2003

Performance, Technology, and Politics: Hermann Scherchen's Aesthetics of Modern Music

Dennis C. Hutchison

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF MUSIC

PERFORMANCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND POLITICS:

HERMANN SCHERCHEN'S

AESTHETICS OF MODERN MUSIC

BY

DENNIS C. HUTCHISON

A Dissertation submitted to the
School of Music
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded:
Spring Semester, 2003

The members of the Committee approve the dissertation of Dennis C. Hutchison defended on 26 March 2003

_____
Denise Von Glahn
Professor Directing Dissertation

_____
Jane Piper Clendinning
Outside Committee Member

_____
Charles E. Brewer
Committee Member

_____
Jeffrey Kite-Powell
Committee Member

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above named committee members.

TO MY PARENTS

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people helped me to complete this project. Among them were Werner Gruenzweig and the archivists at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin; Helene Geyer at the Hochschule für Musik, Weimar; and Elmar Budde at the Hochschule für Musik, Berlin. Myriam Scherchen gave me valuable insights into her father's work. I would also like to thank Arend Herold and Hanno Gundert, friends who made me feel at home in their country. I owe a great debt to my dissertation committee, above all to Denise Von Glahn, for her enthusiasm, perspicuity, and wisdom. Finally, initial research for this project was completed as part of a Fulbright Graduate Fellowship Grant, 1998.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of European modernism based on the activities and writings of Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966). Scherchen is known today as a conductor and champion of modern music, but he was also an orchestra builder, a founder of journals, a radio pioneer, and an electro-acoustics researcher. He directed the premieres of nearly one hundred fifty works, including those by Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, Stravinsky, Křenek, Hindemith, Weill, Varèse, Hartmann, Nono, and Xenakis. Scherchen was also an important interpreter of Mahler's symphonies and of Bach's *Kunst der Fuge.* He was a proponent of an objective approach to conducting, emphasized the acoustical nature of music, and aimed at illuminating the details of the musical work. Under difficult economic conditions, Scherchen cultivated the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra in the early 1920s and the "Musica Viva" Orchestra in the 1930s. Scherchen founded the music journals *Melos* and *Musica Viva*, wrote an important book on conducting, the *Lehrbuch des Dirigierens*, and published articles on Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge*. Scherchen did important pioneering work in Radio in Königsberg from 1928 to 1931 and in Zürich from 1945 to 1950. In 1954, he founded an electro-acoustic studio in Gravesano, Switzerland. This institute conducted research in hall acoustics, instrument design, compositional technique, psychoacoustics, sociology, recording and sound transmission, and television and film. The results of their inquiries were published in the journal *Gravesaner Blätter.* Scherchen's life intersected directly with the major political events of the last century. He experienced the events of the 1917 Russian Revolution and the German November Revolution of 1918; he led workers choruses and went into exile when the Nazis seized power in 1933 and, in 1950, was a victim of the Cold War. Given the breadth of his activities and experiences, Scherchen presents a unique means to understanding the musical culture of his times.

INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of European modernism based on the activities and writings of Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966). Scherchen is known today as a conductor and champion of modern music; he premiered nearly one hundred fifty works, including those by Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, Stravinsky, Křenek, Hindemith, Weill, Varèse, Hartmann, Nono, and Xenakis.[1] Scherchen's range of activities, however, extended far beyond that of most conductors. He founded music journals and publishing firms, wrote three books and dozens of articles, he did pioneering work in radio, built orchestras, organized new music festivals and conducting workshops, established an electro-acoustic research studio, and composed. His interests, then, touched on nearly every aspect of musical production. Finally, Scherchen's life intersected directly with the major political events of the last century. He experienced the events of the 1917 Russian Revolution and the German November Revolution of 1918; he went into exile when the Nazis seized power in 1933 and, in 1950, was a victim of the Cold War. Given the breadth of his activities and experiences, Scherchen presents a unique means to understanding the musical culture of his times.

The following study is biographical in that it presents Scherchen's views and activities chronologically, defined largely by major political events. But it stops short of being a full biography because it does not intend to treat exhaustively the events and personal relations in Scherchen's life; given the nature of Scherchen's life, and the extant materials, this may not be possible and in any event is far beyond my purposes. Instead, I

[1]The distinctions and historical development of the terms "new music," "contemporary music," "modern music," "futurism," and "avant-garde" are explored in Matei Calinescu's *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (Bloomington, IN: Indiania University Press, 1977). The present study uses the term "modern music" in its most generic sense.

chose the signal events and activities in Scherchen's life, the ones that best illuminate his role in the historical milieu.

Scherchen's impact on twentieth-century music deserves greater recognition. He was a major force in the development of modern music and was unique among conductors in embracing and championing nearly every musical style across three generations, music coming from Germany, Russia, France, Switzerland, and Italy. He was rare among his contemporaries because he felt that modern music should not be limited to an elite group of people, but should have as broad a base as possible.

* * *

The written materials used in this study reflect Scherchen's multifaceted though chaotic life: he wrote on many subjects, with varying degrees of understanding; he probably started more projects than he completed; and, simply put, he liked to throw things away. Although there are many holes in the record, and a complete picture may never be possible, Scherchen left behind much that is revelatory of the man, his ideas, and his times.

Joachim Lucchesi is preparing a major collection of Scherchen's letters, no doubt a Herculean task since Scherchen knew many people, from many regions, and wrote as many as three letters a day to the same person. We must rely, then, on the less representative, though highly interesting collection of letters to Scherchen's wife Augusta Jansen, which were edited and annotated by Eberhardt Klemm.[2] This collection, *"...alles hörbar machen,"* (…making everything audible), was published in East Berlin in 1976. It includes almost two hundred and fifty letters written between 1920 and 1939.

The unpublished primary documents are kept in the *Archiv der Akademie der Künste*, Berlin. Sadly, there are significant lacunae in the Scherchen collection as well. After the unexpected death of Scherchen's wife Pia Andronescu, Scherchen's scores and

[2]It seems that Scherchen's private life was as unstable as his professional life. He married seven times: the longest and most significant of these were to Gustel Jensen, Xiao Shü-Sien, and to Pia Andronescu.

other materials lay in Gravesano, his last residence, for over a decade. Many of the most important scores were taken by assistants, and some of what was left was damaged by mold. Still, a good number of valuable works survive, including annotated scores, unfinished essays on musical performance, and long essays on the Schubert symphonies. Some of these materials and much of the published work can be found in two collections: *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, a 1986 exhibition book edited by Hanjörg Pauli, and Joachim Lucchesi's collection of Scherchen's writings published in 1991.

Secondary literature devoted to Scherchen can be divided into two types: reminiscences and biographical anecdotes by individuals who knew or studied with Scherchen; and scholarly secondary works devoted to aspects of his career. Among the former belong writings by Elias Canetti, Edward Downs, Harry Goldschmidt, Rolf Liebermann, and Heinz Stückenschmidt. These personal biographical contributions are often subjective and sometimes politically colored; they are invaluable, nevertheless, because they provide us a portrait of Scherchen as seen by his contemporaries Of the more scholarly work, there is not yet a critical biography, and research has touched so far only on particular aspects of Scherchen's work: Albrecht Dümling and Joachim Lucchesi on Scherchen's role as educator; Joachim Heinz, Frederic Grunfeld, and Wolf Schön on the Gravesano studio; Lothar Kemper, Inge Lammel, Barbara von der Luhe, and Thomas Schinkoth have written articles on Scherchen's work with specific orchestras, as builder and provocateur. Mechthild Kreikle's dissertation on Scherchen's work with radio is the only book-length study on Scherchen.

CHAPTER 1

FROM BERLIN TO RUSSIA, 1891-1918

The Path to Conducting

Scherchen was born in Berlin on 21 June 1891. He grew up in the Schöneberg district, at that time a lower middle-class area well removed from the city center; his family operated a neighborhood pub and pool hall. When he was five he convinced his father to let him learn to play the violin. A year later he took up the viola as well. Starting in 1902, Scherchen attended classes on an informal basis at the Schwanzerisch Conservatory. He studied basic musicianship and piano there, first heard Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the songs of Schumann and Schubert, Bizet's *Carmen* as well as Wagner's *Parsifal*. At the conservatory's seventy-fifth anniversary concert in 1904, Scherchen was featured as soloist, conductor, and composer. He had developed such a fine sense of musical listening by this time that when he joined the Berlin Mozart Choir he was asked to lead all four voice parts. Scherchen made great progress on the violin as well and fancied becoming, like many violinists, a concert soloist. This changed, however, after he heard the virtuoso prodigy Franz von Vecsay. Vecsay, like Scherchen, was twelve years old. Scherchen recalled, "His miracle technique STARTED where at least my VIOLINISTIC musical understanding ended."[1] He decided that rather than impressing audiences through virtuosity, he would take part in sincere music making.

[1]"Dann aber höre ich ihn! Und WEISS, daß seine Wundertechnik da ANFÄNGT, wo mein Musikgestalten GEIGERISCH zu Ende ist." Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 153-54. Scherchen's idiosyncratic use of upper-case and other typographical styles in this and citations below was drawn from the early 1920s arts groups. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Evidently this meant conducting, since later that year, Scherchen wrote in a school essay, that by the time he was twenty, he would direct the Berlin Philharmonic and be an important Berlin conductor.

As in his evaluation of von Vecsay's playing, it was characteristic of Scherchen to distinguish between technique and musical understanding. He valued the ability to internalize a work of music and to "hear" it without the aid of an instrument. This proclivity was established early on: when he was quite young he heard Beethoven's F Major Romance for violin (op. 50) and was so moved that he copied the work by hand, memorized it, and then sang it "walking tearfully along the curb of the Potsdamer Strasse."[2] Similarly, at fifteen he learned Gustav Mahler's Sixth Symphony, sounding the work out measure by measure in his imagination. Fifty years later he described the experience:

> It took a half an hour for all the notes of the first measure to sound clearly within me, for the pitches, harmonies, timbres, and dynamics to form a totality of orchestral sound—afterward, however, I POSSESSED this measure completely in my imagination. The second effort took only 29 ½ minutes, the third 29 and so it went faster and faster. I did not "read" the notes, as people often wrongly understand score reading. Instead, I HEARD, through uncompromising, rigorous study, how the notational IMAGE was stunningly transformed into sound. After three to four weeks, I had worked through the symphony SO well that it began WITHOUT NOTATION to sound from within me and I discovered that I knew the work by heart.[3]

To learn a work "by ear" in the deepest sense became for Scherchen the cornerstone of his performance aesthetic and the basis of his pedagogy.

---

[2]Ibid., 152.

[3]"Eine halbe Stunde benötige ich, bis alle Noten des ersten Taktes als Tonhöhe, Akkordteil, Melodiewert, Klangfarbe und Dynamik klar in mir tönen und sich zum Klangganzen des Orchesters verwerben—danach aber BESITZE ich diesen Takt in vollkommener Imagination. Die zweite Bemühung beansprucht danach nur noch 29 ½ Minuten, die dritte 29 und danach geht es immer schneller und sicherer vorwärts. Ich 'lese' nicht (wie es selbstbetrügerisch immer wieder von Partiturkennern heißt), sondern HÖRE in kompromißlos strengen Studium, wie sich das Noten-BILD überwältigend in Klang umwandelt. Nach 3 bis 4 Wochen habe ich die Symphonie SO erarbeitet, d.h. sie beginnt nun OHNE NOTENBILD aus mir heraus zu tönen und ich entdecke, daß ich das Werk 'auswendig' besitze." Ibid., 155-156.

Scherchen never completed a university degree. Instead, soon after he passed his secondary school exams in 1907, he began earning money by performing in Berlin coffee houses and night spots. He did this to supplement his family's income. At venues such as the Café Klose, the Nachtcafé "Kutschera," and the Berlin Lunapark, Scherchen played accompanying violin, often into the morning hours. The repertoire was largely entertainment music such as Sally Translateur's "Praterleben-Waltz," where musicians were asked to clap on the third and fourth beats of the bar. During breaks in his part, Scherchen read books that he had set on the music stand—not pulp fiction as one might expect, but substantial works of philosophy by Locke, Spinoza, Kant, and Nietzsche.[4]

Although they paid less than coffee houses, Scherchen gradually worked his way into the various Berlin orchestras. The Berlin Philharmonic, the Blüthner Orchestra, the Kroll Orchestra, and the Deutsches Theater attracted some of Europe's finest conductors and soloists active before World War I. As a violist in these orchestras, Scherchen performed under Arthur Nikisch, Richard Strauss, Charles Muck, Siegmund von Hausegger, and Oscar Fried. Arthur Nikisch could move an audience to ecstasy. Strauss, Scherchen remembered, conducted Haydn coolly, with detachment. But when he turned to Liszt's A-major piano concerto, Strauss formed almost "an erotic relation with the piano."[5] Regarding Oskar Fried's performance of Mahler's Seventh Symphony in January 1911, Scherchen wrote, "Fried was as difficult on himself as he was on the orchestra."

> [Everything] was tirelessly polished. He produced performances of model clarity. … The broad spaciousness of the Mahler symphony became accessible to me without effort—nothing was too long, nothing was extraneous, nothing exaggerated in the 80 minute long symphony! It began to sound full of an enormous intensity for life. … Fried's work

[4]Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 31. The particular works Scherchen mentioned were Locke's *Inquiry into Human Understanding*, Nietzsche's *Twilight of the Idols*, and Kant's *Critic of Pure Reason*. Scherchen was perhaps fifteen at the time. These works may have been within his precocious grasp, or Scherchen might have been remembering this detail rather a little too fondly.

[5]"Dort taute er auf bei der Begleitung, intim wie in einer erotischen Beziehung mit dem Klavier, nicht mit dem Klavierspieler." Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 23.

made Mahler's relevance as an artistic experience at the turn of the century entirely clear.[6]

Scherchen learned from these great conductors; this description, written some forty-five years after his experience, might easily refer to his own approach to conducting.

Scherchen gained valuable insights as well by observing and playing under lesser figures, who, among other weaknesses, used the podium for self-aggrandizing theatrics. Franz Mikorey opened a rehearsal of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony by heavily stomping four times on the podium, making a fist to the orchestra and exclaiming, "So raps destiny at the door!" He went on to conduct Beethoven's Allegro ♩= 108 at a ponderous Adagio ♩= 84. Arnold Schattschneider explained to the orchestra that they should not be alarmed if while conducting Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" he should become spiritually overwhelmed and die before the final bars of the last movement. Franz Mottle, conducting Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, turned to the audience, smiled, and began eating an apple. Finally, Joseph Stransky, who replaced Mahler as director of the New York Philharmonic Society, tended to follow soloists and orchestras in difficult passages; this "waiting" would sometimes come to disastrous results. Also, Stransky liked to impress lady friends at rehearsals by having the orchestra play their requests. The actions of these conductors must have seemed to Scherchen like a betrayal of the musical works they were entrusted to represent.[7]

If Scherchen's first lessons in conducting came as a musician in an orchestra, his first real opportunity to conduct came through the music of Arnold Schoenberg. Scherchen first came to know Schoenberg's music in 1910 when he performed *Pelleas und Melisande* under Oskar Fried.[8] The tone poem, and especially its daring

---

[6]Er arbeitete mit dem Orchester ebenso rücksichtslos gegen sich selbst wie gegen dieses. Unermüdlich wurde ausgefeilt. Es kamen so Aufführungen zustande von modellhafter Deutlichkeit. Die weite Raumhaftigkeit der Mahlerschen Symphonik erschloß sich mir mühelos—nichts war zu lang, nichts unbedeutend, nichts zu übergewichtig an der 80 Minuten dauernden Symphonie! Sie began zu klingen voll so unerhörter Lebensintensität, …Fried's Arbeit machte die Aktualität Mahlers als künstlerisches Großereignis um die Jahrhundertwende voll bewußt. Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben* in *Werke und Briefe. I: Schriften*, ed. Joachim Lucchesi (Berlin: Lang, 1991), 161-62.

[7]Ibid., 158-159.

instrumentation, so impressed Scherchen, that he wrote to the well-known Leipzig conductor, Georg Göhler, and suggested that the work be programmed immediately. Göhler, however, was not accustomed to such difficult music and replied that his expertise stopped at the early works of Richard Strauss.

Göhler remembered Scherchen's appreciation for *Pelleas*, however, and when he was asked by the singer-actress Albertine Zehme to recommend musicians for Schoenberg's new song-cycle *Pierrot lunaire*, he suggested Hermann Scherchen. But when Scherchen received the parts he was to play, violin and viola, he realized immediately that he lacked the necessary technique. He recommended instead his friend Jakob Malinjak, a leading violinist in Berlin salon orchestras. Scherchen was still curious about the work, however, and asked to attend rehearsals. These took place through late August and September, 1912 at Albertine Zehme's Berlin villa.[9]

Albertine Zehme was the wife of the prominent Leipzig lawyer Dr. Felix Zehme. She studied with Cosima Wagner for a time and became one of the leading interpreters of Hugo Wolf's songs. She was also a proponent of the melodrama, a genre featuring words accompanied by music. In January 1912, Zehme commissioned Schoenberg to write a cycle of recitations based on poems from Albert Giraud's "Pierrot lunaire" in translations by Otto Erich Hartleben. Zehme might have expected a work close to the melodrama, but Schoenberg's inspiration led to something quite new—a song cycle with mixed instrumentation: violin/viola, flute/piccolo, clarinet/bass clarinet, cello and piano. The soloist, a mezzo-soprano, was to sing the part of the moon-struck clown in *Sprechstimme*, a mixture of speech and song.[10]

Scherchen first met Schoenberg at the rehearsals for *Pierrot lunaire*. According to Scherchen, the composer was a curious-looking man, diminutive with bushy though

---

[8]The Berlin performance took place on 31 October 1910. See Hans Heinz Stückenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 134.

[9]Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 31-32.

[10]For a discussion of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and its use of Sprechstimme see Hans Heinz Stückenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 195-217.

tonsured hair. Ironically, when Scherchen saw him going over the work with the soloist through the apartment's glass door, he was reminded of the clown Pierrot:

> Before me glowed the profile of a wildly excited clown, who boomed out as from an invisible room: 'Heilge Kreuze sind die Verse, dran die Dichter stumm verbluten.' Schoenberg's gestures of speech, his voice and expression were those of someone beside themselves with ecstacy.[11]

Late in September, Albertine Zehme reported to the players that Schoenberg was sick and would miss several rehearsals. Due to the fixed concert dates and the cost of the musicians, however, they were to continue without him. The musicians decided that Scherchen should lead, since he aspired to be a conductor and after following the rehearsals, knew the score by heart. The success of the rehearsals led to Scherchen's first conducting opportunity. Because of engagements in Holland, Schoenberg split the nine-concert tour with Scherchen. Schoenberg conducted the premiere in Berlin on 16 October 1912, performances in Hamburg on 19 October and Vienna on 2 November. He returned to conduct the final concert of the tour, a matinee, in Berlin on 8 December. Scherchen conducted in Munich on 5 November, Stuttgart on 11 November, Mannheim on 15 November, and Berlin on 1 December.

The concerts went smoothly and there were few disruptions from audiences, which while sometimes small, included prominent musicians and artists. Richard Dehmel and Otto Klemperer attended the Hamburg performance. Members of the "Blaue Reiter" group, including Franz Marc and Paul Klee were in Munich. Oscar Schlemmer, the choreographer of the "Triadic Ballet," was impressed by the work when he saw it in Stuttgart. Most significantly, Igor Stravinsky attended the 8 December performance. Although he felt the work's decadence to be out of fashion, Stravinsky admired its novel instrumentation, which would undeniably influence his own *Histoire du soldat*.

During the tour Scherchen wrote to Schoenberg describing the quality of the performances. He explained that his appreciation of the work had grown as he became more familiar with it, that he had gotten to know *Pierrot lunaire* in all its details and

---

[11]"Vor mir glühte das Profil eines extatischen Clowns auf, der in ein unsichtbares Zimmer hinein dröhnte: 'Heilge Kreuze sind die Verse, dran die Dichter stumm verbluten.' Schönbergs Sprachgeste, Stimme und Ausdruck waren voll der Verzückung eines ganz außer sich Geratenen." Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 164.

idiosyncrasies and that the resulting "sound ideal" had an "uncanny sense of sculpture."[12] He observed, however, that it was difficult to pass on this sense to the musicians, since they felt it should be enough to play the piece with technical accuracy. For Scherchen such accuracy was only the first step; the ultimate goal was to reveal the work to its inner core, to its "embers" as fully as possible.[13]

Scherchen also wrote that the performance went well except that the soloist, Albertine Zehme, he believed, took too many liberties, particularly at entrances: "Frau Zehme begins to offer yet again her version as the best one. And this I will, I must prevent, to the extent that I devote an entire morning to her on her part alone, … in order to bring what has become "Zehmish" back on a "Schoenbergian" path."[14] The interpretive difference was unavoidable, since Zehme was more familiar with the performance style of the melodrama, where the speaker was given considerable flexibility.

On the occasion of the work's Zurich premiere on 1 December 1922, Scherchen published an essay on *Pierrot lunaire* in which he pointed out that although the work was subtitled "melodrama," the music was not intended simply to accompany the text and enhance the mood.[15] As Schoenberg explained in the preface to the Universal Edition:

> Never do the performers here have the job of shaping the mood and character of the individual pieces according to the sense of the words; to the contrary, only out of the music. To the extent that representation through tone painting of the events and feelings found in the text were

---

[12]"Idealklangbild… Unheimlichen Plastik." Letter from November 1912, No date. Arnold Schoenberg Archive, Library of Congress, Washington. The letter was most likely written after the Munich performance. Cited in *Hermann Scherchen: Musiker, 1891-1966*, eds. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1986), 50.

[13]Ibid., 50

[14]"Frau Zehme auch schon wieder anfängt, ihre eigene Auffassung zum Besten zu geben. Und da werde und muß ich vorbeugen, indem ich mich mit ihr allein einen ganzen Vormittag noch einmal ihrem Vortrage widme, … um wirklich auch wieder was 'zehmisch' geworden ist in die 'schönbergischen' Bahnen zurückzuleiten." Hermann Scherchen, "Letter to Arnold Schoenberg, November 1912," in *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker*, 49-50.

[15]Hermann Scherchen, "Arnold Schönbergs '*Pierrot lunaire*'," in *Werke und Briefe. I: Schriften*, ed. Joachim Lucchesi, 54-56.

> important to the composer, they can be found without it in the music alone.[16]

This view of music, wrote Scherchen, followed from Schopenhauer's aesthetic in which music expressed the foundations of reality, the notes in a composition are like the movement of the spirit, and the text in a song is only one of many possible expressions of a truth told more forcefully by the notes. In this sense, *Pierrot* was fundamentally a matter of music and not of words. According to Scherchen, this was brought home by the work's new use of the voice.

In *Pierrot lunaire* the soloist uses *Sprechstimme*, a form of speech-melody more exact in pitch and rhythm than the simple recitation of text; it differs from song in that the pitch is not held through the duration of the note, but falls to approximate the effect of speech. By following the composer's specified pitches and rhythms, wrote Scherchen, the voice takes on a more instrumental character. This was foreshadowed in Schoenberg's *Orchesterlieder* op. 8 in which, "the musical design becomes so outstanding, that the poetry, which had been the initial stimulus, to a certain extent submerges in the music, its words shining out as only one from an unending possibility of interpretations."[17]

Scherchen explained that the work could not be understood simply in terms of categories such as "impressionism" or "expressionism," since Schoenberg juxtaposed in *Pierrot lunaire* all possible styles; the work came directly from Schoenberg himself and labels could not describe its richness. In *Pierrot lunaire*, "all technique is used to give shape to the plenitude of his interior visions and longings."[18]

> It is the work of a lonely person, in which a flame of incredible intensity blazes; it is his inner law, his daemon, that drives him, that stays true, —

---

[16]"Niemals haben die Ausführenden hier die Aufgabe, aus dem Sinn der Worte die Stimmung und den Charakter der einzelnen Stücke zu gestalten, sondern stets lediglich aus der Musik. Soweit dem Autor die tonmalerische Darstellung der im Text gegebenen Vorgänge und Gefühle wichtig war, findet sie ohnedies in der Musik." Ibid., 54.

[17]"Die musikalische Gestaltung so überragend wird, daß die Dichtung, die den Anstoß gegeben hat, gewissermaßen untersinkt in der Musik, ihre Worte nur als eine von den unendlichen Deutungsmöglichkeiten aufleuchten." Ibid., 55.

[18]"Alle Techniken dienen … die Fülle seines Innern, seiner Gesichte und Sehnsüchte Gestalt annehmen zu lassen." Ibid., 55.

> even though he becomes still more lonely, and the masses answer his tendency to rush ahead with only ridicule and scornful laughter.[19]

According to Scherchen, the force of Schoenberg's personality was expressed in his music, but it also had a great impact on those around him.

On 13 October 1912, three days before the premiere of *Pierrot*, Scherchen had attended a lecture given by Schoenberg on Gustav Mahler at the Berlin Harmoniumsaal. The lecture was very much an encomium to the great symphonist, who had died the year before; Schoenberg compared Mahler to a saint. He defended Mahler's often-criticized works, saying that he followed the only true goal of an artist—to express himself:

> He expressed only that which, independent of style and flourish, portrays himself and himself alone, and which therefore would remain inaccessible to anyone else who tried to achieve it merely by imitating that style. But this style itself seems, in an enigmatic and heretofore unfamiliar way, to exclude imitation. Perhaps this is because here, for the first time, a mode of expression is so inseparably bound up with the subject to which it applies that what usually appears merely as a symptom of the outward form is here simultaneously both material and construction.[20]

Schoenberg's defense of Mahler could be interpreted as a defense of his own point of view, that the focus, the impetus of a work, must be the personality of the artist.

Scherchen wrote to Schoenberg that night after the lecture. Although he did not explain specifically what appealed to him, he professed that the lecture was one of the most important moments for his development as an artist; as he saw it, Schoenberg approached his art with "the bitterest and most solemn seriousness. So many talk about this, but how many fulfill this? But those who speak with such abundant intensity, such as yourself, they give us, we youth who are still hungry, and searching, more solid confidence and yet stronger courage, just as Schopenhauer and Wagner were fatherly

---

[19]"Es ist die Schöpfung eines Einsamen, in dem eine Flamme von unerhörter Intensität lodert, der seinen inner Gesetz, dem Dämon, der ihn treibt, die Treue hielt,--wurde er selbst auch nur einsamer und war die Antwort der Menge auf sein Vorausgeeiltsein einzig Spott- und Hohnlächter." Ibid., 55.

[20]Arnold Schoenberg, "Gustav Mahler " (1912, 1948), in *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 14.

cultivators for Nietzsche."[21] Schoenberg's sense of artistic responsibility attracted a circle of students and followers, which grew more solid as it withstood opposition.

Scherchen experienced just such opposition and the solidarity of the Schoenberg circle when he traveled to Vienna in the early part of 1913. On 3 March he attended a concert at the Wiener Konzertverein that ended in a scandalous disruption by the audience.[22] The works that caused the stir were all centered on the Schoenberg group:

Webern	*Sechs Stücke für großes Orchester* op. 4
Zemlinsky	*Orchesterlieder nach Gedichten von Maeterlinck* op. 13
Schoenberg	*Kammersymphonie* op. 9
Berg	"Altenberg Lieder" op., no. 2 and 4
Mahler	*Kindertotenlieder*

The trouble that errupted during the concert was foreshadowed at the last rehearsal of Berg's "Altenberg Lieder." Scherchen recalled that the poet of the texts, Peter Altenberg, was present for the rehearsal, accompanied by attendants in white uniforms from the sanitarium where he was staying. Scherchen wrote that Berg went to Altenberg after the rehearsal and asked what he thought of the work. The poet replied: "Well, it was as if—his head shaking—the whole time someone was in the kitchen taking a knife to a platter."[23] Indeed, at the concert itself, many in the audience must have felt the same way.

The performance did not initially produce general pandemonium, but individual acts of indignation. Scherchen first heard a face being slapped and then Schoenberg's pupil Anton Webern yelling: "Bastards! Sons of Bitches!" This sort of exchange continued until the president of the Akademischen Wiener Studenten-Verein came to the podium to settle down the audience before the orchestra began Mahler's

---

[21]"Es reden so viele davon, aber erfüllt ist fast keiner. Aus wem aber solche Fülle spricht, wie aus Ihnen, der gibt uns, der noch nach sich selber hungernden, suchenden Jugend festres Zutrauen und stärkeren Mut, der ist einer von jenen Nietzscheschen väterlichen Zuchtmeistern und Erziehern, wie Schopenhauer und Wagner sie ihm waren." Hermann Scherchen, "Letter to Arnold Schoenberg, October 13, 1912" in *Hermann Scherchen: Musiker, 1891-1966*, eds. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1986), 49.

[22]Hermann Scherchen, *Aus Meinem Leben*, 37

[23]"Nun, es war die ganze Zeit so, als wenn jemand in der Küche mit Messern über Teller fährt." Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 167. See also Rudolph Stephan, "Alban Berg" in *Vom musikalischen Denken* (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, 1985), 86-198.

Kindertotenlieder. He was himself greeted by rude remarks, however, and hurried into the audience to deliver "a presidential slap." The resulting chaos ended the concert, and the Mahler songs went unheard. Afterwards, Scherchen met Schoenberg, who exclaimed: "If only I had had a revolver with me!"[24]

Scherchen returned to Berlin where he directed a private performance of Schoenberg's *Kammersymphonie* op. 9 on 7 May 1913. This was the work's Berlin premiere, and although it was the only piece featured on the program, the *Kammersymphonie* was performed twice for the audience's benefit. The concert was attended by Berlin's critics and music elite, among them violinist Carl Flesch, who was impressed enough to provide Scherchen with the financial backing needed for a public performance of the work with the Blüthner Orchestra.

This second concert, Scherchen's first public orchestral performance, featured a revised version of Mahler's Fifth Symphony along with the Schoenberg op. 9. It took place on 4 February 1914. Schoenberg attended some of the rehearsals for the *Kammersymphonie* and offered his criticisms to Scherchen. In general, Schoenberg found Scherchen's tempos too fast. He warned Scherchen not to confuse speed with "fiery temperment"; this, according to Schoenberg could, at best, impress the women in the audience. He complained that the fast tempos obscured the details of the score. In reference to the work's Adagio section, Schoenberg advised that it should begin "quietly and contemplatively, and its intensification must *not* be *passionate*, but 'inwardly intensified.'"

> It's a remarkable thing: passion's something everyone can do! But inwardness, the chaste, higher form of emotion, seems to be out of people's reach. On the whole it's understandable: for the underlying emotion must be felt and not merely demonstrated.[25]

Schoenberg explained that he was being especially harsh with Scherchen because he had already heard too many bad performances of his work, and that "every inadequate

---

[24]"Einen Revolver hätte man bei sich haben müssen." Ibid., 169.

[25]Arnold Schoenberg, *Letters*, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 47.

performance of a work of art is a grave crime, simply immoral."[26] Scherchen, however, maintained his taste for brisk tempos throughout his career, in part because he felt it was morally necessary to engage an audience. But he also recognized, as Schoenberg demanded, the importance of illuminating the details of a score and creating a sense of "inward intensity." These subtleties of expression were probably lost on the audience, as the concert produced Scherchen's own scandal. He recalled that half the audience cried bravo and the other half booed, whistled, and made catcalls, not because of the modernism of Schoenberg's score, but largely because of anti-Semitism directed against Mahler. Above the chaos produced by those who supported the music and those against it, Scherchen's mother yelled out, in defense of her son: "But, sir, why do you whistle? The boy put such an effort into it!"[27]

Scherchen's path to conducting was exceptional. He did not follow one of the traditional routes to the podium at the time: he did not rise as an opera accompanist to the symphony; he was not a composer-conductor; and he did not begin as a virtuoso musician. Rather, like Toscanini, Scherchen started out as a practicing orchestral musician.[28] His path was arguably unique, however, in that he seized his first conducting opportunity by way of modern music.

---

[26]Ibid., 47

[27]"Aber mein Herr, warum pfeifen Sie denn? Der Junge hat sich doch solche Mühe gegeben?" Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 38. Perhaps because of this riot, the program of Scherchen's second concert with the Blüthner Orchestra, on 18 March, was less sensational. It featured Haydn's Symphony No. 103 in E-flat Major ("Drum Roll"), Mozart's ballet *Les petits riens*, and Bruckner's Symphony no. 9. To Scherchen's credit, the Mozart ballet was little known at the time. It had been written for the choreographer Jean Georges Noverre in 1778, was discovered only in 1872 in the Grand Opera library, and appeared in Georg Göhler's concert version in 1907.

[28]On Toscanini's path to conducting see Elliot Galkin, *A History of Orchestral Conducting: In Theory and Practice* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 647-650.

The Civilian Prisoner

At the moment when it seemed that Scherchen's career was getting started, the events of 1914 intervened. He had accepted a position as assistant music director of the Riga Symphony Orchestra during its summer season at the Russian East Sea spa in Dubbeln. The concerts began in June and featured light music as well as works from the symphonic repertoire. Scherchen recalled that because of these concerts, he first learned to appreciate the music of Russian composers Borodin, Kalinikow, Glinka, Mussorgsky, Cui, Tchaikowsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov.

The last concert of the season was to take place on 11 August in the spa gardens, and Scherchen had chosen an all-Russian program, beginning with Tchaikovsky's *March Slav*. At the first pianissimo statement of the second march theme Scherchen noticed some unrest in the audience behind him and then in the orchestra.

> Still conducting, I turn half way around and see in the shimmering light of the resort's now open gates, soldiers marching in strict tempo to our own march-rhythm: with flags and shouldered rifles. The orchestra gradually comes to a stop, and in the long rows of incoming soldiers, workers, and students, I recognize the classic formation of a political demonstration.[29]

After their entrance, came a series of speeches, each followed by an anthem sung by the demonstrators. The first speech was followed by the Russian tsar's anthem. A second speech was followed by the French *Marseillaise*. A third person spoke, followed by yet another anthem, unknown to Scherchen. He thought at first that it was the German folk song *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz*, (Hail to the Victorious). In that moment, imagining Russia, France, and Germany allied together, Scherchen started to laugh. But the concertmaster quickly gestured to him to be quiet, recognizing the tune as the English anthem *God Save the Queen*.

---

[29]"Ich drehe mich—dirigierend—halb um und sehe, wie durch den Lichtschimmer des jetzt weitgeöffneten Kurhausportals Soldaten herein schreiten, streng im Gleichtakt mit unseren Marschrhythmen: mit Fahnen und geschulterten Gewehren. Das Orchester hält allmählich inne und ich erkenne in den langen Reihen hereinkommender Soldaten, Arbeiter und Studenten die klassische Formation politischer Demonstration." Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben,* 172.

At first the authorities in Riga denied that war had been declared. But then everyone saw that the harbor had been destroyed and that ships were no longer permitted to sail. The many German tourists in the area, including the musicians in Scherchen's orchestra, were given the choice of either staying in Riga at the risk of being put in an internment camp, or traveling East at their own expense to the interior of Russia where they would be held as civilian prisoners. Scherchen luckily acquired enough money to make the trip East.[30]

He went first to Moscow, then to Kazan, passing waves of Russian soldiers moving west. Traveling by train, day and night, he was impressed by "the Russian expanse, Russian heaviness, people, and a landscape of another sort."[31] From Kazan, he and other Germans were sent by steamer to Wjatka, a small city of 40,000 people, the center for government and culture in the district.[32] After a month in Wjatka, Scherchen was led on foot south-east to Orlov and then further to one of the many tiny surrounding villages. As civilian prisoners, the Germans were not permitted to leave their villages, although they were allowed to move around as they liked within them. In any case, it would have been difficult to escape since they were hundreds of miles from the nearest railroad, confined, so to speak by the vastness of the Russian landscape.

During his first year in Russia, Scherchen experienced the poverty of the Russian peasants and developed sympathy for them that would help fuel his enthusiasm for the revolution. Scherchen could only bring along a violin, a suit, a light summer jacket, and a few books: a Russian-German grammar, Spinoza's *Ethics*, Euler's *Algebra*, and Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*. He shared a single room farmhouse with a family of five. In the central area was a stove, and from this reached a curtain to the opposite wall. The husband and the wife, two sons, and a daughter took half the room and Scherchen took

---

[30]Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 38-39. At least part of the sum was given to him, curiously enough, by an American mystic, who shared stories with Scherchen about intrigues at the Russian court and the demonic powers of Rasputin. The American predicted that Scherchen would live to be eighty years old. Scherchen, although a determined atheist, chose to believe the prediction. The name of the mystic is unkown.

[31]"Russische Weite, russische Schwere, Mensch und Landschaft anderer Art." Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 71.

[32]Between 1934 and 1992 Wjatka was called "Kirov."

the other. Soon Scherchen's money gave out and he was forced to live off weak tea and old pieces of moldy bread. He contracted bronchitis, and an intestinal ailment from the bread, and might have died if not for the farmer's kindness. Eventually, a German clockmaker in the neighboring town heard of his dilemma and offered him a job cleaning watches, which enabled him to earn enough to buy food.

Scherchen keenly observed the hierarchy of education in Russian society and how it helped maintain social stratification. Scherchen gave his landlord, Jegor Kondratowitsch, twenty-five rubles to buy gifts in town—nuts, apples and oil for the village. Jegor returned and handed Scherchen thirty ruples in change. The farmer explained that he was a "negramotny," a person without education. The woman at the store, however, was "an utschonaja," someone who could read. Jegor caught her mistake on the road and could not go back. He pointed out, though, that because she was educated she was ultimately responsible. The story shows that the peasants accepted the hierarchy of education. According to Scherchen this changed with the revolution, and he recalled an "enlightened" Jegor Kondratowitsch helping to lead his village.[33]

Scherchen found ways to make music, even in this most limited of circumstances. He composed a lengthy string quartet, a set of songs based on the poetry of Heine, a piano sonata, and a piano trio. Of these works, only the quartet and one of the Heine songs are extant. In the winter of 1916, Scherchen was called by the Russian authorities to Wjatka to direct a small group of musicians at the city theater. This group was made up at first of only seven players: Scherchen played "standing" or first violin; there was also a second violin, a contrabass, piano, flute, and bassoon. After two months rehearsal, the ensemble presented their first concert, opening with Tavan's "Carmen-Fantasie."[34] They were very well received and according to Scherchen came to dominate the theater. By the time Scherchen left Russia in 1918, the group had grown to include thirteen members.

In Wjatka, Scherchen met Hermann Grevesmühle who had been the concertmaster for the Duisberg Symphony. He and Scherchen founded a string quartet

---

[33]Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Russland in jenen Jahren,* 79-80

[34]Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 174.

and played all of Beethoven's quartets, the late works as many as forty-five times. In addition to his duties at the theater Scherchen gave violin lessons. One of his students was an eighteen-year-old political dissident named Nikolai Michailowitsch. Scherchen recalled that the lessons always ended in discussions of revolution. It was through the young Nikolai that Scherchen first came to read the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Karl Liebknecht, August Bebel, and Jean Jaurés. One evening while Scherchen walked Nikolai home, he noticed a person in the shadows observing them. Nikolai explained that that was his "other shadow," meaning that he was always followed because of his political beliefs.[35]

On 6 March 1917 Scherchen woke to learn that the rebels had taken control of Petersburg and the tsar had abdicated. He described the joy that the people felt and the hope that the war might now be over.

> [In the street] fifteen degrees cold hangs in the air, but there is a shining brightness around everything, a light of joy, freedom, and happiness. One meets people, they stop and hug one another; and like in the Easter greeting of "Christ is risen," they reach to one another's cheeks for a kiss. "Now it will be better" so I heard the whole day, "now it will be better," workers and soldiers greeting, students and police extending their hands. Only a single feeling rules in all the people, that the liberation has now finally occurred; liberation from the wholly unbearable, … I didn't believe that countless individuals could give themselves up to so pure an emotion, that they could reach so completely a height of renewed radiance. I experience it now, and my soul is entirely caught up in it; because what now might come to pass, as the events had begun, what I felt was that here the human being with his consciousness went forward, that the individual was not called to these acts, but that the totality had taken the acts for themselves, that the HUMAN, deeply seized, strides to a new level of consciousness.[36]

---

[35]Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Russland in jenen Jahren,* 101-102.

[36]"15 Grad Kälte hängen in der Luft, aber es ist strahlende Helligkeit um alle Dinge, ein Leuchten vor Freude, Befreiung und Glück. Wo sich Menschen treffen, bleiben sie stehen und umarmen sich; und wie im Ostergruß des 'Christ ist erstanden' reichen sie sich die Wangen zum Kusse. 'Jetzt wird's besser', so hör' ich es den ganzen Tag, 'jetzt wird's besser', grüßen sich Arbeiter und Soldat, reichen Student und Polizist sich brüderlich die Hand. Nur ein Gefühl herrscht in allen Menschen, daß die 'Befreiung' nun endlich eingetreten ist; Befreiung von ganz Unerträglichem, … Ich habe nicht geglaubt, daß die unzähligen einzelnen so ganz in einem reinen Gefühl aufgehen, so ganz ein Höheres widerstrahlen könnten. Jetzt erlebe ich es, und meine Seele ist ganz gefangen; denn was nun auch werden mochte, wie die Ereignisse einsetzen, das

These impressions revealed Scherchen's commitment to human progress and utopian brotherhood. Music would play a central role in realizing his program of social change.

After the February 1917 revolution and the abdication of the tsar, German prisoners were allowed to open a school for their children, who had gone without instruction for the past three years. Scherchen was asked to teach German, religion, and music. He recalled that the instructors had no materials to work with and no textbooks. Therefore everything had to be done from the ground up, the teachers relying solely on lecture. The job was made more challenging because the classes contained pupils of a great range of ages and abilities, from a bright four-year-old girl from Petersburg to a twenty-three year old illiterate youth from the German Volga. In spite of these limitations, Scherchen felt significant contributions could be made. On the occasion of the school's half-year celebration, for example, Scherchen led the children in a four-part version of Beethoven's "Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre."

> The school became a celebration of sound! If one happened by, then one heard the cheerful song of children. I planned it out correctly, and in this educational enterprise, I myself made wonderful improvements in character and gains in understanding.[37]

The joy and optimism of music were important at the time, because in spite of the end of the monarchy, the war had not come to an end.

The Bolsheviks came to power on 24 October 1917, and after they had occupied Wjatka, German prisoners were allowed to relocate clandestinely to Petersburg. Those who could afford it were spirited out of the city in a sealed train wagon. When Scherchen's day came, he walked out to the open tracks outside the town center. There

---

eine hatte ich gefühlt, daß hier der Mensch mit seinem Bewußtsein vorwärts ging, daß nicht ein einzelner Tat rief, sondern daß die Gesamtheit Taten für sich getan nahm, daß der MENSCH, tief ergriffen, zu neuer Bewußtseinstufe schritt." Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 105.

[37]"Die Schule ist zu einer Jubelstätte des Klanges geworden! Kommt man vorbei, so hört man glückliches Kinder-Singen. Ich habe richtig geplant und in diesem Erziehungsunternehmen mir selbst eine wunderbare Weiterformung und Wesenserweiterung schenken können." Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 174.

was a wagon with one sliding door riveted shut; the other was left open for the prisoners. He climbed in with the other fugitives:

> When our entire party was assembled, then came a railroader who riveted the door shut. Now we sat freezing in the dark wagon, possessions, blankets, and people stacked on top of one another. Until we discovered a small oven and wood, which the brotherly official had donated to us for double the normal ticket cost.[38]

Scherchen stayed in Petersburg until Russia withdrew from the war. He returned home to Berlin in April 1918.

There were two great influences on Scherchen in the years up to 1918. Arnold Schoenberg on the one hand almost certainly inspired Scherchen's lifelong support of modern music and very likely contributed to his performance aesthetic. On the other hand, the revolutions in Russia led to Scherchen's utopian political convictions, his work with worker choruses, and his resistance to National Socialism. These two influences are at face value quite opposed. Schoenberg argued that art existed for art alone; at least until the end of his life, he resisted writing political music. Also, his music was appreciated by only an elite circle of listeners. The revolution demanded the direct politicization and the widest dissemination of the arts. The tension between these two poles drove much of Scherchen's activity. Within this tension there were, however, certain commonalities: both modern music and the revolution had eyes set on the future; and both demanded, as least in Scherchen's view, a selfless dedication and sense of responsibility.

---

[38]"Als unsere ganze Partie versammelt war, kam ein Eisenbahner, der die Tür plombierte. Nun saßen wir frierend im finsteren Wagen, Sachen, Decken, Menschen übereinander geschichtet. Bis wir einen kleinen Ofen entdeckten und Holz, den hatten die menschenfreundlichen Beamten zum doppelten Fahrpreis fürsorglich gespendet!" Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 120-21.

CHAPTER 2

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1918-1933

Worker Choruses

The Great War ended for Germany in November 1918, following the Kaiser's abdication. The vacuum of power was ultimately filled by the Socialist Democrats, although more radical groups contributed to the sense of chaos in the formative period of the Weimar Republic. In these first years, Scherchen supported the socialist cause by promoting German worker choruses.[1]

In the fall of 1918 he became director of the Schubert Chor. This group was formed in 1912 from two Berlin men's choirs, the Thomaschor and the Gesangverein Schildhorn. The Schubert Chor was then supplemented in May 1920 by the Männerchor Harmonie Gesundbrünnen to form the Berliner Schubert Chor, which featured around one hundred-eighty singers. Scherchen directed this composite group until April 1922.

As Scherchen recalled his success with the first Schubert choir: "We sing everything from memory. Junkers and Spartakisters and all the other nicknames, are 'servants to the work' during the three-hour rehearsals, [and the experience of music was] as pure as it ever got."[2] That is, they were no longer the servants of industry, but of music. The group's efforts were well received by critics. Franz Bothe, for example, an

[1]This is not as unusual as it might seem, since even so-called apolitical composers such as Schoenberg and Anton Webern had led such groups, albeit in a less politically charged times in Austria. Scherchen's involvement, however, was much greater.

[2]"Wir singen alles auswendig. Klamottenemil, Spartakistenfritze und wie all die anderen Spitznahmen lauten, sind während der dreistündigen Proben 'Diener am Werk', wie das reiner nicht geschehen kann." Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben* in *Werke und Briefe. I: Schriften*, ed. Joachim Lucchesi, (Berlin: Lang, 1991), 176.

established director and composer for the worker choruses, praised Scherchen's performances, saying that he had achieved great results with this group, "a beautiful, even instrumental effect, but one that lacked a certain singing quality."[3]

Scherchen's responsibilities increased when he became the Republic's Director for the Deutsche Arbeiter Sängerbund (DASB), the German Worker Singing Society. He held this position from August 1919 to June 1922. In addition to leading rehearsals and concerts for this organization, Scherchen arranged and composed works, and set specific texts. Among his arrangements were two of the most important songs of the German worker's movement, *Unsterbliche Opfer* and *Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit* (Undying sacrifice and Brothers, into the Sun, into Freedom), both brought back by Scherchen from Russia. Scherchen had first heard *Unsterbliche Opfer* at a memorial in Wjatka for the fallen heroes of the February Revolution: "High school students, who had formed a chorus, took up the song of remembrance under the leadership of a very young fellow student in a performance by a deeply moved group of over two thousand people."[4] He first heard *Brüder zur Sonne, zur Frieheit* during a great demonstration march:

> People swept through the city in endless, enormous numbers, starving but still determined and full of hope in the future. One song continuously accompanied the four-hour march; over and over hammered in my ears the melody now known as 'Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit,' now sung everywhere where there are workers.[5]

---

[3]Franz Bothe, *Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerzeitung* no. 84, October 1919. Cited in Inge Lammel, "Die beiden Berliner 'Scherchen-Chöre'," *Studien zur Berliner Musikgeschichte. Eine Bestandaufnahme*, ed. Horst Seeger and Wolfgang Goldhan (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1988), 15.

[4]"Gymnasiasten, die sich zu einem Chor vereinigt hatten, stimmen den Gedächtnisgesang an, unter Führung eines blutjungen Mitschülers und unter erschüttertem Zuhören von mehr als 2000 Menschen." Hermann Scherchen, "Rußland 1917 und 1927," *Deutsche Arbeiter-Sängerzeitung*, April 1928. Reprinted in *Arbeiterklasse und Musik* 15 (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1974), 128. Cited in Inge Lammel, "Die beiden Berliner 'Scherchen-Chöre'," *Studien zur Berliner Musikgeschichte. Eine Bestandaufnahme*, ed. Horst Seeger and Wolfgang Goldhan (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1988), 11.

[5]"Volk zog durch die Stadt, in endlosen, unübersehbaren Mengen, ausgehungert, unterernährt und doch entschlossen und voll Zukunftswillen. Ein Lied begleitete ohne Aufhören den vielstündigen Vorbeimarsch; immer wieder hämmerte sich mir die Melodie in die Ohren, die heute als 'Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit' überall, wo Proletarier sind, gesungen wird." Ibid., 11.

These two songs in Scherchen's arrangements remained popular during the course of the Weimar Republic, and they were so highly recognized that the Nazis adapted them in the 1930s.

Under Scherchen, the DASB gave concerts in Berlin for special occasions such as celebrating the First of May. The group also went on tours, traveling, for example, through the Upper Schlesien Silesia in August 1920. The program included works by Schubert, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Heger, Löwe, as well as the two Russian songs. Scherchen conducted the one hundred eighty-six singers and gave a talk titled "Education and Worker Song" in Katowice. The group performed at the Berlin Philharmonic on its return in Septembr 1920. Scherchen's tour with the DASB demonstrated his devotion to bringing music to many different groups of people. He felt music was a universal concern and should not be restricted to the concert hall.

Finally in February 1920, Scherchen founded the Mixed Choir of Greater Berlin, which he directed until 1922. In December 1919 Scherchen placed an ad in the USPD[6] paper *Freiheit* asking that anyone interested in singing in a choir should contact him at his address in Berlin-Tempelhof. At least 300 people responded and in February 1920 the choir came into being. The first concert took place in summer 1920 in the "Neue Welt" park in the Hasenheide outside Berlin.

Scherchen's activities with the worker choruses were intended to give the singers a sense of community and an appreciation for the transcendence of art, which might free them from their material limitations and point the way to a better future. His engagement with the worker choruses diminished over the course of the Weimar Republic, but would be renewed when the National Socialists threatened to gain power in the early 1930s.

[6]*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratisch Partie Deuschland* (Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany).

Die Novembergruppe and Die Neue Musikgesellschaft

After the horrors of the Great War, many artists, writers, and musicians felt that they should come together and promote solidarity in order to encourage the success of the new Republic; many of these groups published manifestoes and journals. Soon after the war ended Scherchen became involved in the *Novembergruppe*, a gathering of mostly artists and architects inspired by the German revolution of November 1918. They adopted the slogan of the French Revolution, "Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity," and dedicated their energies "to the moral regeneration of a young and free Germany."[7] Although primarily involved with the arts, the group strove to do more than merely host exhibitions of Cubist, Expressionist, and Futurist works. They endeavored to engage the public in architectural projects and city planning, to reorganize art schools and their curricula, and to transform museums so that they responded to the needs of the people. Composers in the Novembergruppe included Heinz Tiessen, Max Butting, Stefan Wolpe, Vladimir Vogel, Kurt Weill, and Philip Jarnach. Other musicans involved in the early years of the group were Jascha Horenstein, Felix Petyrek, and violinsist Gustav Havemann. The musicians of the group were responsible for organizing twenty-one *Novembergruppenabenden* between 1922 and 1933; these were public gatherings devoted primarily to the performance of chamber works. Scherchen conducted *Pierrot lunaire* during one such gathering in 1922.[8]

In spite of their musical activities, the *Novembergruppe* emphasized the visual arts over music, so Scherchen formed the *Neue Musikgesellschaft* (NMG) in early 1919. He did this with the help of Manfred Gurlitt and Alice Borchart, an investor's wife. Although this New Music Society was likely inspired by Scherchen's involvement with

---

[7]"Novembergruppe: Draft Manifesto 1918 and 'Guidelines'," in *Art in Theory and Practice: 1900-1990*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford, 1992), 262.

[8]On music in the early *Novembergruppe* see Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), 21-44, and Joachim Lucchesi, "Einsatz für die 'junge Kunst': Musik und Musiker in der Berliner Novembergruppe," *Musik und Gesellschaft* 37/1 (1987), 18-22.

the *Novembergruppe*, it also bore a strong resemblance to Schoenberg's Society for the Private Musical Performances, formed in Vienna in November 1918.[9] A fundamental difference between the two groups, however, was that the NMG's performances were made public, whereas Schoenberg's society catered to an elite group of invited participants. Between its foundation and dissolution at the end of 1920, the NMG organized chamber music and symphony concerts with the Philharmonic and the Blüthner Orchestras. Performers included Artur Schnabel, Carl Flesch, Adolf Busch, Eduard Erdmann, and Nora Boas-Pisling. There was also a "Frauenchor der Neuen Musikgesellschaft" (Women's Choir of the New Music Society). One of the Society's most impressive accomplishments was a performance of Mahler's Symphony No. 3, a massive five-movement work, on 23 November 1919 with the Berlin Philharmonic. The "Kammermusikvereinigung der NMG" performed Schoenberg's Second String Quartet on 25 January 1920, with Nora Boas-Pisling as soloist. The organization's eclectic programming included works by Busoni, Bartók, Kodály, and Ravel, as well as Alkan, Bruckner, Korngold, Kuhnau, Liszt, Mozart, Pfitzner, Reger, Reznicek, Schreker, Scriabin, and Strauss.[10] Groups such as the Neue Musikgesellschaft and the Novembergruppe as well as the worker choruses were meant to help articulate the values of the Weimar Republic and to contain the chaotic forces that emerged after the revolution.

Melos

In spite of Scherchen's numerous involvements with performing groups, his most important contribution to new music in the years immediately following the First World War was the bimonthly journal *Melos*. The first issue appeared in February 1920 with a

[9]For information on Schoenberg's *Verein für Musikalische Privataufführungen* see Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1986), 81-102, 245-248.

[10]Hermann Scherchen, *Mein Erstes Leben*, 176

cover designed by the expressionist artist César Klein. The title came from a journal founded by Pjotr Suwtschinksis, whom Scherchen had met in Moscow on his way back to Berlin in 1917. Scherchen had contributed an article to the Russian *Melos* on Strauss's *Alpensinfonie*; this likely formed the basis for Scherchen's later two-part contribution to the German journal.[11]

The goal of the journal was to provide a relevant and current forum for discussing all aspects of modern music. Scherchen wrote "the purpose of the journal was to make the current music developments *known* without ignoring any of their problems, drawbacks, or those of the times."[12] According to Kurt Weill, *Melos* was not intended to just help the development of modern music, but "to assist the breakthrough of a form of musical examination."[13] That is, the medium itself was meant to foster revolutionary change. Contributors included composers, musicians, writers, artists, and scholars from a broad spectrum of styles and political vantage points.

The journal had four main concerns: "the problem of the end of tonality (atonal and pre-tonal forms); the relation of tone and word (especially in opera); music's interaction with other arts; and the sociological foundation of music."[14] Scherchen stressed that the individual character of each of these issues could only be understood by first considering them together.

The principal concern for the journal was the problem of atonality, since, according to Scherchen, the most important works of the time had moved partially or entirely away from tonality and temperament. Scherchen believed that to complete the

---

[11]Hermann Scherchen, "Das Tonalitätsprinzip und die Alpensinfonie von Richard Strauss," *Melos* 1 (Berlin, 1920) : 197-201, 244-246.

[12]"Tendenz der Zeitschrift ist, die geschehende Musikentwicklung *bewußt* zu gestalten und keinem ihrer Probleme ebenso wie keinem der Zeit aus dem Wege zu gehen." Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 178.

[13]"Form der Musikbetrachtung … zum Durchbruch verholfen." Kurt Weill, "Vom Wesen der Musikzeitschrift," *Melos* 2 (Berlin, 1932) : 2.

[14]"Das Problem der Tonalitätsdurchbrechung (atonale, wie vortonale Erscheinungen.); Das Verhältnis von Ton und Wort; Die Berührung mit anderen Künsten; Der soziologische Unterbau der Musik." Scherchen, "Melos—," *Melos* 1 (February 1920) : 1-3.

break with the immediate past meant that, "all pseudo-architectonic forms of the tonal era are at least called into question. Therefore, the problem of the break with tonality is of decided importance for the further development of music."[15] For this reason, Scherchen claimed, musicians had to pay attention to particularly effective new works that led in the direction of this break: "To recognize their positive energies would mean to have prevented the possibilities for chaos."[16]

Scherchen wanted *Melos* to reconcile the social nature of the arts with the artist's autonomy. According to Scherchen, every formulation of an artist's character was determined by the surrounding society, that "the technical possibilities and the method of expression are fixed, without the artist being aware." On the other hand, he wrote that the artist was not entirely dependent on society because "the economic and practical processes in artistic life are just as little economically pure as the intellectual formulations are subject to the spirit of the personality."[17] Stephan Schulze observed that only a person such as Scherchen could balance the contradictory goals and aesthetics of *Melos*.[18] For financial reasons and because the journal demanded too much time, Scherchen gave control of *Melos* over to the publisher Schott in May 1921.

---

[15]"Alle pseudoarchitektonischen Formen der Tonalitätsepoche zumindest in Frage gestellt sind. Das Problem der Tonalitätsdurchbrechung ist also von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Weiterentwicklung der Musik." Ibid., 1-3.

[16]"Ihre positiven Kräfte erkennen, würde heißen, Chaosmöglichkeiten verhindert zu haben." Ibid., 1-3.

[17]"Technische Möglichkeiten, die Art des Ausdrucks werden von hier bestimmt, ohne daß sich der Künstler dessen bewußt ist. … Die wirtschaftlich-praktischen Vorgänge im Kunstleben sind ebenso wenig rein wirtschaftlicher Natur, wie die geistigen Formulierungen ausschließlich dem Geiste der Persönlichkeit unterliegen!" Ibid., 1-3.

[18]Stephan Schulze, "Wo ist die Zeitschrift "Melos" geblieben?" *Musik und Aesthetik* 5/18 (April 2001): 89.

The Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra

In October 1920 Scherchen took over as the director of the newly-founded Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra in Leipzig. On 18 October, he wrote to his wife, Gustel Jensen:

> The orchestra at my disposal is newly put together from in part low-quality musicians. For this reason it demands a higher degree of effort, but at the same time makes possible a higher possible result. … The musicians are ready to make sacrifices. So that even considering the difficult conditions, amazing things can be accomplished. With them a really great work of reformation could be carried out.[19]

In those years Scherchen could never have led the well-established Gewandhaus Orchestra, because the conservative establishment there would not have tolerated his political convictions or his devotion to new music. The Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra was newly formed, however, and had no such traditions that might lead to narrow mindedness.

According to Scherchen, inflation in the early 1920s made it difficult for concertgoers in Leipzig to afford subscriptions to attend the Gewandhaus Orchestra. Because of this, the Leipzig Concert Society was set up with the goal of cultivating a new, more accessible orchestra. The Society acquired the financial support of the Steinweg (Steinway) piano manufacturer.

To form the core of their new orchestra, the Leipzig Concert Society looked to a semi-amateur orchestra, the only group in Leipzig besides the Gewandhaus. Under its previous conductors, Julius Goldberg and Arthur Schmitt-Elsay, this orchestra played primarily light music, arrangements of well-known opera and operetta melodies, favorite *Schläger* or pop tunes, and dance hits and sometimes the simplified classical movement. Many of the musicians had never before played in an orchestra whose repertoire was

---

[19]"Das Orchester, das mir zur Verfügung steht, ist neu zusammengestellt aus z.T. minderwertigen Musikern. Es ist also erhöhte Arbeitsleistung erforderlich, es sind aber auch erhöhte Resultate möglich. … Die Musiker sind begeistert hingegeben, so daß in Anbetracht der schwierigkeiten Verhältnisse Verblüffendes geleistet wurde. Und hier könnte—mit ihnen—wirklich eine große, reformatorische Arbeit sorgenlos durchgeführt werden." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Gustel Jensen, 18 October 1920 in *...alles hörbar machen* (Berlin, 1976), 20.

primarily symphonic music. They lacked the technique to execute major works without recruiting outside players. According to Scherchen, "The members of the orchestra were not familiar with the twelve most familiar keys."[20]

In addition to their lack of professional technical abilities, the group was further hampered by limited finances. The principal players had to be hired on a part-time basis and were often engaged elsewhere, thus preventing regular rehearsals. The instruments the players used were generally of poor quality, especially the brass. Finally, the group lacked the funds to play in a private hall and thus was forced to play in public areas such the Zoologischer Garten and the open area of the Palmengarten.

That these limitations did not discourage Scherchen can be seen in the challenging program of the first concert. This took place on 12 October 1920 in the Main Room of the Zoologischer Garten and featured Berlioz's, Overture to *Benvenuto Cellini*, Liszt's *Was man auf dem Berge hört*, Strauss's *Don Juan*, and Wagner's Prelude to *Der Meistersinger*. Scherchen described the immense effort that was required in a letter to Gustel on 10 October 1920:

> It is a very difficult piece of work I have cut out for myself. The musicians make the greatest effort to make my job enjoyable in spite of their poor abilities. But still it will take time, until they develop the correct level of expertise. So from the original three rehearsals there are now five. I hope that the concert still goes well and the new Leipziger Konzertverein at once proves its right to legitimacy.[21]

Scherchen recalled how he typically organized rehearsals for the orchestra by separating the sections. The first and second violins played for two hours, then violas and cellos and basses for two hours, then winds and harp two hours. Finally, brass and percussion rehearsed together for two hours. Scherchen worked with the various groups from nine to one, then from two to six, and finally the orchestra played together from eight to ten. Scherchen wrote that he used the

---

[20]Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 179.

[21]"Es ist ein sehr schweres Stück Arbeit, das ich hier vorhabe. Die Musiker geben sich zwar allergrößte Mühe, daß ich trotz ihres noch z.T. mangelnden Könnens Freude haben, doch es braucht Zeit, bis die rechten Leistungen wachsen. So sind aus den ursprünglich geplanten 3 Proben 5 geworden. Ich hoffe, daß das Konzert nun also doch recht gut wird u. der Leipziger neue Konzertverein gleich seine Lebensberechtigung erweist." Scherchen, letter to Gustel Jensen, 10 October 1920, in *...alles hörbar machen* (Berlin, 1976), 19.

methods he had learned in Russia with the Wjatka theater orchestra; he acted as a model, working ten hours a day to each player's four. This inspired them to work out their technical difficulties.[22] The critics reviewed Scherchen's hard work favorably. Alfred Heuss wrote:

> The local concert society undertook the formation of a local entertainment orchestra called the Grotrian-Steinweg-Orchester, featuring Hermann Scherchen from Berlin as conductor, who goes to work with such extraordinary energy in order to make the mediocre orchestra quite capable.[23]

Scherchen hoped that he could develop the Grotrian Steinweg Orchestra so that it might function as an alternative in Leipzig musical life to the more conservative and inflexible institution of the Gewandhaus. One of the most important ways he distinguished the group from Nikisch's Gewandhaus Orchestra and the Riedel Concertverein was by focusing on the works of Gustav Mahler, thus becoming the first real champion of the composer. On 19 September 1921 the GSO performed Mahler's Symphony No. 9 with the *Kindertotenlieder*. It was the first Leipzig performance of Mahler's Ninth Symphony. That same season they had performed Mahler's First and Sixth Symphonies as well as *Das Lied von der Erde*. The season before they presented Mahler's Symphony No. 5 and several songs.[24]

In the early 1920s Mahler's music was not universally appreciated, especially by the conservative Leipzig establishment; to many the scores seemed an incoherent mixture of the elevated and the mundane. One way that Scherchen countered this ignorance was to present lectures before the concerts that he prepared on the train to Leipzig. Two days

---

[22]Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 180.

[23]"Der hiesige Konzertverein verpflichtete sich ein hiesiges Unterhaltungsorchester unter dem Namen Grotrian-Steinweg, berief H. Scherchen aus Berlin zum Dirigenten, der mit außerordentlicher Energie an die Arbeit ging, sein ganz und gar mittelmäßiges Orchester leistungsfähig zu machen." Alfred Heuss, *Zeitschrift für Musik* (1921), 523. Cited in Thomas Schinköth, "Der 'Ruhestörer': Hermann Scherchen in Leipzig 1920-1930," *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchester und Rundfunkchorwesen* 44/7-8 (July-August, 1996): 10.

[24]Thomas Schinköth, "Der 'Ruhestörer': Hermann Scherchen in Leipzig 1920-1930," *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchester und Rundfunkchorwesen* 44/7-8 (July-August, 1996): 10-12.

before the first performance of the Ninth, Scherchen presented an "Introduction to the Work with Instrumental examples" in the hall of the Auguste-Schmidt-Haus. According to a letter that Scherchen wrote to Gustel 13 June 1921, Scherchen planned to present six Mahler lectures in the following winter with examples played by members of the orchestra.[25] A selection from these lectures was published in the *Leipziger Neuester Nachrichten* on 19 September 1921.

Based on Wagner's famous performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in Dresden in 1872, Scherchen argued that the idea of the "Ninth" had become a kind of "magic formula" that allowed listeners to gain access to "final things."[26] He wrote that not only does the listener have a similar relation to the other Ninths of Bruckner and Mahler, but that these composers have discovered a secret artistic law that the Ninth must stand for the artist's last word. Scherchen wrote of the Mahler Symphony: "Through all the depths and to all the heights, he leads us to say farewell."

> This Ninth is a Song of Farewell. "It cannot go on like this" as one would say in everyday language. This sentiment also defines the fantastic, unreal tone of the ghostly middle movements, in which once again the picture of crude reality is forced away. This explains the characteristics of the framing movements: instead of an Allegro movement that tends toward development, there is an Andante at the beginning, and an Adagio at the end; these are both forms of music that are typically used for a broad, lyrical sense of security. Where it is still possible for something to occur (in the fast middle movements) it is removed by the ghostly unreality, by which these movements are drawn out of the song of farewell.[27]

---

[25]Scherchen, letter to Gustel Jensen, 13 June 1921, in *...alles hörbar machen* (Berlin, 1976), 41.

[26]*Leipziger Neuester Nachrichten*, 19 September 1921. Cited in Thomas Schinköth, "Der 'Ruhestörer': Hermann Scherchen in Leipzig 1920-1930," *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchester und Rundfunkchorwesen* 44/7-8 (July-August, 1996), 11.

[27]"Diese Neunte ist ein Abschiedslied. Es 'geht nichts mehr darin vor', wie man in der Sprache des Alltags sagen würde. Dieses Gefühl bedingt auch den phantastisch unwirklichen Ton der spukartigen Mittelsätze, in denen noch einmal das Bild der groben Wirklichkeit heraufbezwungen wird. So erklärt sich auch die Form der Rahmensätze: Statt Entwicklung gebender dramatischer Allegrostücke am Anfang ein Andante, am Schluß ein Adagio; beides Musikformen, die typisch sind für breites, lyrisches Sichergehen. Wo dann noch Geschehen sein könnte (in den schnellen Mittelsätzen), wird es aufgehoben durch die spukhafte Unwirklichkeit, mit der diese beiden Stücke aus dem Lied des Abschieds aufzucken." Ibid., 11.

As recently as 1996, the musicologist Thomas Schinköth has suggested that Scherchen understood "like few other contemporaries [that] the extraordinary artistic dimensions [of Mahler's work] emerged from a highly sensitive feeling for the times" which allowed the composer to express philosophically the "Jammer der Welt," the misery of the world. Schinköth posited that Scherchen's concepts of "picture of gross reality" and "ghostly unreality" lead directly to Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht's important Mahler study and his idea of the "Zwei-Welten-Modell," the two-world model.[28]

The Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra was the first of several that Scherchen would build. As with the worker choirs, Scherchen's efforts with the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra showed his commitment to bringing music to all classes. It is significant that Scherchen chose to emphasize the symphonies of Mahler, which reflected the political and economic instability of the times.

The Frankfurt Museum Concerts

In 1922 Scherchen left his work with the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra to conduct the Frankfurt Museum Concerts. The group's former director, Wilhelm Furtwängler, had taken positions in Berlin and Leipzig after the death of Arthur Nikisch. Scherchen conducted a first concert on 9 April and was offered a five-year contract later that summer. At this time he also ended his work with the Berlin Worker Choirs, giving control to his student Jasha Horenstein. In contrast to the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra, the Museum Concerts orchestra was well established. But rather than program the usual symphonic war-horses, Scherchen chose to present challenging and unfamiliar works that were expressive of their times.

The Museum Concerts typically took place on Friday nights, a tradition intended to exclude Jews, since this was the beginning of their Sabbath. Scherchen remarked that,

[28]"Bild der groben Wirklichkeit; spukhaften Unwirklichkeit." Schinkoth, Thomas, "Der 'Ruhestörer': Hermann Scherchen in Leipzig 1920-1930," *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchester und Rundfunkchorwesen* 44/7-8 (July-August 1996), 11. On Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht's concept of the "Two World Model" see his *Musik im Abendland* (Munich: Piper GmbH, 1996), 592-612.

after the First World War, this anti-Semitism lessened somewhat and the orchestra performed a second concert on Sunday afternoon, a "Jieden-Konzert" to accommodate those who attended Friday evening services.

The audience was made up of well-to-do Frankfurt bourgeoisie. In Scherchen's view, their interest in the concerts was more social than artistic. During the pauses patrons would discuss the new marriageable women who would be present at the banquet following the concert. The anticipation of the social festivities grew until close to the end of the concert when there began, wrote Scherchen, "a mysterious, more or less noticeable Ladies-Exodus with discretely friendly waves and farewells."[29] This naturally aggravated the conductor, who had more respect for art than for socializing. Once in the midst of Max Reger's *Hiller-Variations*, a woman began noisily to take her leave during the pianissimo closing Fugue; Scherchen stopped conducting and exclaimed: "If you have no time to hear the end of Reger's work, then we have no time to play it."[30] Scherchen's commitment was certainly admired, but it may have contributed to his premature release from his contract.

In the Museum Concerts Scherchen emphasized the works of Mahler, Reger, Strauss, and Schoenberg, and featured pieces as adventurous as Mahler's Symphony no. 9, Schoenberg's *Kammersymphonie* op. 9, and Ernst Křenek's *Symphonie in einem Satz*, op. 7. Scherchen felt that these were major works of historical significance, and although they placed great demands on the listener, it was important that they be exposed to the "spiritual events of the time."[31] The concert on 21 March 1923 featured Brahms's Symphony no. 3 and Schoenberg's *Six Songs for Orchestra* op. 8. Two days later the orchestra performed Mahler's massive Third Symphony. Scherchen recalled that these concerts were well attended even though the cost of tickets had increased three hundred percent in the past six months.

---

[29]"Ein mysteriöser, mehr oder weniger wahrnehmbarer Damen-Exodus mit diskret-freundlichen Zuwinken und Abschiednehmen." Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 184.

[30]"Wenn Sie keine Zeit haben, Regers Werk bis zu Ende anzuhören, so haben wir auch keine Geduld, bis zu Ende zu spielen." Ibid., 185.

[31]Ibid., 188.

> In spite of beginning unemployment and gathering inflation, there was a lively confidence, that after the suffering of the First World War with its gas-torn image, a definitive way out could and would be found, and that moral responsibility of every individual was the only path.[32]

Scherchen's sense of artistic responsibility, however, and the great demands he placed on the audience were not always appreciated. In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 9 February 1924, music critic Karl Holl felt it necessary to defend Scherchen from his detractors; the critic argued that Scherchen required of his musicians and listeners "flexibility, thoughtfulness, and even self-denial of familiar pleasures and effects,"[33] suggesting that such artists were especially important in times of crisis, even when they provoked opposition.

Scherchen's provocative stance left him with little support when Clemens Kraus arrived to conduct the Frankfurt opera and demanded that he be given control of the Museum Concerts as well. Scherchen presented a last concert with the orchestra on 25 April 1924, Mahler's Symphony no. 2 in C Minor, the "Resurrection."

Arthur Nikisch

While Scherchen was working with the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra he came to know Arthur Nikisch, who directed both the Leipzig Gewandhaus and the Berlin Philharmonic orchestras. Nikisch began conducting the Gewandhaus Concerts in the 1880s. At that time the conductor was allowed only a single rehearsal with the orchestra. This rehearsal was at the same time a "public dress rehearsal," essentially a run-through of the concert. According to Scherchen, Nikisch was the first to interrupt the playing in

---

[32]"Trotz beginnender Arbeitslosigkeit und kulminierender Inflation war eine tiefe Zuversicht lebendig, daß nach dem Leid des ersten Weltkrieges mit gaszerfetzten Gesichtern ein definitiver Ausweg gefunden werden könnte und würde, und daß moralische Verantwortung durch jeden einzelnen der einzige Weg dazu sei." Ibid.,189.

[33]"Eine biegsamere, nachdenklichere und unter Umstanden sogar auch selbstverleugende (weil auf liebgewordene Erfahrungen und Effekte verzichtende)." Cited in Hermann Scherchen, "*...alles hörbar machen." Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939*, ed., Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 300.

order to make an improvement. At this moment half the audience got up and left the hall because they thought the conductor was so incompetent he had to begin the piece twice.

Scherchen had played under Nikisch in Berlin before the First World War. Scherchen wrote that the conductor led a perfect performance of Richard Wagner's "Bacchanale" from *Tannhäuser*, the Paris ballet music: "Here conducting suddenly became an almost gesturally well-defined manifestation of the essence of Wagner's 'Eroticism'." The sensory aspect of the music was condensed to a material reality. The upper woodwind harmonies became a spiritual objectification."[34]

Scherchen felt that Nikisch was a great master of gesture, the essential technical skill of conducting. Nikisch's success depended not only on a clear understanding of the work but also on a subtle awareness of the individuals in the orchestra. For example, if a brass or woodwind player or even a string group played a line with particular elegance or inspiration, Nikisch would himself follow the idea of that line so that the entire subsequent section was charged with immediacy. He was also sensitive to the characteristics of each instrument. If the trombones followed the indications in a score to play rhythmically at a certain tempo, Nikisch understood that this might sound stiff and clumsy. He would therefore pull the tempo back to give the trombones room and then the line would make sense and no longer seem forced.[35]

Finally, Nikisch would sometimes "brush" the air during an individual's solo, leaving very little guiding beat. While this produced anxiety in the player, it often inspired them to great melodic invention. Scherchen remarked that his strategy was not always effective. When Nikisch gestured vaguely at the sudden violin entrance to Wagner's Prelude to *Lohengrin* the players had difficulty distinguishing the fourth beat

---

[34]"Hier wurde Dirigieren plötzlich fast gestich-gebändigte Wesens-Sichbarkeit von Wagners 'Erotik'. Das musikalisch-Sinnliche verdichtete sich zu einer materiellen Realität. Die nach oben verflatternden Holzbläserakkorde wurden zu einer seelischen Gegenständlichkeit." Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 181. See also Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 23-24.

[35]Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 24-25.

from the eighth beat. The orchestra floundered until the woodwinds came in with their theme.[36]

Among conductors Nikisch was a master psychologist. At the opening of a concert he would appear at the back of the orchestra and wind his way slowly through the players until he was at the podium. Along the way he would ask the musicians how their wives were doing, but according to Scherchen, Nikisch would already be at the next person before hearing an answer. The audience's applause grew through the course of this ritual until Nikisch stepped onto the podium to wipe his brow with a silk handerkerchief. This backfired somewhat in Rome, however, when in the middle of Nikisch's procession, an audience member cried out in good humor "Coraggio maestro, Coraggio!"[37]

Although Scherchen was disdainful of Nikisch's melodrama, he had great respect for his musicality. In reference to Nikisch, Scherchen wrote that the true art of conducting is achieved when one "is capable of bringing the inner dialectics of the sounding and fading of musical events to unmediated musical expression, through direct appeal to the particular sound exponents of the orchestra."[38] According to Gustel Jensen, Nikisch respected Scherchen's work in Leipzig as well, although they were considered opposites in Leipzig concert life. She remembered that Nikisch's death in January 1923 was an important turning point in Scherchen's life.[39]

---

[36]Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 181.

[37]Scherchen recalled a similar instance in La Scala when Herbert von Karajan finished conducting Bach's St. Matthew's Passion with eyes closed as he was wont to do. The piece came to an end and the audience responded with booming applause, but the maestro immediately raised his hands and cried out shakingly "A comb, per favore, a comb." Von Karajan conducted so often with his eyes closed that players in the Vienna Philharmonic joked that one day he would come to the podium accompanied by a seeing eye dog. Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 182.

[38]Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 182.

[39]Hermann Scherchen, *"...alles hörbar machen." Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin, Henschelverlag, 1984), 287.

Die Bauhaus-Woche, 1923

Music festivals were an important activity for Scherchen through the course of his career. They gave him the opportunity to conduct the most recent music. He had enjoyed his first success in 1920 at the Fiftieth Musical Festival of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein* (ADMV), where his String Quartet op.1 was very well received. Scherchen participated in two other yearly festivals, the Donaueschingen Chamber Music Festivals and the festivals for the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (IGNM). He also participated in a number of singular events. An outstanding example of these was the 1923 "*Bauhaus-Woche*" or Bauhaus Week.

Between 1920 and 1922 Scherchen lived in Thyrow in der Mark, an area outside of Berlin that was home to an artist colony. Scherchen's house was a center of artistic activity, a meeting place for musicians including Ernst Křenek, Hans Stückenschmidt, Heinz Tiessen, Leo Kestenberg, Artur Schnabel, Eduard Erdmann, Stephan Wolpe, and Hans Jürgen von der Wense, but also visual artists such as Oscar Schlemmer, Wassily Kandinsky, and Walter Gropius. As a result of this network of artists and composers, Gropius invited Scherchen to participate in the Bauhaus Week festival, which took place 15-19 August 1923 in Weimar.

A school for the visual arts, design, and architecture, the Bauhaus was formed by Walter Gropius in 1919 amid the post-war, expressionist, utopian fervor. The school's first manifesto featured a frontispiece by Lyonel Feininger of a woodcut of a cathedral. This harkened back in a typical fashion to the pre-industrial era dominated by craft, which was idealized by the expressionists as a more spiritually authentic time. The word Bauhaus itself called up an image of "Bauhütten," the lodges where masons and designers were kept while working on cathedrals.[40] The goals of the early Bauhaus members as articulated in its initial statutes resonated with the utopian purpose of the *Novembergruppe* and of Scherchen's *Melos*.

---

[40]Quoted in Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: Knopf, 1981), 192. See also John Willet, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 49.

> Let us then create a new guild of craftsman, without the class distinctions that raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist! Together let us desire, conceive, and create the new structure of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity, and which will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.[41]

Gropius chose the mystic Johannes Itten to be the school's first director.[42] Among other demands, Itten insisted that the student cafeteria be vegetarian; he also felt that hair was a sign of sin. The conservative Weimar government did not appreciate Itten's idealistic teachings particularly in such a time of economic duress, and Gropius was forced to let him go in 1923. Itten was replaced by the constructivist László Moholy-Nagy.[43] This signaled a change in the Bauhaus away from the idealized past toward a technologically charged future. Gropius mounted an exhibition entitled "Art and Technology—A New Unity," and the Bauhaus embraced the modern materials of steel, glass, and concrete. As Robert Hughes summarized it, "Nothing more was heard about wood as the material of Utopia."[44]

This shift in the Bauhaus from expressionist individualism to a more populist objective approach occurred at the time of the Bauhaus-Woche in 1923. The change in aesthetics could be seen in the musical festivities as well, which took place on the last two days of the festival. The program included Paul Hindemith's *Marienleben* song cycle, Ernst Křenek's *Concerto Grosso* (1921), and a number of piano pieces by Feruccio Busoni: *Toccata (Preludio, Fantasia, Ciaconna)*; the *Prélude et etude en arpèges* (premiere); three of the *Fünf kurze Stücke zur Pflege des polyphonen Spiels* (premiere);

---

[41]Ibid., 192.

[42]Itten is perhaps best remembered for his theory of colors, which breaks the spectrum into three primary colors that mixed to form secondaries. This system, although problematic, is still in common use.

[43]Inspired by the Russian Constructivist movement, Moholy produced geometrical photomontages. For information on Moholy and the Russian Contructivists see John Willet, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 74-76.

[44]Robert Hughes, *Shock of the New*, 192-195.

and the *Perpetuum mobile* from the first edition of the *Klavierübung*. The most significant performance, however, was that of Stravinsky's *Histoire du soldat*, a work that epitomized in important ways the turn to objectivity.

Busoni had composed the *Toccata: Preludio, Fantasia, Ciaconna* between July and September 1920. He first performed it on 18 November 1920. According to Anthony Beaumont, the work was a mirror of the "unsettling emotions" Busoni had on returning to Berlin.[45] It is comprised of a *Preludio*, which uses music from his opera *Die Brautwahl*. The second movement is a *Fantasia*, the third a *Ciaconna*. Busoni premiered the work in Berlin to an enormous audience of over three thousand in the *Philharmonie*. Of that occasion, the critic Heinz Stuckenschmidt wrote, "[It is] a tough and substantial piece, formed out of his unique polyphony which is nourished by Bach but points the way to impressions of the spirits of our own age, more nervous and multifarious."[46] The first three of Busoni's *Fünf kurze Stücke* were also performed. All three are economical. The first one is based on a single three-note motif modified through diminutions, augmentations, and inversions. Beaumont has suggested that "not since the second movement of the *Red Indian Diary* had Busoni composed so rigorously economical a study, nor had he ever before written any music so abstract as this."[47] Busoni argued for a "New Classicism," one that threw off the influence of Wagner and took instead for its model the music of Mozart.[48] Although Busoni lived only a couple years past this festival, his music, in its embrace of previous styles, its clarity and economy, pointed to the shift toward objectivity that was exemplified above all in the works of Stravinsky, arguably beginning with *Histoire du soldat*.

Scherchen had already conducted the German premiere of *Histoire* for the Frankfurt Chamber Music Week of New Music, which took place 17-24 June 1923.

---

[45]Anthony Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 282.

[46]Heinz Stückenschmidt, *Vossische Zeitung*, 20 November 1920, quoted in Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer*, 286.

[47]Anthony Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer*, 302.

[48]See Ferruccio Busoni, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, trans. Rosamond Ley (New York: Dover Publications, 1957).

(Schoenberg's *Friede auf Erden* was also presented by Scherchen's "A-capella Choir of 1923".) He had also heard Stravinsky's *Trois pieces pour quator à corde* (1914) and the *Concertino* (1920). These were performed by the Belgian "Pro Arte" quartet at the first festival of the *International Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (IGNM) on 5 August 1923. Scherchen acted as a jury member for this first festival and his impressions of the works were generally critical. Exceptions were the two works by Stravinsky.[49] Scherchen's lengthy praise indicated his appreciation for Stravinsky's more objective, simpler style.

> Stravinsky's creativity was amazing, as well his intuition for form. The pieces are like brilliant sketches, that captivate sharply through motive or voice; the first, tumultuously wild, the second, almost a caricature through its contorted howling, the third (and best), the "Dies irae" ("The Last Judgement, the Day of Reckoning"), which, like the sounds of a catacomb, creates a gripping, serious macabre mood. All the pieces are made with a sophisticated knack for timbre! The "Concertino" is a new work of larger form, with larger tension of construction and of invention: a fine unified piece. —What is exciting is the confidence with which Stravinsky (as with Paulie [Hindemith]) maintains the economy and uses elements structurally. How sophisticated and refined the pieces also seem; they always remain simple and concise. … He works with basic forms, remains always lively. Simplicity rules complexity; from this grows the impetuous, rhythmic, structural energy of his music.[50]

In his *Handbook of Conducting* (1929) Scherchen discussed Stravinsky's music under the heading of "Limitation as Enrichment." He explained that Stravinsky's music of the time eschewed expressive markings such as *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, *accelerando*, *ritardando*, or *rubato*. Because Stravinsky no longer

---

[49]It is worth noting that Stravinsky (1882-1971) was less than ten years older than Scherchen.

[50]"Die Stücke wirken wie geniale Skizzen, die scharf ein Motiv, eine Stimmung festbannen; das 1. wild stürmend, das 2. fast bis zur Karakatur verzert aufjaulend, das 3. (und beste), das "Dies irae" ("Der Jüngste Tag, der Tag des Schreckens"), geheimnisvoll wie in Katakombenklängen intonierend zu ergreifen ernster Grabstimmung. Alle Stücke sind mit raffiniertestem Klangsinn gemacht!—Das "Concertino" ist eine neue Arbeit von *größerer* Form, mit der Strawinsky (ähnlich wie mit Paulchen [Hindemith]) Ökonomie halt, Elementares gliedernd benutzt. Wie raffiniert und verfeinert die Stücke auch scheinen, immer bleibt als ein einfachtes Prägnantes: Rhythmus oder Wiederholung übrig. Er arbeitet mit Grundformen, die, durch Akzente, leichte Umbiegungen, variiert, immer Leben behalten. Einfaches regiert das Komplizierte; daraus erwächst dann die ungestüme rhythmische Gliederungskraft seiner Musik." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Gustel Jensen, 5 August 1923, in *...alles hörbar machen*, 64.

relied on such expressive means, the music had to work on its own, according to the organization of its structure. Also, rhythm and melody were curiously disconnected from the "strictly partitioned and jointed framework of meter. The contrast between the strict form-building metric scheme and the motley wealth of the rhythmic course produce a new kind of tension, which replaces the usual expressive tensions."[51]

Scherchen's admiration for Stravinsky continued through the rest of his life. In 1957 Scherchen wrote an article entitled "Concentration instead of Expansion" for the *Gravesaner Blätter* describing the nature of *Histoire du soldat* and enumerating its many virtues. Scherchen found that *Histoire* was indicative of a shift in musical expression beginning in 1918 from expansion to compression. In *Histoire* there are only seven soloists, which represent the four groups of the orchestra. The piece has only two characters, while a single narrator and the bare stage "create [a] landscape of soul and time."[52] Scherchen wrote that the three dances, tango-waltz-ragtime, are "pregnant with force" and "perform the processes of life."[53] The work lasts less than an hour, whereas most stage works lasted much longer. According to Scherchen, the techniques of drama, dance, and pantomime were convincingly brought together.

> This music shuns preparatory devices; it is total assertion. It has returned to the sources: *march – dance – song* . . . these are the basis of the fifteen pieces of the work. Despite restrictions of elementary form, the music governs the whole, builds up the frames of the two parts, opens the work and, in finishing, closes it as a whole. … There is no "soldier *theme*," no leading "*devil* motive," no "*melody* of the princess" but the psycho-physiological realities behind the figure of the soldier, the devil, and the princess become direct elements of sound creation. Stravinsky does not *characterize* by means of thematic instrumental masquerades, he no longer *paints* using folkloristic-rhythmical costuming, he no longer *enhances* by

---

[51]Hermann Scherchen, *Handbook of Conducting*, trans. M.D. Calvocoressi (Oxford, 1989), 27.

[52]Hermann Scherchen, "Concentration instead of Expansion (Igor Stravinsky, 1882), *Gravesaner Blatter* 3/9 (1957), 12-15. Beginning with 3/9 (1957) the *Gravesaner Blätter* included both German and English versions of articles. Quotations in the present study use the English versions.

[53]Ibid., 8-12

dynamic exaltation – but he molds persons and events plastically in music.[54]

Stravinsky and Feruccio Busoni both attended the Bauhaus Week of 1923. Scherchen wrote that they did not know one another and recalled that after the performance of *Histoire du soldat*, Stravinsky asked "who was the old man behind [me] who was constantly crying during *Histoire*?"[55] Scherchen suggested that Busoni was so deeply moved because Stravinsky had completed what Busoni had tried his whole life to accomplish and even with *Doctor Faustus* had left unfinished the creation of a musical "commedia dell'arte."[56]

Scherchen compared Stravinsky's personality to Busoni's. Stravinsky, he felt, was only interested in himself, in what he had to say, even if those around him were talking about his work. He routinely rejected the opinions of others. Busoni, however, was "charmingly witty, gently mocking, in light of his intellectuality."[57] He was, according to Scherchen, as sure of himself as Stravinsky, but was more interested in what others said. He listened intently.[58]

Both Stravinsky and Busoni strove for a new classicism. But Scherchen wrote that the Busoni piano Etude played by Egon Petri was "pure atmosphere, … [one heard] pathos-free clarity and rigorous intellectuality in contrast to the ordering power of the rhythm."[59] What moved Busoni in *Histoire*, Scherchen suggested, was Stravinsky's

---

[54]Ibid., 8-12.

[55]"Wer war denn der alte Mann, der bei der 'Geschichte vom Soldaten' hinter mir immerzu weinte?" Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*,191.

[56]Ibid., 191.

[57]"Voll graziösen Witzes, spöttisch, in die Helle seiner Geistigkeit führend." Hermann Scherchen, "Italienische Tage (I-IV) Rom und das Theater Luigi Pirandellos. Künstler und Publikum. Mailand und die Scala. Musiker in Italien." *Frankfurter Volkstimme*, 6-15 May 1925, section 4.

[58]Ibid., section 4.

[59]"Die reine Atmosphäre, … ihre pathoslose Klarheit und strenge Geistigkeit, als Gegenpole zur ordnenden Kraft seines Rhythmus." Ibid. section 4.

"economy of expression, the elegance of form and the creative originality of movement."[60] Scherchen valued the features he found in *Histoire*; he incorporated them into his conducting aesthetic, and after the Second World War, he advised younger composers to cultivate the same characteristics in their own work.

The final celebration of the Bauhaus Week took place on 19 August and lasted until the morning of the next day. Participants dressed up and wore masks. Many of the young women painted their bodies bright colors. The composer and critic Heinz Stückenschmidt recalled those days as an escape from the financial calamity that had reached a peak in 1923:

> That morning the streets in Weimar were filled with a bizarre group of people. With colorful costumes, they moved through the streets, drunken and singing, where Goethe and Liszt had already made themselves unwelcome by the *petis bourgeoisie*. The feeling that we had that summer of 1923 was in odd relation to our poverty. We felt that the Bauhaus spirit had brought something new into the world that would persist for generations.[61]

Winterthur

That summer of 1923 Scherchen was also making preparations to begin his tenure as permanent guest conductor of the Winterthur Musikkollegium Stadtorchester, that would become the lengthiest and arguably most successful of his many orchestral engagements. The group was made up of approximately thirty professionals, amateurs, and advanced music students. When needed, this core ensemble was supplemented by professional musicians from Zürich and Basel. Before Scherchen came to Winterthur,

---

[60]"Knappheit des Ausdrucks, der Eleganz der Formen, der schöpferischen Originalität der Bewegung." Scherchen, *Handbook*, 64.

[61]"Als die Sonne aufging, sah man auf den Weimarer Straßen eine bizarre Gesellschaft. In unseren bunten Kostümen durchzogen wir, beschwipst und singend, die Arme eingehängt, die alte Stadt, wo schon Goethe und Liszt sich bei den Spießbürgern unbeliebt gemacht hatten. … Das Hochgefühl, das wir jungen Menschen in diesem Sommer 1923 in uns trugen, stand in einem seltsamen Verhältnis zu unserer nach heutigen Begriffen unfaßbaren Armut. Wir spürten wohl, daß der Bauhaus-Geist etwas Neues in die Welt gebracht hatte und daß noch Generationen damit zu tun haben würden." H.H. Stückenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren*. (Munich, 1979), 176.

the orchestra's activities were limited to performing seasonally between October 1 and April 30 and playing at health resorts during the summer.

Scherchen's work in Winterthur allowed him to escape the pressures of international performance, to concentrate on, as he wrote, the "pure service of the work." He recalled that the musicians were not jaded like most professionals: "There were still MESSAGES for them all in the music, that had to be passed on to the listener."[62] The freedom Scherchen was given in Winterthur allowed him to program works spanning music history, from preclassics such as Monteverdi, Lully, Purcell, Bach, Rameau, and Handel to modern composers such as Debussy, Ravel, Milhaud, Honegger, Vogel, Roussel, and Rudi Stefan.

The position came to Scherchen by way of Werner Reinhard, a wealthy businessman and patron of the arts who had heard of Scherchen from Ernst Wolff, a member of the Schoenberg circle. Scherchen conducted a guest concert in Winterthur on 25 October 1922. After Reinhard heard him premiere Ernst Křenek's Symphony no.1 in Frankfurt on 8 December 1922, he offered Scherchen the position. It was agreed that Scherchen would receive five hundred Swiss francs for each concert and would be given housing with Reinhard.

The minutes of the Kollegium board from 2 December 1922 reflect that Scherchen had already offered suggestions regarding the Stadtorchester. They indicate that he was particularly interested developing and educating the untrained orchestra members. He agreed to take on a large number of subscription concerts in addition to the necessary rehearsals. Scherchen planned to spend eight to ten days at a time in Winterthur and to design the programs for a small orchestra so that in the limited amount of time, they could reach the highest possible technical level. The members of the board understood that Scherchen was soon to be an internationally recognized conductor and would only be able to work with the Winterthur Kollegium for a limited period. They decided that it would be to their advantage to employ him for as long as he was available

---

[62] Es gab noch BOTHSCHAFTEN für alle in der Musik, die den Hörern vermittelt werden mußten. Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 192-93

and determined that he should take over six of the eight subscription concerts of the 1923-24 season.[63]

In the meeting on 17 May 1923 Scherchen described his plans for the first season; these programs suggest the breadth and ambition of Scherchen's activities in Winterthur.[64]

First concert
Mozart, Overture to *Idomeneo*
Beethoven, Concerto for Violin in D Major
Brahms, Symphony No.1

Second concert
Cherubini, Symphony No. 3
Haydn, Concert for Cello
Mozart, Symphony in E-flat Major, K.543

Third concert
Reger, *Romantische Suite 1912*
Mozart, Violin Concerto A major, K. 219
Bruckner, Symphony No.2

Fourth concert
Stravinsky, "Pulcinella Suite" (1919)
Křenek's Piano Concerto in F-sharp Major (1923)
Haydn, Piano Concert D Major
Beethoven Symphony No.1

Fifth concert
Mozart, Symphony A Major, K.201
Liszt, Piano Concerto in E-flat Major
Mahler, Symphony No.4 (1900)

Sixth concert
Wagner, Faust Overture
Schoenberg, Six Orchestral Songs
Beethoven, Symphony no.5 in C Minor

What distinguished these programs was not only the presence of modern works but their juxtaposition with classics: Křenek and Stravinsky appeared with Haydn; Mahler with Mozart; and Schoenberg with Beethoven. Scherchen felt that both modern and older

[63]Hansjörg Pauli, "Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966" *Neujahrsblatt der allgemeinen Musikgesellsschaft* (Zurich, 1993), 15.

[64]Ibid.,16-17.

works could benefit from this dialogue. This was typical of Scherchen's educational approach to music.

Scherchen's educational impulse came to the front more clearly with the institution of *Studienaufführungen*. These were opportunities for more advanced players to perform challenging, often modern, works in smaller ensembles. It was hoped that soloistic activity would benefit the larger ensemble, especially among the woodwinds. Such "study performances" were not held in a usual concert setting, but took place in private circles; they, too, juxtaposed the old and the new:[65]

> First study
> P. Hindemith, Kammermusik no.1 (1921)
> J.S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto no.3
> W.A. Mozart, Clarinet Concerto, K.622
> R. Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll"
>
> Second study
> E. Ermatinger (b.1900), Symphony op. 1 (1923)
> A. Vivaldi, Concerto Grosso in D Minor
> J.S. Bach, Orchestral Suite in B Minor
> W.F. Bach, Concerto for Cembalo in E Minor
> R. Strauss, *Couperin-Suite* (1923)
>
> Third study
> E. G. Wolff, (b. 1883) Ouverture (1914)
> H. Ganz, (b. 1890) *Thematische Fantasie für Violine und Orchester* (1923)
> G. Bizet, Arlésienne-Suite no.1.

The extra sessions, for which Scherchen asked no further remuneration, allowed works by young composers, especially Swiss composers, to be heard. Because, however, such programs excluded members of the official Swiss musical circles, an intrigue broke out over Scherchen's appointment. The board minutes from 17 May state, "we learned through a communication from Herr Director Andreae to Herr Reinhart that there would be a storm coming because of Herr Scherchen's engagement and that there would be attempts to hinder his entry."[66] This came to nothing and Scherchen traveled on 10 October to Winterthur to begin rehearsing for the first concert.

---

[65]Ibid.,17-18.

[66]"Durch eine Mitteilung von Herrn Direktor Andreae an Herrn Reinhart erfahren wir, dass gegen das Engagement des Herrn Scherchen Sturm gelaufen soll und dass versucht werden soll, die Einreise des Herrn Scherchen zu verhindern." Ibid.,17.

In 1925 Scherchen conducted the Winterthur Stadtorchester as part of the general IGNM festival in Zürich with works by Schoenberg, Kaminski, Ermatinger and Stravinsky. The music critic Ernst Isler suggested in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on March 24, 1925 that the musicians of the orchestra had an unusual approach to playing where each instrument is individually exposed. He reasoned that their manner of performance had been learned through an intense devotion to modern music. Isler wrote of Scherchen that "one must observe him, how he instructs his musicians, how he arranges their voices in the performance, draws out expression, regulates the dynamics, in the way, that corresponds wonderfully with the tonal elegance of the most recent music."[67]

His work habits in Winterthur were more rigorous still than those in Leipzig with the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra. Scherchen agreed to conduct the orchestra only if each player was willing to play his part alone if called upon. There were to be no inherited positions and Scherchen would have the final word on which musicians would play. As in Leipzig, Scherchen rehearsed the orchestra in sections, but now separated the strings: first violin, second violin, viola, cello/bass, woodwinds, brass, and then percussion. The following schedule for the subscription concert on 10 February 1926 and the concert for the Swiss section of the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (IGNM) on 12 February, shows Scherchen's rehearsal strategy:

IGNM rehearsals

February 2	18:00-19:30	Violoncellos and Contrabasses
	19:45-22:00	First Violins
February 3	9:30	Woodwinds
	14:00	Second Violins
	19:00	Violas
February 4	10:00	Percussion
	14:30-16:30	Brass
	19:00	Tutti

Subscription concert rehearsal

February 5	9:30	Second Violins
	14:30	Woodwinds, Brass, Percussion

[67]"Man muß ihn beobachten, wie er seine Musiker anweist, wie er ihre Stimmen in den Vortrag einordnet, den Ausdruck herausholt, das Dynamische regelt, in einer Weise, die der klanglichen Vornehmheit der neuesten Musik ganz hervorragend entspricht." Ibid., 286-291.

	18:00-19:15	Violoncellos and Contrabasses
	19:30	First Violins
February 6	10:00	Violas
	13:15	Tutti
February 8	19:00	Tutti
February 9	19:00	Tutti
February 10	13:15	Dress rehearsal
	19:30	Subscription Concert
IGNM rehearsals (resumed)		
February 11	13:00	Tutti
	20:00	Dress rehearsal as Study performance
February 12	17:00	Rehearsal
	20:00	IGNM Concert[68]

The 1926 subscription concert featured works by Mahler and Bruckner; the concert for the IGNM included works by Mahler, Schoenberg, Debussy, and Honegger.

Scherchen directed the Winterthur Stadtorchester through the Second World War and until 1950. The farewell concerts were devoted to the Viennese Classics and to J.S. Bach. A final study performance featured works by lesser-known composers such as Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Chevalier de Saint-Georges, Jean Xavier Lefèvre, Johann Michael Haydn, Domenico Cimerosa, and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger. that Scherchen had edited and published over the years.

The Winterthur Stadtorchester gave Scherchen the ideal opportunity to implement his program of educative esthetics. Unlike the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra and the orchestra of the Museum Concerts, the Winterthur group was supported in part through the patronage of Werner Reinhart. The group flourished under Scherchen because it was a private endeavor independent of most social pressures.

[68]Lothar Kemper, "Das Musikkollogium Winterthur 1920-1953," in *Festschrift zur Feier des dreihundertjährigen Bestehens 1629-1929*, vol.2 (Winterthur, 1959), 286-291.

Kunst der Fuge

As his Winterthur "study performances" make clear, that although Scherchen was rightly regarded as a champion of the new music, he often programmed lesser-known works from previous centuries. One of his first concerts with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1913 featured Mozart's little known ballet "Les petits riens" along with Bruckner's Symphony No. 9.[69] Similarly, Scherchen programmed Cimerosa with Stravinsky, Locatelli with Schubert, Rameau with Bartók. Over the years, Scherchen's concerts in Winterthur included works by J.C. Bach, Boccherini, Carissimi, Corelli, and Purcell. Scherchen presented Berg's *Wozzeck* fragments and the German premiere of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (11 June 1924, ADMV festival). He had a special affection for Haydn's *Seven Last Words*, Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge,* op. 133, and Mozart's *Serenata notturna* in D major, K. 239. Of all the earlier works he conducted, one of the most significant outcomes of Scherchen's work with the Winterthur Orchestra was his acquaintance with J.S. Bach's *Kunst der* Fuge.

Scherchen first performed the work in Wolfgang Graeser's orchestration on 19 February 1928 in the Winterthur Stadtkirche. Only nine months earlier, Karl Straube had premiered the Graeser version at the Leipziger Thomaskirche. Between the February performance and April 1931, Scherchen performed the work ten times.

Scherchen was dissatisfied with Graeser's orchestration and offered his revisions on 29 December 1929 in the Paris "Salle Pleyel." Scherchen had found Graeser's version too "romantic." Hanno Parmentier has written that:

> His repairs to the Graeser version attempted therefore to reveal the delicate structure of the original, which was trapped in spots by the somewhat viscous instrumentation. The proper means to this seemed to him a kind of "registration" of the individual Contrapunctum according to the practice of an organ.[70]

---

[69]Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 36.

[70]"Seine Reparaturen an Graesers Orchestrierung versuchen deshalb, die filigranen Strukturen des Originals aus der stellenweise etwas dickflüssig geratenen Instrumentierung herauszuschälen. Das geeignete Mittel hierzu scheint ihm eine Art von 'Registrierung' der einzelnen Contrapunkte nach dem Vorbild der Orgel zu sein." Hanno Parmentier, "…beginnt die

Whereas the first four Contrapuncta in Graeser's version are for string quartet, Scherchen gave each one its own instrumentation. The first is for organ, the second for organ and strings, the third for string orchestra, and the fourth is for string quartet alone. Scherchen conducted his revision of Graener again in Winterthur on 1 April 1931 and then in Amsterdam on 7 February 1932.

In 1937 Scherchen abandoned Graeser's version altogether for one by Roger Vuataz, an organist, choir director, musicologist, and sound engineer at the Genf Studio. The goal of the Vuatez version was to come closer to "the spirit of Bach and his musical technique."[71] Vuatez explained:

> I imagine an ensemble of twenty-six strings and five winds, divided like an organ with four manuals. In this way, I have "registered" the entire *Kunst der Fuge.* … It concerns a new principle of orchestral writing inspired by the specific spatial division of the organ, a writing whose timbral effect is however purely symphonic."[72]

Finally on 14 May 1965 Scherchen presented his own instrumentation of the *Kunst der Fuge* in the *Teatro Apollo*, Lugano. Scherchen's student Francis Travis has performed the Scherchen version of the *Kunst der Fuge* over twenty times. Travis has written:

> He finds countless nuances, with varying articulation, staccato, legato, tenuto, etc. with subtle bowings in the strings, and above all with an ingenious method of increasing or decreasing the number in each string group. Therefore he indicates exactly, where he wants eight first violins to play, or six, five, three, or even a single violin. … And if he demands only two violins or two cellos, he requires in certain places explicitly the first and the sixth player in a group, well aware, that these two players, who are somewhat distant from one another, generate a sound whose contour easily dissolves and emphasizes the atmospheric.[73]

---

wahre Existenz der Musik," in *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*, ed. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin, 1986), 83.

[71]"Im Geiste Bachs und seiner musikalischen Technik." Roger Vuataz, *Instrumentation of "Die Kunst der Fuge"—introductory notes*, (Zurich, 1950). Cited in Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*, 85.

[72]"Ich stellte mir ein Ensemble von 26 Streichern und 5 Bläsern vor, verteilt wie auf eine Orgel mit 4 Klaviaturen. Auf diese Weise habe ich sodann die ganze Kunst der Fuge 'registriert'… Es handelt sich hier um ein von der spezifisch räumlichen Verteilung der Orgel inspiriertes neues Prinzip orchestraler Schreibweise, dessen Klangergebnisse jedoch rein symphonisch sind." Ibid., 85

Scherchen's interest in Bach's *Kunst der Fuge* was not simply a matter of recovering a past musical artifact and presenting it through the most transparent means. In Scherchen's view, the work had ethical and spiritual dimensions that were central to his aesthetic. Scherchen wrote that after hearing the Graeser version for the first time, he was so struck that he conducted it in Winterthur and then gave further concerts in Zürich, Genf, and Frankfurt am Main in March and April.

The work was important, he felt, because it had truly achieved what Wagner sought to do through artificial means in the consecration style of *Parsifal*. For Scherchen, Bach's work created "a world of the purist order, deepest humanity, and highest responsibility."[74] He felt that a performance of the *Kunst der Fuge* might accomplish this elevation of humanity even in the face of the stock market crash and depression, unemployment and the rise of German fascism.[75]

After Scherchen's exile from Germany in 1933 and through the course of the war, the significance of Bach's last work continued to grow for him. In his notebooks he referred ironically to the *Kunst der Fuge* as "K.d.F.," a reference to the Nazi propaganda program "Kraft durch Freude" (Strength through Joy), which tried to build a healthy *Volk* through sport, song, travel, and contact with the outdoors. (The *Volkswagen* was a product of this program.) Scherchen counter-posed this mythic form of escape with Bach's work, what he believed to be a true path to joy and spiritual enlightenment. In the

---

[73]"Unzählige Nuancen findet er, mit verschiedener Artikulation, Staccato, Legato, Tenuto, usw. mit subtilen Bogenstricharten der Streicher, und vor allem mit einer ingeniösen Art, die Streicher-Gruppen zahlenmäßig zu vergrößern oder zu verrindern. So schreibt er genau vor, wo er acht Erste Violinen spielen lassen will, oder 6, 5, 3, oder eine Violine allein. … Und wenn er nur zwei Violinen oder zwei Violoncelli einsetzt, verlangt er an gewissen Stellen ausdrücklich den ersten und den sechsten Spieler in einer Gruppe, wohlwissend, daß diese zwei etwas entfernt voneinander sitzenden Spieler einen Klang erzeugen, dessen Contour leicht aufgelöst wirkt und das Atmosphärische unterstricht." Francis Travis, "Über die Kunst der Fuge von Hermann Scherchen," notes accompanying a recording of Scherchen's version of *Die Kunst der Fuge*. Cited in *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*, ed. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin, 1986), 86.

[74]"Eine Welt reifster Ordnung, innigster Menschlichkeit und höchster Verantwortlichkeit." Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 194.

[75]Ibid., 194.

introduction to a radio performance of the *Kunst der Fuge* in Zurich 1947, Scherchen explained:

> Music, you see, is not meant to be understood, but it expects to be heard. Nothing more than heard. It is *simply* not meant to be understood. … But what do I hear? I hear tones, I hear rhythms, and timbres. … That is the secret of music; that is also the secret, why thousands of the greatest works of music can be heard, without having to be understood. … Through the beauty of the musical material—of ringing tones, of stimulating rhythm, of enchanting timbres—the work, with its total spirituality, enters and lives in humanity, that listens with delight.[76]

Lehrbuch des Dirigierens

A second important product of Scherchen's work with the Winterthur orchestra was the publication in 1929 of his *Lehrbuch des Dirigierens*, the *Handbook of Conductng*. The book was the most complete text on conducting to that point. According to Scherchen, one learned to conduct at that time by being thrown in front of an orchestra and fashioning a technique through trial and error. The *Handbook's* main purpose, therefore, was to establish a solid pedagogical foundation for the art of conducting. In principle it was particularly useful to students interested in self-directed study.

Scherchen organized the *Handbook* into three sections. The first section presents the theoretical and pedagogical foundations of his performance aesthetic, that the fundamental goal of conducting is the realization of a musical work. The second, entitled "The Science of the Orchestra," is a detailed account of the techniques and expressive

---

[76]"Musik wird nähmlich nicht verstanden, sondern Musik will gehört werden. Nichts weiter als gehört. Sie ist nicht zu verstehen! … Was höre ich aber? Ich höre Töne, ich höre Rhythmen, und Klangfarben. … Das ist das Geheimnis der Musik; das ist auch das Geheimnis, warum Tausende die höchsten Musikwerke hören können, ohne sie zu verstehen, … durch die Schönheit der musikalischen Materie—die klingenden Tons, des erregenden Rhythmus, der verzaubernden Klangfarbe—das Werk mit seiner ganzen Geistigkeit in den Menschen, der entzückt zuhört, eintritt und lebt." Hermann Scherchen, from a radio lecture on the *Kunst der Fuge* for the Zurich Radio presented on 20 April 1947. Cited in Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*, 82.

characteristics of orchestral instruments. This features copious musical examples and is by far the largest of the three sections. The final section presents the technique of conducting, that is, the varieties of gesture available to the conductor as well as the conductor's proper physical disposition to the orchestra. At the end of the third section, Scherchen included three practical examples to serve the student conductor: Beethoven's Symphony no. 1, Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*, and Stravinsky's *Histoire du soldat*.

In the opening section of the *Handbook*, Scherchen summarized his approach to the musical work. He felt that the goal of the conductor, or any true performer, was not the *interpretation* but the *realization* of the musical work. For Scherchen, interpretation signaled the sentimental distortion of a composer's original concept, often for the sake of aggrandizing the performer. Scherchen had grown up in the era of the great "interpreters" before the First World War and was one of the principal figures after the war to promote the more "objective" playing style identified above all with Arturo Toscanini. Interpreters such as Toscanini, Artur Schnabel, Jasha Heifetz, and Scherchen valued a "Werktreue" or a fidelity to the musical work. Though this tendency of fidelity is associated with modernism, especially after the 1920s, it is important to understand that the distinction between realization and interpretation has roots in the nineteenth century. As early as the 1820s, Hegel wrote of two approaches to interpretation:

> The one immerses itself entirely in the given work of art and tries to render nothing more that what the work of art in question contains; compared with that, the other is not only reproductive, but creates expression, presentation, so that the true motivation is satisfied not only by the given composition, but above all through its own means.[77]

Scherchen divided the act of musical realization into two steps: conception and materialization. Conception according to Scherchen is the formation of a sound-image of the work in the mind of the performer. Materialization is giving the imagined work concrete existence through musical instruments. It was essential to Scherchen that musicians be able to conceive the work in the "mind's

[77]"Die eine versenkt sich ganz in das gegebene Kunstwerk und will nichts weiteres wiedergeben, als was das bereits vorhandene Kunstwerk enthält; die andere dagegen ist nicht nur reproduktiv, sondern schöpft Ausdruck, Vortrag, genug, die eigentliche Beseelung nicht nur aus der vorliegenden Komposition, sondern vornehmlich aus eigenen Mitteln." Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Äesthetik*, vol.2, ed. Friederich Bassenge (Frankfurt am Main), 323.

ear," so that the realization was not determined by the mechanism of the instrument. Because the conductor only "plays" the orchestra indirectly through gesture, Scherchen reasoned that conducting was the most spiritual form of musical reproduction and that its principal concern was the concept of the musical work: "the alpha and omega of conducting is the capacity to conceive an absolutely ideal performance in the imagination."[78]

According to Scherchen, the surest route to acquiring the capacity to conceive musical works is through singing. He expected his students to have a detailed understanding of orchestral instruments, a grasp of compositional principles, and an awareness of western culture, including literature, history, and philosophy. Students should preferably be able to play a string instrument in an orchestra. Scherchen put the greatest emphasis, however, on the ability to sing every part of a score, with precision and expression. Although Scherchen discouraged students from conducting without a score, they had to have scores memorized for their lessons. Scherchen felt that singing was the "life-function"[79] of music and that it set the correct pace of a melody: "Where there is no singing, the forms of music become distorted and they move in a senseless time-order imposed from without."[80] By learning a score independently of an instrument, the student could not be hampered by the limitations of that instrument. He complained that the emphasis on piano playing, for example, tended to break up melodies and phrases in common time into half-bars and fragments.

Scherchen felt that the materialization of the work resulted from the interaction of the conductor and the orchestra. The orchestra, for Scherchen, was a community of musicians, "an organ of which each pipe is a human being."[81] Whereas the piano and the violin have certain acoustical limits and cannot change, the orchestra was unlimited and

---

[78]Hermann Scherchen, *Handbook of Conducting*, trans. M.D. Calvocoressi (Oxford, 1989), 189.

[79]Ibid., 31.

[80]Ibid., 31.

[81]Scherchen, "Der moderne Dirigent," *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* (29 September 1927), 72.

could evolve: "Now the instrument of the modern conductor is that mysterious, artistic organism called the orchestra, whose developmental abilities are nearly limitless…[It is] instrument plus musician, containing the limitless possibilities of the organic."[82] The conductor was responsible for the development and the cultivation of this "instrument," and Scherchen felt that the conductor was successful if he made a good orchestra into an excellent one. The purpose of the performance was not simply the reproduction of the work, but "the ennoblement of the orchestra."[83] The task of the conductor is particularly difficult because he must be able to bring together and guide a complex arrangement of individuals.

The conductor materializes his concept of the musical work through the orchestra by means of gesture, verbal explanation, and mimicry. Of these, Scherchen held that gesture was by far the most significant. The ideal gesture was economical and functional. Its purpose was to convey as clearly as possible expression, shaping of phrase, and above all the metrical course of the work. Scherchen felt that extraneous movements, that had no clear relation to the music, were merely decorative and detracted from the proper materialization of the work. He questioned why so many conductors clenched their fist or gave a menacing look in order to express a fortissimo or an accent, since a fortissimo might just as well express nobility or jubilance. Scherchen also advised that a conductor should never achieve a decrescendo in the orchestra by shaking the hand "as if to shake off water." This would more likely have the opposite effect, as does the sudden, reproachful look to achieve a *pianissimo*. Finally, conductors often bend their knees or crouch or even pull the shoulders together to produce a quieter dynamic, but these only express anxiety. In these cases, "the conductor tries instead of using gesture, to pantomime in a gymnastic way the arrival at *piano*."[84] Scherchen felt that ideally, the

---

[82]"Nun ist das Instrument des modernen Dirigenten dieser geheimnisvolle, berauschende Kunstorganismus Orchester, dessen Entwicklungsfähigkeiten kaum zu begrenzen sind. … Instrument plus Musiker, enthält die unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten des Organischen." Ibid., 72.

[83]Ibid., 72.

[84]"Statt in der Dirigiergeste das Piano darzustellen so dass der Stärkergrad des Orchesterspiels dadurch bestimmt ist, wird auf lächerliche Weise versucht eine 'gymnastisch-

student conductor should restrict movements to the right arm, since this would focus the musician's attention.

Although Scherchen emphasized clarity and "unequivocal understandability"[85] in the conductor's gestures, he felt, too, that conducting should never be "time-beating." Scherchen cited the example of Arthur Nikisch, who could, through gesture, create a sense of climax to the ultimate degree. To accomplish this, he would not beat the meter out but instead would raise both arms in the air slowly, almost like a curtain rising. At the top he would leave the arms in the air "like a high priest, who allows light to enter the closed eyes of humanity."[86] In general, this sort of gesture did away with the basic metric pattern, but Scherchen pointed out that it was more than a raising of the arm; the movement was timed so that the different stages of the movement corresponded to the tempo and meter of the passage.

For Scherchen, Nikisch's approach meant an "emancipation"[87] from simple metric counting. Similarly, because an accomplished orchestra could easily play a passage in a continuous meter on its own, the conductor might stop gesturing altogether so that when he resumed, the movement would have an even greater expressive impact. This could also foster self-reliance in the players. Scherchen's description of the ideal gesture captures wonderfully the various elements that he required:

> Let every gesture represent singing tone, summarizing that tone through its various stages of abstract conception, visible interpretation, to audible realization. Let it acquire the smoothness which characterizes perfect instruments; let it be simple, intelligible, quite unambiguous, restricted to a minimum, and yet carrying all the needed meaning. Let it be a lightening-stroke radiating orchestral tone, encompassing, coordinating,

---

pantomimische' Parallele zum Piano zu erfinden." Hermann Scherchen, "Nikisch und das Orchester," 1

[85]Ibid., 2

[86]"Wie die Geste eines Hohenpriesters, der Lichte den Zugang in das geblendet sich schliessende Menschenauge eröffnet." Ibid., 2

[87]Ibid., 2

and permeating all the manifold and wonderfully diverse energies of the orchestra.[88]

* * *

The Weimar Republic was characterized by a period of political and economic tension from its founding in 1918 until the middle 1920s. Artists, composers, writers, and intellectuals produced work that either mirrored the chaos of the times or tried to bring about a better future. Scherchen's cultivation of the worker choruses, his direction of the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra, and the Museum concerts, as well as his foundation of the journal *Melos* bear out the social responsibility of art. Economic loans and investments from the U.S. and a more stable government in Germany produced a period of relative prosperity from the middle 1920s until the world economic crisis which followed the stock market crash of 1929. Because of the better economic situation, and because the immediate memory of the Great War had faded, there was a larger sense of optimism, and art was characterized by a tendency toward objectivity. This shift toward objectivity could be felt already in 1923 the year of the Bauhaus-Woche.

In the final phase of the Weimar Republic those forces of conservatism that lay dormant since 1918 were given new strength by the economic crisis of the early 30s. This led to public violence between left and right factions; during this period Scherchen took up his activities with the worker choruses. In January 1933 the Nazis were narrowly voted into power, and soon after the Reichstag, the German Parliament, was burned down. Hitler blamed the communists and passed an Enabling Act that gave him emergency dictatorial powers for four years.

---

[88]Scherchen, *Handbook*, 16.

CHAPTER 3

EXILE AND RESISTANCE, 1933-1945

Strassburg Working Conference 1933

Scherchen was in Vienna teaching a conducting course when the Nazis came to power. Because of his identification with modern music, his close connections with Jewish cultural circles, and especially, his activity as a leader of worker choruses, to return to Germany would likely have been dangerous. Scherchen represents an unusual instance of a non-Jew who was not a Communist party member, but who nevertheless chose or was forced to remain in exile while the Nazis were in power.

The Nazis used the Enabling Act to bring every aspect of German society in line with their ideology. This process was known as *Gleichschaltung*. As part of this process, a system of chambers was established to monitor the development of the arts. In addition to these chambers, the National Socialists instituted art and music exhibitions both to identify acceptable forms of art as well as to show those that were considered *entartete* (degenerate). Thus the arts were made to serve as propaganda for Hitler. Many of Scherchen's activities during his years in exile were direct or indirect forms of resistance to the Nazi artistic policies.

One such activity was the establishment of a series of *Arbeitstagungen* or working conferences. They took place in Strassburg (1933), Paris (1934), Brussels (1935), Genf (1936), Budapest (1937), and in Braunfeld, Switzerland (1938).[1] The purpose of these

[1]The workshop in Brussels was particularly successful. It took place in conjunction with the World Exhibition in the summer 1935, from May 16 to July 31. The title of the event was *Musik-Dramatik-Choreographie*. Scherchen supervised the music and conducting courses, Jean Cocteau the courses on directing and music, while Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz handled the section titled "Poetic Vision and Music" (Dichterische Vision und Musik). The workshop presented an

working conferences was to present significant examples of modern music and stage works. They were very often accompanied by conducting courses. The conferences represented artistic freedom, cosmopolitan eclecticism, and musical autonomy, all values in opposition to the cultural policies of National Socialism.

The first conference took place in Strassburg from 7 to 16 August 1933. It included two conducting courses, one for advanced students, from 19 June to 16 August, the other for beginners, 3 July to 31 August. According to Scherchen, the conference was idealistic in the sense that it was not open to the public; there were no tickets sold for concerts. It was a real working conference in that everyone participated in the music making. Thus many or most of the musicians played *gratis* while conductors were drawn from the advanced conducting class. Funds that were required came from the tuition of the conducting courses, 1500 francs. The only individuals who attended the events but did not participate were Strassburg city counsel members and a few special guests.

Scherchen divided the conference into two parts, examining both theoretical and practical aspects of music. The theoretical part addressed basic problems of musical acoustics and instrumental technique. In particular, Scherchen discussed the question of musical understanding as manifested in Johann Sebastian Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*. He also considered the problem of aesthetic norms in reference to J.S. Bach's *Art of Fugue* and Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in D minor.

The second part of the conference consisted of thirteen concerts. (Fourteen were planned.) These performances featured works from nearly every musical genre—concertos, orchestral works, chamber music, cantatas, and songs accompanied by orchestra—grouped according to nationality: Russian-Finnish; English; Italian-Spanish; Czech; Hungarian; Austrian; Rumanian-Polish; French; German; Dutch-Belgian-Scandanavian; and Swiss. Two concerts were devoted to stage works and opera.[2]

"Exposition musikdramatischer Werke," five performances under Cocteau, Katchourovsky, Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz, Vander Velden, and Scherchen. The program included works by Purcell, Monteverdi, Cavalieri, Malipiero, Markevitch, Schoenberg, Bartók, Stravinsky, Vogel, Milhaud, and Roussel. A final concert featured the "International Folksong of 1935" sung by the Belgian Coal Worker's Chorus.

[2]See Appendix C for facsimiles of the Strassburg conference programs.

Scherchen conducted only a single concert, an extra one devoted to "fathers of the movement." Its program included: "Adagio" from Mahler's Symphony no.10; Reger, *Serenade*; Debussy, *Chanson de Villon*; and Busoni, Suite from *Die Brautwahl*. With the exception of the works of these forerunners, all the pieces that were programmed during the Conference were written within the previous fifteen years, that is, during the Weimar Republic. They represented a front, an avant-garde, against the cultural policies of National Socialism. While the Nazis censored music and the other arts and used them as nationalist propaganda, the conference concerts offered artistic freedom and international pluralism.

Scherchen described the theoretical foundations of the conference on 13 April 1933 in an unpublished *Grundsatzpapier* (declaration of principles). This document examined the nature of music, the purpose of musical realization, and the ethical effects of music on the listener. Concerning the nature of music, Scherchen argued that it should be viewed as an acoustical phenomenon. Scherchen wrote that he was not interested in the psychological state of the composer when the musical work was written. Nor was he interested in the social or political circumstances. He was only concerned with the sounds themselves, the pitches as they formed melodies and harmonies. Scherchen explained that when he heard Caruso sing a high B-flat, it would affect him as an acoustical phenomenon no matter what its context:

> It is the simple fact of the oscillating waves that is important, of the phenomenal appearance of the music, of the pitch B-flat. It makes no difference whether this B-flat comes from a Verdi aria, from Bizet, from the thoughtful and tender delivery of an artist or from an exercise.[3]

In the context of his exile and of National Socialist policies, Scherchen's view of music as an acoustical phenomenon took on important meaning. While the Nazis used music for propaganda means, Scherchen extolled music in itself as a means of spiritual elevation.

---

[3]"Die bloße Tatsache des Erklingens, des in Erscheinung Tretens der Musik, der Ton der Musik, der Ton b^1, vermag das aber, ganz gleich, ob dieses b^1 nun vorkommt in einer Verdi-Arie, bei Bizet, einem vergeistigen, zarten Künstler oder nur bei einer Übung!" Hermann Scherchen, "Grundsatzpapier zur Arbeitstagung in Straßburg," unpublished manuscript, HSCHA 17/74/640, Mappe 6. Cited in *Hermann Scherchen: Musiker, 1891-1966*, eds. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1986), 27.

In the *Grundsatzpapier*, Scherchen described the process of musical realization. First, the conductor must understand the "tonal designs" left by the composer. Second, the conductor must find a way to transform what he understands into something that is audible. This process agreed with that which was described in his *Lehrbuch*. In the *Grundsatzpapier*, however, Scherchen demanded something more systematic: "there must be objective methods and criteria by which one might recognize and understand the composer's ideas, and there must be objective methods and criteria by which one might realize the knowledge that was uncovered."[4] He added that the realization must be "wholly appropriate to what is notated."[5] This differed from the *Lehrbuch* somewhat in that it placed a greater emphasis on the notation of a work.

Finally, Scherchen explained the moral effects of music on the listener. He felt that the "act of listening" could in itself be a "booming possibility of truth." This possibility was open to every listener. Every listener could enjoy the "shaping power" of music. Scherchen wrote that music had a moral and spiritual responsibility to enact a transformation "from the abstract to the concrete."[6] It should bring about the "sensory realization of what is only imagined or conceived."[7] This movement from the "abstract to concrete" and from the "imagined to the sensory" was, according to Scherchen, especially important to the "contemporary European."[8]

Clearly, Scherchen's view was the antithesis of the National Socialist aesthetic. For the Nazis, music was valuable to the extent that it served as propaganda, to the extent that it disseminated the ideology of National Socialism. For Scherchen, music was

---

[4]"Es muß objektive Methoden und Kriterien geben, mit deren Hilfe die erschließende Erkenntnis des vom Komponisten nur Vorgestellten möglich ist; und es muß objective Methoden und Kriterien geben, mit deren Hilfe dei Realisierung der erschlossenen Kenntnisse vorgenommen werden kann." Ibid., 27.

[5]Ibid., 27.

[6]Ibid., 27-28.

[7]"Abstrahiertem zu Konkretem; die Versinnlichung von Vorgestelltem, Gedachtem." Ibid., 28.

[8]Ibid., 28.

valuable in itself, as pitches, as sound. He felt that the act of listening could bring about a transformation in human understanding. The contemporary European that Scherchen alluded to needed a shift from ideology to the concrete experience of life, to what was essentially human.[9]

Scherchen's demand for a pure experience of music, one that might transform its listeners, galvanized the sense of artistic responsibility for many of the participants. Several signed a letter attesting to their solidarity on 16 August 1933. They told Scherchen that they had grown more responsible as human beings and as artists. They praised Scherchen's working methods and said that they would follow his example in the future. The participants pledged their fidelity to Scherchen and promised that he could count on them for assistance in other artistic endeavors. The list of signatories indicated the breadth of Scherchen's influence. The better known among them included the Czeck conductor Karel Ančerl (1908-1973); French conductor Ernest Bour (b.1913); Swiss musicologist Willi Reich (1898-1980); Peruvian composer and ethnomusicologist Rudolf Holzmann (1910-1992); American saxophonist Sigurd Rascher (1907-2001); and German composer Karl Amadeus Hartmann (1905-1963).[10] Clearly Scherchen's influence was wide-ranging.

Elias Canetti

If Scherchen argued for music's positive powers of transformation, the sociologist Elias Canetti implied the opposite, how music might be used to manipulate and spellbind. In this power relationship, the conductor, according to Canetti, plays the role of dictator.[11] Canetti attended the Strassburg conference as Scherchen's special guest. Canetti did not participate, however, since he was not a musician, but a writer and social theorist. For this reason, his perspective is worthy of consideration.

---

[9]Ibid., 28.

[10]The letter is included in Appendix C with the Strassburg conference programs.

[11]Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Hamburg, 1982), 453-456.

Canetti was born in Bulgaria in 1905. He moved to England in 1911 and two years later to Vienna. He studied in Zürich and in Frankfurt, completing a doctorate in Chemistry in 1929. Canetti's first important works were completed in the early 1930s: *Die Blendung* (Auto da Fe); *Die Hochzeit* (The Wedding, 1932); and *Komödie der Eitelkeit* (Comedy of Vanity, 1935). He first gained recognition in 1960 for his major work *Masse und Macht* (Crowds and Power). In 1981 Canetti was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. He died in 1994.

Scherchen first met Canetti in Vienna in March 1933. He was impressed by Canetti's novel *The Wedding*; at the same time he was, accordingy to Canetti, "horrified by its abstraction."[12] Based on their brief interaction in Vienna, Scherchen invited Canetti to the Strassburg Conference. As Canetti remembered:

> There was plenty to occupy my mind at the festival, two concerts daily, of music that was anything but light, lectures (one, for instance, by Alois Haba about his quarter-tone music), and conversations with new people, some of them extremely interesting.[13]

At the end of the day participants met in the houses of prominent locals and then went to restaurants and cafés. Canetti recalled meeting with Scherchen and his entourage at the Café Broglie. Scherchen always ordered caviar on toast, as if his superhuman efforts during the day demanded such rich food. Scherchen's wife at the time, Gustel Jansen, was usually at the hotel completing paperwork. Canetti wrote that Scherchen "couldn't bear for anyone in his entourage to be idle; like a true orchestra conductor, he kept everyone busy."[14] Canetti observed that what drove Scherchen was finding things that were new. When Scherchen arrived in a city, he soon discovered who was producing shocking or unusual work. What Scherchen liked most, was to learn a new work and finally "to present the work as perfectly as possible to a public that had no related experience, to whom such music was unfamiliar, repellant and ugly."[15]

---

[12]Elias Canetti, *The Play of the Eyes,* trans. Ralph Manheim in *The Memoirs of Elias Canetti* (New York, 1999), 623-24.

[13]Ibid., 630.

[14]Ibid., 633.

[15]Ibid., 619.

> With him it was a question of power. First he had to coerce the musicians, compel them to play this music as he wanted it played. Once he had musicians in hand, the resistance of the public—the greater, the better—remained to be broken down.[16]

This highly critical portrayal of Scherchen requires nuancing. In his memoirs, from which the above quotations are taken, Canetti spared very few of the many individuals he came in contact with, adopting an often savage critical position. His portrayal of Scherchen, however, was particularly harsh, because at the time of the Strassburg conference they were competing for the affections of Anna Mahler, the daughter of Gustav and Alma Mahler. A final reason for Canetti's negative evaluation is that he chose to see Scherchen in his role of conductor as a power-monger. That is, Canetti saw Scherchen as he might fit into his emerging theory of crowds. A chapter of Canetti's *Masse und Macht* was devoted to the role of conductor as dictator.

Canetti considered the relation of conductor to orchestra to be an ideal model for how power functions and how it is structured. The audience first of all is not aware of this power relation, because they believe that the music is the only issue. They are distracted by the symphony that they listen to. This distraction is not limited to the audience alone.

> The conductor himself is the most convinced of this; his job, so he thinks, is to serve the music and should only pass this on, nothing else. The conductor considers himself to be the main servant of the music. He is so fulfilled by it, that a second extra-musical sense to his activity would never occur to him.[17]

Accordingly to Canetti, the clearest indication of the conductor's role of power is his position in relation to the orchestra and to the audience. He is the only one who stands. He is elevated and surrounded by the orchestra. In this way, the conductor has power over the orchestra in front of him and the audience behind him. The conductor has power in his gestures as well, since he can command a player to perform or to be silent. Canetti wrote, "Therefore, he has power over life and death of the voices. A voice that

---

[16]Ibid., 619.

[17]Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Hamburg, 1982), 543-44.

was long dead can rise on his command. The variety of the instruments represents the variety of humanity. The orchestra is like a collection of its most important types."[18] In this way the conductor corrects "like lightening" the errors that depart from the score, which functions as a law. Although the performers have access to this law, only the conductor makes the final judgment.

Just as the conductor has power over the orchestra, he also has power over the audience. Before the concert they are free to move around as they please and to chat. They continue their freedom even once the orchestra arrives but only until the conductor comes to the stage. At this point they must become silent and still: "All their desire to move, that was awakened and intensified by the music, should dam up until the end and then break forth."[19]

The conductor, according to Canetti, is like the leader of a crowd or a platoon of soldiers. He does not lead with his foot, however, but with his hand. With this he establishes the rhythm of the music, much like the beat of a march: "The course of the music, that the hand guides, stands for the direction, in which the legs might be led."[20] The conductor has absolute control because he seems to be omniscient; through his gaze, he holds the orchestra to his will.

> His ear combs the air for what is forbidden. The conductor represents the whole work for the orchestra, in its simultaneity and succession, and since during the performance the world should consist of nothing other than the work, he is exactly so long the ruler of the world.[21]

Canetti's viewpoint is perhaps extreme, but his observations show many similarities with Scherchen's demands of a conductor. Even in his choice of words, such as comparing the conductor's gesture to lightening, Canetti echoes Scherchen's aesthetic. Scherchen, of course, felt that the conductor was not a dictator, but a servant of the work, as were the musicians. By serving the work,

---

[18]Ibid., 454.

[19]Ibid., 455.

[20]Ibid., 455.

[21]Ibid., 455.

Scherchen hoped that the players could be spiritually and morally improved. Canetti's description of the conductor, however, points to the double nature of "artistic fidelity" as capable of both transcendence and subjugation.

On 15 July 1927 Canetti took part in the events surrounding the burning of the Austrian parliament. A group of workers set fire to the building, protesting the murder of two people in the Burgenland, or more accurately, the verdict of innocence that the suspects received. Canetti remembered seeing the headline in the paper that morning: "A JUST VERDICT."[22] What angered Canetti was not only the unfair verdict but the mockery of justice evident in the official paper. The demonstration erupted in a riot when a group of protestors blocked the fire trucks from reaching the parliament building. The police commissioner ordered that the police fire on the demonstrators. Ninety people were killed and many more were injured. Canetti's experience as part of the panicking crowd marked him for the rest of his life.

> I sensed that I had to run with them. I wanted to flee into a doorway, but I couldn't get away from the running throng. A very big, strong man running next to me banged his fist on his chest and bellowed as he ran" "Let them shoot me! Me! Me! Me!" Suddenly, he was gone. He hadn't fallen down. Where was he? … This was perhaps the eeriest thing of all: you saw and heard people in a powerful gesture that ousted everything else, and then those very people had vanished from the face of the earth. Everything yielded and invisible holes opened up everywhere. However, the overall structure did not disappear; even if you suddenly found yourself alone somewhere, you could feel things tugging and tearing at you. The reason was that you *heard* something everywhere; there was something rhythmic in the air, an evil music. You could call it music; you felt elevated by it. I did not feel as if I were moving on my own legs. I felt as if I were in a resonant wind.[23]

The parallels with Scherchen's experiences in revolutionary Russia are striking. The ecstatic loss of individuality and the sense of something operating outside of the crowd were present in Scherchen's description of the February revolution as well as in the singing of the song *Bruder, zur Sonne*. But it was this same drunkenness in the crowd that fueled much of what happened in Nazi Germany.

---

[22]Elias Canetti, *The Torch in My Ear,* trans. Joachim Neugroschel in *The Memoirs of Elias Canetti* (New York, 1999), 484.

[23]Ibid., 487.

While Canetti was in Strassburg during the conference, he climbed to the top of the Cathedral every day where he could see the Black Forest, the Vosges, and observe the patterns of the rooftops. He wrote that when he was at the top of the Cathedral he felt as though he had escaped into the fourteenth century, a period that interested him "because of its mass movements, the flagellants, the plague, the burnings of the Jews. … Now I myself was living in the midst of it."[24] In a sense, the Cathedral, from its remote vantage point in history, allowed Canetti to escape and to gain a perspective on the authoritarian events across the border. The festival itself had a similar function, although its vantage point was the remoteness of the avant-garde.

Every day Canetti visited the conservatory, where he heard musicians practicing their unusual works: "In other conservatories you think you can identify the compositions you hear, and most often you get a jumble of familiar dribs and drabs. Here, on the contrary, everything was strange and new, the details as well as the overall sound."[25] As damning as Canetti's portrait of Scherchen was, he admitted that Scherchen might have stayed in Germany, because of his "spotless lineage and Teutonic energy." But Scherchen chose to leave when the Nazis came to power, something not many chose to do:

> In that month in Strasbourg he managed to assemble a kind of Europe consisting entirely of musicians engaged in new experiments, a courageous, confident Europe, for what would have been the point of experiments if they didn't reckon with a future?[26]

Karl Amadeus Hartmann

The nearly complete politicization of music in the Third Reich evoked a variety of responses from composers and musicians. Some, such as Schoenberg, Weill, or Eisler,

---

[24]Canetti, *The Play of the Eyes,* 635-36.

[25] Ibid., 635.

[26] Ibid., 635.

were forced into exile because their music was branded formalist, Jewish, or Bolshevik. Of these some took an active stance outside of Germany against the Nazi cultural policies. Others could elect to stay because their music was traditional, they could prove their non-Jewish background, and because they had no connections to communism. Into this category fall Richard Strauss, Hans Pfitzner, Carl Orff, and Werner Egk. Yet this distinction is crude because this second group can be further divided into those who actively supported the National Socialists, those who profited from the reactionary aesthetic, and those who merely tried to stay out of trouble. Still a third group can be thought of—those few who remained in Germany and continued to compose avant-garde music in the face of Nazism. Clearly, it would be impossible to present such works in public, and these composers were forced to write in a state of "inner exile." The clearest example of such a composer was Karl Amadeus Hartmann.

Hartmann was born on 2 August 1905. His family was lower-middle class and Socialist Democrat. Hartmann was raised then in a leftist environment, although he was never a communist party member. His brother Richard, however, was a party member and handed out anti-fascist propaganda during the 1932 election and narrowly escaped after the Nazis came to power.[27]

Hartmann studied from 1924 to 1929 with Joseph Haas at the *Akademie der Tonkunst* in Munich. During this time he specialized in playing trombone and earned a living working as a free-lance musician for the Munich opera. Hartmann's earliest influences were Carl Maria von Weber, Franz Schubert, and Richard Strauss. His first mature works, such as the piano sonata, the burleske music, and the *Jazztoccata* incorporated jazz elements. He also composed *a cappella* choral works to texts by Karl Marx and the communist poet Johannes Becher.[28]

The musical culture in Munich was notably conservative throughout the Weimar Republic, and Hartmann was introduced to more modern tendencies through the visual arts. The primary impetus for this came from his father and his brother, Adolf, who were

---

[27]See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and Andrew McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann* (Wilhelmshaven, 1980).

[28]Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 98.

members of "Die Juryfreien" art group. The group was formed in 1910 and inspired the "Blaue Reiter" exhibition. In 1928 Adolf was president of the society, and Hartmann convinced the artist to feature a series of modern compositions to accompany their works of art. These concerts, which ran from 1928 to 1932, featured works by Bartók, Casella, Haba, Hauer, Hindemith, Křenek, Milhaud, Schulhoff, Stravinsky, Büchtger, Orff, and Egk.

The latter three composers were active around Munich and participated in the Munich Society for Contemporary Music. It was in the context of this society that Hartmann met Scherchen. Scherchen first conducted at this society's new music festival 7-16 March 1929. He conducted the Brecht-Hindemith *Lehrstück* and Stravinsky's *Histoire du soldat*; it is likely that Hartmann was present for this concert. Michael Kater has suggested that the first significant meeting between the two took place in 1931.[29] Hartmann later admitted that his compositions until that point were unexceptional, "until Hermann Scherchen showed the way for me and my compositions."[30]

Hartmann's first important work written after meeting Scherchen was the Concertino for Trumpet, which was premiered at the 1933 Strassburg Conference. Hartmann's first string quartet was completed in 1933 and was dedicated to Scherchen. The quartet would later win first prize at a festival for the *Gesellschaft für Zeitgenössische Kammermusik* "Carillon" in Geneva in April 1936. After winning the prize the work was nicknamed the "Carillon" quartet.

IGNM Festival, Prague 1935

The *Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (IGNM) was founded on 11 August 1922 after the Salzburg Chamber Music festival, organized by Rudolf Réti. It was decided after this festival that they would arrange an organization to host a regular series of festivals so that the connections that had been formed could be maintained. The

[29]Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 99.

[30]Cited in Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*,100.

stated purpose of the IGNM was "exclusively the support of modern music without regard to aesthetic views, nationality, race, religion and political attitudes."[31] The non-political position of the IGNM was emphasized by Edward Dent, who was the president of the society from 1922 to 1938 and from 1945 to 1947. As late as 1935 Dent wrote "In my opinion, the IGNM should definitely remain a purely idealistic and artistic society—removed from all economic as well as political issues."[32] This neutral stance was challenged, however, at the time of the 1935 Prague festival.

The IGNM festival was to take place in Karlovy Vary, a city in the Germanic region of Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland. (The city was called Karlsbad by the Germans.) Because the influence of National Socialism reached to Karlovy Vary, the festival had to be cancelled; the Nazis considered the music represented by the IGNM to be forms of "Kulturbolshevismus." Edward Dent admitted only in 1946 that it was because of political pressure that the Karlsbad festival was cancelled. Because such a problem had never occurred, the planners did not know what to do. The beginnings of a rescue came when Hanns Eisler arranged for the festival to take place in Moscow. (He was living there at the time, before he went to Hollywood.) The Moscow festival would have taken place in November 1935. The delegates would have been guests of the USSR. This clearly politically motivated offer by Eisler and the Moscow administration was countered, however, by the Czechoslovakian government and musicians located in Prague, which had a greater left-wing presence than that in Karlovy Vary. To show their support against the Nazi threat, they organized a festival in Prague with only minimal changes to the program.

In 1935 the society was forced into taking a political stand as the Nazis organized their own festival, the "Blubo-Internationale" festival in Vichy at the same time as the

---

[31]"Ausschliesslich der Förderung Neuer Musik ohne Rücksicht auf ästhetische Anschauungen, Nationalitäten, Rassen, Religionen und politische Einstellungen." Cited in Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1982), 216.

[32]"Ich bin definitive der Meinung, dass die IGNM eine rein idealistische und künstlerische Gesellschaft bleiben soll—von allem Geschäftlichen ebenso fern von allem Politischen." Cited in Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 196.

festival in Prague.[33] The festival was organized by the National Socialist version of the IGNM, the *Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten* (The Permanent Committee for the International Cooperation of Composers), which was formed in 1934 and was led by Richard Strauss. In the face of this competing festival, Dent and the committee members prepared a strong resolution declaring that the IGNM was in strong opposition to the "National Socialism, The Reichsmusikkammer and its puppets: the 'Ständigen Rat,' and its president Richard Strauss, 'the World Music Dictator'."[34]

The thirteenth IGNM festival took place 1-8 September 1935. It was characterized by a strong presence of works by Second Viennese school composers; at that time, of course, their works were not permitted to be played in many areas. The compositions included Berg's *Lulu-Suite*; Schoenberg's Variations for Orchestra op. 31; and the premiere of Webern's *Konzert* op. 24. Berg was going to attend the festival but cancelled because of an illness. He sent Křenek in his stead to spearhead the Viennese representation. The *Lulu-Suite* was celebrated as the highpoint of the festival; it was conducted by Georg Szell and sung by Julie Nessy.

Violin Concerto

The most significant work that Scherchen premiered was arguably Alban Berg's Violin Concerto. Due to its sense of melancholy and withdrawal, the concerto was also a touchstone for the spiritual tenor of the times. Scherchen premiered Berg's concerto at the 1936 IGNM festival in Barcelona, one of the highpoints in that society's history.

The work was commissioned by the American violinist Louis Krasner. Krasner had difficulty convincing Berg to take on the project, in part because Berg was working on the opera *Lulu*. But on 28 March 1935 Berg sent Krasner a telegram saying that he

[33]"Blubo" stood for "Blut und Boden," the Nazi concept of German nationality based on "blood and soil."

[34]Křenek, "Blubo-Internationale," 21. Cited in Haefeli, *IGNM,* 196-197

would begin composing the concerto at the beginning of May. If Krasner's commission was the initial motivation for the concerto, it was not the inspiration.[35]

The inspiration for the work was the death of Manon Gropius, the daughter of Walther Gropius and Alma Mahler.[36] Manon was born on 5 October 1916. From the beginning her health was weak, but she grew to be a beautiful young woman. While visiting Alma Elias Canetti met Manon:

> Hardly a moment later a gazelle came tripping into the room, a light-footed, brown-haired creature disguised as a young girl, untouched by the splendor into which she had been summoned, younger in her innocence than her probable sixteen years. She radiated timidity more than beauty, an angelic gazelle, not from the ark but from heaven.[37]

Tragically, Manon contracted polio in April 1934. She became paralyzed from the legs down and died on Easter Monday, 22 April 1935. Berg asked Alma if he could write a requiem for Manon and so he dedicated the concerto "*Dem Andenken eines Engels*" (To the memory of an angel). Berg labored to have the work complete by Alma's birthday on 31 August. It took him only six weeks to compose, and a full score of the work was sent to Universal Edition on 14 August 1935.

The concerto is divided into two sections. The overarching shape of the work is from blissful enjoyment of life to struggle and finally to the acceptance of death. The colors of the work are muted and restrained. The clearest reference, however, to the work's program is the seamlessly interwoven citation of the Bach chorale *Es ist genug* (It is Enough), in the second movement.

There is a second musical quotation in the concerto that strengthens the reference to Manon. This is the Carinthian folk song *Ein Vogel auf'm Zwetschenbaum* (A bird in the plum tree). The song, in opposition to the Bach chorale, is rustic and worldly. The text is sexually oriented and refers to a young woman named Mizzi, a name close to

---

[35]For general background on the Berg Violin Concerto see Anthony Pople, *Berg: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[36]Alma Mahler, a fascinating woman, married Gustav Mahler, Walter Gropius, and Franz Werfel; she was romantically involved as well with Gustav Klimt and Oskar Kokoschka.

[37]Canetti, *The Play of the Eyes,* 626-27.

Mutzi, the nickname of Manon Gropius. But this citation had an autobiographical significance for Berg. Douglas Jarman has pointed out that the song refers as well to Marie Scheuchl, a servant girl for Berg's family in Carinthia. Berg fathered an illegitimate child by her when he was seventeen, that is, at the same age Manon was when she developed polio. The concerto, however, would take on greater autobiographical significance for Berg.

While he was finishing the concerto and starting to work again on *Lulu*, Berg was bitten by a wasp. The bite led to a serious abscess at the base of his spine. He visited doctors and his condition improved then worsened. By 26 August he was in horrible pain and could not attend the IGNM festival in September. His financial difficulties prevented him from receiving proper medical treatment, and he developed blood poisoning. Berg died on 24 December 1935. *Lulu* was left unfinished. The concerto for Manon had become his own requiem.

Berg was fifty years old when he died. Unlike Scherchen or Schoenberg for example, Berg was a warm-hearted person, and his friends cared deeply about him. It is perhaps not surprising then that the premiere of the concerto would be influenced by the sad circumstance of its composition. Before Berg's death, the work was planned to be premiered at the 1937 IGNM festival. Berg's close friend Anton Webern was a member of the IGNM jury, however, and arranged for the work to be premiered at the 1936 Barcelona festival in April. Webern planned to conduct the work.

By the time Krasner traveled to Vienna in early April, however, Webern was having second thoughts about conducting Berg's final work so close to his death. After hours of discussion, Krasner and Ernst Křenek were able to convince Webern to continue with the performance. For some reason, Webern insisted on traveling with Krasner through Germany on the way to Barcelona, even though Krasner, a Jew, might have encountered difficulties. (It may be that Webern intended to convince Krasner that the situation in Germany was not as ugly as many made it seem.) The two made it through Germany without difficulty, but just inside the Spanish border they encountered a group of left-wing political demonstrators. Krasner remembered that at that moment Webern started to panic once again and wanted to turn around.

Webern's psychological state only worsened through the course of the rehearsals in Barcelona. His conducting, as his works, indicated a great concern for musical detail. Webern's anxiety over the Berg concerto seemed to exacerbate this tendency. By the end of the first rehearsal, he had only completed work on the first page of the first movement. Webern's perfectionism, however, was not the only problem.

As Heinsheimer recalled:

> Not only his tiring fussiness, but also the communication problems between him, whose rural Austrian was difficult for even a German to understand (he spoke no foreign languages), and the orchestra that only understood Catalan, drove everyone—most of all naturally Krasner—to the brink of madness.[38]

There was little improvement in the second rehearsal, and Webern locked himself in his hotel room and refused to continue. At first he would not relinquish the score, but gave it up after Helene Berg pleaded with him. He did so only begrudgingly saying, "these dogs, that dare to lay their dirty paws on a masterpiece,"[39] referring to the Spanish orchestra. After some negotiation, it was decided that Scherchen would conduct the premiere.

Scherchen agreed to conduct the concerto although he had never seen it before and would only have a single rehearsal with the orchestra. He asked Krasner to come to his hotel room where they could go over the work together.

> The German giant lay in bed as the little American entered the room. Krasner had artfully fixed the pages together in order to reduce page turns; he set the music carefully on the bed. Scherchen conducted from the bed, reclining—the score before him on the bed cover. After some time he began to shoo the violinist further and further across the room away from him. "I cannot concentrate when you stand so close." Until Krasner stood finally in the furthest corner of the room and played his part mechanically.[40]

---

[38]"Nicht nur seine ermüdende Pingeligkeit, sondern auch die Verständigungsschwierigkeiten zwischen ihm, dessen bäuerliches Österreichisch (er konnte keine Fremdsprache) sogar für einen Deutschen schwer verständlich war, und dem Orchester, das nur katalanisch verstand, tribe jedermann—am meisten natürlich Krasner—an den Rand des Wahnsinns." Cited in Haefeli, *IGNM*, 248.

[39]"Diese Schweinhunde, die ihre dreckigen Pfoten an Meisterwerke legen dürfen." Ibid., 249.

[40]"Der deutsche Riese lag im Bett, als der kleine Amerikaner ins Zimmer trat. Krasner hatte die Seiten seines Violinparts kunstvoll aneinandergeklebt, um das Umblättern zu vermeiden,

At the rehearsal the next morning Krasner set the music on the stand and told Scherchen to begin. Scherchen turned around, however, and in a sweeping movement removed Krasner's music from the stand. Scherchen explained that one does not play such a work from the notes. Krasner complained that it was not possible for him to play the part from memory. Scherchen responded that the night before when he had sent Krasner to the corner of his room he had played from memory. The conductor eyed the violinist intently then raised his arms to begin the music.

The premiere of the concerto took place on 19 April 1935. The emotions in audience were understandably high because of Berg's recent death and especially because his widow Helene Berg was present. Referring to the second movement of the concerto the music critic Steinard wrote that:

> after a hyper-dramatic intensification, a dissolution into softness takes place, transcendently, and the chorale "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort: Es ist Genug"—used by Bach in his cantata—begins at first quietly intoned by the solo violin. The winds respond and now begin marvelous choral variations that after a powerful gradation lead to a heavenly delicate ending, to a farewell without end. The audience is transfixed. Hermann Scherchen, the masterful conductor, takes Berg's handwritten score from the stand and offers it to the moved listeners like a mass book.[41]

Scherchen also conducted "Ariel" by Roberto Gerhard as well as Edmund von Borck's Prelude and Fugue, op. 10. Ernst Ansermet premiered excerpts from Ernst Křenek's opera *Karl V*. All the works were performed by the Pablo Casals Orchestra.

Scherchen recognized the significance of the concerto immediately and wanted to publish an excerpt in his new journal *Musica Viva*. He wrote a letter on 30 May 1936 to

---

und legte die Noten vorsichtig auf das Bett. Scherchen dirigierte im Liegen, die Partitur vor sich auf der Bettdecke. Nach einer Weile fing er an, den Geiger immer weiter ins Zimmer von sich weg zu scheuchen. 'ich kann mich nicht konzentrieren, wenn Sie so dicht stehen'. bis Krasner schliesslich in der entferntester Ecke des Raumes stand und seinen Part herunterspielen." Ibid., 249-50.

[41]"Nach einer hyperdramatischen Steigerung erfolgt eine Auflösung in Milde, ins Transzendente, und jener Choral, zunächst leise von der Sologeige intoniert, beginnt, jener Choral, den auch Sebastian Bach in seiner Kantate 'O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort' verwendet hat: 'Es ist genug!' … Die Bläser respondieren und nun setzen wunderbare Choralvariationen ein, die nach mächtiger Gradation zu einem himmlisch zarten Ausklang hinüberleiten, zu einem Abschiednehmen ohne Ende. Das Publikum ist gebannt. Hermann Scherchen, der meisterliche Dirigent, nimmt die handgeschriebene Partitur Alban Bergs vom Pult und hält sie der ergriffenen Zuhörerschaft wie ein Messbuch entgegen." Cited in Haefeli, *IGNM*, 246-247.

Willi Reich asking for an analytical introduction to the work. In this letter Scherchen made a number of observations about the concerto. He placed the work in the history of the genre as being confessional and personal. Early examples of the concerto form, according to Scherchen, exercised the "play instinct" in their undisguised use of virtuosity. The genre then focused on the opposition between the "individual" and the "collective" as exemplified in Beethoven's Violin Concerto, op. 61 and especially the concertos of Mozart. With the concerto of Busoni the genre became a matter of "style critic." The Berg concerto, however, was personal and confessional: "Berg = that individual, who expresses his entire sorrows, life, desires, and who takes everything else, even Vienna, even the Choral, only as a foil, as a vehicle."[42] Scherchen heard the overall timbre of the work as emanating from the initial bars, out of its "thick body of sound" and the "open string principle [or timbre] of the clarinets."[43] He also felt that the contrast between the free declamation of the violin and the rhythmic insistence of the orchestra was central to the effect of the concerto. Scherchen heard the work in terms of the opposition of "thematic surfaces" (Themenflächen).[44] Finally, he commented on the unusual ending of the concerto. The end of the first movement comes to a standstill, can go no further. At the end of second movement there is a desire to return to the open fifth figure, but this is swallowed up by the orchestra's chord. The ending of the concerto suggests a reminiscence and last resistance to the inevitability of death; the personality of Manon (and of Berg) is absorbed or dissolves into the musical absolute.

Like Mahler's Ninth Symphony, Berg's concerto can be understood as a window looking out on "final things." An interpretation of the concerto's sense of ending should then be extended into the broader context in which it was written and performed. The premiere in Vienna on 25 October 1936 was almost prevented because of anti-Semitism

---

[42]"Spieltrieb; Berg = das Individuum, das sein ganzes Leiden, Leben, Wollen ausspricht, u. alles andere, selbst Wien, selbst Choral, nur als Folie, als Rahmen nimmt." Hermann Scherchen, Letter to Willi Reich, 30 May 1936, Alban Berg Archive, Vienna. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, ed. *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker*, 53.

[43]"Das Timbrale=das ganze Konzert wie aus dem resonierenden, mit seinen leeren Saiten (dies das Prinzip) den Clarinetten, dem dicken realen Klangkörper, antwortenden Anfang erfunden." Ibid., 53.

[44]Ibid., 53.

against both Krasner and Otto Klemperer, the conductor. (Both the administration and the orchestra at first refused to allow the performance.) After Krasner performed the work in London on 9 December 1936 under Sir Henry Wood, Walther Gropius visited him backstage. Krasner recalled: "He nodded his head, shook my hand and said, 'I am Walter Gropius. Thank you.' My breath stopped short, I was so shaken. … In Walter Gropius I saw before me his daughter, Manon, his friend Alban Berg, Vienna and its decade of years gone by."[45] Indeed, by the time of its premiere Schoenberg had immigrated to America and Berg had passed away; Berg's concerto symbolized the end of an era.

Musica Viva

From 1 June to 31 July 1936, Scherchen held a working conference and conducting course in Budapest. Rolf Liebermann, one of Scherchen's students, asked why they could not experience practically what Scherchen taught them in lessons. Scherchen replied: "Because there is one thing missing, an orchestra." He jokingly added, "That in these days when orchestras are so poor and weak in Austria, one could probably build one, without having to invest for years."[46] There were so many unemployed musicians at that time, they would have been happy to play under any circumstances.[47] Liebermann took Scherchen seriously. He traveled to Zürich and

---

[45]Krasner, "The Origins of the Alban Berg *Violin Concerto*," *Alban Berg Studien* 2 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1981), 114. Cited in Pople, *Berg: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 45.

[46]"Dazu ist eine Sache nötig, ein Orchester. Das könnte man heute in diesem so armen, ausgepowerten Österreich wahrscheinlich aufbauen, ohne daß damit gleich ein Vermögen auf Jahre festgelegt würde." Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 57.

[47]Jobs were scarce for musicians at this time for a number of reasons: the talking film put an end to many silent film orchestras; there was a decline in the number of groups for coffee houses, dancing clubs, restaurants, and bars; finally the radio, created new orchestras, it made many more obsolete.

returned a few days later with promises from investors to support the foundation of an orchestra in Vienna. This would be called the "Musica Viva" Orchestra.

The group of investors was known as the "Internationale Gesellschaft der Musicophilen." Among its members were Alma Mahler, Adolf Busch, Pablo Casals, Gerda Busoni, and Karl Ebert. In addition, the American Tona Shepard, president of the American Society for the Friends of Salzburg, gave assistance. By the middle of July 1937 half the money was committed to a Swiss bank account and when Scherchen wrote to Gustel that month, he was very enthusiastic: "For me the Vienna orchestra is the decisive turning point: I never had this possibility in Winterthur, with the Radio Orchestra, and it will—if everything works out—be more than what Hans von Bülow had at his disposal."[48] This seemed like an excellent opportunity to Scherchen because the orchestra would be essentially independent of the control of city commissioners. According to Liebermann, Scherchen met with Alma Mahler in Vienna in September 1937 to further solidify her support. She was made honorary president of the orchestra.

Scherchen started auditioning players on 20 September 1936; auditions lasted for a week. On 30 September he wrote to his wife Shü-sien, saying that the quality of the musicians and of the instruments was far greater than in Winterthur. He wrote that, like the group in Winterthur, the Vienna group would be relatively small, about forty players: twenty five strings—eight firsts, six seconds, four violas, four cellos, and three basses; eight winds—two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, and two bassoons; six brass—four horns, two trumpets; and percussion. This group was supplemented by additional players at specific concerts to include a total of sixty-eight players: thirty eight strings, sixteen winds, eleven brass, timpani, percussion, and harp.

Scherchen wrote to Carl Flesch that the "Musica Viva" Orchestra was unaffected by Austrian nationalism and racism; for the past seven years the two large orchestras in Vienna had turned away Jewish players. According to Scherchen, twenty-five percent of

---

[48]"Für mich ist das Wiener Orchester der entscheidende Wendepunkt: diese Möglichkeit habe ich selbst in Winterthur resp. mit dem Reichsrundfunkorchester nie gehabt, und sie wird—wenn alles gelingt—mehr sein, als Hans von Bülow zur Verfügung gestanden hat." Scherchen, letter to Gustel Jensen on 15 July 1937, in "*,...alles hörbar machen." Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939,* ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1976), 270.

the "Musica Viva" Orchestra was made up of Jewish musicians. This resulted in the orchestra being put in the political spotlight. Some considered it a "Jewish-left political undertaking," and the group was sometimes referred to as the "Musica Telaviva Orchestra."[49]

The first rehearsal took place on Friday, 1 October. Scherchen worked with the strings from 8 to11 AM, the winds from 11 to11:30, the strings again at 3:30 and finally the brass from 6 to 8:30. On Saturday they began early with the whole orchestra at 9:00. After an afternoon rehearsal from 2:00 to 5:00, Scherchen invited press to a private concert. The orchestra played the slow movement from Wagner's C major Symphony. The review in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 3 October 1937 said that the group played "with such beauty of sound, precision, and lightness, that after the close a single cry of delight broke out."[50]

For its first season, the "Musica Viva" Orchestra planned two subscription series: a cycle of Mahler's symphonies and orchestral works by J.S. Bach. The Mahler concerts would include all the symphonies but the Eighth; they would also perform *Kindertotenlieder*, *Tambour'sell* and *Revelge*, as well as the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*. The Bach works were to include the six Bandenburg Concertos, the four Orchestral Suites, four Cantatas, a cembalo Concerto, a violin concerto, and the *Kunst der Fuge*. The Bach concerts were scheduled to take place on six Sunday afternoons from 13 February to 22 May. They had a special significance for Scherchen. In the notes in the 13 January 1938 program, Scherchen wrote:

> Bach shows the naturally cultivated, ordinary person to be the highest form of human manifestation, and that this person is possible all around us in everyday life. Bach's art is orienting in the best sense: it seizes the whole human being, leads through all the foundations of our nature and elevates to heaven inner purification. … In short: it makes possible and demands, that everyone be a total human being, good, led by consonance

---

[49]Letter from Scherchen to Carl Flesch on 11 January 1938. Cited in Barbara von der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39.12 (December 1991), 1366.

[50]"Mit solcher Tonschönheit, Präzision und Leichtigkeit, daß nach Schluß ein einziger Ruf des Entzückens losbrach." *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 273, 3 October 1937. Cited in Barbara von der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39.12 (December 1991), 1367.

> and dissonance to melodious harmony. At the same time, it educates us in the higher forms of human community and to that benevolent courage of which Bach was capable.[51]

In addition to the two subscription series, Scherchen planned several concerts devoted to the "art of accompaniment." These would feature concertos performed by significant soloists. Finally, the season included four "manuscript" concerts of works by young contemporary composers. According to Scherchen, these works would be carefully prepared, "so that the composer would be in the position to face up critically to their creations." The manuscript concerts would be free to audience members with subscription tickets. Under the auspices of the "Gesellschaft der Musicphilen" the "Musica Viva" orchestra was also to make three records per year under the Columbia label.[52]

The first concert took place on 28 October 1938. It was devoted to "Unknown Masterpieces." The orchestra performed the suite from Purcell's *Fairy Queen*; J.S. Bach's Concerto in A Minor for Four Cembalos and Orchestra (BWV 1065); Haydn's Concerto for Violin, Cembalo, and Orchestra in F Major (Hob. XVIII:6); Beethoven's *Elegischen Gesang* op. 118 for chorus and orchestra. They completed the concert with a performance of Wagner's Symphony in C Major (1832).

The second concert on 6 November was the first of the Mahler series. Here the orchestra performed the Ninth Symphony and the *Kindertotenlieder*, works thematically linked by death. Bruno Walter was in the audience and told Scherchen backstage that he was amazed at the horns: "I know all these lads; they were our substitutes in the opera.

---

[51]"Bach zeigt den natürlich gut geformten einfachen Menschen, so wie er überall im Alltag um uns möglich ist, als höchste Art menschicher Erscheinungsweise. … Bachs Kunst ist orientierend im besten Sinne: sie ergreift den ganzen Menschen, führt durch all Gründe unseres Wesens und erhebt bis in den Himmel innerer Reinigung. … Mit einem Wort: sie macht und will, daß jeder ein ganzer mensch sei, gut, "aus Con- und Dissonanzen zu wohlklingender Harmonie" gefügt. Dabei erzieht sie uns gleichzeitig zu den höheren Formen menschlicher Gemeinschaft und zu jener guten Tapferkeit, die Bach selbst zu eigen war." Cited in Barbara von der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39.12 (December 1991), 1368.

[52]Barbara von der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39.12 (December 1991), 1367.

You have made them into the best Vienna horn quartet!"[53] Scherchen replied to Walter that he only had them play what Mahler had written.

The orchestra's next two concerts took place on 29 and 30 November 1938. The first was an "Evening of Accompaniment." The pianist Rolf Langnese performed Chopin's E Minor Concerto and Franz Liszt's "Totentanz." The orchestra filled out the program with Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" Overture. The second concert was titled "A Romantic Soirée." It featured Brahms's Symphony No. 3, Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor, and Robert Schumann's Symphony No. 3.

The orchestra made its first tour in Italy from 2 to 8 December. They traveled to Trieste, Milan, Turin, Bologna, Naples, Rome, and Florence. On their first concert the orchestra performed Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" overture; Honegger's Concertino for Piano (Lagnese was the soloist); Locatelli's *Trauersinfonie*; Luigi Dallapiccola's "Tre Laudi"; Brahms's Symphony No. 3; and Lualdi's *Kolo—Dalmatinischer Tanz*. Besides some organizational problems in Florence the tour came off very well. Scherchen wrote triumphantly to Carl Flesch that "In Naples the orchestra received 12,000 lire, while the officially supported visit of the Berliner Philharmoniker brought them only 5,000 lire."[54]

After the tour the orchestra returned to Vienna where they presented the second concert of the Mahler series, his Third Symphony. The concert took place on 15 December 1937. Although the group had less then a week to prepare, the performance was very well received; it represented a turning point because the Mahler symphony was a mammoth multi-movement work and because the concert was well attended. The alto part was sung by Maria von Basilides, a member of the Royal Budapest Opera. The chorus was made up of the Musica Viva Women's Chorus and the Vienna Boy's Choir. For this concert, Scherchen was able to supplement the orchestra with some of Vienna's finest musicians. Alma Mahler was present for the performance and recorded her impression in her journal:

---

[53]"Ich kenne diese Buben ja alle, das sind unsere Substituten in der Oper gewesen. Sie haben aus ihnen das beste Wiener Hornquartett gemacht!" Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben*, 57.

[54]Barbara von der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39.12 (December 1991), 1369.

> Yesterday I experienced an indescribably marvelous performance of Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony. In comparison, everything else is nothing, if one could experience what I experienced. This unforgettable work under Hermann Scherchen's direction. The reawakening of my previous powerful emotions in 1903 at the performances in Köln and Krefeld.[55]

Perhaps because of personal conflict with Scherchen, her praise was not whole-hearted: "Scherchen was entirely fair to the work. His lack of inspiration didn't hinder him to bring across through hard work, subtlety, and the greatest of devotion, a truly brilliant effect."[56]

Two further concerts in January brought the orchestra acclaim. The first was a memorial concert for Maurice Ravel, who had died on 28 December 1937. The concert took place on 18 January; its ambitious program included some of Ravel's finest compositions: *Daphnis et Chloé*; the Concerto for Left Hand performed by Paul Wittgenstein, the dedicatee; Ravel's last completed work, *Don Quichotte A'Dulcine*, three songs sung by Hans Duhan. The second half of the concert brought the children's pieces *Ma Mère L'Oye*; the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra performed by Franz Hirt; and finally *Boléro*. Scherchen wrote that the applause never ended and that they sold more tickets than with the Mahler Third. On 27 January the orchestra presented the next concert in the Mahler cycle, his Symphony No. 1, the Four Orchestral Songs, and the "Adagio" from the Tenth Symphony. The bass Alexander Kipnis, was the soloist. Kipnis had been a prominent singer at the Berlin Opera "Unter den Linden" until the Nürnberg Laws of 1935 forced him to leave, as he was a Jew. Since then he had been active at the Vienna Opera. Tickets for his performance with the "Musica Viva" Orchestra sold quickly well in advance.

---

[55]"Gestern erlebte ich eine unbeschreiblich herrliche Aufführung von Gustav Mahlers 3 Symphonie. Alles wird daneben zu Nichts, wenn man das erleben kann, was ich da erlebte. Dieses unvergleichliche Werk unter Hermann Scherchens Leistung. Das Wiedererstehen meiner damaligen starken Erschütterung im Jahre 1903 bei den Aufführung in Köln und Krefeld." Alma Werfel-Mahler, *Mein Leben* (Frankfurt/Main, 1988), 267.

[56]"Scherchen wird dem Werk vollkommen gerecht. Seine mangelnde Genialität hindert ihn nicht, durch Fleiß, Subtilität und äußerste Hingabe an das Werk wirkliche genialische Wirkungen hervorzubringen." Ibid., 268.

In February the "Musica Viva" Orchestra began its Bach series and performed the first "manuscript" concert. The group had gained enough recognition that the "Gesellschaft der Musikverein" agreed to co-sponsor the six Bach concerts. The first took place on 13 February and included the First Brandenburg Concerto, Canata No. 20 with soprano Erika Rokyta, and finally the Orchestral Suite No. 3 with Rolf Liebermann at the piano playing basso continuo. The day after this concert Scherchen wrote to Shü-Sien that: "Without a doubt we have won over a new, numerous audience in Vienna. I am quite satisfied because we have become very swiftly a true Viennese tradition."[57] The first "manuscript" concert took place on 26 February. Scherchen had planned four such concerts to take place on Saturdays around 5:00 P.M. For this reason they were sometimes referred to as the "Afternoon Studio" concerts. The first concert was devoted to Austrian composers. The orchestra performed four premieres: the first movement from Victor Korda's G Minor Symphony, the Suite for Violin and Orchestra by Hans Ewald Heller, the fast movement from Hauer's *Zwölftonsuite* op. 73 for nine solo instruments, and finally the slow movement from Otto Jokl's *Orchestersuite*. Subsequent "Afternoon Studio" concerts were to be devoted to English works, further Austrian composers, and recent French compositions. A day later the orchestra continued the Bach series with the Third Brandenburg Concerto in G major, the Violin Concerto in E major, and the Second Orchestral Suite in B minor. This would be the orchestra's final concert.

National Socialism was on the rise in Austria and political developments at the end of February prevented the fourth Mahler concert, a performance of the Second Symphony. Scherchen wrote to Shü-Sien on 23 February 1938:

> Unfortunately, the events here are not without consequences for us: Chancellor Schuschnigg will hold a speech on Thursday—the day of our Mahler Second Symphony. Hence, it is impossible to give a concert at 7:30. It would be an insult! We have therefore changed the performance date, and the concert will take place on 18 March. But we are at a loss for

[57]"Ohne Zweifel haben wir gestern ein neues, zahlreiches Publikum in Wien gewonnen. Ich bin sehr zufrieden, denn wir sind sehr schnell zu einer wirklichen Wiener Institution geworden." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Shü-Sien, 20 February 1930, HSCHA. Cited in Barbara van der Luhe, "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)," 1371.

> more than 1000 Schillings, for posters and advertisements that are already printed, and for the extra musicians. What a catastrophe![58]

He wrote to Gustel Jensen on 2 March that because of the worsening situation the orchestra might be lost, that "it could well prove that this insane sacrifice of labor, enthusiasm, and investment would be in vain."[59] Nine days later the Nazis marched into Vienna and the fate of the orchestra was decided. Less than a month earlier, Scherchen had plans for the orchestra to tour Romania, Czechoslovakia, and again Italy. He was considering a concert of American music. On 17 February Scherchen had written to Shü-Sien that "the orchestra is making terrific progress: it is a great pleasure to see and observe its development, how the musicians and I have grown closer to be almost like a family."[60]

As a result of National Socialist cultural policies, the Jewish musicians in the orchestra could find no further work. The trombonist, Ivan Gruber, was eventually sent to the concentration camp at Buchenwald. Years later Scherchen suggested that many of the Jewish musicians were saved, taken on by the Palestine Orchestra in Tel-Aviv. But musicologist Barbara von Lühe has written that although agents tried to find positions for them, none were available; in any event, they could not have obtained travel visas. Rolf Liebermann's friend Lale Andersen wrote in her memoirs that many of these musicians traveled to Czechoslovakia or were hidden by friends in Vienna. It is likely then that none of the Jews in the "Musica Viva" Orchestra journeyed to Tel-Aviv.

---

[58]"Unglücklicherweise sind die Ereignisse hier nicht ohne Konsequenzen für uns: der Kanzler Schuschnigg wird am Donnerstag—dem Tag unserer 2. Mahlersinfonie—eine Rede halten. Es ist daher unmöglich, um halb acht das Konzert zu geben. Das ware ein Affront! Wir haben deshalb das Aufführungsdatum geändert, und das Konzert wird nun am 18 März stattfinden. Aber wir haben Verluste von mehr als 1000 Schilling, für Plakate und Annoncen, die bereits gedrückt sind, und für Aushilfsmusiker. Eine Katastrophe!" Hermann Scherchen, letter to Shü-Sien, 23 February 1930, HSCHA. Cited in Barbara van der Luhe, "Das grosse Glück," 1371.

[59]"Es hätte sich gut zeigen können, daß diese ganz verrückten Opfer an Arbeitskraft, Enthusiasmus und an Geldeinsatz vergeblich gewesen wären." Hermann Scherchen, "*,...alles hörbar machen." Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939,* ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1976), 271.

[60]"Das Orchester macht sehr große Fortschritte: es ist ein so großes Vergnügen, seine Entwicklung zu sehen und zu beobachten, wie die Musiker und ich praktisch zu einer Familie zusammengewachsen sind." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Shü-Sien, 17 February 1930, HSCHA. Cited in Barbara van der Luhe, "Das grosse Glück," 1371.

CHAPTER 4

RENEWAL, 1945-1966

Radio Beromünster

In the summer of 1942 the *PTT-Verwaltung* (Swiss Postal, Telephone, and Telegraph Service) asked the *Schweizerische Rundspruchgesellschaft* (SRG) whether it would be possible to reduce the operating costs of the three Swiss radio orchestras. On 23 December the SRG made its recommendations: the *Orchestre de la Suisse romande* should serve all three stations; the *Orchester Monte Ceneri* should be reduced to a chamber ensemble; and the forty-seven person Radio-Orchestra would be replaced by a twenty-two person pops orchestra. These changes together would save 200,000 Francs. The proposed changes, however, met with considerable resistance. The director of the Beromünster Orchestra, Hans Haug, submitted his resignation on 31 March; two years earlier he had requested an increase in the orchestra's size. The protest among listeners was particularly strong in Zürich and in Eastern Switzerland, areas served by the Beromünster ensemble. A compromise was eventually proposed: the Beromünster Orchestra would be split into a thirty-eight person Studio Orchestra and a twelve-person *cappella* for popular music and dance music. This was accepted by the SRG on 5 July and, in the absence of any other qualified applicants, Hermann Scherchen was chosen to lead the new Studio Orchestra. As with his appointment to the *Winterthur Stadtorchester* in 1923, Scherchen encountered opposition from Swiss musical circles. The Society of Swiss Composers, for example, argued that too many Swiss positions were going to foreigners. According to their official letter of complaint from 14 July 1944, they considered "the foreigner Hermann Scherchen, to be the wrong man for the Swiss Radio." They favored rather a more "Swiss solution," one that would contribute to the

"spiritual defense of the country."[1] As Hansjörg Pauli suggested, it did not matter to them that as director of the *Winterthur Stadtorchester* Scherchen programmed more works by Swiss composers than any other conductor.[2]

Curiously enough, it was not Scherchen's leftist political history that encouraged animosity, but fears that he might be associated with the National Socialists. The principal justification for this fear was the simple fact that he had kept his German citizenship. But Scherchen seriously considered separating officially from Germany; Swiss officials advised him that it would be wiser not to in order that he keep his passport. On 25 July 1944 Scherchen wrote to Werner Reinhart that he would not have entered into the conducting agreement if he had known the trouble it would cause.

The troubles deepened when the musicians refused to perform under Scherchen, especially in reduced numbers. The forty-seven players were given notice on 1 October 1944, and an announcement for the thirty-eight new positions was circulated. On 11 June 1945 the unemployed musicians were hired permanently to play concerts and theater music through the Zürich city orchestra. (Ironically, Scherchen was among their guest conductors.)

Meanwhile, the new players for the Studio Orchestra had been assembling in Basel. After the thirty-eight positions were filled, the group traveled to Zürich. The orchestra included thirteen violins, four violas, four cellos, two basses, double woodwinds, two horns, two trumpets, a trombone, a harp, and a timpanist who played percussion. Several of the musicians played multiple instruments so that they could fill out the violas, cellos, or trombones, or form a saxophone choir. The Beromünster Studio Orchestra first rehearsed on 15 August 1945. Their first concert was on 18 September.

In order to minimize costs, Scherchen minimized the time that musicians spent in the studio. Similarly, short performances were pre-recorded so that musicians would not have to travel to the studio several times a day. In order to maximize the work that was

---

[1]"Den Ausländer Hermann Scherchen, nicht als den rechten Mann am schweizerischen Rundspruch. … eine schweizerische Lösung; der geistigen Landesverteidigung." Hansjörg Pauli, "Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966," *Neujahrsblatt der allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft* (Zurich: Hug, 1993), 37-38.

[2]Ibid., 38.

accomplished, players were required to devote themselves foremost to the Studio Orchestra, and they were given contracts to ensure this responsibility. Scherchen expected musicians to have their parts prepared before they reached the studio, and they were to use only their best "concert" instruments, not so-called "orchestra" instruments. Additionally, musicians had to be able to perform their parts as soloists and were expected to check their playing using tape recorders.[3] The Studio Orchestra's trombonist, Ernst Litscher (1913-1966) remembered that Scherchen never worked with them for more than twenty-four hours a week. But they were intense hours. Scherchen would not tolerate laziness and could be brutal to players who had not prepared their parts. "What kind of bastard played an f-sharp then?" Scherchen would exclaim. "The unlucky thing for the sinner" said Litscher "was that Scherchen heard everything perfectly and knew perfectly well from where the false note came."[4] At the same time, Scherchen promptly apologized when he made an error.

Scherchen's programming for the Studio Orchestra was meant to first draw listeners to the radio by emphasizing the basic pleasures of simple music. From this point they would be given the opportunity to learn to appreciate more sophisticated works. The first step of Scherchen's program was accomplished by three afternoon broadcasts, aired on the same days at the same times. These thirty-minute long broadcasts featured the most basic, direct forms of music—although always of a high quality: "The loveliest marches, most characteristic folk dances, the most heartfelt folksongs, and short excerpts from the best popular operas and operettas."[5] The purpose of these concerts was "to refresh, to strengthen the spirit of life, to awaken the most primitive appreciation for

---

[3]Hermann Scherchen, "Bekenntnis zum Radio," unpublished manuscript, Bern 9 August 1944 (HSCHA 17/74/692). Cited in *Hermann Scherchen: Musiker, 1891-1966*, eds. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wünsche (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1986), 77.

[4]"'Was für ein Schweinhund hat mir da ein Fis geblasen?'; Das Pech für den Sünder war, daß Scherchen immer ganz genau hörte, von woher die falsche Note kam." Ernst Litscher, "Hermann Scherchen in Zürich," in Hansjörg Pauli, ed., *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 42.

[5]"Die schönsten Märsche, die charakteristischen Volkstänze, die innigsten Volksliedermelodien, knappe Ausschnitte aus den besten popularäreren Opern und Operetten." Hermann Scherchen, "Drei Tendenzen meiner Arbeit als Oberleiter des Studio-Orchesters Beromünster," unpublished manuscript circa 1947 (HSCHA 17/74/662). Cited in Pauli, ed., *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 79.

beauty, to evoke the most moving, direct emotions, and to stimulate and capture the imagination."[6] On Sunday mornings listeners could then hear festive hour-long concerts. These did not feature symphonies, but rather well known overtures, accessible solo pieces, excerpts from ballets, and suites from operas.

After the afternoon concerts and the Sunday concerts, listeners were gently coaxed to hear still more sophisticated genres by an announcement: "If you enjoyed our broadcast of easy music, then please listen to the Studio Orchestra's next symphony concert, that will hopefully bring you greater pleasure, even as it might place greater demands on you the listener."[7] The symphony concerts took place from 8:00 to 9:00 on the same days each week. They featured symphonies and concertos from the classic and romantic repertoires. Listeners were meant to understand that they were listening to important masterpieces and that they were presented in excellent performances. These works were not problematic; they were meant to introduce the audience to their first examples of music as art.

Lesser-known masterpieces drawn from the Baroque to Modern periods could be heard regularly at 5:00. These concerts lasted twenty minutes and were generally pre-recorded. Such concerts allowed listeners to further expand their musical understanding: "With these begins the musical pioneering work of the radio which can raise the willing listener, by means of the independent art of music, to new realms of the human spirit."[8] New realms of the spirit could be further explored through contemporary works, which were presented in weekly late-evening concerts, lasting thirty minutes each. Finally, an

---

[6]"Zu erfrischen, den Lebensgeist zu stärken, die primitive Freude am Schönen zu wecken, innig direkte Empfindungen wachzurufen, die Fantasie zu erhalten und anzuregen." Ibid., 79.

[7]"Hat unsere Sendung leichter Musik Ihnen gefallen, so hören Sie bitte auch das nächste Sinfoniekonzert des Studio-Orchesters, das Ihnen hoffentlich noch größere, wenn auch mehr Ansprüche an Sie selbst beim Zuhören stellende, Genüsse verschafft." Ibid., 80.

[8]"Mit ihnen beginnt die musikalische Pionierarbeit des Rundfunks und kann der folden-wollende Hörer zur Musik als in sich geschlossener Kunst, die neue Gebiet der menschlichen Seele erschließt, emporsteigen." Hermann Scherchen, "Drei Tendenzen meiner Arbeit als Oberleiter des Studio-Orchesters Beromünster," unpublished manuscript circa 1947 (HSCHA 17/74/662). Cited in Pauli, ed., *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 80.

opera or operetta concert lasting two hours was aired once a month, often a simulcast of a live, public performance.

Scherchen believed that a musical work could be realized more accurately through the radio than in the concert hall, and he enumerated specific ways this could be accomplished. In the concert hall, the listening experience was influenced by the size of the audience, their level of understanding, and their sympathy for the work. Also, the concert hall realization was affected by temperature and by exterior noises. With the radio, the presence of the audience played no role, and the performance was directed to an ideal listener. At the same time, the environment of a studio could be carefully controlled to optimize the temperature and to reduce background noise. Through the use of recordings, performers could realize a performance that was free from accident. Posing these consideration in more broadly philosophical terms, Scherchen wrote "The concert performance is tied to relative moments because it is temporally located, while the studio performance has the duty to realize the Absolute."[9] Those elements that contributed to the excitement of a concert performance, such as the movements of the conductor and of the players had to be replaced in the radio performance by the creativity and energy of the music alone: "Through the microphone, music is for the first time presented as itself."[10]

Scherchen pointed out that while the placement of musicians in the concert hall was influenced by visual considerations, the placement of musicians in the studio depended only on the sound requirements of the composition. In the concert hall, for example, the first and second violins are traditionally placed in opposition although this is not always advantageous to a representation of the work. In the radio studio, instruments are placed according to their "acoustical intensity." Scherchen wrote that the goal of the arrangement was that "all the timbres of the orchestra should be flexibly employed

---

[9]"Die Konzertsaalaufführung ist mit relativen Momenten verbunden, der Studiosendung obliegt die Pflicht das Absolute zu verwirklichen." Hermann Scherchen, "Bekenntnis zum Radio," unpublished manuscript, Bern 9 August 1944 (HSCHA 17/74/692). Cited in Pauli, ed., *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 75.

[10]"Durch das Mikrophon ist die Musik zum erstenmal auf sich selbst gestellt." Ibid., 75.

according to their character."[11] In the concert hall this principle is often violated. The timpani, which is perhaps twenty-times louder than the strings, is routinely placed near the back wall, a resonating surface. The French horns throw their sound against this wall. Scherchen explained that instruments that produce sound in a directed fashion, such as a trumpet, could overpower those that produce sound in an emanating fashion, such as a violin. The oboe, for example, could be easily heard above even a large group of strings. For this reason, Scherchen felt that the strings should be placed closer to the resonating surface of the back wall.[12] Rolf Liebermann, Scherchen's sound engineer, recalled that Scherchen tried twelve unconventional instrumental placements in the studio; he did not settle on an optimal arrangement until 3 January 1946. In this arrangement he placed the entire orchestra closer to the back wall to take advantage of its reflecting properties. He also dampened any unwanted reverberations in the studio and stood on a stair-like podium rather than simply an elevated box; the staggered vertical surfaces of the stair were meant to allow the sound of the instruments to reach the microphone unhindered.[13]

The placement of audience members in the concert hall also affected their perception of the realization of the work. Since every listener sits at a different location, they will each have a different experience of the composition. What is more, very few would hear the music as the conductor heard it. In the studio, on the other hand, the microphone is placed near the conductor; every listener hears the same performance, and one that is close to that carefully observed by the conductor. Finally, in the concert setting, listeners at the back of the hall hear the music after the sound has been modified by the bodies of those sitting in front of them. Similarly, sounds from the orchestra reaching the audience have been dampened by the bodies of the players, which, according to Scherchen, affects the timbre of the instruments.[14]

---

[11]"Klanglichen Intensitäten; all Klangfarben des Orchesters eigentümlich plastisch zur Geltung kommen." Ibid., 76.

[12]Ibid., 75-76

[13]Hansjörg Pauli, "Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966," *Neujahrsblatt der allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft* (Zurich: Hug, 1993), 40.

[14]Ibid., 76.

Scherchen understood radio to be "the most important shift in the spiritual life of humanity since the invention of the printing press, because with the radio all humanity reaches for the first time a simultaneity of time and space."[15] He was certainly familiar with the use of radio in Nazi Germany to cultivate nationalism and to isolate one country from another, however, even after this misuse, Scherchen had faith that radio could be used to dissolve international boundaries. Audiences in Tokyo, Moscow, Berlin, and New York could listen almost simultaneously to the same radio broadcasts. Scherchen hoped that by presenting great works of music in ideal performances, the radio might be used to raise human consciousness internationally.

The Darmstadt Summer Courses

Memories of National Socialism and the devastation of the Second World War required a new beginning in Germany, a "Stunde Null" or "zero hour." To help cultivate a musical culture free of the immediate past, the musicologist Wolfgang Steineke founded a series of yearly summer courses in Darmstadt in 1946. These courses introduced young composers to important figures whose works were censored by the Third Reich, especially those by Schoenberg, Webern, and Varèse. Scherchen was a pivotal figure in the first ten years of the Darmstadt summer courses, participating in 1947, 1950, 1954, and in 1957.

Scherchen conducted and lectured at the 1947 Darmstadt courses. On 27 July he premiered Rolf Liebermann's *Furioso*, Karl Amadeus Hartmann's overture *China kämpft* and the "Lento" movement from Hans Werner Henze's First Symphony. Scherchen gave three public lectures: "The Problem of Form in *Histoire du soldat*"; "Observations of Musical Expression in Regard to the Art of the Fugue by Johann Sebastian Bach"; and "The Art of Musical Row- Technique in Beethoven's Symphonies

[15]Hermann Scherchen, "Bekenntnis zum Radio," unpublished manuscript, Bern 9 August 1944 (HSCHA 17/74/692). Cited in Pauli, ed., *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 74.

3, 5, and 9." The first two talks were presented in conjunction with live performances.[16] That same year Scherchen presented his ideas on musical performance. Based on an interview with Scherchen, Hans Englemann explained:

> Scherchen distinguishes between two types of representation: interpretation and realization. Interpretation, which he opposes, comes from a romantic feeling of revelation. … Realization on the other hand, more than just the slogan "Werktreue" [fidelity to the text] which comes from the often absurd fixation on the printed score and the inadequate, realization means to allow the idea of a musical work to come forth on its own and strengthened by the energy of the personality.[17]

In the first two years of the Darmstadt summer courses the compositions of Hindemith and Stravinsky were most influential. The direction changed in 1948, however, with the arrival of René Leibowitz, who had studied with Schoenberg and Webern in the early 1930s, and who would publish the influential book *Schönberg et son écol* (1948). Leibowitz introduced the students at Darmstadt to Schoenberg's twelve-tone method, which had been supplanted by those objective tendencies which dominated after the middle 1920s.

Scherchen contributed to the understanding and renewed appreciation for Schoenberg's later works through the premieres of two twelve-tone works, *A Survivor from Warsaw* and *Moses und Aron*. Scherchen conducted the German premiere of *A Survivor from Warsaw* on 20 August 1950. The work depicted the torture and escape of a concentration camp refugee; it was one of Schoenberg's few compositions with a political program. Only five years after the war, the work's theme evoked violent protest among conservatives. Scherchen remembered that the reciter himself made it clear that he was repelled by the text. Even in face of this political tension, however, the chorus

---

[16]Joachim Lucchesi, "Um in ihnen mehr Klarheit zu Schaffen," in Rudolf Stefan and Hermann Danuser, eds., *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 61-62.

[17]"Er unterscheidet grundsätzlich zwei Darstellungsmöglichkeiten: die 'Interpretation' und die 'Realisation'. Die Interpretation, der er ablehnend gegenübersteht, entspringt nach seinen Untersuchungen einem romantisch-verschwommenen Offenbarungsgefühl. Realisation eines Werkes dagegen bedeutet für ihn, über den schlagwortartigen und durch unzulänlichen Notendruck oft absurdum geführten Begriff der 'Wertreue' hinaus, die Idee eines musikalischen Werkes ganz rein in sich zu tragen und mit verstärkten Kräften (die Persönlichkeit) ausstrahlen zu lassen." Hans Englemann in "Gespräch mit Hermann Scherchen" in Darmstädter Echo, 5 August 1947. Cited in Danuser, *Im Zenith der Zeit*, 143.

made up of Darmstadt students still chose to sing the closing Hebraic hymn "Sch'ma Jisroel" in the original Hebrew rather than in a more distancing translation. That same concert featured the German premiere of Edgard Varèse's *Ionisation* (1931). This work also incited a protest, although for purely musical reasons. It was written for thirteen percussionists playing thirty-six instruments; it therefore did without traditional concepts of melody and harmony. The concert introduced Varèse's music to the Darmstadt students for the first time: "The sixty-seven year old," wrote Scherchen, "was suddenly put on the artistic horizon not as a twilight figure but as a flaming symbol of new creative ways of thought in music."[18]

The most important work that Scherchen premiered at Darmstadt was the "Dance around the Golden Calf," the center piece to Schoenberg's unfinished opera *Moses und Aron*. This concert took place on 2 July 1951; although it was the only piece on the program, Scherchen performed it twice. The next day he wrote to Pia Andronescu that the concert was sold out and that even during the second performance only a few individuals left the hall:

> The audience's response was a triumph for Schoenberg as I have NEVER experienced with a radical work of new music and as I have hardly experienced at all in concert. Afterwards, I had to return to the stage twenty times and copies of the score—amazingly—were purchased like hot cakes.[19]

The performance of the "Dance around the Golden Calf" in 1951 represented arguably the apex of Schoenberg's influence at Darmstadt. That same summer Karel Goeyvaerts's *Sonata for Two Pianos* was performed. This work ushered in the so-called "pointillist" phase of serial music, which looked more to Anton Webern than to

---

[18]"Der Fünfundsechzigjährige stand plötzlich am musikalischen Horizont nicht wie eine verdämmernde Gestalt, sondern wie das noch immer flammende Wahrzeichen neuer schöpferischer Gedankengänge in der Musik." Hermann Scherchen, "Ein lebendiges Stück Musikgeschichte," *Internationale Ferienkurs für Neue Musik. Programmheft öffentlichen Veranstalten* 15, Special Issue "Neuen Forums," ed. Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut (Darmstadt) 12-24 July 1954. Cited in Joachim Luccesi, *Schriften* 1, 145.

[19]"Der Schluß gestaltet sich zu einem Triumph für SCHÖNBERG wir ich ihn NIE bei einem radikalsten Werk Musik mitgemacht und bei einem Konzert überhaupt kaum wann erlebt habe. Ich mußte am Schluß wohl 20 Male herauskommen und die Partitur—sehr bewundert—wurde wie warme Semmeln gekauft." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Pia Andronescu, 3 July 1951, (HSCHA). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 127.

Schoenberg as its model. Goyvaerts's *Sonata* serialized, albeit primitively, four parameters of music: pitch, duration, intensity, and attack. Such a constructionist approach, later called "integral serialism," had been foreshadowed in Webern's late works, and especially in Olivier Messiaens *Mode des valeurs et d'intensités*, which had been performed at Darmstadt in 1949. After Schoenberg died on 13 July 1951—that is, not long after the premiere of the "Dance"—the self-styled "enfant terrible," Pierre Boulez, proclaimed: "SCHÖNBERG IST TOT." By the time that Boulez first attended Darmstadt in 1952, it seemed clear that something new was in the air.

Scherchen had always felt some ambivalence about the influence of Schoenberg at the Darmstadt courses. He wrote to Wolfgang Steineke on 14 February 1951 that he felt the purpose of Darmstadt was to promote a new generation of composers and that this purpose should not be sacrificed for the sake of defending Schoenberg. Also, in promoting these young composers, Scherchen felt that it was important not to influence them too much: "there are good reasons against me freely offering advice; I think even LESS on my side could actually result in MORE from them."[20]

But although Scherchen advised against influencing young composers too much, he still harbored sharp criticisms. He felt they were prone to "abstraction," "intellectualism," "cerebralism," and "youthful arrogance."[21] Scherchen advised that their works should be more accessible, that they were "unnecessarily difficult"; they were "too eager to construct world views rather than solve practical problems."[22] No doubt, many of Scherchen's criticisms stemmed from the significance these composers saw in Schoenberg's twelve-tone method. While they valued the objectivity and constructedness of Schoenberg's approach, Scherchen held that Schoenberg's music could show them that true art was not about the originality of compositional techniques, but about the composer's "strength of personality," about the "wholly mutual, saturated

---

[20]"Es sind wirkliche Gegengründe vorhanden für solche Art freiwilliger Überexponierungen von mir und ich glaube WENIGER meinerseits könnte im Resultat noch MEHR werden." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Pia Andronescu, 7 July 1951, (HSCHA). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 128.

[21]"Abstraktionen; Cerebralität; Jugendhochmutsicherheit." Ibid., 128-29.

[22]"Zu früh Weltanschauung machen statt weit mehr praktisch zu erlernen." Ibid., 129.

fulfillment by the equation spirit=material."[23] That is, the spirit or personality of the composer is embodied in the musical materials. Scherchen hoped that if they realized this, the younger generation of composers would not dismiss Schoenberg as a "reactionary Grandpa."[24]

Scherchen played an important role in the early years of the Darmstadt courses as a bridge to the Second Viennese School. But rather than hold students to imitating the language of Schoenberg's music, he wanted them to learn from the composer's example so that they might realize a music that was more appropriate to their times. Even so, Scherchen had definite ideas of what values this contemporary music should express and demanded that his students follow what he considered the correct path. As a conductor and potential interpreter of new compositions, Scherchen had considerable influence. The musicologist Joachim Lucchesi has suggested that one might even speak of a "Scherchen school," one whose works embody a "socially influential music ideal that is rhythmically pronounced, economically responsible in duration and material, transparent, personal, and confessional."[25] It could be argued that of the many composers that Scherchen influenced, these characteristics are most clearly apparent in the works of the Italian composer Luigi Nono.

Luigi Nono

Luigi Nono (1924-1990) first studied composition at the Venice Conservatory from 1935-1937. Nono met Malipiero in 1941, and although it is sometimes supposed that Nono studied with him, it is more likely that he worked with Bruno Maderna at the

[23]"Ganze gegenseitige Durchblutet-Erfülltsein von Geist = Materie." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Pia Andronescu, 10 July 1951 (HSCHA). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 130.

[24]"Reaktionären Großpapa." Ibid., 130.

[25]"Einem rhythmisch-prononcierten, zeit- und materialökonomisch verantwortlichen, durchhörbaren, persönlich-bekenntnishaften und in die Gesellschaft hineinwirkenden Musikideal." Joachim Lucchesi, "Um in ihnen mehr Klarheit zu Schaffen," in Rudolf Stefan and Hermann Danuser, eds., *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 61.

conservatory, under Malipiero's supervision. In any event both Nono and Maderna inherited from Malipiero an appreciation of older forms and genres. It was also Malipiero who suggested that the two attend Scherchen's conducting course in Venice in 1948.

As with his other students, Scherchen emphasized the internalization of a work and demanded that Nono be able to sing or whistle any part of a work that he was studying. When Malipiero discovered that Nono was composing twelve-tone music, he called Nono's father who virtually cast him out into the street. Scherchen became a second father to Nono, who followed the conductor after 1948 to Zürich and to Rapallo. Not only did Scherchen advise Nono in composition, but he shared his experiences of the Weimar Republic and of Berlin, and of his contact with Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Webern.

Scherchen recommended that Nono attend the Darmstadt courses in 1950, and he conducted Nono's first major work, the *Canonic Variations on a Row from Schoenberg's op. 41*. The work was performed on 27 August 1950. Although Nono had been interested in antiquated forms since his study in Venice, his use of the variation form might owe something to Scherchen's interest in J.S. Bach, especially the late work *Canonic Veränderungen über "Von Himmel hoch"* (BWV 769). That Nono used the tone row from Schoenberg's *Ode to Napolean Bonaparte*, itself a protest against dictatorship, hinted at the importance of politics in his future works. The work prompted mixed reactions at the premiere, in part because it did not present a sustained thematically-constructed surface. Rather, as the musicologist Jürg Stenzl has pointed out, "in the breadth of its spectrum," Nono's *Variationi* "could only be heard in terms of dispersion and dissolving."[26] Heinz Werner Henze, whose Second Symphony was performed at that same concert, wrote of Nono's *Variationi*: "This music brings together the past and the future: the present and the infinitude of four dimensional space, redesigns amazingly the concept of Apollonian beauty."[27]

[26]Jürg Stenzl, *Luigi Nono* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998), 19.

Scherchen conducted Nono's *Polifonica—Monodia—Ritmica* in Darmstadt on 10 July 1951. The work, in Scherchen's view, was too "cerebral." He wrote to Pia that Nono broke down when he realized that he had indulged in too much "abstract speculation."[28] To curb this speculation and probably make the work accessible to the audience Scherchen cut it from 389 bars to 208. The concert, wrote Scherchen, was a huge success for the young composer: "Nono was celebrated as if he were not a youth [but a man]—by the end of the piece they all broke out with 'Bravo' and jubilation for him."[29] Nono's wife Nuria, the daughter of Schoenberg, however, remembered that "Scherchen presented himself as the master, generous, but dictatorial; he had a tyrannical, sometimes blackmailing attitude toward those with whom he worked: either they did what he asked or were asked to leave—very Prussian."[30]

Scherchen premiered Nono's cantata *La victoire de Guernica* at Darmstadt on 25 August 1954. The work was dedicated to Scherchen. If Nono's political convictions were implied in *Variationi* by using a tone-row from Schoenberg's *Ode to Napolean*, they were made clear in *La victoire de Guernica*. Before the premiere, Scherchen told Nono that "Everyone will be against it, but this is the right musical and ideological path."[31] Although Scherchen was a difficult and demanding mentor to Nono and their relation was likely strained, there was no doubt about the significance of Scherchen's ideas for Nono. The young composer wrote to Scherchen after a performance of his

---

[27]"Diese Musik vereint Vergangenheit und Zukunft: die Gegenwart und Unendlichkeit im Raum der vierten Dimension, gestaltet erstaunlicherweise die Idee von der apollonischen Schönheit wieder." Ibid., 19.

[28]"Zu viel abstrakteste Spekulation." Letter to Pia Andronescu dated [10] July 51. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 130.

[29]"NONO wurde gefeiert wie kaum ein Junger—beim Ende des Stückes brach alles in 'Bravo' und Gejubel für ihn aus." Hermann Scherchen, letter to Pia Andronescu, 11 July 1951, Darmstadt. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 131.

[30]"Scherchen gab sich mehr als Maestro, großzügig, aber auch diktatorisch, er hatte eine sehr tyrannische, manchmal erpresserische Haltung gegenüber denjenigen, mit denen er arbeitet: entweder macht das oder ich gehe, so preußisch." Nuria Nono, "Die fröhlich-harten Jahre," in Rudolf Stefan and Hermann Danuser, eds., *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart*, 207-208

[31]Cited in Jürg Stenzl, *Luigi Nono* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998), 7.

Lorca Epitaphs at the "Musica Viva" concert series in Munich, a series organized by Karl Amadeus Hartmann: "It was the greatest importance for me and Bruno [Maderna] that we met you in Venice. If Bruno and I are something today it is because we are like your sons. … The Munich success is the success of the Scherchen Band."[32]

The Scherchen Case

The regeneration of avant-garde music in Germany after World War II took place in a climate of political tension. The great alliance of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, that had defeated Hitler, split Europe into two ideological camps: Western Democracy and Eastern Bloc Communism. As Churchill said in March 1946, "an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line, lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe."[33] To counter the perceived threat of communist expansionism, Western Europe and the U.S. formed NATO on 4 April 1949. Deterred by the fear of mutual nuclear annihilation, the two sides engaged in the so-called "Cold War" for nearly forty years.

By the close of the 1940s political figures on both sides were using fear and paranoia to their advantage. The witch-hunt for communists in Europe and in the U.S. ruined the lives of hundreds of artists, writers, composers, and filmmakers. Because Scherchen occupied a kind of political no-man's land—he was Marxist, but not a communist-party member—and because he was rather naïve in his political idealism, he was an easy target for prejudice.

In April 1950 Scherchen was invited to participate in the Prague Spring Festival which took place that May and June. Even before Scherchen decided to attend, the *Basler Nachricht* suggested that all Czechoslovakian music was influenced by

---

[32]"Wenn Bruno und ich heute etwas sind, so sind wir es, weil wir Ihre Söhne sind. … Der Münchner Erfolg ist der Erfolg der Scherchen-Bande." Luigi Nono, letter to Hermann Scherchen, 14 December 1953. Cited in Jürg Stenzl, *Luigi Nono* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998), 15.

[33]Cited in *Norman* Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1065.

Communist propaganda, and that if Scherchen participated in the festival, he would be serving the purposes of such propaganda.[34] Scherchen was undeterred and traveled to Prague; among the works he conducted was Beethoven's Symphony No.9 on 4 June.

After he returned to Switzerland, Scherchen gave a talk in Basel on 26 June regarding the state of Czechoslovakian music as part of a "Czechoslovakian Culture Week." He praised the musicianship of the Czech orchestra and made it clear that he would not separate his audiences into East and West halves.[35] Scherchen was probably not making a political statement, but was arguing that art, in this case music, should be allowed to function above worldly policy. His intentions were misinterpreted, perhaps purposely so, by the Basel establishment, and a slur campaign was launched against Scherchen.[36] The scandal spread swiftly to Zurich and on 30 June 1950 the *Tagesanzeiger Zürich* claimed that Scherchen had "betrayed a trust. He was the representative of a democratic country and in conducting in Czechoslovakia he served to aid the propaganda of an enemy of democracy, a dictatorship."[37] On the basis of such an argument, Scherchen was released from both his position at the Swiss Radio and most unfortunately from his thirty-year position in Winterthur. In the 12 July 1950 *Winterthurer Zeitung*, the Kollegium committee, however, thanked Scherchen publicly for his work with the Stadtorchester:

> Herr Dr. H. Scherchen did more than encourage our achievement through his artistic and spiritually uncompromising work as a world-renowned conductor and as a relentless educator of the orchestra; he bestowed on our

---

[34]*Basler Nachricht* (6 April 1950). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, "Vom Bellen der Mäuse: Materialien und Mutmaßungen über Hermann Scherchens Erfahrung am Zürcher Radio." *Musik, Deutung, Bedeutung. Festschrift für Harry Goldschmidt zum 75. Geburtstag,* eds. H.-W. Heister and H. Lück. (Dortmund: Plane, 1986), 124.

[35]Hansjörg Pauli, "Vom Bellen der Mäuse: Materialien und Mutmaßungen über Hermann Scherchens Erfahrung am Zürcher Radio." *Musik, Deutung, Bedeutung. Festschrift für Harry Goldschmidt zum 75. Geburtstag,* eds. H.-W. Heister and H. Lück. (Dortmund: Plane, 1986), 125.

[36]Harry Goldsmith has suggested that it was rooted in a personal and professional vendetta by the powerful music patron Paul Sacher, who was also a conductor of sorts. See Harry Goldsmith, *Um die Sache der Musik. Reden und Aufsätze*, (Leipzig: Reclam, 1970), 215.

[37]*Tagesanzeiger Zürich* (30 June 1950). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966*, 45.

> city the rank and character of a significant inciter, and of a passionate indicator of a fortunate period in musical life.[38]

The news of Scherchen's political disaster soon reached Schoenberg in California, where many artists, writers, and intellectuals were already threatened by Senator Joseph McCarthy's "Red Scare" inquisition. The ailing composer wrote to Scherchen that America was in a war against communism, which strove for world domination. Schoenberg added that he had always been an "outspoken opponent of communism."

> And therefore I feel myself bound to regard every communist as an enemy, and I can no longer continue even purely artistic interaction with one. I am terribly sorry, because I regard you very highly in musical terms, as a conductor as well as an expert. But there are things in question here that are higher than even art, that stand close to your heart as well. I am asking for a sincere, unconcealed answer to my question: are you a communist, yes or no?[39]

Schoenberg's letter must have seemed like a great betrayal to Scherchen, who had tirelessly championed the composer's works; less than two weeks earlier he had conducted *A Survivor from Warsaw* in Darmstadt in the face of great opposition. Further, Schoenberg contradicted his overriding regard for art that he had instilled in Scherchen beginning with the premiere of *Pierrot*. Scherchen wrote to Schoenberg that he was "ashamed to hear Schoenberg or any other artist say so sharply that art was not of the highest significance, but should be subordinated to other concerns."[40] As for the question

---

[38]"Herr Dr. H. Scherchn hat mit seinem künstlerisch und geistig kompromisslosen Schaffen nicht allein als Dirigent, der Weltruhm geniesst, und als unerbitterlicher Erzieher des Orchesters Leistungen erbraucht, die unvergessen bleiben, er hat vielmehr als bedeutender Anrege, als ein der Musik leidenschaft Verschriebener einer glücklichen Epoche des musikalischen Lebens unserer Stadt Rang und Gepräge verliehen." *Winterthurer Zeitung* (12 July 1950). Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966*, 45.

[39]"Und deshalb fühle ich mich verpflichtet jeden Kommunisten als Feind anzusehen, und kann selbst einen rein künstlerischen Verkehr mit ihm nicht fortsetzen. Es täte mir wirklich leid, denn ich schätze Sie in musikalischer Hinsicht sehr hoch, sowohl als Dirigent [wie] als Sachvertändiger. Aber hier sind höhere Dinge in Frage als selbst Kunst, wie nahe sie auch unserem Herzen stehe. Ich bitte Sie daher um aufrichtige, unverhüllte Antwort auf meine Frage: Sind Sie Kommunist, ja oder nein." Arnold Schoenberg, letter to Hermann Scherchen, 31 August 1950. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 62.

[40]Hermann Scherchen, letter to Arnold Schoenberg, 30 September 1950. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 63.

of Scherchen's political views, he admitted that he had been a socialist since his youth; like every committed socialist, he felt that the true socialist society was communist.

> I have always understood that no other social transformations [Unwandlungen] focused on HUMANITY, instead always on other strata of power. . . . The dilettantism that has turned and continues to turn the world of human experience into a long, heavy torment of a physiological as well as a spiritual kind, has made me so impatient that I would and could not go on living had I not had this desire and this certainty that the WORLD is alterable and was not changing fast enough … there you have it, without consideration or coloration—I have NEVER participated in politics, NEVER belonged to a party/ I am not now engaged in politics and I belong to no party.[41]

Scherchen concluded that Schoenberg's values were clearly different now that he was an American. The composer's reply was conciliatory. He told Scherchen not to take his concern personally, that he valued his friendship and his support of his music. Although he might have ignored Scherchen's political beliefs thirty years ago, when it was considered a matter of personal world-view, Schoenberg held that it would be impossible for him as an American to dismiss the communist struggle for world-domination.

> Certainly, I have always kept politics at an arms length. But communism forces us onto the defensive, because it surges against us. Certainly, art is higher than politics, just as the head is higher than the stomach, and the spirit higher than the material. At the same time we must remember, that not to mention Wagner and Brahms, Beethoven first admired Napeleon as a revolutionary but then in "Wellington's Victory" celebrated his downfall. Let us hope that this crisis will be soon over with and a time of true balance might be achieved.[42]

---

[41]"Ich habe immer gesehen daß alle anderen gesellschaftlichen Umwandlungen nie auf DEN Menschen, sondern immer wieder nur auf eine andere Machtschicht abzielten […] der Dilettantismus, mit dem in dieser Welt das Menschenleben zu einer langen schweren Qual physiologischer ebenso wie seelischer Art wird und immer wieder geworden ist, hat mich so ungeduldig gemacht, daß ich nicht weiter leben wollte und koennte haette ich nicht dieses Wollen und diese Gewißheit daß die WELT umwandelbar ist und nicht schnell genug umgewandelt wird … hir haben Sie mich, ohne Nachdenken und Umfaerberei—Politik habe ich NIE gemacht, einer Partei NIE angehoert/ich treibe auch jetzt keine Politik und gehoere keiner Partie an." Ibid., 63.

[42]"Gewiß, ich habe mich immer von Politik ferngehalten. Aber der Kommunismus zwingt zur Abwehr, da er sich aggresiv an uns herandrängt. Gewiß, Kunst ist höher als Politik, so wie der Kopf höher ist als der Magen, und der Geist höher ist als die Materie. Dennoch aber müssen wir nicht vergessen, daß, abgesehen von Wagner und Brahms, Beethoven, der zuerst Napoleon als revolutionär verherrlicht hat, dann 'Wellington's Sieg' über den selben Napoleon gefeiert hat. Hoffen wir, daß diese Krise bald vorübergehen möge und eine Periode wirklicher

Schoenberg wrote that he would not try to change Scherchen's political convictions because the knew that they were as firmly ingrained as his artistic convictions. He would consult his lawyer to see to what extent he might be able to continue working with Scherchen on a purely artistic basis. Although he had been sick for the last three weeks, he would try to finish the score to *Die Jakobsleiter*.[43]

The year 1950 was a turning point in Scherchen's life not only because of the political intrigue and the loss of his conducting posts in Zurich and Winterthur. His wife Shü-Sien left him in 1950, taking their children back to China; and his mother, whom he had remained very close to, died. Scherchen characterized this period in stark existential terms:

> 59 year old (1950)
> I wait—
>
> "OH HELP ME OH HELP ME OH HELP ME"
> were the three-times last words—
> in the dark night
> I hold my hands
> With eyes
> wide open
> you meet—
> "IT" meets
> MOTHER.
> I sink
> in death
> at night
> curve of the belly
> becomes a hole
> draw me toward you
> gliding space-and-timeless
> and I scream:
> MOTHER[44]

Ausbalanzierung folgen möge." Arnold Schoenberg, letter to Hermann Scherchen, 6 October 1950. Cited in Hansjörg Pauli, *Hermann Scherchen, Musiker*, 64.

[43]Ibid., 65.

[44]"'HILF MIR DOCH HILF MIR DOCH HILF MIR DOCH'
ist das dreimal letzte Wort gewesen—
im Abend –Dunkel
fassen mich die Hände
mit Augen

Indeed Scherchen considered suicide for a time. The final chapter of Scherchen's life began in 1951 when he met his last wife, Pia Andronescu. His letters to Pia indicate that Scherchen began a "Second Life";[45] she was a great source of comfort, stability and inspiration for Scherchen. The final decade of Scherchen's life was centered on his electro-acoustic studio in Gravesano, Switzerland.

The Gravesano Electro-Acoustic Institute

Foundation

Toward the end of 1953, Scherchen purchased a house and a plot of land in Gravesano, a village near Lugano in the Italianate region of Switzerland. The town was poor and had perhaps two hundred inhabitants. The area around the house included five acres of forest and 1.5 acres of orchard land. Scherchen explained that the property was relatively inexpensive because it was far-removed from the main highway from Lugano to Bellinzona, and it was difficult to access. The house on the property had twelve rooms with walls that were eight inches thick. Scherchen made a down payment and within

---

groß geöffnet
trittst Du—
tritt "ES"
MUTTER
aus ihnen hervor
versenkt DICH mir
im Sterben
nachts
wölbt des Magens Höhlung
sich zum Loch
zieht mich DIR nach
vergleitend RAUMLOS-ZEITLOS
und ich schreie:
MUTTER"

Hermann Scherchen, *Mein erstes Leben*, 150-51.

[45]The implication is made from the title of his incomplete memoir "Mein erstes Leben," (My First Life) which ends in 1950.

three the months the first studio for the Gravesano Electro-Acoustic Studio was complete.[46]

Scherchen explained that Gravesano was a "direct activity of his existence," that he "lived" Gravesano.[47] Soon after the first studio was finished, Scherchen held his first conference, which included twenty-two scientists, electro-acousticians, and musicians—many of the leading researchers in Europe, people from the French Radio, German Radio, English Radio, and the Italian RAI. The lectures were roughly two hours long. In the afternoons and evenings there were discussions and experiments that demonstrated the materials from the day's lectures. A prominent figure at the lectures was Werner Meyer-Eppler, who later arranged the proceedings into a book called *Gravesano: Musik, Raumgestaltung, Elektroakustic*.[48]

The studio was supported by UNESCO and was therefore independent of any nationality. The activities in Gravesano were interdisciplinary. Scherchen felt that the separate areas of recording, radio, film, and television, could only be understood by considering them all together in terms of "electronic technology, acoustics, and artistic design." To consider one area by itself would "at most push a button, so that the light from the others would shine forth."[49]

A year after the first conference, the Gravesano studio started to publish the results of its activities in the *Gravesaner Blätter* (Gravesano Notes), which ran from 1955 to 1966.[50] (The cover for the *Gravesaner Blätter,* designed by the architect Le Corbusier, is based on the golden proportion, equal to $(\sqrt{5}+1)/2$. This irrational number, approximately 1.6, appears often in nature and is thought to play a role in works of art,

---

[46]Hermann Scherchen, *Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984), 62-64.

[47]Ibid., 64.

[48]Werner Meyer-Eppler, ed., *Gravesano: Musik, Raumgestaltung, Elektroakustic* (Mainz: Ars Viva Verlag, 1955).

[49]Ibid., 64.

[50]A complete list of articles published in the *Gravesaner Blätter* is included in appendix.

such as the *Parthenon*. It is erroneously held to be the ideal proportion of the typical human figure.)[51] The *Gravesaner Blätter* became, like *Die Reihe*, a significant journal for issues in contemporary music, acoustics, and compositional theory. The journal's interdisciplinary range of subjects was truly impressive. It included articles on hall acoustics; instrument design; compositional technique and aesthetics; psychoacoustics; music sociology; recording and sound transmission; television and film. The following discussion can only outline the rich history of the Gravesano studio.[52]

The Ideal Space

One of the principal areas of inquiry at Gravesano was the acoustics of halls and studios. By 1956 the Gravesano Institute had three studios. The main studio had a space of 500 cubic meters. It had five walls and a sloping ceiling to prevent any parallel surfaces. The walls of the main studio were covered with square boxes, having sides thirty-four inches in length and variable depth. These boxes were meant to absorb the lower frequencies of the room; they could be removed individually or altogether to modify the acoustical dynamics of the room. The higher frequencies of the main studio were controlled through carpets and fiberglass constructions.[53]

The design of the main room produced a very short reverberation time—.3 to .5 of a second. Scherchen's goal was to create a "naked" acoustical space, one with no particular qualities. In such a room, the sound engineers could control the acoustical effect strictly through microphone placement. The lack of standing waves and interference also allowed many more musicians to perform in the room, without influencing each other's sound.[54]

The second studio room had a space of 220 cubic meters and was shaped like a triangle. When one side of this triangle was covered in non-reflective material, the

---

[51]Le Corbusier, "The Modulator," *Gravesaner Blätter* 3/9 (1957), 3-4.

[52]The Danish musicologist Anna Christiansen is currently preparing a study of the Gravesano Institute.

[53]A. Moles and F. Trautwein, "Das elektroakustische Institut Hermann Scherchen in Gravesano," *Gravesaner Blätter* 2/5 (1956), 51.

[54]Ibid., 52-53.

opposite corner of the room was essentially free of reverberations. This allowed the engineers to experiment through microphone placement with differing degrees of reverberation. The third studio had a volume of 180 cubic meters. It was used for playback of recordings, for conferences, and for listening tests.[55]

Each studio had eight microphone lines that led to a mixing board in a control room. The three studios used ten Neumann condenser microphones; eight spool-trading microphones; two crystal microphones; ten studio amplifiers; and three studio magnetophones.[56]

In its ten year history the *Gravesaner Blätter* featured several articles devoted to hall acoustics. The most significant discussed the Berlin Philharmonic (3/9); the Berlin Congress Hall (3/10); the F.R. Mann Auditorium in Tel-Aviv (3/11-12); and the Canopy for the Tanglewood Music Shed (5/17). The journal also featured a large two-part article on the "Acoustics of Large Orchestra Studios and Concert Halls" (3/9, 3/10).

The Stereophoner

A second important area of inquiry was the technology of sound transmission. The *Gravesaner Blätter* included articles on a variety of loudspeaker systems and recording technologies. Perhaps the most important development, however, was Scherchen's invention of the "Stereophoner," patented on 30 May 1958.

The Stereophoner or as it was later called, the Spectrophone, was a small device used to evoke a sense of acoustical depth to monophonic recordings. It did this by first splitting the sound channel, and then applying filters to each individual signal. The resulting sound coming through the two speakers was meant to imitate the placement of the various instruments in the orchestra.[57]

Scherchen himself was responsible for the calibration of the various filters to accomplish the desired effect. The engineers at Gravesano designed a special multi-channel console to allow him to manipulate the monophonic recordings of his own performances. In this way, Scherchen's balancing and manipulation of the sound

---

[55]Ibid., 54.

[56]Ibid., 55.

[57]Robert Kolben, "The Stereophoner," *Gravesaner Blätter* 4/13 (1959), 65.

amounted to a kind of conducting and interpretation. The sound engineer Robert Kolben wrote,

> Literally hundreds of settings were tried over many months in an attempt to satisfy all kinds of music and spoken text, all standard recording characteristics, all types of microphone placing during recording; a stack of old 78's was unearthed even, and somewhere in the village of Gravesano something was found which was surely the first electric gramophone ever made, to play the 78s, and to be quite sure that the stereophony worked under really all circumstances.[58]

The development of stereo was a key issue in the 1950s. Scherchen's goal in making the Stereophoner was to provide a relatively inexpensive alternative to the emerging stereo devices. It would also enable the continued use of the older monophonic records.

Iannis Xenakis

Along with experiments in acoustics and sound transmission, the Gravesano Institute studied theories of musical composition. Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez, Darius Milhaud, and Pierre Schaeffer—the father of *musique concrète*—all contributed to the *Gravesaner Blätter*. The most significant contribution to the institute, however, was made by the composer Iannis Xenakis.

Xenakis was born on 29 May 1922 in Romania to Greek parents. He was trained in Athens as a civil engineer, and during the war fought against the fascists as part of the resistance. After the British liberated Athens, they tried to contain the rise of the communists, who had made up the bulk of the resistance. Xenakis was badly wounded by British shrapnel; he lost an eye and suffered serious injuries to the left side of this face. Xenakis eventually fled to Paris in November 1947, where he was first employed by the architect Le Corbusier.[59]

In 1951 Xenakis met Olivier Messiaen, who recommended that the twenty-eight year old composer use his knowledge of architecture and mathematics to guide his composition. The first fruit of this advice was *Metastasis*, an orchestral work inspired by Le Corbusier's theory of architecture. The work, whose title means "transformation," is

---

[58]Ibid., 66.

[59]For further biographical information on Xenakis see Nouritza Matossian, *Xenakis* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1986).

conceived according to sound masses, surfaces, lines, and planes. These were the primary elements of architecture defined by Le Corbusier in his influential *Vers une Architecture* (1923).[60]

In the spring of 1954 Xenakis sent the score of a new work, *Anastenaria*, to Pierre Schaeffer, hoping for a performance by the *Groupe de Recherche de Musique Concrète*. The score found its way, however, to Hermann Scherchen, who was visiting Paris to premiere Edgard Varèse's *Deserts* on 2 Decmeber 1954. Xenakis was told to visit the conductor at his hotel room at 7:00 A.M. so that they might discuss the work. When Xenakis arrived, however, Scherchen indicated that he was not interested in *Anastenaria*, but asked about the score that Xenakis had under his arm:

> It was a handwritten score of *Metastasis*. I had written it on loose pieces of architect's paper which were enormous, 1 metre by 70 cms. Scherchen lay in bed holding up a sheet above his head as he read. When he finished, he let it go and since it was unattached the paper fell on his nose and covered him completely. He just lay there under it. I did not know what to do. I felt awkward. Should I help him? Suddenly I had an irresistible urge to laugh. Then he did the same thing again. Finally I took the sheets from him one by one as he finished reading.[61]

Scherchen was especially intrigued by the work's opening measures and asked Xenakis how he had come up with it, because it seemed to come from something entirely outside of music. No doubt the mathematical and scientific origins of Xenakis's work impressed Scherchen as well, since he invited him to write an article for the first issue of the *Gravesaner Blätter.*

The article Xenakis submitted was entitled "The Crisis of Serial Music."[62] He argued that the current complexity of serial music, of its linear polyphony, left the impression of groups of pitches thrown randomly into various registers. Although such music might have a tightly controlled microscopic structure, the macroscopic impression seemed irrational and chaotic. "There is consequently a contradiction between the linear polyphonic system and the heard result which is surface, mass." Against this approach,

---

[60]Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture* (Paris: Éditions Vincent, 1958).

[61]Interview with Xenakis. Cited in Nouritza Matossian, *Xenakis* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1986), 78.

[62]Iannis Xenakis, "The Crisis of Serial Music" *Gravesaner Blätter* 1/1 (1955): 2-4.

Xenakis suggested that composers attend to "the statistic mean of isolated states of transformation of components in a given moment."[63]

> The macroscopic effect could then be controlled by the average of movements of the objects chosen by us. There results from it the introduction of the notion of probability implied elsewhere in this actual case of combinatory calculus.[64]

Here was Xenakis's important leap to stochastic composition, to works based on statistical operations. In several further articles, over the next ten years, Xenakis used the *Gravesaner Blätter* as a forum to develop his theory of stochastic music. It is significant that, as with Luigi Nono, Scherchen encouraged Xenakis's artistic individuality and provided the encouragement to operate outside the orbit of serialism. Scherchen premiered Xenakis's *Pithoprakta* in Munich on 8 March 1957, *Achorripsis* in Buenos Aires in 20 July 1958, and *Terretektorh* at the Royan Festival on 3 April 1966.

Television

The Gravesano Institute held three conventions from 6-13 August 1961: "The Problems of Television," "Medicine and Music," and "Music and Mathematics." The last convention featured six works by Iannis Xenakis, lectures by Newton Gutman on "Musical Sounds from Digital Computers," by Abraham Moles on the relation of music to complexity and information theory, and by Wihelm Fucks on "Mathematical Analysis and Random Sequences." During the second convention, "Medicine and Music," W. Bürck discussed the effects of vibration on the body and its possibility for healing, while H.R. Teirich lectured on music therapy for the deaf and the development of a "vibrating couch." Finally, Imre Sponga, a Zürich medical student, compared the electro-encephalograph to orchestral recordings. The first convention, "The Problems of Television" was the most important of the three.[65]

The *Gravensaner Blätter* included articles on television as early as 1958 with Clemens Münster's article "Televised Opera." The attention to television and to film

---

[63]Ibid., 85-86.

[64]Ibid., 86.

[65]Robert Kolben, "The Three Gravesano Conventions," *GravesanerBlätter* 6/23-24 (1962), 26-36.

grew to be one of the principal areas of research of the Institute; the 1961 convention on television might then be viewed as a turning point. Scherchen opened the conference by emphasizing the importance of the new medium, one which had the potential to unify "SPACE, TIME, and MEANING by the transmission of MUSIC, IMAGE, and SPEECH."[66]

After Scherchen's introduction came the lectures. A.M. Springer explained the advantages of the Toshiba System for video tape recording as developed by Dr. Sawazaki over the current Ampex system. Dr. Walter Gerber discussed the advances in color television, while Dr. H. Jensen spoke about the development of television projection. Jack Bornoff explained some of the possible differences between television and film by comparing different performances of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, conducted by Hermann Scherchen. The discussion after Bornoff's talk, however, turned from the question of television vs. film to the question of how much technical manipulation should be allowed in representing stage productions. Bornoff concluded that "anyone who has had a good look at all the various ways of filming stage music, none of which has been very satisfactory so far, inevitably comes to the question whether it is not high time for film and TV to create their own musical art form."[67] This observation pointed very clearly to what we today call the music video.

At the end of the television conference, participants viewed Scherchen's own production of the final section of Arnold Schoenberg's *Erwartung.* His version used a prerecorded orchestral track to which the soprana, Helga Pilarczyk, sang and acted. The music was cut into twenty-seven parts, which were carefully coordinated to the different scenes in the garden around the studio. The process took five days of shooting, but resulted in only 11.5 minutes of footage. Nevertheless, as Robert Kolben observed, "the film shows a unity and precision and, above all, perfect matching of image and music, such as has never been achieved by the division of labor—the single mind behind this

[66]Ibid., 19.

[67]Ibid., 23.

work of art becomes evident."[68] In maintaining strict control over the coordination of musical and visual elements, Scherchen extended his aesthetic of conducting to the area of television production.

In the article "An Hour with Franz Krämer," Scherchen discussed the pedagogical potential for television. He wrote, "Ninety percent of the television audience is presumed to be acoustically underdeveloped—which means that they are hard to interest in music as an art. Is there nevertheless a slim chance, by way of television, to make the essentials of music emotionally understandable to a vast, but often indifferent audience?"[69] Scherchen's strategy of musical education by way of television was clearly similar to that of his previous work with radio. He wanted to build on what the audience was familiar with in order to bring them to a level of aesthetic appreciation.

Scherchen's article was a response to a presentation made at the CBC-TV station in Toronto, where Franz Krämer showed excerpts from various filmed performances. Scherchen felt that the most successful production was surprisingly the one using the most difficult piece, Arnold Schoenberg's Fantasy for Violin and Piano. This work was performed by Glenn Gould and Yehudi Menuhin, who together, suggested Scherchen, presented the work dialectically. It was successful because "their different personalities and their individual approach to the music were consciously explored. Menuhin was photographed in en face close-ups, Gould in wide side-shots revealing the movements of his body and hand alternating with extreme close-ups."[70] By presenting the eye with a clearly established and predictable pattern, the ear was given a guide so that the audience did not become frustrated or lose concentration. Scherchen suggested that the visual movements of the camera and the variety of lighting helped to interpret and to illuminate the work for the listener.

---

[68]Ibid., 25.

[69]Hermann Scherchen, "An Hour with Franz Krämer (at CBC-TV, Toronto)," *Gravesaner Blätter* 7/29 (1966), 7.

[70]Ibid., 7.

CONCLUSIONS

Scherchen died in Florence on 12 June 1966, several days after suffering a heart attack while conducting Gian Francesco Malipiero's opera *Orfeide*. (The performance was a premiere.) The many eulogies attested that Scherchen had a great influence on the course of music in the first half of the twentieth century. Pierre Boulez wrote: "Hermann Scherchen's activities reached much farther than those of any plain conductor. He was directly involved in the initial choices of music over half a century."[1] Xenakis described Scherchen as "the great 'accoucher' [midwife] of a good part of the music of the twentieth century."[2] The musicologist Harry Goldschmidt wrote that "hardly another 'non-composer' had such a great effect on the development of music in this century."[3] Although it is easy to agree that Scherchen had a significant impact on twentieth century music, it is difficult to form a precise estimation because his influence was so far ranging and so diverse, because he often acted through other individuals, and because his many projects were often left incomplete.

Any assessment of Scherchen's significance, however, must begin with the works that he conducted. These included premieres of important works spanning three generations of composers, especially those by Schoenberg, Webern, and Berg; Stravinsky, Krenek, and Hindemith; Hartmann, Nono, and Xenakis. He was also one of the earliest champions of Mahler's symphonies. Along side Scherchen's support of recent music, must be considered his performance of lesser-known works from the more

---

[1]Pierre Boulez, "Hommage to Hermann Scherchen," trans. Myriam Scherchen, *French Daily Paper—Figaro* (Paris), 22 June 1966.

[2]Iannis Xenakis, "Hommage to Hermann Scherchen," trans. Myriam Scherchen, *French Daily Paper—Figaro* (Paris), 22 June 1966.

[3]Harry Goldschmidt, *Um die Sache der Musik. Reden und Aufsätze* (Leipzig, Reclam, 1992), 201.

distant past. To this group belonged above all Bach's *Kunst der Fuge*, which occupied Scherchen for some thirty years.

It was important that Scherchen conducted these works, that they were premiered often under difficult conditions. But equally important was *how* these works were performed. Scherchen often conducted new compositions alongside older ones in order to show the continuity of musical styles. He also cast a new light on familiar works by programming them with unfamiliar ones.

As important as Scherchen's imaginative programming was his approach to interpreting the musical work. Scherchen aimed at illuminating the details of composition to the listener, revealing the work to its core. He rejected traditional melodramatic approaches for one that would put the acoustical quality of the music in the foreground. Of paramount importance to Scherchen's aesthetic program was realizing the composer's intentions, guided by, but not limited to the notated score.

Scherchen felt that, although the conductor and musicians should serve the work, music must also engage the listener. His interpretations were never "objective" in the sense that they were meant to me enjoyed "objectively," without emotion. To the contrary, Scherchen felt that music should have a visceral effect on the listener. Finally, Scherchen extended his conducting aesthetic, an aesthetic based on the acoustical nature of music, to works across the centuries, again diminishing the differences between old and new.

With Scherchen's programs and his approach to musical works, must be considered the concert setting, that is, the orchestras he worked with and the audiences he appeared before. Scherchen was never associated with a major symphony orchestra, as was Bernstein with the New York Philharmonic or von Karajan with the Berlin Philharmonic. Rather, those orchestras that were most typical of his approach to music were those that he built from little or nothing. Under severe economic limitations, Scherchen cultivated the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra in the early 1920s. When in the early 1930s he built the "Musica Viva" Orchestra, Scherchen contended with financial and political difficulties, since many of the musicians were Jews. The only orchestra that Scherchen had a long-standing association with was the Stadtsorchester in Winterthur,

Switzerland. This was also a non-traditional orchestra made up of semi-professional and amateur musicians. As with the other orchestras, Scherchen developed this group from a summer pops orchestra to one that performed in new music festivals and premiered recent and often difficult compositions.

Scherchen also contributed to the dissemination of modern music through the creation of journals and publishing firms. Chief among Scherchen's contributions in this area was the journal *Melos*, founded in 1920. Although Scherchen gave up editing *Melos* in 1924, the journal survived into the 1980s; it became the premiere German-language journal for contemporary music. Scherchen published articles through *Melos* and other periodicals, on a wide range of topics, from Richard Strauss's *Alpensymphonie* to Beethoven's *Grosse Fuge* to Bach's Mass in B Minor. Scherchen's most important written work, however, was the *Lehrbuch des Dirigierens*, which argued that conducting should be a matter of realization rather than interpretation. Finally, Scherchen founded the Ars Viva publishing firm in Zurich in 1950, which produced editions of important contemporary works as well as of significant older compositions.

Among Scherchen's accomplishments must be included his work in radio, especially in Königsberg from 1928 to 1933 and in Zürich from 1945 to 1950. Scherchen expanded his performance aesthetic from the concert hall to the radio. He felt that the radio was actually superior to the concert hall setting because it could reach vastly more people simultaneously. Through radio one could achieve a better realization of a work, one that permitted a more flexible placement of instruments based on sound rather than visual coordination. Scherchen felt that through radio, music could be presented ideally, without the accidental effects of the concert hall.

Related to Scherchen's radio work was his cultivation of an electro-acoustics studio in Gravesano, Switzerland. By experimenting with acoustical spaces and transmission technology, Scherchen aimed at presenting the music "on its own," with a maximum degree of clarity and differentiation. In inventing the Stereophoner, Scherchen also hoped to bring the benefits of stereo to a broader audience. Researchers at the Gravesano institute were also interested in the musical possibilities of media such as

television and film. Scherchen himself produced a film version of Schoenberg's *Erwartung* and theorized about the educative potential of television.

Scherchen's significance for the music of the last century is difficult to gauge in large part because of the diversity of his activities. It would be easier if he had allied himself with a specific group of composers or even if he had limited himself to modern music. Scherchen's approach to conducting would be easier to define if he limited his aesthetic to the concert hall, but he utilized the radio and other technologies. He also tried to articulate his aesthetic goals through writing, and through the foundation of journals.

If it is difficult to assess Scherchen's significance because of the breadth of his activities, it difficult too because so many of those activities were left incomplete and fragmentary. The *Neue Musikgesellschaft* was dissolved a year after its 1919 foundation. Scherchen quit the editorship of *Melos* after two years. Each of his two publishing firms folded within five years. With the exception of the Winterthur Orchestra, Scherchen's tenure with the various choruses and orchestras through the course of his life lasted no longer than five years.

Although Scherchen often participated in music festivals and played a significant role in the festivals for the IGNM, Donaueschingen, and at Darmstadt, his contribution was never long standing. Scherchen published numerous articles and three books. But these works are often repetitive and unsystematic. In addition, he left several projects incomplete, among them books on the Schubert symphonies, a book on the "Art of Conducting," and his memoirs. Scherchen's various experiments in radio were left unrealized. Finally, Scherchen's personal life reflected his unstable nature: he had six wives and probably many infidelities.

His only project that lasted was the Gravesano Institute and its journal. This was likely the exception because, although Scherchen contributed monetarily to the institute and at least provisionally edited the journal, he was not directly responsible for the various activities; his genius at Gravesano lay in his role as instigator and supervisor. He "conducted" the institute's participants like an orchestra. In any event the fragmentary

nature of his activities was arguably a result of their diversity; and in this sense too Scherchen reflected the achievement of his time.

Such fragmentation and diversity have complicated the understanding of Scherchen's accomplishment. This reception has also been shaped, largely negatively, by Scherchen's personality. In contrast to his range of interests, Scherchen's attitude toward work was not multifaceted or wavering, but was determined and focused. Scherchen was uncompromising in his evaluation of himself and others. Xenakis compared Scherchen to one of the Arthurian knights "who had no mercy towards themselves nor towards unseen followers, imitators, falsifiers, but who were generous with all that concerned the creation of music and its true servants."[4] Luc Ferrari wrote, "There was so much honesty in his life, brutality, severity, and integrity. I don't see these qualities anywhere else."[5] Finally, Pierre Boulez wrote that "his teaching deeply marked all those who were ready to submit to him."[6] Scherchen's uncompromising demands probably repulsed as many as they attracted, more in fact. This authoritarian quality in Scherchen's personality contributed to the political debacle in 1950 that stripped him of his positions in Winterthur and Zürich. It very likely poisoned many other engagements and was arguably responsible for his never finding a permanent position with a major orchestra. Most unfortunately, Scherchen's personal shortcomings reveal themselves in his recordings, which though exhilarating in their virtuosic precision often sound authoritarian and controlling.

Despite the multifarious nature of Scherchen's interests and the problematic nature of his personality, a single thread might be perceived running through his various characteristics—his role as educator. Scherchen's pedagogical impulse reached back to his childhood, when he familiarized himself with the masterworks through memorization

---

[4]Iannis Xenakis, "Hommage to Hermann Scherchen," trans. Myriam Scherchen, *French Daily Paper—Figaro* (Paris), 22 June 1966.

[5]Luc Ferrari, "Hommage to Hermann Scherchen," trans. Myriam Scherchen, *French Daily Paper—Figaro* (Paris), 22 June 1966

[6]Pierre Boulez, "Hommage to Hermann Scherchen," trans. Myriam Scherchen, *French Daily Paper—Figaro* (Paris), 22 June 1966

and hand copying. He internalized these works through self-study. Similarly, Scherchen read works by philosophers.

Scherchen's educative drive influenced his choice of orchestras that he often worked with. These were not fully formed, professional groups. He built up orchestras such as the Grotrian-Steinweg Orchestra or the "Musica Viva" Orchestra. Often these groups were comprised of amateur or student musicians. Scherchen's presentation of modern music was educative for both the audience and the orchestra. The educative impact of such premieres was drawn into relief by their juxtaposition with older or better known works. Scherchen's approach to the work, his attempt to bring its pure acoustical aspect to bear, was also educative since he considered the pure act of musical listening to elevate the audience.

Still more directly, Scherchen taught dozens of conductors through private lessons and through numerous Arbeitstagungen. The best known of these students were Karel Ančerl, Leo Borchard, Ernest Bour, Edward Downes, Jascha Horenstien, Bruno Maderna, Igor Markevitch. Scherchen also excercised an influence on many composers, whether through the aesthetics disseminated through his conducting course, or through direct teaching. He had certainly the strongest impact on Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Luigi Nono, and Iannis Xenakis. But he also influenced Rolf Liebermann, Stefan Wolpe, and to a lesser extent Pierre Boulez, Hans Werner Henze, and Karlheinz Stockhausen.

The establishment of journals and publishing firms as well as Scherchen's publication of books were motivated in part by his desire to educate. One of the strongest currents of Scherchen's educative program was his work in radio, through which he hoped to reach many individuals. Finally, his work at Gravesano, with its multiple conferences and multifaceted journal might easily be seen under the rubric of education.

Aspects of Scherchen's personality were related to his pedagogical intent. His determination and uncompromising honesty can be considered as part of his educational integrity. On the other hand, his authoritarian impulses also fall under the darker possibilities for education, which can be used as a pretext for manipulation, domination, and the pursuit of power.

Scherchen's educative impulse was itself a part of his concept of human progress. He felt that music was an indicator of human progress and could at the same time point forward to more advanced forms of thought. Musical ensembles such as the orchestra could stand for better forms of society, while musical works themselves were models for the integration of the individual into a transcendent, universal, harmonious community. The preeminent works for Scherchen in this regard were Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 and Bach's *Kunst der Fuge*.

Faith in human progress was and still is the defining feature of modernism. It manifests itself in various forms of utopia and unfortunately dystopia. The former include attempts to establish a universal education system and universal health care. Attempts in Nazi Germany to purify the Aryan race and the forced modernization of farm communities in the Soviet Union are perhaps the most notorious examples of dystopia.

Much research will be required before the outlines of Scherchen's significance become clear. Initial positivistic work to be done includes a complete list of Scherchen's concert programs. Such a study would present a cross-section of music trends in the first half of the last century and would provide an initial chronology of Scherchen's life. Scherchen's correspondence will be difficult to piece together, because he kept very few of the letters sent to him. A complete collection of Scherchen's letters to various composers, musicians, and conductors would also present a fascinating view of modern music. The task, however, would require an Herculean effort since Scherchen was known to write many letters, and because those letters are doubtless distributed throughout Europe and the Americas. Finally, Scherchen was one of the most important conductors in the early stereo era, and a complete discography would be quite valuable.

Except for *Melos,* little has been written on Scherchen's work as a founder of journals and publishing firms. The journal *Musica Viva* lasted only three issues beginning 1936, but it presents in reduced form Scherchen's desire to present various types of writing in a single medium. Through his publishing firm, Ars Viva, Scherchen also presented new works with older lesser known works, a pattern established in his concert programs. Outside of his writings on radio, there has been relatively little written on Scherchen's articles and books. His writings are repetitive, obscure, pseudo-

philosophical, and dilettantish. An interpretation of certain works, in particular his *Wesen der Musik*, might reveal insights about the relation of the artist to his intellectual milieu.

Scherchen's performance aesthetic needs to be placed in the context of the broader move toward objectivity in the inter-war years. His approach to conducting is doubly interesting as much for its departure from that trend. In this light, Scherchen's aesthetic was very much a rapprochement between Weimar objectivity and Schoenbergian concepts of *Werktreue*. To understand Scherchen's performance aesthetic will require a broader examination of his radio work and the activities at Gravesano.

The Gravesano Institute itself presents in microcosm many of the significant issues concerning composers, acousticians, and theorist at the time. Studies of Scherchen's contribution to various recording companies such as Westminster and Nixa, which were active in the 1950s, would also be worthwhile.

The present study is a first step in understanding Hermann Scherchen's aesthetics, his activities, and his significance for European musical culture in the first half of the twentieth century. It is hoped that the topics presented here will spur additional research into this musical polymath and his milieu.

APPENDIX A

ESSAY

Schubert's "Unfinished"—Symphony No. 7 in B Minor

HSCHA 17/74/724

Die "Unvollendete" – Sinfonie No. 7, in H-moll

SCHUBERT steht der reine Musik näher als BEETHOVEN: seine Sinfonien sind mehr Emanationen der Musik, denn Willensgestaltungen; sie kennen weder BEETHOVENS interpretative Dynamik, noch dessen Bemühungen, den Hörer zu beeinflussen.
Seine weitgespannten Melodiebogen überbrücken grosse Musikstrecken: oft kann er der eigenen Fülle kaum folgen und bleibet seinem Werke hintennach; BEETHOVEN aber ist seinen Sinfonien bisweilen ein halbes Jahrzehnt voraus. So kommt es, dass SCHUBERTS "Unvollendete" / 1822 entstanden / erst im Jahre 1865 entdeckt und uraufgeführt werden konnte; BEETHOVENS Sinfonien jedoch wurden alle zu seinen Lebzeiten gedruckt und aufgeführt.

Keinem Musiker ist eine zärtlichere Sinnlichkeit zu eigen gewesen, als SCHUBERT, keiner hatte wie er das Recht, zum musikalischen Augenblicke zu sagen "verweile doch, du bist so schön". BEETHOVENS Motive und Themen drängen – die Gegenwart umformend – in Zukünftiges vor; SCHUBERTS Bedürfnis ist es, im Augenblick alles zu umfassen. Seine Themen sind nie zielstrebig, nicht auf Späteres in sich selbst abgestellt. So kennen beide Sätze der "Unvollendeten" keine Auftakts-Melodien und erweist sich das zweite Andante-Thema sogar als Krebsgestaltung: <u>rückwärtig</u> durchläuft es im 9., 10., 11. und 12. Takte die gleichen Intervalle, wie in den ersten sechs Takten. Jedes symmetrische Thema aber hat mehr meditativ sich selbst ergründenden Charakter, als jene Eigenschaft, die seit BEETHOVEN das Wesentliche sinfonischer Melodik zu sein schien: dramatischen Formungswillen. – Welche Konsequenzen SCHUBERTS eigentümliche Melodiebildung für die sinfonische Architektur und damit für das interpretative Problem ergeben, erhellt u.a. aus den 88 Takten Ausdehnung allein des Finalethemas der C-Dur-Sinfonie!

§§§

Die Vortragszeichen SCHUBERTS

I. Satz: Allegro moderato

Die eigentümlichkeit SCHUBERT-scher Themen. SCHUBERTS Themen wechseln selten das Tempo; alle Verwandlungen, die sie erleiden, prägen sich als Änderungen der harmonischen Struktur oder im Timbralen aus, nicht aber wie bei BEETHOVEN durch rhythmische Umdeutung, Beschleunigungen und Verlangsamen.

Temposchwankungen bei BEETHOVEN. BEETHOVEN schreibt Metronome vor, die, trotz anfänglicher Verschleppung, an gewissen Punkten *immer* erreicht werden. Z.B.: für den zweiten Satz der ersten Sinfonie ♪ = 120, das Adagio der Eroica ♪ = 80, das Allegretto der Siebenten ♩ = 76! Selbst wer das "Andante cantabile con moto" der ersten Sinfonie mit ♪ = 96 / ! / beginnt – dies ist das übliche Tempo, erreicht mit den fallenden Sechzehnteln der Violoncelli bei der Reprise BEETHOVENS Metronom; oder: der Trauermarsch der Eroica ♪ = 60 / ! / angefangen – steigert sich im Durchführungsfugato nicht nur auf den vorgeschriebenen Wert, sondern geht, bis auf 120, darüber hinaus; und das Allegretto der Siebenten, als "Adagio funebre" mit ♩ = 56 zelebriert, überschreitet im Fugato regelmässig BEETHOVENS Tempo.

SCHUBERTS Grundtempo. Ähnliches wäre bei Schubert nicht möglich; doch finden wir ihm gegenüber eine Unsicherheit im Grundtempo, wie sie für Beethoven nich vorkommt / Schwankungen beim Anfang des ersten Satzes der h-moll: ♩ = 96 bis ♩ = 132; und im zweiten: ♪ = 84 bis ♪ = 120. Schuberts Musik breitet sich statisch über den Zeitablauf; gerade deshalb spielt das Erfassen des richtigen Grundtempos die entscheidende Rolle, während Ablaufsmodifizierungen, wie sie der Routine bei Beethoven zulässig erscheinen, hier ganz unmöglich sind.

Das Tempo des I. Satzes: ♩ = 120. Die laufenden Sechzehntel im neuenten Takt des I. Satzes der h-moll / sowie dessen klopfende Achtel / haben gleiche Schnelligkeit, wie die den Takt zu Synkopenschwingungen auflösende Begleitung des zweiten Themas; so kommen wir auf ein Metrum von etwa ♩ = 120.

Der formale Sinn Schuberts Vortragszeichen

Verdeutlichung durch cresc. – decresc. In der "Unvollendeten" bedient Schubert sich mit Vorliebe symmetrischer Phrasen: dazu gehört gleich der Dreitakter 17-19, dessen crescendo – decrescendo deshalb genau auf Takt 18 beschränkt bleiben muss.

Phrasenbildung durch sforzato. Das sfz. Danach / Takt 20 / greift aus jener Symmetrie (auf "zwei") die Schluszwendung heraus, um mit dem so gewonnenen Zweitakter wieder die Regelmässigkeit der klassischen Periode herzustellen. Gleich dieser Tatbestand zeigt, dass die Vortragszeichen Schuberts mehr sinnerhellende als interpretative Funktion / in BEETHOVENSCHEM Sinne / haben.

Sinngebung durch Akzent. Dies erweist auch der Horn-Akzent bei der Wiederkehr des Themas / Takt 23 und 25 / : was der Begleitungsrythmus ♩𝄾♫ lange evident machen wollte, die ruhige Ganztaktigkeit, wird durch ihn bestätigt.

Hervorhebung durch sforzato. Beim zweiten Auftreten des Nonakkordes / Takt 29 / fixieren Sforzatis die Aufmerksamkeit auf die "drei" und "eins" vorher; der Nonakkord selbst ist – wiederum den Dreitakter 26-28 korrigierend – Fp >>>> bezeichnet.

SCHUBERTS Fp >>>>. Diese Angabe SCHUBERTS ist misdeutbar; sie bezweckt ein unakzentuiert ins P *diminuierendes* F subito, das gleich weit entfernt ist von MOZARTS Ausdrucks – Fp wie von BEETHOVENS interpretierendem sfz./p.

Höhepunkt durch Sforzato. Takt 36 trägt schon FF, während der durch ein Sfz. Ausgedrückte Höhepunkt erst Takt 38 eintritt.

Fp. und Sfz. Das bestätigt nochmals den Unterschied zwischen Fp. und Sfz.: Fp ist *immer* ins P zurücksinkendes subito F, während Sfz. – an keinen Stärkegrad gebunden – akzentartig hervorhebt.

Motivunterstreichung durch Dynamik. Hier benutzt SCHUBERT das zu frühe Höhepunkts. FF, zur Unterstreichung der steigenden Zweivierteltakts-Motivik / Takt 36: ♩ 𝄾 ♪ ♩ | 𝄾 ♪ ♩ ♫ | ♩ /.

Spielfehler: FF/Sfz. Statt Fp. Takt 38 ist wieder Fp. > bezeichnet. Statt dessen spielen Hörner und Fagotte in fast allen Orchestern FF/Sfz., ebenssowohl aus Unachtsamkeit, als um das anschliessende Vierakt-Tenuto "vorzubereiten". *SCHUBERTS* Unterscheidung zwischen Fp. > und Sfz erhellt auch aus Takt 20: hier schreibt er einen Takt *nach* dem Sfz. > ein p vor, und beim Wiederbeginn des Themas noch pp, das Sfz. > So auf die Grundstärke reduzierend / was allein aus der Bezeichnung Sfz. > nicht folgen würde. Das sind die Bezeichnungen, die SCHUBERT im ersten Satz verwendet; was wir ausserdem noch finden, bringt nur unwesentliche Modifikationen.

Symmetrieformung. Wieder dient crescendo-decrescendo / auf Takt 50 inmitten von 48/52 und auf Takt 59 inmitten von 57/61/ dazu, um zu gliedern und die Symmetriemittelpunkte von fünf Taktphrasen hier zu zeigen.

Spielfehler: ungenaues cresc. – decresc. Dabei begehe die Orchester oft den sinnentstellenden Spielfehler, das crescendo *vor* den Höhepunkten / Takt 49 resp. 58/ zu gross auszuführen, sodass beide Male der Mittelpunkt selbst abgeschwächt wird.

Steigerung durch Akzente. Das Sfz bedient sich SCHUBERT zur Verstärkung des FF / so in den Ausbrüchen Takt 63, 65 und 67/. Gleichzeitig kommt diesen Sfz ein Ausdruckswert zu: sie lassen die FF-Akkorde wie Explosionen hereinbrechen. Auch hier ein Spielfehler: fast immer sind die Sfz zu schwach; damit verliert aber die Stelle an Konstrastschärfe!

Intensivierung durch Sforzato. Besondere Bedeutung hat das Sfz für Steigerungen: so die vier Stösse der Bläser in den Takten 69/70; das Wegfallen der Sforzati auf "zwei" und

“drei” des Taktes 70 aber soll dazu dienen, den Höhepunktsakzent des Taktes 71 selbst stärker ausführen zu können.

Klangausbalancierung durch Sfz. Takt 81/84 akzentuiert das Holz *jeden* Takt, das Blech dagegen, – dem Phrasensinn entsprechend – nur die ersten und dritten Takte; der Zweck ist: das Gleichgewicht zwischen den dynamisch ungleichen Gruppen zu schaffen. Leider vernachlässigen die Holzbläser meist diese Akzente! Unnötig darauf hinzuweisen, dass die phrasenbildenden Blechakzente gleichzeitig Intensitätssteigerungen bewirken.

Intensitätssteigerung durch Sfz. Und piu FF. Der Intensitätssteigerung dienen die Sforzati der FF-Zusammenfassung/Takt 85 bis 93/ ; auch sie, die eine Klangverstärkung der kadenzierenden “zwei”, “drei”, “eins” nötig machen / Takt 88 und 92 / werden meistens zu klein ausgeführt.

Phrasendeformierung. In den Takten 94-98 soll das < > die Fünftaktigkeit ordnen, wobei das zu langsam ausgeführte Decrescendo sich fälschlicherweise oft bis auf Takt 98 ausdehnt.

Gliederung durch Dynamik und Klangfarbe. Das FF-Unisono des Taktes 104 bereitet den Wiedereintritt des Anfangs vor. Der Durchführungssteil beginnt danach pp – decrescendo! / Bläser und Pauke /, so sich ebenfalls timbral von allem vorhergehenden abhebend.

§§§

Typ einer dynamischen Flächensteigerung

Cresc. – decresc. Über pp – Grundierung. Das Crescendo dieses 24-taktigen Steigerungsaufbaus beginnt /? Takte 122 – 145/ -- über pp Bässen – in vershiedenen Höhenlagen. Sein Viertaktmotiv crescendiert im zweiten Takt, fällt aber während des

dritten schon in pp zurück. Diese Crescendi – die höchstens mp erreichen dürfen – werden gewöhnlich zu heftig gemacht und die Diminuendi darnach zu langsam ausgeführt; ausserdem sind die ersten Violinen – gegenüber den zweiten – immer zu stark, ebenso wie die Fagott zu sehr aus dem Tutti heraustreten.

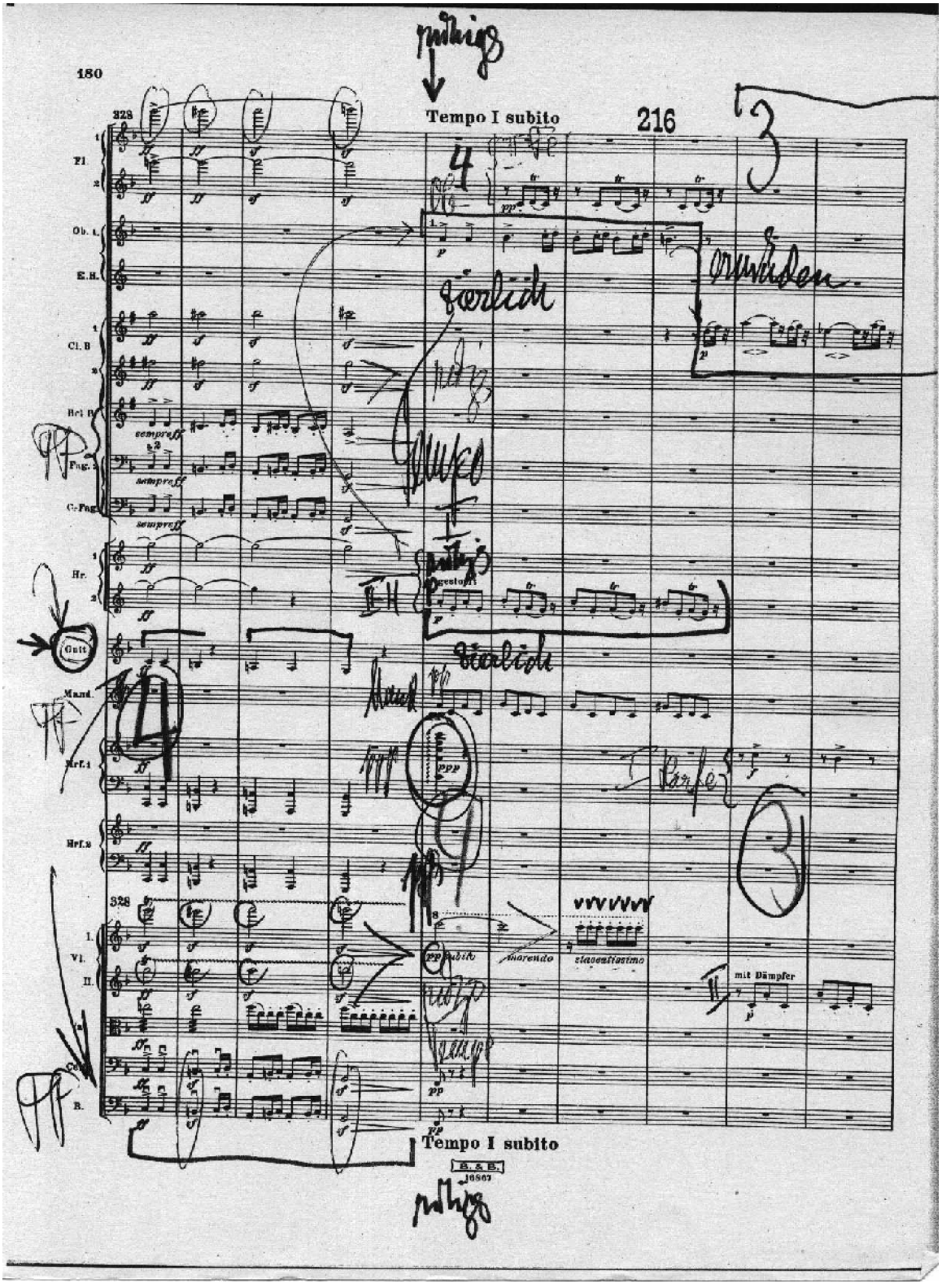
Pp crescendo F! Erst Takt 128 beginnt das *Tutti* – Crescendo über den chromatisch steigenden Bässen, die 134 F erreichen. Schien der musikalische Vorgang bis dahin dreistimmig, so wird er von hier an zweistimmig/ über dem sich entfaltenden Nonakkord auf fis!/! Den Fis-Dur Akkord intonieren die Bratschen tremelo, die Kontrabässe aber in *Sechzehnteln*; die Violoncelli spielen/verstärkt durch die Hörner/ die von Oboen und Geigen in der Umkehrung intonierten Anfangstakte der Sinfonie.

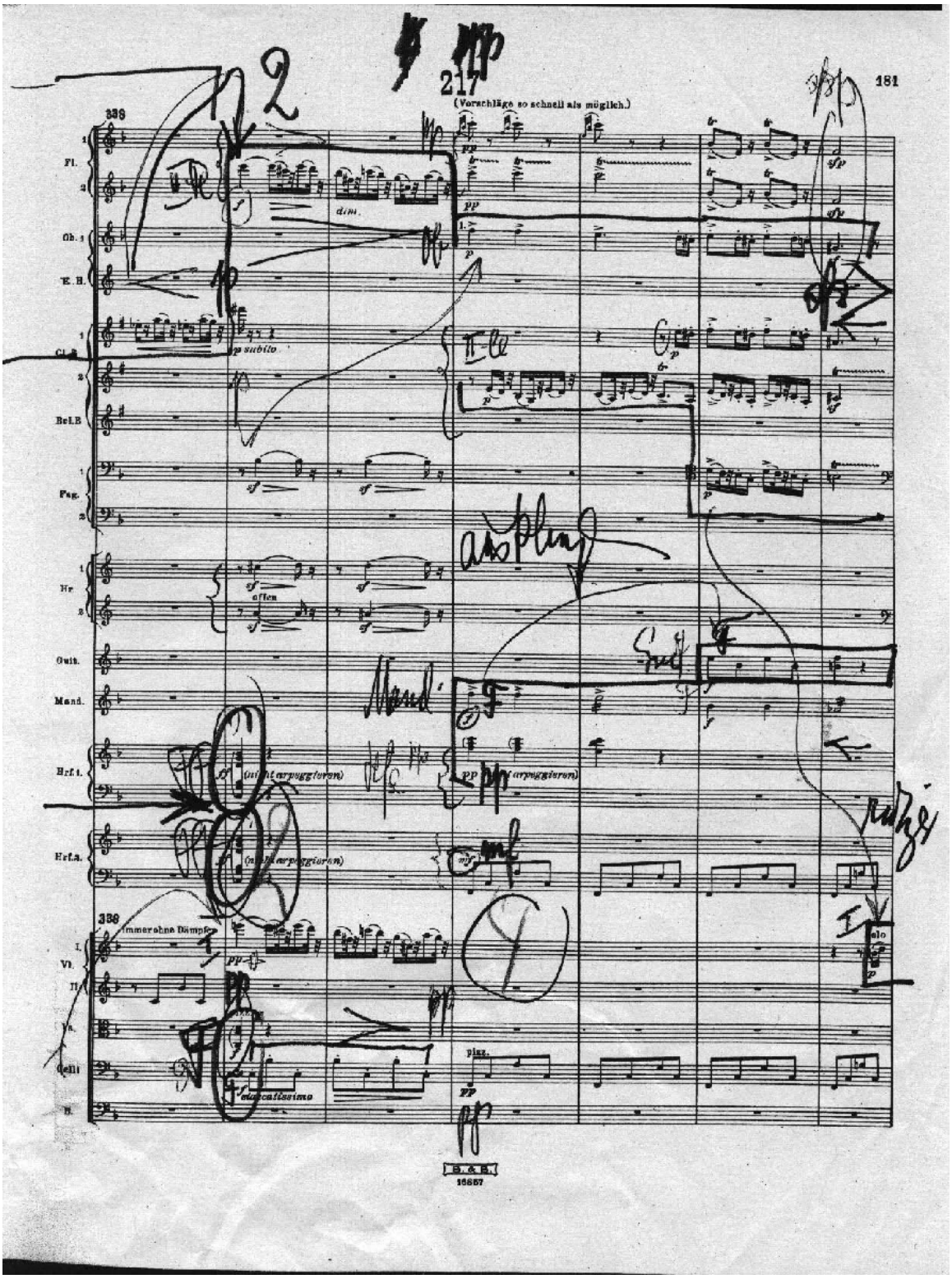
Steigerung durch Gegenmetrum. Fünf Takte lang breitet sich das F aus, zu dem Posaunen, Klarinetten und Fagotte ein steigerndes Gegenmetrum /2/4/ Takt 134-135/ anfangen, dessen Kontrastkraft durch verschiedenen hohe Einsätze verschärft wird/die Posaunen dürfen aber dabei des dynamischen Gleichgewicht wegen *poco* F nicht überschreiten, und beide Parteien haben ihre Halben ohne Abschwächung auszuhalten!/

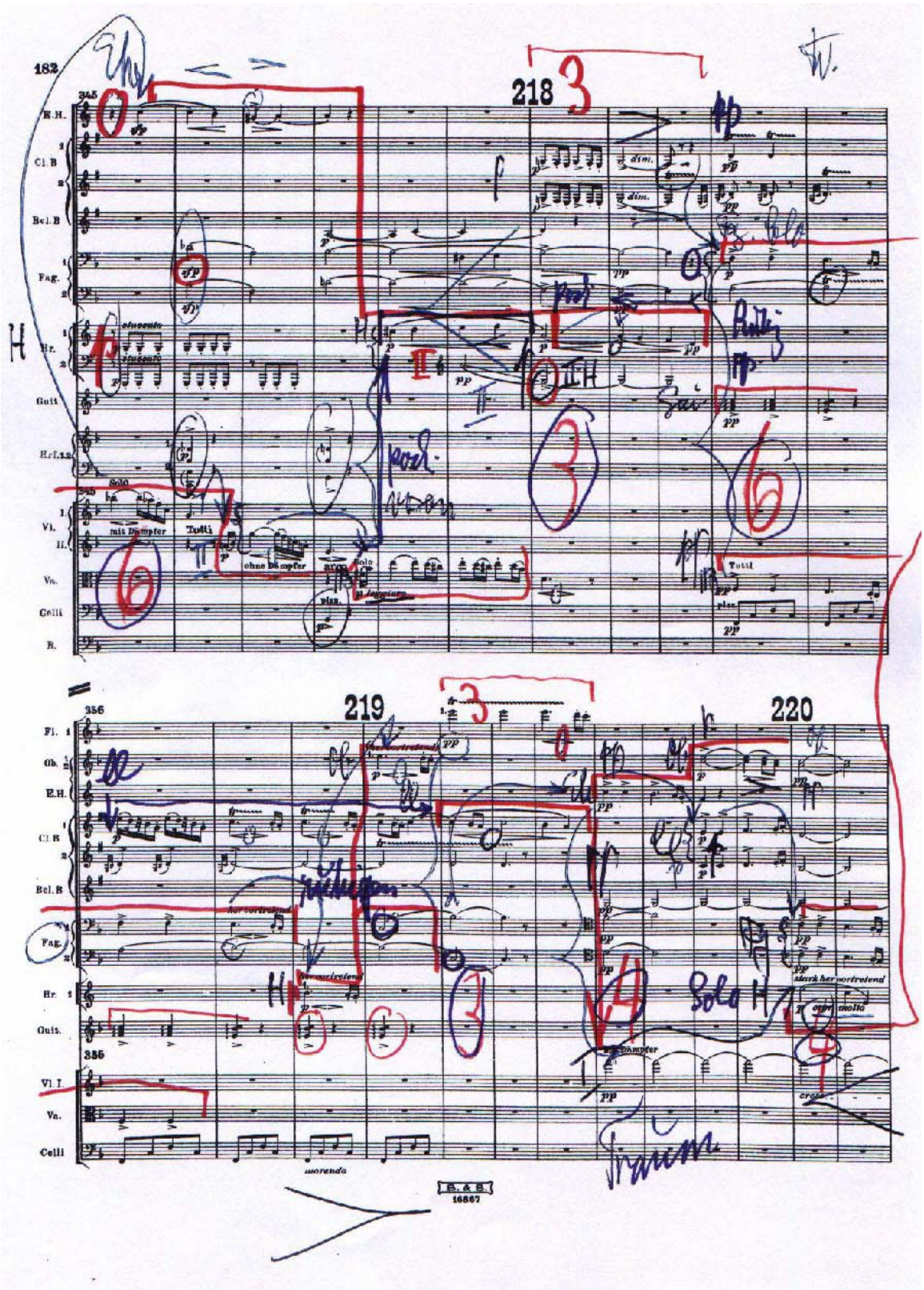
--FF. Im fünften F-Takt tritt nun die Flöte hinzu, bis nach weiteren sieben crescendo Takten endlich FF erreicht wird. Auf den letzten vier dieser Takte gibt die Pauke – als *einziges* neues Instrument – dreimal das “eins” an, pausiert dann aber, sicherlich nur, um nicht den ohne die Pauke erfolgenden, 24 Takte lang vorbereitet gewesen Ausbruch jetzt abgeschächt erscheinen zu lassen.

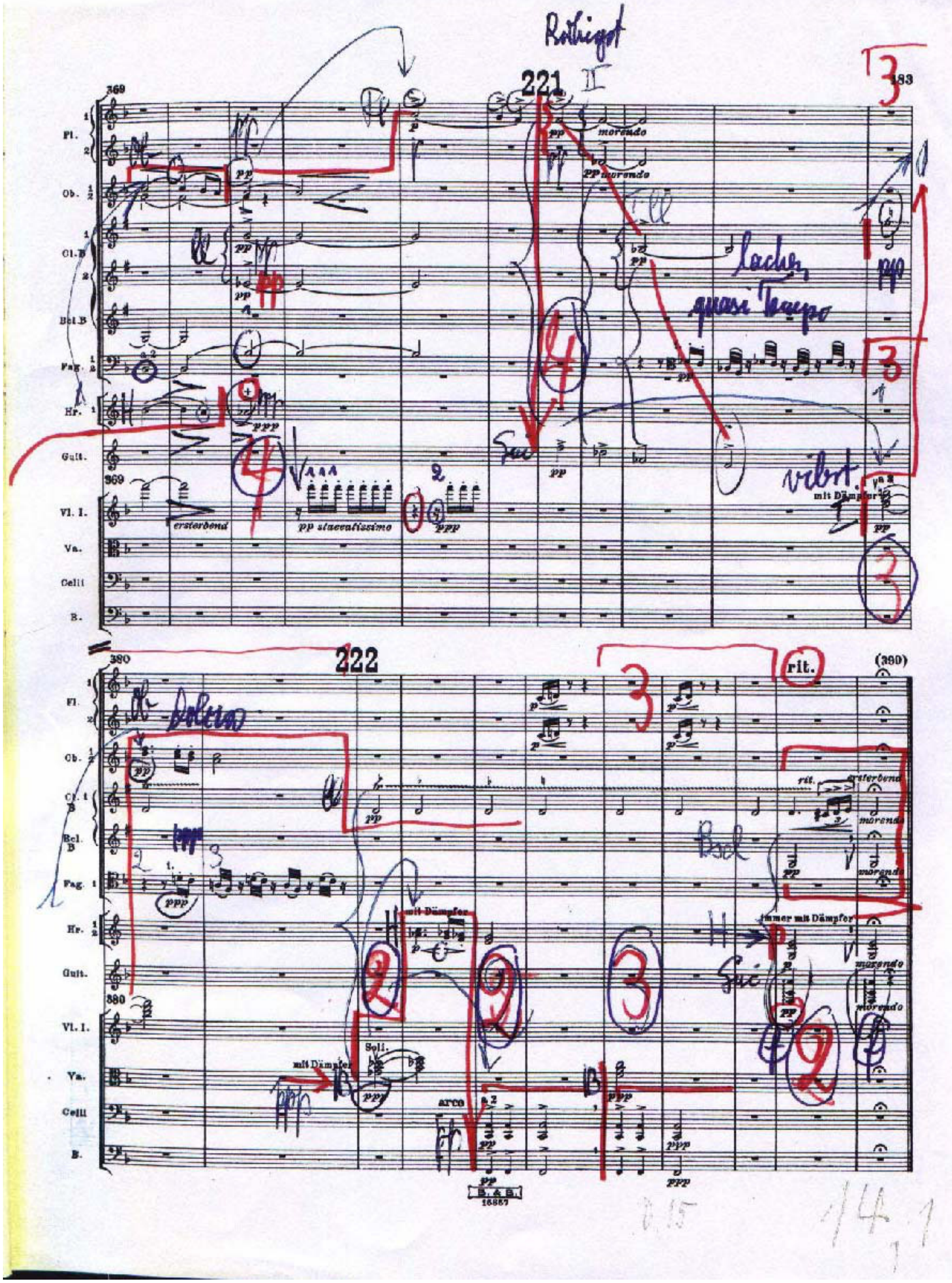
APPENDIX B

ANNOTATED SCORE EXAMPLES

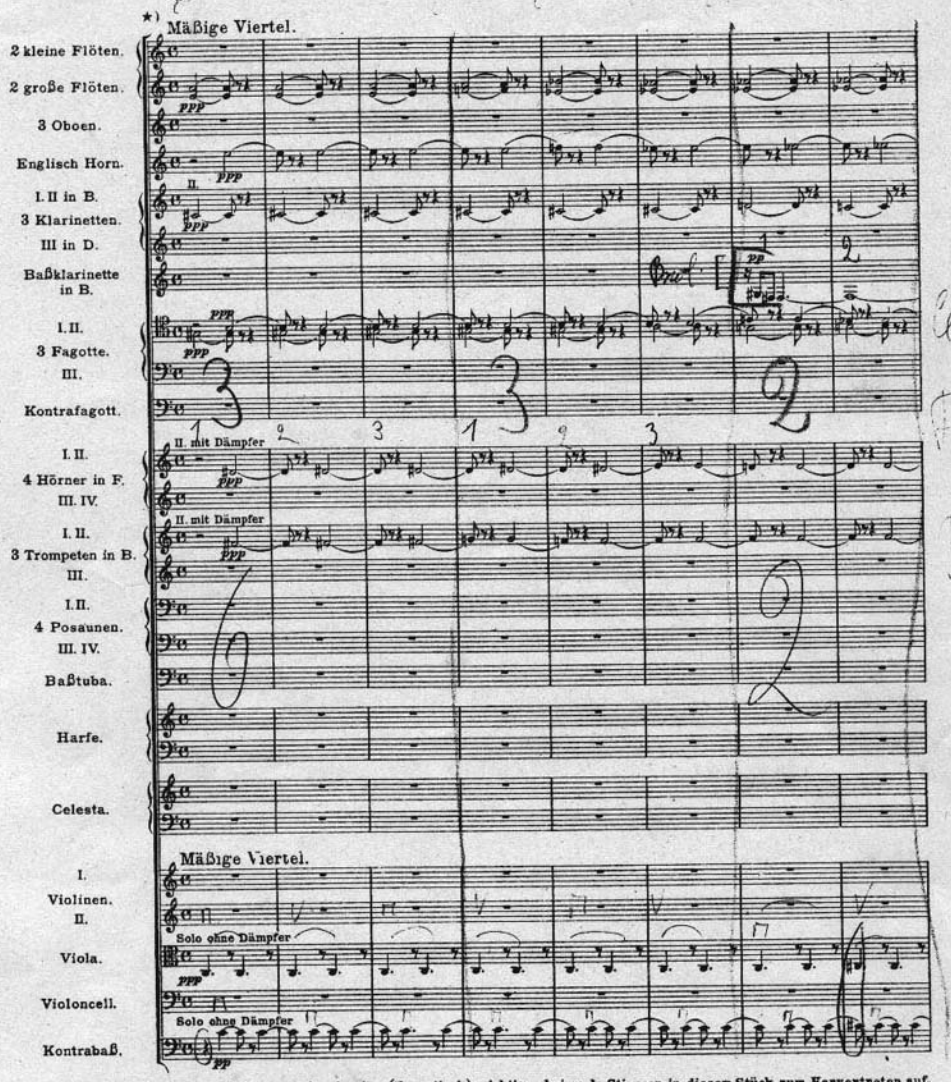

180
328
Tempo I subito
216
Fl.
Ob. I.
E.H.
Cl. B
Bcl. B
Fag. I
C-Fag.
Hr.
Gitt.
Mand.
Hrf. I
Hrf. II
328
I.
VI.
II.
B.
Tempo I subito
B. & B.
16867


217
(Vorschläge so schnell als möglich.)
181
338
Fl.
Ob.
E.H.
Cl.
Bel.B
Fag.
Hr
offen
Guit.
Mand.
Hrf.I.
Hrf.a.
(nicht arpeggiieren)
(nicht arpeggiieren)
(arpeggiieren)
338
immer ohne Dämpfer
I.
VI.
II.
Va.
delli
B.
pizz.
B. & B.
16857


182
218
219
220
356
355
E.H.
Cl. B
Bcl. B
Fag.
Hr.
Guit.
Hrf. 1.2.
Vl. I.
Vl. II.
Va.
Celli
B.
Fl. 1
Ob. 1
Vl. I
Solo
mit Dämpfer
Tutti
ohne Dämpfer
Tutti
B. & B.
16867


183
221
Fl.
Ob.
Cl. B
Bcl. B
Fag.
Hr.
Guit.
Vl. I.
Va.
Celli
B.
morendo
ersterbend
pp staccatissimo
mit Dämpfer
222
rit.
Soli.
arco
immer mit Dämpfer
B. & B.
16857

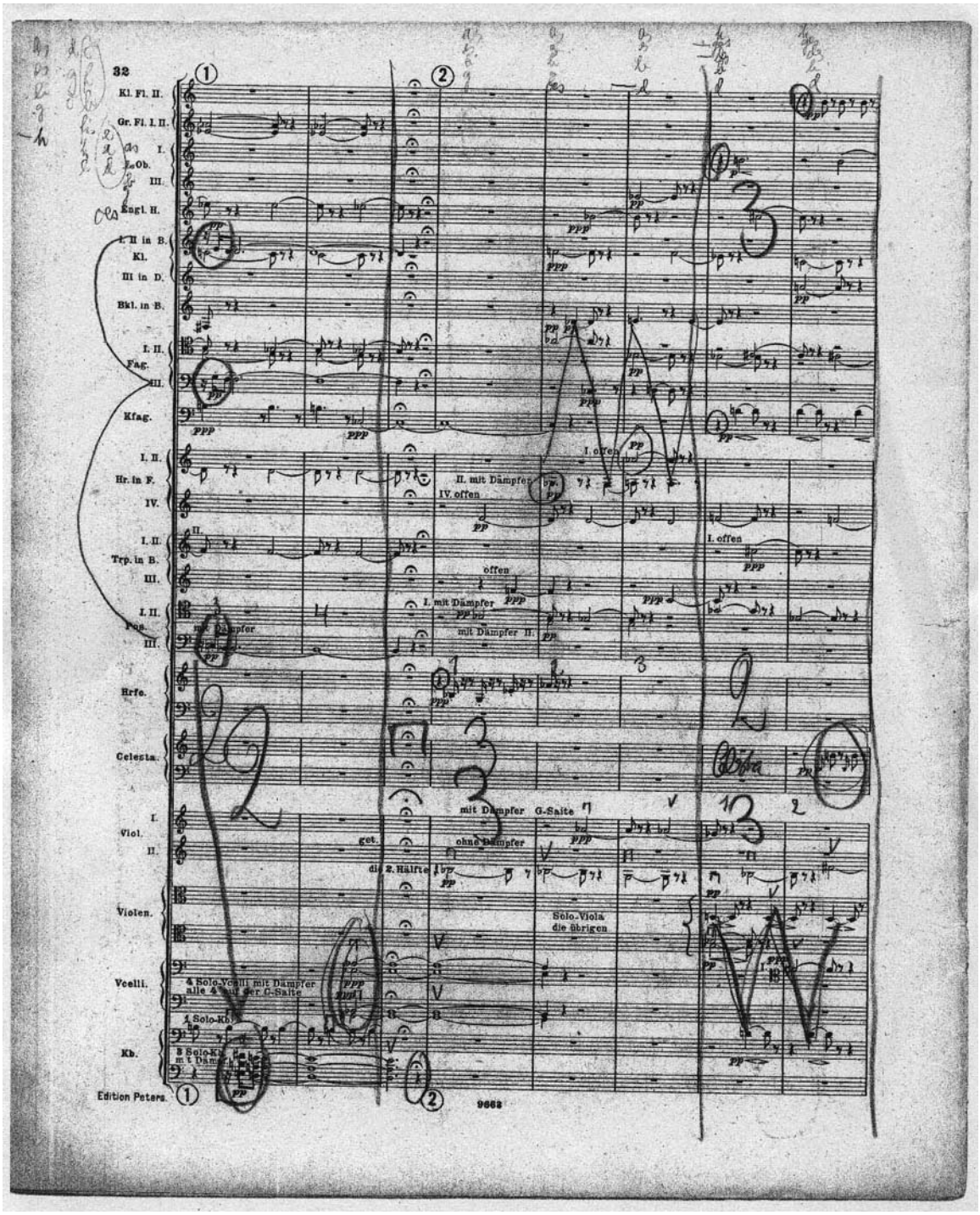
III.

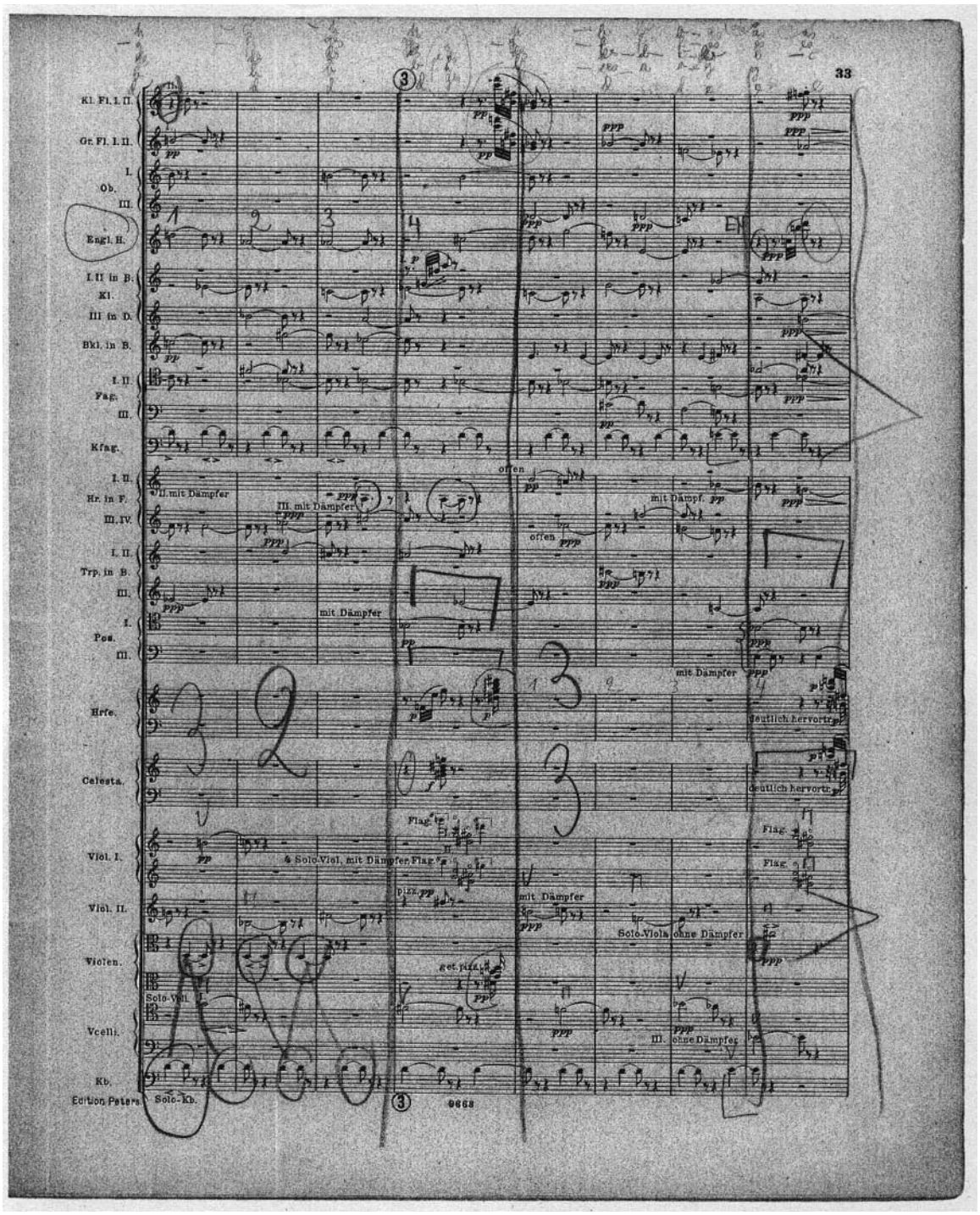


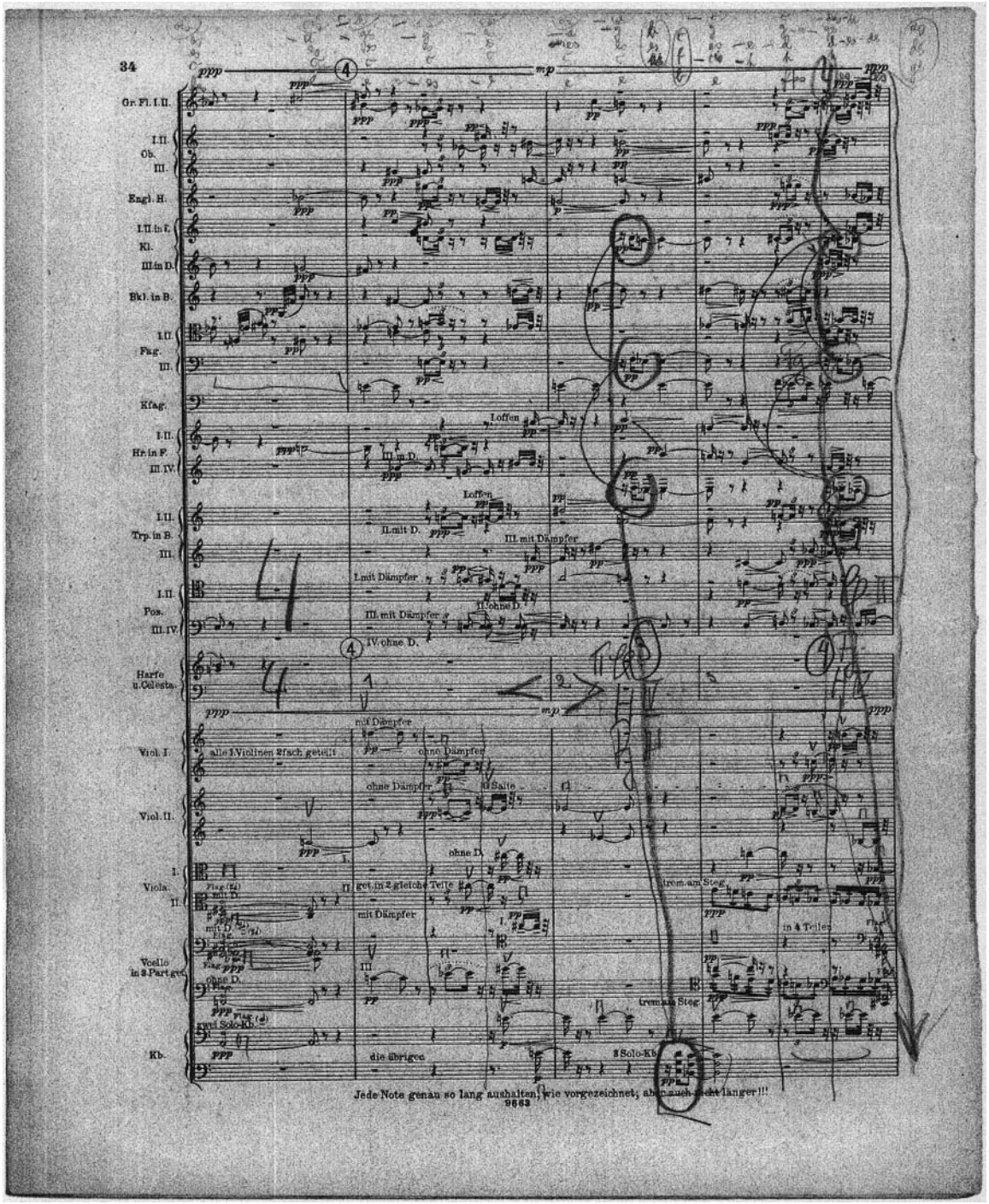
Es ist nicht Aufgabe des Dirigenten, einzelne ihm (thematisch) wichtig scheinende Stimmen in diesem Stück zum Hervortreten aufzufordern, oder scheinbar unausgeglichen klingende Mischungen abzutönen. Wo eine Stimme mehr hervorscheinen soll, als die anderen, ist sie entsprechend instrumentiert und die Klänge wollen nicht abgetönt werden. Dagegen ist es seine Aufgabe darüber zu wachen, daß jedes Instrument genau den Stärkegrad spielt, der vorgeschrieben ist; genau (subjektiv) seinem Instrument entsprechend und nicht (objektiv) sich dem Gesamtklang unterordnend.

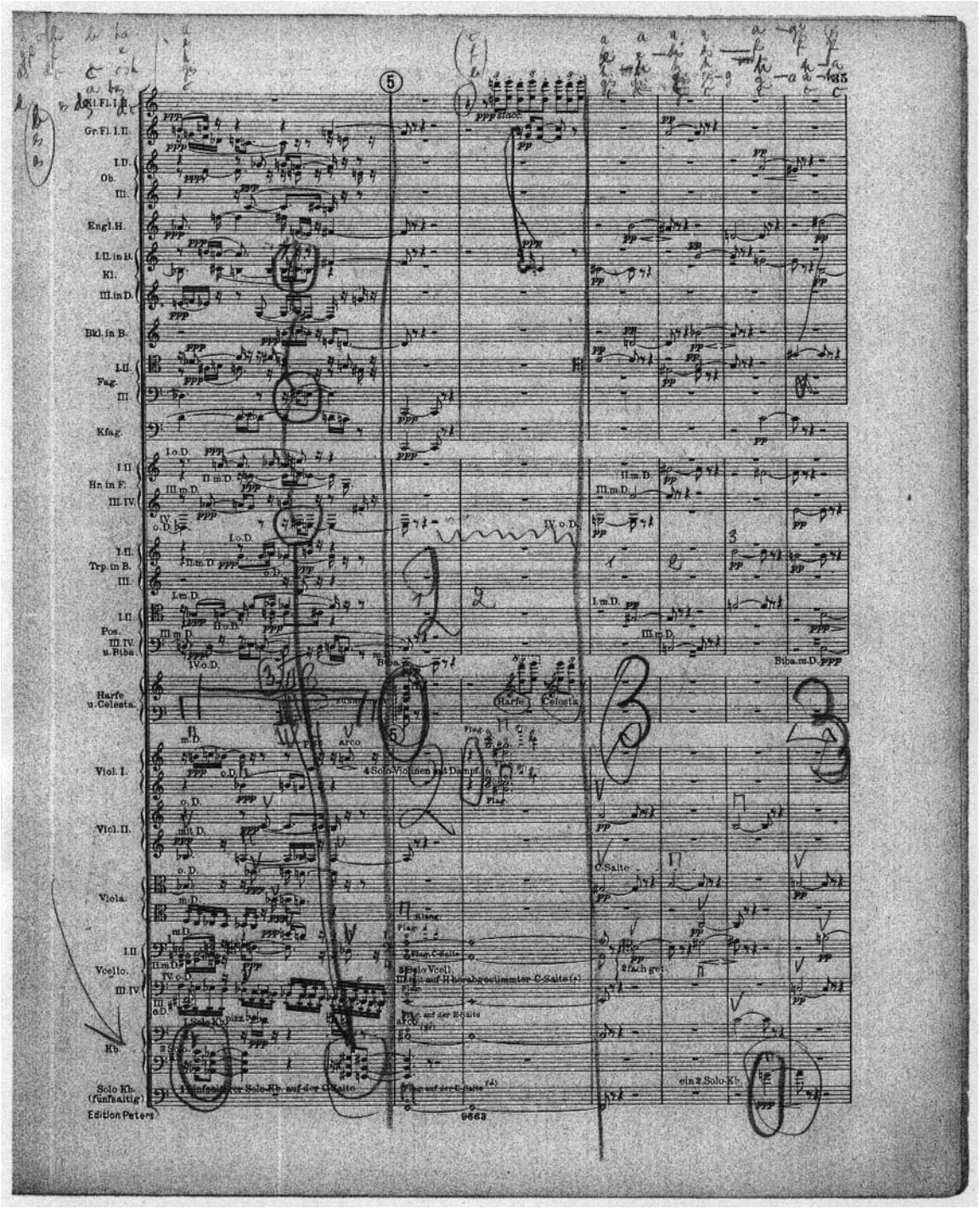
*) Der Wechsel der Akkorde hat so sacht zu geschehen, daß gar keine Betonung der einsetzenden Instrumente sich bemerkbar macht, so daß er lediglich durch die andere Farbe auffällt.

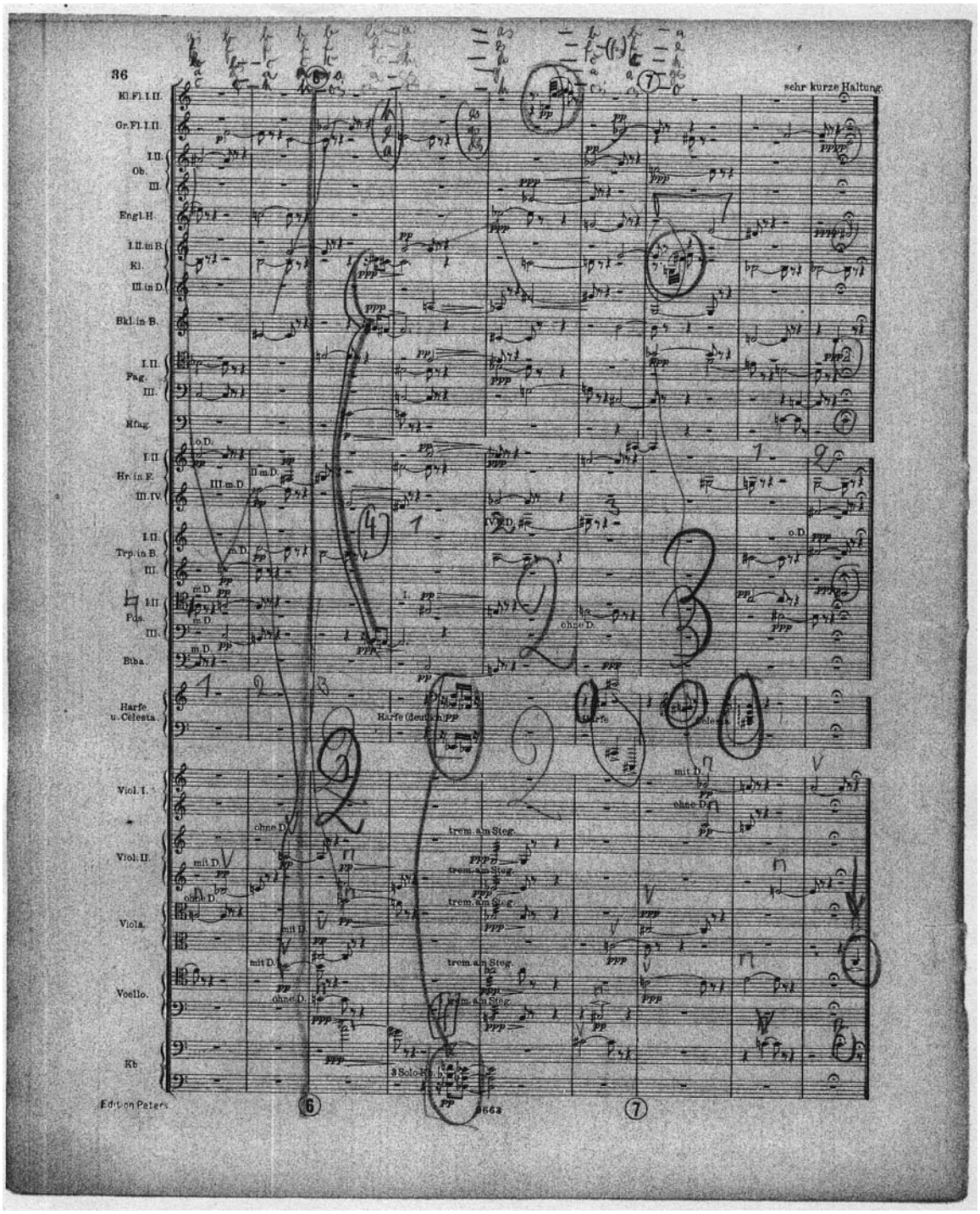
Edition Peters. 9668


32
Kl. Fl. II.
Gr. Fl. I. II.
I.
II. Ob.
III.
Engl. H.
I. II in B.
Kl.
III in D.
Bkl. in B.
I. II.
Fag.
III.
Kfag.
I. II.
Hr. in F.
IV.
I. II.
Trp. in B.
III.
I. II.
Pos.
III.
Hrfe.
Celesta.
I.
Viol.
II.
Violen.
Vcelli.
Kb.
Edition Peters.
II. mit Dämpfer
IV. offen
I. offen
offen
I. mit Dämpfer
mit Dämpfer II.
mit Dämpfer G-Saite
ohne Dämpfer
die 2. Hälfte
Solo-Viola
die übrigen
9662


33
Kl. Fl. I. II.
Gr. Fl. I. II.
I.
Ob.
III.
Engl. H.
I. II in B.
Kl.
III in D.
Bkl. in B.
I. II.
Fag.
III.
Kfag.
I. II.
Hr. in F.
III. IV.
I. II.
Trp. in B.
III.
I.
Pos.
III.
Hrfe.
Celesta.
Viol. I.
Viol. II.
Violen.
Vcelli.
Kb.
Edition Peters
II. mit Dämpfer
III. mit Dämpfer
mit Dämpfer
offen
mit Dämpf.
mit Dämpfer
deutlich hervortr.
deutlich hervortr.
Flag.
4 Solo-Viol. mit Dämpfer Flag.
pizz.
mit Dämpfer
Solo-Viola ohne Dämpfer
Flag.
Solo-Viol.
arc. pizz.
III. ohne Dämpfer
Solo-Kb.
9668


34
Gr. Fl. I. II.
I. II.
Ob.
III.
Engl. H.
I. II. in F.
Kl.
III. in D.
Bkl. in B.
I. II.
Fag.
III.
Kfag.
I. II.
Hr. in F.
III. IV.
I. II.
Trp. in B.
III.
I. II.
Pos.
III. IV.
Harfe u. Celesta.
Viol. I.
Viol. II.
I.
Viola.
II.
Violle in 3 Part. get.
Kb.
Loffen
III. in D.
II. mit D.
III. mit Dämpfer
I. mit Dämpfer
II. ohne D.
III. mit Dämpfer
IV. ohne D.
mit Dämpfer
alle 1. Violinen 2fach geteilt
ohne Dämpfer
ohne Dämpfer
d Saite
ohne D.
get. in 2 gleiche Teile
mit Dämpfer
trem. am Steg
in 4 Teile
ohne D.
trem. am Steg
mit Solo-Kb.
die übrigen
3 Solo-Kb.
Jede Note genau so lang aushalten, wie vorgezeichnet, aber auch nicht länger!!!


Gr.Fl. I.II.
Ob.
Engl.H.
Kl.
Bkl. in B.
Fag.
Kfag.
Hn in F.
Trp. in B.
Pos.
u. Tuba
Harfe u. Celesta
Viol. I.
Viol. II.
Viola.
Vcllo.
Kb.
Solo Kb. (fünfsaitig)
Edition Peters
9863


36
sehr kurze Haltung
Kl.Fl.I.II.
Gr.Fl.I.II.
I.II.
Ob.
III.
Engl.H.
I.II.in B.
Kl.
III.in D.
Bkl.in B.
I.II.
Fag.
III.
Kfag.
I.II.
Hr.in E.
III.IV.
I.II.
Trp.in B.
III.
I.II.
Pos.
III.
Btba.
Harfe u. Celesta.
Harfe (deutsch)
Viol. I.
Viol. II.
Viola.
Vcello.
Kb.
ohne D.
mit D.
trem. am Steg.
Edition Peters
6
7

APPENDIX C

STRASSBURG WORKING CONFERENCE, 1933—PROGRAMS

VORLÄUFIGES PROGRAMM :

Russisch - finnische Werke :

7. 8. 1933 vorm.

4	Mjaskowski	Gesänge	15 Minuten	
3	Prokofieff	~~[illegible]~~	10	
2	Schostakovitch	Arie	10	
1	Burjanin	Concerto grosso	15	Burjanin Urauf.

5	Nabokoff	Concerto	10	Ur
6	Kilpinen	Lieder	10	
7	Sibelius	Klavierstücke	10	Ur
8	Markevitch	2 Sätze aus "Ikare"	~~10~~ 15	

Englische Werke :

7.8.33 abends.

1	Britton	Sinfonietta f.14 Instr.	15	
3	Leigh	Sonate f.Bratsche u.Kl.	10	
2	Darnton	Suite für Klavier	6	
5	~~John Ireland~~ Allan Bush	~~Klavierkonzert~~	10	Ur

4	Van Dieren	Sonett f.Tenor u.Kam.orch.	12	
6	Bax	~~2.Satz a.d.Klavierkonzert~~	~~10~~	
7	Bliss	Oboenquintett	10	
8	Walton	Portsmouth Point, Ouv.	5	Ur

Italienisch-spanische Werke :

8.8.1933 vorm.

6	Tagliapietra	Variat.u.Fantasia für Klavier und Streicher	15	(Urauff.)
1	Casella	Suite f.Blechbläser	10	
	Respighi	~~Suite für Orchester~~	10	
2	Pizetti	Gesänge m.Streichquartett	10	
4	Labroca	2.Streichquart., 1. Satz	5	
3	Castelnuovo-Tedesco	Klavierstücke	5	
	~~Alfano~~	~~Gesänge~~	~~10~~	

8	Halfter	Lieder	10	Ur
7	Gernard	Klavier	10	
9	de Falla	~~Cembalokonzert~~	15	

Yougoslav.

Tschechische Werke :

8.8.1933 abends.

	~~Wuskovic~~	Ouverture	10	Ur
	~~Maric~~	Divertimento	10	Ur
4	Schulhoff	Bläsertrio	10	
2	Reiner	~~Klavierkonzert~~	10	Ur
6	Jeremias	~~Duett aus Karamasoff~~	20 10	
1	Ponca	Nonette ~~Orchesterstück~~	10	Ur
7	Haba	Nonette	25	Ur
5	Janacek	Concertino f. f. Instr.		
3	Kreisci	Lieder		

Ungarische Werke :

9.8.1933 vorm.

Hermann Pal	Cembalo-Suite	15	Minuten
Demnitz	Cello-Solo-Sonate	15	
Harsanyi	Klavierkonzert	15	
Szekely	Duo f. Viol. u. Cello	10	
Kodaly	FrauenchÖre	12	
Bartok	II. Konzert m. Orch.	30	

Oesterreichische Werke :

9.8.1933 abends

Krenek	1. Satz a. d. Musik f. 9. Instr.	10	
Wellesz	Concertstück f. Violine	10	
Zenk	Klaviersonate	10	
Brand	3 Lied (Sopr.) u. Instr.	5	
Reti	Marsch, Kl. Orch.	5	
Webern	Sinfonie	12	
Berg	Adagio	12	
Schönberg	Serenade	30	

Rumänisch-polnische Werke :

11.8.1933 vorm.

Rathaus	Suite f.		
Szymanowski	11. Streichquartett		
Fitelberg	Sonate f. Klav. und Violine	20	
Hammenheim	Gesänge		
Lazare	Contrabass-Solo		
Vora	Rumän. Suite f. Orch.		

Französische Werke :

11.8.1933 abends

Tailleferre	Ouverture	5	
Ravel	3 Poesies de Mallarmé	10	
Fauré	Quatuor op. 121	20	
Fl. Schmidt	La mort de Cleopatra	5	
Satie	5 Grimaces	7	
Francaix	Variationes	10	
Ferroud	Serenade	8	
Roussel	Fête de printemps	10	

Oratorien :

12.8.1933 vorm.

~~Weill~~	~~Lindbergflug~~		
~~Hauer~~	~~Wandlungen~~		
Schacht	Klavierstücke	10	

Deutsche Werke :

12.8.1933 abds.

Kaminski	2. Violinen u. Cembalo	8	
Hartmann	Konzertstück f. Trompete	8	
Jarnach	Gesänge	8	
Zillig	Concert f. Orchester	10	
Orff	Katullchöre	8	

Fortsetzung - Deutsche Werke

	Borck	Satz a.d.Konzert f.Saxophon und Orchester	5	Minuten
	Schubert	Geigen-Concertante	10	
	Holzmann	2 Saxophone, Kromp., Klavier	5	
	Busoni	6 Etüden f. Klavier	8	
	Vogel	Blechbläser, Schlagzeug	5	

Holländisch-Belgisch-Skandinavische Werke :

14.8.1933 vorm.

	Leifs	Dugelstück	10
	Mengelberg	Klarinettenkonzert	20
		Konz. f. Viol. u. Orch.	10
	Maleingreau	Sinfonie, Scherzo	6
	Rosenberg	"Reise nach Amerika" Ballade	8
	Dresden	Streichquartett	8
	Landré	a capella Chor, Frauenst.	4
	Pijper	Sonate f.Violinsolo	10
	van Lier	Solostimme u.Kamm.Orch.	5
	Poot	Fugato für Orch.	

Schweizer Werke :

14.8.33 abends

	Ermatinger	Orgel	5	
	Martin	3 Sonette	10	
	Beck	a.d.Klavierkonzert	5	
	Burkhard	Orgel	5	
	Möschinger	11. Klavierkonzert	10	
	Schoeck	Violinsonate	25	
	Blum	Streichersinfonie, III.Satz	8	
	Honegger	Sonate f.Klarin.u.Klavier	15	
	Maresecotti	Ouvertüre	10	

Opernwerke :

15.8.1933 abends

Milhaud	Le pauvre matelot
Egk	Kasperle
Malipiero	Panthea

Bühnenstücke :

16.8.1933 abends

Strawinsky	L'histoire du soldat
Hindemith	Lehrstück

Isabella Boles

Der Schatten

Hochverehrter Herr Doktor,

Aus der Art wie wir im Verlaufe der gemeinsamen Arbeit Ihre Anregungen und Unterweisungen aufnahmen werden Sie bereits unsere Einstellung Ihnen und Ihren Ideen gegenüber ersehen haben. Heute am Schluss der Tagung drängt es uns dieser Einstellung auch in Worten Ausdruck zu geben. Wir möchten Ihnen zunächst sagen, dass wir Alle in Strassburg menschlich und künstlerisch reifer und verantwortungsbewusster geworden sind, und dass wir genau wissen, dass wir diesen Fortschritt nur Ihrer direkten Einflussnahme und dem durch Ihre eigene Arbeitsweise gegebenen Vorbild zu danken haben. Wir glauben in Ihrem Sinne unserer Dankbarkeit nicht besser Ausdruck geben zu können, als dass wir das hier Erreichte in uns fortwirken und zu lebendiger Ausprägung gelangen lassen werden. Als sichtbares Zeichen unserer tiefen Verpflichtung Ihnen gegenüber mögen Sie die Versicherung entgegennehmen dass wir, gemäss den an Sie gerichteten Worten Professor DENTS immer zur Stelle sein werden, wenn Sie uns neuerlich zu gemeinsamer künstlerischer Arbeit aufrufen werden.

In herzlicher Verehrung

APPENDIX D

GRAVESANER BLÄTTER, 1955-1966

	Inventory of the Gravesano Experimental Studio	2/4	1956	64ff
	Holger Lauridsen †	3/10	1958	2
	Five Years Gravesano	4/14	1959	2-3
	Acoustical Symbols	4/14	1959	145-155
	Fritz Enkel †	4/15-16	1960	4
	Sounds of Old Austrian Master Bells	5/18	1960	113-114
	Werner Meyer-Eppler †	5/19-20	1960	2-3
	Audio Engineering Society	6/21	1961	123-126
	Who is Iannis Xenakis?	6/23-24	1962	185-186
	Anton Springer (1909—1964)	7/26	1965	2
Adorno, Theodor W.	Technology, Technique, and Music To-day	3/11-12	1958	36-61
Aisberg, E.	Babel ad Vitam aeternam	7/26	1965	118-123
Aisberg, E.	The Virtue of Silence	7/27-28	1965	168-171
Aisberg, E. and I. Xenakis	Open Discussion: High Fidelity; Mathematics, Electronic Brains, and Musical Composition	7/26	1965	3-5
Alexander	London Letter	1/1	1955	38-40
Alkin, E.G.M.—BBC/London	The Broadcasting of Music in Television (Operational Technique)	7/25	1964	40-69
Arns, Ulrich	The Objective Determination of Violin Qualities	2/7-8	1957	85-109
Bella, P.	The Stereophoner A	3/11-12	1958	123-125
Beranek, Leo L.	The Acoustical Problems of the F.R. Mann Auditorium in Tel-Aviv	3/11-12	1958	69-86
Bergeijk, Willem A. v., John R. Pierce, and Edward E. David, jr.	Unsolved Problems of Acoustics and Electronics: from "Waves and the Ear"	5/19-20	1960	31-34
Bernhard, Joseé—RTF/Paris	Operating Methods in the Television Sudios	7/25	1964	26-38
Blaukopf, Kurt	Artistic Ambitions and Technique in Light Music	2/2-3	1956	71-75
Blaukopf, Kurt	Music and "Norms" (I): Historical Fidelity to Sound	2/6	1956	48-51
Blaukopf, Kurt	Problems of Architectural Acoustics in Musical Sociology	5/19-20	1960	163-181
Boegner	Practical Acoustic Data on the French Horn	4/15-16	1960	59-117
Bornoff, Jack	On the Founding Session for the "Friends of Gravesano" Society	2/2-3	1956	80-82
Bornoff, Jack	Friedrich Trautwein (In Memoriam)	2/7-8	1957	3
Bornoff, Jack	Opera in Film and Television	6/23-24	1962	37-41
Boulez, Pierre	Debussy: "Jeux" (Poème de danse)	2/2-3	1956	5
Braithwaite, Dennis	Best use of Television?	7/29	1966	3-4
Braun, Pete	The Piano and its Signals	6/23-24	1962	187-192

Briner, Ermanno	The Sound Engineer Problem	2/7-8	1957	4-8
Briner-Aimo, Ermanno	Unsolved Problems of Sound Transmission	7/27-28	1965	162-167
Brinner-Aimo, Ermanno	Stereophonic Effects by Monaural Means	7/26	1965	17-43
Brinner-Almo—RSI/Lugano	Stereophonic Effects by Monaural Means	7/25	1964	71-96
Bürck, W	An Introduction to the Fundamentals of Acoustic Measurement	7/29	1966	76-101
Bürck, W.	Some Thoughts on Two-Channel Stereophonic and Pseudo-Stereophonic Reproduction in Practice	4/15-16	1960	134-146
Bürck, W.	An Introduction to the Fundamentals of Acoustic Measurement	6/21	1961	10-36
Bürck, W.	An Introduction to the Fundamentals of Acoustic Measurement (II)	6/22	1961	61-81
Bürck, W.	Some Thoughts on Motion, Vibration, and Resonance	6/23-24	1962	61-80
Capek, Joseph	The Excitation of Inherent Tones in Dampened Spaces through Brief Impulses	2/4	1956	57-63
Cassierer—UNESCO	Television, Phenomenon of Modern Civilization	7/25	1964	4-24
Clark, Leslie L.—AFB/New York	Technology and Blindness	7/25	1964	109-119
Clark, Melwille	A New Musical Instrument	4/14	1959	92-123
Collaer, Paul	Music and “Norms” (I): On the Development and Causes of Primitive Scale Formation	2/6	1956	52-56
Cordonnier, J.G.	Stereophonic Sound Reproduction	2/7-8	1957	9-27
Cremer and Kuhl	Summary of Colloquem Results	2/5	1956	17-20
Cremer, Lothar	The Limits to the Systematic Design of Acoustical Spaces	2/2-3	1956	10-33
Cremer, Lothar	Three Projects for the Berlin Philharmonie	3/9	1957	55-74
Dallapiccola, Luigi	Gravesano Visit	3/10	1958	3-9
Daniélou, Alain	“Non-verbal Counting” and the Mechanism of Listening	7/29	1966	63-75
Enkel, Fritz	Reactions to Acoutical Excitement	2/2-3	1956	58-66
Enkel, Fritz	The Foundations of Modern Music: New Sound Materials (The technique of electronic sound design)	2/6	1956	20-27
Enkel, Fritz	Experience with a new High-Quality-Loudspeaker for Control Booths (I)	3/9	1957	99-110
Enkel, Fritz	Experience with a new High-Quality-Loudspeaker for Control Booths (II)	3/10	1958	94-105
Enkel, Fritz	Psycho and Electro-Acoustics of Sound Synthesis (Legend to the accompanying record)	3/10	1958	127-128

Enkel, Fritz	Loudspeaker Combination with a Signal-Controlled Directional Characteristic	3/11-12	1958	10-19
Erh, Lin	Playing the Computer	7/27-28	1965	73-84
Evans, Luther	In honor—III yr. Gravesaner Blätter	3/9	1957	6-7
Fantel, H.H.	Visit to Gravesano B	3/11-12	1958	126-128
Ferrari, Luc	Tautologos I	7/27-28	1965	105-106
Fischer, K. v.	Gravesano (Letter to Hermann Scherchen)	5/18	1960	2
Fucks, Wilhelm	Mathematical Music Analysis and Random Sequences. Music and Accident	6/23-24	1962	132-155
Furrer, Willi	The Design of Musical Spaces	2/7-8	1957	110-130
Gance, Abel	Polyvision	4/13	1959	97-104
Geluk	Study of the Reverberations of the Dutch National Radio	2/5	1956	21-27
Gerber, W.	Problems of Television Technique	7/29	1966	16-20
Graf, H.	Television and the Opera House	5/18	1960	106-112
Gravesano, December 1956	Experiments with Multiple Microphones	2/7-8	1957	28-30
Grützmacher, M.	A Bell's Spectrum of Partial Tones	4/13	1959	124-128
Guttman, N.	Notes on Computer Music Examples	6/23-24	1962	126-131
Hammon, F.	Equalization of Tape Recording Installations	3/11-12	1958	29-35
Heck, L. and F. Bürck	The Transformation of Sound through Frequency Transfer	2/4	1956	35-56
Heiß, Hermann	Record-and-Playback Head for Tone Mixtures	4/15-16	1960	118-125
Henze, Hans Werner	Letter to an Unknown Address	2/4	1956	18-19
Hiller, L.A.	Musical Applications of Electronic Digital Computers	7/27-28	1965	46-72
Jenny, Hans	A Simple Method for Observing some Acoustical Phenomena	5/19-20	1960	4-12
Jenny, Hans	Double Refraction Caused by Strain of Acoustic Vibration	6/21	1961	54-58
Johnson, F.R., L.L. Beranek, R.B. Newman, R.H. Bolt, and D.L. Klepper	Orchestra Enclosure and Canopy for the Tanglewood Music Shed	5/17	1960	118-136
Kappelmayer, O.	HIFI-FM-Receivers an interesting technical problem for the future	4/14	1959	19-26
Kappelmayer, Otto	Tape and Mikroport in the Opera House	4/15-16	1960	158-164
Keibs, L.	The Outlook of Three-Dimensional Broadcasting	6/22	1961	2-59
Keller, F.	Contribution to the Duplication of the Human Ear for Acoustic Model Testing	3/10	1958	72-91
Kolben, Robert	The Stereophoner	4/13	1959	55-68
Kolben, Robert	The Three Gravesano Conventions, 6-13 August	6/23-24	1962	2-36

	1961			
Könnecke, Walther	Optimal Speaker Arrangement	2/7-8	1957	31-34
Kracht	Recent Developments in American Television Technology	1/1	1955	41-43
Krauth, E. and R. Bücklein	Model Tests of Architectural Acoustics	7/27-28	1965	138-160
Kuhl	Artistic Reverberation and First Echo	2/5	1956	15-16
Latil, Pierre de	The Greatest Revolution in Physics	7/26	1965	44-53
Latil, Pierre de	Towards the Cybernetic Ships	7/27-28	1965	11-16
Lauridsen, Holger and Schlegel, Franz	Stereophony and Directional Diffusing Sound Reproduction	2/5	1956	28-50
Le Corbusier	The "Modulator"	3/9	1957	2-5
Le Corbusier	From a Letter to Hermann Scherchen	3/10	1958	126
Leipp, E.	Acoustics and Musical Instruments	6/22	1961	111-129
Loescher, F.	The Active Loudspeaker	4/14	1959	4-9
Loescher, F.A.	Technical aspects at the Fifth Anniversary of Gravesano	4/15-16	1960	5-17
Loescher, F.A.	The Problem of the Secondary Electro-Acoustical Transducers	5/18	1960	41-60
Loescher, F.A.	An Integrated High Fidelity Unit	6/22	1961	83-93
Lölhöffel	Ionophon—A Loudspeaker without a Membrane	1/1	1955	22-26
Lottermoser, W.	Organ-building on an acoustical basis	3/11-12	1958	131-157
Lottermoser, W. and Fr. J. Meyer	Violin Resonance Measurements by a Pulse Method	5/19-20	1960	106-127
Machado, L. Gomez—UNESCO	Letter to H. Scherchen	7/25	1964	2-3
Mache, F.B.	Some "Concrete" Problems in Electronic Music	7/27-28	1965	107-114
Maheu, R.	Unesco	4/15-16	1960	2
Mathews, M.V.	The Computer Music Record Supplement	7/26	1965	116-117
Mathews, M.V., J.R. Pierce, and N. Guttman	Musical Sounds from Digital Computers	6/23-24	1962	109-125
Meyer-Eppler	Music made Perceptable	1/1	1955	27-31
Meyer-Eppler	Light Music and Electro-Acoustic Technology in the Past and the Present	2/2-3	1956	76-79
Meyer-Eppler, W., H. Sendhoff and R. Rupprath	Residual Tone and Formant Tone (with Recorded Examples)	4/14	1959	70-91
Meyer-Eppler, Werner	Musical Communication as a Problem of Information Theory	7/26	1965	93-102
Milhaud, Darius	Etude Poétique (Musical Example)	2/5	1956	9-13
Milhaud, Darius	Constructed Music	2/5	1956	14

Moles	Essay on the International Graphic Vocabulary of Musical Acoustics and Electro-Acoustics	1/1	1955	46ff
Moles, A. and F. Trautwein	Hermann Scherchen's Electro-Acoustic Studio	2/5	1956	51ff
Moles, A.A.	The New Relationship between Music and Mathematics	6/23-24	1962	98-108
Moles, Abraham A.	The Prospects of Electronic Instrumentation	4/15-16	1960	21-44
Moles, Abraham A. and E. Leipp	Some Current Problems of Experimental Violin-Making	5/19-20	1960	85-105
Moles, André	The Foundations of Musical Pleasure	2/2-3	1956	48-57
Moles, André	Information Theory and Aesthetic Perception	2/6	1956	3-9
Moles, André	Filter Studies at Gravesano	2/6	1956	10-14
Moles, André	Key to the Supplementary Record for Volumes 1-4	2/6	1956	15-18
Moles, André	Key to the Supplementary Record for Volumes 5-7	2/7-8	1957	35
Moles, André	Appendix to Volume VI (supplement)	2/7-8	1957	131ff
Moles, André	Electronic Sounds	4/13	1959	69-70
Münster, Clemens	Televised Opera	3/11-12	1958	158-173
Newman, Robert B.	Comments on the Acoustics Consideration in the Design of the Congress Hall Berlin (II)	3/10	1958	31-40
Nono, Luigi	On the Development of Serial Technique	2/4	1956	14-17
Nono, Luigi	The Foundations of Modern Music: New Compositional Techniques	2/6	1956	19
Oesch, Hans	Music as Magic	7/26	1965	110-115
Parkin, P.H. and K. Morgan	"Warming up" the Royal Festival Hall	7/26	1965	6-16
Petzoldt, H.	A Time Delay Unit for Continuous Operation	3/11-12	158	20-28
Petzoldt, R.	Stereo-Equipment for Studios	4/15-16	1960	126-133
Pickett, A.G. and M.M. Lemcoe	Preservation and Storage of Sound Recordings	5/17	1960	78-109
Pickett, A.G. and M.M. Lemcoe	Preservation and Storage of Sound Recordings	5/18	1960	3-40
Pickett, A.G. and M.M. Lemcoe	Preservation and Storage of Sound Recordings (IV)	6/21	1961	60-99
Pickett, A.G., M.M. Lemcoe	Preservation and Storage of Sound Recordings (III)	5/19-20	1960	35-84
Pierce, J.R., M.V. Matthews, J.C. Risset	Further Experiments on the Use of the Computer in Connection with Music	7/27-28	1965	85-97
Pikler, Andrew G.	Precision in Ensemble Music Measured by Modern Recording and Analytic Techniques	5/17	1960	137-141
Pistone, W.	An Epic-Making Recording. The Berlioz Requiem	4/13	1959	83-96
Pistone, W.	Experiences with the Use of a Stereophonic Hearing Aid	5/19-20	1960	24-30

Pistone-München	Gravesano News	7/25	1964	101-108
Pousseur, Henry	Scambi	4/13	1959	36-54
Rakowski, A. and E.G. Richardson	A Spectral Analysis of the Voicing Process	4/15-16	1960	46-58
Raug, Hans	Time Delay Stereophony—the Counterparts of Intensity Stereophony	4/13	1959	71-78
Rechter, Jakob	The Acoustical Problems of the F.R. Mann Auditorium in Tel-Aviv	3/11-12	1958	63-68
Reich, Willi	A Winter Visit to Gravesano	4/15-16	1960	177-182
Riedl, Josef Anton	Piece for Drums 1957	4/15-16	1960	165-174
Ruppel, K.H.	Ariadne in the Light of Television	7/27-28	1965	44-45
Sala, Oskar	Mixture-Trautonium and Studio Technique	6/23-24	1962	42-60
Salter, Lionel	Thoughts of an ABC of TV Musical Presentation	7/27-28	1965	41-43
San, van Hermann	Manipulation and Conception (III): Music and the Science of Standardization	2/7-8	1957	36-45
Sanberg, Herbert	Two Documents from the Story of Nietsche's Illness	2/2-3	1956	6-9
Scerri	The Gravesano Experimental Studio	1/1	1955	5-21
Schaeffer, Pierre	The Intrusion of Electro-Acoustics into Music	2/2-3	1956	38-46
Schaeffer, Pierre	The Interplay between Music and Acoustics	4/14	1959	51-69
Schaeffer, Pierre	Note on Time Relationships	5/17	1960	12-77
Scheib, Wilfried	Transmission of Musical Events on Television	7/29	1966	10-15
Scherchen	Music and "Norms" (I)	2/6	1956	38-39
Scherchen, Hermann	Language and Music	2/2-3	1956	3-4
Scherchen, Hermann	Mozart's "Rules for Composing Walzes by Means of Dice"	2/4	1956	3-13
Scherchen, Hermann	Concentration instead of Expansion (Igor Stravinsky *1882)	3/9	1957	8-15
Scherchen, Hermann	Stockhausen and Time	4/13	1959	29-34
Scherchen, Hermann	Methods of Three-Dimensional Sound Recording	4/15-16	1960	147-155
Scherchen, Hermann	The Forces of Sound and the Art of Music	5/19-20	1960	20-23
Scherchen, Hermann	Look!	6/21	1961	2-3
Scherchen, Hermann	Measuring Devices and Art	6/22	1961	94-108
Scherchen, Hermann	Idea and Reality	7/27-28	1965	98-104
Scherchen, Hermann	An Hour with Franz Kremer (at CBC-TV, Toronto)	7/29	1966	5-9

Schoneberg, Harold C.	Philharmonic Acoustics	7/29	1966	57-60
Schröder, Friedrich-Karl	Improvements for Reproduction Quality	3/10	1958	108-122
Schroeder, M.R. and B.S. Atal	Computer Simulation of Sound Transmission in Rooms	7/27-28	1965	124-137
Schügerl, Kurt	The Ear's Part in the Structure of Music	4/13	1959	2-28
Schultz, Th. J.	Using Music to Measure Reverberation Time	7/27-28	1965	115-123
Singer, Herta	Facts for the Reconstruction of Acoustical Characteristics	3/11-12	1958	87-96
Skudrzyk, Eugen	Psychoacoustical phenomena accompanying natural and synthetic sounds	3/9	1957	75-82
Somerville, T. and R. Gilford	Acoustics of Large Orchestral Studios and Concert Halls (I)	3/9	1957	16-42
Somerville, T. and C.L.S. Gilford	Acoustics of Large Orchestral Studios and Concert Halls (II)	3/10	1958	41-69
Souvchinsky	Paris Correspondance	1/1	1955	44-45
Souvchinsky, Pierre	Moussorgsky: "Rajok" (Musical Supplement)	2/2-3	1956	97ff
Sponga, Imre	From the Electro-Encephalograph to Musical Therapy	6/23-24	1962	81-94
Springer	An Acoustical Rule of Time	1/1	1955	32-37
Springer, A.M.	A Pitch Regulator and Information Changer	3/11-12	1958	3-9
Springer, A.M.	A Critical Opinion C	3/11-12	1958	129-130
Springer, A.M.	Two Applications of the Information Changer	6/23-24	1962	95-97
Springer, Anton	Acoustic Speed and Pitch Regulator	4/13	1959	80-82
Springer, Anton M.	Rotating Multiple Magnetic Heads	6/21	1961	38-51
Stubbins, Hugh	Comments on the Acoustics Consideration in the Design of the Congress Hall Berlin (I)	3/10	1958	31-40
Stuckenschmidt, H.H.	Limitation of the Musical Experience to the Audible	2/5	1956	3-8
Sunblad, Gunnar	The Reflectors at the Konserthuset in Stockholm	2/2-3	1956	34-37
Teirich, H.R.	On Therapeutics through Music and Vibrations	4/13	1959	106-123
Tenney, James C.	The Physical Correlates of Timbre	7/26	1965	103-109
Thiel, Jörn	Musical Dramaturgy for the Screen	7/27-28	1965	17-38
Thornton, Friederich	Extreme Echo and Its Uses for Music, Physiology, and Psychology	2/7-8	1957	46-61
Trautwein, Friedrich	Report on the First Stipends Period	2/2-3	1956	83-96
Trautwein, Friedrich	Problems of Hearing	2/7-8	1957	62-79
Tress, E.	The Acoustics of the Schützenhaus Hall, Herford, Westphalia	5/17	1960	110-111

Ungeheuer, G.	Similarity Classes of Sound Signals	5/19-20	1960	151-162
Ungeheuer, G. and Heike, H.	The Institute for Communication Research at the University of Bonn	2/6	1956	57ff
Vermeulen, R.	Music and Electroacoustics	5/17	1960	2-11
Vienna 1964	Opera on Television	7/27-28	1965	39-40
Wade, Frank	Folkloristic Elements	2/2-3	1956	67-70
Weise, K.	A Proposal for the Improvement of Single-channel Listening	5/17	1960	112-117
Weisse, Karlhaus	On the Acoustics of the Main Concert Hall and Transmission Studio of the Hessischen Radio in Frankfurt	2/4	1956	20-34
Wendel, Kurt	Schoenberg's Key Position in the Universal Language of Music	4/14	1959	27-49
Wilkinson, Mark	Some Thoughts on Twelve-Tone Method	3/10	1958	12-29
Winckel, Fritz	From Light to "Lightest" Music	2/2-3	1956	46-47
Winckel, Fritz	Music and "Norms" (I): The Meaning of Vibrato in Music	2/6	1956	40-47
Winckel, Fritz	The Ear—A time-measuring instrument	3/9	1957	83-98
Winkel, Fritz	Psycho-acoustics and Music	5/19-20	1960	13-19
Xenakis, Iannis	The Crisis of Serial Music	1/1	1955	2-4
Xenakis, Iannis	Manipulation and Conception (II): Probability Theory and Music	2/6	1956	28-34
Xenakis, Iannis	Manipulation and Conception (II): Letter to Hermann Scherchen	2/6	1956	35-37
Xenakis, Iannis	Corbusier's "Electronic Poem" (For the Philips Pavilion at the Brussels World Exposition—1958)	3/9	1957	43-54
Xenakis, Iannis	In Search of a Stochastic Music	3/11-12	1958	98-122
Xenakis, Iannis	Elements of Stochastic Music	5/18	1960	61-105
Xenakis, Iannis	Elements of Stochastic Music (II)	5/19-20	1960	128-150
Xenakis, Iannis	Elements of Stochastic Music (III)	6/21	1961	102-121
Xenakis, Iannis	Elements of Stochastic Music (IV)	6/22	1961	131-155
Xenakis, Iannis	Stochastic Music	6/23-24	1962	156-184
Xenakis, Iannis	Free Stochastic Music from the Computer	7/26	1965	54-92
Xenakis, Iannis	Concerning Le Corbusier	7/27-28	1965	5-10
Xenakis, Iannis	Towards a Philosophy of Music	7/29	1966	23-52
Young, R.W. and J.C. Webster	The Tuning of Musical Instruments. (III) The Clarinets	3/11-12	1958	174-186
Young, Robert	The Tuning of Musical Instruments (2) Tuning the Oboe	3/9	1957	111-119
Young, Robert W.	Music and Norms (II): The Inner Voice of Flutes	2/7-8	1957	80-84
Young, Robert W.	Intonation of Musical Instruments. IV The Alto Saxophone	4/14	1959	124-134
Zeithammer, Herbert	Frequency—constant power sources for recording—studios	4/14	1959	10-18

APPENDIX E

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

September 10, 2002

Dear Dr. Gruenzweig:

I am completing a dissertation at Florida State University entitled "Performance, Technology, and Politics: Hermann Scherchen's Aesthetics of Modern Music." I would like your permission to reprint in my dissertation excerpts from the following:

17/74/81	Journal entries (1942) on Schönberg Orchesterstücke
17/74/86	Journal entries (1943) on popular music and Bach
17/74/153	Journal entries on Mahler Symphony No. 7
17/74/162	Journal entries on Mozart Requiem
17/74/193	Journal entries (1953) on Berlioz "Symphonie fantastique"
17/74/640	(Mappe 5) "Plan der Arbeitstagung"
17/74/640	(Mappe 7) "Vorläufiges Programm"
17/74/640	(Mappe 8) Letter to Scherchen from Strassburg participants
17/74/646	"Abschlussgeste und 'Ausklaenge'"
17/74/675	"Grundzuege einer musikalischen Interpretationslehre"
17/74/677	"Interpretation und Dirigiertechnik"
17/74/678	"Interpretation und Werktreue"
17/74/681	"Vier Katagorien des Hoerens"
17/74/724	"Biographische Vornotiz" [from incomplete Schubert book]
17/74/725	"Die 'Unvollendete'" [from incomplete Schubert book]
17/74/726	"Schuberts Grosse Sinfonie in C-Dur" [from incomplete Schubert book]
17/74/2205	Letter to Shusien from Scherchen
Sno 644	Annotated score, Handel, Messiah, "For unto us a child is born"
Sno 949	Annotated score, Mozart, Symphony Nr. 41, finale
Sno 969	Annotated score, Mozart, Requiem, "Introitus" and "Kyrie"
Sno 1095	Annotated score, Schubert, Symphony in B Minor, first movement
Sno 392	Annotated score, Berlioz, Symphonie fantastique, "Reveries"
Sno 850	Annotated score, Mahler, Symphony No. 7, third movement
Sno 1316	Annotated score, Schönberg, Orchesterstücke,

The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. This authorization is extended to University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, for the purpose of reproducing and distributing copies of this dissertation. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own [or your institution owns] the copyright to the above-described material.

1

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me in the enclosed return envelope. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Dennis Hutchison

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:

Stiftung Archiv der
Akademie der Künste
Robert-Koch-Platz 10
10115 Berlin

Dr. Werner Gruenzweig

Date: 13-9-02

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, Theodor. “Drei Dirigenten.” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 7 (1926): 316-318.

_____. *Philosophy of Modern Music*. Translated by A.G. Mitchell and W.V. Blomster. New York: Seabury Press, 1973.

_____. *Minima Moralia: Reflections from a Damaged Life*. Translated by E.F.N. Jephcott. London: New Left Books, 1974.

_____. “On the Social Situation of Music.” Translated by Susan H. Gillespie. In *Essays on Music: Theodor W. Adorno*, ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

_____. *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*. Translated by E.F.W. Jephcott. New York: Continuum Publishing, 1989.

_____. “Musik und Technik.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 4 (11/12, 1958). Translated as: “Music and technique.” Translation Wesley Blomster, *Telos* 32 (Summer 1977): 79-94.

Beardsley, Monroe. *Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1966.

Beaumont, Antony. *Busoni the Composer*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.

Benjamin, Walter. “Theses on the Philosophy of History.” Translated by Harry Zohn. In *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

_____. “Über den Begriff der Geschichte.” In *Walter Benjamin: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Michael Opitz. Surkamp: Frankfurt am Main, 1996.

_____. “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit.” In *Walter Benjamin: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Michael Opitz. Surkamp: Frankfurt am Main, 1996.

_____. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” Translated by Harry Zohn. In *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books,

1969.

Bowman, Wayne D. *Philosophical Perspectives on Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Büchtger, Fritz. "Die Jugend der zwanziger Jahre trauert." *Musikalische Jugend*. 15 (August-September 1966): 3.

_____. "Nachruf auf Hermann Scherchen." *Fritz Büchtger*. Tützing, Germany: Schneider, 1989.

Burke, Peter. "History of Events and the Revival of Narrative." In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2d edition, ed. Peter Burke. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press,

_____. "Overture: The New History, Its Past and Its Future." *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2d edition, ed. Peter Burke. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1-24.

Busoni, Ferruccio. "Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music." In *Three Classics in the Aesthetics of Music*. New York: Dover Publications, 1962.

_____. *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*. Translated by Rosamond Ley. New York: Dover Publications, 1957.

Canetti, Elias. *The Play of the Eyes*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986.

_____. *The Memoirs of Elias Canetti*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1999.

_____. *Masse und Macht*. Hamburg: Claassen Verlag, 1960.

Iggers, George G. "From Macro- to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life." In *The Challenge to Postmodernism*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Westleyan University Press, 1997.

Dahlhaus, Carl. *Esthetics of Music*. Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Dallapiccola, Luigi. "Ricordo di Hermann Scherchen." *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 2 (1966). Reprinted in: Dallapiccola. *Appunti, incontri, meditazioni.* Milano: Suvini-Zerboni 1970

Davies, Norman. *Europe: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Der Luhe, Barbara von. "Hermann Scherchen in Palästina." *Hermann Scherchen.*

Musiker 1891-1966, ed. Hansjörg Pauli and Dagmar Wunsch. Berlin, 1986.

_____. "'Das grosse Glück, ein Orchester aufzubauen': Hermann Scherchen und sein Musica Viva Orchester in Wien (1937-1938)." *Das Orchester* 39/12 (December 1991): 1364-1373.

Downs, Edward. "Hermann Scherchen—A Portrait." *Melos* 4/5 (1978): 387-92.

Dümling, Albrecht. "Die Zukunft horbar machen! Hermann Scherchen als Pedagoge." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* CXLVIII/9 (September 1987): 11-17.

Dunsby, Jonathan. *Performing Music: Shared Concerns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Falk, Thomas. *Elias Canetti*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993.

Galkin, Elliott W. *A History of Orchestral conducting: In Theory and Practice*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1988.

Gay, Peter. *Weimar Culture: The Outside as Insider*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Ginzburg, Carlo. "Microhistory: Two or Things That I Know about It." Translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi. *Critical Inquiry* 20 (Autumn, 1993): 10-35.

Goehr, Lydia. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1992.

Goldschmidt, Harry. *Um die Sache der Musik. Reden und Aufsätze*. Leipzig: Reclam, 1970.

_____. "Scherchen in Vichy?" *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 29/1 (1987): 75-77.

Grosch, Nils. *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999.

Grunfeld, Frederic. "The Wizard of Gravesano. A Profile of Hermann Scherchen and his legendary experimental studio in the Alps." *HiFi/Stereo* (September 1961): 87-91

Haefeli, Anton. *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*. Zurich: Atlantis, 1982.

Häusler, Josef. *Spiegel der neuen Musik, Donaueschingen: Chronik, Tendenzen, Werkbesprechungen*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996.

Hailey, Christopher. "Rethinking sound: music and radio in Weimar Germany." In *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Heister, Hanns-Werner. *Musik und Musikpolitik*. Fischer, 1984.

Hill, Robert. "'Overcoming romanticism': on the modernization of twentieth-century performance practice." In *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam, 37-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hinton, Stephen. *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik.* New York: Garland Press, 1989.

_____. "Lehrstück." In *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hochman, Elaine S. *Bauhaus: Crucible of Modernism*. New York: Fromm International, 1997.

Hughes, Robert. *The Shock of the New*. New York: Knopf, 1981.

Jay, Martin. *Adorno*. Cambridge, Massechusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Joachim, Heinz. "Klänge aus der Retorte: Musik von Morgen. Die Experimentierer von Gravesano arbeiten mit großen Ernst—Besuch in Scherchens Studio." *Die Welt* (Berlin), 4 August 1959.

Kater, Michael. *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

_____. *The Twisted Muse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Kemper, Lothar. "Das Musikkollegium Winterthur 1920-1953." *Festschrift zur Feier des dreihundertjährigen Bestehens 1629-1929*, Vol. 2. Winterthur: Verlag des Musikkollegiums Winterthur, 1959: 286-291.

Kolben, Robert. "The Stereophoner." *Gravesaner Blätter* 4/13 (1959):55-68.

_____. "The Three Gravesano Conventions" *GravesanerBlätter* 6/23-24 (1962): 2-36.

Kracauer, Siegfried. *History: The Last Things Before the Last*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Kreikle, Mechthild. "Der Dirigent Hermann Scherchen als Pionier der Musik in Rundfunk 1924-1932." Ph.D. diss., Frankfurt University, 1994.

Lammel, Inge. "Die beiden Berliner 'Scherchen-Chöre'." *Studien zur Berliner Musikgeschichte. Eine Bestandaufnahme*, ed. Horst Seeger und Wolfgang Goldhan. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1988.

Le Corbusier. "The Modulator." *Gravesaner Blätter* 3/9 (1957): 2-5.

_____. *Vers une Architecture*. Paris: Éditions Vincent: 1958.

Levi, Giovanni. "On Microhistory." In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2d edition, ed. Peter Burke. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

Liebermann, Rolf. *Actes et entractes*. Paris: Stock Editions, 1976.

Lippman, Edward. *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Lucchesi, Joachim. "Im Dienste 'aufklärischer' Musikausübung." *Musik und Gesellschaft* 7 (1986): 34-38.

Lucchesi, Joachim. "Einsatz für die 'junge Kunst': Musik und Musiker in der Berliner Novembergruppe." *Musik und Gesellschaft* 37/1 (1987): 18-22.

_____. "Um in ihnen mehr Klarheit zu Schaffen." In *Vom Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse, 1946-1996*, ed. Rudolf Stephan. Stuttgart: DACO, 1996.

Markevitch, Igor. *Etre et avoir été*. Paris: Gallimard Edition, 1980.

Martin, Maria. *Souvenirs de ma vie avec Frank Martin*. Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme Edition, 1990.

Matossian, Nouritza. *Xenakis*. New York: Taplinger, 1986.

McCredie. *Karl Amadeus Hartmann*. Wilhelmshaven, 1980.

Meyer-Eppler, Werner, ed., *Gravesano: Musik, Raumgestaltung, Elektroakustic*. Mainz: Ars Viva Verlag, 1955.

Moles, A. and R. Trautwein. "Das elektroakustische Institut Hermann Scherchen in Gravesano." *Gravesaner Blätter* 2/5 (1979):51-55.

Müllender, Han-Jörg and Bernhard Uske. "Verrufen und vergessen." *FonoForum* 7 (1984): 13-15.

Nono, Nuria. "Die fröhlich-harten Jahre." In *Vom Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse, 1946-1996*, ed. Rudolf Stephan. Stuttgart: DACO, 1996.

Oesch, Hans. "Das Melos und die Neue Musik." *Festschrift für einer Verlager: Ludwig Strecher zum 90. Geburtstag*. Mainz: Schott, 1973.

Paddison, Max. *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Pauli, Hansjörg and Dagmar Wünsche, eds. *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*. Berlin, 1986.

Pauli, Hansjörg. "Hermann Scherchen. Theaterarbeit 1923-1935." *Oskar Schlemmer: Les Noces*, ed. Manuela Kahn-Rossi. Lugano: Fabbri Editori, 1988.

_____. "Vom Bellen der Mäuse: Materialien und Mutmaßungen über Hermann Scherchens Erfahrung am Zürcher Radio." *Musik, Deutung, Bedeutung. Festschrift für Harry Goldschmidt zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. H.-W. Heister and H. Lück. Dortmund: Plane, 1986.

_____. "Scherchens Schweiz und Schweizers Scherchen." *Musica* 40/2 (1986): 136-139.

_____. "Dossier 769033. Bundesfeierliche Marginalien zum 100. Geburtstag von Hermann Scherchen." *Dissonanz* 29 (August 1991): 8-13.

_____. "Hermann Scherchen, 1891-1966." *Neujahrsblatt der allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft*. Zürich: Hug, 1993.

_____. "Hermann Scherchen: Nazigegner und Exponent der Moderne." *Musik und Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1993.

Pople, Anthony. *Berg: Violin Concerto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Reich, Willi. "Berg und Webern schreiben an Hermann Scherchen." *Melos/Zeitschrift für neue Musik* 33/7-8 (July-August, 1966): 225-29.

Schebra, Kurt. *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life*. Translated by Caroline Murphy. New Haven, Conneticut: Yale University Press, 1995.

Scherchen, Hermann. "Das Tonalitätsprinzip." *Die Musikblätter des Anbruch* 1 (1911): 79-83.

_____. "Rußland." Manuscript begun 6 March 1919, fragment without title, parts unreadable. HSCHA 17/74/701.

_____. "Gustav Mahler - der Musiker-Philosoph." *Freie deutsche Bühne* (Berlin) 1 (1919): 446-449.

_____. “Neue Musik.” *Freie deutsche Bühne* (Berlin) 1 (1919): 35-39, 80-83.

_____. “Über die Bedeutung des Schulgesangs.” *Freie deutsche Bühne* (Berlin) 1 (1920): 528-530.

_____. “Zu Franz Schrekers Berufung als Direktor der Berliner Hochschule für Musik.” *Freie deutsche Bühne* (Berlin) 1 (1920): 773-777.

_____. “Arnold Schoenberg.” *Melos* 1 (1920): 9-10.

_____. “Melos.” *Melos* 1 (1 February 1920): 1-3

_____. “Das neue Führertum in der Musik.” *Die Erhebung, Jahrbuch für neue Dichtung und Wertung*, Vol. 2, ed. Alfred Wolfenstein. Berlin, 1920.

_____. “Neueklassizität.” *Melos* 1 (1920): 243.

_____. “Das Tonalitätsprinzip und die Alpensinfonie von Richard Strauss.” *Melos* 1 (1920): 197-201, 244-246.

_____. “Schoenbergs Pierrot lunaire.” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 30 October 1922.

_____. “Bekenntnis zu Schoenberg.” *Die Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6 (1924): 314.

_____. “Händel und die Gegenwart.” *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 13 June 1925.

_____. “Italienische Tage (I-IV) Rom und das Theater Luigi Pirandellos. Künstler und Publikum. Mailand und die Scala. Musiker in Italien.” *Frankfurter Volksstimme* (Frankfurt am Main), 6-15 May 1925.

_____. “Der moderne Dirigent.” *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 29 September 1927.

_____. “Kritik der modernen Musikübung.” *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Frankfurt am Main), 25 October 1927.

_____. “Das Orchester.” *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig), no. 4314, 1927.

_____. “Beethovens Große Fuge op. 133.” *Die Musik* 20 (1927/28): 401-420. Reprinted in *Zur musikalischen Analyse*, ed. Gerhard Schumacher. Darmstadt: 1974.

_____. “Bachs Kunst der Fuge.” *Hartung'sche Zeitung* (Königsberg), 30 March 1928.

_____. “Rumänische Eindrücke.” *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, 3 April 1928.

_____. “Das Musikprogramm der ORAG im Winter 1928/29.” *Melos* 7 (1928): 605-608.

_____. *Lehrbuch des Dirigierens*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1929.

_____. *Handbook of Conducting*. Translated by M.D. Calvocoressi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

_____. “Musik und Rundfunk.” Südwestdeutsche Rundfunk-Zeitung (Frankfurt am Main) 5/29, 21 Juli 1929.

_____. “Der Rundfunk in seinen Beziehungen zu Musikpflege und Musikerziehung.” *Die Musikpflege. Monatsschrift für Musikerziehung, Musikorganisation und Chorgesangwesen*, ed. Eberhard Preussner. Leipzig 1 April 1930.

_____. Hermann Scherchen an Direktor Dr. Alfred Bofinger. *Hermann Scherchen. Musiker 1891-1966*. Berlin, 1986, S.73-74.

_____. “Grundsatzpapier zur Arbeitstagung in Straßburg.”

_____. “Die Musik des chinesischen Theaters.” *Musica Viva* I (1936): 46-48.

_____. “Gedanken über Beethovens V. Sinfonie.” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich) 78, 1 July 1938: 341-346.

_____. “Gibt es einen besonderen Aufführungsstil vorklassischer Musik?.” *Music Viva (Programmheft)*, 27 February 1938.

_____. “Gibt es amerikanische Komponisten?” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich) 78, (1938): 448-452.

_____. “Are There American Composers? ‘Young Art Personal Rather then Original’.” *Musical America*, 25 October 1938.

_____. “Junge englische Komponisten.” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich) 79, 1939: 28-33.

_____. “Gasparo Fritz, ein Meister der vorklassischen Sinfonik.” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich) 80, 1940: 277-285.

_____. “Saalkonzert und Studioaufführung.” HSCHA 17/74/702, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

_____. *Vom Wesen der Musik*. Winterthur: Mondial Verlag, 1946.

_____. “Der schöpferische Vorgang.” *Stimmen, Monatsblätter für Musik* (Berlin) 1, 1947/48: 129-134.

_____. “Die Musik und die Schweiz.” *Jahrbuch vom Zürichsee* (Zürich) Vol. 10, 1947/48: 166-170.

_____. “Professor Barnet Licht 75 Jahre alt.” HSCHA 17/74/639, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

_____. “Die gegenwärtige Situation der modernen Musik.” *Melos* 10 (October 1949): 257-259.

_____. *Musik für Jedermann. Ein Lehrbuch zum Selbstunterricht*. Winterthur: Mondial-Verlag, 1950.

_____. “Ein lebendiges Stück Musikgeschichte.” *Internationale Ferienkurs für Neue Musik. Programmheft der öffentlichen Veranstaltungen* 15, Special Issue “Neuen Forums,” ed. Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut, (Darmstadt) 12-24 July 1954.

_____. “FelixWeingartner, gestorben am 7. Mai 1952 in Winterthur.” *Jahrbuch der Literarischen Vereinigung Winterthur*, 1953.

_____. “Das Opernland Italien.” *Das Musikleben* (Mainz) 7/1 (1954): 5-8.

_____. “Wie weiter? Ein Statement für eine Zeitschrift.” *Magnum* 1/3 (Frankfurt am Main und Wien, 1954).

_____. “Musik und Normen I.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 2/6 (1956): 38-39.

_____. “Sprache und Musik.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 2/3 (1956): 3-4.

_____. “Was müßte ein ideales Studio leisten?” HSCHA 17/74/720, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

_____. “Konzentration statt Expansion (Igor Stravinsky 1882).” *Gravesaner Blätter* 3/9 (1957): 8-12.

_____. “Dépassement de l’Orchestre: Vers une Musique Experimentale, Paris 1957, La Revue Musicale no. 236, 56-59.

_____. “Stockhausen und die Zeit.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 4/13 (1959): 29-35.

_____. “Methoden elektroakustischer Schallaufnahmen.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 4/15-16 (1960): 147-151.

_____. “Klangmaterielle Kräfte und Kunst der Musik.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 5/19-20 (1960): 20-21.

_____. “Aufmerksamkeit!” *Gravesaner Blätter* 4/21 (1961): 2.

_____. “Meßapparaturen und Kunst.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 6/22 (1961): 94-104.

_____. “L’Art de la Fugue: Ouverture sur la Musique de Schoenberg.” *Jean-Sebastian Bach*. Paris, 1963.

_____. “Der Komponist gesehen von einem Dirigenten.” *Das Genie und seine Welt—Beethoven*. Wien, München, Basel 1964, S. 231-239.

_____. 50 Jahre musikalische Entwickling. Typescript HSCHA 17/74/671, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

_____. “The Musical Past and the Electronic Future.” *Saturday Review* 47/ 44 (31 October 1964): 63-65, 80-81. English translation of “50 Jahre musikalische Entwicklung.”

_____. “An Hour with Franz Krämer (at CBC-TV, Toronto).” *Gravesaner Blätter* 7/29 (1966): 5-9.

_____. “Idee und Wirklichkeit. Zur h-Moll-Messe von J.S. Bach.” *Gravesaner Blätter* 27/28 (1966): 98-101.

_____. “*,…alles hörbar machen.” Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939*, ed. Eberhardt Klemm. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1976.

_____. “Aus meinem Leben/Rußland in jenen Jahren. Erinnerungen,” ed. Eberhardt Klemm. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1984.

_____. *Werke und Briefe. I: Schriften*, ed. Joachim Lucchesi. Berlin: Lang, 1991.

_____. “Bericht über die russiche Reise (Moskau, Leningrad).”

_____. “Mein erstes Leben (1891-1950).” HSCHA 17/74/638, Akademie der Künste.

_____. “Musik als Wendepunkt des Weltbewusstseins.” Undated, unpublished typescript in the Archiv des Musikkollegiums, Winterthur.

_____. “Arnold Schoenberg.” Stadtbibliothek Winterthur.

_____. “Vier Katagorien des Hoerens.” Undated, unpublished typescript. Akademie der Künste, HSCHA 681.

_____. “Arteigene Rundfunkmusik.”

_____. “Warum fürchtet der Konzertsucher Aufführungen von zeitgenossischen Werken?” Undated, unpublished manuscript. Akademie der Künste, HSCHA 17/74/140.

_____. “Die Kunst des Dirigierens.” HSCHA 17/74/679, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

_____. “Interpretation und Werktreu.” Undated, unpublished typescript. Akademie der Künste, HSCHA 678.

_____. [An incomplete book on Schubert.] “Biographische Vornotiz,” “1. Teil, Die ‘Unvollendete’,” “II. Buch, Schubert’s Grosse Sinfonie in C-Dur.” Undated, unpublished typescript. Akademie der Künste, HSCHA 724-726.

Schiller, Friedrich. *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Edited and translated by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Schinkoth, Thomas. “Der ‘Ruhestorer’: Hermann Scherchen in Leipzig 1920-1930.” *Das Orchester: Zeitschrift für Orchester und Rundfunkchorwesen* 44/ 7-8 (July-Aug 1996): 9-14.

Schmitt, Eugen Heinrich. *Der Idealstaat*. Berlin: J. Rade, 1904.

_____. *Kritik der Philosophie vom Standpunkt der intuitiven Erkenntnis*. Leipzig: F. Eckhardt, 1908.

Schoenberg, Arnold. *Letters*. Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser, ed. Erwin Stein. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1965.

_____. *Harmonielehre*. Vienna: Universal Edition, 2001.

_____. *Theory of Harmony*. Transltaed by Roy E. Carter. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

_____. “Gustav Mahler.” In *Style and Idea*. Translated by Leo Black, ed. Leonard Stein. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

_____. “The Relationship to the Text.” In *Style and Idea*. Translated by Leo Black, ed. Leonard Stein. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Schön, Wolf. “Ist Musik noch hörbar? Hermann Scherchen und die Krise der Moderne—Besuch im akustischen Experimentalstudio Gravesano.” *Rheinischer Merkur*

(Koblenz), 6 May 1966.

Schubert, Giselher. *Hindemith*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981.

Schuller, Gunther. *The Compleat Conductor*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Schulze, Stephan. "Wo ist die Zeitschrift "Melos" geblieben?" *Musik und Aesthetik* 5/18 (April 2001): 85-98.

Schwebsch, Erich. *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Kunst der Fuge*. Stuttgart: Orient-Occident-Verlag, 1931.

Smith, Joan Allen. *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait*. New York: Schirmer, 1986.

Stenzl, Jürg. *Luigi Nono*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1998.

Stephan, Rudolf. "Zur Geschichte der Zehnten Symphonie Gustav Mahlers: Die Partituren von Franz Schalk, Willem Mengelberg und Hermann Scherchen." *Fragment or completion? Proceedings of the Mahler X Symposium*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1991.

_____. "Überlegungen zur Taktgruppenanalyse. Zur Interpretation der 7. Symphonie von Gustav Mahler." *Festschrift für Albert Palm.* Franz Steiner Verlag GmBH, Wiesbaden, 1982: 202-209.

_____. "Alban Berg." In *Vom musikalishcen Denken*. Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1985: 86-198.

_____. "Johann Sebastian Bach und die Anfänge der Neuen Musik." In *Vom musikalischen Denken*. Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1985: 18-24.

_____. "Zur Deutung von Strawinsky's Neoklassizismus." In *Vom musikalischen Denken*. Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1985: 234-248.

Stückenschmidt, H.H. "Musik, Geist, und Lehre. Zum siebzigsten Geburtstag des Dirigenten Hermann Scherchen." *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 20 June 1961.

_____. "Ein Leben für die neue Musik. Abschied von Hermann Scherchen." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 June 1966.

_____. *Zum Hören geboren*. München: R. Piper, 1979

_____. "Abschied von Hermann Scherchen." *Melos/NZfM* 33/ 7-8 (July/August 1966): 224.

_____. *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*. Translated by Humphrey Searle. London: John Calder, 1977.

_____. *Twentieth Century Music*. Translated by Richard Deveson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969.

Stumpf, Karl. *Philosophische Reden und Vorträge*. Leipzig: J.A.Barth, 1910.

_____. *Die Anfänge der Musik*. J.A.Barth: Leipzig, 1911.

Swarowsky, Hans. *Wahrung der Gestalt*. Wien: Universal Edition, 1979.

Thaler, Lotte. "Das Fragment als Entwurf. Zum Nachlaß von Hermann Scherchen—ein vorläufiger Bericht." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 11 (1986): 19-22.

Tuckman, Barbara W. *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966.

_____. "Biography as a Prism of History." In *Practicing History: Selected Essays*. New York: Knopf, 1981.

Wade, Rex A., *The Russian Revolution, 1917*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Walsh, Stephen. *The Music of Stravinsky*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Weill, Kurt. "Hermann Scherchen." *Ausgewählte Schriften*. Frankfurt/M, 1975.

Widdig, Bernd. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Willet, John. *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Xenakis, Iannis. "Scherchen, Hermann." *Encyclopedie de la Musique Fasquelle*, Vol. 3.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dennis Hutchison was born in Miami on 24 September 1966. He received the B.A. in Music from the University of Chicago, the M.M. in Music Theory and the M.A. in Humanities from Florida State University. He holds a Ph.D. in Historical Musicology from Florida State University. Mr. Hutchison has received grants from the Fulbright-Hayes Commission (1998) and the Herder Institut (1997). He has published entries in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2d edition) and in the *University of California Dictionary of Conductors* (forthcoming).