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Music Reception in the Voelkischer Beobachter

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Introduction

In recent years, much work has been done on the connections between music and politics in modern Germany. Particularly in the area of National Socialist culture, historians and musicologists have been investigating how music practices were associated with party and state propaganda. However, hampered partly by what some term a "conspiracy of silence" among persons who contributed to the Musikpolitik of the Third Reich and remained influential thereafter, it has taken intensive effort to determine just which music makers, administrators, and experts collaborated with Nazi authorities. In order to set this record straight, scholars have hitherto concentrated on the administrative histories of National Socialist cultural institutions.¹

But work on the institutional background of Nazi music politics should be understood as a first step toward answering what I consider the central question pertaining to this field: as Michael Kater posed it, "What function did music have in a dictatorship that aimed at dominating the masses and then going to war?"² To answer this, we must press our investigation beyond determining who was responsible for Nazi music policy, to learn how specific composers and their compositions were incorporated into National Socialist pageantry, and to what effect.

In my recent book on Beethoven in German politics, I traced the history of the reception given that composer by political activists from 1870 to 1989.³ In it I examined how Germans have interpreted Beethoven's music to justify their ideologies and actions, thereby transforming art and artist into political symbols. Naturally, an important section of my book is devoted to describing how the Nazis incorporated this composer into their propaganda. To describe the process by which Beethoven was "nazified," I paid particular attention to how the *Voelkischer Beobachter* promoted him. By reading interpretations of Beethoven in the principal Nazi newspaper, I was able to learn not just that party propagandists considered his music an important part of their program, but why they considered it so, and how they made it part of their campaign.

In surveying recent literature on Nazi music policy, I notice a relatively low number of references to the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and comparable Nazi publications for the general public. Most work concentrates on publications Nazis targeted at expert audiences, in this case music scholars.⁴ To think our histories of National Socialism in general and Nazi Musikpolitik in particular are complete without comprehensive analysis of the party daily is premature. As one peruses articles and images that described every phase of Hitler's rise to power and the world war from the perspective of committed party members one gains invaluable insight into every aspect of this story. Moreover, one learns from this resource what Nazi propagandists wanted average party members and Germans in general — not just top-level officials and scholars — to think about matters, including music.

In order to insert more of these materials into our coverage of National Socialist music policy, I undertook this summer to scan each page of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* from January 1920 through April 1945 in search of every major article it published on "serious" music.⁵ By "major articles," I mean feature articles that assessed music or musician in some depth, not concert reviews unless these treated a composition or composer in a unique way or described performances associated with landmarks such as birth or death anniversaries or pivotal events in German history. According to these conditions I gathered, registered, and studied 1008 major music articles from the *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

Based on this collection, it was my intention to present today a survey of the exact terms in which the Voelkischer Beobachter discussed every famous composer in the European music tradition, highlighting the ways in which the newspaper associated them with Nazi ideology and policies. However, even after reducing my notes to those treating the essential themes related to just the top twenty “German masters,” not including foreign or contemporary composers, I still had an outline that ran to one hundred and eighty single-spaced pages. Realizing that I would not be able to condense this thematic material into a fifteen-minute paper, I have opted to present a wider analysis of statistics derived from my collection. In doing so, I want to relate themes that strike me as significant and, I hope, engage the panel and audience members in a discussion about whether studying these resources is a worthwhile undertaking and how best to proceed.

Table 1: Feature Articles on All Composers

Since I have subdivided the data covered by Table 1, I will discuss this complete version only in general terms. Overall, Table 1 indicates that by far the majority of music articles in the Voelkischer Beobachter addressed the lives and works of German composers no longer living; in other words, the “German masters.” Of the top twenty composers ranked, only one, Verdi, was of non-German origins. By this I mean from the perspective of the Nazis themselves. Debate did occur during the era over the Deutschtum of Liszt — and even Beethoven — but the editors of the Voelkischer Beobachter surely considered them to be German.⁶ Of the leading twenty, moreover, only seven were alive when these articles were written about them. I will discuss the reception given some leading contemporary composers below. But the main notion to be derived from this table is that National Socialist Kulturpolitiker concentrated on transforming the major figures and compositions of the German tradition into party and national icons. While they were interested in the issues of new music (or more to the point: establishing a “National Socialist music” or a “music for the Third Reich”), these were less important to Nazi propagandists than associating their movement and then government with the main historical figures of the German tradition.⁷

Table 2: Feature Articles on Non-“German” Composers

Most noteworthy about Table 2 is the prominence of Giuseppe Verdi. Although direct associations were rarely drawn between Verdi and Il Duce, these articles often appeared simultaneous with German-Italian cultural exchanges evidently arranged to strengthen “axis” relations.⁸ More broadly, one can see in Table 2 that the *Voelkischer Beobachter* did include discussion of non-German composers. But it is important to note that the majority of these essays dealt with famous foreign musicians as representative of their own national music traditions. Whatever universal value a music might obtain, its true significance was nationally determined: while foreign composers deserve respect as important figures in their own national cultures, Germans, *Voelkischer Beobachter* articles usually implied, should not pay an excessive amount of attention to them because this would reduce the time and energy they could give to “honoring their German masters.”⁹

Table 3: Feature Articles on Deceased “German” Composers

It is ultimately the themes in Table 3 that interest me the most at this point in my work. Given the overall significance of the “German masters” in National Socialist music criticism, it is in the material represented here that I have focused my research. For my purposes, the most striking theme conveyed in this table is that while Beethoven and his music were very important components in National Socialist propaganda, Wagner received by far the most attention from the *Voelkischer Beobachter*. This fact does nothing, in my opinion, to reduce the significance of Beethoven in German political culture as a whole, for — as I demonstrated in my book — he and his music were incorporated into the culture of every major group across the political spectrum. But that Wagner was the central historical figure not just in the music and cultural views of the Nazis, but in their *Weltanschauung* as a whole, appears likely.

Scholars have long written about the place of Wagner and his operas in Nazi ideology, working from records of Hitler’s personal fascination and the resulting “nazification” of Bayreuth.¹⁰ Records of Nazi Wagner reception in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* do nothing to contradict these assumptions; but they do reveal, perhaps more than any other source, the enormous extent of Wagner’s importance in National Socialist culture. No major area of Nazi policy — whether artistic, social, economic, military, or racist — was addressed in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* without some accompanying reference to Wagner’s supposedly supportive views on the matter.

The most intriguing because controversial aspect of this practice was the way the Nazis referred to Wagner's anti-Semitism in the context of their own.¹¹ Based on the discourse of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, I can report that Wagner's writings about Jews and, to a more limited extent, his music dramas themselves, were absolutely essential sources of anti-Semitic thought to which the National Socialists constantly referred.¹² Given the love and respect for Wagner expressed in the party paper (which belies arguments that it was Hitler alone among the Nazis who worshipped him), I am convinced that they derived a sense of historical and cultural legitimacy by consistently demonstrating that the "greatest of German masters" (from their perspective) apparently held opinions like their own about Jews and other national "enemies."

I cannot now present the terms by which the *Voelkischer Beobachter* integrated the rest of the German music greats into their propagandistic Walhalla. But I assure you that contributors to the party paper's cultural section sought to place Nazi "spins" on the life stories and musics of all the leading German composers. Let me summarize the conceptual pattern of this process: every composer was first demonstrated to have been of legitimate German racial stock — and defended against any suggestions to the contrary; the biography of each was then assessed for signs of general *Deutschtum* (Germanness) or even better, *Volkstuemlichkeit* (folksiness); then were presented specific anecdotes demonstrating patriotism, militarism, anti-Semitism, Francophobia, Anglophobia, or other Nazi principles on the part of the artist; in addition the music of each was assessed for its *Deutschtum* or *Volkstuemlichkeit*, and above all, its inspirational impact; finally, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* reported on specific uses to which a composer's works were put in National Socialist pageantry. No German composer was immune to these procedures of propagandistic exploitation in the party paper.¹³

Table 4: Feature Articles on Contemporary "German" Composer

In Table 4,¹⁴ the case of Hans Pfitzner is notable. Whatever inconsistencies may have arisen in the development and actual implementation of National Socialist music policy, its earliest and main components were derived from a pre-existing strain of conservative music criticism devoted to resisting developments best represented by the second Viennese school. In a series of essays, Pfitzner had assumed the critical lead in attacks on serial and atonal musics.¹⁵ By doing so he earned the unequivocal respect of critics at the *Voelkischer Beobachter*.¹⁶ Hungry to find a successful contemporary German composer whose aesthetic principles seemed to coordinate with their own, Nazi critics did all they could to convince their readers that Hans Pfitzner should be counted among the greatest of “German masters.”¹⁷

The presence of the subsequent names on the chart is for the most part self-explanatory, though I will discuss the case of Ernst Krenek under Table 5. Richard Strauss’ cooperation with the Nazi movement, culminating in his service as president of the Reichsmusikkammer, is well-known. The reception given Strauss and his works in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, however, does contain some critical nuances, mainly in the form of subtle — and sometimes not so subtle — reproach of the more modern aspects of his works.¹⁸ These articles deserve further exploration, if only as background to Strauss’ eventual exit from the position in Nazi music administration with the highest public profile.

As for Siegfried Wagner, I could not help coming away from reviewing the extensive *Voelkischer Beobachter* discussion of him with the impression that Nazis were mainly interested in him as Richard Wagner’s son. Although this view may seem obvious in retrospect, it belies the vast amount of print that the *Voelkischer Beobachter* devoted to convincing other Germans (and perhaps themselves) that the son had inherited some creative spark from *der Meister* himself.¹⁹ In the end, however, it was really only as one who kept the Bayreuth Festival functioning that Siegfried emerges from the party paper. For many reasons, the articles allotted to him in this table (along with numerous references to mother Cosima²⁰) might more aptly be placed in the father’s account.

Table 5: Feature Articles on “Music Enemies”

Most of those “enemies” listed on Table 5 were obvious targets of Nazi enmity: the attacks made on them are now familiar. Little in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* criticism of Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Mahler, and Schoenberg differs from the general lines of cultural anti-Semitism. Noteworthy but not surprising is regular reference to Wagner’s opinions about “Jews and music.”²¹ References to him that appear in this context leave absolutely no doubt as to the direct influence that Wagner had on the formulation of National Socialist anti-Semitism as it pertained to music and music policy.

Regarding the large proportion of articles about Ernst Krenek, I should report that it does not signify ongoing interest in the composer or his music. The vast majority of these pieces appeared in the paper around the year 1927, when Krenek premiered his *Zeitoper, Jonny spielt auf*. Actually this category in Table 5 should probably read “Jonny” instead of “Krenek” because that work triggered perhaps the single most vehement and long-lasting tirade of cultural criticism launched by the National Socialists. More famous is the Nazi reaction against Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts neues*. But on the basis of my survey, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*’s offensive against Krenek’s *Jonny spielt auf* was of much greater symbolic significance.²² Without exploring the matter in depth here, I can report that Krenek’s jazz-playing protagonist in blackface was the target of every phase of the anti-modernist, “racially-determined,” music-critical onslaught mounted by the Nazis. It is no coincidence that a caricature of Jonny was used to publicize the exhibition of *entartete Musik* in Duesseldorf in 1938,²³ for the *Voelkischer Beobachter* had made all readers aware of this Weimar era cause celebre.

Table 6: Feature Articles on Other Cultural Figures

Finally, Table 6 lists the number of articles in the Voelkischer Beobachter that featured major cultural figures other than music makers. While I did not search for these quite as intensively as I did music articles, I did try to take note of all the major pieces that celebrated or analyzed other cultural leaders. Startling is the discrepancy between the number of articles devoted to Goethe (59) and those about Wagner (243), Beethoven (116), and Mozart (107). Overall, based on the 25 years my search covered, a little more than 40 articles per year (40.32) were devoted to “serious” music composers, while only approximately 14 per year (14.36) dealt with masters of all the other arts together. More careful comparative statistical analysis is necessary, but on the basis of this initial inquiry I am personally satisfied that music was among the most prevelant, if not the most discussed cultural field in the pages of the Voelkischer Beobachter. This table and comparison of its figures with the number of articles on music-related themes confirms the assumption shared by all of us on this panel: that exploring links between German music, politics, and statecraft, in the National Socialist era and otherwise, is a most worthy undertaking.

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Additional Table A: Feature Articles on “Serious” Music Per Year

Additional Table A shows the number of feature articles on “serious” music that I gathered per year. In it I do not discern any significant trends. Clearly the years 1921 and 1922 constituted a period of “thin” music coverage, and 1923 a strong increase. This probably reflects internal editorial policy and manpower issues more than anything else. The jump in 1927 and 1928 might be partly attributed to the commemorations of the one-hundredth anniversary of Beethoven’s death in 1927, which triggered a struggle between all major parties to associate that composer with a wide range of ideologies.²⁴ Increased attention to Beethoven might have heightened Nazi interest in music in general during that period.

The relatively high number of pieces published in 1934 can probably be related to the processes of cultural Gleichschaltung that took place in that year, when the lines of National Socialist Kulturpolitik were established and communicated. Finally, the drop in 1945 reflects conditions at the last stage of the war, when a stripped-down version of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* was published only through April 15.²⁵ Indeed, it is remarkable that any articles about “Love in Mozart’s world,” “Where Beethoven was Born,” “Karl Maria von Weber’s Homecoming,” “The Idea of a National Opera,” and “Richard Wagner and the Ninth,” were published in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* during late 1944 and 1945 at all.

Overall this yearly accounting signifies — more than any particular themes — the consistent and ongoing attention that the *Voelkischer Beobachter* drew to matters of music interpretation and the biographies of major composers. Based on my selections, an average of just over 40 articles ($1008/25 = 40.32$) per year featured these themes. As we will see, this compared very favorably with coverage the *Voelkischer Beobachter* gave to other areas of creativity.

Additional Table B: Feature Articles on Other Music Themes²⁶

The issues that stand out most clearly in Additional Table B, music nationalism, new German music, and musical enemies, I have already discussed. Among other significant items listed here, those of the *Nationalsozialistisches Symphonieorchester* and *Hausmusik* deserve some further explanation.

In 1932 was established the NS Symphonieorchester, also known as the Orchester des Fuehrers and the Reichssymphonieorchester, and from that day forth the ensemble received regular coverage in the Voelkischer Beobachter. Under the direction of conductor Franz Adam, the NS Symphonie-Orchester was the most tangible manifestation of Nazi Musikpolitik both before and after the Machtergreifung. In the mission statements, concert records, advertisements, and programs of this orchestra we can find sure information about how the party employed serious German music as a propaganda tool. Adam and his ensemble had as their stated aims to “lead, in the form of a practical example, the battle of the N.S.D.A.P. against the internationalization and Bolshevization of music, to defend against the threatening mechanization of music, and to play in those regions that do not have a standing orchestra . . . [since] even the simplest among Volksgenossen united by National Socialism possess the inner readiness to receive the highest expressions of German musical genius.²⁷ To these ends they traveled throughout Germany, stopping mainly in communities outside of big cities to offer the gift of the German classics — understood as a sign of Nazi cultural values, of course. During the war, the orchestra concertized in occupied territories. At the performances of the NS Symphonieorchester, the works of composers most favored by Nazi officials were directly associated, through explanatory concert programs and especially pre-concert speeches, with specific issues of ongoing political, and even military, campaigns.²⁸ The laudatory coverage that the Voelkischer Beobachter gave to these concerts is an excellent resource for investigating the history of this most tangible form of Nazi Musikpolitik.

As for the theme of Hausmusik, one can readily conceive how it fits into the overall Nazi effort to offer Germans a renewed sense of order and stability after the shocks of early twentieth-century European life. The Nazi campaign to encourage music making at home was formulated in Voelkischer Beobachter articles encouraging amateurs and also in classified ads for instruments and lessons. For the most part, these appeals were targeted at women. Indeed, one might be justified in thinking of the Nazi message to German women as having had four “Ks” instead of three: Kinder, Kirche, Kuechen, ... und Klavier! Hausmusik was very much part of the “fully furnished home,” to borrow George Mosse’s phrase,²⁹ that Nazis promised to construct for Germans tired of modern disruptions.

Additional Table C: Authors of Feature Music Articles

Additional Table C lists the names of the persons who wrote the feature articles on music for the Voelkischer Beobachter, ranked according to the number of contributions by each. Only 688 of my 1008 articles included by-lines, but these statistics do show us who was packaging Nazi Musikpolitik for public consumption.

Most important is the fact that — except for Alfred Rosenberg whose influence on Voelkischer Beobachter cultural coverage was a given — few leading party officials appear in these credits. However this should not be taken as a sign that persons like Hitler, Goebbels, Rust, and Ley had no impact on Voelkischer Beobachter criticism. The paper regularly reported on speeches given and events arranged by top-level Nazis so one does find much information in its pages about their public opinions on serious music matters.³⁰

I have not myself explored the backgrounds of the many other writers listed here, except some of the better-known music scholars. Undoubtedly Pamela Potter can identify and discuss the biographies of many more. I invite her and the audience to consider how the personal histories of these Nazi Kulturpolitiker might add to the history of the music criticism and policy they helped establish.

Tables for Music Reception in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*

Table 1: Feature Articles on All Composers

<i>Wagner</i>	243
<i>Beethoven</i>	116
<i>Mozart</i>	107
<i>Bruckner</i>	47
<i>Bach</i>	43
<i>Schubert</i>	35
<i>Pfitzner</i>	34
<i>Krenek</i>	30
<i>Strauss, Richard</i>	27
<i>Brahms</i>	23
<i>Haendel</i>	22
<i>Wagner, Siegfried</i>	20
<i>Weber, Carl Maria von</i>	20
<i>Reger</i>	19
<i>Verdi</i>	17
<i>Liszt</i>	16
<i>Haydn</i>	15
<i>Schoenberg</i>	11
<i>Egk, Werner</i>	9
<i>Strauss, Johann (father & son)</i>	9
<i>Puccini</i>	8
<i>Weill</i>	8
<i>Graener, Paul</i>	7
<i>Mahler</i>	7
<i>Stravinsky</i>	6
<i>Bizet</i>	5
<i>Hausegger</i>	5
<i>Lehar</i>	5
<i>Mendelssohn</i>	5
<i>Orff</i>	5
<i>Paganini</i>	5
<i>Schilling, Max von</i>	5
<i>Smetana</i>	5
<i>Wolf, Hugo</i>	5
<i>Dvorak</i>	4
<i>Gluck</i>	4

<i>Honegger, Arthur</i>	4
<i>Korngold</i>	4
<i>Rossini</i>	4
<i>Tschaikovsky</i>	4
<i>Berlioz</i>	3
<i>Grieg</i>	3
<i>Hindemith</i>	3
<i>Hoeller, Karl</i>	3
<i>Humperdinck</i>	3
<i>Mussorgsky</i>	3
<i>Schuetz</i>	3
<i>Unger, Hermann</i>	3
<i>Cherubini</i>	2
<i>Chopin</i>	2
<i>Debussy</i>	2
<i>Maerschner</i>	2
<i>Meyerbeer</i>	2
<i>Milhaud</i>	2
<i>Ravel</i>	2
<i>Rimsky-Korsakov</i>	2
<i>Saint-Saens</i>	2
<i>Schaefer, Karl</i>	2
<i>Schmidt, Franz</i>	2
<i>Schreker</i>	2
<i>Schumann</i>	2
<i>Spohr, Ludwig</i>	2
<i>Stolzing, Josef</i>	2
<i>Winter, Paul</i>	2
<i>Aron, Paul</i>	1
<i>Bach, Johann Christian</i>	1
<i>Bartok</i>	1
<i>Bellini</i>	1
<i>Berg, Alban</i>	1
<i>Berger, Theodor</i>	1
<i>Biebl, Franz</i>	1
<i>Bill, Hans</i>	1
<i>Bittner</i>	1

<i>Borodin</i>	1
<i>Buxtehude</i>	1
<i>Czerny</i>	1
<i>Flick-Steger, Karl</i>	1
<i>Fuerst, Georg</i>	1
<i>Gabler, Richard</i>	1
<i>Gebhard, Hans</i>	1
<i>Gebhard, Max</i>	1
<i>Gerstberger, Karl</i>	1
<i>Goetz, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Gounod</i>	1
<i>Haydn, Michael</i>	1
<i>Hoeffler, Paul</i>	1
<i>Hofmann, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Hummel, J. N.</i>	1
<i>Klenau</i>	1
<i>Janacek</i>	1
<i>Jobst, Max</i>	1
<i>Kalninisch, Alfred</i>	1
<i>Klose</i>	1
<i>Klussmann, Ernst G.</i>	1
<i>Lang, Hans</i>	1
<i>Marx, Karl</i>	1
<i>Mascagni</i>	1
<i>Maurick, Ludwig</i>	1
<i>Monteverdi</i>	1
<i>Neutter, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Pilland, Eduard</i>	1
<i>Reicha, Anton</i>	1
<i>Reiter, Josef</i>	1
<i>Scarlatti</i>	1
<i>Schilling, Hans</i>	1
<i>Schmidseder, Ludwig</i>	1
<i>Schneider, Josef</i>	1
<i>Seeliger, Alfred</i>	1
<i>Sell, Josef</i>	1
<i>Sibelius</i>	1

<i>Siegl, Otto</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Stieber, Hans</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Trapp, Max</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Trunk, Richard</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Wallnoeser, Adolf</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Weismann, Julius</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Werfel, Franz</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Wetzler, Hermann</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Wimmer, Karl</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Woyrsch, Felix</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Zikel von Jans</i>	<i>1</i>

Table 2: Feature Articles on Non-“German” Composers

<i>Verdi</i>	17
<i>Puccini</i>	8
<i>Stravinsky</i>	6
<i>Bizet</i>	5
<i>Paganini</i>	5
<i>Smetana</i>	5
<i>Dvorak</i>	4
<i>Rossini</i>	4
<i>Tschaikovsky</i>	4
<i>Berlioz</i>	3
<i>Grieg</i>	3
<i>Mussorgsky</i>	3
<i>Cherubini</i>	2
<i>Chopin</i>	2
<i>Debussy</i>	2
<i>Milhaud</i>	2
<i>Ravel</i>	2
<i>Rimsky-Korsakov</i>	2
<i>Saint-Saens</i>	2
<i>Bartok</i>	1
<i>Bellini</i>	1
<i>Borodin</i>	1
<i>Gounod</i>	1
<i>Janacek</i>	1
<i>Mascagni</i>	1
<i>Monteverdi</i>	1
<i>Reicha, Anton</i>	1
<i>Pilland, Eduard</i>	1
<i>Scarlatti</i>	1
<i>Sibelius</i>	1

Table 3: Feature Articles on Deceased “German” Composers

<i>Wagner</i>	243
<i>Beethoven</i>	116
<i>Mozart</i>	107
<i>Bruckner</i>	47
<i>Bach</i>	43
<i>Schubert</i>	35
<i>Brahms</i>	23
<i>Haendel</i>	22
<i>Weber, Carl Maria von</i>	20
<i>Liszt</i>	16
<i>Haydn</i>	15
<i>Strauss, Johann (father & son)</i>	9
<i>Mahler</i>	7
<i>Mendelssohn</i>	5
<i>Wolf, Hugo</i>	5
<i>Gluck</i>	4
<i>Humperdinck</i>	3
<i>Schuetz</i>	3
<i>Maerschner</i>	2
<i>Meyerbeer</i>	2
<i>Schumann</i>	2
<i>Spohr, Ludwig</i>	2
<i>Bittner</i>	1
<i>Buxtehude</i>	1
<i>Czerny</i>	1
<i>Haydn, Michael</i>	1
<i>Hummel, J. N.</i>	1

Table 4: Feature Articles on Contemporary “German” Composers

<i>Pfitzner, Hans</i>	34
<i>Krenek, Ernst</i>	30
<i>Strauss, Richard</i>	27
<i>Wagner, Siegfried</i>	20
<i>Reger, Max</i>	19
<i>Schoenberg</i>	11
<i>Egk, Werner</i>	9
<i>Weill, Kurt</i>	8
<i>Graener, Paul</i>	7
<i>Lehar, Franz</i>	5
<i>Orff</i>	5
<i>Schilling, Max von</i>	5
<i>Honegger, Arthur</i>	4
<i>Korngold</i>	4
<i>Hindemith</i>	3
<i>Hoeller, Karl</i>	3
<i>Unger, Hermann</i>	3
<i>Schaefer, Karl</i>	2
<i>Schmidt, Franz</i>	2
<i>Schreker, Franz</i>	2
<i>Stolzing, Josef</i>	2
<i>Winter, Paul</i>	2
<i>Adam, Franz</i>	1
<i>Aron, Paul</i>	1
<i>Berg, Alban</i>	1
<i>Berger, Theodor</i>	1
<i>Biebl, Franz</i>	1
<i>Bill, Hans</i>	1
<i>Bittner</i>	1
<i>Flick-Steger, Karl</i>	1
<i>Fuerst, Georg</i>	1
<i>Gabler, Richard</i>	1
<i>Gebhard, Hans</i>	1
<i>Gebhard, Max</i>	1
<i>Gerstberger, Karl</i>	1
<i>Goetz, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Hoeffler, Paul</i>	1

<i>Hofmann, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Klenau</i>	1
<i>Jobst, Max</i>	1
<i>Kalnisch, Alfred</i>	1
<i>Klose</i>	1
<i>Klussmann, Ernst G.</i>	1
<i>Lang, Hans</i>	1
<i>Marx, Karl</i>	1
<i>Maurick, Ludwig</i>	1
<i>Muck, Karl</i>	1
<i>Neutter, Hermann</i>	1
<i>Pilland, Eduard</i>	1
<i>Reiter, Josef</i>	1
<i>Schilling, Hans</i>	1
<i>Schmidseder, Ludwig</i>	1
<i>Schneider, Josef</i>	1
<i>Seeliger, Alfred</i>	1
<i>Sell, Josef</i>	1
<i>Siegl, Otto</i>	1
<i>Stieber, Hans</i>	1
<i>Trapp, Max</i>	1
<i>Trunk, Richard</i>	1
<i>Wallnoeser, Adolf</i>	1
<i>Weismann, Julius</i>	1
<i>Werfel, Franz</i>	1
<i>Wetzler, Hermann H</i>	1
<i>Wimmer, Karl</i>	1
<i>Woyrsch, Felix</i>	1
<i>Zikel von Jans</i>	1

Table 5: Feature Articles on “Music Enemies”

<i>Krenek</i>	30
<i>Schoenberg</i>	11
<i>Weill</i>	8
<i>Mahler</i>	7
<i>Mendelssohn</i>	5
<i>Korngold</i>	4
<i>Hindemith</i>	3
<i>Meyerbeer</i>	2

Table 6: Feature Articles on Other Cultural Figures

Goethe	59
Nietzsche	20
Schiller	20
Durer	18
Heine	16
Mann, Thomas	16
Luther	13
Schopenhauer	10
Einstein	9
Kleist	9
Arndt	7
Remarque	7
Lagarde	6
Brecht	5
Hoelderlin	5
Dostoevsky	4
Kant	4
Langbehn	4
Michelangelo	4
Rembrandt	4
Shakespeare	4
Vogelweide	4
Bahr, Hermann	3
Byron	3
da Vinci	3
Dante	3
Eichendorff	3
Fichte	3
Flex, Walter	3
Hebbel	3

Ibsen	3
Jean Paul	3
Mann, Heinrich	3
Boecklin	2
Breker	2
Buechner, Georg	2
Feuerbach	2
Fontane	2
Georg, Stefan	2
Grillparzer	2
Hegel	2
Hoffmann, E.T.A.	2
Hofmannstal	2
Humboldt, Wm. von	2
Jahn	2
Lessing, Gotthold E.	2
Menzel	2
Rilke	2
Rimbaud	2
Stein, Freiherr vom	2
Thoma, Ludwig	2
Wedekind	2
Altdorfer	1
Arnim, Achim von	1
Brentano, Bettina	1
Brentano, Clemens	1
Burckhardt	1
Carlyle, Thomas	1
Courbet	1
Dilthey	1
Doebelin	1
Freytag	1
Friedrich, Caspar David	1
Grimm, Hans	1
Grosz	1
Harden, Maximilian	1
Hauptmann, Gerhart	1
Herder	1
Hugo, Victor	1
Juenger, Ernst	1
Kandinsky	1
Klinger	1
Kokoschka	1
Leibniz	1
Lenbach	1
May, Karl	1
Mendelssohn, Moses	1
Morike	1
Munch	1
Picasso	1

Rodin	1
Rubens	1
Schinkel	1
Schlegel	1
Schleiermacher	1
Schwind, Moritz von	1
Socrates	1
Spinoza	1
Storm, Theodor	1
Voltaire	1
Winckelmann	1
Zweig	1

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table A: Feature Articles on “Serious” Music per Year

<i>1920</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>1921</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>1922</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>1923</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>1925</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>1926</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>1927</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>1928</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>1929</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>1930</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>1931</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>1932</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>1933</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>1934</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>1935</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>1936</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>1937</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>1938</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>1939</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>1940</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>1941</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>1942</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>1943</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>1944</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1945</i>	<i>3</i>

Table B: Feature Articles on Other Music Themes

<i>German music and composers</i>	901
<i>New German music and composers</i>	80
<i>Music enemies</i>	70
<i>Italian music and composers</i>	43
<i>Antimodernism</i>	39
<i>Music and war</i>	28
<i>NS Symphonieorchester</i>	16
<i>Russian music and composers</i>	16
<i>French music and composers</i>	14
<i>Hausmusik</i>	12
<i>Czech music and composers</i>	8
<i>Antisemitism (Jews & music)</i>	7
<i>Music education</i>	4
<i>Norwegian music and composers</i>	4
<i>Polish music</i>	3
<i>Film music</i>	3
<i>Japanese love of German music</i>	3
<i>Hitler Youth and music</i>	2
<i>American music and composers</i>	1
<i>British music and composers</i>	1
<i>Finnish music and composers</i>	1
<i>Hungarian music and composers</i>	1
<i>Military band music</i>	1
<i>Music and nature</i>	1

Table C: Authors of Feature Music Articles

[H. S.]	
Buchner, Hans	48
[Dr. B, Dr. H. B., H. B.]	
Stolzing-Cerny, Josef	33
Bauer, Erwin	30
[E. B.]	
St---g, J.	29
Valentin, Erich	22
[E.V.]	
Grunsky, Karl	20
Rasch, Hugo	15
[H.R.]	
Mayer, Ludwig K.	14
Kallenberg, Siegfried	11
Klingenbeck, Josef	11
Mueller, Herbert	11
Bayer, Friedrich	10
[F .B.]	
Gottrau, Wolfgang	8
[W. G.]	
Rassy, Gustav Christian	8
Gerigk, Herbert	7
Killer, Hermann	7
Rosenberg, Alfred	7
[A. R.]	
Hauptmann, F. A.	6
Anberger, Gustav	5
[G. A.]	
Daube, Otto	5
Huschke, Konrad	5
Sichart, Emma von	5
Stege, Fritz	5
[Dr. F. St., Dr. St.]	
Witeschnik, Alexander	5
Ziegler, H. G.	5
Baser, Friedrich [Fr. B.]	4
Biagioni, L.	4
Hellmut, Ludwig	4
Hofmueller, Rudolf	4
Pellegrini, Alfred	4
Schiedermaier, Ludwig	4
L. St.	4
Dillmann, Alexander	3
Erman, Hans	3
Herzog, Friedrich	3
Jensen, Wilhelm	3
Keller, Otto	3
Milenkovich, Max	3
Pretzsch, Paul	3
Schaefer, Wilhelm	3
Unger, Hermann	3

Voelsing, Erwin	3
Wolffhuegel, Fritz	3
Wolzogen, H. von	3
Antropp, Hans	2
Band, Lothar	2
Breitinger, Friedrich	2
[F. Br.]	
Engelbrecht, Karl	2
Frank, Hans	2
Gervais, R.	2
Hohlbaum, Robert	2
Junk, Viktor	2
Knoth, Werner	2
Krorsch, Franz	2
Leinburg, Mathilde v.	2
Mayr, Eduard. A.	2
[E. A. M.]	
Neuhaus, Max	2
Pesch, Edmund	2
Pfeifer, Albert	2
Reichwein, Leopold	2
Reinmoeller, Lore	2
Repp, Otto	2
Roeder, Erich	2
Russell, Juga	2
Schempp, Marie	2
Schenk, Erich	2
Seeliger, Hermann	2
Soldan, Walter	2
Strobel, Otto	2
Troebes, Otto	2
Wiltsch, Norbert	2
Wuerzbach, Friedrich	2
Zerkaulen, Heinrich	2
J. B.	2
M.	2
Arenhold, Hans Heinz	1
Auesburg, W.	1
Aulich, Bruno	1
Baete, Ludwig	1
Bahr, Walter	1
Bayer, Otto	1
Berger, Fritz	1
Bloem, Walther	1
Blunck, Berthold	1
Burock, Rud.	1
Cerff, Karl	1
Corrodi, H.	1
Daeglau, Greta	1
Diogenes	1

Dittmar, Lorenz	1
Drexler, Friedrich	1
Dringenberg, Willibert	1
Due, Alf	1
Elte	1
Faber, Gustav	1
Faerber, Siegfried	1
Frank, Heinz	1
Freund, Walter	1
Froembogen, Hans	1
Froscher, Gotthold	1
Gayda	1
Gedon, Fridolin	1
Gerheuser, Ludwig	1
Gesees, Karl Meier	1
Gestettner, Hans	1
Geyer, Ernst	1
Glass, Robert	1
Glatow, Fritz	1
Gleichen-Russwurm, Alexander von	1
Goguel, D.	1
Grashey, Rolf	1
Gregor, Joseph	1
Greif-Bayer, Guenther	1
Gross, Talmon	1
Hacker, Hermann	1
Haehner, Leonie	1
Hammond,-Norden, Wm.	1
Hartmann, Waldemar	1
Hausegger, Siegmund von	1
Hein, H. G.	1
Hellinghaus, D.	1
Herzog, Albert	1
Hespe, Heinrich	1
Hitzig, Wilhelm	1
Hoedel, Otto	1
Hoesel, Adolf	1
Huber, Edwin	1
Jacobi, Johannes	1
Jansen, Carl Joseph	1
Jenkner, Hans	1
Jenne	1
John, Hermann	1
Karneid	1
Kellermann, Hans	1
Koethke, Karl	1
Kreitmaier, Josef	1
Krienitz, Willy	1
Kuehlenkampff, Hans-	1

Wilhelm	
Kulz, Werner	1
Kupferschmidt, Arno	1
Kyser, Hans	1
Lange, Walter	1
Lauer, Erich	1
Lebede, Hans	1
Lenz, F.	1
Leoprechting, v.	1
Lepel, Felix v.	1
Lerch, Hans	1
Lichberg, Heinz	1
Lichtenberg, R. Freiherr v.	1
Lindenberg, Paul	1
Linder, Alfred	1
Maehr-Altstadt, G. B.	1
Matzak, Kurt Hildebrand	1
Mauke, Wilhelm	1
Mayer, Otto	1
Mayerhofer, Goetz	1
Meier-Gesees, Karl	1
Meseke, Hanns	1
Mimus	1
Moessmer, Ferdinand	1
Morgentoth, Alfred	1
Moser, Hans-Joachim	1
Nasa, Eckart von	1
Nedden, Otto	1
Niemann, Walter	1
Nitsche, Julius	1
Nobbe, Uwe Lars	1
Otto, Alfred	1
Paarmann, M.	1
Persich, Walter	1
Pirchan, Emil	1
Posch, Franz	1
Praxmarer, Konrad	1
Pueringer, August	1
Reich, Hanns	1
Reichelt, Johannes	1
Rein, Friedrich	1
Renker, Gustav	1
Resch, Josef Karl	1
Riessner, Friedrich	1
Ruetzow, Sophie	1
Sack, Irene	1
Sandberger, Adolf	1
Sappok, Gerhard	1
Scharrer, August	1
Schirach, Baldur von	1

Schmid, Alfons	1
Schmidt, Karl	1
Schoewe, Ludwig	1
Scholz, Hans	1
Scholz, Robert	1
Schott, Georg	1
Schuberth, Else	1
Schultz, Wally P.	1
Schumann, Hans	1
Schwers, Paul	1
Sela	1
Selliger, Hermann	1
Senn, Karl	1
Seyffardt, Ernst	1
Spilling, Willy	1
Steguwelt, Heinz	1
Stichtenoth, Friedrich	1
Stolz, Oswald	1
Strauss, Margarethe	1
Strom, Kurt	1
Stueber, Carl	1
Sturm, H.	1
Stutzmann, Lili	1
Varges, Kurt	1
Vesper, Will	1
Vogl, Adolf	1
Wagner, Siegfried	1
Watzlik, Hans	1
Weiss, Wilhelm	1
Wendl, Karl	1
Wentz, E.	1
Werner, Heinrich	1
Wolter, Dr.	1
Zander, Otto	1
Zenker, Theodore	1
Zimmermann, R.	1
Zschorlich, Paul	1
A.	1
B. B. R.	1
C. W.	1
D. B. R.	1
F. H.	1
F. Z.	1
Gr.	1
H-g.	1
J. F.	1
J. Sch.	1
M. C.	1
M. F.	1
M. K.	1

M. N.	1
M., F. G. von	1
Miss.	1
O. F.	1
R. C.	1
R. Tr.	1
T. H. L.	1
Th. Z.	1
W.	1

ENDNOTES

¹ Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1983); Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1982); Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günter Klein, eds., *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1984); Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); Alan Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994).

² Michael H Kater, "Carl Orff im Dritten Reich," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 43, 1 (Januar 1995): 1.

³ David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁴ In my summer's work, I was struck by the realization that I was the first person to open most of the microfilm reels holding the *Voelkischer Beobachter* in the collection of the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago — no mean research institution. To be sure, this lack of attention to the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and other dailies is not characteristic of scholarship on Musikpolitik alone. Very little has been written about cultural criticism in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*: a dissertation by a committed Nazi, Gerhard Koehler, "Kunstanschauung und Kunstkritik in der nationalsozialistischen Presse: Die Kritik im Feuilleton des Voelkischen Beobachters 1920-1932" (Ph. D. diss.: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, Zentralverlag der N. S. D. A. P., 1937) and a Masters Thesis, Barbara L. Bao, "The Development of the German National Socialist Point of View on Art and Art Criticism as Seen in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, 1920-1927" (M.A. Thesis: Arizona State University, 1985).

⁵ Throughout this paper I use the term "serious music" as a translation of the German Ernstmusik to indicate my focus on what is commonly known in American English as "classical" music, as opposed to Unterhaltungsmusik that would include more popular forms.

⁶ Stolzing, Josef, "Franz Liszt. Zu seinem 40. Todestag," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, July 31, 1926;

Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Ein deutscher Komponist," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, December 7, 1934; Kellermann, Hans, "Franz Liszt - ein deutscher Meister!" *Voelkischer Beobachter*, December 11, 1934; Zschorlich, Paul, "Deutsche Komponisten aus dem Burgenland," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, January 8, 1936; Grunsky, Karl, "Zum 50. Todestag Franz Liszts," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, July 31, 1936.

⁷ None of this comes as a surprise: indeed, most of my findings serve to confirm and strengthen theses posited in the works of Michael Meyer and Erik Levi.

⁸ Stahl, Heinrich 'La Traviata': Verdis vielumstrittene Oper," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, January 27, 1936; Valentin, Erich, "Storia della musica: Deutschland und Italien in der Musik," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, June 14, 1937; "Verdis Falstaff - ein sturmischer Erfolg," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 8, 1938; Ludwig, Hellmut, "Deutscher und italienischer Opernstil," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 28, 1938; Stahl, Heinrich, "Giuseppe Verdi: Zum 125. Geburtstag des Komponisten," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, October 9, 1938; Stahl, Heinrich, "Verdis 'Simone Boccanegra,'" *Voelkischer Beobachter*, September 3, 1940; Stahl, Heinrich, "Der Weg des Genies: Zum 40. Todestag Verdis," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, January 26, 1941; Kuehlenkampff, Hans-Wilhelm, "Der Mensch Giuseppe Verdi," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, February 1, 1941; Bauer, Erwin, "Verdis Requiem," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, February 9, 1941; Biagioni, C., "Erlebnisse mit Verdi," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 28, 1942; Jenkner, Hans, "Der andere 'Rigoletto': Deutsches Opernhaus im Admiralspalast: Simone Boccanegra von Verdi," June 7, 1944.

⁹ This motto, Ehret eure deutschen Meister, borrowed from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, expressed the Nazi concern about "international" influences on German culture, or more accurately, the popularity of foreign art among Germans. The phrase was often inserted into articles on music in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, and its meaning is forcefully articulated by this table. See "Der Fuehrer legt den Grundstein zum Nationaldenkmal Richard Wagners," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, March 7, 1934; Kulz, Werner, "Eine Konzertgemeinschaft in Stuttgart," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, September 24, 1931; "Zu Max Regers Gedaechtnis," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, May 22, 1932; Troebes, Otto, "Ehrt ihr eure deutschen Meister?" *Voelkischer Beobachter* June 19, 1926; Dr. Antropp, "Festlicher Auftakt in Salzburg: Die Meistersinger unter Furtwaengler in Anwesenheit von Dr. Goebbels," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, July 25, 1938.

¹⁰ Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹¹ Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992) and Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska, 1995) stand at the center of the debate over Wagner's anti-Semitism, especially as to whether his essays or operas had the most impact.

¹² Dr. H. B., "Richard Wagner und das Judentum in der Musik," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, April 19, 1922; Leoprechting, v., "Richard Wagner: Das Judentum in der Musik," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, November 14, 1920; "Richard Wagner ueber 'Das Judentum in der Musik,'" *Voelkischer Beobachter*, June 20, 1923; Wagner, Richard, "Das Judentum in der Musik," *Voelkischer Beobachter*, June 9, 1926; "Unser schlimmste Feind die Judenfurcht, sagt Richard

Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 14, 1931; "Der Dichter und Politiker," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 12, 1933; Seeliger, Hermann, "Der deutsche Seher," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 12, 1933; St--g, J., "Der grosse Deutsche: Richard Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 17, 1939.

¹³ In the ranks appearing in Table 3, I detect no major surprises, except one. Looking further down I am somewhat puzzled at the relative lack of coverage afforded Robert Schumann, given his insightful statements about the place of music in early German national culture. The only substantial discussion of Schumann to appear in the Voelkischer Beobachter was a strange anecdote, published on his 80th Todestag, that they used to insinuate strong concern on his part about the influence of Jews and foreigners on German music ("Beinahe eine Tischrede: Zum 80. Todestag Robert Schumanns," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 29, 1936). Might his eventual madness have kept them from highlighting Schumann in their version of the German tradition?

¹⁴ With regard to Table 4 let me point out that some single references to contemporary German composers appeared in articles that surveyed a number of musicians at once, devoting a paragraph or so to each. I have given each composer covered "credit" in order to indicate the attention that the Voelkischer Beobachter did give to new music issues.

¹⁵ Pfitzner's "Futuristengefahr" and "Neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz" were Nazi favorites.

¹⁶ In its cultural section Pfitzner had a ready forum for his anti-modernist polemics, since the newspaper often reprinted extracts from his writings. See Hans Pfitzner, "Die Macht der Musik," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 7, 1929; "Hans Pfitzner ueber Musik und Theater," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 27, 1929; Hans Pfitzner, "Was ist musikalische Inspiration?" Voelkischer Beobachter, January 10, 1936; Hans Pfitzner, "Das Musikalische in der Musik," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 6, 1936.

¹⁷ The Voelkischer Beobachter incessantly extolled Pfitzner's own compositions, especially the opera Palestrina, as representing the highest stage of "German" music development. See "Muenchner Festspiele: Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 30, 1920; "Musik-Rundschau," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 6, 1923; J. F., "Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 21, 1923; "Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 13, 1923; G. A., "Pfitzner-Woche," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 15, 1927, "Der Hoehepunkt der Pfitzner-Woche," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 5, 1929; Selliger, Hermann, "Zum 60. Geburtstag Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 5, 1929; "Das Ende der Pfitzner-Woche," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 7, 1929; Seeliger, Hermann, "Hans Pfitzner 'Werk und Wiedergabe,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, November 27, 1929; Gottrau, Wolfgang, "Kunst aus teuschem Herzen: Hans Pfitznerns Musikdramen," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 12, 1931; St--g, J., "Hans Pfitzner: 'Das Herz,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, November 19, 1931; F. B., "Pfitznerns Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 20, 1932; "Neue Opern und vergessene Komponisten," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 11, 1933; "Hans Pfitznerns 'Romantische Kantate,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, November 18, 1933; "Hans Pfitzner: Zu seinem 65. Geburtstag," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 5, 1934; Bauer, Erwin, "Ein kaempferisches Leben: Zu Walter Abendroths Pfitzner-Biographie," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 4, 1935; Bauer, Erwin, "Wie wird

komponiert? Hanz Pfitzner spricht heute in der Tonhalle,' Voelkischer Beobachter, May 4, 1936; Valentin, Erich, "Dein Erdenpensum, Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 11, 1937; Stahl, Heinrich, "Hans Pfitzners Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 11, 1938; Morgenroth, Alfred, "Hans Pfitzner - ein Rufer in die Zeit: Ein Musiker kaempft fuer Deutschland," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 15, 1938; Bauer, Erwin, "Kantate 'Von deutscher Seele,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, March 10, 1939; Bauer, Erwin, "Der volkstuemliche Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 24, 1939; Stahl, Heinrich, "Hans Pfitzner, ein Retter deutscher Musik," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 5, 1939; Bauer, Erwin, "Huldigung und Dank and Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 17, 1940; Bauer, Erwin, "Sinfonien von Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 4, 1941; Glass, Robert, "Ein Hymnus von Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 6, 1942; Repp, Otto, "Palestrina," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 8, 1942; Stahl, Heinrich, "Deutsche Tonkunst und Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 30, 1943; Band, Lothar, "Ein kaempferischer Musiker: Zum 75. Geburtstag von Hans Pfitzner," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 6, 1944.

¹⁸ See especially "Muenchner Festspiele: Die Frau ohne Schatten," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 19, 1920; "Theater: Ariadne auf Naxos," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 4, 1923; A. R. "Richard Strauss Judenstammling?" Voelkischer Beobachter, February 7, 1926; and "Richard Strauss: Die aegyptische Helena," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 13, 1928.

¹⁹ Daube, Otto, "'Der Friedensengel' von Siegfried Wagner. Urauffuehrung am Landestheater Karlsruehe am 4. Maerz 1926, Voelkischer Beobachter March 7, 1926; Wagner, Siegfried, "An die tanzende Jugend," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 20, 1926; Ziegler, H. G., "Deutsche Festspiele in Weimar," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 30, 1926; J.B., "Siegfried Wagner in London," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 22, 1927; Mueller, Herbert H., "Siegfried Wagner. Zu seinem Geburtstag am 6. Juni," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 5, 1927; Sichart, E. von, "Jung-Bayreuth," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 29, 1928; Mueller, Herbert H. F., "Siegfried Wagner, ein Tondichter des deutschen Volkstums: Zu seinem 60. Geburtstage am 6. Juni," June 5, 1929; "Siegfried Wagners 'Heilige Linde,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, July 11, 1929; Mueller, Herbert H. F., "Siegfried Wagner: 'Das Fluechlein, das jeder mitbekam,'" Voelkischer Beobachter, November 20, 1929; St--g, J., "Graf du Moulin-Eckart ueber Siegfried Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 11, 1929; Stolzing, Josef, "Siegfried Wagners kuenstlerische Sendung," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 2, 1930; Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Siegfried Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 6, 1930; Stolzing, Josef, "Bayreuther Nachklaenge," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 9, 1930; "Gunnar Graarud, Bayreuths diesjaehriger Parsifal ueber Siegfried Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 17, 1930; Gedon, Fridolin, "Jugenderinnerungen an Siegfried Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 17, 1930; Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Nachdenkliches zu Siegfried Wagners Tod," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 17, 1930; "Siegfried Wagners Maerchen-Oper 'An allem ist Huetchen schuld' im Bayerischen Rundfunk," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 15, 1932; "Neue Opern und vergessene Komponisten," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 11, 1933; Stolzing-Cerny, Joseph, "Erinnerungen an Siegfried Wagner," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 3, 1935; Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Erinnerungen an Siegfried Wagner: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 4, 1939.

²⁰ For instance, Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Die Herrin von Bayreuth," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 8, 1931; Stolzing-Cerny, Josef, "Cosima Wagner: Zu ihrem 90. Geburtstage am 15.

Dezember," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 24, 1927; "Frau Cosima Wagners feierliche Bestattung," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 5, 1930.

²¹ See note 12.

²² In critical essays that decried the opera, in reports of Nazi efforts to disrupt performances, in descriptions of the trials given those arrested for doing so, and in follow-up articles written after 1933 about Jonny as having epitomized decline in those "confused" times before the "Third Reich," National Socialists used this controversy as a catalyst for developing and publicizing every plank of their cultural-political platform. See Hauptmann, F. A., "Die erste Jazz-Oper. Von einem tschechischen Juden. Urauffuehrung in Leipzig," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 19, 1927; Burock, Rud., "'Jonny spielt auf' auch in Dresden," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 19, 1927; "Der Kampf um 'Jonny'," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 11, 1927; B., Dr., "Krenek's Jazzoper 'Jonny'," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 20, 1927; "Die Wiener Nationalsozialisten gegen 'Jonny.' Stinkbomben in der Wiener Staatsoper," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 29, 1928; "'Jonny spielt auf' unter polizeilichem Schutz," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 30, 1928; "Jonny spielt auf!" Voelkischer Beobachter, March 13, 1928; "Wer ist Krenek, der Komponist von 'Jonny spielt auf?'," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 13, 1928; A. R., "Jonny," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 15, 1928; J. B., "Jonny spielt auf und die Polizei tanzt," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 19, 1928; Weiss, Wilhelm, "Jonny in Muenchen," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 19, 1928; Mimus, "Jonny spielt auf!" Voelkischer Beobachter, June 20, 1928; Sch. W., "Die Polizei spielt auf," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 21, 1928; "Fort mit dem Jonny!" Voelkischer Beobachter, June 21, 1928; Diogenes, "Fort mit Jonny! Jonny in Breslau," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 22, 1928; Jansen, Carl Joseph, "Jonny in Koeln ausgepiffen," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 23, 1928; "Die Mantel-Polizei als Schutzerin 'Jonny's'," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 24, 1928; Schirach, Baldur von, "Ein Abend bei Jonny: Betrachtungen eines 'Pfui'-Rufers," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 24, 1928; M. F., "Jonny, der neueste Heilige der Bayerischen Volkspartei: Die entlarvten Patentchristen," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 24, 1928; "Jonny auch in Paris ausgepiffen," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 24, 1928; "Jonny unantastbar," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 26, 1928; "Die Verjudung u. Verfremdung unserer Opernbuehnen," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 1, 1928; B., Dr., "Puccini und Krenek im Nationaltheater," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 2, 1928; "Die Jonny-Demonstration vor Gericht," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 14, 1928; "Jonny in Neuyork durchgefallen," January 27, 1929; Hauptmann, F.W., "Urauffuehrungen in Leipzig: Kreneks neue Oper 'Das Leben des Orest'" January 26, 1930; "Der verzazzte Orest," March 9, 1930.

²³ Albrecht Duehmling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Duesseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938: Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion* (Duesseldorf: Kleinherne, 1988).

²⁴ Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics*, 86-151.

²⁵ These are the feature articles on music matters that appeared in the Voelkischer Beobachter from August 1944 to the end of publication: Daeglau, Greta, "Die Liebe in Mozarts Welt: Ein Vortrag von Dr. Karl Pempelfort," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 24, 1944; Reinmoeller, Lore, "Judentum und Musik: Zu einem Buche von Karl Blessinger," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 2, 1944; Zerkaulen, Heinrich, "Buerger von Bonn: Wo Beethoven geboren wurde,"

Voelkischer Beobachter, October 6, 1944; Reinmoeller, Lore, "Traeger einer Tradition: Zu einem neuen Buch ueber Johannes Brahms," Voelkischer Beobachter, October 27, 1944; Band, Lothar, "Ein Meister der Operndichtung: Zum Tode Paul Graeners," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 16, 1944; Pesch, Edmund, "Karl Maria von Webers Heimkehr," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 8, 1944; Nasa, Eckart von, "Georg Friedrich Haendel: Zum 260. Geburtstag des Meisters," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 21, 1945; Voelsing, Erwin, "Die Idee einer Nationaloper," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 26, 1945; Huschke, Konrad, "Richard Wagner und die Neunte," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 5, 1945.

²⁶ The categories that appear in Additional Table B were derived from the same database as those arranged by composer above, but here I present them in thematic rather than biographical terms. Some articles did discuss these issues without noteworthy reference to individual composers, and these are included here too: thus an increase in the total number of articles listed.

²⁷ "Das nationalsozialistische Reichs-Symphonie-Orchester," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 19, 1932

²⁸ "Das erste Konzert des nationalsozialistischen Symphonieorchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 12, 1932; "Die erste Konzertreise des nat.-soz. Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, February 12, 1932; L. St., "Richard-Wagner-Morgenfeier des nationalsozialistischen Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 2, 1932; Das nationalsozialistische Reichs-Symphonie-Orchester," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 19, 1932; Seyffardt, Ernst H., "Aus dem Musikleben: Das n.s.-Symphonieorchester in Garmisch-Partenkirchen," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 21, 1932; L. St., "Zweites Symphoniekonzert des nationalsozialistischen Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 19, 1932; W. G., "Konzertreise des N.S.-Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 28, 1932; W. G., "Eine Konzertreise des N. S.-Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 5, 1932; "Zum Festkonzert des nationalsozialistischen Reichs-Symphonie-Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 8, 1932; Bauer, Erwin, "Deutsche Musiker in Ungarn: Ein Rueckblick auf die letzte Auslandsreise des N.S.-Reichssymphonieorchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 26, 1934; Valentin, Erich, "5 Jahre NS.-Reichs-Symphonieorchester," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 17, 1936; Rassy, Gustav Christian, "Franz Adam-Urauffuehrung in Breslau," Voelkischer Beobachter, September 20, 1938; "Das 'Orchesters des Fuehrers' zurueckgekehrt," Voelkischer Beobachter, October 14, 1938; Stahl, Heinrich, "Konzertjahr eines Orchesters," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 31, 1941; Stahl, Heinrich, "Zehn Jahre NS-Symphonieorchester," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 15, 1941; Stahl, Heinrich, "Jubilaekonzert vor Tausenden," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 18, 1941.

²⁹ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975), 215.

³⁰ Rustell, Juga, "In Mozarts Geburtsstadt," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 27, 1931; Rasch, Hugo, "Bayreuther Festspiele 1933: Der Fuehrer und Dr. Goebbels im Festspielhaus," July 25, 1933; Rasch, Hugo, "Bayreuther Festspiele: Der Fuehrer und Dr. Goebbels im Festspielhaus,"

Voelkischer Beobachter, July 26, 1933; "Richard Wagner und das Kunstempfinden unserer Zeit: Rundfunkrede von Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 8, 1933; "Die Reichs-Kultur-Kammer eroeffnet: Der Fuehrer bei der Feier in der Berliner Philharmonie," Voelkischer Beobachter, November 16, 1933; "Der Fuehrer legt den Grundstein zum Nationaldenkmal Richard Wagners," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 7, 1934; "Huldigung und Dank an Richard Wagner: Die Eroeffnung der Reichstheaterwoche in Dresden durch Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 28, 1934; "Drei Altmeister der Musik: Reichsminister Dr. Joseph Goebbels ueber Bach, Haendel und Schuetz," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 31, 1935; Dr. Antropp, "Festlicher Auftakt in Salzburg: Die Meistersinger unter Furtwaengler in Anwesenheit von Dr. Goebbels" Voelkischer Beobachter, July 25, 1938; Valentin, Erich, "Die Richard-Wagner-Forschungsstaette," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 5, 1938; Stahl, Heinrich, "Der fliegende Hollaender in Anwesenheit des Fuehrers," Voelkischer Beobachter, October 11, 1938; Stahl, Heinrich, "Der Fuehrer und Bayreuth," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 20, 1939; "Dr. Goebbels ehrt Richard Strauss," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 12, 1939; A., "Das Vorbild: Zur Stiftung des Nationalen Musikpreises durch Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 13, 1939; Klingenberg, Josef, "Salzburgs Sendung: Eroeffnungsfeier der neuen Hochschule fuer Musik im Mozarteum," Voelkischer Beobachter, June 14, 1939; Stahl, Heinrich, "Der Fliegende Hollaender," Voelkischer Beobachter, July 27, 1939; "Das Mozartjahr," Voelkischer Beobachter, January 27, 1941; "Die 100-Jahr-Feier des Mozarteums," Voelkischer Beobachter, April 26, 1941; "Erste Vorschau auf die Reichs-Mozartwoche in Wien," Voelkischer Beobachter, May 12, 1941; "Beginn der Salzburger Festspiele," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 4, 1941; Goebbels, Joseph, "Auch Mozarts Musik verteidigt der deutsche Soldat," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 6, 1941; "Ein Kranz des Fuehrers zum Gedenken Mozarts," Voelkischer Beobachter, December 7, 1941; Voelsung, Erwin, "Die Meistersinger von Nuernburg," Voelkischer Beobachter, August 7, 1943; Aulich, Bruno, "Ewige Musik deutscher Meister: Eine Kundgebung deutschen Kulturbesitzes," Voelkischer Beobachter, March 23, 1944.