness in ways that make it receptive to control through ideologies.
63. See Fromm’s contribution to Max Horkheimer, ed., *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (Paris: Alcan, 1936); and the same, *Die Furcht vor der Freiheit* (New York: Farrar &

Rinehart, 1941). See also Erich Fromm, *Arbeiter und Angestellte*, reconstruction of Fromm's work of 1929–30 by Wolfgang Bonß (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1980).

64. Max Horkheimer, "The Authoritarian State" (1940–42), in *Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), 95–117, here 102.

65. According to the current definition, the authoritarian personality corresponds to "an individual who perceives selected authorities as infallible, willingly carries out their orders, seeks security by courting their approval, and is subservient to the dictates of tradition." John A. Poppo-Stone and Marion White McPherson, eds., "Authoritarian Personality," in *Dictionary of Concepts in General Psychology* (New York: Greenwood, 1988), 31.

66. Theodor W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, NY: Harper, 1950).

67. The German emergency acts, which permitted the government to limit constitutional rights during a state of defense, tensions, or an internal state of emergency and disaster, were interpreted as a road "to an authoritarian constitution" and as revealing an "authoritarian trend in the Federal Republic." Anonymous, "SDS—Der Affe Sultan, Bericht der dem RCDS nahe stehenden Studentenzeitschrift, Ovis' über die XVII. SDS-Delegiertenkonferenz in Frankfurt, November 1962," in *Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung: Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail 1946–1995*, ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Rogner & Bernhard bei Zweitausendeins, 1998), 158, 159.

68. The first document to use the term "antiauthoritarian" was Rudi Dutschke's paper "... Professor Habermas, Ihr begriffloser Objektivismus erschlägt das zu emanzipierende Subjekt ...," presented at the Congress on the Conditions and Organization of Resistance in Hanover on 9 June 1967 (published in *Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung: Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail 1946–1995*, 2:251–53). The famous experiments of Stanley Milgram demonstrated that "men who are in everyday life responsible and decent [can be easily] seduced by the trappings of authority, by the control of their perception, and by the uncritical acceptance of the experimenter's definition of the situation into performing harsh acts." Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (London: Tavistock, 1969), 123. His work does not seem to have played a role in the German "antiauthoritarian" movements, probably because Milgram's findings of 1963 were not easily available in Germany before 1974. The first article on the experiments was released in 1963 in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. Milgram's monograph on this subject matter was released in 1969. (Thanks are due to Hannah Greene for reminding me of Milgram's experiments.)

69. Theodor W. Adorno, "Zur Demokratisierung der deutschen Universitäten" (1959), in *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. 20/1 of *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 335.

70. They articulated a clear bias against "bowing" (see R. Nevitt Sanford, "Campus Crisis in Authority," *Educational Record* 61 (1970): 112–15, here 113).

71. For instance, George G. Stern, "Environments for Learning," in *The American College*, ed. R. Nevitt Sanford and Joseph Adelson (New York: Wiley, 1962), 690–730, here 692.

72. Having investigated how students scored on the F(ascist) scale, which indicated the receptivity for authoritarianism, both the social psychologist Sanford and the

developmental psychologist Jane Loevinger were convinced that adolescence was an “authoritarian phase” in which the individual value system is not yet internalized. See Max M. Levin, “Changes in Authoritarianism,” in *No Time for Youth*, ed. Joseph Katz, Harold A. Korn, and Ving Ellis (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1968), 376–85, here 377; and the articles by R. Nevitt Sanford, “Developmental Status of the Entering Freshman,” 253–82, here 261, 262; Stern, “Environments for Learning,” 692; and Harold Taylor, “Freedom and Authority on the Campus,” 774–804, here 800, all in *The American College*.

73. Nevertheless, the psychologists evaluated the student revolt as a sign of a crisis of positive authority. See Harald A. Korn, “Personality Scale Changes from the Freshman Year to the Senior Year,” in *No Time for Youth*, 162–84; Sanford, “Developmental Status of the Entering Freshman,” 246; and Sanford, “Campus Crisis in Authority,” 115).

74. Rolf Tiedemann, “Vor Berliner Studenten” (on the murder of Benno Ohnesorg in June 1967), in *Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung: Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail 1946–1995*, 2:237–41, here 238.

75. To what degree Reich’s theory was integrated into New Leftist thought is demonstrated in a publication of the Munich group Subversive Action (Subversive Aktion) entitled “Abrechnung” (December 1962), published in *Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung: Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail 1946–1995*: “The interdiction, or just the limitation of the impulse of the drive [Triebregung] by an arbitrary authority, does not necessarily alleviate the readiness of the drive [Triebbereitschaft] and impede the execution of the action of drive [Triebhandlung], but denounces the action as taboo and charges the sinner with guilt. The continuously growing debit account obliges him more intimately to the authority the more he had seemingly raised against it” (160).

76. In the 1969 spring term, for instance, students of the Frankfurt conservatory distributed a flyer during a choir recital dedicated to the composer Philipp Mohler, informing the audience of Mohler’s political opportunism during the Nazi era. Author’s interview with Miriam Sohar on 12 March 2003.

77. Author’s interview with Habakuk Traber on 28 February 2003.

78. Theodor W. Adorno, “Dirigent und Orchester,” in *Dissonanzen, Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 14, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 292–307, here 296–97, 301–2, 306. Adorno’s analysis of the conductor–orchestra relationship seems to have been developed based on a model, i.e., Toscanini. See Samuel Chotzinoff, *Arturo Toscanini* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1955), 33ff.

79. The oboe player and conductor Mirjam Sohar, who was eighteen years old in 1968 and vitally engaged in the political and musical protests, explained retrospectively in 2003: “The composer behaves like the conductor, who prescribes what the other should do. Correspondingly, the composer prescribes what the music should sound like. This is not democratic enough. The concern of democracy—the deep concern of democracy—was connected with the political movement, with the antiauthoritarian movement, the interest in what happened during the Nazi era, and the change of all musical structures” (interview with Sohar). Performance techniques of the Fluxus movement, such as the destruction of *classical* musical instruments, first and foremost the piano, can thus be considered to prefigure artistic antiauthoritarian protest. Headings such as “From Authoritarian to Socially Conscious Music Making” (“Von autoritärem

zu gesellschaftsbewusstem Muskmachen") by Martin Geck demonstrate how much New Leftist musicians thought and acted in terms of the antiauthoritarian movement. Martin Geck, "Musiktherapie zwischen Heilpädagogik und Sozialpsychiatrie," in *Musiktherapie als Problem der Gesellschaft*, ed. Martin Geck (Stuttgart: Klett, 1973), 9–39, here 32.

80. Konrad Boehmer, "Musikhochschule und Gesellschaft" (summary by the editors), *Sozialistische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Gesellschaft* 1, no. 4 (1970): 68–72, here 71.

81. Hans-Jürgen Krahl, "Zur Dialektik des antiautoritären Bewusstseins," in his *Konstitution und Klassenkampf* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1971), 303–10, here 305. Critics of the New Left consider the antiauthoritarian revolt today as the end of the willingness to devote oneself to a task. This attitude, so their view, has harmed German society to the present day.

82. Flyer of the Arbeitskreis sozialistischer Musikstudenten (Hamburg), no title, 1968, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, estate of Hedwig Florey. Arturo Toscanini is considered the epitome of the authoritarian, dictatorial style of orchestral conducting. He reputedly yelled at the musicians and broke his baton. See Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1987), 162 and 181. However, according to Samuel Chotzinoff, one of his biographers, Toscanini suffered from being ungracious not only to his musicians and other individuals, but also to himself (Chotzinoff, *Arturo Toscanini*, 33ff).

83. Rubinoff, *The Early Music Movement in the Netherlands*.

84. Representative ensembles were Hinz und Kunst (Hamburg) and the Free Music Group (Frankfurt am Main).

85. Not surprisingly, it was the critical Adorno who had already elaborated these connections in 1956. In the articles "Tradition" and "Dirigent und Orchester," the philosopher had analyzed the connection between tradition and authority, on the one hand, and unity and authority, on the other, as regards its manifestation in music: "Who preaches tradition, pleads the irrational motivated by rational considerations, authority motivated by freedom, binding motivated by autonomy. Therefore, every musical traditionalism is today sentenced to just this romantic idiom against which it fulminates. . . . Serving, submission under an authority that does not legitimate itself to the consciousness [and] does not correspond with the objective interests of those against which it is exerted, is not a positive, but the opposite of ethos whose name the obeying individuals abuse. . . . The mass basis of the past perfect [i.e., tradition] is the keen willingness of the cortege to submit to the authoritarian attitude also in the field of music. . . . Its [the past perfect's] ideology aims at ranking past art works and especially styles as authoritarian or even as a being above the volatility of what could be the image of the becoming." "Tradition," in *Dissonanzen*, 131–40, here 132–33, 137, 139. "The principle of unity that, as an authoritarian, dominating aspect, immigrated into the music from the outside and immanently added its stringency to it is also repressive in the musical-aesthetic context. In the midst of art, the sting of social repression grows again" "Dirigent und Orchester," in *Dissonanzen*, 292–307, here 296. Viewed in this light, Mahler's alleged dictum that "tradition is sloppiness" becomes an early antiauthoritarian statement. On Mahler's factual statement, see Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 20.

86. Gerhard Brunner, "Mauricio Kagel—ein Wiener Störenfried," *Melos* 37 (1970): 367–68, here 368.
87. It might be a pure coincidence, but Brunner's implicit assumption of a causal relationship between the dislike for Kagel's avant-garde art and the dependence on authorities corresponded with an explanatory model that—again—had been proposed by Adorno and obviously was popular in the late 1960s. In Adorno's *Ohne Leitbild* of 1967, the philosopher had asserted that, if one carried out a test in West Germany that investigated the relationship between authority-bondage and the preference for representational and stereotyped art, one would find a strong correlation between both features. See Adorno, *Ohne Leitbild* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 56. Inspired by Adorno's bold hypothesis, the young social psychologist Christian Rittelmeyer made such an empirical investigation the subject of his intermediate diploma project. This in turn enthused Adorno, who believed that his hypothesis had been proven, to organize the publication of Rittelmeyer's debut feature in the sociological journal *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* in 1969. Coincidence or not, the Adorno-Rittelmeyer research demonstrates how deeply the antiauthoritarian impulse shaped perceptions in all spheres of culture in West Germany in the late 1960s and 70s.
88. Brunner, "Mauricio Kagel—ein Wiener Störenfried," 368. (Italics added.)
89. Koch, "Beethoven a tempo," 124. (Italics added.)
90. Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich, "Beethoven mit sich selbst verfremdet," *Neue Musikzeitung* 19, no. 4 (August–September 1970): 14.
91. Jungheinrich, "Beethoven mit sich selbst verfremdet."
92. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), Sigmund Freud describes the mechanism that children use to cope with unpleasant, fear-inducing experiences such as a visit by the physician. They mimic the unpleasant situation while playing and so exchange the role of the object with the role of the subject in the past unpleasant situation. They take on the role of the physician, for instance, and attribute the role of the patient to a toy. See Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1961), 13ff.
93. Jacques Wildberger similarly focused on the awkward sides of Beethoven's biography, relating Beethoven's obsession with his nephew to his compositional oeuvre: unmediated contrasts of opp. 132 and 130 were considered to correspond to the volatile change of emotions toward his nephew; the decrease of the composer's "productivity" was seen as a negative effect of Beethoven's focus on lawsuits against the mother for child custody; the shrinking of motifs were said to result from Beethoven's total fixation on his nephew. Wildberger, "Versuch über Beethovens späte Streichquartette," in *Beethoven '70: Adorno, Kagel, Metzger, Pauli, Schnebel, Wildberger*, 34–40.
94. Beethoven's image was shaped to epitomize a "Führer-type," a powerful titan both artistically and politically. See Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, 142ff.
95. Similarly, Buch suggests that "the usage of Beethoven by the Nazis did not seem to have been the object of real critique." Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven*, 256.
96. There has been much speculation why Adorno did not finish his Beethoven book. The decisive change during the Third Reich in Adorno's assessment of the composer's image, however, has not yet been considered.

97. Theodor W. Adorno, "Vermittlung," in *Dissonanzen*, vol. 14 of *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 394–421, here 413. (Italics added.)

98. A similar weariness with Beethoven was articulated by the East German poet Reiner Kunze. His collection of poems titled *Sensible Roads* of 1969 has become well known because its inward-oriented character was symbolic of the slow decline of the GDR after the crushing of the Prague Spring in 1968 to the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Most importantly for this context, however, is that Kunze targeted Beethoven in one of his poems. He vividly envisioned the drastic psychic pressure that East German state cultural organs exerted on the people by forcing them to listen to and even love Beethoven's music. On the Beethoven bicentennial in the GDR and especially the response to it by contemporary East German composers in the early 1970s, see Matthias Tischer, "Ulbrichts Beethoven? Die Konzeption des Beethoven-Jubiläums in der DDR 1970," *Deutschland Archiv* 41 (2008): 473–80; as well as Nina Noeske, *Musikalische Dekonstruktion: Neue Instrumentalmusik in der DDR* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2007); and Beate Kutschke, "Collagen, Variationen und Hommagen-Postmoderne Zitatechniken in der DDR nach '1968,'" in *Postmoderne hinter dem eisernen Vorhang*, ed. Amrei Flechsig and Stefan Weiss (Hildesheim: Olms, forthcoming in 2011), respectively.

99. See n62–66.

100. Krellmann, "Song of Joy," 9.

101. Krellmann, "Song of Joy," 9.

102. Theodor W. Adorno, "Die Freudsche Theorie und die Struktur der Faschistischen Propaganda," in *Kritik: Kleine Schriften zur Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), 34–66, here 50.

103. The parallel to Rudi Dutschke's attacker, the mentally challenged worker Josef Erwin Bachmann, who shot the charismatic student leader on 11 April 1968, is evident.

104. *Wunschkonzert*, directed by Eduard von Borsody, screenplay by Felix Lützkendorf and Eduard von Borsody, music by Werner Bochmann (1940).

105. For the influence of the New Leftist climate on various productions of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, see Glenn Stanley, "Gesellschafts- und Werkkritik in *Fidelio*-Inszenierungen um 1968: Inhalt, Rezeption und Einfluss," in *Musikkulturen in der Revolte*, ed. Beate Kutschke (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008), 75–89.

106. Similar posthistorical explanatory models can also be found for other music cultures. See, for instance, Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005), chap. 68, especially for North America.

107. Interestingly, this shift in belief about future progress or decline manifested itself only twenty to thirty years after the above-mentioned catastrophes, events which made people question the possibility that progress had taken place.

108. For a comprehensive investigation of the significance of the history of philosophy for compositional developments in European, especially German, music, the loss of belief in history and progress (i.e., the idea of the *end of history*) and its manifestation in so-called postmodern works, see Beate Kutschke, *Wildes Denken in der Neuen Musik*

(Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002); for a survey on German philosophy of history and its impact on music in the nineteenth century, see Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, chap. 40.

109. Carl Dahlhaus, "Vom Altern einer Philosophie," in *Adorno-Konferenz 1983*, ed. Ludwig von Friedeburg and Jürgen Habermas (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983), 133–37, here 136.

110. Other terms were "New Simplicity" (Neue Einfachheit) and "neotonicity" (Neotonalität); see Hermann Danuser, "Innerlichkeit und Äußerlichkeit in der Musikästhetik der Gegenwart," in *Die Musik der achtziger Jahre*, ed. Ekkehard Jost (Mainz: Schott, 1990), 17–29; and Dieter Rexroth, "Der 'Neoklassizismus' in den zwanziger Jahren und die 'stilistische Rückentwicklung' in der Musik der Gegenwart," in *Zur 'Neuen Einfachheit' in der Musik*, ed. Otto Kolleritsch (Vienna and Graz: Universal Edition, 1981), 222–35.

111. Hermann Danuser, "Ein Außenhalt für den 'Weg nach innen'? Zum Gattungsproblem der jüngsten Musik," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bayreuth 1981*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 184–88, here 185. Danuser explained along the same lines in 1984: "Since the mid-1970s, caused by the shock of the oil crisis of 1973/1974 [when] the economical, political and cultural idea of progress [i.e., idea of economic, political, and cultural progress] in Europe had been seriously called into doubt, the decade-long, yet never unchallenged hegemony of the philosophy of history of 'modernity,' as regards the field of art and aesthetics, had simultaneously turned into a crisis during which the principle that art has to be new to claim its authenticity, had disintegrated or turned into its opposite. These 'tendencies' are an all-embracing phenomenon: categories such as 'liberty,' 'subjectivity,' 'inwardness' ['Innerlichkeit'], and 'privacy,' which had been pointed to as characteristics of German literature of the 1970s, are also applicable without any restrictions to music." Danuser, *Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber, 1984), 400. Similarly, the Belgian musicologist Harry Halbreich stated, "For centuries, the revolutions in music were based on a solid belief in the dialectical concept of progress, on the conviction, also adopted by the Marxists, that history takes place on a one-way-street, outside which there is no salvation, no right to life." Harry Halbreich, "Die Neubewertung des Begriffs 'Konsonanz' jenseits des Begriffs Tonalität," in *Wiederaneignung und Neubestimmung: Der Fall 'Postmoderne' in der Musik*, ed. Otto Kolleritsch (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1993), 117–26, here 119. Albrecht Riethmüller and Eberhard Klemm suggested that postmodernity be considered an "era beyond history." Riethmüller, "Theodor W. Adorno und der Fortschritt in der Musik," in *Das Projekt Moderne und die Postmoderne*, ed. Wilfried Gruhn (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989), 17; and, a "critique of high modernity," Eberhardt Klemm, "Nichts Neues unter der Sonne: Postmoderne," *Musik und Gesellschaft*, 47 (1987): 403.

112. Kolleritsch, "Der Fall 'Postmoderne' in der Musik," and Danuser, "Ein Außenhalt für den 'Weg nach innen?'"

113. Ulrich Dibelius, "Postmoderne in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 150 (1989): 4–9.

114. Danuser, "Innerlichkeit und Äußerlichkeit." Similarly Manfred Trojahn, "Das Überwinden von Traditionen," in *Europäische Gegenwartsmusik—Einflüsse und*

Wandlungen, ed. Elisabeth Haselauer and Karl-Josef Müller (Mainz: Schott, 1984), 31–36.

115. Unlike his postmodern colleagues, Killmayer who was a master student of Carl Orff's, belongs to an older generation than his postmodern composer-colleagues. Although he was regularly awarded prizes and other acknowledgments, he never played a key role in the contemporary music scene because his moderate style did not match the "official" radical avant-garde aesthetics. In the course of the postmodern aesthetic hype, however, he was propelled to the surface and subsequently appointed as a full professor of composition at the music conservatory in Munich in 1973 at age forty-six.

116. Wolfgang Rihm, "Der geschockte Komponist," in *Darmstädter Beiträge zur neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schott, 1978), 40–51. (Italics added.)

117. Hans-Jürgen von Bose, "Suche nach einem neuen Schönheitsideal," in *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, ed. Ernst Thomas (Mainz: Schott, 1978), 34–39.

118. See Kutschke, *Wildes Denken in der Neuen Musik*.

119. According to Jürgen Köchel, "Wolfgang von Schweinitz und seine *Mozart-Variationen* (1976)," in *Mozart und Hamburg*, ed. Michaela Giesing et al. (Hamburg: n.p., 2006), 156–58, here 156, the piece was performed sixteen times in a concert setting during the year following its world premiere.

120. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 434.

121. Michel Foucault claimed the general loss of the subject, i.e., an individual capable of acting and changing the world, in a dehumanized self-dynamic and posthistorical system; Roland Barthes reduced the importance of the author's intentions for the meaning of a work in comparison with other, especially auto-semiotical processes, i.e., the meaning emerges from the signifiers. See Roland Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur," in *Le bruissement de la langue* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1984), 61–68; and Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1977), 124–27.

122. According to the posthistorical explanatory model, the continuation of progress as it had happened in the past would lead to catastrophe. The world would vanish through nuclear devastation or an ecological catastrophe (climate change, for instance), or simply grind to a halt in a hyper-systematized, rationalized society whose self-dynamic (or totalitarian emperor) would inhibit any individual initiative or change. The first signs of this potentially horrific development, intellectuals argued, could already be recognized in the bureaucratization and automatization of administration and industrial production, respectively. See Frederick Pollock, William Otto Henderson, and William Henry Chaloner, *The Economic and Social Consequences of Automation* (1956) (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957); Arnold Gehlen, "Der Mensch und die Technik," in *Anthropologische und sozialpsychologische Untersuchungen* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986), 147–62; and Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966).

123. Jann Pasler, "Postmodernism, Narrativity, and the Art of Memory," in *Contemporary Music Review* 7, part 2: *Time in Contemporary Musical Thought*, ed. Jonathan Kramer (n.p.: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993), 3–32, here 18–19. Correspondingly, in 1984, Dahlhaus pointed to the revitalized role of the subjectivity of the contemporaneous composers: "The instance on behalf of which the protest against

the fetishism of the material is lodged is the subjectivity of the composer who refuses to accept a law that has been imposed by nature or history, which dictates what, as regards music, can and cannot be done." Carl Dahlhaus, "Abkehr vom Materialdenken?," in *Algorithmus, Klang, Natur: Abkehr vom Materialdenken?*, ed. Friedrich Hommel (Mainz: Schott, 1984), 45. In contrast to this, indeterminate compositional techniques, such as Cage's procedures of chance, that free the composer from his role as an acting, determining, and world-changing subject, appeared to be much truer musical realizations of the postulate of the author's death (see for instance Danuser, "Innerlichkeit und Äußerlichkeit").

124. I consider compositions that explicitly aim to honor another composer by means of the title "hommage à" or basically consist of variations as two types of one genre whose main topic and musical "content" is the reference to another composer.

125. On the similarity and differences between neoclassicism and postmodern music, see Rexroth, "Der 'Neoklassizismus' in den zwanziger Jahren."

126. See *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Dokumentation*, commissioned by the German section of the IGM, various places and publishing houses, 1957–82.

127. *Variationen über ein Thema von Muzio Clementi* (1961), *Orchestervariationen über ein Thema von Niccolò Paganini* (1947)

128. *Variations on a Theme of Frank Bridge*, op. 10 (1937); *Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Henry Purcell*, op. 34 (1945).

129. *Paganiniana* (1941).

130. *Französische Suite nach Jean-Philippe Rameau* (1949).

131. *Telemanniana* (1967).

132. *Musik mit Mozart* op. 25 (1935).

133. *Variationen auf ein Thema von Rossini* (1949).

134. *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* (1910).

135. Julien François Zbinden's *Hommage à Johann Sebastian Bach*, op. 44 (1969).

136. Compositions that refer to earlier composers but do not mention these composers in the pieces' titles, such as Rihm's *Fremde Szenen I–III* of 1982 to 1984 which employ Schumann's musical style in great measure, are not categorized as homage-and-variation compositions and thus will not be considered in this investigation—even though, of course, I am aware that a clear line between implicit and explicit homage compositions cannot be drawn in all cases.

137. Arnold Whittall, "Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream, 1945–75," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 364–417.

138. Detlev Müller-Siemens, *Variationen über einen Ländler von Schubert* (Mainz: Ars Viva, 1978).

139. The various editions of Schubert's piano works differ as regards the number of *sforzandos* and crescendo–decrescendo sequences. Müller-Siemens most likely used the Peters edition of Schubert's piano works. Detlev Müller-Siemens, email to the author, 16 January 2009.

140. Kagel and Schmidt, "Beethovens Erbe ist die moralische Aufrüstung," 196.

141. Seen from a more classic-romantically oriented perspective, the variations can equally be characterized as emulating latest romantic techniques of combining mixed-sound orchestration with the polyphonic independency of the voices (as epitomized in Schoenberg's *Pelléas et Mélisande* for instance). There are, however, significant differences. Whereas the latest romantic technique, applied to a large orchestra, aimed first and foremost at amalgamation of the sounds (generating fancy, unrecognizable timbres) and a dense web of sound configurations, the chamber-music setting of the *Seven Variations*, that, in contrast to a large orchestra, per se does not allow for much sound amalgamation, patchwork orchestration, and polyphony, features a dissociative, tattered character. Additionally, the composer conceals the downbeats through alternating durations (metrically congruent durations combined with syncopation).

142. The relation to the theme is preserved by four elements: (1) although Müller-Siemens employs all twelve tones of the scale, the high, loud, and long tones of the strings almost exclusively belong to the minor hexachord on *a*; (2) the high strings (violin I and II, viola), especially violin I, emulate the oscillation between tonic and subdominant that is characteristic of the first half of the antecedent of Schubert's *lander* (mm. 79–83), whereas the other instruments play step-wise scale segments (basically *a* to *c* against *d* to *f*); (3) mm. 81–83, performed by flute, clarinet, and violins I and II, allude to the repetition of mm. 79–80, similar to the way mm. 3 and 4 repeat mm. 1 and 2 in the theme. (4) The halt on the tonic parallel (end of the antecedent) can be found at the beginning of m. 84.

143. It is this disruptive, dissociative character that the theme and third variation share with each other, connecting them even more than the compositional structure.

144. Although Schweinitz composed the *Variations* at the Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics at the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory of Stanford University, where he studied with John Chowning in 1976, I consider him a member of the West German group of postmodern composers, not only because his initial breakthrough took place in the West German music scene, but also because he grew up in Germany and spent most of his life in West Germany. Having lived during the years of the student revolt, between 1965 and 1970, in Washington, DC, he encountered the changed New Leftist antiauthoritarian climate from 1971 to 1976 when he studied composition with Ernst Gernot Klusmann and György Ligeti in Hamburg.

145. Schweinitz's score faithfully copies the beginning of the first sixteen bars, but—without an intelligible reason—indicates in the score that the theme, i.e., the reference point for the following variations, starts no earlier than in m. 13. Schweinitz, *Variationen über eine Thema von Mozart* (Hamburg: Sikorski, 1977).

146. See Theodor W. Adorno, "Der getreue Korrepetitor," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, vol. 15 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976), 175–402, here 255. See also Thomas Seedorf, "'Musik mit Mozart': Zur Mozart-Rezeption von Wolfgang von Schweinitz und Helmut Lachenmann," in *Mozart in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer and Siegfried Mauser (Laaber: Laaber, 1992), 201–16, here 208. See, for instance, the fifth variation: four against three, four against five, seven against six, etc.

147. Schweinitz's isolation of one compositional element (the turn for instance) corresponds to Huber's method of isolating a crescendo. See Beate Kutschke "Between

Adorno's Aesthetics and the Policy of Action: The Huber-Gottwald Debate," in *Sound Commitments*, ed. Robert Adlington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 78–96.

148. The emphatically solemn character of this passage—each chord of the progression (iv6, cadential 6/4 [with minor sixth], V, I [Picardy third in the upper voice]) is interrupted by rests; the tonic is played *mesa di voce*—has strong transcendental connotations.

149. Georg Knepler points to the unusualness of these contrasts in intensity: "I cannot name any other piece by Mozart or his contemporaries in which the intensity with which the individual elements have to be performed received similar attention." Knepler, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart* (Berlin: Henschel, 1991), 200.

150. The composition, such as in Mahler's Ninth Symphony, consists of a multitude of individual bits and fragments played by different voices.

151. In contrast to scholars who argue that fragmentation is generally a feature of postmodern music (see Jonathan D. Kramer, "The Nature and Origins of Musical Postmodernism," in *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*, ed. Judy Lochhead and Joseph Auner [New York and London: Routledge, 2002], 13–26, here 16, for instance), I propose a distinction between different types of fragmentation that, together with other features, might be interpreted as avant-garde or postmodern.

152. Müller-Siemens's choice of compositional procedure furthermore corroborates Pasler's doubts regarding the truth of the postmodern narrative of the death of the author.

153. Other frequently performed pieces were Blacher's *Orchestervariationen über ein Thema von Niccolò Paganini* (1947), Britten's *Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Henry Purcell* (1945), Casella's *Paganiniana* (1941) and *Scarlattiana* (1926), Höller's *Symphonische Variationen über ein Thema von Frescobaldi* (1935/1956) and *Sweelinck-Variationen* (1951), Malipiero's *Vivaldiana* (1952), Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin* (1914), as well as Egk's *Französische Suite nach Jean-Philippe Rameau* (1949), the latter tending toward kitschy, exoticist film music.

154. Henze's *Telemanniana*, for instance, a reorchestration of one of Telemann's Parisian quartets of 1736 (for flute, violine, violoncello and basso continuo) in E minor, exhibits the brilliance and variety of the full orchestral sound: the squawky muted trumpet trills (mm. 70ff); the playfulness of the staccato woodwinds (mm. 123ff) and brass (mm.146ff), both playing polyphonic lines; the glistening lightness of the combination of celesta, harp, flute, piccolo, and bass clarinet (mm. 214ff); the quivering trill sequences of the synchronous piccolo flute and trumpet (mm. 242ff); the elegiac atmosphere created by the concerting of the muted trombone and two solo violins with each other (mm. 280ff); the intensification of brilliance in the last section of the piece, created by the web of harp chords, timpani and interjections of the strings that accompany the woodwinds (mm. 292), and the horn pedals together with the broken chords of the violas that accompany the solo violin (mm. 308); and the schmaltzy intensifications and relaxations articulated by extreme crescendos and decrescendos in the violins which are accompanied by juicy, saturated deep strings (mm. 328ff). Completing the sovereign gesture of the French overture-like beginning, the transcendental character of the orchestra, playing *tutti* and *forte*, in the last seven bars culminates in a crescendo on the dominant and timpani roll on the final tonic. Although the original work Webern reorchestrated in his *Fuga*, Bach's *Musical Sacrifice*,

is an inward-oriented chamber piece, Webern replaced its modest character—not throughout, but over various passages—with pompous, swollen music. He achieved this by means of comparatively strong crescendos and weighty instrumentation (the saturated sound of deep strings and resplendent trumpets); the *Fuga* ends with an extended, triumphant cadence, transcending the musical realm.

155. Britten and Shostakovich most obviously put much weight on exploring the darker aspects of history and the human mind in their music. See also Whittall, "Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream," 389.

156. See n115.

157. From 1854 until his death in 1856, Schumann lived in a sanatorium in the village of Endenich, today a district of Bonn.

158. Wilhelm Killmayer, Introduction, in *Schumann in Endenich* (Mainz: Schott, 1974), 4.

159. According to classical psychology, the ultimate criterion for mental illness is social failure. Madness is distinguished from crime by the motivation of the agent. Crime is carried out to the advantage of the criminal, whereas "mad" behavior does not appear to be advantageous for the agent.

160. It is well known today that Schumann was not mentally ill. Not because his genius turned into madness, but simply because, like many others in the nineteenth century, he most likely suffered from syphilis, an infection that affects the brain in the final stage of the illness. Because the protocol of Schumann's autopsy was rediscovered after 1973 (see Franz Hermann Franken, "Robert Schumann in der Irrenanstalt in Bonn-Endenich: Zum aufgefundenen ärztlichen Verlaufsbericht 1854–1856 von Doktor Franz Richarz," in *Brahms-Studien* 11, ed. Martin Meyer [Tutzing: Schneider, 1997], 107–18, here 108), Killmayer could draw on the then commonly accepted explanatory model.

161. Leo Navratil, *Schizophrenie und Sprache* (1966) (München: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1968), 44. The monograph by the Austrian psychiatrist was particularly popular in West Germany in the 1970s.

162. Percussion pieces with little to no accompaniment of other instruments are associated with archaic drum rituals.

163. Navratil, *Schizophrenie und Sprache*, 47.

164. In his monograph *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music*, David Metzger defined the effects of musical quotation as follows: "That act [of citation] represents a means of exerting control over the authority of past masters by showing how the composer attempts to knock those masters off their pedestal and claim him- or herself the superior artist, but quotation still involves the composer asserting his or her presence by manipulating past works." Metzger, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003), 183. Metzger's description can, in light of my findings, be applied to neither of the groups which I have identified in this article: the moderate homage-and-variation pieces (ca. 1910–1960s) do not attempt to knock the great masters off their pedestal, but aim at putting themselves on the same level with them; the radical avant-gardist anti-homage collages ("Beethoven 1970") and the postmodern anti-homage and variation compositions of

the 1970s did not exert control over the authority of the past masters, simply because they did not appear as authorities anymore.

165. Peter Kiesewetter's *C. Ph. E. Bachs Empfindungen*, op. 8 (1979).

166. Following the Beethoven bicentennial and in the course of the younger generation's apparent interest in the great masters, the radical avant-gardists—first and foremost Kagel, but also Dieter Schnebel—similarly continued to write (anti-)homage-and-variation pieces (Kagel's *Variations without Fugue for Large Orchestra on Variations and Fugue on a Theme by Handel for Piano Op. 24 by Johannes Brahms* (1861/62) of 1971/72; his *Fürst Igor, Strawinsky* of 1982, his *Two Balladen von Guillaume de Machault* of 1982, and his *Sankt-Bach-Passion* of 1985; Schnebel's *Re-visions* cycle, starting in 1972, whose movements refer to Bach, Webern, Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, Verdi, Schumann, and Mozart) that clearly ridiculed the great master and the cult revolving around him. (Kagel's *Variations without Fugue* are a monumental distortion of Brahms's/Handel's music.) If they displayed an attitude that recalled some of the playfulness of the traditional homage-and-variation genre, it was that of a thoughtless child who indulged in tearing the wings of a fly in order to observe how the fly might move without wings (Schnebel's *Re-visions* for instance).

167. See end of section on Beethoven year in light of New Leftist critique.

168. The chapter on "Postmodernism and Art Music in the German Debate" by Joakim Tillman, in *Postmodern Music/Postmodern Thought*, ed. Judy Lochhead and Joseph Auner (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 75–91 reviews the debate in West Germany that revolved around the international, not national, art-music scene.

169. This type of composition might be represented by David Del Tredici's *Alice* work group and George Rochberg's *Quartet No. 3* (see Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 431–32 and 438ff).

170. Bernd Alois Zimmermann's *Requiem für einen jungen Dichter* represents a hybrid of radical avant-garde and quotation-oriented postmodernism.

171. As regards the latter, see Frank Hentschel, "Ein Popkonzert und die ästhetische Entdogmatisierung der 'neuen Musik,'" in *Musikkulturen in der Revolte*, 39–54.