URSULA GEISLER

Political Music Censorship: Some Remarks on Nazi Music Regulations 1933-1945

How music is treated in a society is a relevant marker of how the space of individual freedom is defined. Texts dealing with what has been seen as the dangerous potential of music for society can be traced back a long time, with prominent examples since as early as Plato's *Republic*.[1] The imagination of the existence of "good" and "right" music in contrast to "bad" and "false" music has been used to construct a dichotomy between the *Self* and the *Other* in different historical periods.[2] This is particularly evident within the framework of dictatorships like National Socialism. In order to secure and affirm "the moral, spiritual and cultural superiority of the German nation", music and musicians were extensively exposed to control and censorship measures in the years 1933-1945.[3]

The present article focuses on political music censorship, which, historically, has often been linked to the institutionalisation of ideological, social, religious and aesthetical principles.[4] More specifically, the present article deals with the Reich Department for Music Arrangements (*Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen; RfM*), the music censorship institution established by the National Socialists after the beginning of World War II in 1940. The aim is to shed light on how political music censorship was discursively constructed and by which means music censorship was envisioned to support the Pan-German vision of the after-war future.

Political music censorship

Political music censorship is intertwined with various aspects of a systematized assertion of governmental or majority interests. The focus and reasons for censorship change

1 Plato (428-348 BC). *The Republic*, cf.: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1497/1497-h/1497-h.htm

2 Theories of Otherness and Constructiveness provide relevant perspectives when dealing with questions of music and censorship. Cf. Annette Kreutziger-Herr (ed.), *Das Andere. Eine Spurensuche in der Musikgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1998).

3 Erik Levi, "Music and National Socialism: The politicisation of criticism, composition and performance," in Brandon Taylor, and Wilfried van der Will (ed.), *The Nazification of Art* (Winchester, Hampshire: The Winchester Press, 1990), 159.

4 When taking a closer look at which songs, labels or concerts that have been censored, and the reasons for this censorship, since the 1960s, this linkage could even apply to contemporary music censorship, cf.:www.zensur-archiv.de/index.php?title=Musik.

over time and space, as does the music it is opposed to. However, as Korpe, Reitov and Cloonan point out, "censorship is a form of cultural protection and intended mass behavioral [sic] control".[5] Such attempts to control the masses by regulatory music measures have been made throughout history in many countries worldwide. If music is censored by means of institutionalisation within a legal framework, the censorship implementation is suitable for describing the cultural construction of the society's legitimacy. It can therefore be relevant to focus on specific historical periods known for totalitarian structures that affected individuals' possibilities of choice in everyday life to an extreme degree. As a politically extremist government that built on mythological and racial discourses of culturally superiority, the Nazi regime, which held power from 1933 to 1945, put specific focus on establishing ways to control artists and the arts in general.

Nazi music censorship

As Friedrich Geiger has shown in his comparative work on the persecution of composers, both the Nazi and the Stalinist regime were rooted in an aesthetic concept of dominion. The different art forms – music, poetry, literature, architecture and film – were referred to by Geiger as "assistant arts" in the construction of a political *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Music, with its potential to organise people into a collective mass, was seen as especially suitable for achieving this target,[6] making this art form an especially important element in the political discourse and preservation of power. To support their attempt to establish an aestheticized political order, the National Socialists sought to build on historic references and to continue the 19th century's functionalization of music. The intense debates on the political and societal tasks of music from the 1920s onwards also laid the groundwork for an expanded positioning of music at all levels for the period 1933–1945.[7] On the one hand, music life – of a highly controlled and specific type – flourished under direct support from the Nazi regime, and expanded into many areas. Examples include the Hitler Youth music ceremonies, classical and choral music education and the Wagnerfestivals in Bayreuth. On the other hand, certain music and musicians were banned and discriminated against on ideological grounds. The construction of racial dichotomies was combined with aesthetic and cultural values, as well as stereotypes regarding artistic potential. The political propaganda constructed Jews and Jewishness as the utmost Other to be defeated. The examples presented in the present article of the implementation of political music censorship

5 Marie Korpe, Ole Reitov, and Martin Cloonan, "Music Censorship from Plato to the Present," in Steven Brown, and Ulrik Volgsten (ed.), *Music and Manipulation. On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 240.

6 Friedrich Geiger, *Musik in zwei Diktaturen. Verfolgung von Komponisten unter Hitler und Stalin* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2004), 199.

7 Cf. Erik Levi, "The Censorship of Musical Modernism in Germany, 1918–1945," in Beate Müller (ed.), *Censorship and Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 63–86; Ursula Geisler, "Med sången in i framtiden. Den tyska ungdomsmusikrörelsen och kris på 1920–1930-talen," in Mats Arvidson, Ursula Geisler, and Kristofer Hansson (eds.), *Kris och kultur. Kulturvetenskapliga perspektiv på kunskap, estetik och historia* (Lund: Sekel, 2013), 69–86.

measures, which were undertaken in the context of *Gleichschaltung* ("enforced conformity") illuminate the dual strategies of cultural concessions and prohibitions. Special attention will be given to the elements of institutionalisation and language.

Institutionalisation

Although much has been written about the overall function of music in the racist ideology and propaganda of the National Socialists, little has been written about the concrete execution of the music censorship laws and principles that were enforced by specialized institutions under the leadership of the Reich Propaganda Ministry (*Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda; RMVP*).[8]

Nazi music censorship laws and orders were implemented both by the culture division (*Kulturabteilung*) and the music division (*Musikabteilung*) of the *RMVP*, as well as by the Reich Music Chamber (*Reichsmusikkammer; RMK*).[9] Established in 1933, the *RMK* was conceptualized as a superior organisational structure for professional music life in Germany. From a structural standpoint, the *RMK* established specific offices for composers, musicians, concert life, music education, choir and folk music, music publishing, instrument makers and so on. These offices were placed at the centre of music control, and were connected as partners to working commissions, ministries, music organisations, and other associations within the Reich. However, although ambitious, the *RMK* could not keep up with this ambition in practice. The overall importance of the *RMK* as a tool for the control of musical life in Germany after 1933 was thus in-

8 To mention just a small number of influential references: Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh, 1963); Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt a.M., 1982); Hanns-Werner Heister, and Hans-Günther Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer), 1984; Pamela M. Potter, *Trends in German musicology 1918–1945: The effects of methodological, ideological, and institutional change on the writing of music history* (Yale University, 1991); Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the arts: Musicology and society from the Weimar Republic to the end of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven, 1998); Brunhilde Sonntag, Hans-Werner Boresch, and Detlef Gojowy (eds.), *Die dunkle Last. Musik und Nationalsozialismus* (Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft und Musiktheorie; 3) (Köln, 1999); Hans Grüss, Kolja Lessing, Marion Demuth, Frank Geissler, and Eckhard John (eds.), *Musik–Macht–Missbrauch* (Altenburg, 1999); Isolde von Foerster, Christoph Hust, and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (eds.), *Musikforschung–Faschismus–Nationalsozialismus – Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers vom 8. bis 11. März 2000* (Mainz, 2001).

9 There are several scientific publications on National Socialism and the music of recent decades that focus on the *RMK* and other organisations that worked to institutionalise music: Günter Berghaus (ed.), *Fascism and theatre: Comparative studies on the aesthetics and politics of performance in Europe, 1925-1945* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1996). Hinrich Bergmeier, and Günter Katzenberger (ed.), *Kulturaustreibung. Die Einflußnahme des Nationalsozialismus auf Kunst und Kultur in Niedersachsen. Eine Dokumentation zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1993); Hubert Kolland, "Trösterin – in Gleichschritt gebracht. Die Faschisierung des Musiklebens," in Staatliche Kunsthalle Berlin (ed.), *1933 – Wege zur Diktatur. Ergänzungsband* (Berlin, 1983), 137-167; Hanspeter Krellmann (ed.), *Wer war Richard Strauss? Neunzehn Antworten* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999); Gert Holtmeyer (ed.), *Musikalische Erwachsenenbildung: Grundzüge–Entwicklungen–Perspektiven* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1989); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994); Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872-1945)* (Köln–Weimar–Berlin: Böhlau, 2004); Horst Weber (ed.), *Musik in der Emigration 1933-1945: Verfolgung–Vertreibung–Rückwirkung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994).

tended, but not entirely achieved.[10] Membership in the *RMK* was compulsory for all music professionals, and the organisation was headed by certain famous people who were highly regarded in the music industry, such as the composer Richard Strauss and the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler.

Along with the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) of 1933 and the Nuremberg laws (*Nürnberger Gesetze*) of 1935, this *RMK* membership requirement was used as a tool to discriminate against Jewish participation in musical life.

Music censorship legislation

In December 1937, Peter Raabe, the second director of the *RMK* after Richard Strauss, gave a new, very specific order on how to treat foreign music in Germany:

> All foreign music that shall be distributed in Germany by music publishers must be submitted to the Music Inspecting Authority of the Reich Propaganda Ministry. It is prohibited to distribute sheet music that has been declared as unwanted by the Music Inspecting Authority.[11]

This was the starting point for the establishment of the Reich Music Inspecting Authority (*Reichsmusikprüfstelle*; *RMP*) as a sub-division of the *RMK*. The *RMP* was charged with the task of 'not only studying foreign music, but also supervising German production and taking action against unwanted and harmful music'.[12]

The distribution of so-called 'unwanted' foreign musical scores was forbidden. The main task of the *RMP* was to keep an eye on performances and on the publication of music. For this purpose the *RMP* registered and examined all concert programs, and also required the examination of all planned publications – such as documents pertaining to musical education, biography, aesthetics, or theory. Additionally, the *RMP* was tasked with inspecting the scores that were to be distributed through German music publishers and dealers. As Alan Steinweis shows, this order was difficult to carry out, since the number of scores voluntarily submitted exceeded the authority's inspecting capacities. Since it was not possible to review all incoming material, the directive was subsequently modified to state that music publishers were only required to send in works that had been specifically requested by the Inspecting Authority.[13]

10 Cf. Martin Thrun, "Die Errichtung der Reichsmusikkammer," in Hanns-Werner Heister, and Hans-Günther Klein, *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1984), s. 81.

11 Original quote from Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (Auprès des Zombry, 2004), 5626: 'Alle ausländische Musik, die in Deutschland durch Musikalien-Verleger oder -Händler vertrieben werden soll, ist der Musikprüfstelle des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda vorzulegen. Der Vertrieb von Noten, deren Verbreitung durch die Musikprüfstelle als unerwünscht erklärt wird, ist verboten'.

12 Original quote from Prieberg, 2219: 'die nicht nur ausländische Musik sichten wird, sondern auch die deutsche Produktion beobachtet und gegen unerwünschte und schädliche Musik einschreitet'.

13 Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: the Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 141.

In 1939 a new and more detailed decree was issued; this ruling gave particular attention to foreign music, which had become more and more popular, and which the authorities had difficulties controlling:

> Generally prohibited is any music whose composers, lyricists, arrangers, or publishers are Jews or members of enemy states (England, Poland, Russia, France; Bizet-Carmen and Chopin are exceptions). American refrainsong is forbidden, since it sounds identical to English. Prohibited is hot- and swing music, both original and adaptations. Also prohibited is alien (*artfremd*) music in so far as it originates from Jews or Negroes, or tries to imitate negro music, as well as music with quotations from Jewish composers. All music that has been declared as unwanted by the Music Inspecting Authority (*Reichsmusikprüfstelle*) is included in the performance ban.[14]

In addition, one year before this 1939 decree, Joseph Goebbels had made a speech at the cultural-political demonstration in connection with the exhibition of so-called 'degenerate music' in 1938. In this speech, Goebbels had underlined that 'the German musical life has been definitely cleaned of the last traces of Jewish arrogance and domination' and that 'our classical masters again appear before the public in a pure and unadulterated form'. Bearing these two statements in mind, one might ask why it was so important to establish another censorship institution: the Reich Department for Music Arrangements (*Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen; RfM*) in 1940.[15]

The Reich Department for Music Arrangements

The *RfM* was established for at least two reasons: to control the field of operetta and opera by adjusting older texts to current political demands, and to place orders for new dramatic works. As Pamela Potter and others have shown, the staff for implementing and executing the different demands of the *RfM*'s departments and divisions were often recruited from the former musicology departments of German universities. One main task was to legitimise the execution of music censorship.[16] Music institu-

14 "Verfügung des Herrn Ministers für die Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens vom 2. September 1939". Original quote in Prieberg 2004, 2322: 'Grundsätzlich verboten sind Musiken, deren Komponisten, Textdichter, Bearbeiter und Verleger Juden oder Angehörige der Feindstaaten (England, Polen, Rußland, Frankreich. Ausnahmen: Bizet-Carmen, Chopin) sind. Amerikanischer Refraingesang ist, weil er mit dem Englischen gleichlautet, untersagt. Verboten sind hot- und swing-Musik im Original und in Nachahmungen. Verboten ist artfremde Musik soweit sie von Juden oder Negern stammt oder Negermusik nachzuahmen versucht, desgleichen Musik mit Zitaten jüdischer Komponisten. Alle Musiken, die von der Reichsmusikprüfstelle für unerwünscht erklärt worden sind, fallen ebenfalls unter das Spielverbot'.

15 http://www.nrw2000.de/ns/entartetemusik.htm#, original: 'das deutsche musikalische Leben ist von den letzten Spuren jüdischer Anmaßung und Vorherrschaft endgültig gesäubert' and 'unsere klassischen Meister erscheinen vor der Öffentlichkeit wieder in reiner und unverfälschter Form'.

16 Pamela M. Potter, *Die* deutscheste *der Künste. Musikwissenschaft und Gesellschaft von der Weimarer Republik bis zum Ende des Dritten Reichs* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2000); Erik Levi, "Music and National Socialism. The Politicisation of Criticism, Composition and Performance," in Brandon Taylor, and Wilfried van der Will (ed.), *The Nazification of Art* (Winchester, Hampshire: The Winchester Press, 1990), 158–182, 167.

tions established after 1933 provided different possibilities for making a career in the various music-controlling institutions of the regime. One prominent example is Hans Joachim Moser (1889-1967) who until 1933 served as the director of the Academy for Church and School Music (*Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik*) in Berlin, during the time of the Weimar Republic. After being the target of much hostility from several supporters of the Nazi party he retired around 1933, and then later tried to regain entry into the regime's music-related organisations.[17] He succeeded in 1940, when he was appointed the *Generalsekretär* ("General Secretary") for the *RfM*, which was under the direct control and authority of Joseph Goebbels and the *RMVP*. When Goebbels established the *RfM* in April 1940, World War II had already been going on for seven months and Norway was on the point of being occupied by the German *Wehrmacht* (the armed forces of the Third Reich). The *RfM* was commissioned–like the *Musikprüfstelle*–to ensure that the music repertoire upheld Nazi ideals regarding racial and social purity along with the National Socialist ideology.

The *RfM*'s main tasks were to commission new musical scores and productions and to adjust existing musical scores and textbooks to the ideological regulations of the Nazi regime. The revision of music, along with the revision of the lyrics of older operettas and operas, were important concrete working areas of the *RfM*, along with supporting the production of new music. Anselm Gerhard explains that Moser's task as General Secretary of the *RfM* was "systematically to 'de-Jewify' [*entjuden*] the texts of several Handel oratorios, as well as of all of Schumann's Heine Lieder, and thereby to contribute to the destruction of Jewish traditions […]".[18] Potter gives another example of the *RfM*'s modification specifications, referring to studies by Katja Roters and Werner Rackwitz[19]: "The most radical changes made to the Old Testament oratorios generally consisted of transforming biblical characters into anonymous heroes or completely transferring the setting of the action to a historical event that demonstrated Germanic heroism."[20]

Another censorship measure concerned composers from the 19th Century, such as George Bizet (1838-1875). In November 1940 Ernst Hartmann wrote to Goebbels regarding his reported discovery of an unknown opera by the French composer Georges Bizet. The *RfM* took over the correspondence with Hartmann and requested more information about "Iwan le Terrible", which had been deposited at the Conservatoire Nationale in Paris by a friend of Bizet's. As late as April 1942, a contract was signed with Hartmann, for musical editing, and with Josef Wenter in Wien, for editing of the

17 Cf. Christine Fischer-Defoy, *Kunst Macht Politik: Die Nazifizierung der Kunst- und Musikhochschulen in Berlin* [Berlin, 1987].

18 Anselm Gerhard, "Musicology in the 'Third Reich': A Preliminary Report," *The Journal of Musicology* 18 (2001) 4: 517-543, 530.

19 Katja Roters, *Bearbeitungen von Händel-Oratorien im Dritten Reich* (Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle; 16) (Halle: Altenburg, 1999), 33-42; Werner Rackwitz, *Geschichte und Gegenwart der Hallischen Händel-Renaissance* (Schriften des Händelhauses in Halle; 1-2) (Halle: [Händel-Haus], 1977, 1979), 7-10.

20 Pamela M. Potter, "The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic," *Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001) 2: 311-341, 334.

text. Excerpts from this correspondence provide many details about the censorship methods in use by the *RfM*.

In January 1943, Moser wrote to Wenter about how to adjust the opera libretto to the current political agenda:

> Taking place in Kiev, with the 'Tsar of the Tartars', is politically not at all appropriate [...] For all of these reasons we propose to move the plot [...] to a very early but already Christian France; this would fit the kidnapping of woman, the procession, and the local musical colour. This could be, say, the western Franconian Merovingian Empire, or a legendary Aquitania in the 6th to 9th century. The Zircassians in Caucasia could be replaced by the Basques in the Pyrenees; instead of Moscow it could be 'Tours', or another 'appropriate' city; the Visigoths could be mentioned–the main focus would be on the renaming of the main characters; Olga could be transformed into the holy Oda, 'Renat' or 'Turpin' or something like that instead of Iwan, Marie could be replaced by an old-fashioned name [...] This operation would have some charm and advantages because of the fresh milieu, and it would – as I see it – at the moment even be politically desirable to show the, so to speak, 'Germanic-Romanian music culture' of what would later be Burgundian soil.[21]

This quotation gives a detailed demonstration of the methods of aesthetic-political music censorship used by the *RfM*. The main ways that music could be scrutinized and altered were spatially, temporally, nationally, and religiously. The naming and titles of key actors and objects could also be changed.

War utopias and realities

Due to the increasing pressure by the realities of the war, this project to re-cast the Bizet opera-which was to include a performance in German-was not completed before 1945.[22]

The work of the *RfM* was seen as the last step in shaping the German music repertoire–although mainly its operas and oratorios–in line with a National Socialist im-

21 Moser to Wenter 29.1.1943, BA R55/20572, original: '[E]ine Verlegung nur nach Kiew als "Zar der Tartaren" ist politisch in keiner Weise hinlänglich [...] Aus all diesen Gründen schlagen wir vor, die Handlung [...] in ein sehr frühes (wegen Frauenraub), aber schon christliches (wegen der Prozession) Frankreich (wegen des musikalischen Lokalkolorits), also in das westfränkische Merowingerreich oder ein etwas sagenhaftes Aquitanien des 5.–8. Jahrhunderts zu verlegen. Statt der Zirkassier im Kaukasus könnten die Basken in den Pyrenäen stehen, statt Moskau "Tours" oder eine andere "einschlägige" Stadt, die Westgoten könnten erwähnt werden–hauptsächlich käme es auf die Umtaufung der Hauptpersonen an; Olga könnte die heilige Oda werden, statt Iwan "Renat", "Turpin" oder dergl., für Marie vielleicht auch einen als altertümlich empfundenen Namen [...] Reiz und Vorteil dieser Operation wäre zugleich die Unabgebrauchtheit dieses Milieus, und es würde meines Erachtens sogar z. Zt. politisch ganz erwünscht sein, die sozusagen "germanisch-romanische Musikkultur" des später burgundischen Bodens zu zeigen'.

22 There is, however, evidence that Bizet's opera "Iwan der Schreckliche" was performed at a castle in Tübingen as early as 1946. *Kulturnachrichten* in the *Zeit-online* archive: http://www.zeit.de/1946/33/kulturnachrichten [20131205]. It would be interesting to know which version was performed at the Mühringen castle and if there was any information on how exactly the work had come to Germany.

age of the future European musical landscape. Through a detailed editing process, the German musical repertoire was bowdlerized and adjusted to the newly formulated Pan-Germanic cultural needs. As the National Socialists foresaw an expansion of German borders through the conquest of new territories, there was an increasing demand to expand the future musical repertoire, in accordance with National Socialist ideals. In envisioning these future scenarios there was a more or less concrete definition of what kind of music should be at the core. Moser's (and through him, the Nazi regime's) musical ideals and visions were concretised in the first "yearbook of German music" which came into being under on-going war conditions, ten years after the 1933 *Machtergreifung*. The realities of the war at this time shine through Moser's report, not only in his indirect mention of on-going air bombardments by the Allies on German territory ("heute luftbedrohte Bezirke des Altreichs"), but also in his mentions of the new borders of the postponed so-called *Dritte Reich*, which was to have taken place after Germany won the war and was in the phase of recovering and restoring territory (*Aufbauzeit*). The work of the *RfM* was posited as being a decisive ingredient in what Moser called "caring peace planning" ("fürsorgliche Friedensplanung").[23] What was formulated as a pan-Germanic utopian narrative was betrayed by the harsh reality. By 1944 it became obvious that the preparation and material requirements for "total war" were so vast, and the concrete cultural production so limited, that all raw materials had to be dedicated to armament production. Moser was called to serve as a member on the *Orgelbeirat* ("Organ commission"), which decided which organs were least worthy and could therefore be melted down for war needs. Restrictions were also put in place for other materials and natural resources, such as paper for sheet music production.[24]

Censorship and language

Language has obviously played a crucial role in the legislation and discourse of National Socialism. The Nazi regime's official language usage has also been characterised as a disturbed communication situation,[25] which gave rise to a National Socialistic language usage built on historical contexts and sources. In reality, there was no genuinely new Nazi language system, but rather strong linguistic references to former patterns, movements and trends, such as nationalism, *völkisch* socialism, Anti-Semitism, cultural pessimism (*Kulturpessimismus*) and racism.

The linguistic effects on music censorship were diverse, and incorporated the concrete establishment and usage of certain dichotomies outlining and defining the limits of accepted and desired versus condemned and forbidden music.

In Joseph Goebbels' speech on the "Reich Music Festival" (*Reichsmusiktage*) in Düsseldorf in 1938 he once again pointed to the regime's musical-political principles,

23 Moser 1943, 78.

24 Peters to Moser 10 July 1944, BA R55/20572.

25 Birgitta Almgren, *Germanistik und Nationalsozialismus: Affirmation, Konflikt und Protest. Traditionsfelder und zeitgebundene Wertung in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft am Beispiel der Germanisch-Romanischen Monatsschrift 1929–1943* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1997), 34, 44f.

which were later enforced by subordinate authorities like the *RfM*. One of the ten principles sums up what was at the centre of music censorship:

> Like any other art, music is derived from mysterious and profound forces, which are rooted in ethnic belonging [*Volkstum*] [...] Jewishness and German music are opposites, which by their nature stand in the starkest contradiction to each other. The fight against Jewishness in German music is therefore still today our major task, never to be revealed [...][26]

This racially grounded argumentation was imbedded in a framework of aesthetical and national values. As Sponheuer points out "National Socialist ideas are not contained within individual concepts and ideological elements that can almost without exception be traced back to other sources, but within their specific arrangement and receptive embedding".[27]

In the quote above Goebbels states that there is a natural division between Jewishness and German music. Here "Jewishness" and the "German" are set in direct opposition, with the Other to be defeated and the Self to be protected. This racially grounded dividing principle was the central Nazi argument for the exclusion of Jewish musical life from German contemporary musical development. It had a profound negative effect on the possibilities for so-called "unwanted" persons to maintain their participation in everyday music culture.[28]

As shown above, musicologists like Moser were important for the formulation of the ideological goals of Nazi music regulation. In Moser's description of the starting point for the *RfM*, the main focus was the desire "to broaden the program of both serious and light German music scenes-in accordance with *Reich* interests [...] in order to encourage the valuable and to protect against commercialised productions and poor taste".[29] In 1943 Moser summarized the preceding years of work in the field of music, with one of his articles in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943* ("Yearbook of German Music 1943") entitled "Von der Steuerung des deutschen Musiklebens" ("About

26 Joseph Goebbels, "Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens," *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer* 5 (1938) 11: 3, original: "Wie jede andere Kunst, so entspringt die Musik geheimnisvollen und tiefen Kräften, die im Volkstum verwurzelt sind [...] Judentum und deutsche Musik, das sind Gegensätze, die ihrer Natur nach in schroffstem Widerspruch zueinander stehen. Der Kampf gegen das Judentum in der deutschen Musik [...] ist deshalb heute noch unsere große, niemals preiszugebende Zeitaufgabe [...]"

27 Bernd Sponheuer, "The National Socialist Discussion on the 'German Quality' in Music," in Michael H. Kater, and Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Music and Nazism. Art under Tyranny, 1933–1945* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 36.

28 Erik Levi, "Music and National Socialism. The Politicisation of Criticism, Composition and Performance," in Brandon Taylor, and Wilfried van der Will (ed.), *The Nazification of Art* (Winchester, Hampshire: The Winchester Press, 1990), 158–182, 167.

29 Hans Joachim Moser, "Von der Tätigkeit der Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen," in Hellmuth von Hase (ed.), *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik. Im Auftrage der Abteilung Musik des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Leipzig and Berlin: Breitkopf and Härtel and Max Hesse Verlag, 1943), 78–82, 78, original: "den Spielplan der deutschen ernsten wie heiteren Musikbühnen in einer Richtung erweitert und bereichert zu sehen, die [...] treuhänderisch von Reichs wegen Wertvolles fördert und n u r Händlerisches, geschmacklich Anfechtbares verhindert."

the regulation of German musical life"). Moser's use of National Socialist language in describing the necessity of regulating music is evident in such statements as "the tasks of the totalitarian state are [...] largely determined: here, what is needed is less impulse, but more protection of the weak and guidance of the strong, so that the lurking subversive seeds will not gain any power".[30] Moser's use of the dichotomy of weak and strong to justify the necessity of regulating music exemplifies the use of language as a tool for discrimination; his combination of protection of the weak with guidance of the strong is completed by an organicist assertion about subversive seeds (*Zersetzungskeime*) who lie in wait at every turn, ready to take advantage of any sustenance given to them. This kind of argumentation and language use had not been invented by the Nazis, but was sharpened and put into practice in the Nazi era. The Nazi use of language as a strong tool of discrimination was exemplified in music censorship, where language was mainly used to include and exclude specific music.

Nazi cultural revolution

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, they envisioned a "cultural revolution" that would implement a national-racist ideal of German art and music on all societal levels. This message was disseminated through public channels such as the school and the broader education system; the Nazi party was also adept at manipulating public opinion through media such as radio and film, mainly through the cinemas and weekly news films. Art exhibitions were also conceived in order to guide public opinion and to emphasize the necessity and value of cultural-political censorship measures.

In July 1937 the exhibition "Degenerate Art" (*Entartete Kunst*) opened in Munich, showing 650 confiscated artworks from 32 museums[31] and one year later the exhibition "Degenerate Music" (*Entartete Musik*) followed in connection with the regime's first "Reich Music Festival" (*Reichsmusiktage*) in Düsseldorf. This exhibition was shown in Weimar, Munich and Vienna that same year, and plans were made to schedule further exhibitions in the coming years. Ultimately, these plans were not carried out due to the outbreak of World War II.[32]

The exhibition "Degenerate Music" was supplemented by sound examples that attendees could listen to on demand. This multimedia exhibition is one more example of the technical modernisation that accompanied the Nazi regime's striving for total control of the population through aesthetic means.

30 Hans Joachim Moser, "Von der Steuerung des deutschen Musiklebens," in Hellmuth von Hase (ed.), *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943. Im Auftrag der Abteilung Musik des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Leipzig and Berlin: Breitkopf and Härtel and Max Hesse Verlag, 1943), 22, original: "Die Aufgaben des totalitären Staates sind [...] weitgehend bestimmt: hier tut weniger Impuls not als Schutz der Schwachen und Lenkung der Starken, damit die hier wie in allem Leben lauernden Zersetzungskeime nirgends Macht gewinnen."

31 http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/kunst/entartet/

32 Albrecht Dümling, and Peter Girth, *Entartete Musik. Dokumentation und Kommentar* (Düsseldorf, 1988).

The auditory and visual conceptualisations of the public sphere were also intended to extend into people's private spaces. Radio for instance, which could be used as a direct propaganda channel to people's living rooms, was a platform for the distribution of both permitted and favoured music. Thus, radio music was the audible media counterpart to silenced and censored music.

What is the opposite of music censorship?

Political music censorship is a question of power relations and a consequence of the construction of music as powerful. Musical objects, subjects and expressions are defined and reinterpreted in the process of the establishment of music censorship in order to make them controllable and separable from accepted fields of music making and expression. Through the process of censorship, music becomes subordinate to laws and regulations unrelated to aesthetics. Although the tools for political music censorship vary, one common feature is the assumption of an almost fixed and absolute Self from which music is defined and censorship of the Other can be constructed as meaningful. This positioning of Self and Other often provides music censorship with a legal framework within which to operate, although this framework can vary greatly depending on location and historical period. Music censorship is seldom a sudden implementation of a totally new agenda, but rather, is dependent on a number of known and established criteria, which serve as the conditions on which the regulations and the concrete design of censorship legislation rest. Those criteria are themselves culturally constructed. For instance, general views on music and its function in a given society will affect attitudes towards music taboos, as well as a society's treatment of individual access to music production and reception. Relevant questions relating to this issue are: Who is allowed to be a musician, a composer, a musical actor, etc.? Which instruments and sound sources are accessible to whom? Who is commissioned with representing social interests, and are they politically motivated or independent? What narratives exist about the function of music in that society?

The Nazi construction of German music, which was drawn mostly from the classical repertoire, as well as from traditional folk music (*Volksmusik*), was considered desirable and given strong support by Nazi officials; it was hardly surprising that these two genres therefore dominated the radio repertoire. At the same time, programmes that included Nordic music ("Nordische Musik") also increased. The integration of Nordic music not only broadened the invisible boarders of the imagined pan-German cultural nation, but also facilitated a concretisation of the racist and imaginary German affinity to Nordic culture.[33]

33 Ursula Geisler, "'…was an Musik des Nordens nur nordisch maskiert ist.' Konstruktion und Rezeption 'nordischer' Musik im deutschsprachigen Musikdiskurs," in Frank-Michael Kirsch, and Birgitta Almgren (ed.), *Sprache und Politik im skandinavischen und deutschen Kontext 1933–1945* (Aalborg, 2003), 223–238; Ursula Geisler, "Herders 'Volksgeist' och Götiska förbundet," in Greger Andersson, and Ursula Geisler, *Myt och propaganda. Musiken i nazismens tjänst* (Stockholm: Forum för levande historia, 2007), 25–45.

The question "What is the opposite of music censorship?" may at first glance sound somewhat naive or provocative; however, focusing on a question like this facilitates an understanding of the complexity of topics concerning censorship. It is not only a question of the music, musicians and other musical expressions that are not censored, but also of musical freedom and of what music is actively promoted and supported. Governmental support can influence the development of musical life in certain directions, and, together with censorship measures, can have a crucial effect on wide-ranging areas of the cultural landscape.

Researching music censorship

In order to study the topic of music censorship in the Nazi era, a broad range of secondary reference literature still needs to be supplemented with in-depth archival and library research. Relevant documents can be found in the German *Bundesarchiv* ("National Archive") in Berlin.[34] Some of the most relevant sources have also been collected and compiled by individual researchers; Fred K. Prieberg's *Handbuch deutscher Musiker 1933-1945*, for example, is one of the most extensive compilations of original sources on music and the Third Reich. Over more than 9000 pages Prieberg compiles an enormous number of original text excerpts and pieces of information on relevant persons, institutions, journals, etc.; this contribution represents an exceptional individual effort to shed light on what is often a consciously obscured period of music and politics. Prieberg's handbook has been published only in a digital format, making it easily searchable and therefore a valuable resource for research on both individual musicians and composers, as well as on larger topics like censorship.[35] Prieberg's private archive, "The Prieberg Archive", which totals about 50 metres of shelf space, was handed over to the Institute of Musical Science at the Christian Albrechts University in Kiel, where it can be consulted by researchers. Since 2005 the *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* has collected and systematically published the bibliographical information of musicians, musicologists and others involved in the national music life who were discriminated against or forced to emigrate from Germany after 1933 (or from Austria after 1938). This ambitious reference project contains more than 4000 names, of which several hundred have already been supplemented with more detailed information regarding their biography, music production and publications. An outstanding bibliography completes this resource, providing a helpful introduction to searchable archives, reference literature and other relevant sources concerning persecuted musicians in Nazi Germany.[36] This kind of publication on music censorship, from the perspective of the personal consequences, is an important research contribution, complementing research that focuses on cultural violations by the perpetrators of censorship.

34 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/benutzung/zeitbezug/nationalsozialismus/index. html.de
35 Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (Auprès des Zombry, 2004).
36 www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de

Summary

Between 1933 and 1945, political music censorship in Germany was based on racial principles; so-called atonality and Jewishness were therefore the main targets of censorship activities. These censorship principles were built on music discourses from before 1933, using existing terminology such as Musical bolshevism, German music, and atonal music. Political music censorship carried out by specific institutions like the Reich Department of Music Arrangements (*RfM*) and the Reich Music Inspecting Authority (*RMP*) was thus not only limited to the sphere of musical scores or textbooks, but to all musical activities from "unwanted" (*unerwünscht*) persons.

For a better understanding of the systematically enforced music censorship in the Nazi era, one must remain aware of the embedding of music into the hierarchical political structures and institutions. Music underwent a crucial change during this time period, towards both an objectification and a symbolic transformation. This was paralleled by strategies of defining music and musicians in terms of Otherness as opposed to Germanness, in a racially and thus politically useful sense. Concrete music censorship activities were part of a racially grounded policy, which resulted in systematically enacted regulations. While Germany's reputation as a *Kulturnation* since the 19th century had been based on the use of music mainly as a representation of nationalised universalism, the National Socialist construction of cultural meaning employed music as a metaphor for genetic purity and superiority.