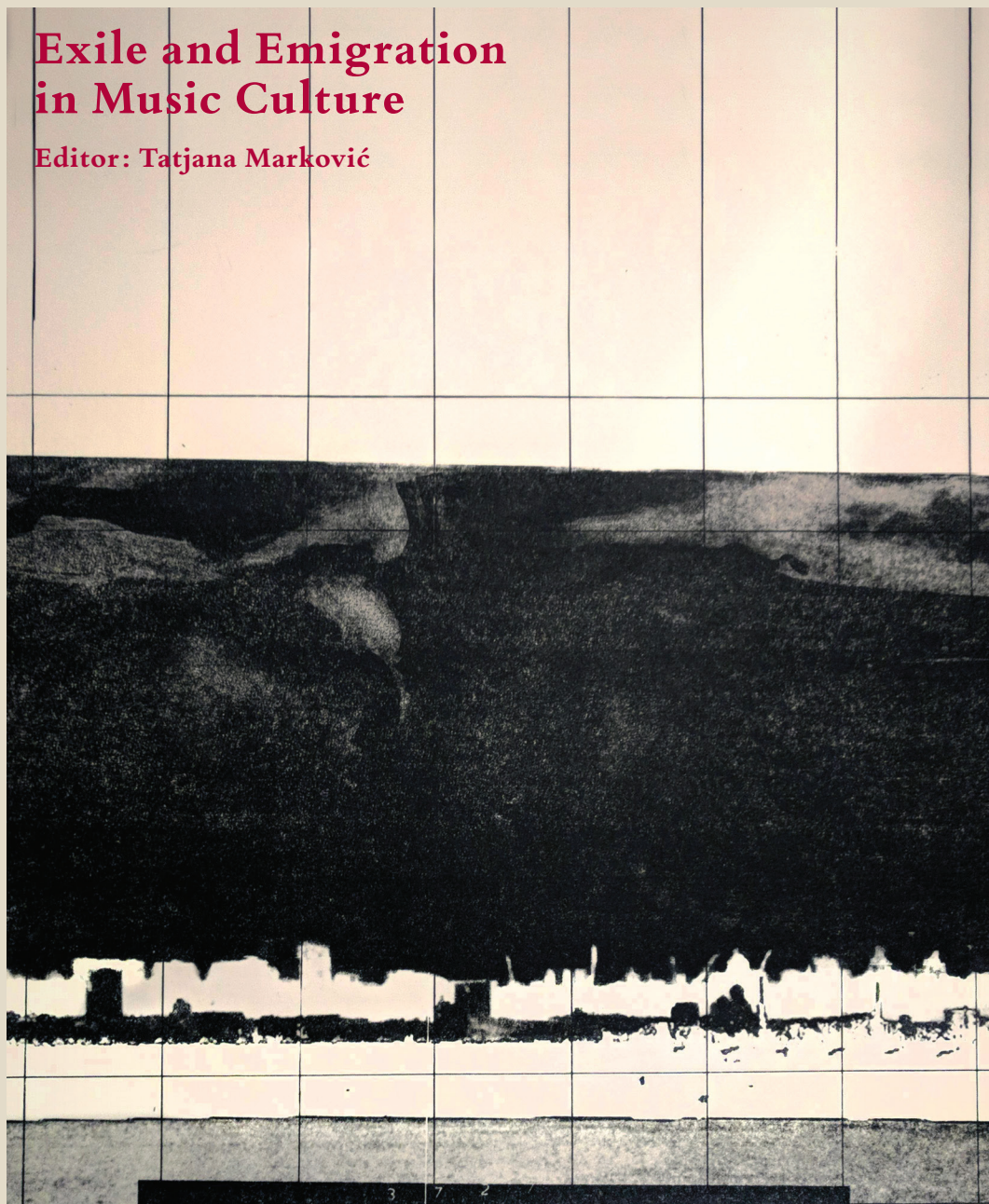


Exile and Emigration in Music Culture

Editor: Tatjana Marković



TheMA:
Open Access Research Journal
for Theatre, Music, Arts

Vol. VII/1-2, 2018

EXILE AND EMIGRATION
IN MUSIC CULTURE

Editor:
Tatjana Marković

HOLLITZER



Editor:

Tatjana Marković

Main editors:

Michael Hüttler

HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

Matthias J. Pernerstorfer

Don Juan Archiv Wien

Hans Ernst Weidinger

Stvdivm Faesvlanvm

Copy-editors:

Gene Moore (English)

Marion Linhardt, Inge Praxl (German)

Online editor: Leon Stefanija

Layout: Nikola Stevanović

Cover: Nikola Stevanović

Printed and bound in the EU

TheMA-Journal

c/o HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Wien

Austria

E-Mail: thema@hollitzer.at

www.thema-journal.eu

© HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag, Wien 2020

Publisher

HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag

of

HOLLITZER Baustoffwerke Graz GmbH

www.hollitzer.at

All rights reserved.

TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. While Middle, Central and Mediterranean Europe before 1900 is TheMA's principal area of focus, it welcomes contributions on other regions or periods. Responsibility for the contents of the various articles and for questions of copyright lies with the authors.

ISSN 2307-440X (print)

ISSN 2305-9672 (online)

ISBN 978-3-99012-907-4

CONTENT

- I EDITORIAL
EXILE AND EMIGRATION IN MUSIC CULTURE
Tatjana Marković
- 1 NON-PROMISED LAND: VYTAUTAS BACEVIČIUS IN NEW YORK
Rūta Stanevičiūtė
- 21 EXIL, EMIGRATION, KALTER KRIEG.
KONSTANTEN UND VARIANTEN DES ANTIKOMMUNISMUS,
ANTINAZISMUS, ANTI- UND PRO-AMERIKANISMUS IM LICHT
EINIGER FILME SAMUEL „BILLIE/BILLY“ WILDERS
Hanns-Werner Heister
- 49 MUSICAL MODERNISM IN GREECE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY: A CASE OF EXILE, EMIGRATION AND
ISOLATION
Alexandros Charkiolakis
- 59 *LE GRAND MACABRE* AT THE CROSSROADS OF TWO EXILES
Vita Gruodytė
- 71 THE MUSIC OF NOUR ALI ELAHI IN EXILE
Anita Mayer-Hirzberger
- 81 THE SCOPE OF SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION SINCE 1918: FROM
POLKA TO SOUND ART
Leon Stefanija

ADVISORY BOARD

Theatre

Ulf Birbaumer, University of Vienna
Aysin Candan, Haliç University, Istanbul
Wolfgang Greisenegger, University of Vienna
Hilde Haider-Pregler, University of Vienna
Bent Holm, University of Copenhagen
Johann Hüttner, University of Vienna
Francoise Lavocat, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris
Marion Linhardt, University of Bayreuth
Cesare Molinari, University of Florence
Beatrix Müller-Kampel, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Walter Puchner, University of Athens

Music

Antonio Baldassarre, Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Music, Luzern
Bruce Allan Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles
Michele Calella, University of Vienna
Edmund Goehring, University of Western Ontario, London /Canada
Gernot Gruber, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Matthew Head, Kings College London
Thomas Hochradner, Universität Mozarteum, Salzburg
Tatjana Marković, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Martin Nedbal, University of Kansas
Leon Stefanija, University of Ljubljana
Ian Woodfield, Queens University, Belfast

Art History

Richard Bösel, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Maximilian Hartmuth, University of Vienna
Zeynep İnankur, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul
İlber Ortaylı, Galatasaray University, Istanbul
Günel Renda, Koç University, Istanbul

History

Markus Köhbach, University of Vienna
Maria Pia Pedani, Università Ca'Foscari, Venice
Robert Pfaller, University of Applied Arts Vienna
Otto Pfersmann, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne /Paris
Philipp Ther, University of Vienna
Larry Wolff, New York University

EDITORIAL

EXILE AND EMIGRATION IN MUSIC CULTURE

TATJANA MARKOVIĆ
AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, VIENNA

Exile is usually related to a personal or collective tragedy resulting from politics, as “the condition of someone being sent or kept away from their own country, village, etc., especially for political reasons”.¹ Edward Said defined it in similar terms: “exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile’s life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement”.² Along with politics, exile and emigration can also be the result of economic and educational circumstances. Migrations are therefore related to cosmopolitan, meta-national, and national perspectives, which are the focus of this volume.

Six contributions to the current issue of the journal thematize various kinds of exile and emigration in music culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. On the one hand, the exile of composers, musicians, or a film director – some of them Jewish – was a migration forced by political threats before and during World War II. On the other hand, there were also instances of voluntary exile, seeking freedom for a creative self-expression that for various reasons was not possible in the homeland. This latter case also encompasses the cultural mobility of contemporary composers from various places who were educated and worked in the leading European centers outside of their homelands. While some artists had very successful careers abroad, others experienced great difficulties trying to adjust to a new music scene. In both cases, some of them never returned to their homeland (Samuel Billy Wilder, Vytautas Bacevičius, Dimitris Mitropoulos); some did so occasionally as honored guests (Györgi Ligeti, Uroš Rojko); and some were forced to remain in their homeland with significantly limited creative opportunities (Nikos

1 See <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/exile>. Accessed 10 August 2020.

2 Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta Books, 2013), 212.

Skalkottas). There is also at least one case of the cultural transfer of music itself, which emigrated from Iran around the world (Nour Ali Elahi). Two composers adapted to a different musical career and achieved international fame (Globokar, Mitropoulos), while a third abandoned his earlier career as a violinist to become a composer (Skalkottas).

The volume begins with the story of two emigrants: the internationally renowned composer and Polish-born film director Samuel Billy Wilder (1906–2002) and the Lithuanian composer Vytautas Bacevičius (1905–1970), who both emigrated to the United States before or at the beginning of World War II.³ This is followed by an article on another two artists, a composer and a painter and scenery designer, who lived in countries where for different reasons they did not feel they belonged: the Transylvanian Hungarian Jew Györgi Ligeti (1923–2006) and the Lithuanian-born German Aliute Mecys (1943–2013). Furthermore, like Ligeti, two Greek composers also found their creative paths into exile from a lack of the possibility to compose avant-garde music in their homeland: Dimtiris Mitropoulos (1896–1960) and Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949). One contribution considers the cultural transfer of music in connection with the legacy of the Persian Kurdish musician Nour Ali Elahi (1895–1974) in Europe and the United States. The issue concludes with a study of Slovene music emigration after World War I and investigates, among other things, the cultural mobility of the contemporary Slovenian composers Vinko Globokar (*b.* 1934) and Uroš Rojko (*b.* 1954). Except for Wilder, Mitropoulos, and Bacevičius, who emigrated to the United States, younger musicians and artists have been working in Austria or Germany, and also in France (Globokar).

Vytautas Bacevičius (1905–1970) was the most prominent Lithuanian composer of his generation in exile. As Ruta Staneviciute's research shows, after trying to adjust to the New York scene without significant success, from the late 1950s Bacevičius followed his own creative way through "a unique conception of cosmic music". His most important work, *Graphique* for symphony orchestra (1964), is considered in the context of the work of Olivier Messiaen and Edgard Varèse.

Ligeti left Hungary in 1956 and moved to Vienna, where became an Austrian citizen in 1968, then went to Germany, where he worked for decades. Aiute Mecys was born in Germany and lived there, marked by her father's activities during World War II. As Vita Gruodyté concluded after researching their correspondence and

3 Samuel Billy Wilder was born in Galicia, then a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and before he emigrated to the United States, his family moved to Vienna, from where he went further to Berlin. Vytautas Bacevičius was born in Poland to a Polish mother and a Lithuanian father. Unlike his well-known younger sister, the composer Grażyna Bacewicz, he did not keep the original Polish family name but adopted its Lithuanian form.

discovering new details about their cooperation and personal relationship, neither Ligeti nor Mecys felt accepted in their German environment. A peculiar creative product of two great artists in a passionate relationship, the anti-anti-opera *Le Grand Macabre* (1977) with a libretto in German by Michel de Ghelderode, explicates their life experiences against the background of their earlier traumas. Gruodyté presents rare archival material – the correspondence and creative dialogue of Ligeti and Mecys – relying on secondary literature to determine whether this stage work by the couple could be considered as an autobiographical ‘document’.

‘Inner exile’ is explored through the difficulties of modernist composers like Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949) in Greece in the first half of the twentieth century, when Manolis Kalomiris and representatives of the so-called National School dominated music culture with their ‘sentimental national’ music, as Alexandros Charkiolakis points out. Skalkottas fulfilled his creative credo while working with professors of composition in Berlin: at the Music University (Hochschule für Musik), the Prussian Academy of Arts, and privately, with Kurt Weill, Philipp Jarnach, and Arnold Schoenberg. Unable to return to Berlin after visiting Athens, Skalkottas suffered as a composer and found inspiration in Greek traditional music, while longing to continue his modernist path as a member of the Second Viennese School.

As Anita Mayer-Hirzberger’s contribution shows, Nour Ali Elahi’s music was widely disseminated after his death in 1974, and foundations named after him were established in New York City, in Paris, and also in Vienna. The author examines varieties of the cultural transfer of Elahi’s music through the festival in Shiraz and in the context of numerous Iranian expatriates in Europe.

NON-PROMISED LAND: VYTAUTAS BACEVIČIUS IN NEW YORK

RŪTA STANEVIČIŪTĖ
LITHUANIAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC AND THEATRE

***Abstract:** In the Lithuanian music of the twentieth century, one can clearly notice a caesura drawn by sociopolitical events which split the national culture in two parts both in terms of time and space. In the 1940s, most of the pre-war modernist composers appeared in exile. Graduates of the Paris, Berlin, and Prague Schools and founders of the ISCM Lithuanian Section who mainly settled down in the USA tried to adapt to the different musical and sociocultural reality which strongly affected the change in their creative orientations. Due to the broken relations with European centres of modern music, the conservative cultural environment of Lithuanian emigrants and subsequent unsuccessful attempts to participate in the influential American music scene resulted in cultural isolation that significantly influenced the post-war music development, among others, that of composer and pianist Vytautas Bacevičius (1905–1970), the most prominent figure in Lithuanian emigration. An offspring of a mixed Lithuanian–Polish family and a representative of the Paris School moved to New York in 1940 and lived there as a refugee almost till the end of his life (he was granted citizenship as late as in 1967). Like many other European emigrant composers, being brought up in the cult of elitist art, he perceived egalitarianism of the American art as a personal menace. Since late 1950s, Bacevičius abandoned the strategies to adapt to American cultural environment and turned towards a unique conception of cosmic music, thus rethinking his early experiences of atonal music during the era of second avant-garde inspirations. The opus magnum of his late creative period – *Graphique* for symphony orchestra (1964) – is an emblematic composition devised as the first opus of the never-completed series of nine symphonic compositions entitled *Sahasrara Chakra*. The article focuses on the discovery of the conceptual and sonic analogies of the late cosmic music developed by Bacevičius in the pursuits of the twentieth-century *musica mundana*, obviously associated with Olivier Messiaen and Edgard Varèse, the figures venerated by the Lithuanian composer. In addition, Bacevičius' late cosmic music is discussed as a cultural strategy of escapism symptomatic of European emigrant composers of the same generation settled in USA.*

Emigration of Lithuanian musicians to the USA is a phenomenon of broad historical coverage: the first cultural workers-emigrants from Lithuania moved to North America as early as in the seventeenth century, and another two waves of mass emigration were recorded in the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries and in the 1940s. Those waves of emigration were predetermined by different reasons, economic in the first, and political in the second case. In the early twentieth century, around 7,000 to 25,000 Lithuanians arrived in the USA each year; thus, before World War I, about one quarter of the Lithuanian population had immigrated to the said country. In the 1940s the first and the second Soviet occupations of Lithuania and World War II led to a politically motivated flow of emigration. Although different historical sources provide different data, historians believe that over the period in question Lithuania lost around a quarter of its population (which in 1940 amounted to about 3 million).

After World War II, the majority of the new wave of Lithuanian political refugees gathered in the USA: in accordance with the official data, around 30,000, with quite a few artists among them.¹ In the afterwar period, famous prewar modernist composers, outstanding representatives of the opera, conductors, and performers settled down in the USA. A large part of them belonged to the middle age and the young generations who during the interwar years had acquired musical education in prestigious centres of music in Western Europe. Among them, three composers stood out: Vytautas Bacevičius (1905–1970), Jeronimas Kačinskas (1907–2005), and Vladas Jakubėnas (1904–1976), the most prominent figures of Lithuanian music of the 1930s. Educated in Berlin, Prague, and Paris, in 1936, they set up an ISCM Lithuanian Section and integrated into the international movement of modern music. The creative destinies of the three composers in the USA were very different and simultaneously symptomatic, if we consider the cases of Lithuanian musicians in a more general context of European musician emigration. As Brigid Cohen has written, “many of the practices of modernism have been the work of the exiles, émigrés, and refugees. [...] Yet despite the clear centrality of displacement to modernist narratives, questions of migration are notably not addressed in prevailing in theories of musical modernism, and they are only marginally in many histories of the musical avant-garde”.²

1 Cf. Danutė Petrauskaitė: *Lietuvių muzikinės kultūra Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose 1870–1990: tautinės tapatybės kontūrai* [Lithuanian Music Culture in the United States of America 1870–1990: The Contours of National Identity] (Vilnius: VDA, 2015), 34.

2 Brigid Cohen: “Musical Modernism beyond the Nation: The Case of Stefan Wolpe”, in: *Crosscurrents. American and European Music in Interaction, 1900–2000*, eds. Felix Meyer, Carol J. Oja, Wolfgang Rathert, Anne C. Shreffler (Woodbridge, Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2014), 197.



Figure 1. Vytautas Bacevičius in Chicago, 1940 (Lithuanian Archive of Literature and Art)

From this perspective, I chose Vytautas Bacevičius, the most controversial figure among Lithuanian immigrants, for a more detailed analysis. His musical career in emigration was particularly strongly affected by the political tensions of the Cold War, even though the composer was not a political refugee. In 1938,

he went on a tour to South America. Caught up by political changes and World War II, he moved to New York and lived there until his death in 1970. Vytautas Bacevičius is an especially convenient figure for the discussion and verification of a typical range of questions applied to emigration, based on a popular model of assimilation and resistance. I shall discuss the appropriateness and the limitations of the model from three perspectives: political, cultural, and musical. Those perspectives can be formulated as reconfiguration of diverse identities to analyse the artist's choices in a new political and sociocultural reality based on the interplay of political, cultural, and artistic positioning (political engagement vs. political indifference; cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism; artistic strategies of innovation vs. conformism). However, particularly during the Cold War period, the cultural and musical stance of composers was greatly affected by political processes. Therefore, the political, cultural, and artistic identities of musicians who found themselves on the different sides of the ideological confrontation were not some detached fields of creative agency, but rather hybrid, constantly recreated identification complexes. By several convincing examples, Daniel Fosler Lussier illustrated the interaction of political fears and artistic choices, typical of the musical expression of the young generation of composers (and especially those related to Darmstadt mainstream) after World War II.³ Not only the choice of compositional techniques, but also the relation to the pre-war musical tradition acquired a political connotation. In that context, Vytautas Bacevičius, just like other inter-war modernists, had to critically revise his artistic and stylistic stance. Simultaneously, an opposite trend cannot be ignored: the composer's cultural and artistic attitude undoubtedly affected his position with respect to the confrontation of political powers. Therefore, I shall discuss the interaction of the political, cultural, and artistic identities of the Lithuanian composer as the aspects of changing hybrid identifications.

VYTAUTAS BACEVIČIUS AND LITHUANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA: POLITICAL DIVIDES

Like other ethnic groups that emigrated from Eastern Europe to the USA, Lithuanian immigrants were severely fragmented by political affiliation. The most numerous segment of the new wave of immigrants were refugees who escaped from the Soviet occupation, who demanded non-recognition of Lithuania's annexation, and who took a tough stance against the USSR. For a long time, they avoided any

3 Daniel Fosler-Lussier: *Music Divided. Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2007), 38–46.

contact with Soviet Lithuania.⁴ The said right-wing community that predominated in exile was opposed by liberal intellectuals who started visiting Soviet Lithuania in the years of political liberalisation in the USSR. The left-wing group that formed from the supporters of socialist ideas in the first waves of immigrants was particularly scanty; as early as before World War II, they became “advocates” of the political line of the USSR.

Unlike the majority of the right-wing musicians, Bacevičius was politically neutral and could even be called a political opportunist. He saw different political powers as a tool to develop his artistic career. For that reason, as early as in 1938 in Argentina he established contacts with the left-wing representatives, and, after moving to the USA in 1940, he took advantage of the help of both Lithuanian communists and the Embassy of the USSR to organise concerts at Carnegie Hall and to get established in American musical life. Likewise, without any significant political engagement, in later years he took part in anti-Soviet events and concerts to support the newly created state of Israel or wrote musical compositions to glorify American nations. Although in the middle of World War II he renounced his relationships with the Soviet Union or the left-wing activists, due to the previous short-term flirtation he was rejected by Lithuanian immigrants, mistrusted by the USA government, suffered during the McCarthyism period, and lived in constant tension and fear of imaginary KGB repressions. For political reasons, he received a permanent US resident status as late as in 1960, and the US citizenship in 1967. In the interwar period, Bacevičius made great efforts to get established in European musical scenes as a pianist, however, the impossibility to leave the USA nullified his previous professional experience and severely restricted his artistic career.


Despite the fact that the political context negatively affected his artistic career, after World War II, Bacevičius consistently failed to comply with political divides. He simultaneously attacked both the conductors of the US symphony orchestras and the musical institutions and conductors of the USSR to promote the opportunities of the performance of his compositions. The hopes of the emigrée composer to be included in the repertoires of the USSR performers might seem a bit naive: the composer’s imagination even matured a plan that, should his music start to be played in Europe, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, then in the USA “they would be also made to play my music, and I would earn several million dollars by my records, and should I become famous, I would donate the millions to the cultural institutions of Lithuania”.⁵ Again, the composer was slightly na-

4 See for example Petrauskaitė: (*Lietuvių muzikinės kultūra*), 854–868.

5 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Vytautas Montvila, New York, 3 October 1968. Lietuvos literatūros ir meno archyvas / LLMA (Lithuanian Archive of Literature and Art), f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12, l. 25.

RŪTA STANEVIČIŪTĖ

VYTAUTAS
BACEVICIUS
PIANIST - COMPOSER



CARNEGIE HALL *Sunday Evening at 8:30*
April 26th, 1953
(Program Overleaf)

Figure 2. Poster of Vytautas Bacevičius' Concert, Carnegie Hall, 26 April 1953 (Lithuanian Archive of Literature and Art)

ive when he imagined that “Russians are extremely musical and their opinion is highly appreciated by Americans, and I shall be immensely pleased if the Russians influence the conductors of the most famous American orchestras so that they would start playing my large symphonic pieces (symphonies, etc.), just as they play Shostakovich.”⁶ Bacevičius also took similar steps in the USA: at the end of the 1960s, he wrote that, for the first time after ten years, he sent out ten letters to ten major USA symphony conductors “to ask them whether they would like me to send them some score”.⁷ He did not expect a quick response, neither was he surprised by silence: his experience as a performer made him believe that merely a personal contact with interpreters could be effective: “As long as America exists, it has never happened that some conductor would borrow the score from the library and perform it in a concert. Only those scores are performed, both here and in the Soviet Union, that are personally handed to the conductor (provided, of course, he likes the score).”⁸

All those efforts were completely unsuccessful. In the period between 1940 and 1970, the composer wrote eleven large-scale symphonic works and concerti, however, most of them were never included in the repertoires of top US or European orchestras, and there are no data to witness that any famous conductor was ever interested in them. The only exception is the case of *Sinfonia de la Guerra*, written in Buenos Aires in 1940: in 1943, conductor Leopold Stokowski got interested in the symphony, having selected it out of numerous compositions sent to him, and intended to include it in the concert programme. However, due to a number of subjective and objective factors, as, e.g., the composer being short of money to have the parts rewritten, and the conductor busy with a number of things, including his wedding, the symphony never got in the repertoire of American symphonic concerts.⁹ After the composer’s death, emigrée composer and music critic Jakubėnas regretted the futile efforts of Bacevičius to get his symphonic pieces performed in the USA as a fallacy typical of more than one composer: “sending scores to ‘Major Symphonies’ conductors has two aspects; both are pessimistic. In the best-case

6 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Vytautas Montvila, New York, 11 January 1969. LLMA, f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12, l. 43.

7 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Vytautas Montvila, New York, 16 October 1968. LLMA, f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12, l. 30.

8 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Vytautas Montvila, New York, 10 April 1969. LLMA, f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12, l. 53.

9 Rūta Stanevičiūtė: “World War II Memory and Narratives in the Music of the Lithuanian Diaspora and Soviet Lithuania”, in: *The Art of Identity and Memory: Toward a Cultural History of the Two World Wars in Lithuania*, eds. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė, Rasutė Andriusytė-Žukienė (Brighton, Mass.: Academic Studies Press, 2016), 257–285.



Figure 3. Poster of Dušan Pandula concert, Prague, 30 March 1952 (Lithuanian Archive of Literature and Art)

scenario, one can get a photocopy of the score in an unopened envelope, and in the worst-case scenario, it shall perish altogether. Vytautas Bacevičius who passed away several years ago had known it well and had gone through the mill”.¹⁰

Paradoxically, during the Cold War, socialist countries served as a channel for Bacevičius’ music to spread outside the USA. After the war, he re-established his relationship with Czech composer Alois Hába, a left-wing musician and opponent of Stalinism. Thanks to Hába’s recommendation, he made contact with Dušan Pandula, violinist of Hába’s String Quartet. In 1947 to 1952, Bacevičius’ compositions written with Pandula’s encouragement were performed in Czechoslovakia: those were String Quartets No. 2 (1947) and No. 3 (1950) and Concerto for violin and orchestra (1951). In socialist Czechoslovakia, Bacevičius was introduced as a Lithuanian, i.e. potentially Soviet, composer: it was only under cover of ambiguity that the compositions of an emigrant residing in the US could get into the

¹⁰ Vladas Jakubėnas: “Keli lietuviškos muzikos bruožai” [Several Features of Lithuanian Music], *Muzikos žinios*, 1976/3–4, see: Vladas Jakubėnas. *Straipsniai ir recenzijos*. Vol. 2 (Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija, 1994), 1127.

then severely restricted musical life of Czechoslovakia.¹¹ In Poland, the family of Vytautas Bacevičius that lived there kept silent about him until 1984. They feared that the information could harm the career of Grażyna Bacewicz, and rightly so, as, e.g., in New York in 1940 Bacevičius publicly burnt a newly acquired passport of the USSR.

The political standpoint of Bacevičius could be regarded as exceptional merely in the milieu of Lithuanian immigrants: political disengagement among the representatives of other nations was encountered much more frequently. However, his efforts to take advantage of different sides of the political confrontation in the years of the Cold War have been causing researcher debates over the composer's motivation up to the present time. Was it a political naivety or consistent cynicism? The answer should be looked for not in the composer's character or the context of the events, but by examining his artistic ideology and his standpoint with respect to the new cultural reality.

NATIONALISM VERSUS COSMOPOLITANISM: ALTERNATIVES OR UTOPIAS?

To quote American musicologist Brigid Cohen, the studies of European musical emigration to the USA were frequently based on issues related to the preservation of the national identity or transformation: "To what extent did the *émigré* maintain the customs and identifications of an original nation, and to what extent did he or she adapt to those of a new homeland?"¹² The musicologist set off the cases that could be considered in the contexts of transformation of national identity against the attitudes of open cosmopolitanism. However, in terms of cultural transformations in emigration, the alternatives of nationalism and cosmopolitanism are not just analogous to the model of resistance and assimilation. In other words, not every choice of the position of cosmopolitanism meant attachment to the new reality, just as not every expression of *émigré* nationalism was to be considered a case of cultural isolation.

That more complex image of emigration is convenient for the discussion of the relationship of Vytautas Bacevičius with the cultural reality and the strategies of his artistic career in the USA, as they can hardly be covered by the opposition of choices between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Bacevičius was an artist of a

¹¹ See Rūta Stanevičiūtė: *Modernumo lygtys. Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija ir muzikinio modernizmo sklaida Lietuvoje* [Figures of Modernity. International Society for Contemporary Music and the Modern Music Movement in Lithuania] (Vilnius: VDA, 2015), 350–352.

¹² Cohen: "Musical Modernism beyond the Nation", 208.

dual cultural identity: born into a mixed Lithuanian-Polish family and educated in Poland, he arrived in Kaunas in 1926, determined to create for the sake of the culture of his second motherland, i.e. Lithuania. However, the representation of Lithuanian identity in his compositions became relevant to him only after he had gone to study in Paris, under the influence of French modernism, Igor Stravinsky, and the Paris School. By contrast, nationalism became completely irrelevant to him in emigration; his attitude was reflected by a quotation from his letter to his sister Gražyna Bacewicz: “What is my nationality? It’s simple. I am of musical nationality. What is my race? The atonal race. And that is all”.¹³ Delimited from a national milieu, the supranational position of Bacevičius combined persistent efforts to integrate into American musical life and fierce criticism of the USA musical institutions and musical tastes. One of the examples of the efforts to integrate was a private club of music established by Bacevičius in 1946 which operated for 13 years. As stated by the composer, in the *Bacevicius’ Music Club*, concerts and other artistic events initially took place every Friday and attracted several hundred people, but later they became less frequent. Concerts were given by performers of the Lithuanian and other nations, exhibitions and concerts of modern dance were held; however, the initiative stayed on the margins of the modern American culture. I would think that was predetermined by several reasons that reflected not just individual attitudes of Bacevičius’ artistic standpoint, but, more broadly, the relationship of most European composers of his generation with the new cultural reality.

The first reason was the self-identification with the European tradition of modern music as a universal artistic ideology and categorical rejection of Americanisation. Critical evaluations of the USA musical culture were best reflected in the numerous letters of Bacevičius to his family in Poland (over 2,000 of his letters survived). Thus, e.g., with reference to the competition of symphonic music in 1952, the composer described the attitudes of American music critics in its jury in fact those of mass culture, representing the interests of the paying classes (“so now people know what they’ve paid for when they buy the tickets”)¹⁴. The composer’s approach did not change after his life in New York for over 20 years. In February 1963, he went to a concert sponsored by the National Association for American Composers and Conductors, a society he entered as early as in 1941 on Sergei

13 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, New York, 09 September 1958. Cited from Edmundas Gedgaudas (ed. and trans.): *Vytautas Bacevičius. II tomas. Išsakyta žodžiais* [Vytautas Bacevičius. Volume 2. Put into Words], ed. and trans (Vilnius: Petro Ofsetas, 2005), 45.

14 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, New York, 29 February 1952, cited from Krzysztof Droba: “Vytautas Bacevičius in America or an Artist in a Cage”, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius in Context*, eds. Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Veronika Janatjeva (Vilnius: LCU, 2009), 121.

9

BACEVICIUS' MUSIC CLUB
announcing
OPENING OF THE THIRD SEASON
WITH ITS 24th MUSICAL AT THE
BARBIZON-PLAZA SALON DE MUSIQUE
101 West 58th Street, New York City
on **SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4th, 1950 at 8 P. M.**

In the program are participating the following artists:
LIVIO MANNUCCI, Concert Cellist from London
ALEKSAS MROZINSKAS, at the piano
THELMA MATESKY, Soprano (French Songs)
ANITA DE MARS, at the piano
VYTAUTAS BACEVICIUS, Concert Pianist-Composer

Yearly Membership Dues	\$10.00	Guest Tickets — \$1.80 including tax
Membership dues please mail to the President of the Club		VYTAUTAS BACEVICIUS
Members have free admission to all Eight Concerts		Franklin Towers Hotel
		333 West 86th Street, Apt. 1014
		New York 24, N. Y.

Phone: TRafalgar 3-8800

Figure 4. Announcement of Vytautas Bacevičius Club, New York, 1950 (Lithuanian Archive of Literature and Art)

Rachmaninov's recommendation: "I could not believe I was in New York. The entire audience seemed such a bunch of hicks to me as if I were in deep provinces instead of the very center of New York [...] I tried not to react with my facial muscles so that the audience would not complain of my ill-will; as a result, blood boiled in me throughout the concert and had the worst possible effect on my nerves. In the program, the composers herald themselves as professors of universities of Los Angeles, New York etc., as students of Nadia Boulanger, Hindemith, Walter Piston and others. As if one needed to be a student of Boulanger and Hindemith to write shit! When Frenchmen, Poles, Italians and others study with Boulanger, they become decent composers, when it's an American, he is still a shit."¹⁵

The second reason for the marginalisation of the *Bacevicius' Music Club* and his similar efforts is to be related to the generation gap in the adaptation to the US and the transformation of musical ideologies. As argued by Brigid Cohen, in the Cold War, New York crystallized as an archetypal global city in which different cosmopolitanisms counterpointed and contested. When comparing the musical careers made by different composers of the Bacevičius' generation – émigrés from

¹⁵ Vytautas Bacevičius' letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, New York, 12 February 1963. Cited from Gedgaudas: *Vytautas Bacevičius*, 115.

Eastern Europe in the USA, one can notice that the national factor, however, had a significant impact on the institutional context of their activity. I have in mind such cases as active efforts of Russian émigré conductors or performers to perform the music of Russian composers and the like. Therefore the transformation of the multicultural New York musical scene into a cosmopolitan one was more pronounced in the artistic activities of the second avant-garde generation. Thus, e.g., Jurgis (George) Mačiūnas (1931–1978) of Lithuanian descent, one of the founders of the Fluxus movement, did not experience any national restrictions, neglected national identifications, and had no need to identify himself with European heritage to be able to develop new art.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE FIRST MODERNISM IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE SECOND AVANT-GARDE

I would believe that belonging to the interwar modernist generation made a no less significant impact on the adaptation of Bacevičius and his peers-composers in emigration than political, economic, and sociocultural changes. In the US, the Lithuanian composer tried out both strategies, i.e. adaptation and resistance, in his activities. As he admitted, on arriving to New York, he yielded to the temptation to adapt to the imaginary American musical milieu and the public taste. Since late 1950s, Bacevičius had abandoned the strategies to adapt to the American cultural environment and turned towards a unique conception of cosmic music, thus rethinking his early experiences of atonal music during the era of the second avant-garde inspirations. In his articles of the 1950s to 1960s and in his letters to Lithuanian artists, to his sister composer Gražyna Bacewicz and his brother pianist Kęstutis Bacevičius who lived in Poland, the composer offered an exhaustive analysis of the opportunities provided to modern composition by serial, sonoristic, aleatoric, electronic music, and *musique concrète*, and simultaneously he discussed a broader picture of the 20th century new music development. In the progressivist vision of music modernisation, Bacevičius ranked Béla Bartók, Alexander Scriabin, Igor Stravinsky, Olivier Messiaen, Edgar Varèse, and André Jolivet, and he also closely analysed the works of the post-war avant-garde representatives Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luigi Nono, Iannis Xenakis, Luciano Berio, Bruno Maderna, Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, and others. Just like in his early creative period, Bacevičius took a sceptical view of the direction advocated by the Second Viennese School and the alternatives offered by the associated serialism and other composing techniques that relied on strict rules: “composers [...] have to particularly beware of getting caught in mathematical puzzles and to

remember that music is not just dry mathematics”.¹⁶ He also had reservations about electronic music and *musique concrète*: “The fantastic instruments and unheard effects of electronic music, as well as admirable timbres and excellent sound vibration and dynamics, reveal for us a source of valuable opportunities for the music of the future, however, before new instruments are invented and produced that could make use of that source, electronic music does not have any future, as a corpse shall not be inspired by any spirit. And a machine is just a corpse”.¹⁷ “[S]peaking of *musique concrète*, it is very interesting [...] It is magical music (with vibrations and glissando), however, it is still in the cradle.”¹⁸

Encouraged by his friend visual artist Adomas Galdikas to take an interest in New York experimental music composers, and primarily in the works of John Cage, Bacevičius failed to find a counterweight to the “terror” of serialism in the world of aleatoric, and in the freedoms of indeterminacy he saw a threat to “a creator’s *principle of perfection*”.¹⁹ In his lecture on the contemporary European music, given in Boston College of Music in 1965, the Lithuanian composer presented the late conception of “cosmic music” in a more exhaustive way, by positioning his version of avant-garde composing in the environment of the classics of the twentieth century modern music and the new phenomena. As a source of inspiration for his later “cosmic” works, Bacevičius chose not the Darmstadt mainstream, but Edgard Varèse and Olivier Messiaen, as well as abstract art: “Cosmic music suggests a great aesthetic evolution [...] the idea is not a new one: Skriabin, Jolivet, Bartók and Varèse have already composed music of this kind.”²⁰ One of the origins of Bacevičius’ idea of cosmic music derived from ESP (Extra Sensory Perception) states, i.e. from

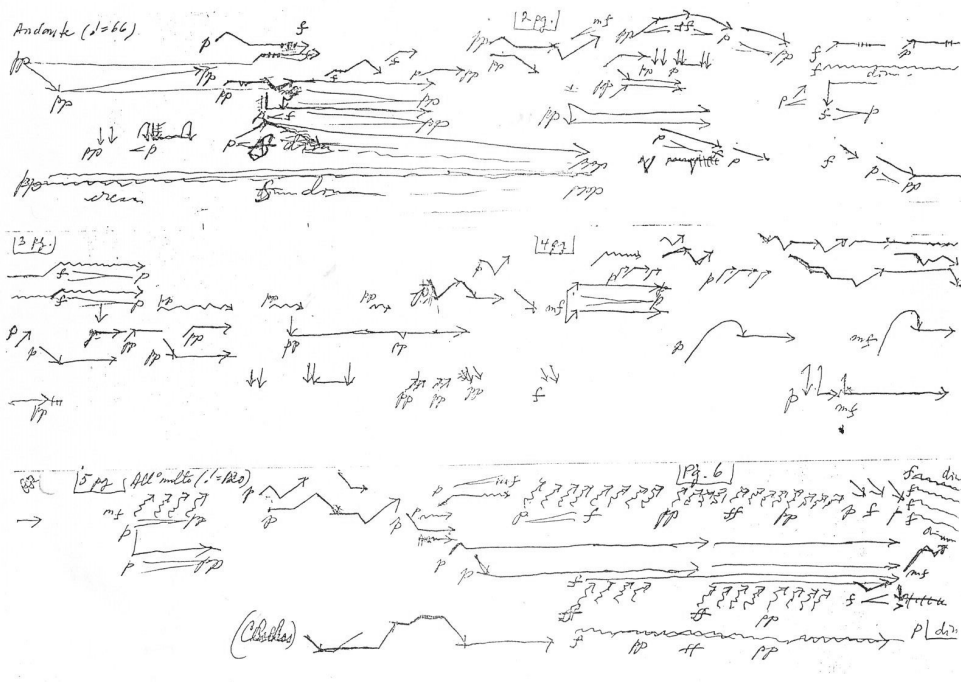
16 Vytautas Bacevičius: “Laikas neina atgal [Time Does Not Tun Backwards]”, *Draugas*, 19 October 1963. As early as during his studies in Paris, Bacevičius adopted the distrust of, or even hostility towards, the Second Viennese School typical of the French musical milieu. The Lithuanian composer never provided any broader comment; however, one could assume that, having started to identify himself with atonal music since the end of the 1920s, he could have meant the theoretical conception of the correlation of polytonality and atonality, advocated by Darius Milhaud in the 20s. As he stated having got acquainted with Arnold Schoenberg’s system many years ago, Bacevičius more openly presented his negative view on the Second Viennese creative style in his letter to sister Gražyna in 1958: “As for the dead, I consider the creators of dodecaphonic music to be absolute spiritual corpses. To combine notes in a certain fixed order means exclusively brain work, detached from an absolute music composer’s emotional world, spiritual experiences, and subtlest feelings”. See Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, New York, 29 October 1958. Quoted after Gedgaudas: *Vytautas Bacevičius*, 54.

17 Bacevičius: “Laikas neina atgal”.

18 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, Paris, 05 September 1961. Cited from Gedgaudas: *Vytautas Bacevičius*, 90.

19 Vytautas Bacevičius’ letter to Vytautas Montvila, New York, 15 November 1968. LLMA, f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12, l. 37.

20 Vytautas Bacevičius: lecture *Contemporary Music in Europe*, Boston College of Music, 1965. LLMA, f. 117, Inv. 2, No. 12.



Example 1. Vytautas Bacevičius, *Graphique*, Op. 68 (1964). Fragment of graphical notation – “a film of the score”. Music Information Centre Lithuania

going beyond the three-dimensional reality and into one’s own spiritual universe, equivalent to that of the cosmos. In 1963, he wrote in his letter to sister Gražyna:

From now on I’m going to write *pure and atonal* music. I am going to draw all ideas from my own Universe and filter them through my own mentality guided by my own logic. Since I hate mathematical puzzles, systems and techniques, I reject and have no intention of borrowing from others; my logic will be naturally based on the strictest discipline, which will take into account all conditions necessary to create purely atonal music - not serial, however, since my music will be *virtually unrepeatable*, yet with much stress on *structures rythmiques*. I am going to draw on the entire wisdom of my Universe and put it to paper to be ordered by logic. I spit on Schaeffer and Goléa, who claim that those composers are the most significant who write according to established systems, especially the serial one, while those who don’t adopt the serial technique are nothing but dilettantes. I hope you believe me, [Gražyna], that I need no intuition to enter my extra-material Universe, its purely abstract spheres, higher and higher into the light, the apex of perfection.

Although I am myself imprisoned in a bodily prison, my own Universe it contains is infinitely great.²¹

The *opus magnum* of his late creative period – *Graphique* for symphony orchestra (1964) – is an emblematic composition that reveals a kind of atonality revision at the time of the second avant-garde practices. Intended to become the first opus of a never completed cycle of nine symphonic compositions *Sahasrara Chakra*, the composition was set out in two forms: the graphical notation and the traditional score.

By relating that and other late compositions to the new atonality, the composer undoubtedly used the concept of atonality very freely, as a characteristic of abstract music based on avant-garde art principles. The late works of Bacevičius can be partly related to the historical practices of atonal music merely due to the polycentric modelling of macro- and micro-structures, with simultaneous heavily enforcing a refined heteronymic vertical of the musical texture. By particularly frequently referring to the vibration category to define the philosophical conception of the cosmic music, the composer convincingly developed the latter in the score of the *Graphique* also by use of micro-timbral thinking, differentiation of orchestral sections and individual instruments, and treating them quite emphatically. It has to be noted that the architectonics of the composition was greatly affected by the attention paid to the richness of the orchestral colour, especially to the wind instruments and four percussion groups. In Danutė Palionytė's opinion, the *Graphique* by Bacevičius is to be considered a kind of a sonorism,²² merely in it, contrary to the conventional compositions of that trend, sonoric clusters were given up and sonic consonances were sought to be maximally differentiated. That enables one to find the conceptual and sonic analogies in the cosmic music developed by Bacevičius and the searches in the twentieth century *musica mundana*, undoubtedly attributable to Messiaen and Varèse, admired by the Lithuanian composer, and Karlheinz Stockhausen, moderately appreciated by him. Simultaneously, in the scores of the *Graphique* by Bacevičius, as well as in other scores of the late “cosmic” period, one can find structural analogies with other theoretical conceptions and practices of the composers of the 1950s to 1960s. As an example, the conception of sound types of new music (*Klangtypen der Neuen Musik*)²³ by Helmut Lachenmann can be named: the invariants of a number of those types are found in the above-mentioned compositions by Bacevičius.

21 Vytautas Bacevičius' letter to Gražyna Bacewicz, New York, 18 March 1963. Cited from Droba: “Vytautas Bacevičius in America”, 132–133.

22 Danutė Palionytė: “Vytauto Bacevičiaus simfoninės muzikos vizija [Vision of Symphonic Music in Vytautas Bacevičius's Work]”, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius. I tomas. Gyvenimo partitūra* [Vytautas Bacevičius. Volume 1. Life Score], ed. Ona Narbutienė (Vilnius: Petro Ofsetas, 2005), 333.

23 Cf. Helmut Lachenmann: “Klangtypen der Neuen Musik“, in: *Musik als existentielle Erfahrung. Schriften 1966–1995*, ed. Josef Häusler (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf, 1996), 1–20.

30.

(15)

pte Fl.
 Gdes Fl.
 Htbs
 C. A.
 Clar.
 Bons
 Cors II
 Cors III
 B.
 Trb.
 C. B.
 Vons
 Altos
 Vlls
 C. B.
 1. Timb.
 2. [Tmol. / Cy. ch. / Vrg. / Gr. d. / T. T.]
 3. [C. R. / B. M. / Bong. / Cls.]
 4. [T. B. / Cbs. / Bgs. / B. ch.]

Example 2. Vytautas Bacevičius, *Graphique*, Op. 68 (1964). Sound type of texture sound (*Texturklang*).
 Music Information Centre Lithuania

LATE CREATION AND ARTISTIC ESCAPISM IN EXILE

Compared to other less seldom analysed works of the interwar modernism late period, the composition of Bacevičius can be assigned to the strategy of escapism. As a similar example of cultural strategy, one can name Arthur Lourié's (1892–1966) late creative period in the USA. Lourié was equally critical of American cultural reality: in his drawings the composer depicted himself as Hamlet with a skull in his hands, locked in an American prison titled “The League of Composers”. Quotation from his reflections on death from the American period:

I was thinking tonight that it is still possible to live in America [...] It is very hard, but possible. However, the thought about death here is totally unbearable. One has to leave from here to die, to go anywhere, away from here. It is difficult to get rid of the impression that no sooner you die than you are made into [...] tooth paste, a bar of shaving soap, Coca-Cola or something similar. There is no way from here either to heavens or the underworld; all the roads instead lead to a factory of sorts where even souls are transformed into commercial products.²⁴

In this context, it is useful to remember Lydia Goehr's proposal to discuss emigration not merely from the historical, but also from the theoretical perspective, by recording not only the geographical and cultural changes of artist's living environment, but also the existential and psychological conditions.²⁵ How should we interpret the double – physical and creative – exile in which the first modernism composers, who had been committed to the innovation ideology during the interwar period, appeared in the environment of the second avant-garde? In that respect, I find a multiphase stage model of the composer's creative way proposed by Polish musicologist Mieczysław Tomaszewski very handy. In that model, the composer identified six situations of creative options:

1. Appropriation of traditions (taking root in the cultural environment);
2. The first fascination (crystallisation of ideals);
3. Resistance and rebellion;
4. A significant meeting (existential communication);
5. Existential threat;
6. Loneliness and liberation.²⁶

24 Cited from Olesya Bobrik: “Farewell to St Petersburg. From Arthur Lourié's Memoirs on Russia”, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius in Context*, 139–140.

25 Lydia Goehr: “Music and Musicians in Exile: The Romantic Legacy of a Double Life”, in: *Driven Into Paradise. The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann, Christoph Wolff (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999), 69.

26 Mieczysław Tomaszewski: “Życia twórcy punkty węzłowe. Rekonesans”, *Res facta* 11 (2010), 79–90. Italics mine.

Differently from T. W. Adorno, Tomaszewski considers phase five to be that of late creation, and stage six, the last one, and describes it in the following way: “that is a complex of existential experiences. A moment of farewells and separations, looking back at the past and running towards the future, when memories come back to life and almost irrational plans are born. However, first of all, it is a sense of solitude and the liberation of imagination leading towards ‘new shores’”. To make the musicologist’s reasoning clear, I shall present an extended characteristic of the two last phases of creation.

The phase of *late creation* shall be most frequently predetermined by the moment of existential threat. The forming “shadow line” and the cathartic moment bring an emotional breakdown and cleansing. That allows one to take a fresh look at one’s work, to free oneself from internal and external constraints, to reduce optional means and to seek new ones. The phase is marked by an inclination towards autobiographical observations, spirituality, and the preference for pantheistic, philosophical, and sacred themes.

[The *last works*] are particularly affected by a strong sense of solitude which is paradoxically accompanied by a sense of liberation. That is followed by self-immersion, detachment from the immediate reality, the flight of imagination and disintegration, the return to the beginning and the striving towards hardly articulated fields of opportunities. [...] Mystical and metaphysical accents are frequent. The fragmentation of works is compensated for by unity and harmony based on supersonic parameters.²⁷

Tomaszewski’s model, in its own specific way related to Lydia Goehr’s exile interpretation, may serve as a tool to avoid the marginalisation of the late compositions of Bacevičius that would unavoidably result from a narrow technological analysis of his symphonic work *Graphique* and others. It was only in the years of the restored Independence that Bacevičius’ music became more frequently performed in Lithuania and, after his centenary, also abroad. However, the composer’s inclusion in the national music modernisation narratives shows that the conceptual and technological parallels are insufficient to contextualise Bacevičius’ music in the twentieth-century musical modernism. Based on a still viable model of cosmopolitan centres and national peripheries, the case of Bacevičius is to be interpreted as a solitary creative path, hardly related to the mainstreams. In such a context, Brigid Cohen’s productive insight should be taken into account: in the analysis of the twentieth-century musical processes, it is necessary to more closely examine the emigrants’ hybrid identifications and the political and cultural contexts of

27 Idem, italics mine.

their recreation. However, I would think that the conception supported by philosophical and psychological arguments expands the usual interpretation of creative strategies of émigré composers. Such an interpretation is of special importance for the analysis of the cases of the twentieth century mass emigration, with numerous experiences of those defined by Homi Bhabha as “victims of modernity, [...] bereft of those comforts and customs of national belonging” being considered as a more general trend.²⁸

28 See Homi Bhabha: “Cosmopolitanisms”, in: *Cosmopolitanism*. eds. Carol Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 6.

EXIL, EMIGRATION, KALTER KRIEG.
KONSTANTEN UND VARIANTEN DES
ANTIKOMMUNISMUS, ANTINAZISMUS, ANTI- UND
PRO-AMERIKANISMUS IM LICHTE EINIGER FILME
SAMUEL „BILLIE/BILLY“ WILDERS

HANNS-WERNER HEISTER

HOCHSCHULE FÜR MUSIK UND THEATER HAMBURG, PROF. IM RUHESTAND

in memoria del mio amico dal 1980, Sergio
Miceli, storico e teorico della musica per il
film, morto nel suo 72^{mo} anno 2016

***Abstract:** In Billy Wilders (1906–2002) Filmen spielt häufig Musik eine wichtige, manchmal wesentliche Rolle, im On wie im Off und oft im Verbund mit Tanz, als Motiv oder sogar als Leitmotiv. Dasselbe gilt für Politik, in einer gewissen Analogie zur Musik im Vorder- wie im Hintergrund. Im Vordergrund steht, bei aller stofflichen Aufmüpfigkeit bis Kühnheit, eine politisch eher konformistische Tendenz, die, wie selbstverständlich nach 1933 wie nach 1945, Antikommunismus einschließt. Das gilt vor allem für Ninotchka (1939; Drehbuch Wilder, Charles Brackett und Walter Reisch, Regie Lubitsch) und One, Two, Three (just 1961, wegen des Baus der „Berliner Mauer“ im August 1961 zunächst ein Flop), beide ebenso witzig und komisch wie das heute wohl noch bekanntere Some Like it Hot (1959). Letzteres zeigt mit dem durchgängigen Leitmotiv des Transvestitismus schon im Vordergrund eine deutliche Kritik an den Zensur-Regeln des Hays Office in Hollywood und der vorherrschenden Mentalität in den USA generell. Und in One, Two, Three wird die Forderung „More Rock’n’Roll“ in der DDR-Grandhotel-Kaschemme mit Hačaturâns Säbeltanz beantwortet, samt „Tabledance“ – damals noch ein bloßes Tanzen auf dem Tisch mit nur beginnendem Striptease.*

Einige weitere variative Finessen, zumal solche im Hintergrund, werden im Folgenden etwas genauer untersucht – so vor allem, freilich nur in Ansätzen, die fortzusetzen sind, das aufschlussreiche, vielfältige und weitgespannte Netz von persönlichen, historisch-politisch-sozialen und intertextuell-intermedialen Bezügen. So folgte Ninotchka schon 1940 ein Remake als Comrade X mit Hedy Lamarr, die ebenso vor den Nazis geflüchtet war wie der am Drehbuch beteiligte Gottfried Reinhardt (der Sohn von Max). Als Silk Stockings von Cole Porter wurde der Film 1955 als Musical gecouvert – und bei der Uraufführung in New York spielte eine

weitere zeitweilige Arbeitsemigrantin, Hildegard Knief, die Hauptrolle. Eine deutschsprachige EA gab es erst 1974 in Linz. Das Musical wiederum wurde 1957 verfilmt. Der Stoff- und Plot-Lieferant war Menyhért (Melchior) Lengyel (eigentlich Menyhért Lebovics, 1880–1974) mit seinem Stück Ninocska von 1937. Lengyels Geschichte A csodálatos mandarin von 1916 wiederum hatte Béla Bartók zu seinem Tanzspiel Der wunderbare Mandarin (1924) angeregt. Und natürlich emigrierte auch Bartók. Bei One, Two, Three wirkte Ferenc Molnár am Drehbuch mit, durch Liliom (1909), mit der Musical-Version als Carousel und Mehrfach-Verfilmungen, ein bedeutender Dramatiker. One, Two, Three geht zurück auf sein Stück Egy, kettő, három (deutsch als Eins, zwei, drei. „Karikatur in einem Akt“, 1929).

Nicht zuletzt aufgrund solcher vielschichtiger Einbettungen samt der Entwicklung Wilders bis 1933 in Europa, hat das Exil in den USA, auf der Flucht vor dem Nazismus über Frankreich erreicht, teilweise Züge einer Heimkehr in die Fremde. Hier vermischen sich tatsächlich Exil und Emigration, die sonst kategorial im Sinn einer Polarität von politischer und ökonomischer Motivierung auseinandergehalten werden bzw. wurden. Die Spannungsverhältnisse zwischen mindestens bipolarer Affirmation und Kritik, zwischen Antikommunismus und Antiamerikanismus, Pro-Amerikanismus und Antinazismus im Zeitalter sowohl des Faschismus wie der globalen Bipolarität werden detailliert ausgelotet, einschließlich der schon vermerkten „intertextuellen“ Selbstzitat-Techniken. Wilders Filme enthalten ein kritisches Potential. Es unterwandert gängige konservative bis reaktionäre politisch-moralische Konventionen mit stofflichen Motiven wie Ehebruch, Prostitution oder gar Homosexualität bis hin zum hintergründigen Pun zur Lolita-Thematik mit The Major and the Minor (1942), fast bis zur Annäherung an den in den 1920ern von der Rechten bekämpften „Kulturbolschewismus“. Obwohl diese Konventionen seit der Bürgerrechts- und Studierendenbewegung immer heftiger angefochten wurden, waren sie bis zum Ende von Wilders Schaffenszeit weitgehend hegemonial – der gesellschaftskritische Gehalt seiner Filme ist damit umso deutlicher.

EXIL/EMIGRATION, EUROPA/USA.

WECHSELSEITIGE INTERKULTURELLE ANEIGNUNGEN

Mit dem Aufschwung der bundesdeutschen Exil- und NS-Forschung nach 1968 wurde der Unterschied zwischen Emigration und Exil bedeutsam. ‚Exil‘ war die überlebensnotwendige Flucht in fremde Länder vor Verfolgung, aus politischen oder rassistischen Gründen, Emigration war die freiwillige Auswanderung. Schon der – freilich ambivalente – Begriff der „Inneren Emigration“ weichte diese Unterscheidung auf. („Inner exile“ ist ein besserer Begriff.) Denn diese „Emigration“ ohne Auswanderung war keineswegs freiwillig, sondern ebenfalls erzwungen.¹

1 Heute ist die damals aus politischen Gründen durchaus wichtige Unterscheidung kaum mehr sinnvoll. Sie wirkt, aus ebenfalls politischen Gründen, sogar negativ. Denn sie behindert oder

Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947), der Regisseur von *Ninotchka*, war entsprechend dieser älteren Unterscheidung ein Emigrant: Er kam bereits 1922 in die USA.² Billy Wilder (1906–2002), der Ko-Autor des Drehbuchs von *Ninotchka*, war ein Exilant: Sein Leben war nach der Übergabe der Macht an Hitler am 30. Januar 1933 bedroht, weil er sowohl Jude als auch Vertreter einer linksorientierten Publizistik und Kunst war, befreundet z. B. mit dem Pazifisten Klabund und dem Kommunisten Egon Erwin Kisch. Er floh sofort nach dem Reichstagsbrand, am 28. Februar 1933, zunächst nach Paris. Ein Bekannter aus Berlin, Joe May, nun Präsident der Columbia Pictures, kaufte einen Drehbuchentwurf Wilders an und verschaffte ihm ein Einreisevisum. Im Januar 1934 kam Wilder in die USA.

Die Bedeutung europäischer, vor allem deutscher und österreichischer Immigranten für die Entwicklung Hollywoods zwischen dem Ende des 1. Weltkriegs und der Hoch-Zeit des Kalten Kriegs bis Anfang der 1960er ist groß. J. Joseph Horowitz hob 2008 hervor, die exilierten deutschen Filmemacher wie v. a. F. W. Murnau, Fritz Lang, Ernst Lubitsch, Billy Wilder (und E. von Stroheim) hätten Hollywood kosmopolitisch gemacht, und Greta Garbo sowie Marlene Dietrich hätten Erotik im Film neu definiert.³ Zu ergänzen wäre hier noch unter anderem die bemerkenswerte Österreicherin Hedy Lamarr (Hedwig Eva Maria Kiesler). Neben ihrer Tätigkeit als Schauspielerin war sie als Erfinderin tätig und entwickelte zusammen mit dem Komponisten George Antheil eine neuartige Torpedo-Steuerung, die die Lochstreifen-Steuerung von Reproduktionsklavieren verwendete.⁴

verhindert gar die Rettung von Flüchtlingen. Bei dem generell unmenschlichen Umgang mit AsylantInnen besonders in Europa, aber, wie damals, auch in Australien und Neuseeland usw., wird speziell in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland scharf unterschieden zwischen Flucht aus politischen Gründen und Flucht aus wirtschaftlichen. Wirtschaftliche Not wird als Asylgrund nicht anerkannt. Ob freilich jemand dem Tod durch Hunger oder durch Gewalt zu entkommen sucht, ist einerlei. Die Unterscheidung ist eine Scholastik der Inhumanität. Im Übrigen hat die wirtschaftliche Bedrohung durch Verhungern in der Regel letztlich ebenfalls politische Gründe: Die „postkolonialen“ militärischen Interventionen mit geopolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Zielen erzeugen Kriege in Afrika wie im Vorderen Orient und damit eben Fluchtgründe.

2 „In 1920 and 1921 Paramount began its attempt to conquer the German market by founding a company in Germany parallel to UFA, called EFA. It was a crucial moment in German film history, ending in the departure of Pola Negri and Ernst Lubitsch for Hollywood“. Lubitschs Mentor Paul Davidson „was left behind as ‚collateral damage‘“. Stefan Drössler, „Ernst Lubitsch and EFA“, in: *Film History: An International Journal* 21/3 (2009), 208–228.

3 Vgl. Joseph Horowitz, *Artists in Exile: How Refugees from Twentieth-century War and Revolution Transformed the American Performing Arts*. New York: Harper, 2008.

4 Die militärische Relevanz ihres Frequenzsprung-Verfahrens wird manchmal bestritten, die für die spätere kabellose Übertragung von Funksignalen scheint erwiesen. Vgl. u. a. Lisa Fischer, „Der Heimat blieb die Asche. Von der ‚Ekstase‘ zur Mobiltelefonie oder: Wie eine Schönheitskönigin zur Erfinderin wurde. Zum 100. Geburtstag: Hedy Lamarr – von Wien in die Welt. Und ihre Rückkehr nach dem Tod“, in: *Die Presse*, Wien, 11. April 2014; Jochen Förster und Anthony

In dem Remake von *Ninotchka* als *Comrade X* 1940 spielte sie eine Hauptrolle; der am Drehbuch beteiligte Gottfried Reinhardt (der Sohn von Max) war ebenfalls ein antinazistischer Exilant.

Bei den Filmmusik-Komponisten der „first Hollywood generation (1927–1940)“⁵ überwogen sogar Immigranten. Die erwähnten immigrierten Regisseure hoben die intellektuellen und aufklärenden Standards des Hollywood-Films, nicht zuletzt durch ihren Bezug auf sozialkritische österreichische und deutsche Literatur.⁶ Dieser Prozess war weder eine europäisch-deutsche ‚Unterwanderung‘ US-amerikanischer Verhältnisse und Werte noch umgekehrt eine einseitige Anpassung an Hollywood oder gar eine Unterwerfung, auch wenn es manchmal so scheinen mochte. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine Wechselwirkung, um das Wechselspiel einer interkulturellen Aneignung in beide Richtungen und in verschiedenen Konfigurationen. Dass freilich „freedom“, vor allem als freie Marktwirtschaft übersetzt, Kunst-Ambitionen nicht unbedingt förderlich war, wäre keine ganz falsche Einsicht. Und selbst der geschmeidige Wilder hatte damit manchmal Probleme. Gerade im Fall Wilder erscheint die These einer deutschen „Kolonisierung“⁷ daher einseitig und übertrieben. Umgekehrt wurde seit 1918 eher Europa, besonders das im Krieg besiegte und verarmte Deutschland, in vielerlei Hinsicht von den USA „kolonisiert“. Vieldiskutiert war das damals unter der Bezeichnung „Amerikanisierung“ als einer spezifischen Form von Modernisierung.⁸

Loder, *Hedy Darling: Hollywood-Ikone. Technik-Pionierin. Gefallener Stern. Das filmreife Leben der Hedy Lamarr – erzählt von ihrem Sohn* (Hollenstedt: Ankerherz-Verlag, 2012); Jörg Albrecht und Klemens Polatschek, „Deconstructing Hedy Lamarr“, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22. Mai 2006 (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wissen/physik-chemie/erfindungen-deconstructing-hedy-lamarr-1328718.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex_2); andererseits: „their device was way ahead of its time“ – „An updated version of the Lamarr-Antheil device finally appeared on U.S. Navy ships in 1962“: Tony Long, „Aug. 11, 1942: Actress + Piano Player = New Torpedo“, <https://www.wired.com/1997/03/privacy-implications-of-hedy-lamarrs-idea/>, 11. 8. 2008.

- 5 Vgl. ausführlich Sergio Miceli, *Film Music. History, Aesthetic-Analysis, Typologies* (Mailand, Lucca: Ricordi/LIM, 2013, ital. 2009), 126–136.
- 6 So z. B. Nora Henry, *Ethics and Social Criticism in the Hollywood Films of Erich von Stroheim, Ernst Lubitsch, and Billy Wilder* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001).
- 7 So z.B. Horowitz, *Artists in Exile*.
- 8 Vgl. u. a. immer noch maßstabsetzend Albrecht Dümmling, „Symbol des Fortschritts, der Dekadenz und der Unterdrückung. Der Bedeutungswandel des Jazz in den 20er Jahren“, in: *Angewandte Musik: 20er Jahre. Exemplarische Versuche gesellschaftsbezogener musikalischer Arbeit für Theater, Film, Radio, Massenveranstaltung*, hg. von Dietrich Stern (= Das Argument: Argument-Sonderband 24; Berlin: Argument-Verl., 1977), 81–100.

AMERIKANISMUS AUSSERHALB UND INNERHALB DER USA.
WILDER VOR 1933

Das Problem des ‚Amerikanismus‘ war in Wilders Werk eine Konstante, meist mehr, selten minder kritisch akzentuiert. Der Antikommunismus spielt eine quantitativ eher untergeordnete, temporäre Rolle. Er tritt allerdings in *Ninotschka* und dann in *One, Two, Three* prominent, ja konstitutiv auf. Gemeint ist mit ‚Amerikanismus‘ eine prinzipielle Zustimmung zur Gesellschaft der USA. Diese firmieren häufig unter falscher Flagge als „Amerika“. In Wirklichkeit ist Amerika bekanntlich etwas größer. Die Vorsehung sorgte allerdings so gut für das „manifest destiny“ von „God’s own country“, dass z. B. Thomas Jefferson 1801 verlauten ließ, dass in der Zukunft „wir den ganzen nördlichen, wenn nicht auch den südlichen Kontinent besiedeln werden“.⁹ Es verschlug da nichts, dass dieser Kontinent eigentlich schon ziemlich besiedelt war. Winter und andere vermuten, dass der Antikommunismus als Teil des Amerikanismus in das Passepartout bzw. Dispositiv dieses Expansionismus passt, der auf Weltherrschaft aus ist: „Die sehr viel spätere Heraufkunft des Kommunismus hat die imperiale Komponente der amerikanischen [sic] Politik sozusagen griffiger gemacht und dem Kreuzzug den hochoberwünschten Teufel beschert, obwohl die Amerikaner [sic] zuvor auch ohne ihn ausgekommen waren“.¹⁰

Die Zustimmung schließt punktuelle bis sogar prinzipielle Kritik nicht aus. In den USA selbst ist der Amerikanismus als Nationalismus naturgemäß endemisch. International kam er nach dem 1. Weltkrieg in Europa auf. Von Musik wie vor allem dem Jazz und Modetänzen über Film oder Kleidung bis zur fordistischen Betriebsorganisation erschien die entscheidende Siegermacht des Westens, der Entente, über die „Mittelmächte“ als fortschrittlich und modern – und die sogenannte „Amerikanisierung“ wurde dementsprechend vor allem von europäischen Konservativen und Reaktionären bekämpft. Im Antikommunismus trafen sich diese im Übrigen aber dann doch mit vielen Anhängern des Amerikanismus.

In vielerlei Hinsicht war Wilders Weg von der galizischen Kleinstadt Sucha am Rand der Habsburger Monarchie und dann in deren Zentrum Wien sowie über Berlin, eine ‚Kulturhauptstadt‘ der 1920er Jahre, in die USA bzw. nach Hollywood früh angelegt, bereits im damals aparten Vornamen, in der Familienversion „Billy“, wie seine anscheinend von den USA begeisterte Mutter Billie nannte.

Bevor Wilder 1934 in die USA kam, hatte er schon einiges an Migrationen und Emigrationen hinter sich. Angesichts des drohenden Kriegs waren seine El-

9 Vgl. Rolf Winter, *Ami Go Home. Plädoyer für den Abschied von einem gewalttätigen Land* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhring, 1989), 56.

10 Ebd., 57.

tern mit ihm und seinem älteren Bruder 1914 knapp vor Kriegsbeginn von Sucha nach Wien geflüchtet. In Wien arbeitete er dann vor allem als Sensationsreporter. Durch die Bekanntschaft mit Paul Whiteman kam er 1924 nach Berlin. Dort arbeitete er ebenfalls als Reporter, der nicht zuletzt über Filme und Filmstars berichtete. Darüber erhielt er Beziehungen zur May-Film in Berlin. Er gehörte zur armen Boheme. Eine Zeit lang war er sogar „Eintänzer“, ein Gigolo.

Allmählich stieg er ins Filmgeschäft als Autor ein, und allmählich stieg er auf, allerdings nur als Ghostwriter. Einen ersten Auftritt als im Vorspann genannter Drehbuchautor hatte er dann 1929/1930 mit dem semi-dokumentarischen Stummfilm *Menschen am Sonntag*. Er gehört zur charakteristischen Strömung der ‚Neuen Sachlichkeit‘, Teil der künstlerischen Moderne der 1920er, die wiederum *auch* „amerikanisch“ geprägt war. *Menschen am Sonntag* nimmt zugleich Elemente des Nachkriegs-„Neorealismus“ nach 1945 vorweg.

Eine Szene vom Anfang der Handlung exponiert zwei Themen: die Wichtigkeit des Hollywood-Films für die junge Generation als Teil der „Amerikanisierung“ – ein Fan-Photo der Garbo spielt eine Rolle – und den Machismo, der keinerlei Unterstützung aus „Amerika“ bedurfte, sondern endemisch war. Auch eines der Leitmotive Wilders tritt auf: der Hut.¹¹ Er wird uns wiederbegegnen.

„THREE BOLSHEVIK SWINE“ IN PARIS. *NINOTCHKA*
(REGIE: ERNST LUBITSCH, CO-AUTOR DREHBUCH: B. WILDER)
(1939)

Antikommunismus ist eine politische Praxis und Ideologie, die sich gegen tendenziell alle Bestrebungen richtet, die auf grundlegende Veränderungen des „marktwirtschaftlichen“ Systems abzielen.¹² Er bekämpft mit allen Mitteln alle materiellen wie geistigen Bewegungen, die über dieses System hinausgehen wollen und auf eine selbstbestimmte Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft und eine mehr als nur politische Demokratie abzielen. „Kommunismus“ ist dabei eine Chiffre. Der Antikommunismus nimmt die Möglichkeit schon als Wirklichkeit, die Verheißung (oder, je nach sozialer Stellung und Standpunkt, die Drohung) einer neuen Gesellschaftsordnung bereits als Vollzug, den Gedanken für die Tat, den Vorsatz als Vollen- dung. Innerhalb dieses breiten Spektrums wird der Terminus „Kommunismus“

11 Wilders vorletzter, besonders artifizieller Film von 1978 z. B. trägt nach der Hauptfigur den Titel *Fedora*. Fedora ist zugleich eine Hut-Form.

12 Hanns-Werner Heister, „Kalter Krieg. Koordinaten und Konfigurationen – 1945 bis 1990, vorher und seither“, in: *Kultur und Musik nach 1945. Ästhetik im Zeichen des Kalten Krieges*. Kongressbericht Hambacher Schloss (11.–12. März 2013), hg. von Ulrich J. Blomann (Saarbrücken: Pfau-Verlag, 2015), 19–45, hier 90–92.

dann verdünnt, vereinseitigt und falsch verallgemeinert. Daher kann dann selbst das im Wesentlichen allenfalls liberale, bürgerlich-demokratische Hollywood des 2. Weltkriegs, ein Zentrum des europäischen Exils und immerhin eine Zeit lang antifaschistisch orientiert, als kommunistisch unterwandert halluziniert und durch Untersuchungsausschüsse wie der weniger bekannte Dies- und die bekannten McCarthy-Ausschüsse tyrannisiert werden.

Der Antikommunismus existiert in zwei Hauptformen. Wie jede Negation impliziert er eine Affirmation.

1. Grundform ist die Affirmation der „Marktwirtschaft“, mit oder ohne liberale Demokratie sowie ohne oder mit feudalen Resten (wie etwa in der Wilhelminische Epoche oder heutigen Öl-Staaten im mittleren Osten). In diesem Rahmen und von diesem Standpunkt aus reicht das Spektrum der Positionen von bewussten Anhängern der bürgerlich-liberalen Demokratie einerseits bis zu Anhängern neofeudaler oder theokratischer Herrschaftsformen oder des Faschismus und Neofaschismus andererseits, also Gegnern selbst der objektiv notwendig eingeschränkten bürgerlichen,¹³ parlamentarisch-liberalen Demokratie. Eine spezielle Ausdrucksform dieser Affirmation ist das, was hier ‚Amerikanismus‘ heißt.

2. Der Antikommunismus bis 1917/1922. Mit der Herausbildung des Faschismus in vielfachen nationalen Varianten spaltet sich der Antikommunismus auf bzw. verdoppelt sich. Er steht nun in einem – zunächst vorwiegend ideologischen – Zweifrontenkrieg. Er entwickelt eine zweite Hauptform, modernisiert sich dabei und assimiliert sich an neue Gegebenheiten. Als *Anti-Totalitarismus* richtet er sich nun sowohl gegen links, wie bisher, als auch gegen rechts außen, eben den Faschismus, als zwar bürgerlich-marktwirtschaftlich fundierte, aber nicht demokratisch-liberale Herrschaftsform.¹⁴

Dabei werden, soweit ich sehe, für Wilder hauptsächlich zwei Konfigurationen des Antikommunismus relevant: verkehrende Symmetriebildung: Rot/Links vs. Braun/Rechts und Anti-Totalitarismus = Anti-Kommunismus = Anti-„Nationalsozialismus“.

Die Totalitarismus-Ideologie illustriert – und konterkariert – ironisch eine Szene in *Ninotchka*, in der die drei Emissäre in Paris nach dem vierten, ihnen unbe-

13 In der „marktwirtschaftlichen“ Ordnung endet der „demokratische Sektor“ nicht nur speziell, wie einst auf Schildern markiert, an der Grenze zur DDR im geteilten Berlin, sondern generell vor den Betriebstoren. Das wurde bereits vor 1968 entdeckt. Dazu neuerdings besonders luzide Kilian Stein, *Die juristische Weltanschauung. Der Staat als Fetisch* (Hamburg: VSA, 2010).

14 Hauke Friederichs, „Weltbewegung gegen Rassenhass: Der Kampf der Irene Harand“, in: *Die Zeit*, 24. Oktober 2013; Kommentar von Nina P.: „Die Idee hinter dem Kommunismus ist die Freiheit für alle; die Idee hinter dem Faschismus die Herrschaft weniger. Viel differenter geht nicht.“ <http://www.zeit.de/2013/44/irene-harand-weltbewegung-gegen-rassenhass-nationalsozialismus/komplettansicht>, 7. 9. 2019.

kannten Kommissar Ausschau halten. Sie wollen auf einen Mann zustürzen, doch der hebt die Hand zum Hitlergruß, ist also kein „Bolschewik“, und der „Kommissar“ entpuppt sich dann als Kommissarin. Hier werden also Nazis mit Bolschewiken verwechselt. Nebenbei: auch die Geschlechter werden verwechselt. Völlig unironisch bleibt die Gleichsetzung von „Nationalsozialismus“ und „Sozialismus“ auch heute virulent; seit dem Anschluss der DDR 1990 verstärkt sich in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland der legitimatorische Stellenwert der „Totalitarismus“-Ideologie, die fast zur Staatsdoktrin geworden ist. Gegenüber der ideologischen Äquidistanz von der imaginären „Mitte“ aus gibt dabei die praktische Symmetriebrechung: Amtliches Einschreiten gegen „Extremismus“ gilt vornehmlich dem „linken“. Doch auch die USA haben da einiges zu bieten.

Der Film kam kurz nach Kriegsbeginn – in Europa – am 6. Oktober 1939 in die US-Kinos. In der Hauptrolle Greta Garbo als Nina Ivanovna „Ninotchka“ Yakushova; Drehbuch Billy Wilder, Charles Brackett, Walter Reisch nach Melchior Lengyel, Musik Werner R. Heymann.¹⁵ Der Film beginnt mit einem nostalgischen, aber ironisch-unsentimentalen Rückblick auf die Vergangenheit vor 1939 in Paris. Hier sagen wenige Worte im Insert (bei 1‘) mehr als viele Bilder. Wilder und Lubitsch zeigen die politisch-sexuelle Verführung der OstlerInnen durch den Luxus des Westens und die Liebeskünste des erfahrenen Gigolos.

THE LUXURIOUS LOBBY OF THE HOTEL CLARENCE

[...]

STREET IN FRONT OF THE HOTEL CLARENCE

KOPALSKI: Comrades, why should we lie to each other? It's wonderful.

IRANOFF: Have we anything like it in Russia?

ALL THREE: No, no, no.

KOPALSKI: When you ring once the valet comes in; when you ring twice you get the waiter; when you ring three times a maid comes in – a French maid.

IRANOFF (*with a gleam in his eye*): Comrades, if we ring nine time, let's go in.

Leicht heuchlerisch und zugleich versöhnlich wird Lenin bemüht, um den Genuss des Luxus zu rechtfertigen.

KOPALSKI: If Lenin were alive, he would say, 'Buljanoff, Comrade, for once in your life you are in Paris. Don't be a fool. Go in there and ring three times'.

IRANOFF: He wouldn't say that. What he would say is "Buljanoff, you can't afford to live in a cheap hotel. Doesn't the prestige of the Bolsheviks mean anything to you?"

15 Vollständige Daten: <http://www.hollywoodsgoldenage.com/movies/ninotchka.html>.

BULJANOFF (*weakening*): I still say our place is with the common people, but who am I to contradict Lenin? Let's go in.

Ninotchka lehnt zunächst den Luxus ab. Doch bald erliegt sie selbst dem Charme des gräflichen Gigolo und des zunächst für sie grässlichen modischen Luxus-Huts. Sie kauft ihn und probiert ihn heimlich an.

[...] unlocks the drawer, opens it, and, just as she is about to take out something, her eye falls on the night table, where she sees the picture of Lenin which she brought with her from Moscow. She walks over to it and turns its face against the wall, then goes back to the bureau and takes from the drawer the very hat which twice aroused her disapproval when it was displayed in [...] the lobby.

She moves over to the large mirror, puts the hat on her head, is uncertain whether it is right side to fore, and changes it. She looks at herself, aghast at seeing a complete stranger [...] studying the new Ninotchka suspiciously.

In diesem Detail – Ninotchka mit neuem Hut vor dem Spiegel – zeigt der Film wechselseitige kulturelle und politische Austauschbeziehungen und Annäherungen. Hier liegt der spezielle Witz in einem Subtext, der die Bedeutung des Hutkaufs als Hinwendung zur Modewelt des Kapitalismus unterminiert. Ich mag mich täuschen. Aber der Hut ähnelt sehr der phrygischen Mütze der französischen Revolution – deren Weiterführung nun eben auch die russische war. Darüber hinaus aber wurde die phrygischen Mütze auch die Kopfbedeckung der Columbia, einem Symbol der Nordamerikanischen Revolution.

Amerikanismus, Kommunismus und Anti-Nazismus rücken also hier im Ding-Symbol zusammen. 1789, 1776 und 1917 werden zu Alliierten, die gemeinsam gegen den Nazismus vorgehen. Das entspricht der historischen Situation spätestens seit 1933, freilich im Westen als Politik erst 1940/1941 realisiert – und dann noch mit vielen antikommunistischen Vorbehalten, die etwa die zur Entlastung der Sowjetunion erforderliche „Zweite Front“ im Westen bis Mitte 1944 verzögerten. Es ist aber jedenfalls eine andere Konfiguration als die offiziell und vorwiegend dem Film zugrundeliegende. Der imaginäre Lenin, der den Dreien schon bei der Wahl eines Luxushotels zustimmte, wenn sie auch seine Zustimmung bloß durchsichtig-rechtfertigend vermuten und bereden, ermuntert Ninotchka später vom Foto auf ihrem Nachttisch aus bei der Wahl von Hut und Liebhaber, imaginär-real, doch im Bild gezeigt, zwar phantastisch, aber damit doch „realer“ als bloßes Reden. Es bleibt ein Ziel *des* Films und *im* Film, den neuen Hut der alten Gesellschaft mit der neuen Gesellschaft zu versöhnen. (Lenin auf dem Photo blickt zunächst ernst, aber dann lächelt er (01.13'43–01.14'01).

Umgekehrt gibt es auch von Seiten des westlichen Alten und Oberen Bemühungen, sich an den neuen Osten anzunähern und anzupassen – wohl vorwiegend nur taktisch, aber eben doch. So ist der Graf Leon aus Liebe zu Ninotchka begeistert von egalité, fraternité und liberté sogar für die Unterklassen. Und er macht plötzlich selbst sein Bett. Sein Butler tadelt ihn deshalb grundsätzlich, aber auch deshalb, weil der Graf diese Arbeit, die eben Arbeit ist, schlecht ausführt, selbst wenn er in Marx' *Kapital* liest.

GASTON: Well, sir, if you should do it again, which I hope you won't, please remember the order. Counterpane, blanket, blanket, sheet, sheet.

LEON: Ah, there's something poetic about the simple processes of labor. Counterpane, blanket, blanket, sheet, sheet, it should be set to music!

Die Gliederung des Arbeitsprozesses erscheint schon rein textlich überaus rhythmisch, und die Idee einer musikalischen Vertonung als zusätzliche Ästhetisierung ist charmant.

GASTON: May I add, Sir, that it was with great amazement that I found a copy of Karl Marx's *Capital* on your night table. That is a socialistic volume which I refuse to so much as dust, sir. I view with alarm, sir, the influence over you of this Bolshevik lady.

LEON: I can't follow you, Gaston, isn't it about time that you realized the unfairness of your position? [...] Wouldn't you like to stand on an equal footing with me?

GASTON: No, sir.

Der Butler versteht die gräfliche Agitation für die Gleichheit durch Distribution gründlich miss – und zugleich versteht er sie doch realistisch:

LEON: Hey, you, d'Algot! from now on it's going to be share and share alike?

GASTON (*outraged*): Emphatically not, Sir. [...] Now, don't misunderstand me, sir, I don't resent your not paying me for the past two months, but the thought that I should split my bank account with you [...] that you should take half of my life's savings [...] that is really too much for me.

Ninotchkas pursuit of happiness besteht in dem Versuch, das kleine individuelle Glück in den großen Stürmen der Zeit zu retten. Das Folgende ist eigentlich weniger eine Denunziation der gesellschaftlichen Utopie als vielmehr ein Pronunziamento, um sie wenigstens teilweise bewahren zu können. Angelegt ist sie als sacht ironische Ansprache der ziemlich betrunkenen Ninotchka an imaginäre Massen. Trotz ihres beeinträchtigten geistigen Zustands bringt sie immer noch historisch fundierte soziale Argumente. Auch da hat die antikommunistische Oberfläche einen differenzierenden politischen Subtext.

NINOTCHKA: They are the tears of Old Russia. See that stone?

LEON: Who cried that one?

NINOTCHKA: Tsar Peter gave it to his wife, Catherine the Great. For it he sold ten thousand serfs in the market.

LEON: Now, darling, don't get impatient, wait until we are married. You know that worthless *buttler of mine, that reactionary?* Some day when I come home to you, I may say, 'Darling, I drove Gaston to the market and look what I got from him!' *From the case of jewels he takes a beautiful diadem and holds it in front of her.*

NINOTCHKA (the economist now): First ten thousand serfs, now just Gaston. It is very encouraging.

Der Preis der Arbeitskraft ist also erheblich gestiegen – ein Fortschritt.

LEON: These jewels...

NINOTCHKA: ...they belong to the people.

LEON (*in a ceremonial voice*): I give them back to the people (*as formal and steady as possible under the conditions he puts the diadem on her head*) I make you Ninotchka the Great, Duchess of the People! Grand Duchess of the People! *Ninotchka falls in with the spirit of this imaginary coronation.*

NINOTCHKA: Is this the wish of the masses?

LEON: It is their wish.

NINOTCHKA: Thank you, Leon. Thank you, masses. (*in a low voice*) Can I make a speech now?

LEON: Please.

Ninotchka turns to an imaginary assemblage.

NINOTCHKA: Comrades! People of the world! The revolution is on the march. I know, wars will wash over us, bombs will fall, all civilization will crumble, but not yet, please, wait, wait, what's the hurry? (*mixing reality with fantasy*) Let us be happy, give us our moment. (01:13:11)

Dass dabei die Revolution tendenziell in dieselbe Fluchtlinie wie Krieg und Naturkatastrophen rückt, müssen wir als Grundbestand bürgerlicher Ideologie hinnehmen.

Die „Nacht der Liebe“, wie sie Isolde und Tristan besingen, findet auch hier ein böses Ende im „öden Tag“. Zur „Grand Duchess of the People“ nobilitiert, ist Ninotchka auch vom Titel her der emigrierten Großfürstin Swana imaginär gleichgestellt. Diese rächt sich noch selben Tags für die reale Gleichstellung als Geliebte. Einmal mehr eignet sie sich die Juwelen an, ohne moralische Skrupel und als würdige Vertreterin ihrer Schicht, die die Bolschewiki als „Schweine“ bezeichnet: Sie lässt die Juwelen, die Ninotchka verkaufen sollte, um mit dem Erlös die Not infolge ausländischer Interventionen und Bürgerkrieg in ihrer Heimat zu lindern

von Graf Alexis Rakonin, der als Hotelbediensteter arbeitet, stehlen. Die Großherzogin erpresst Ninotchka: Geld statt Liebe. Sie erhalte die Juwelen nur zurück, wenn sie sofort und abschiedslos in die Sowjetunion zurückfahre.

Sie tauscht sie dann bei Ninotchka gegen die Liebe zu Graf Léon ein. Ninotchka opfert also selbst dieses kleine individuelle Glück auf für das große Ganze. Lubitsch macht in diesem Rollen-Gegensatz Parallelen zwischen Leben und Kunst künstlerisch produktiv: „Da Ina Claire mich sowenig leiden konnte wie ich sie, hielt ich es für eine sehr sinnvolle Idee von Lubitsch, uns als Rivalinnen auftreten zu lassen“.¹⁶

Ninotchka kehrt mit dem Geld für die von Ihresgleichen ursprünglich rechtmäßig enteigneten Juwelen – sie nennt sie realitäts- und geschichtsgerecht „Tränen des Volks“ – nach Moskau zurück, aber ohne den Geliebten. Armut und Angst dort sind zwei Gründe zu flüchten. Ein Schlaglicht: Die Violoncellistin, mit der *Ninotchka*, wieder in Moskau, das Zimmer teilt, berichtet von der Aufregung, die Ninotchkas auf die Leine gehängte Unterwäsche im Haus ausgelöst hat.

Obwohl Ninotchka der allgemeinen wie ihrer speziellen Lage wegen hinreichend Gründe hätte, aus der Heimat wegzuwollen – fast alle westlichen ZuschauerInnen würden das automatisch unterstellen –, will sie das gerade nicht. Denn als sie erneut ins Ausland geschickt werden soll, verweigert sie sich. Die Erfüllung ihrer Aufgabe im Interesse der Gesellschaft – die Lösung der Probleme mit dem Außenhandels-Plans – ihr nun wichtiger als individuelles Glück, das sich bislang zugleich als Unglück erwies.

NINOTCHKA (*very businesslike*): Good morning, Comrade Commissar. Here is my report on the materials available for trading in the next four months.

RAZININ: Does this include the products of the Far Eastern provinces?

NINOTCHKA: Yes, it does.

RAZININ: You mean you have finished the whole investigation?

NINOTCHKA: Yes.

RAZININ: That's marvelous. You must have worked day and night. Don't you ever sleep?

NINOTCHKA: I need very little sleep. We must be extremely careful what goods we take in exchange. I have already started a survey of our most urgent needs.

RAZININ: Well, Comrade, I am afraid you will have to turn over that work to someone else.

NINOTCHKA (*startled*): May I ask why?

16 Antoni Gronowicz, *Greta Garbo. Ihr Leben* (O. O.: Goldmann-Verlag., 1993, engl. 1990).

RAZININ: Please, sit down. *Ninotchka sits.*

RAZININ: Cigarette?

NINOTCHKA: Thank you.

RAZININ: Well, Comrade, have you heard from your friends Kopalski, Buljanoff, and Iranoff?

NINOTCHKA: No.

RAZININ: I haven't either, but I've heard about them. You must realize it was only on the strength of your Paris report that I sent them to Constantinople; without that I never would have trusted them on a mission as important as the fur deal.

NINOTCHKA: A May I ask what has happened?

RAZININ: As soon as our representatives go to a foreign country, they seem to lose all sense of balance. If I told you what's going on in Constantinople right now you wouldn't believe it. Those three have been sitting there for six weeks and haven't sold a piece of fur. (*he points to the folder*) This anonymous report was sent to me. They are dragging the good name of our country through every café and night club. Here ... (*he reads from the report*) "How can the Bolshevik cause gain respect among the Moslems if your three representatives, Buljanoff, Iranoff, and Kopalski, get so drunk that they throw a carpet out of their hotel window and complain to the management that it didn't fly?"

Ninotchka has to suppress a smile of amusement at the antics of her three old friends.

NINOTCHKA: Oh, they shouldn't do such things. Are you sure this report is correct?

RAZININ: It gives details which couldn't be invented. Naturally I want to verify it and that's why I need you.

NINOTCHKA (*apprehensively*): You want me to go to Constantinople?

RAZININ: Yes... *leaving immediately.*

NINOTCHKA (*her one object to escape the mission*): I appreciate the confidence you show in me, but I must ask you to entrust someone else with this mission. I should hate to interrupt my present work. I am positive that my survey is more important than finding out whether three of our comrades have been drinking some extra glasses of champagne.

RAZININ (*austerly*): That is for me to decide, Comrade Yakushova.

NINOTCHKA: I am sorry, I don't want to overstep my position – but please, don't send me.

RAZININ: I don't understand.

NINOTCHKA (*making a last effort*): How can I make myself clear. It is difficult to express but I'd rather not go to foreign countries anymore. Please, Comrade,

let me stay here, let me finish my work. I am in the rhythm of it now, I don't want to go away. I don't want to be sent into that foreign atmosphere again. It throws one out of gear. Let me finish my work. I have concentrated everything in it. Please, don't make me go.

RAZININ: Do your duty. Goodbye.

NINOTCHKA: I will do my best.

Die drei Handelsbeauftragten erschienen in Paris ihren Auftraggebern erfolgreich, dank Ninotchkas Opfer – Geld für das sowjetische Kollektiv statt individueller Liebe. Sie wurden daher wieder ins Ausland entsandt, diesmal in den Orient, nach Istanbul. Wieder auf Vergnügen statt auf Arbeit aus, locken sie selber Ninotchka dorthin. Die Situation ist jedoch verändert: Sie wollen nicht mehr in die Heimat zurück. Ninotchkas Graf droht ihr mit einer Kettenverführung: Wenn sie zurückgehe und ihm nicht lebenslänglich folge, droht ihr charmanter Verführer, werde er immer aufs neue alle sowjetischen Delegierten abwerben und mit ihren Restaurants die ganze Welt überschwemmen und die Sowjetunion entvölkern. Diese Gefahr muss und möchte Ninotchka abwenden. Sie rechtfertigt schließlich ihre Emigration aus der SU wieder etwas heuchlerisch, aber hinreißend charmant, mit Patriotismus.

Der Graf redet sie mit „Comrade“ an, um sie zu überreden. Und ihre Begründung steht einerseits in Parallele zu ihrer bitteren Entscheidung, im Interesse des Ganzen den Geliebten für Geld und Geschmeide einzutauschen. Sie kontrastiert aber andererseits der damaligen Begründung. Denn diesmal ist das Interesse des Ganzen, ihres Heimatlandes, nur ein Vorwand, um die Entscheidung fürs individuelle Glück als mit dem Interesse des Kollektivs konform zu rechtfertigen. Am Schluss steht dem Genre „romantische Komödie“ gemäß das Happy End. Es siegt die Freiheit. Aber was für eine?

Wilder wagt es also, den hochbesetzten ideologischen Begriff der (westlichen) „Freiheit“ zu ironisieren und zu relativieren. Mit dem märchenhaften Ende ist die Komödie aber nicht zu Ende. Es folgt eine winzige und witzige realistische Coda. Sie verschränkt das unpatriotische, a-sozialistische Happy End mit dem Unhappy End „freie Marktwirtschaft“.

ZuschauerInnen dürften, mindestens damals, bei dem Sandwich-Mann an die Massen von Arbeitslosen gedacht haben, die auf diese Weise besonders in der wenige Jahre zurückliegenden Weltwirtschaftskrise Arbeit suchten. Sie könnten, abzüglich der historischen Sandwich-Männer, daran auch heute denken. Das Nachspiel relativiert also die antibolschewistische Freiheit nicht unerheblich und markiert sie als bloße „freie Marktwirtschaft“.

Das könnte eine von Wilder und seinem Ko-Autor eingeführte Pointe sein. Lubitsch selbst folgte wohl ziemlich reflexionslos der herrschenden Meinung im

Sinne der „Totalitarismus“-Doktrin. So konnte Goebbels auch diesen Film, wie andere aus Hollywood, als Modell für die NS-Propagandafilme nehmen, die ihre Vorbilderfreilich nicht annähernd erreichten. Der Schriftsteller Franz Nabl erzählt über eine Begegnung mit seinem Kollegen Ernst Penzoldt:

Wir lernten uns unter recht merkwürdigen Umständen kennen. Obwohl wir nie etwas mit der „Bewegung“ zu schaffen hatten, wurden wir beide noch während des zweiten Krieges vom Propagandaministerium nach Berlin einberufen, um eine Art Schulung für die Anfertigung wirksamer Propagandafilme durchzumachen. Sie bestand vor allem in Vorträgen über die Mangelhaftigkeit der schon hergestellten Filme und zugleich in der Vorführung der von der Gegenseite produzierten, während der ersten Kriegsjahre erbeuteten. Wir sollten sie als nachahmenswerte Beispiele kennenlernen. Ich erinnere mich da besonders des Streifens „Ninotchka“ mit Greta Garbo. Nun, einen Propagandafilm hat keiner von uns beiden verfaßt.¹⁷

Die Garbo war politisch klüger als ihr in Filmsachen so kluger Regisseur. 1939 belehrte sie Lubitsch über den Kommunismus: Er sei eine Attraktion für Intellektuelle während der 20er gewesen, und der sowjetische Film sei tatsächlich gut. Dann zitiert er ein Stereotyp: Hitler und Stalin sollten sich gegenseitig vernichten, „dann wird es in Europa und der ganzen Welt Frieden geben“.¹⁸ Dieser falschen Symmetrie folgte die Garbo nicht:

Ich wusste, dass die internationale politische Situation antifaschistische Filme forderte, denn von der Seite der Faschisten drohte der Menschheit eine wirkliche Gefahr. Andererseits stand ich unter dem starken Druck des Studios und auch von Lubitsch, die mich drängten, in diesem antisowjetischen Film mitzuspielen.¹⁹

Die Garbo las selber die Vorlage, Lengyels Stück – Lubitsch hatte die Filmrechte gekauft – und sagte zu ihm: „Dies ist nichts als Propaganda“.²⁰ Sie wollte nicht mitspielen, wurde aber vertröstet: Sie solle auf das Drehbuch warten. Es werde ihr, so Lubitsch, gegebenenfalls nach ihren Wünschen „auf den Leib geschnitten“, da die drei Autoren von MGM bezahlt würden. Möglicherweise sind also einige Stellen im Film samt der Schluss-Pointe, die sich der Totalitarismus-Ideologie verweigern, aus diesem Konflikt heraus entstanden.

Der Antikommunismus erlebte mit dem sowjetisch-deutschen Nichtangriffspakt vom 24. August 1939 und dem deutschen Überfall auf Polen vom 1. September

17 Franz Nabl, *Spiel mit Blättern. Autobiographische Skizzen* (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria, 1973, 28 f.

18 Gronowicz, *Greta Garbo*, 368 f.

19 Ebd.

20 Gronowicz, *Greta Garbo*, 369.

einen erneuten Aufschwung. Das förderte den Erfolg des Films, der am 6. Oktober 1939 in die Kinos kam. Der Nichtangriffspakt war auf zehn Jahre befristet, wurde aber vom Deutschen Reich nach knapp zwei Jahren gebrochen. Mit dem Überfall des Deutschen Reichs auf die Sowjetunion vom Juni 1941 war dann diese Konfiguration des Antikommunismus zwar nicht erledigt, trat aber in den Hintergrund, vollends mit dem durch den Handelskrieg der USA provozierten japanischen Überfall auf Pearl Harbor vom 7. Dezember 1941 und dem am nächsten Tag sofort folgenden Kriegseintritt der USA.

Auch Wilder und Lubitsch stellen das danach implizit selbst richtig. Lubitschs *To Be or Not to Be* von 1942 ist ein Werk gegen den Nazismus; Lengyel war hier ebenfalls Drehbuch-Autor. Wilder schließt sich mit *Five Graves to Cairo* 1943 an und schließt diese Thematik direkt nach Kriegsende 1945 mit dem Dokumentarfilm über KZs, *Death Mills*, vorerst ab. Aber auch seine Werke eines kritischen Amerikanismus seit 1942 lassen immer wieder Patriotisch-Antinazistisches anklingen, wie dezidiert in der Lolita-Antizipation *The Major and the Minor* von 1942: Die negative Figur im ödipalen Dreieck, Pamela, will ihren Major vom Krieg fernhalten und vertritt damit den in dieser Zeit historisch überholten Isolationismus, der im Interesse des Nazismus war. Der Standpunkt Wilders lässt sich im Prinzip so zusammenfassen:

Reale, relative und historisch transitorische Richtigstellung: Volksfront und „Anti-Hitler-Koalition“
 Anti-Faschismus = Pro-Sozialismus und/oder = (bürgerlich-demokratischer) Pro-Kapitalismus.

Diese Konfiguration trat, wie erwähnt, besonders in der historischen Phase etwa zwischen dem Spanienkrieg und dem Ende des 2. Weltkriegs hervor, unterbrochen von den Irritationen im Gefolge des erwähnten sowjetisch-deutschen Nichtangriffspakts. Für die antinazistisch motivierte Abwendung vom aggressiven Antikommunismus charakteristisch ist das viel- und oft verkürzt zitierte Bekenntnis des bis zum Kalten Krieg erfolgreich assimilierten, dann aber fast exmittierten Asylanten Thomas Mann aus dem Jahr 1943:

Sie sehen, daß ich in einem Sozialismus, in dem die Idee der Gleichheit die der Freiheit vollkommen überwiegt, nicht das menschliche Ideal erblicke, und ich bin vor dem Verdacht geschützt, ein Vorkämpfer des Kommunismus zu sein. Trotzdem kann ich nicht umhin, in dem Schrecken der bürgerlichen Welt vor dem Wort Kommunismus, diesem Schrecken, von dem der Faschismus so lange gelebt hat, etwas Abergläubisches und Kindisches zu sehen, die Grundtorheit unserer Epoche.²¹

21 Thomas Mann, „The War and the Future“ („Der Krieg und die Zukunft“), Vortrag vom 13. Oktober 1943 in der Library of Congress, Washington, erstmals in deutscher Sprache veröffentlicht 1944

Diese Konfiguration war allerdings spätestens seit 1947 mit der Eröffnung des Kalten Kriegs Vergangenheit.

Der Anti-Nazismus blieb für Wilder durchweg wesentlich. Die Thematik durchzieht seine Filme, explizit und implizit. Auf die KZs, wo seine Mutter, sein Stiefvater und seine Großmutter ermordet wurden,²² kam er immer wieder zurück. Der Antikommunismus spielt in Wilders Filmen erst einmal keine Rolle mehr – bis 1959/1960, also der Zeit der Berlin- und Kuba-Krise als einem der Höhepunkte des Kalten Kriegs.

Ich erwähne aus Platzgründen den spezifischen Antihollywood-Antikommunismus in den USA hier nur im Vorübergehen. Er begann noch vor dem Krieg mit dem Dies-Komitee – es richtete sich kurz gegen Nazis, wurde dann jedoch bald umfunktioniert. An der antilinken Hetzjagd des sich anschließenden HUAC-Komitee²³ beteiligten sich bis auf Goldwyn Mayer alle Studio-Bosse, auch wegen des unmittelbar ökonomischen Interesses an der Verfolgung gewerkschaftlich aufbegehrender Autoren. Wilder verweigerte sich als einziger zusammen mit John Huston einer Ergebnisadresse der Hollywood-Regisseure.²⁴ Er geriet dennoch nicht auf die „blacklists“ und wurde kein Opfer der Berufsverbote, obwohl er sich weigerte, KollegInnen auf den Schwarzen Listen zu kritisieren, und mit Verdäch-

in *Deutsche Blätter für ein europäisches Deutschland, gegen ein deutsches Europa*, Heft 7. Unter dem Titel „Schicksal und Aufgabe“, in: Thomas Mann: *Das essayistische Werk. Taschenbuchausgabe in acht Bänden*, hg. von Hans Bürgin. Bd. 6: *Politische Schriften und Reden 3* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1968), 130–145.

- 22 Es war nicht, wie lange vermutet, Auschwitz; „they were murdered at different and disparate places: his mother, Eugenia ‚Gitla‘ Siedlisker – in 1943 at Plaszow; his stepfather, Bernard ‚Berl‘ Siedlisker, in 1942 at Belzec and his grandmother, Balbina Baldinger, died in 1943 in the ghetto in Nowy Targ.“ So laut Andreas Hutter und Heinz Peters, „Gitla stand nicht auf Schindlers Liste“, in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 6. Oktober 2011; https://www.nzz.ch/gitla_stand_nicht_auf_schindlers_liste-1.12844017, 19. 3. 2020.
- 23 „House Committee on Un-American Activities“, auch abgekürzt als HCUA. Ein Vorläufer war das *McCormack-Dickstein-Committee* von 1934. Es untersuchte klandestine Aktivitäten von NS-Sympathisanten in den USA mit einem Schwerpunkt auf „Deutschamerikanern“ als „Fünfter Kolonne“. Mit diesem Schwerpunkt begann auch 1938 das *Dies Committee*. Die Stoßrichtung verlagerte sich aber bald: gegen die KP der USA sowie dann die internierten JapanerInnen. Im Januar 1945 wurde das *Dies Committee* in einen *Standing Committee* umgewandelt und damit auf Dauer gestellt (beendet erst 1975). Nun ging es nunmehr gegen tatsächliche oder vermeintliche KommunistInnen und ihre SympathisantInnen. Obwohl nicht Vorsitzender des Komitees, erhielten die Verfolgungswellen nach dem fanatischen antikommunistischen Senator McCarthy die Bezeichnung „McCarthyismus“. 1947 wurden z. B. Hanns Eisler und Bertolt Brecht vorgeladen, danach geriet Hollywood samt ehemaligen Mitgliedern der Roosevelt-Regierung ins Visier.
- 24 Vgl. Olaf Stieglitz: „What I’d done was correct, but was it right? Öffentliche Rechtfertigungen von Denunziationen während der McCarthy-Ära“, in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, Online-Ausgabe, 4/1–2 (2007), 40–46, <https://zeithistorische-forschungen.de/1-2-2007/4718>.

tigen wie Maurice Chevalier zusammenarbeitete. Mit dem McCarthyismus griff diese zunehmend paranoide Politik über auf immer weitere Bereiche des Lebens in den USA. Die Hexenjagd, das „witch-hunt“ (Arthur Miller), ließ manche den „Totalitarismus“ nicht nur bei den Nazis oder im Osten suchen. Um keinen falschen Anti-Amerikanismus aufkommen zu lassen: Die USA führten, wie bekannt, im Kalten Krieg, führten ihn aber nicht allein, sondern mit tatkräftiger Unterstützung des westlichen Europa.

„VISIT EUROPE!“ I: AN AMERICAN IN VIENNA

Aufgrund seiner Biografie wie seiner Produktion verdoppelte sich Wilders Perspektive auf Europa wie auf die USA, als Blick von außen wie von innen – diese Zweipoligkeit schärfte seine kritischen Einsichten. Das Sichtbare und das Offensichtliche und das Offenkundige führt er vorwiegend als Schein vor. Sie verstellen die Erkenntnis des Wesentlichen. Das gilt wieder doppelt, in der Gesellschaft und in seinen Filmen. Die Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit, der wahren gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse, bedarf für Wilder eben doch, wenn auch nur verzerrt, etwas vom Wesen. Zu dem Ziel, es zu enthüllen, tragen die komischen Kollisionen zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit bei, die oft die Grenze zum Tragischen streifen.

Dabei ist das Komische nicht nur Maskierung, sondern auch ein Mittel, Wesentliches zur künstlerisch-ästhetischen, filmischen Erscheinung zu bringen.²⁵ Das gilt auch und gerade für scheinbar harmlose, idyllisch-romantische Filme wie *The Emperor Waltz* (1948). Er war, nicht ohne ironische Brechungen, für Wilder selbst als nostalgische Wiederbelebung einer Vorvergangenheit und als psychische Erholung intendiert. Das Drehbuch mit seinen pointierten Dialogen schrieben Billy Wilder und Charles Brackett, die Musik Victor Young, und der männliche Star ist Bing Crosby.

Hier wie generell bei Wilder stehen die Konfigurationen des Antikommunismus und des Amerikanismus in komplexen Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen mit anderen. Das sind vor allem die folgenden Achsen oder Pole – sie sind nicht zuletzt auch biographisch motiviert: Reichtum versus Armut; Unterdrückung versus Unterwerfung oder Rebellion (wie z. B. in *Irma La Douce*); Antikommunismus und Rassismus/Antisemitismus versus menschliche Gleichheit; Nationalismus versus Kosmopolitismus/Weltbürgertum; Europa versus „Amerika“/USA.

25 Vgl. unter anderem Michaela Naumann, *Billy Wilder – hinter der Maske der Komödie. Der kritische Umgang mit dem kulturellen Selbstverständnis amerikanischer Identität* (= Marburger Schriften zur Medienforschung 22; Marburg: Schüren, 2011).

Zumal im Hinblick auf das Verhältnis Europa – USA ist der Exilant und Immigrant kritisch in beiden Richtungen. Wilder als ‚europäischer Weltbürger‘, als Jude und Anti-Nazi, verabscheut besonders den Rassismus/Antisemitismus. (Rommel in *Five Graves to Cairo* ist beides, rassistisch und nationalistisch-deutsch – er ist eben ein Nazi, entgegen den über ihn kursierenden Legenden.) In *The Emperor Waltz* wird rassistische Partikularität eskamotiert und symbolisiert als feudaldadlige Partikularität gegen menschliche Universalität. Das spiegelt sich zusätzlich wider in der Kollision eines reinrassigen Hundes von Adligen und der Promenadenmischung eines Bürgers. Hier plädiert und agiert gerade ein Vertreter der real vom Rassismus durchwirkten USA gegen den Rassismus, jedenfalls in Bezug auf Hunde und soweit es seinen Geld- und später Liebes-Interessen entspricht.

Der Grammophon-Verkäufer Smith kommt um 1906 an den Wiener Hof, um dort seinen Apparat vorzuführen und eine Empfehlung des Kaisers zu bekommen, die sowohl als globale Reklame wie auch der Markterschließung im Habsburgerreich dienen soll. Sein Hund gehört zum Apparat. Das Doppel ist nach dem Vorbild von „His Master’s Voice“ modelliert.

Smith wird empört bei der Gräfin vorstellig. Es stellt sich heraus, dass eine Symmetrie herrscht: Frauchen und Hündin, Herrchen und Hund. Eine linguistische Blutsverwandtschaft zeigen die Namens-Akronyme: VSS und VS. (Die fast immer semantisch aufgeladenen Namen bei Wilder sind eine eigene Studie wert).²⁶ Smith verlangt einen Speicheltest – wegen eventueller Tollwut. Die Gräfin verweigert das unter Verweis auf den Adel ihres Hundes, auf „blood lines“ und „class distinctions“, auf die groben und feinen Unterschieden zwischen „the lowbred and the highbred“:

VSS: *Have you ever heard of blood lines? Hers goes back to the eighteenth century.*

VS: *Hmpf. His goes back to as far as they’ve been havin’ dogs.*

Das Allgemein-Tierische mit der längsten Ahnenreihe steht also gegen adlige Standes-Partikularität.

VSS: *Perhaps you’ve heard of one of her ancestors, Papillion, the poodle of Marie Antoinette.*

VS: *They were both guillotined during the French Revolution.*

VSS: *Smart move. Her father belongs to Czar Nicholas of Russia. VS You don’t say. VSS Her mother to the Infanta of Spain.*

VS: *His mother belongs to a milkman in Springfield, Illinois. VSS And his father...*

VSs: *... his father. Well, you’ve got me there.*

26 Ansätze dazu unter anderem bei Maurice Zolotow, *Billy Wilder in Hollywood*, 2. Aufl. (London: Pavilion Books: 1988); Naumann, *Billy Wilder*; Daniel Hermsdorf, *Billy Wilder: Filme – Motive – Kontroversen* (Bochum: Paragon-Verlag, 2006).

VSS: Her twin brothers belong to a Cardinal and live in the Vatican. As for Scheherazade herself, she has just become engaged [...] to the dog of His Majesty, Francis Joseph the First.

VS Yeah? Well, Buttons' brother helps a kid named Stinky O'Hara deliver newspapers [...] and his sister was making an honest living as a watchdog [...] until she was hit by the Baltimore and Ohio.

VS: How really fascinating. I your poodle is so classy. How come she doesn't know better than to go around biting a nice little dog?

VSS: If your animal is so clever, it should know better than to approach a dog [...] of an entirely different class.

VS: All he did is go up to her and say, 'How do you do?' That's all.

VSS: He thrust his ugly, ill-bred little face right at hers.

VS: And for that she bit him.

VSS: Certainly.

VS: And she was right?

VSS: Absolutely. There are such things as class distinctions.

VS: How's that?

VSS: Class distinctions, I said.

VS: I thought that's what you said. Two kinds of blood you mean?

VSS: Blue blood and the kind we have. The kind you get at the five and ten cent store.

VS: Precisely.

VSS: You must admit there's a difference between [...] Stinky O-something-or-other and the Emperor of Austria. There is the lowbred and the highbred. If the lowbred has the impertinence to come distastefully close, what can he expect but to be bitten?

VS: Is that so?

VSS: It is. [Growling]

VS Okay. Now you bite me. [küsst sie] [Whistling]²⁷ (00:23:31 – 00: 25:56)

Pfeifen und Bellen als sprachanaloge Sonderzeichen wechseln sich im Soundtrack einige Male ab. Hier pfeift VS, sich ins KuK einfügend und zugleich triumphierend aus Johann Strauß' titelgebendem *Kaiserwalzer*.

Auf die bunt ausgemalte Idylle fällt zusätzlich zum Rassismus ein finsterer Schatten. Wie eigentlich immer, wählt Wilder sorgsam die Namen der Personen aus. Bei der Gräfin von Stoltzenberg-Stolzenberg sprechen sie mit zweifacher Be-

27 Zum Pfeifen vgl. u. a. *Pfeifen im Walde. Ein unvollständiges Handbuch zur Phänomenologie des Pfeifens*, hg. von Volker Straebel und Matthias Osterwold (Berlin: Podewil, 1995); Bernd Jürgen Warneken, „Über das Pfeifen“, in: *Populare Kultur. Gehen – Protestieren – Erzählen – Imaginieren*, hg. von Thomas Fliege [u. a.] (Köln [u. a.]: Böhlau, 2010), 155–166.

deutung, eine offenkundig, die andere verdeckter. Schon die Dopplung ist auffällig. Den ziemlich aggressiven Adels-*Stolz* hatten wir ja bereits. Wilder hat da eher gefunden als erfunden, denn Adlige dieses Namens gibt es in der brandenburgisch-preußischen Geschichte, auch noch zu Lebzeiten Wilders. Sie werden allerdings stets mit „tz“ geschrieben. Soweit ersichtlich, gibt es sie mit einfachem „z“ wie in *Stolz* nicht.

Wohl aber gibt es eine zweite, bürgerliche Linie dieses Namens: Dr. Hugo Stoltzenberg. Seine Chemische Fabrik (CFS, 1923–1979) in Hamburg stellte „Ultragifte“ her. Bekannt wurde Stoltzenberg durch seine Beteiligung an illegalen chemischen Rüstungsprojekten der *Reichswehr* sowie vor allem durch zwei Skandale, 1928 (und, für Wilder nicht mehr relevant, 1979). 1928 trat eine Giftgaswolke auf dem Unternehmensgelände aus. Zehn Menschen starben daran.²⁸

Die Opfer wurden nie entschädigt. Wilder erinnerte sich natürlich gerade nach 1945 und im Zusammenhang mit seiner zeitweiligen Rückkehr nach Europa an diesen Skandal. Wie er genau auf diese Firma und diesen Namen kam, wäre noch zu klären. Klar ist aber dann der Bezug zu jenem Gas, mit dem in Auschwitz und anderen KZs die Nazis mordeten, auch seine Mutter. Für die Rezeption erschließt sich dieser Bezug nur indirekt, ist aber, wie hier geschehen, erschließbar. Die „Blutlinien“ der Gräfin mit ihrem eigentümlich überwertigen Hunde-Rassismus legen überdies eine Spur.

Um den Zugang zum Kaiser zu erobern, passt sich der Yankee in Kleidung und Musik den österreichischen Eingeborenen an. Der moderne Berlin-Hollywood-Paris-Bewohner Wilder behandelt das nicht ohne Ironie. Der Hut ist ein Steirerhut. Als Requisit zur milieugerechten Verkleidung wird er schon in *Stalag 17* beim Ausbruch aus dem Lager verwendet, das ebenfalls in Österreich liegt. Es ist beide Male nicht, wie manchmal zu lesen ist, der seit Andreas Hofer bekanntere Tirolerhut, ein breitrempiger Schlapphut.

Steireranzug Grauer Lodenanzug mit grünen Aufschlägen am Rock und grünen Lampassen an den Hosennähten. Als in Anlehnung an die Berufs- und Standeskleidung der Jäger im Steirischen Salzkammergut (und in den steirischen Eisenwurzen) entwickelter Trachtenanzug erfreute er sich bereits im 19. Jahrhundert als Jagd-, Sommerfrischen- und Gesinnungsmode der Aristokratie großer Beliebtheit und fand so Eingang in das Bürgertum. Nach dem 1. Weltkrieg verbreit-

28 Ausf. u. a. Hans Günter Brauch und Rolf-Dieter Müller (Hg.), *Chemische Kriegsführung – Chemische Abrüstung. Dokumente und Kommentare. Teil 1. Dokumente aus deutschen und amerikanischen Archiven* (Berlin: Verlag Arno Spitz, 1985), 334–336; Henning Schweer, *Die Chemische Fabrik Stoltzenberg bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Ein Überblick über die Zeit von 1923 bis 1945 unter Einbeziehung des historischen Umfeldes mit einem Ausblick auf die Entwicklung nach 1945* (GNT: Diepholz 2008).

tete sich der Steireranzug mit der zeitgenössischen Trachtenbegeisterung über fast alle Bundesländer. Im Ständestaat gefördert, wurde der Steireranzug nach 1945 in konservativen Kreisen zur „österreichischen Bundestracht“ schlechthin. In der Umgangssprache blieb der Steireranzug Synonym für eine Reihe von „Landesanzügen“ anderer Bundesländer. Als Mittel zur Förderung der Landesidentität in den 20er Jahren (Kärnten, Salzburg) und in den Nachkriegsjahrzehnten (Oberösterreich, Niederösterreich, Tirol, Burgenland, Vorarlberg) kreierte, erreichten diese Neuschöpfungen trotz offizieller Empfehlungen nur in wenigen Fällen eine ähnliche Durchsetzungskraft. Gegenwärtig sind modische Varianten des Steireranzugs in ganz Österreich verbreitet.²⁹

In der Auseinandersetzung mit der Gräfin, die ihn ausschaffen lassen will, droht er kolonialistisch-imperialistisch mit Theodore Roosevelts „big stick“ aus der Zeit vor dem 1. Weltkrieg. Die Fallhöhe zwischen privatem Anlass und Geopolitik ist komisch. Sie sagt aber etwas Unkomisches über das Verhältnis von Militärischem und Musikalischem, über die harte Macht hinter der sanften Verführung.

Nach der nicht gewonnenen Auseinandersetzung ist Mr. Smith verärgert. Die Maske der freundlichen Anpassung fällt. Nach außen hin gegen die Einheimischen noch höflich, setzt er dann, allein, den Hut absichtlich falsch herum wieder auf.

Dennoch erobert sich Mr. Smith mit Jodeln das Herz der UreinwohnerInnen, mit Crooning das Herz der Gräfin. Ganz genau wird nicht motiviert, was eigentlich die Gräfin an dem reisenden Verkäufer anzieht. Ein Motiv sind jedenfalls die Lieder, die der berühmt-berühmte Crooner Crosby als Smith singt. In einer Szene auf einer Insel, einer Hollywood-Version von Kythera, wehrt sie die Musik ab, deren erotisierende Macht sie fühlt und fürchtet.

Der Schlager *Ich küsse ihre Hand, Madame* ist ein zentrales Leitmotiv des Films, und dient sogar als deutscher Film-Titel. Nun gehört dieser Schlager aber eindeutig nicht in die Vorkriegszeit um 1900, sondern in die Zwischenkriegszeit der 1920er-Jahre. Fritz Rotter (1900–1984) schrieb ihn 1929 für den gleichnamigen Film mit Marlene Dietrich. Wilder verschränkt hier also verschiedene historische Zeiten miteinander, seine eigene formative Zeit der 1920er-Nachkriegsjahre, und die nach dem nächsten großen Krieg nostalgisch heraufbeschworene, verklärte und zugleich ironisierte gute alte Zeit der Vorkriegsjahre und der K.u.K-Monarchie.

Der Komponist Ralph Erwin (1896–1943, gestorben in einem Internierungslager in Frankreich) schrieb auch – prophetisch fast – das Totengebet *Kaddisch* (Otto Stranský, Text von Kurt Robitschek, 1928) und *Ghetto* (Text und Musik: Ralph Erwin, 1928). Das alles mochte und mag einem US-Publikum weniger bewusst

²⁹ „Steireranzug“, in: *aeiou. Österreich Lexikon*; <http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.s/s826998.htm>.

sein, könnte oder sollte es aber einem historisch wachen europäischen und speziell deutschen sein.³⁰

Der Kaiser warnt freundlich vor einem „clash of civilisations“ und plädiert für eine relativistische, eher unamerikanische und uneuropäische Gleichberechtigung der Kulturen, trotz der Asymmetrie der Macht zugunsten der neuen, transatlantischen Kultur. Bei der Wiederaufnahme des Schlüsselworts „different“ kommt eine nicht-biologische, kulturalistische Identitätspolitik in den Film.

FRANZ JOSEPH: *As a matter of fact, I think you are better. You are simpler. You are stronger. Ultimately, the world will be yours.*

VIRGIL SMITH: *You bet it will!*

FRANZ JOSEPH: *What I'm trying to explain, Mr. Smith, is that [...] we are different.*

In einer merkwürdigen Überlagerung verschränkt Wilder die Welt des Unterhaltungs-Scheins mit der ihrerseits weitgehend schon scheinhaften Habsburger-Welt als dargestelltem Stoff des Films. Die Exil-Emigrationsthematik ist eben auch hier präsent, verschachtelt in einer mehrfachen Hin- und Her-Ambivalenz der Beziehungen zwischen Geld und Liebe, zwischen den USA und Europa, und verpackt in romantisierende Nostalgie.

Beim entscheidenden Gespräch mit dem Kaiser redet ihm dieser die Ehe aus. Eine Johanna Augusta Franziska von Stoltzenberg-Stolzenberg würde als Mrs. Smith nur unglücklich. Ersatzweise ist die geschäftliche Absprache erfolgreich.

Kaiser Franz Joseph II. wird in diesem „Kaiserwalzer“ doppelt verklärt, durch den mild verschleiernden Farben-Filter Hollywoods und den nostalgischen Rückblick auf eine Vorvergangenheit. Wilder verhält sich hier wie Joseph Roth, wie er ein Wanderer aus den östlichen Provinzen des Reichs nach Wien, Berlin und dann freilich als Emigrant nach 1933 in Paris steckengeblieben. Roth sah diesen nicht-antisemitischen Kaiser wie insgesamt die Habsburger-Monarchie, die nach 1933/1934 im Vergleich zum deutschen Nazismus und zum Austrofaschismus im Nachhinein tatsächlich als – höchst relative – Alternative erscheinen mochte. Bezeichnenderweise fand Wilder die natürliche Realität der in Nordamerika gedrehten Liebeszene zwischen „amerikanischem“ Salesman und K.u.K.-Gräfin noch nicht farbenprächtig genug, sodass er sie einfärben ließ.

Beim Abschied von der Gräfin, die sich auf die Ehe mit ihm freut, verweist Mr. Smith auf den geschäftlichen Teil des Gesprächs mit dem Kaiser.

30 Der französische Titel dagegen ist die bloße Übersetzung als *La Valse de l'empereur*, italienisch *Il valzer dell'imperatore*, niederländisch *Keizerwals*, und auch die japanische Werbung verwendet den englischen Titel.

VSS: *It was that phonograph from the very beginning?*

VS: *Oh, come now, Countess. What's a salesman after, first, last and all the time? A sale.*

VSS: *Of course. And everything that happened between us, all those words, those silly dreams, that was all part of what you call... a sales campaign? (01:25:00)*

Das ist allerdings letztlich wieder ironisch. Denn Mr. Smith spiegelt in diesem Fall nur vor, dass es ihm bloß ums Geschäft gehe statt um Liebe. Kontrapunktisch dazu bittet er im Ernst, dass sein an Liebeskummer leidender Hund ihre Hündin noch einmal sehen dürfe. Es geht zu wie beim tragischen II. Finale der Operette. Jedoch am Schluss bekommt er beides, Geld und Liebe. Es handelt sich um ein Märchen.

YANKEE DOODLE.

ÄQUIDISTANZ ZU KAVIAR UND COCA-COLA

Hier tritt Wilder hervor als Produzent, Regisseur und Ko-Autor des Drehbuchs (mit I. A. L. Diamond). Die Musik stammt von André Previn³¹ – soweit es sich nicht um Zitate handelt.

Wie nach Paris und Wien kehrte Wilder als Regisseur auch zurück nach Berlin (*A Foreign Affair*, 1948). *One, Two, Three* (1961) baut das auch schon anti-sozialistische Stück von Molnár aus dem Jahr 1929 gründlich um. Die Transposition vom alten Österreich ins neue Deutschland, geteilt und eine Nahtstelle des Kalten Kriegs, bringt neue stoffliche, konkretere wirtschaftliche und weitaus deutlichere politische Bezüge herein. Im Wesentlichen bleiben nur der ingeniose Plot und einige Grundzüge von Charakteren und Handlungen.

Mr. MacNamara ist Coca-Cola-Repräsentant in Westberlin. In seinem Büro befindet sich eine Kuckucksuhr.³² Bereits in *Stalag 17* von 1953 gab es in der Schatzkiste des geschäftstüchtigen Gefangenen neben den für Lubitsch/Wilder fast obligatorischen Seidenstrümpfen eine Kuckucksuhr. Sie ist anscheinend als typische Deutsche so wenig beliebt wie ihr Eigentümer.

Harry has picked up the cuckoo clock. It opens, the birdie emerges and cuckoos.

HARRY Shut up! *He slaps the door shut on it. (Stalag 17, 1.01'07)*

31 André George Previn (Andreas Ludwig Priwin, 1929–2019), Pianist, Dirigent, Komponist, ein virtuoser Wanderer zwischen „Classics“, Jazz, „Pop“, arbeitete mit Wilder überdies noch zusammen in *Irma la Douce*, *Kiss Me*, *Stupid* und *The Fortune Cookie*; s. Miceli, *Film Music*, 179.

32 In Hermsdorfs akribischer, materialreicher Studie erhalten weder Hut noch Kuckucksuhr ein eigenes Kapitel. Daniel Hermsdorf, *Billy Wilder: Filme – Motive – Kontroverses* (Bochum: Paragon-Verlag, 2006).

MacNamaras Kuckucksuhr mit ihrem musikalischen special effect – *Yankee Doodle* statt „Kuckuck“ – verbindet Heimat und Fremde, USA und Deutschland. Sie tritt erstmals auf bei Verhandlungen mit den sowjetischen Handelsbeauftragten. Es sind bei *Eins, zwei, drei* wieder wie in *Ninotchka* drei.³³ MacNamara will sich gerade von seiner Familie verabschieden, die in Urlaub fahren soll, damit er freie Fahrt mit der Sekretärin bekommt, als er den Auftrag erhält, auf die naive Scarlett, Tochter seines Chefs aufzupassen, die West-Berlin besucht. Sie besucht aber auch heimlich Ost-Berlin, verliebt sich in den Kommunisten Otto Ludwig Piffel, passt nicht auf und heiratet ihn sogar. MacNamara will die beiden auseinanderbringen. Otto repräsentiert den 150-prozentigen Kommunisten. Scarlett versucht, sich da einzuklinken. MacNamara gibt Otto die patriotische Kuckucksuhr als Hochzeitsgeschenk mit und lässt als weiteres Danaergeschenk einen anti-sowjetischen Luftballon über den Auspuff von Ottos Motorrad platzieren. (Spielt auch da Wilders makabres Gas-Motiv mit herein?) Das Erwünschte und Erwartete passiert. Bei der Verfolgungsjagd durch die Volkspolizei erklingt kurz die *Internationale* (41'44–42'00) im Off, im On bei der bei Polizeikontrolle aus der Kuckucksuhr das *Yankee Doodle*. Piffel wird als „Spion“ verhaftet und beim Verhör mit dem Schlager *Itsy Bitsy Teeny Weenie* gefoltert.

Das Unerwünschte und Unerwartete ist aber ebenfalls schon passiert: Scarlett ist schwanger. MacNamara muss die Ehe, die er in Ostberlin annullieren ließ, wieder in Gültigkeit setzen, um den puritanisch-patriotischen Schein zu wahren. Um Otto aus dem Gefängnis herauszuholen, in das er ihn gebracht hat, tritt MacNamara in Verhandlungen mit den – wie einst in *Ninotchka* – drei sowjetischen Handelsbeauftragten ein. Er hatte mit ihnen gleich eingangs wegen der Coca-Colonisierung des Ostens zu tun. Sie treffen sich in Ostberlin in einem schäbigen Restaurant mit dem bezeichnenden Namen „Potemkin“ – Verweis auf den revolutionären Panzerkreuzer wie auf den Fürsten mit seinen Scheinarchitekturen für Katharina die Große. Die Fahrt wird mit charakteristischen Fragmenten aus Wagners *Walkürenritt* begleitet, und der Chauffeur klärt MacNamara darüber auf, dass das Grandhotel „Potemkin“ vorher „Göring“ und davor „Bismarck“ hieß.

Innerhalb des Potemkinschen Restaurants vermischt und verschachtelt Wilder virtuos West und Ost, Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Den Broadway-Schlager von 1922 *Ausgerechnet Bananen*, vor 1933 auch ein Hit im Deutschen Reich, singt als eine Art Cameo-Effekt der reale Friedrich Hollaender, einer der großen Schlager-Komponisten der 1920er, der nach 1933 ebenfalls in die USA emigriert war. Er leitet die triste Unterhaltungskapelle. Dass ausgerechnet ein solcher Schlager im Ostteil von Berlin gesungen wird, kann als Teil einer Verwestlichung, ja Ame-

33 Im Titel des Films kulminiert Wilders „merkwürdige Leidenschaft“ für die Zahl 3 (ebd., 244; zahlreiche aufschlussreiche Beispiele 244 ff.).

rikanisierung gelten – jedenfalls wenn es um Devisen geht. Wilder verwendete den Schlager hier nicht zum ersten Mal: Die Hauptfigur Sabrina sang schon 1954 im gleichnamigen Film beim Autowaschen *Yes! We Have No Bananas*.

Der Schlager von 1922 ist einem der Sowjetbürger zu alt und zu langsam. Er fordert „More Rock’n’Roll“. Der war allerdings im Osten offiziell verpönt. Dass der Handelsbeauftragte danach verlangt, verweist auf die Korruptierbarkeit durch westliche Waren und Werte, die schon in *Ninotchka* einen zentralen Handlungsstrang bildete. Die Kapelle, der tatsächliche Rock’n’Roll-Nummern kaum zuzutrauen sind, spielt daraufhin Hačaturâns *Säbeltanz* – der klang bereits im Vorspann an (bei 00:00:40), kehrt nochmals wieder bei der rasanten Flucht mit Otto im Auto aus Ost-Berlin (01:02:00) und der gehetzten Autofahrt zum Flughafen (01:36:00). Otto summt beim Aufwachen im Büro MacNamaras kurz das fatale *Itsy Bitsy Teeny Weenie*, die Sekretärin Ingeborg trällert beim Teekochen etwas länger den *Säbeltanz*. (01:04:00) Das auch im Westen populäre Stück ist doppelt östlich: exotistisch-orientalistisch in Kontext wie Idiomatik und durch die politische Einbettung mindestens nach den konservativen Exzessen vor 1956 ein Symbol der sowjetischen Kultur. Es folgt auch ohne Rock’n’Roll eine rasante Show mit Tabledance von MacNamaras Sekretärin und Geliebter, gespielt von der sonst eher bieder auftretenden Liselotte Pulver,³⁴ samt Jonglieren mit Feuer an Schaschlik-Spießen usw. – ein Feuerwerk an optisch-semantischen und politischen Witzen.

Die westdeutsche Nazi-Vergangenheit ist im Film fast permanent präsent mit Hackenschlagen und Stiefellecken, Ausflüchten wegen des aktiven Mitmachens, Servilität gegenüber den Siegern und preußisch schnarrendem Befehlstön, was selbst dem zackigen MacNamara manchmal zuviel wird. Wilder würdigt MacNamaras liberale Abneigung gegen den alten National-Sozialismus, der ihm noch mehr zuwider ist als der internationale Sozialismus – mit diesem kann er noch Geschäfte machen. Doch für diese nimmt er gern die Dienste seines deutschen untergebenen Plenipotentiaris; gegen Schluss stellt sich der als Alt-Nazi heraus. Das ist insofern nützlich, da dessen ehemaliger Vorgesetzter, der nun als Presseemann weitermacht, und MacNamara zu erpressen versucht, dadurch selber erpressbar wird. Der reichere kapitalistische Westen der 1950er-Jahre, die Phase der Adenauer-Ära und der Restauration bietet kein rundweg erfreuliches Gegenbild zur ärmeren proto-sozialistischen DDR.

34 Liselotte Pulver: „Ich wurde in München Billy Wilder als Sexbombe für *Eins, zwei, drei* vorgeführt. Die Rolle war klein, aber oho, mit Chatchaturians Schwertertanz auf einem ostdeutschen Tisch. Bei der Probeaufnahme imitierte ich Marilyn Monroe – und hatte die Rolle.“ Liselotte Pulver, ... *wenn man trotzdem lacht. Tagebuch meines Lebens*, 2. Aufl. (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin: Ullstein, 1993), 164. Die „kleine“ Rolle war allerdings eine der Hauptrollen, die „Schwerter“ sind Säbel.

Dennoch siegt MacNamara, jedenfalls vorerst. Der befreite Otto ist bereit, anfangs höchst widerwillig, am Schluss willig, sich von einem Jungkommunisten in einen Nachwuchskapitalisten verwandeln zu lassen. Zusätzlich verpasst ihm MacNamara einen preisgünstig erworbenen Adelstitel – er wird ein von Drosste-Schattenberg. Wilder gestaltet diese Transformation *auch* als große Travestie-Show gemäß der Volksweisheit „Kleider machen Leute“.

Wie mit Namen, so spielt Wilder auch gern mit Zahlen – beides ist sorgfältig auskonstruiert wie seine Filme insgesamt.³⁵ Er verwendet scheinbar beliebige, arbiträre Zahlen als Chiffren:

When Phyllis asks her husband for the combination of the safe, C. R. MacNamra yells back 22-5-17. This happens to be the date of the Great Atlanta Fire of 1917, home to Coca-Cola.³⁶

Nach Atlanta zurück will MacNamara gerade nicht, im Gegensatz zu seiner Familie. Am Schluss als Resultat seiner trickreichen Machenschaften wird er aber doch dahin versetzt. Die Ehefrau und die beiden Kinder freuen sich. Sie ziehen sich, wie die drei sowjetischen Handelsvertreter, zur Beratung zurück, und beschließen wie diese nach dem *Säbeltanz* „Deal is on“.

Der umtriebige, aggressive Vertreter des unkritischen Amerikanismus und der kolonisierenden, welterobernden „Marktwirtschaft“ erleidet eine mindestens dreifache Niederlage: 1. muss er sich von seiner Sekretärin = Geliebten trennen. Mit *Love in the Afternoon* oder „Sprachunterricht“ ist es vorbei. 2. muss er wegen des jüngeren, ungemein erfolgreich kapitalisierten Rivalen nach Atlanta zurück. Er wird also als (Schwieger-)Vater nicht ermordet oder entmannt, aber doch entmacht und depotenziert. Mit den Träumen von der un-amerikanischen Weltstadt London ist es vorbei. 3. muss er erleben, dass er nicht nur nicht für seine Firma den Osten kolonisieren konnte, sondern dass sogar das deutsche „Schau-fenster des Westens“ zwar nicht vom Kommunismus, aber von der Konkurrenz unterwandert ist. Aus dem Cola-Automaten, aus dem er frustriert eine Dose zieht, kommt im Schlussbild Pepsi- statt Coca-Cola heraus – eine der bei Wilder nicht seltenen verblüffenden Schlusswenden.

Wir können *One, Two, Three* als ambivalente, in der Schwebelage bleibende – Auflösung mehrerer Kollisionen und Konfigurationen sehen: sexuell-soziale Unmoral und gesellschaftliche Moral, Ödipuskomplex, Europa und die USA, deutsches

35 Hermsdorf erwähnt z. B. im Kontext *Love in the Afternoon* einige komplexe, verschachtelte Zahlenspiele bzw. Anspielungen auf Zahlen mit 88 (der gematrigen Chiffre für „Heil Hitler!“, bis heute gern verwendet). Hermsdorf, *Billy Wilder: Filme – Motive – Kontroversen*, 254 f.

36 „Eins, zwei, drei (1961). Trivia“; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0055256/trivia?ref_=tt_ql_trv_1.

Weiterleben der Nazi-Vergangenheit und US-amerikanischer Antinazismus, kritischer Antikommunismus und komischer Amerikanismus. Aus seinem ‚Dazwischen‘, teils erzwungen, teils selbstgewählt, entwickelte Wilder vielgestaltige, produktive Synthesen. Die Linien zwischen Wien, Berlin und Hollywood, zwischen Europa und den USA bilden mit Anziehungs- und Abstoßungsprozessen, Widersprüchen und Kompromissen, Kritik und Zustimmung gegenüber ursprünglich Eigenem und angeeignetem Fremdem ein komplexes Beziehungs-Geflecht, das weiter detailliert zu analysieren sich lohnt.³⁷

37 Für die kritische Lektüre des Manuskripts danke ich Bernd Jürgen Warneken, für die Geduld beim Warten auf die mehrstufige Erarbeitung des endgültigen Texts Tatjana Marković.

MUSICAL MODERNISM IN GREECE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A CASE OF EXILE, EMIGRATION AND ISOLATION

ALEXANDROS CHARKIOLAKIS
Σύλλογος Φίλων της Μουσικής
(The Friends of Music Society Athens)

***Abstract:** Greek musical life in the first five decades of the 20th century was dominated by the influence of the national school and its main representative, the composer Manolis Kalomiris. The social and political circumstances during those years affected cultural development. The country underwent major changes in all aspects and society was constantly in transition. As a result, innovation and new ideas found it difficult or impossible to flourish. The prevailing sentimental and national approach seems to ignore or deprecate the few composers and musicians who want to experiment with modernist and avant-garde approaches that they have mostly encountered abroad. Therefore, their choices seem limited, with most of them choosing either to isolate themselves in an inner self-exile or to emigrate elsewhere.*

In this paper we will focus on those Greek musicians who represented modernist trends during that crucial first half of the century, their work, and its reception in the musical world. Furthermore, we will try and place this avant-garde movement in the history and space of the Greek world and comment on the causes and aftermath of their isolation. Exile will be treated in a sense of the inner “silence” of those composers who proclaimed and supported modernist musical idioms, leading them either to emigration or to isolation from current musical life, at least as the composers they would have liked to be, transforming them mainly into composers who “wrote for their own drawer.”

The history of art music in Greece spans over two hundred years and runs all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, beginning in the Ionian islands and spreading throughout mainland Greece as the country was forming its current boundaries, which stabilized during the first half of the previous century.¹ However, in this article I am not going to give a retrospective historical view of

1 For more information on the history of Greek music see Καίτη Ρωμανού, *Έντεχνη Ελληνική Μουσική στους νεότερους χρόνους* (Greek Art Music in modern times; Athens: Κουλτούρα, 2006); Giorgos Sakallieros, *Dimitri Mitropoulos and his works in the 1920s: the introduction of musical modernism in Greece* (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2016), 11–78.

the past but will focus on the brief yet extremely interesting modernist or even avant-garde period of the first half of the twentieth century, which ran in parallel – though mostly in the background – with another, more expanded and celebrated movement, namely that of the national school.

The need for music that would express the national element was discussed by more than a few, even though sparingly and not in a systematic and intensive way. In 1908 Manolis Kalomiris took a firm step towards the establishment of a national movement by indicating the substantial material needed for this to happen. This occurred in June 1908 when a young Kalomiris was invited to perform some of his works in front of the Athenian public at the Athens Conservatoire's main concert hall. Kalomiris was already famous for his writings in the journal *Νουμάς* (Noumas),² a periodical that was in favour of the *demotic* (common) language movement. The language issue has always been a major dividing topic within the society's framework, setting those who believed in a more liberal society apart from those who believed that Greece should be a conservative protectorate of an elitist society run by a foreign royal family, and having as stakeholders some established patrons and, of course, the Church establishments. This constant societal clash was fought at several levels, with language – and subsequently music – among them. Conservatives favoured *katharevousa*, a hybrid idiom that involved a sense of archaism along with a vocabulary that could refer to a glorious past, which in their ears and eyes sounded more noble. The more liberal layers of society used the *demotic* language, a written form of the everyday people's language. This antagonism had a clear impact on society, with advanced thinkers and the newly established bourgeoisie clashing directly with the more conservative layers, which brought turmoil to the established institutions. Therefore, the Kalomiris concert was a perfect opportunity to make a statement by aligning musical and ideological beliefs. Instead of the usual programme notes for the works that were to be performed, Kalomiris, a man of action and not only of words, wrote and published a manifesto summarizing his beliefs regarding a truly national Greek musical idiom.³ The road towards the establishment of a national school movement was open, and it was meant to be completed after Kalomiris moved permanently to Athens in 1910, when he was appointed a piano professor at the Athens Conservatoire. He went on to prevail in the Greek musical scene till 1962, the year of his death.

Following the establishment of the National School a good many composers

2 About the background of this historical journal see Γ. Χ. Καλογιάννης, *Ο Νουμάς και η εποχή του 1903–1931* (Noumas and its time, 1903–1931; Athens: Επικαιρότητα, 1984), 145–46, 153–54, 180–84.

3 Μανώλης Καλομοίρης, *Η Ζωή μου και η Τέχνη μου* (My Life and my Art; Athens: Νεφέλη, 1988), 145–147.

followed this trend and produced musical works embodying the Kalomirian ideals, which were after all an amalgamation of national theories closely related to Herderian theories and ideas developed in Europe over the previous centuries. Although opera could be identified as the genre that most directly enhances and supports national reality with straightforward ethnic connotations through the use of popular language, an element which makes direct connections with what is perceived as national, symphonic and chamber music language should not be underestimated. In any case, it is not my intention to insist on the national school issue too much. The main reason for discussing all of the above was to establish a clear picture of the Greek music framework during the first decades of the twentieth century and actually juxtapose this paradigm with the one that comes next, on which I am going to focus from here forward, that of modernism during the same period.

It has been widely established by musicological research that early modernism in Greece has two main representatives in the local musical scene. One is Dimitris Mitropoulos (1896–1960) and the other is Nikos Skalkottas (1904–1949), both of whom composed music that escaped the general idiom of the national school – even in the case of the *36 Greek Dances* by Nikos Skalkottas – and paved its own, lonely path, one determined by isolation from active performance, especially for Skalkottas, but also of exile and emigration for both of them.

Dimitris Mitropoulos is widely respected as one of those great titans of the art of conducting during the twentieth century, who had a great career in the United States, directing orchestras such as the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic, in both of which he held permanent positions. With his constant belief that great composers lived among us and that their music should be performed as frequently as possible, Mitropoulos was a fervent supporter of modernism and its trends. Therefore, he introduced to the American audience composers like Paul Hindemith, Ernest Krenek, David Diamond, and others, both Americans and Europeans.

However, Mitropoulos had another facet that American audiences did not really have a chance to discover during the twenty-odd years that he spent there, that of the composer, a career that he decided to abandon in favour of his conducting adventures and not due to lack of talent. Mitropoulos' endeavours in conducting and composition began during his Athens Conservatoire years, when he conducted his own work *Ταφή* (Burial) with the Athens Conservatoire Orchestra. Although his first compositional attempts reflect an impressionistic and quasi-modernist world, Mitropoulos embarked on a full-blown modernist journey some time later, after a stay in Brussels and Berlin from 1920 to 1924, where he made

the acquaintance, both physically and aesthetically, with those in the forefront of this movement and the atmosphere in which it was being developed. During his Berlin years he composed his *Ελληνική Σονάτα* (Greek Sonata), a pianistic work that raised a storm of mostly negative criticism when it was performed in Athens in 1926. At that time, Mitropoulos was considered one of the most talented Greek musicians. Two years earlier, Manolis Kalomiris, at that time director of the Hellenic Conservatoire, had visited him in Berlin, where he was already embarking on a career, and asked him to return to Athens to take over the Hellenic Conservatoire's orchestra.⁴ He agreed to return but it soon became obvious that Athens was not ready for Mitropoulos. His *alma mater*, the Athens Conservatoire, and the musical nomenclature all viewed Mitropoulos unfavourably after his decision to accept the position of principal conductor at a rival institution. In the years to come, Mitropoulos eventually took over the Athens Conservatoire Orchestra, since this was the only available symphony orchestra left in Athens after most of the overambitious orchestral projects that appeared had a short span of life. Although he was generally acclaimed by audiences as a conductor and pianist, his compositional efforts were met with scepticism, a phenomenon that would expand to some of his programme choices for his concerts with the symphony orchestra.

On 2 November 1926 Mitropoulos performed his *Greek Sonata* before an Athenian audience that seemed unable to understand this multi-layered composition. As Georgios Nikolopoulos, who signed his critical notes with the pen name *Don Basile*, commented: “Λυπούμεθα όμως μη δυνάμενοι να επεκτείνωμεν τους επαίνους μας και επί της μουσικής αξίας της τόσο θορυβώδους σονάτας, ήκιστα Ελληνικής [...] και εμφανιζούσης τας τόσοσ αναρμόστους κατά την εθνικήν ιδεολογίαν μας, νεωτεριστικὰς τάσεις των αρμονικῶν σκληροτήτων και της ασυναρτησίας του σχήματος” (‘We are very sorry that we cannot expand our gratitude [i.e., because the critic admires Mitropoulos’ piano playing] to the musical value of this noisy sonata, allegedly ‘Greek’ [...] representing for our national ideology the most inappropriate, neoteristic, and forward tendencies of these stiff harmonies and the obscurity of the whole’).⁵ Actually, this was one of the more moderate texts written about the piece.

Mitropoulos was not discouraged by this reception, and went on to compose his twelve-tone *Ostinata a tre parti* for violin and piano in 1926. On 5 June 1927 he presented to the public what were probably his most modernist pieces composed

4 Άρης Γαρουφαλής, Χάρης Ξανθουδάκης (eds.), Ο Δημήτρης Μητρόπουλος και το Ωδείο Αθηνών: το χρονικό και τα τεκμήρια (Dimitris Mitropoulos and the Athens Conservatoire: chronicle and documentations; Corfu: Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, 2011), 32–33.

5 Don Basile (Γεώργιος Νικολόπουλος), “Έναρξις της νέας περιόδου” (New Season Opening), in Νέα Ημέρα, 11 November 1926.

up to that point, in a single concert: his *Ostinata*, the *Passacaglia*, *intermezzo* and *fugue for piano*, and ten of the fourteen *Inventions* for voice and piano with poetry by Constantine P. Cavafy.⁶ Most of the critics showed no sympathy for Mitropoulos' compositions, with several polemic articles appearing in the press. One of the most influential music critics of the time, Sophia Spanoudi, wrote: “Είναι αυτή μουσική άραγε ή μια σοφή στην ξηρότητά της παράταξις λογαρίθμων; [...] Ιδιαίτέρως η σειρά των δέκα τραγουδιών του Καβάφη – αλήθεια, δεν μπορούσε ο Μητρόπουλος να επιτύχη τίποτε αντισθητικότερο, αντιμουσικότερο, αντιποιητικώτερο σ' όλη την Ελληνική φιλολογία- καταντά εντελώς απαράδεκτη για λόγους απολύτως καλλιτεχνικής ηθικής. [...] Στο προηγούμενο άρθρο μου στη Νέα Εστία μιλούσα για την ανήθικη μουσική. Να ένα δείγμα της από τα χαρακτηριστικώτερα” (“Then, is this music or just a series of logarithms intelligent in their dryness? [...] Especially the series of the ten Cavafy *Inventions* – really, Mitropoulos could not have chosen something uglier, more anti-musical and antipoetic in the whole output of the Greek philology – which are totally unacceptable for reasons of artistic ethics [...] In my previous article in *Nea Hestia* I was talking about unethical music. This is the most characteristic example of it’).⁷ The previous article mentioned by Spanoudi was titled Η σύγχρονη ανηθικότης της Τέχνης και ο πιανίστ Αρθούρ Ρουμπινστάιν (“The modern immorality of Art and the pianist Arthur Rubinstein”)⁸ where she commented on the pianist's concert in Athens about a month before Mitropoulos' concert and launched a direct attack on the modernist movement. She wrote: “Για τον οποίον η Μουσική δεν είναι (sic) πλέον ‘η υψηλή, η ουράνια θεότης’ που δοξάζει ο ποιητής, αλλά μια έξαλλη Μαινάς που μας καλεί στην τέλεσι Σαββατικών οργίων” (“for [Rubinstein] Music is no longer “the highest, the divine” that the poet exclaims, but a frenzied Maenad [i.e. a Dionysian female follower] inviting us to Sabbatical Orgies”); and she continued: “Ανήθικη μουσική είναι [sic] εκείνη, που προσπαθεί με κάθε μέσον να καταλύση τους νόμους του καλλιτεχνικούς σύμπαντος, που αγωνίζεται να γκρεμίση κάθε απολύτως ωραίο ιδανικός, χωρίς νάχη κανεν' άλλο ν' αναστηλώση στη θέσι του [...] Γι' αυτό η σημερινή Τέχνη είναι ανήθικη. Γιατί ζητεί να καταλύση τον ηθικόν νόμον του μουσικού Σύμπαντος” (“Unethical music is that which is trying, using any means available, to destroy any laws of the artistic universe, which is fighting to demolish everything that is absolutely beautiful, without having something equally beautiful to replace it with. [...] That is the

6 Sakallieros, *Dimitri Mitropoulos*, 119–146, 164–185, 187–207.

7 Σοφία Σπανούδη, “Αρνητικά τάσεις μιας νέας Σχολής” (Negative tendencies of a new School), in *Νέα Εστία* 6, 1/6 (1 July 1927), 376–78.

8 Σοφία Σπανούδη, “Η σύγχρονη ανηθικότης της Τέχνης και ο πιανίστ Αρθούρ Ρουμπινστάιν” (The modern Immorality of Art and the Pianist Arthur Rubinstein), in *Νέα Εστία* 4, 1/4 (1 July 1927), 243–44.

reason why today's Art is unethical.⁹ Because today's Art is trying to destroy the ethical law of the musical Universe').¹⁰ The words of Spanoudi more or less reflect the general disapproval by the Greek musical environment of what was described as *modernism*.

Mitropoulos' compositional output gradually deteriorated in the years to come, while he was focusing more and more on his conducting duties. One cannot be certain if this had more to do with the negative attitude of his surroundings in Athens or with his continuously growing obligations as a conductor. The fact is that in the years to come he did not compose as systematically as in the 1920s, and he came to the point of abandoning composition altogether during the 1930s. But the event that probably led him to take the road to exile came in 1933 when he was named *adjunct member* of the Academy of Athens. This was an honour on behalf of the Academy for Mitropoulos, but also the straw that broke the camel's back for some conservative members of the composers' circles in Greece. Six of them decided to publish a letter that they had sent to the Academy in which they stated: "Δεν θέλομεν να μειώσωμεν την γενικής μουσικήν αξίαν του κ. Μητρόπουλου, όστις και ως πιανίστας και ως διευθυντής ορχήστρας είναι άξιος τιμής, νομίζομεν όμως ότι ούτος ως συνθέτης δεν έχει να παρουσιάσει ουδεμίας αξίαν λόγου, τόσο ποιοτικώς όσο και ποσοτικώς, δημιουργικήν εργασίαν, ήτις δύναται να δικαιολογήσει οπωσδήποτε την εκλογήν του εις θέσιν απονεμομένην υπό της Ακαδημίας μόνος εις συνθέτας μουσικούς" ('We don't really want to diminish Mr Mitropoulos' musical talent as a conductor and pianist, but we believe that as a composer he has never, both in terms of value and quantity, presented any substantial, compositional work that makes him suitable for the role of "adjunct member" of the Academy, a position designed primarily for composers').¹¹ One of the six who signed this letter was none other than Manolis Kalomiris, who would later become a full member of the Academy of Athens. Mitropoulos decided to increase his appearances in Europe and the United States, and in January 1938 he officially became the Artistic Director and Principal Conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, leaving Greece for good. From then on, he would return only occasionally to meet with friends and family and later to conduct on only a few occasions during the 1950s.

The case of Nikos Skalkottas is rather different, since he never abandoned his compositional endeavours and was quite productive, even though most of his

9 Spanoudi actually refers not only to modernist music, but also to modernist art in general.

10 Γιάννης Μπελώνης, "Η στάση της κριτικής στην Ελλάδα έναντι του συνθετικού έργου του Δημήτρη Μητρόπουλου" (Greek critics' attitude towards the compositional output of Dimitris Mitropoulos), in Δημήτρης Μητρόπουλος (1896–1960): πενήντα χρόνια μετά, ed. Ιωάννης Φούλιας et al. (Athens: Edition Orpheus, 2011), 166.

11 William R. Trotter, *The Priest of Music*, trans. Alexis Kalofolias (Athens: Potamos, 2000), 129–30.

works were written for his desk drawer. Skalkottas graduated with a violin diploma at the age of sixteen from the Athens Conservatoire, with the highest award, that of the Gold Medal “Ifigeneia and Andreas Syngros.” Furthermore, he was recommended by the head of the Athens Conservatoire Andreas Nazos and received the Averof Scholarship in order to continue his studies abroad, and more specifically in Germany.

He arrived in Berlin in October 1921 to enroll at the Hochschule für Musik at the violin class of Willy Hess.¹² His compositional output during those first years is quite uncertain, and it seems that Skalkottas was not fully determined that he wanted to be a composer. According to Papaioannou, it was during the winter of 1923/24 that Skalkottas decided that his destiny was to become a composer. In that year he probably wrote a quartet and a string trio, always according to Papaioannou, which are now unfortunately lost but are mentioned in several sources.¹³ Although he decided not to pursue a career as a violin soloist, he continued playing and earning a living from this activity for the rest of his life, deciding as well to enroll in compositional lessons with Philip Jarnach and probably also Kurt Weill. As he mentioned in a letter to Nelly Askitopoulou, “I would be grateful if you could say this to all my compatriots: Composition is my only ideal and my only ideal is to learn to compose. Not like the Greek composers, for God’s sake, who are all good amateurs! Yes, Nelly, believe me that I don’t say this last thing out of wickedness or egoism, – it is the bitter truth!”¹⁴

It was when he embarked on studies and joined the Schoenberg circles in 1927 that Skalkottas developed into a truly modernist composer. He developed a personal dodecaphonic technique that was set to become uniquely different. According to Eva Mantzourani, “Skalkottas’ *Little Suite* for violin and orchestra was broadcast by the Frankfurt Radio Station on 22 January 1931 as part of a concert that also featured Schoenberg’s *Eight Songs* op. 6 and Zillig’s *Serenade*. The work was favourably received by none other than Theodor Adorno, who introduced the concert, and whose analysis of the piece reinforced the fact that Skalkottas was not using Schoenberg’s strict twelve-tone technique but his own variation of it, as is clearly seen in other works surviving from this period.”¹⁵ After Schoenberg’s departure in 1933, Skalkottas – who was in a difficult financial and emotional state – decided to return to Greece, although this was not an easy decision. Nevertheless, lack of financial means and the rise of the Nazi regime were two issues that he could not ignore.

12 Γιάννης Γ. Παπαϊωάννου, Νίκος Σκαλκώτας (Nikos Skalkottas), vol. A’ (Athens: Παπαρηγορίου – Νάκας, 1997), 66–69.

13 Παπαϊωάννου, Νίκος Σκαλκώτας, 69–71.

14 Eva Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-Note Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 29–30.

15 Ibid., 37.

One should understand how difficult it was for a composer like Skalkottas to leave the Berlin circles, where he was at least praised by people like Adorno and his works were even broadcast once in a while on the radio or in sporadic performances, and return to Greece where an established elite was in control, as was obvious in the case of Mitropoulos as well. However, since we now have a better overview of how things unfolded at the cultural sector in Germany over the Nazi years, one could say that returning to his homeland was somehow a correct decision for Skalkottas given the way things went during the later years of the 1930s and, of course, the tragic years of the Second World War. Probably the best decision for him would have been to go to the United States, as Schoenberg did, but of course these conclusions are drawn with the wisdom of hindsight.

Skalkottas compromised by taking up posts in the Athenian orchestras, playing at the back chairs of the first and the second violins. He was scarcely acknowledged as a composer by his colleagues, and only a few of his tonal works – a genre he never abandoned – were performed; some of his *36 Greek Dances* were the most valued when, once in a while, a conductor decided to include some of them in an orchestral programme. The fact that a work such as the *Greek Dances* was sometimes performed actually reveals the state of recognition and inclusion of the Greek musical world. This work was seen as the most accessible music of the composer, and many believed that it was actually a work falling within the national school idiom of the time. Of course, Skalkottas wrote the *Dances* either using tunes and themes from Greek tradition or invented them to resemble such tunes, but his compositional style – albeit tonal – was not close to the traditional norms of those composers who were declaring themselves followers of the national compositional doctrine. More importantly though, Skalkottas was not a composer who would state his thoughts and opinions on how one could write “Greek music.” He simply continued composing, using materials that he found interesting and creatively stimulating for his needs, not taking into consideration if these were derived from tradition or from the realm of absolute music, and thus he developed his own personal style that is today recognizable and widely acclaimed. Therefore, Skalkottas did not stop composing, using both the personal twelve-tone technique that he had developed in Germany and also the tonal music language that he knew well, but also a freer atonal musical language. By 1939, he completed works as diverse as the *36 Greek Dances* (1936), his *Piano Concerto no. 3 for piano and ten wind instruments* (1939) and the *Eight Variations on a Greek folk theme* (1938), each of them belonging to a different musical genre, thus demonstrating the diverse musical ideas of Skalkottas. The self-exile and isolation of the composer was a state of mind, and although Skalkottas composed fervently, he did not have the illusion that his work

would be accepted by Athenian audiences and the wider musical world. There were only a few occasions when his avant-garde music was performed in public, mainly chamber music works or ballet music for chamber ensemble, and when this occurred the reception was not enthusiastic. Skalkottas' untimely death in 1949 of an untreated hernia meant that the modernist wave, although it did not have such a substantial impact on the Greek musical world of those times, lost its other major figure after Mitropoulos' compositional detachment and eventual silence.

The music of Nikos Skalkottas has nonetheless found a place in the repertoire in recent years, mainly following the decision of the Swedish company BIS to record the available compositional output of Skalkottas.¹⁶ This interest in Skalkottas rose even higher in 2019, the seventieth anniversary of his death, which was proclaimed a "Skalkottas Year" by many Greek musical institutions (among them the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri" of the Friends of Music Society that has recently acquired the Skalkottas archive, Megaron–The Athens Concert Hall, the State Orchestra of Athens, the Greek Composers Union, the Hellenic Musicological Society, The Athens Conservatoire, and others).¹⁷ However, it is not only Greek musical institutions that seem to be interested in Skalkottas. For instance, during the 2018–19 concert series of the Pierre Boulez Saal, a concert circle that has been dealing with the European idea and its close relation to Greece, Skalkottas' music was the centre-piece of various events. More specifically, Daniel Barenboim – who conceived the idea – said: "We would like to present Skalkottas to you as a major exponent of European culture and, with our musical focus over the next few months, make a small contribution to supporting and appreciating this wonderfully diverse heritage."¹⁸

In conclusion, the modernist idiom obviously did not become mainstream in Greece during the first half of the twentieth century. Most composers were oriented towards the national ideals expressed through the doctrines of the national school. However, the modernist idiom was represented by two of the most gifted musicians around: Dimitris Mitropoulos and Nikos Skalkottas. As is evident from the narration above, both of them suffered on a compositional level due to their choices that sounded "extreme" at that time. Mitropoulos, on one hand, left the country, choosing the way to a self-exile. Probably the report by the six composers played a substantial role in this choice, although he had already more or less abandoned his compositional efforts and was looking into the possibility of leaving small Greece for a better future. In any case, he felt that Greece was no longer

16 "BIS Records, Nikos Skalkottas", <https://bis.se/composer/skalkottas-nikos/> (last accessed 18 April 2019).

17 "Έτος Νίκου Σκαλκώτα", <https://mmb.org.gr/el/2019-etos-skalkota-1> (last accessed 18 April 2019).

18 "Boulez Saal, Nikos Skalkottas," <https://boulezsaal.de/skalkottas> (last accessed 18 April 2019).

the place for his further artistic development. Skalkottas, on the other hand, felt demolished when he realized that he had to return to Greece after his time in Germany. He believed that the Athenian environment would have been a tombstone on his creativity. This was actually not true, since he continued composing in an intense way. He was right of course in his prediction that he would not get much attention or many performances, and that he would not have enough opportunities for his music to be heard, especially his most forward-thinking compositions. This led him to a state of isolation, an idiosyncratic self-exile from everyday life and his surroundings and his confinement in an inner state of mind. These two cases actually determined the modernist idiom, which became an exiled idiom for some time, until new composers, especially during the Cold War years, emerged and the avant-garde movement finally received attention from the musical public. Greece, after the end of the Second World War and especially after going through the purgatory of the Civil War, developed further in musical matters from the 1950s onwards, embracing modernism on many occasions, mainly as a result of its attachment to the West but also because of the curiosity and creativity of composers such as Janni Christou, Giannis A. Papaioannou, Giorgos Sicilianos, and others, finally aligning with current European musical trends. Mitropoulos with his composer self and especially Skalkottas were obviously born at the wrong time. However, they both marked an era, adding a modernist facet that is now recognized as such, though paying the price of exiling themselves either literally (as in the case of Mitropoulos) or metaphorically (as in the case of Skalkottas).

LE GRAND MACABRE AT THE CROSSROADS OF TWO EXILES

VITA GRUODYTÉ
KLAIPEDA UNIVERSITY

***Abstract.** The meeting between Hungarian composer Györgi Ligeti and Lithuanian scenographer Aliute Mecys was a unique encounter between two artists, each marked by childhood traumas and identity problems. These sublimated traumas are reflected in *Le Grand Macabre*, an opera based on a text by Michel de Ghelderode that was proposed to Ligeti by Aliute Mecys. This “anti-anti-opera”, in the words of Ligeti, is a eulogy for two passionate beings, devoted mainly to carnal love. Could it be considered as an autobiographical score, as the essence of their shared intimate life that lasted longer than the ten years during which the opera was composed? Built to oppose two forms of aesthetics – the noble opera and the puppet show – it embodies both the tragicomic of the *Last Judgment*, an end of the world that does not really take place, and absolute Love, the triumph of Eros. Ligeti abandons here the sonoristic approach to musical material that was so important in his most innovative works and adopts the style of Aliute Mecys (who was a kind of modern Hieronymus Bosch) by letting his musical language burst into a multitude of references and subversions. This paper will try to answer the question of how a joint work may reflect the fusion and sublimation of personal trauma within a passionate relationship.*

INTRODUCTION

The more I advanced in my research on György Ligeti’s opera *Le Grand Macabre* (1978), the more it reminded me of a puppet whose invisible strings disappear into a hidden part. This hidden part is the genesis of the opera. Ligeti twisted the work of the Flemish dramatist Michel de Ghelderode, *La Balade du Grand Macabre* (1935), to make, in a way, an autobiographical story of his secret life with Aliute Mecys (Metschies, Meczies), the German stage designer and painter of Lithuanian origin. They met in Darmstadt and lived together in Hamburg.¹ According to Aliute Mecys, their romance lasted for twenty-two years, and according to his

1 Letter from Ligeti to Aliute Macys, 18 May 1972 (Kaunas Archives, Lithuania).



Ex. 1. Aliute Mecys. *Self-portrait with my love* (1982)

close friend, Raminta Lampsatyte, this opera was for the couple like a child they wanted but never had.²

The opera bears at the same time the stylistic imprint of both creators, of their love story and also of their respective exiles, whether physical or psychological, namely their state of being and their relationship to the world. It is precisely this aspect that I will explore in this study, using documents from the archives of Kaunas, Lithuania, and from the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel.

SOME POINTS ON THE GENESIS OF THE OPERA

The official version of the creation of the opera is recounted in the autobiographical writings of György Ligeti. In 1965, when Göran Gentele, the director of the Opera of Stockholm, suggested to Ligeti to write an opera, Ligeti first thought about Kylwiria, “an imaginary country of his childhood, a place of his day-dreams”, his “private mythology”.³ According to the composer, “The first ideas about Kylwiria were similar to those of *Aventures*: no action followed distinctly and no meaningful text, pure emotions”.⁴ Ligeti realized that “the universe of *Aventures* was closed”; then he planned with Göran Gentele in 1969 another project, also mythological, a kind of Oedipus variant. The libretto was completed in 1971, but in 1972 Göran Gentele died in a car accident. “In search of a new style, the project team for a representation in Stockholm met towards the end of 1972 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf: it was composed of Michael Meschke, the stage director and director of the Stockholm Puppet Theatre, Aliute Mecys, the stage designer and the musicologist Owe Nordwall. [...] Aliute Mecys suddenly remembered that there was indeed such a play, and she brought us *La Balade du Grand Macabre* of Ghelderode.”⁵ Ligeti omitted to mention that, together with Mecys, he had been seeking a subject for the opera already since the beginning of 1972. Summaries of her research are mentioned in their correspondence of that year: “so far I have read a lot of texts, still hoping to find the ‘ideal’ material for an opera for you without success”.⁶ In return, Ligeti thanked her: “Thanks for Macbeth Information”⁷ and “Thank you for reading and looking around so much”.⁸

2 Elke Herms-Bohnhoff: *Den Traum erfüll' ich mir. Frauen wagen ein neues Leben* (Zürich: Kreuz Verlag, 1995), 172; Aliutė Mečys: “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, *Kultūros barai* 11 (1998), 64.

3 György Ligeti, *L'Atelier du compositeur. Ecrits autobiographiques. Commentaires sur ses œuvres* (Genève: Contrechamps, 2013), 267.

4 Idem.

5 Ibid., 268–69.

6 Letter from Mecys to Ligeti, 8 February 1972 (Kaunas Archives).

7 Letter from Ligeti to Mecys, 1 April 1972 (Kaunas Archives).

8 Ligeti's undated answer to Mecys's letter from 8 February 1972 (Kaunas Archives).

The opera was from the beginning a joint project, as Aliute Mecys confirmed in an interview conducted in 1998 for a Lithuanian magazine: “We set up the project of the opera *Le Grand Macabre* together with Ligeti. [...] I chose the subject and persuaded Ligeti to use it. I created the costumes and set design”.⁹

PHYSICAL EXILE

Ligeti and Mecys had certain points in common before they met: they both felt uprooted, foreigners in the countries where they lived, and they were strongly marked by the war. In the biography of his Jewishness, Ligeti wrote:

I was born in 1923 in Transylvania and became a Romanian national. However, I did not speak Romanian during my childhood and my parents were not Transylvanians. They left Budapest for the small Transylvanian town of Dicsöszentmarton at the time when this province still belonged to Hungary. My mother tongue is Hungarian, but I am not a real Hungarian, because I am Jewish. Not being a member of a Jewish religious community, I am an assimilated Jew. I am however not quite assimilated either, because I am not baptized. Today, as an adult, I live in Austria and Germany, and have for long time been an Austrian citizen. I am not a real Austrian, but only a newcomer, and my German is always tinged with a Hungarian accent.¹⁰

For professional reasons, I lived in Austria and Germany; I stayed there, always aware that the tension and resentment that all of us, Jews and non-Jews alike, have carried with us since the Hitler era, are incurable – these are psychic facts with which we must live.¹¹

Aliute Mecys was of Lithuanian origin by her father, who was a member of the SS during World War II. She was marked by his Nazi past; and she too felt a foreigner in the country even though she was born there. In an interview she said: “I am different from the majority of Germans, despite the fact that I am a hybrid and have a half German blood,”¹² or: “We were always the Others, the Foreigners, during the war and the postwar period. I always felt an outsider”.¹³

9 Mečys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 65.

10 Ligeti, *L'Atelier du compositeur*, 21.

11 Ibid., 30–31.

12 Mečys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 65.

13 Herms-Bohnhoff, *Den Traum erfüll' ich mir*, 169.

MOVING TO A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXILE:
THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF FEELINGS

Beside the war and physical exile, the childhoods of Ligeti and Mecys were marked by parental conflict. The parents of Aliute Mecys were opposed to her desire to draw, to the point that she became seriously ill. Acceptance came just after the intervention of a doctor.¹⁴ Ligeti, meanwhile, had a similar experience: “My desire to learn to play an instrument first met with my father’s refusal. [...] He was worried about my lack of self-discipline, my refuge into the imaginary, and the vast plans of the cities – of non-existent metropolises – which I drew, or my grammar of the Kylvirian language seemed strange to him.”¹⁵ Her interest in tales and witches and his passion for myths and imaginary countries probably was not “accidental” and drew deeply from the same roots.

It is often claimed that twentieth-century expressionism is based on “the expression of repressed feelings”. The artistic quest to liberate such feelings inform all the pictorial stylistics of Aliute Mecys, a closed and glaucous world in the tradition of Hieronymus Bosch or Pieter Breugel, and are part of the musical style of Ligeti, which began with *Articulations* (1958), continued with *Aventures* (1962), *Nouvelles Aventures* (1965), and culminated with his opera *Le grand macabre* (1978). Both artists shared a common attraction to psychological processes and emotional states. As Mecys pointed out:

I am interested in processes [...], in interior development. I do not belong either to the surrealists or the hyperrealists. I have created the word that suits me: *unrealism*. What does not exist in reality, but is real. I paint in a very realistic way, but it is impossible to see these things in the real world. The content is not real, and at the same time it is real, since these states, these processes, these directions exist – I find them when I am painting and thinking. Why are the characters of my paintings crippled, blind, decadent, broken, aged? Because there is no normal man on this earth, at least, I’ve never met him. That is why there is a reality that is an unreality.¹⁶

Ligeti, for his part, described the two mini-operas that he composed before *Le grand macabre*, as an

adventure of form and expression, imaginary actions, labyrinthine intricacies of emotions and denatured impulses, derision, mockery, idyll, nostalgia, mourning,

14 Ibid., 170.

15 Ligeti, *L’Atelier du compositeur*, 17.

16 Mečys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 65.

fear, love, humor, excitement, passion, dream and wakefulness, logic and absurdity. [...] There is no question here of a real action, [...] but rather of a drama inherent in the music. [...] Thanks to the phonetic-musical structure, semantically incomprehensible, but clearly understandable on an emotional level, what is alluded to is a dramatic action, mysterious, admittedly, as to its real meaning, but quite understandable as regards the appearance of the expressive characters and patterns of human behavior.¹⁷

Le grand macabre represents the symbiosis of two stylistic approaches, both based on a common interest in the expression of human affects and the same appeal to masks and puppets. Speaking about *Aliute*, the gallerist Gerd Wolfgang Essen said: “In her paintings she herself plays different roles behind different masks [...]. *Aliute* has only one outcome – capture the evil spirits, lock them in the space of the painting and thus continue to live with them.”¹⁸

The opera’s characters are made as masks or puppets: they do not undergo changes, have no temporal direction. Hence their archetypal appearance. These symbol-objects represent emotional and psychological states of a wide range of affects, from the lowest (for example, the alcoholic Piet, the shrew Mescalina) to the highest (for example, the goddess Venus or the couple in love). Each character is defined by its emotional color. Its expression constitutes both form and content. All the characters represent a dual world, a world of opposites in which various configurations or various “emotional territories” of affective states, form the eschatological entity of Breughelland. Istvan Balazs goes further and considers that “Ligeti uses the genre of the opera itself as a mask” since “these creatures with exaggerated features are subjected to the commonplaces of the opera, which then end up functioning as masks. [...] Therefore, the subversive aspect occurs especially in the musical-dramatic structure.”¹⁹

If the general theme of the opera is that “love stronger than death,” the sub-theme, undoubtedly, is a feeling of fear. This is the archetypal fear of the Last Judgment and death itself. The theme of death is a common subject of thought for Ligeti and Mécys. Ligeti said: “The idea of the Last Judgement was for me a constant concern for many years, but without any reference to religion. Its main characteristics are fear of death, the representation of terrifying events, and a way to lessen them by freezing them through alienation, which is the result of excessive expressivity.”²⁰ Or: “In the paintings of *Aliute* Death appears in person – in her

17 Ligeti, *L'Atelier du compositeur*, 192–94.

18 Mécys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 66.

19 Cf. Istvan Balazs, “La fin du monde vue d’en bas”, *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* 180 (1997), 87.

20 Idem.

pictures hands and eyes disappear, she even removes Death's eye itself. Death rages and only the act of painting can fight against it."²¹

Thus, the aim of Ligeti and Mecys aim was to "lock up" death while ridiculing it. Ligeti said, "The Last Judgment started with the big hubbub, but it is a total failure. The tragicomic part of the play lies in the failure of this great act of extermination."²²

Speaking of the perfect symbiosis between Breughel and Ghelderode as a "gradual shift from one spatiality to another, from the pictorial to the stage, from a built image to the obscure human territory under the mask"²³ Michèle Friche was unwittingly describing the symbiosis that occurs between Ligeti's music and Mecys's scenery.

Much more than just an artistic description of a decadent society or a modern tale in the style of the theatre of the absurd, *Le grand macabre* embodies this "anthropology of human feelings" in general and the revised, exorcised life experiences of Ligeti and Mecys in particular.

THE OPERA LIBRETTO

Ligeti was not satisfied with the original text of Ghelderode, and he transformed it for his own purposes, not only changing details such as the names of the characters, but also the general idea. For Ghelderode, the outcome of love is the birth of a child; For Ligeti love is concentrated on Eros.

Amanda and Amando:

*What do we care for storm and flood, when fire is coursing through our blood?
Let others fear the Judgment Day: we have no fears, let come what may!
'Near terrors dire let others bow: for us there's only here and now. [...]
For life grants most to those who give, and who gives love shall loving live.
When one does this, then time and tide stand still: now and for evermore.*²⁴

In Ghelderode's version, the two lovers are Adrian and Jusemina, while in Ligeti's version they are called Clitoria and Spermando (in later versions, after 1982, the lovers are renamed Amanda and Amando). Ligeti's opera turned into an apology

21 Dietrich Diederichs-Gottschalk, cited in Mečys, "Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva", 66.

22 Pierre Michel, "Mon opéra est une sorte de farce noire", interview with György Ligeti, *L'Avant-Scène Opéra*, 180 (1997), 96.

23 Michèle Friche, "La Balade du Grand Macabre de Michel de Ghelderode", *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* 180 (1997), 93.

24 Michel, "Mon opéra est une sorte de farce noire", 83, 85.

for Eros, which was actually the main focus of their common life and their relationships. This is reflected not only in their long letters filled with erotic descriptions but also in the many drawings that the composer enclosed in his letters.

For Richard Steinitz, it is precisely this “pornographic” aspect which delayed the premiere of the opera in Stockholm: “The premiere had already been announced for April 1977, then postponed for a year – not only because of the time needed to learn so difficult a work, but also, it was rumoured, because of objections to its pornographic libretto, whose supposed sexual excess had been eagerly seized upon by the more prurient members of the press.”²⁵

For Ligeti, however, this “sexual excess” was a “subtle eroticism.” In his letter to Michael Meschke he described his vision like this:

The erotic power of the texts from *Clitoria* and *Spermando* is only apparently weakened. I have written a super sweet, crazily enraptured music, and needed more text neutrality [...] Do not think that it won't be erotic. On the contrary: I think today we have attained a stage of sexual freedom (Thank God!), where we do not necessarily need a lot of sex manifestation, but can go on to a more subtle eroticism. The extensive text simplification in the duets of *Spermando-Clitoria* was also necessary because all will be sung in a highly ornamental way, with a reduced understanding of the text, many words drowned out, hence the stimuli to strengthen comprehensibility [...] Then, *Clitoria-Spermando* should not be vulgar, but seemingly transfigured in Botticelli style – the stronger than the erotic obsession.²⁶

The two characters that Ligeti added to the original text of *Ghelderode* are the ones that most reflect their past and present: the goddess Venus, the goddess of love who symbolizes perfect love, and Gepopo, the chief of the secret police, who is a direct reference to the Gestapo. Richard Steinitz even includes a triple allusion:

Clearly, Ligeti wrote her part with the evident relish of poking fun at the three secret police organisations he had most cause to despise: the Gestapo, the Soviet GPU (later renamed KGB), and the East German Geheime Politische Polizei, the three first syllables of which make up the acronym ‘Gepopo’. Of dazzling virtuosity, the Chief of the Gepopo is one of the great coloratura roles in opera and a hilarious portrayal of sleuthiness. She is no Scarpia, but a canary-voiced high soprano, who enters on roller-skates disguised as a fantastic bird of prey, exchanging scarcely concealed ‘pssts’ with the offstage chorus. The libretto here

25 Richard Steinitz, *György Ligeti. Music of Imagination* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 217.

26 Letter from Ligeti to Michael Meschke, 1 March 1976 (Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel).

is a tirade of spy-book clichés, encoded warnings of imprecise substance but sufficient to work her into paroxysms of excitement and panic.²⁷

The idea of Gepopo as a bird on roller skates belongs to Aliute: in her interview she said: “I proposed that the chief of the police would be a bird on roller skates, and the king, on stilts.”²⁸

HIDDEN LOVE

For Ghelderode and Ligeti, the loving couple is hidden. They descend into the empty tomb at the beginning of the opera, to rise at the end, after their act of love. This reflects perfectly their secret, hidden relationship, since Ligeti never divorced his wife Vera.

The world of Eros, by definition, has no connection with the outside world. Ligeti gives this intimate relationship an unexpected aspect, the lesbian aspect, using the equal voices: the pair of lovers is sung by a soprano and a mezzo-soprano. One of the goals of Ligeti was to make this relationship more “ethereal”. In a letter to Meschke, Ligeti confides: “The characters of Clitoria-Spermando are simultaneously ethereal and ironic – far from any simplicity and stupid comedy. Yes, a lesbian layer is also determined there but very subliminally, iridescent. Please, look again through the erotic drawings of Bayros *The purple snail*. There is a subtle refinement of eroticism [...], I have tried to achieve this atmosphere in music.”²⁹ This “ethereal” love is presented as an ideal, as a love without faults. While real and clearly erotic, because of the Monteverdi lyricism of high and equal voices, it is reduced to the same emotional color as the voice of the goddess Venus, to the same depersonalized, metaphoric, unreal, aerial level, detached from the general context of Breugheland life. For Michèle Friche, “The reality of their love preserved them from the Judgment, they simply ignored fear.”³⁰ Saying that, she describes perfectly, albeit metaphorically, the relationship between Mecys and Ligeti.

THE HYBRID WORLD

The opera is constructed as a double world in which each character reflects half of a unit or entity. For example, there are “two sovereigns, Tsar Necro and Tsar

27 Steinitz, *György Ligeti*, 226.

28 Mečys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 65.

29 Letter from Ligeti to Michael Meschke, 1 March 1976 (Paul Sacher Foundation).

30 Friche, “*La Balade du Grand Macabre* de Michel de Ghelderode,” 92.

Gogo”;³¹ two corrupt ministers, leaders of the two hostile parties, the White and the Black, “whose opinions don’t differ in any way”;³² love is also double: that of the couple of idealized love, and that of “the evil woman, Mescalina, a combination of the words mescaline, poison, and Messalina, the shrew”;³³ for her husband Astradamors, whom she holds “under her yoke”;³⁴

This hybrid world is that of Aliute Mecys: “Now I am interested in hybrid beings [...]. I am drawn to these creatures. Mongrels, mixed creatures, masks next to some faces, hybrids, painted one beside the other, all that is the two spiritual aspects of one single man. Angels and demons painted side by side in parallel, or as an object and its shadow”;³⁵

It is also the world of Ligeti: “My music is not literary or illustrative but is full of sensations and associations. I love allusions, double meanings, the polyvalences of signification, false bottoms, ulterior motives.”³⁶ Through oppositions and by accentuating ambiguities, Ligeti uses all the palette of styles, instruments, expressions and articulations from the operas of Monteverdi, Verdi, or Mozart, to the Avant-garde musical theatre of the twentieth century. As Steinitz observed, “The *Klangfarbenmelodie* timbral distribution applied by both Webern and Ligeti conjoins modernism and the Baroque in a manner that is neither old nor new; more an enigmatic hybrid.”³⁷ For Pierre Michel, “Ligeti retained to the end the ambiguity of the opera, of its meaning and all its possible interpretations. The work ends in a consonant but atonal language, as if to open some perspective to the imagination without providing reassurance.”³⁸

We find in the opera that particular junction between the crippled characters of Mecys and the musical background which is a blending of styles and sonorous articulations of affects, in other words, “drama inherent in music”. The exile from the archetypal imagination, marked by individual experiences, gives to this opera those imperceptible fluctuations between a modern fairy tale and a true story. It is at times tragic, and it evokes the tribulations of war, but it is told with the lightness of irony, the precision of the grotesque, and the naivety of the comic.

31 Ligeti, *L'Atelier du compositeur*, 275.

32 Ibid., 274.

33 Pierre Michel, “Commentaire musical et littéraire”, in *Le Grand Macabre* by Ligeti, *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* 180 (1997), 83.

34 Ligeti, *L'Atelier du compositeur*, 268.

35 Mečys, “Irealizmas ir fantazijų Lietuva”, 66.

36 Claude Samuel, Ligeti, le clin d’œil au happening, *L'Avant-Scène Opéra* 180 (1997), 94.

37 Steinitz, *György Ligeti*, 233.

38 Michel, “Commentaire musical et littéraire”, 84.

Ligeti wrote in a letter to Bertil Bokstedt, “I want to do ‘the work of my life.’”³⁹ This statement is very significant. Moreover, after *Le Grand Macabre* Ligeti decided to abandon this style, while Aliute Mecys, on the contrary, devoted herself exclusively to painting, as if for Ligeti the opera was the end of an experience, and for Mecys the beginning.

They met like two exiles, not only in a physical space, but also in an archetypal one, made of real places and metaphorical territories, of emotional anchors and artistic encounters. They shared the same love and identity experience, lived both as a condition and as consciousness.

39 Letter from Ligeti to Bertil Bokstedt (Direc of the Oper Kungliga Teatern, Stockholm,) 10 November 1971 (Paul Sacher Foundation).

THE MUSIC OF NOUR ALI ELAHI IN EXILE

ANITA MAYER-HIRZBERGER

UNIVERSITY OF MUSIC AND PERFORMING ARTS, VIENNA

Abstract: Nour Ali Elahi (1895–1974) was a mystic, lawyer and master of the *tanbur* in Iran. He was a member of “Ahl-e Haqq,” a small group of Persian Kurds. As a regional celebrity he was admired as a master (*Ostad*) in questions of ethics and law but also as a master of the Kurdish *tanbur*. After his death his reputation also grew in Europe and the USA. In 1985 the “*Ostad Elahi Foundation*” was established in New York and in 2000 in Paris, followed by a similar society in Vienna. The groups of his admirers are diverse, but are dominated by exiles from Iran, especially in Vienna. Because Elahi is seen as a famous musician by the foundation, his art has a high standing for them and there is a great interest in propagating his interpretations. This paper argues that Elahi’s music not only became a symbol for his mystical and ethical thinking but also formed a part of the new identity in exile, although it differs strongly from “traditional” Persian music. There is also a special interest in the connection between Elahi’s music and other forms of European music as an example of the respectful encounter of different cultures. Concerts in Paris and an exhibition about Elahi in the Metropolitan Museum in New York are successful signs of such efforts.

It was at one of the yearly birthday celebrations for Nour Ali Elahi in Vienna that I first heard music in the tradition of the man being celebrated.¹ I was quite astonished that this city should be one of the meeting points of admirers of this extraordinary person, who never left his homeland of Iran. Born in 1895, he grew up in Jeyhunabad in the very traditional surroundings of the Kurdish Province of Kermanshah. His family played a leading role in one of the groups of Ahl-e Haqq, a religious community in Kurdish regions primarily in Iran but also in Iraq and in south-eastern Kurdish parts of Turkey.² Ahl-e Haqq can be traced back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and shows traces of the influence of Islam, Yazidis, Alivi, and Sufism.³

1 The Viennese Society of Ethics organizes this annual event with great effort.

2 See Algar and Elahi.

3 Heinz Halm: “AHL-E HAQQ,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1/6 (1982), 635–37; online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahl-e-haqq-people> (accessed 14 March 2019); Christine Allison, Anke Joisten-Pruschke and Antje Wendtland (eds.): *From Daēnā to Dīn. Religion, Kultur und Sprache in der iranischen Welt. Festschrift für Philip Kreyenbroek zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz 2009, 263–377; and Jean During: *A Critical Survey on Ahi-e Haqq Studies in Europe and Iran*, in: *Alevi Identity. Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives. Papers Read at a Conference Held at the Swedish*

It is not easy to form an idea of the meaning of Nour Ali Elahi during his lifetime. Most descriptions date from after his death and came exclusively from close friends and members of his family. As usual for a respected person in that cultural sphere, they contain many phrases of civility and mystification. It is said that as a child of nine years Elahi retired into a contemplative life for twelve years, with periods of strict fasting and meditation under the guidance of his father Hadj Nematollah, who also was a leading figure of their branch of Ahl-e Haqq. The legend tells us that on a pilgrimage Elahi suddenly fell ill and died, but returned back to life, infused with a new soul.⁴ A story like this enforced at least his fame and mystification. It is also said that when Islamic fanatics destroyed the structure over his tomb in Hashtgerd in 1982, the aggressors found the tomb empty.⁵ His admirers explained this fact as a proof of the outstanding position of a spiritual person.

Elahi is not just known as a leading spiritual person but also as a model judge. In 1917 he decided to finish his time of seclusion in order to participate actively in social life. After studying law he started his career as a legal magistrate and was involved in reforms which were meant to replace the clergy's jurisdiction. The mid-twenties of the twentieth century were times of political change, with the putsch against the Kadscharen dynasty in 1925 and the installation of Reza Shah Pahlawi.

Elahi is also known as an extraordinary musician. His main instrument, the tanbour, a long-necked lute, is important to this day in the religious rites of Ahl-e Haqq, where it is considered as a medium for meditation or spiritual experiences.⁶ Even in this activity Elahi is described as exceptional. The legend says that he was already a virtuoso on the tanbour at the age of nine.⁷

Although Elahi never played in public – only for private pleasure and meditation, alone or with friends and family – he seemed to have a great reputation in this profession. It is said that he impressed some of the celebrated Iranian musicians like Darvish Khan (1872–1926) and later Abol-Hasan Saba (1902–1957) in playing the tanbour, which differs from “classical” Persian music as well as their radif-repertoire.⁸ Dariush Savfat, the later director of the Centre for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music and a master of setar and pupil of Abol-Hassan

Research Institute in Istanbul, November 25–27, 1996, ed. by Tord Olsson, Elisabeth Özdalga, and Catherina Raudvere (Richmond: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 1996), 105–25.

4 During, *The Spirit of Sounds. The Unique Art of OstadElahi (1895–1974)*. (New York: Cornwall Books, 2003), 30–31.

5 Algar, Hamid and Morris, James Winston and During, Jean: “Elāhī, Hājī Nūr Alī,” in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/elahi> (accessed 13 March 2019).

6 Navid Fozi: “The Hallowed Summoning of Tradition: Body Techniques in Construction of the Sacred Tanbur of Western Iran,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 80:1 (2007), 107.

7 Jean During, *The Spirit of Sounds. The Unique Art of OstadElahi (1895–1974)*, 26–32.

8 *Ibid.*, 35.

Saba, described Elahi as an important Iranian musician in the twentieth century.⁹ So Elahi has become part of the canon of the Iranian music.

In his local sphere of influence Elahi was certainly well known: in his homeland Kermanshah, where his family had a high status, and in other Iranian districts to which he was sent as a magistrate, as well as in Teheran, where he lived as a spiritual teacher after his retirement. The attribute “Ostad” (master) shows that he was respected both as an extraordinary musician and as an advisor in spiritual and ethical questions. In all the descriptions of his music both the spiritual meaning and his virtuoso techniques are stressed.

THE SHIRAZ FESTIVAL OF ART AS A MEETING POINT OF EAST AND WEST

His first encounter with representatives of “western music culture” – and the only one in Elahi’s lifetime – was apparently during the Shiraz Festival of Arts, which took place from 1967 to 1977 as part of the cultural politics of the Pahlawi Regime. One of the major goals of this project was to bring together artists representing the “western” and “eastern” worlds of art. It was meant to be a meeting point of different cultures and of traditional and contemporary music from around the world.¹⁰ To call attention to the long tradition of Persian culture (and doubtless also to advertise touristic destinations), these events took place in front of the ruins of Persepolis or the gardens of Hafezieh. Young Iranian artists sought contact with composers like Iannis Xenakis, Karlheinz Stockhausen, and John Cage.¹¹ The music department of Tehran University was also involved with the festival. At the same time, the visiting musicians and artists found inspiration in the landscape, architecture, and traditional art of the host country.

It seemed that Elahi – who would never have performed at an event like this – was invited there at the recommendation of insiders. Pupils of Abol-Hasan Saba who participated in the festival, and of course Dariush Savfat, who was there as a popular advisor, could have been intermediaries.¹² Two representatives of “western” culture met Elahi for sure: the dancer and choreographer Maurice Béjart and

9 Dariush Savfat: “Musique Iranienne et Mystique” (translated and with annotations by Jean During), *Etudes Traditionelle*. 483 (1984): 42–54, and 484 (1984): 94–109.

10 Robert Gluck: *The Shiraz Art Festival: Western Avant-Garde Arts in the 1970s Iran*, 2006. <https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/leon.2007.40.1.20>; and Mahasti Afshar, Festival of Arts, Shiraz-Persepolis 1967–1977. http://www.academia.edu/12568899/Festival_of_Arts_Shiraz-Persepolis_1967-1977_updated_May_2015 (accessed 20 March 2019).

11 Gluck, *The Shiraz Art Festival*.

12 Afshar, *Festival of Arts, Shiraz-Persepolis*, 5.

the violinist Yehudi Menuhin. They seemed to have been fascinated by him. Béjart, who converted to Shiite Islam after his participation in the Shiraz Festivals, and who was always looking for new inspiration, spoke about a spiritual experience that changed his life.¹³ Maybe he saw in Elahi's art a spiritual relationship. Elahi described his own musical practice as a "link to the Source," and at times he compared it with spiritual dancing.¹⁴ Béjart explained one year after his visit in Shiraz that dance is connected to the divine.¹⁵ The fact that Elahi and Béjart were not able to communicate in words (they had no shared language) implies that maybe Béjart recognized what he was looking for. He kept in touch with Elahi's family, and Nour Ali's younger son Chahrokh was invited to Béjart's seventieth birthday in 1997 as a special guest.¹⁶ More down to earth, Yehudi Menuhin spoke about the fascination in Elahi's improvisations of the musical variety possible from limited audio material. Their statements about these meetings were cited in later publications and on websites about Elahi as an important proof of the extraordinary effect of his performance.

TRANSFER INTO WESTERN CULTURE

In spite of such prominent visitors, Elahi's overall fame as musician may have been limited to his homeland in an early phase, traditionally cultivated by his people. For them his spiritual heritage became very important, and his book *Borhan ol-Haqq* (Demonstration of the Truth, 1963) seems to have been used as a kind of religious guide.¹⁷ His music was seen as an expression of his meditative spirituality. But after the establishment of the Islamic regime, his philosophy and his music were regarded as a danger, and in 1982 Islamic fanatics destroyed his tomb in Hashtgerd, which had meanwhile become a site of pilgrimage. Members of his family and other members of Ahl-e Haqq left the country, and they took the memory of Ostad Elahi with them into exile. There they tried to spread their philosophy and with it his music; his second son, Bahram Elahi, works on the dissemination of his father's spiritual thinking, and has published several articles and books in French, English, German, Polish, and Greek.¹⁸ The Nour Foundation,

13 During, *The Spirit of Sounds*, 122–23.

14 Jean During records the anecdote of a vision in which Elahi asked Rumi: "Tell me, what is the secret of your dancing, for you to jump and move the way you do at eighty years old?" Rumi replied: "Play your tanbour and you will see how I can dance." During, *The Spirit of Sounds*, 111.

15 Maurice Béjart, *L'autre chant de la danse: ce que la nuit me dit* (Paris: Flammarion, 1974).

16 Ariane Dollfus: *Béjart Le Démoniurge* (Paris: Flammarion, 2017).

17 During, *A Critical Survey on Ahi-e Haqq Studies in Europe and Iran* 106 and 107.

18 Bahram Elahi, *La Voie de la Perfection* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2002).

founded in 1985 in New York, continues to disseminate the ethical and spiritual principles of Elahi, as does the “Ostad Elahi Foundation” in Paris, founded in 2000 by Bahram Elahi. Many members of the family transferred their main residence to France, which has become a kind of centre for Elahi adoration in exile. They even found there a site of pilgrimage: the tomb of Elahi’s sister Malek Jan in Baillou, in the region of Perche.

The breakthrough to reach a larger audience occurred in 1995, when an exhibition was organized at the Chapelle de la Sorbonne in Paris for the centennial of Elahi’s birthday.¹⁹ The exhibition was accompanied by presentations and conferences at the Sorbonne, in London, and at some Universities in the USA (New York University and the University of California in Los Angeles). Since 1995 twelve albums have been published with allegedly original recordings of Nour Ali Elahi produced by the family in the 1960s and 1970s.²⁰ In 2014–15 a special exhibition was organized about Elahi as a musician, again accompanied by lectures and performances.²¹ Soon several instruments of Elahi will be part of the permanent collection of the André Mertens Galleries for Musical Instruments at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In April 2019 there will be the celebration of the handover.²²

For Elahi’s widespread fans the internet has played an important role in dissemination: along with Elahi websites, one can also find the so-called Ostad Elahi Radio, where his recordings are presented, and where every piece is introduced with an explanation in the form of a dialogue.²³

The undisputed authority on Elahi’s music is his youngest son, Chahrokh Elahi, who is himself a recognized master at the tanbour. To propagate his father’s music and spirituality, he gives lectures and “master classes” like the one during the exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum on 15 November 2014.²⁴ All over the world one can now watch and listen to Chahrokh’s way of playing his father’s music on YouTube.

19 “Symposium on Spirituality Celebrates the Centennial of Ostad Elahi,” *UNESCO News* 2/6, (10 November 1995).

20 Maybe the reference to “the recordings” means that they are played in a style based on the recordings. At least on the booklet of the double-CD “Destination” one can read that Elahi’s son is performing. The recording quality also suggests professional standards in recent times.

21 The Sacred Lute: The Art of Ostad Elahi, 5 August – 1 November 2015. <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2014/sacred-lute> (accessed 20 March 2019).

22 “The Musical Art of Ostad Elahi,” Saturday 6 April 2019. <https://www.metmuseum.org/events/programs/met-speaks/ticketed-talks/the-musical-art-of-ostad-elahi> (accessed 20 March 2019).

23 On the welcome page one can see the covers of all the recordings. Ostad Elahi Radio: <http://www.ostadradio.com/> (accessed 20 March 2019).

24 Tanbur Masterclass, Uris Center for Education Art Room, 15 November 2014. <http://ostadelahi.com/life/exhibitions/events-around-the-sacred-lute/>

Along with him and some other members of his family there are also Kurdish-Iranian ensembles like Razbar which play an important role for the spreading of Elahi's music.²⁵ Razbar was founded in Bonn in 1997, mainly by Kurdish People from Hashtgerd, near Teheran. Their main interest is to introduce the culture of Ahl-e Haqq into Europe and the United States, where the J-Hoon ensemble (deeply connected with the German Razbar-group – they even had until recently the same pictures and texts on their websites) was founded some years later in New York.²⁶ Both of them do not just give concerts but also organize lectures for music and dancing. Their performances are designed to present the spirituality of the Ahl-e Haqq group of Nour Ali Elahi to people in Europe and USA, and certainly for the dancers and musicians it could be a kind of home in exile. On their homepage they stress the ritual character of their musical practise and explain that they want “*to share their spiritual music, not to stage a performance.*” This is certainly not an easy task, so they try to seek new ways like inventing the audience to participate or to reproduce a ritual situation. But it is evident that the concert situation has not been without consequences. Meanwhile some elements of entertainment have entered their performances, for the pleasure of the audience and obviously also for the musicians, as a video of a percussion performance shows.²⁷

THE TRANSLATION OF OSTAD ELAHI'S MUSIC INTO THE WESTERN TRADITION

For the last twenty years Elahi's meditative music has attracted interest from several musicians in Europe who are fond of so-called “world music,” but also from musicians coming from the “old-music scene” who are looking for new inspirations. At the presentation “Sunday at the Met” at the exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum in 2014 there were two musical groups presenting “crossover music” in different ways.

The famous Iranian singer Parissa and her ensemble integrated tanbour into traditional Persian music.²⁸ Elahi's grandson Shahab Elahi played the tanbour, and Parissa sang the poems of Hafiz and Rumi. This performance was introduced as a

25 The name “Razbar” refers to Kathun-e Razbar, the mother of Sholtan Sahak, who is seen as the founder of Ahl-e Haqq.

26 Razbar Website: <https://www.razbar.de/>; J-Hoon Website: <https://www.j-hoon.com/> (accessed 20 March 2018).

27 Video of a percussion performance on the website of Razbar; <https://www.razbar.de/gallery/#RazbarEnsemble> (accessed 20 March 2019).

28 On her website Parissa stressed the importance of Elahi's spiritual approach to music as model for her interpretations. Parissa, biography: http://parissamusic.org/05_biography/tenet.htm (accessed 20 March 2019).

symbol of Elahi's experiences with traditional Persian music. He learned the Persian instruments tar and setar and widened the technique and interpretation of his tanbour playing.

The second ensemble was the Garcia-Fons Quartett, with a mixture of heterogeneous instruments: (jazz) double bass, lute, violin and frame drum. It was a crossover of jazz, old music, classical western music and traditional (Iranian) Kurdish music. The lute player Claire Antonini is specialized in French music of the seventeenth century but also came into contact with Persian music with Taiush Talai. The French Jazz double bass player Renaud Garcia-Fons is well known for his interest in different musical styles, times, and cultures. His teacher for double bass, Francois Rabbath from Syria, awakened his interest in music of the Middle East, and so Elahi's music is just one of many influences on Garcia-Fons repertoire. Already in 2012 he played in a concert in Paris, "Voyage à Jeyhounabad," as an *homage* à *Ostad Elahi* in which he tried to replicate the meditative character as well as Ostad Elahi's playing technique on the tanbour.²⁹ Watching Chahrokh Elahi playing the tanbour, one can see that his fast strumming is comparable to the *rasgueado* style used by flamenco guitarists.³⁰ The strokes up and down have to be very precise and steady to get this kind of rhythmic structure. The movement of the right hand looks like a wave movement, as if the tanbour player were stirring the strings. When Renaud Garcia-Fons translates this technique it seems as if his bow is dancing on the strings.³¹ His *sautillé* is also rhythmically absolutely precise. Overtones and flageolets evoke the impression of the chordal play of the tanbour. Like Chahrokh Elahi on the tanbour, Garcia-Fons's left hand produces melodic ornaments in hammer-ons and pull-offs or in a combination of both. The inspirations of plucked instruments, string instruments of different cultures and times, were important for his style, as Garcia-Fons explained in an interview. For him the double bass is an instrument "between the lute/guitar and the viola da gamba."³²

Both the Parissa ensemble and the Garcia-Fons Quartett were introduced at their concert at the Metropolitan as a fusion of Western and Eastern musical practice and as a symbol of humility, tolerance, and interdisciplinarity in the spirit of Elahi.

29 Renaud Garcia-Fons, *Voyage à Jeyhounabad*, Live in Paris 2012: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBOqXzYTLqA> (accessed 22 March 2019).

30 The Art of the Tanbour Part I: Exploring the Music of Ostad Elahi (1895–1974): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AxCB923_QOY (accessed 22 March 2019).

31 Like his teacher, he holds his bow like the cello players.

32 "Renaud Garcia-Fons in einem Interview mit Karl Lippegau." <https://treibhaus.at/kuenstler/72/renaud-garcia-fons> (accessed 22 March 2019).

VIENNESE EXPERIENCES:
WATCHING A PROCESS OF CREATING IDENTITY?

Finally I want to return to where I began. How did Elahi's legacy come to Vienna? By accident, and with the help of some Iranians living in Vienna, the Society of Ethics was founded in 2000, the same year as the "Elahi Foundation" in Paris. According to its website and the statements of those responsible for the society, the idea of this association is the discussion of "Ethical Principles" according to Ostad Elahi's philosophy. His principals are explained in a very general manner: equality, tolerance, freedom of thought, respect and empathy for all cultures and religions. The reasons why people visit lectures (about ethical principles in medicine and law, as well as in questions of gender and other current topics) and the annual birthday celebration are diverse. Analysing some interviews of the audience, one can say that there is a very broad range: from the interest in some or just one of the lectures or in special subjects, which need not imply any relationship to Elahi, to a passionate interest in his philosophical maxims. To give a precise overview would require closer research. But there is one special aspect concerning the participants of Iranian origin, who are the majority in the society: the coordination of the events is in the hands of the family of my Iranian friend, the president is from Iran, and the general secretary is married to an Iranian. Many of the members of the society are Iranians in exile. They had different reasons to leave Iran: some are confirmed democrats, others are confirmed monarchists, but what they have in common is their rejection of the Mullah regime. In discussions they explain that Elahi's ethical principles, which are considered as open for different confessions, could point out a way to live in a good relationship with the inhabitants of the respective land of exile and could also serve as a possible model for an ideal social life in Iran. One example of this idea is the dissertation of Alaleh Fadai, "Inside / Outside: Geschlechtsspezifische Baustrukturen im Iran" (Gender Aspects of Building Structures in Iran)" which in 2011 was submitted to the Institute of History of Art, Building Archaeology, and Restoration in Vienna. She presented Elahi's ethical principles as a way to break down the gender segregation expressed in possibly new forms of Iranian architecture.

One can see the conscious seeking for community in some "intercultural" performances of Razbar or the Mojdeh Ensemble founded by Shahab Elahi, Nour Ali's grandson. In Vienna this kind of mixture can be seen in the musical programme of the events of the society. Especially the yearly commemorations present a musical mixture of tanbour performances and compositions, which are seen as typical of "classical European music." Of special interest is the background music at the beginning of some events that prepare the audience for what follows. Performances

by Ostad Elahi on the tanbour alternate with music considered typical of Austrian or Viennese culture: Mozart, the waltzes of Johann Strauss, or songs from *The Sound of Music*.³³

The music of Ostad Elahi found a most fertile soil in exile. Symbolizing his spiritual philosophy, it is highly welcome as a meditative music that has become increasingly popular in recent years. It may also be an inspiration for musicians of trendy “world music.” It is a must for those who want to come in touch with Elahi’s philosophy. His music is attractive in winning people for his philosophy; at least it has become a symbol for some Iranian groups in their Austrian exile. Kurdish tanbour music is their Iranian part of Austrian culture.

33 This mixture was chosen for the festival event celebrating the 120th birthday of Ostad Elah on 24 September 2015.

THE SCOPE OF SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION SINCE 1918: FROM POLKA TO SOUND ART

LEON STEFANIJA
UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI

***Abstract.** The paper illustrates the range of Slovene music emigration after the Great War through three complementary case studies that will form three levels of what C. Small terms “musicizing,” H. Becker the “art world,” or K. Blaukopf “musical practice”: the everyday experience, institutional level, and personal experience. First, the everyday level: the Slovene emigration and its music are discussed as presented officially by The Government Office for Slovenes Abroad through the website <http://www.slovinci.si>. From this perspective, it appears that the musical practices cultivated by Slovenes abroad are intimately bound to two musical phenomena – to a choir culture and the so-called Oberkrainer music. Yet, it is more heterogeneous than this, and the only clear finding here points to the need for future systematic research regarding the lively musical practices by Slovenes abroad. In the second story, the Slovene composers-émigrés are discussed through a critical reading of the only systematic study regarding the Music Production of Slovenes Around the World (1997) by Edo Škulj. The text confines itself mainly to composers of Slovene origin who were active in and around the Catholic church – one of the music institutions – leaving all other profiles of composers and musicians outside of the horizon. The third part illustrates the personal experiences of two Slovene composers living more or less abroad: Uroš Rojko (b. 1954) and Vinko Globokar (b. 1934). Their experiences, alongside the everyday perspective on the Slovene music emigration as well as the chosen institutional aspect of only one musical practice, define the scope of Slovene music emigration as a part of cultural mobility. Pragmatic, institutional, and personal variables indicate the range of emigration culture as one connecting pragmatics, ideology, and the personal experiences of the multiple identities of an emigrant – as typical of our (not only musical) “glocalized” present.*

SAUSAGES, DANCE & ACCORDION: EMIGRATION IMAGERY AND MUSICAL PRACTICES

Seen through the eyes of our well-informed world, there is a rich variety of Slovene societies abroad.¹ Geographically, the Slovene emigration is found primarily in Europe, North and South America, and Canada.

1 Cf. Janez Rogelj, “Kdo so pravzaprav Slovenci po svetu in koliko jih je? [Who Really are Slovenes Around the World and How many are there?],” in: *Moja Slovenija. Net*, 2010, <http://www.mojaslovenija.net/8-novice/slovenska-zgodovina/383-ne-spreglejte-kdo-so-pravzaprav-slovinci-po-svetu-in-koliko-jih-je> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

Different versions of Slovene folk music may be seen as the most recognizable musical legacy connected to emigration – along with other souvenirs. Folk music is but a part of the heterogeneous imagery of *us* as wittily described by the editor of the book *A Medley of National Favourites: Things That Make Slovenes Shine*. (The second part of the Slovene title is more spiritually loaded and means literally: *The holy objects of the Slovenes*):

Carniolan sausage, accordion, Prekmurska gibanica cake, and Vače Situla are elements that you exposed in your book. Why? The answer is simple: the selection or enlistment of this medley is mainly arbitrary, and the book would be thicker if we could find a person who is willing to bite into this potica cake, display a *kozolec* [corn-rack], and have a refreshment with *cviček* [a sort of wine from Lower Carniola region].²

The notorious *Oberkrainer* music – the embodiment of popularity not only among Slovene emigrants – is, together with a more traditional folk music as well as urban choral music practices,³ the hallmark of Slovene national identity.⁴ The National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame and Museum in Ohio, USA,⁵ indicates the breadth of the polka-and-choir-culture, not only outside Slovenia but also within. A differentiated award system conferred the honourable title *Greatest All-Time Cleveland-Style Hit Song* in 2015 to two pieces: the waltz of Lojze Slak *V Dolini Tihi* (1966) and the polka *Na Golici* (a.k.a. *Trompetten-Echo*; 1955) by Slavko Avsenik. The list of *greatest hits* in the genre since the introduction of the award in 1993 is, of course, much longer.⁶

The practice of music styles involved in emigrant musicking may be illustrated for instance with the choir Mučičas, young ladies with Slovene backgrounds: besides (medleys of) folk songs, they sing different popular pieces without any close connection to Slovenia.

2 Tadej Čater, “Slovenecm sveti predmeti: od kranjske klobase, vaške situle do copat in gibanica [Slovenes’ sacred objects: from Carniola sausage, village situla to slippers and Prekmurje layer cake],” in: *MMC*, 7. 4. 2015 <https://www.rtvsl.si/kultura/knjige/slovenecm-sveti-predmeti-od-kranjske-klobase-vaske-situle-do-copat-in-gibanice/362304> (accessed on 8. 1. 2016).

3 Cf. Frank Molly, “Glasbena matica,” in: *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Cleveland: Cleveland West University, 1997), <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=GM2> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

4 Matjaž Merljak, “Pomen in vloga glasbenega ustvarjanja med Slovenci po svetu [The Meaning and Role of Music Production among Slovenes Around the World],” in: *Radio Ognjišče*, 1. 11. 2010 <http://radio.ognjisce.si/sl/111/ssd/2678/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

5 Details about this organization are available on <http://www.clevelandstyle.com> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

6 “Greatest All-Time Hit Songs – Cleveland-Style Polka and Waltz Hits,” [a web page without an author] <http://www.clevelandstyle.com/awards~show~2015a.html> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

The culture of folk musicking seems to be in a favourable period. Commentators are pointing to the growing number of popular folk-music (*narodnozabavna glasba*) broadcasts on Radiotelevizija Slovenije⁷ as well as among Slovene emigrants. However, folk music is only one part of the musical life of the emigrants. It seems that the ancient motto *ubi bene ibi patria* is still valid in today's world. As Lorena Mihelač testifies in her study of *National identity and music in school-age adolescents*, from the perspective of the immigrants in Slovenia,⁸ folk music is considered an important link to the country of origin only if folk music is considered a value in the family.

They experience folk music as one of the agents by which it is possible to keep their national identity and by means of which they can show what the members of other nationalities (perhaps) do not have. They are aware of the value of folk music, although they prefer to listen to music styles (genres) that have more appeal for them, i.e., to popular music genres, because they live in an age in which (momentarily) they more easily identify themselves with them. Therewith they confirm that an individual can identify himself nationally with any music that connects him with his country of origin.⁹

It is probably needless to emphasize that the concept (and experiences) of *emigration* combine a thorny set of variables in which two premises – the geographical and the ethnic – seem to be crucial. For instance, if the bass-baritone Marcos (Marko) Fink (1950) considers himself “born in Buenos Aires, Argentina into a Slovene family”¹⁰ his sister, the mezzo-soprano Bernarda Fink Inzko (1955), seems to be recognized as an “Argentine mezzo-soprano of Slovene parentage.”¹¹ The nuances of combining geographical embeddedness and ethnical affiliation have hardly any negative connotations with regard to Bernarda Fink Inzko and Marcos Fink: they are praised as “noble proof that a national affiliation is a deep yet not necessarily one-way feeling.”¹² Moreover, they both support the thesis that “[t]he emigrants have always been a model for organized minorities, because they preserve their love for the homeland highly motivated while their cosmopolitanism

7 Matjaž Kitak, *Pomen narodno-zabavne glasbe v programih javne televizije* [The importance of folk-entertainment music in public television programs], Diploma, University of Maribor, 2011, 27.

8 Lorena Mihelač, *Nacionalna identiteta in glasba pri šoloobveznih mladostnikih* [National identity and music in school-age adolescents], PhD diss., University of Nova Gorica, 2011, 147.

9 Idem, 142.

10 “Marcos Fink,” <http://marcosfink.si/en/domov/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

11 Steane, J.B., “Fink, Bernarda,” in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

12 “Žlahtna Bernarda in Marcos Fink. Vrhunski pevski koncert v Trstu [The Noble Bernarda and Marcos Fink. Topmost concert in Trieste],” *Novi glas*, 15. 6. 2918, <https://www.noviglas.eu/zlahtna-bernarda-marcos-fink/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

and, at the same time, a strong awareness of their own (also different) roots can be an interesting cue for reflecting the future of minorities.”¹³ However, that the variables of *foreignness* inherent in the concept of e/migration are much more complex than in the Finks’ case is indicated not only by the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities (founded in 1998) but also by the “needy” existential habits of the “glocalized” – those both globalized and localized – within the culture. Parallel worlds marked by minority issues in music are growing within geographical and ethnic systems. For instance in Slovenia, there are two committees for music at the Ministry of Culture: one “Expert committee for music – serious music, opera, and ballet” and the other “Expert committee for music – other music.” And it is exactly the parallel co-habitation of similar practices that forms a rich Slovene musical emigration. Although never researched systematically, it seems that one thing holds true: “I have to emphasize the singing [... and] the special meaning, for the emigrants and their descendants, of the Slovene folk song, the waltz [one may wish to add polka too] and popular song [popevka],”¹⁴ Marjan Drnovšek, a scholar on Slovene emigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries, described the many scattered Slovene musical practices throughout the world.

RESEARCH ON SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION

Generally, the official attitude toward the emigrants was since 1945 rather perplexed; it started to be more inclusive only gradually, from the 1960s onward until the 1980s.¹⁵ Yet the different experiences and circumstances within socialist Yugoslavia and the different statuses of the emigrants (the most common division was between economic and political emigration), as well as their perspectives on their home country, call for future systematic research of individual testimonies.¹⁶ This holds true especially for music. Music has been considered a marginal activity, a cultural stepchild, hardly capable of proper political engagement. As far as the general experience regarding music among Slovene emigrants is concerned, it

13 Idem.

14 Matjaž Merljak, “Pomen in vloga glasbenega ustvarjanja med Slovenci po svetu [The importance and role of creating musical among Slovenes around the world],” *Radio ognjišče*, 1. 11. 2010, <http://radio.ognjisce.si/sl/111/ssd/2678/> (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

15 Aleš Gabrič, “Odnos oblasti do kulturne ustvarjalnosti slovenske emigracije [The attitude of the authorities towards the cultural activity of Slovene emigrants],” in: *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino*, 2003/2, 105–113.

16 Probably the most thorough contemporary series of contributions addressing Slovene emigration is gathered in the Slovene Migration Institute of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (<http://isim.zrc-sazu.si/#v>) and the journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*, published since 1990 (<http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/>).

is nicely indicated not only by the aforementioned scholar Marjan Drnovšek but also in the so far only systematic survey of Slovene musical emigration, written in 1997 by Edo Škulj.¹⁷ He offered an overview of the musical creativity of the Slovene emigration, leaving out the reproduction and reception of their work:

Within the European Cultural Month in Ljubljana 1997 we had a set of lectures under the title *Cultural creativity of the Slovenes in the diaspora*. The *Slovene orthography* interprets the word ‘diaspora’ in the sense of ‘disseminated around the places’ [*razsejanost po krajih*] and there is also a meaning of ‘scattered around the world’ [*raztreseni po svetu*] [...]. But I find a better explanation in the *Biblical Lexicon* which states that ‘diaspora’ is a Greek word meaning ‘dispersion’ [*razkropitev*]; it speaks of a religious minority amidst a majority of different religions.¹⁸

It would be questionable to claim that Škulj – himself born in Buenos Aires in 1941, returning to his homeland in 1975 – emphasized the power relations between an individual (or minority) and the majority instead of sticking to the more “formal” geographical and to a certain extent also pragmatic (‘biologist’) meaning of the word. His subtle distinction between ‘dissemination’ and ‘dispersion’ nicely defines the range within which the music has also been perceived, at least since the Great War. Both expressions may be used roughly as synonyms for ‘scatteredness,’ but with differing connotations: *dissemination* is a phenomenon in which many see a vehicle of ‘scattering seeds’ (*disseminare*), i.e., of scattering certain *values*, loaded with positive connotations and hints of something valuable; while *dispersion* merely signifies ‘scattering’ (*dispergere*), more objectively and somehow free of connotations other than the basic idea that something is spatially scattered around, with a somewhat negative echo attaching to one of its synonyms: *diaspora*. This nuance of difference grows more important as the range of emigration in music is seen not only as a sociological or anthropological concept but also as a compositional, ‘technical’ musicological phenomenon. As Škulj notes in his survey of the Slovene creativity in the diaspora,

Today we have numerous first-class composers active outside of Slovenia, but they have emigrated after 1950 not in the first place because of the political but mainly because of artistic or vital reasons [*umetniških in življenjskih razlogov*]. The composers are: Ivan Florjanc, [...], Vinko Globokar, Božidar Kantušer, [...] Janez Matičič [...] and Božidar Kos. We could add to the line also Ciril Kren [...] and mention composers in the neighbouring countries: Pavle Merku [...] and Jože Ropitz.¹⁹

17 Edo Škulj, “Glasbeno ustvarjanje Slovencev po svetu [Music Production of the Slovenes around the World],” in: *Meddobje = Entresiglo*, 31/3–4 (1997), 198–214.

18 Idem, 199.

19 Idem, 199–200.

The performance practices among the diasporas are left out in this case. And one might wish to add more names to the the list of composers: in North America Pavel Šifler (John Paul Sifler, 1911–2001), Peter Velikonja (1938), and Jerica Oblak Parker (1966); in Canada Klaro Marija Mizerit (1914–2007), Frederik (Mirko) Renner (1919–1993), and Marjan Mozetich (1948); in Germany Igor Majcen (1952); and in neighbouring countries along with Merkù and Ropitz also Aldo Daneu (1933), Fabio Nieder (1957), and Rojac Corrado (1968). The fact that Škulj omitted these composers from his survey is not as telling as is the fact that he focused on composers who “left the country in 1945” and “did not hang up their harps, as did the people in Babylonian exile (cf. Psalm 172:2), but took them in their hands and sang. [...] These composers were Franc Cigan, Alojzij Geržinič, Metod Milač, Jože Osana, and Vendelin Špendov.”²⁰

The composers addressed by Škulj were active mainly in the field of church music – music close to the everyday experience of the many. Škulj does not mention one of the most influential Slovene composer-performers in the USA, Matija Arko (1891–1960) alias Matt Hoyer (he went to Ohio, where the majority of Slovene emigrants live in the USA), although he was “exceptionally popular, even more than rock’n’roll in the 1960s.”²¹ Similar popularity welcomed the *Oberkrainer Musik* when it was introduced in Slovenia in 1953.

The style-and-genre bifurcation – so characteristic of the entire ‘heroic era’ of individualist approaches to music – has not been even indicated for the Slovene musical emigration. However, it seems that it is exactly the lack of any hint (not to mention coherent approach) regarding the undeniable “varieties of cultural history” (Burke) in the context of the Slovene émigrés and music that points to the core set of issues gathered around one of the central phenomena of the modern world: cultural mobility. Stephen Greenblatt and his colleagues proposed the concept of cultural mobility as a perspective for addressing “microhistories of ‘displaced’ things and persons”²² with a certain “sensation of rootedness.”²³ In this sense, the final part of this paper addresses the migrational experiences of two composers: Uroš Rojko and Vinko Globokar.

20 Idem, 201.

21 Drago Kunej and Rebeka Kunej, *Glasba z obeh strani: gramofonske plošče Matije Arka in Hoyer tria [Music from both sides]* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2016; Ribnica: Rokodelski Center), 93.

22 Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17.

23 Idem, 252.

UROŠ ROJKO: THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATION

Uroš Rojko studied in Germany (1983–89) and remained there; since 1995 he has travelled between Germany and Ljubljana, where he teaches composition classes at the Academy of Music. Although he is not an émigré, his migrational experience is an interesting one. He sees himself as a kind of ‘amphibian’:

I am active prevalently in Germany [...] When I come to Ljubljana, I have to change the tape in my head. Many things change. In thinking and acting. I live a certain double life. Like the same book of twin brothers on a vacation – I feel that way.²⁴

It has been a long time I am moving in parallel worlds; the first one is tied to my roots [...] the other is my unrest, ‘nomadism,’ living in Germany, which moulds me on her own. Sooner or later the question of identity had to appear. Who am I? As a person? As an artist? Both worlds are in their essence so different that I was not able to approach both in the same way. I never burdened myself (at least not consciously) with the question *Who is the potential listener to my music?* – it was clear to me that a certain aesthetics, a stylistic determination has an effect in one and not in another place. If it counts for a regressive infantilism especially, but not only, in the German cultural space when an artist flirts with the past uncritically, what counts especially in the post-communist countries of the European East and South is the experimentalism, avant-gardism and critical rationalism for an elitist hermeticism. For a creator who ‘finally’ reaches irreversibly certain ‘deeper truths,’ this is a schizophrenic situation, because it is impossible to identify yourself with what is mutually exclusive. Yet, everyone who has accepted himself as a sensitive sensor calibrated on a cosmopolitan space is confronted with similar dilemmas. The roots remain, but often an abyss emerges between these paradigms. The synthesis of the both is usually complicated.²⁵

Apart from his personal success and a dichotomy regarding his own “schizophrenic situation,” his “cosmopolitan calibration” obviously rests on the mechanisms of critical evaluation regarding his musical aesthetics. Is this cosmopolitanism a parallel (or an appearance) of the *Weltethos* culture propagating ‘respectful tolerance’ – yet not ‘indifference’ – toward the *other*?²⁶

24 Radio broadcast by Nina Zagoričnik, “Proti etru: Uroš Rojko [Against the Airwaves: Uroš Rojko],” broadcast of Radio Slovenia, 25. 11. 1999.

25 Gregor Pompe, “Intervju. Uroš Rojko. Skladatelj in profesor kompozicije [Interview. Uroš Rojko. Composer and Professor of Composition],” in: *Deloskop*, 25. 11. – 1. 12. 2004, 15–17.

26 I use the term *Weltethos* in its current meaning, as in *Was ist Welthethos?*, in: http://www.weltethos.org/was_ist_weltethos (accessed on 1. 2. 2019).

Rojko's position of *moving* between oppositions is analogous to the sociological concept of *transnationalism* or to the artistic concept of *postmodernity*: they all emphasize the *dialogue, integration, complementarity* etc. of different values. This is exactly what Rojko experiences with his "two worlds": a process of reconciling differences.

Furthermore, his sharp North-and-South-European generalization indicates the notorious (at least in Europe) quandary regarding cultural migration: should one speak of integration or assimilation? Rojko has tried to *integrate* himself: as a typical modernist, he is trying to make himself a name as a *distinct individual*, not to *assimilate* himself (and thus become similar to many others). And aesthetically, he sees music as a highly intellectual endeavour, an autonomous phenomenon detached from the everyday life practices and elevated into another – *special* – world of *sublime expression*, anchored in a mixture of aesthetics close to French spectralism. His music is not *integrative* in terms of stylistic heterogeneity; on the contrary, he sticks to the romantic ideal of musical autonomy. However, socially his thought still persists on a cultural "synthesis" of his two worlds, which is another token of the same type of the process of *assimilation*.²⁷

VINKO GLOBOKAR: MUSIC ABOUT (E)MIGRATION

Rojko never addressed the issue of emigration through or *in* his music – his music hardly 'migrates,' as it were, beyond the medium of sound with allusive gestures. His roots somehow remain in the medium of music as an abstract art of sound.

Vinko Globokar, to the contrary, himself a cosmopolitan by birth, returned several times in his artistic work to emigration. He explicitly thematized emigration issues in the triptych *Les Émigrés* (1982–86) and the three pieces *L'Exil* (2012–14). The main procedure in these pieces is *collage*: a collage of musical styles (from serialism, jazz, and free improvisation to folk tunes), of texts (ranging from Homer to Peter Handke), and of spoken languages. In *Exile 3 (Das Leben des Emigranten Edvard)* for orchestra, choir, soprano, narrator, contrabass clarinet, and improviser, Globokar wrote his autobiography.

Alone with his entire oeuvre, his existentialist – always socially engaged and psychologically stimulated – approach to music was noted already in the 1970s. He is in many respects the very opposite of Rojko's delicate spectralism. Far from

27 The same quandary of integration or assimilation may be added to the list of antinomies of the whole twentieth-century music about which historiographers often speak, as for instance Hermann Danuser in his *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft – Band 7; Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997).

searching for any *synthesis* of the differences, his musical motto may be summed up with the genre-label of musical theatre in which the sound-art artistry is endless, whereas his social concern is emphatically existential. In 1996 he admitted: “I have probably never uttered the sentence ‘Let’s go home!’ – but very often ‘Let’s go!’ when we went to live to France, Germany, USA, and again to France, Germany [... France again].”²⁸

His reputation as a cosmopolitan is well founded. As a composer and performer, he is searching not only for integration but also for a juxtaposition of whatever he finds appealing. It would be difficult to find a more upright representative of “our postmodern modernity” (W. Welsch) in Slovene music history. His inborn straightforwardness regarding stylistic mixing and acceptance of cultural diversity may be seen as an embodiment of migrational transnationalism, juggling personal experiences as transcultural phenomena, comparable to the approaches met in world-music fusions or modern (dance) electronic music: anything goes, so long as it is aesthetically efficient. Yet he is not just a passive companion of his time, he is not *reacting* to his surroundings – he tries to *act*, to actively shape the world around him with his music. Thus, his stance regarding music’s function is clear: “art is not only an emotional, personal expression. Art is also a critique.”²⁹

The very concept of autonomous art is unacceptable for Globokar. His compositional vocabulary is extremely heterogeneous and heteronomous: a true collage of sounds and styles, assimilating everything into conspicuous modernist music theatre. However, socially he sees music as far from a medium of synthesis: music is but a mirror of fragmented realities and constant changes.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GLOBOKAR AND ROJKO

Globokar and Rojko share common poetic (avant-garde) roots yet hold opposite views on the social functions of music (as a specific artistic medium). As for the common poetics, Rojko and Globokar are both trying to mediate through sound their experiences of a world in which different phenomena coexist. They both grew up with musical and artistic modernism as a referential approach to music as an autonomous creation. They both aim at a certain transnational, cosmopolitan narrative, yet their aesthetic vocabularies are opposed. Rojko, with his spectralist logic of *pure* music, searches for a certain incommensurable, almost expressionistic

28 Vinko Globokar, “‘Mi,’ ta vsesplošna propustnica demagogov [‘We’, A Universal Pass of the Demagogues],” in: *Delo (Sobotna priloga)*, 13. 4. 1996, 42. A fine example of his approach is offered in the trailer *Uraufführung von Vinko Globokars “Exil 3.”* Bayerischer Rundfunk, 24. 2. 2015, https://youtu.be/sDoG_QVdyoU?t=1m26s (accessed on 8 January 2016).

29 Vinko Globokar, “‘Mi,’ ta vsesplošna propustnica demagogov,” 42.

flow in which the semantics are *tamed*, *reduced* to elemental meaning, confined to universalistic *gestures*. On the other hand, Globokar is a rhetorician working with a plethora of semantic figures, citations, a collage of eloquent hints and allusions sparkling with theatrical vigor.

They both develop an imagery of music as a mental *migration* from an idealistic (and idealized) ‘other world’ – a distant world of longing – to a realistic, fragmented and fragmentary world with a wide, hardly definable scope of feelings and rationality. If Rojko’s music offers parallels with a microcosm, personal, subjective, ‘localized’ experience, Globokar tries to encompass the whole cosmos, the entire transpersonal experiential world a person can possibly face.

In their different aspirations – Rojko with his subjectivism and Globokar with his objectivized sound theatre oriented toward culture, existence, and politics – they both may stand for the functions that music has for emigrants: as a personal imagery that many people use to reflect the segments of their current as well as their past identities.³⁰

THE RANGE AND SPECIFICITIES OF SLOVENE MUSIC EMIGRATION

For many (not only emigrants), music is not only a cultural practice within a certain social circle but also private imagery. It is not difficult to find in it something for oneself regardless of one’s social (or cultural or political) identity: the examples of the choir Mučacas and the church composers mentioned by Edo Škulj are but segments of the Slovene music emigration. In fact, these musical phenomena are by no means limited to the emigrants; they form a socially widespread field of different musical activities. The important perspective (not only for emigrants) of music as a lever for the “management of self-identity”³¹ that co-creates former and current identities is not touched upon here. Music is an important cultural good as well as activity that pushes, as for Vinko Globokar, in “the centre of thinking simply the man, the fate of a man.”³² Globokar’s existentialist view regards music as a tool for reflecting the “central questions of a humanistic, social, and psychological kind.”³³

30 The line of Slovene emigrants, also musically, may be complemented through The Slovene Genealogy Society International (<http://www.Slovenegenealogy.org>) and the Slovene Genealogy Society (www.rodoslovje.si). (accessed on 1. 12. 2018).

31 David J. Hargreaves and Adrian C. North, “The functions of music in everyday life: redefining the social in music psychology”, in: *Psychology of Music*, 1999/27, 71.

32 Vinko Globokar, *Laboratorium: Texte zur Musik 1967–1997*, ed. by Siegfried Konrad (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 1998), 185.

33 Idem.

The question that arises from Globokar's relation to musicking is identical to the question regarding the variables that inform any musical practice: how has it been practiced, for whom it being practiced, and what does it convey, and to whom? It would be interesting to know (even for domestic musical culture, let alone the emigrational), which mechanisms dictate the differences between different profiles of musicians in an era in which musical habits have changed the concept of the fine arts. In the case of Slovenia, for instance, there are about 120 members in the official Association of Slovene Composers; the copyright association SAZAS states that "there are more than 5,800 domestic authors and holders of musical rights."³⁴ The disparity between academic composers and creators within the music industry officially recognized by law as *the* music-makers indicates an un-tuned practice of recognizing artists academically and *de iure*. Are academic composers a minority, comparable to emigrants abroad, foreigners in their own – predominantly – DIY culture? Or are the 'authors' of music just much more 'scattered' over different pop-up forms of music? The questions are actually misleading: one would have to specify the commonalities of the different musical practices first in order to speak about the differences.

In spite of this, any possible answer to the questions above could not hide the fact that music creativity, both at home and abroad, is far more diverse than it seems on the basis of the known data about Slovene music in emigration. For further research into the musical practices of the Slovene emigrants it would be sensible to question the assumption that music creativity is limited only to one segment of the population (such as church musicians) or one widespread genre (*Oberkrainer* music); the analysis should start from the concept of the art world (H. Becker), musical practices (K. Blaukopf), or musicking (C. Small), integrating production, mediation and reception, including professionals as well as amateur musicians, media and their editors, sound designers, and artists.

By increasing the number and profiles of those who create music and extending the horizon toward the mediation and reception of music, an epistemological quandary arises. Namely, the above-outlined spheres of Slovene musical emigration indicate *exclusive* views on certain musical practices; no inclusive points of view are offered, let alone any integrative points of view. What is considered a "global paradox"³⁵ – that globalization simultaneously strengthens local characteristics – and is often labelled *glocalization*, has actually never been well defined

34 The details about SAZAS Society k.o. are available on <https://www.szas.org/English-forms> (accessed on 1. 12. 2016).

35 John Naisbitt, *Global Paradox: The Bigger the World Economy, the more Powerful its Smallest Players* (New York: W. Morrow, 1994).

within music studies, although it addresses the main processes of our far from 'postcolonial' era: re-functionalizations of or within a certain musical practice.

The growing diversity within a musical practice, brought about in the name of the richness and diversity of its 'consumers,' has rather the opposite effect: instead of bringing people together and creating an environment of many possibilities, it seems to produce ignorance about whatever remains beyond an observer's horizon. If the friction between different profiles of creators led Antoine Bemetzrieder in *Le tolérantisme musical* (1779) to plead for tolerance regarding the three major 'schools' of his time (the Gluckists, the Piccinnists, and the lovers of French music),³⁶ Mladen Dolar summed up the main premises on which we tend to think about creation today as two sets of practices: a "militant élite making a stand against mass production."³⁷ Yet, the two attitudes seem the paler and more ramified the more individualized listening habits are being reproduced in the Google era, with smart technologies and a culture of various kinds of human transfer.

Just as Edo Škulj pointed out the difference between the concepts of emigration as something 'scattered' as opposed to something 'disseminated,' it seems that the 'parallel worlds' in which we live demand a constant re-evaluation of such basic concepts. It seems that a quandary regarding the concept of musical practice also for the Slovene music emigration brings to the fore a 'strange' relation among music production, mediation, and reception. In this respect, it seems that ethno/musicology may benefit from using the existent technologies for big data retrieval to define the segments of various musical practices, and not only those of the emigrants.

CONCLUSION

A terminological note may be useful. It may be better to speak of aesthetic *transfer* in the cases of Vinko Globokar and Uroš Rojko, and of the trans-ethnic *functionality* of church music regarding the church musicians addressed by Edo Škulj, just as it would make more sense to speak of a common re-contextualisation of the *Oberkrainer* waltz-and-polka culture. In any case, the concept of migration becomes the more awkward the more we approach our own time. The very idea of migration evades the classical sociological confines: phenomena, as well as people, tend to *migrate* as well as *transform* after 1918 through a set of "microhistories of 'displaced'

36 Cf. Leon Stefanija, "Le tolérantisme musical – komentarji k študiji Antoina Bemetzriederja o nacionalnih glasbenih kulturah v 18. stoletju: Pripombe k spoznavoslovju glasbe [*Le tolérantisme musical – comments on Antoine Bemetzrieder's essay on national musical cultures in the 18th century*]," *Muzikološki zbornik*, 43/2 (2007), 179–215.

37 Mladen Dolar, "Function beyond function?: Reflections on the functionality of the autonomous," in: *De musica disserenda*, 2006/2, 11–19.

things and persons.”³⁸ Even in music historiography there is an obvious ‘feedback loop’ regarding the processes through which phenomena are transferred or re-contextualized: if a student wishes to gain insight into what a ‘mainstream’ means in music from, for instance, *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*,³⁹ one uneasily accepts the fact that there is not one mainstream but that there are several of them. Just as there are several ‘microhistories’ of the mainstream as well as of the side-streams, the Slovene musical emigration is rather more heterogeneous than is indicated by each of the three parts of this contribution.

Thus, this contribution is a plea for systematic research into musical practices as understood from the perspective of an *integrative* approach. The three parts of the contribution above indicate three levels of musicking:

1. A superficial picture of music by Slovene emigrants indicates that *Oberkrainer* music – pejoratively referred to as ‘beef music’ (*goveja glasba*, in allusion to the classical Sunday Slovene dish, beef soup) and by many advocated positively as ‘Slovene music’ – is but a part of the story in which everyday culture is important also for music research.
2. The church music addressed by Edo Škulj is but an insight into/about the musical rituals, the public ones in this case, tied to Catholic church practices.
3. The ‘gourmet music’ of the modernists, such as Vinko Globokar or Uroš Rojko, seems hardly connected to the Slovene music emigration. They tend to understand themselves as cosmopolitans, their art being too idiosyncratic to fit into any national/ethnic identity in the most basic meaning of the word/s – although both composers thematise the migration *in* or *through* music by their personal experience of émigrés.

These three layers are by no means all that may be addressed in more detail. However, they – the everyday culture (in the choir-and-dance practices), the institutional contexts (in this case the Catholic church), and the personal experiences interwoven in musical utterances and experiences – indicate rather nicely that the concept of emigration has the potential to offer not only better knowledge about the emigrants but also of our own musical past as well as present. But it should be viewed in terms of the various sets of contents embodied in it.

38 Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, 17.

39 Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

The intersections of the musical practices of the emigrants with other musical practices are, after all, a part of the process of *migration*, or *going to* – of a *transfer* – of people and their practices from one world into another: the arts, and music especially, are the embodiment of this process. It seems that the stylistic diversity of music reflects the diverse experiences and musical practices, also of the Slovene emigrants – and indicates re-definitions of their identities (whether social, economic, political, cultural, or private). And it is exactly this *redefinition* of the relation between *us* and *them* – a redefinition of the most basic set of facts about any human being, not only a migrant – that offers an appealing scholarly perspective on emigration as a special form of socialization, and one so characteristic of the modern world. To find the mechanisms that play a role in these changes is, of course, by no means a central issue for emigrants or emigration with regard to music. Yet, it is an important issue also in understanding the “wider social reality [...] approached from diverse perspectives”⁴⁰ and, in this case, the musicking of the Slovene émigrés.

40 John Shepherd, Phil Virden, Graham Vulliamy, and Trevor Wishart, *Whose Music: A Sociology of Musical Languages* (London: Latimer New Dimensions Limited, 1977), 1.

TheMA is a peer-reviewed open-access research journal dedicated to the history of performing and visual arts. It is published biannually and specializes in the critical and trans-disciplinary historical study of artistic production and reception in various artistic genres including literature, theatre, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

CONTENT

EDITORIAL

Tatjana Marković: Exile and Emigration in Music Culture

ARTICLES

Rūta Stanevičiūtė: Non-Promised Land: Vytautas Bacevičius in New York

Hanns-Werner Heister: Exil, Emigration, Kalter Krieg. Konstanten und Varianten des Antikommunismus, Antinazismus, Anti- und Pro-Amerikanismus im Lichte einiger Filme Samuel „Billie/Billy“ Wilders

Alexandros Charkioulakis: Musical Modernism in Greece in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A Case of Exile, Emigration, and Isolation

Vita Gruodytė: *Le Grand Macabre* at the Crossroads of two Exiles

Anita Mayer-Hirzberger: The Music of Nour Ali Elahi in Exile

Leon Stefanija: The Scope of Slovene Music Emigration Since 1918: From Polka to Sound Art