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Music in the Third Reich

Music is one of the most powerful entities in the universe. It has the ability to speak to the deepest part of the human psyche. Because of this ability, music can be used in countless ways to bring about the desired effects of anyone from a televangelist attempting to elicit an emotional response from an audience to a business professional endeavoring to sell more of his products to a dictator scheming to change the course of history. As has been clearly demonstrated throughout the history of civilization, music has been a driving force in the development of culture, society, and religion, and this was no exception in Adolf Hitler’s Third Reich. Music had a direct impact on the character and beliefs of Hitler himself, and those beliefs and views affected the policies that he implemented during his reign of horror. His beliefs in the greatness and purity of the Aryan race were directly displayed in his policies regarding art and entertainment. The government of the Third Reich implemented strict policies on ‘acceptable’ music, composers and performers, and they also made extensive use of music in the media, public life of the individual citizen, and the Hitler Youth movement. Music played a prominent role in the rise of Nazi politics and culture in Germany and was used extensively by the party in propaganda and indoctrination of the entire country.

Hitler’s views on music and art were the product of his life experiences, circumstances, and the influence of specific individuals. To understand the mindset of Adolf Hitler, one must look back into the formative years of his childhood. In her book entitled *Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture Art and Music*, Sherree Owens Zalampas emphasizes the role that art played in the life of Hitler. He desperately wanted to be an artist, and he immersed himself in artistic pursuits—it was almost as if he was completely
enamored with the idea of the romantic and bohemian.\textsuperscript{1} As he grew older and moved away from his small hometown to pursue his education he became increasingly aware of class differences, and when he moved to Vienna in 1908 his interest in the arts continued to grow exponentially.\textsuperscript{2} He attended many operas, and while he liked Beethoven and Mozart, he had a special affinity for Wagner, but was extremely opinionated when it came to music.\textsuperscript{3} He tried several times to gain entrance into the Art Academy in Vienna, but was met with repeated rejections. His second attempt and subsequent failure marked a turning point for him, and Zalampas makes a very accurate statement when she says that, “By failing to accept him as a student, the state of Austria, \textit{vis-à-vis} the Academy, had fulfilled the fears of his youth. For, as he said, in \textit{Mein Kampf}, ‘did we not know, even as little boys, that this Austrian state had and could have no love for us Germans?’\textsuperscript{4} Even at this age he felt that the German race was being oppressed.

Quite possibly the biggest musical influence that any one individual had on Adolf Hitler was the composer Richard Wagner. Hitler once said “I recognize in Wagner my only predecessor….I regard him as a supreme prophetic figure.”\textsuperscript{5} In a sense, Hitler drew his dramatic storyline from Wagner. He saw in Wagner’s works the parallels between what he thought the Jews were doing to the Germans, and because of this, he lifted Wagner up as the pinnacle of his Reich.\textsuperscript{6} He also said that for someone to understand the Nazi party they had to ‘first know Richard Wagner.’ He found in Wagner the artistic influence for his ideas about the superiority of the German race, and saw himself as the hero of a Wagner opera. Zalampas says “In truth, Hitler saw himself as Parsifal, a savior of Aryan blood…He was to answer Wagner’s call for a new

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\item \textsuperscript{1} Sherree Owens Zalampas, \textit{Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture Art and Music} (Bowling Green, Ohio, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), 12.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Zalampas, 17-19
\item \textsuperscript{3} Zalampas 17-19
\item \textsuperscript{4} Zalampas 20
\item \textsuperscript{6} Jacobs
\end{itemize}
Barbarossa, a spiritual reincarnation of Siegfried or Parsifal, who would save Germany.” In the essay that Wagner wrote entitled *The Jew in Music* we see direct correlations between his views and the view of the Jewish and German races that Hitler held. Wagner saw the Jew as being completely alien and therefore unable to truly participate in Western culture. This idea was very present in Hitler’s mind and would explain his view of the “degenerate” art of the Jews. Not only did Hitler receive influence from Wagner in his ideas and views, but we also see the influence in Hitler’s whole approach to propaganda and politics in general. Zampalas makes mention of his “oratorical power, his Wagnerian sense of the dramatic.” She also mentions the comparison between the leitmotifs in Wagner’s music and the repetition that Hitler used extensively in his speeches. Of all the people and circumstances that impacted Hitler’s artistic views, it could substantially be argued that Wagner had the most marked and noticeable effect on the policies of the Third Reich.

In addition to Wagner, there were others who had a significant impact on the musical development of Hitler and the climate of his society. Several of these men were Dietrich Eckart, Ernst Hanfstaengl and Ferdinand Tonnis. Along with Eckart, Hitler felt there was great importance in the concept of specifically pure “German” art, and Tonnie’s views on society seemed to embody the policies and ideas about race and nationalism the Nazi’s were attempting to implement. To Hitler, as to Tonnie and Eckart, purity of blood, race, form and tradition were of the utmost necessity, and this was reflected in his views of music. “Hitler affirmed the government was responsible for the security of ‘man’s inner life and a nation’s will to live’ through the promotion of a culture which was rooted in appreciation of traditions of the

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7 Zalampas, 50
8 Zalampas, 34
9 Zalampas, 41
10 Zalampa
Understandably the Nazi’s would have wanted to find prominent performers who embodied what they felt to be in alignment with their ideology. Several notable performers who were prominent during the Nazi era included Hans Hotter who was an opera singer that Hitler particularly admired, even though he was not a party member. Herbert von Karajan was a conductor who joined the party, and Li Stadelmann was an anti-semitic harpsichord player who embraced party ideals. It would have been important to Hitler to have culturally prominent individuals leading the way musically.

Hitler’s ideas were in direct accordance with the prevailing views of the collective Nazi Party, and musicologists played a large role in the shaping of a distinctly German musical society. In his article “The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich” Michael Meyer says of leading musicologists of the time that they “…contributed, through statements, manifestoes, articles and books, to the justification of totalitarian design and practice. This development played a crucial part in the legitimization of Nazi power in the cultural sphere.”

The Nazis very clearly wanted to implant their ideals into every aspect of German life, but the musicologists were faced with the task of determining the criteria for acceptable and pure “German” music. There were many inconsistencies in the ways in which the Nazis tried to justify their choices of acceptable music, and even they had to make exceptions. Wagner himself, who was hailed as being the guiding light of German music, culture and society, in reality had a somewhat ambiguous racial line with the slight possibility of possessing Jewish heritage. This is a fact which party officials apparently chose to overlook. However, others, such as non-Jewish

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11 Zalampas, 66
composer Paul Hindemith “…could be denounced on the basis of his association with Jews.”\textsuperscript{13} They basically twisted their ideals for whatever purposes they deemed beneficial to their cause.

The criteria by which the Reich determined their “pure” music was based largely on the race of the composer and on the personal ideology of the determiner. Richard Etlin says of the Nazi view of the Jew’s contribution to music that “…something impure penetrated German music, something foreign.”\textsuperscript{14} Goebbels is quoted as saying, “Jewry and German music, those are opposites, which by their nature stand in harshest contradiction to each other.”\textsuperscript{15} While the Germans were quick to discredit the Jewish composers, there is debate as to whether they themselves really contributed anything of value to the musical community, and there has been a large amount of scholarly frustration surrounding the musical era of Nazi Germany in the years since the war.\textsuperscript{16} Many musicologists and historians simply want to dismiss any composer who was thought to be in political conformity to the Nazi regime as being influenced solely by the Nazi ideology, and therefore creating nothing of lasting value for the musical community.\textsuperscript{17} However, things are not nearly so black and white and the decades filled with the creation of superb German music before Hitler came to power did not suddenly cease to have effect because of the change in ideology. Pamela Potter says in her article “Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich” that scholars such as Michael Meyer have “…come to the conclusion that no specific Nazi aesthetic ever existed, and the favor or disfavor meted out to musicians had more to do with their personal and political connections than with their

\textsuperscript{13} Meyer, 657
\textsuperscript{14} Richard Etlin, Art, Culture, and Media Under the Third Reich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 46
\textsuperscript{15} Etlin, 62
\textsuperscript{17} Potter
music.”\textsuperscript{18} To be sure, there were certain musical beliefs that many of the Nazi officials held, but it is fairly clear that it was the issue of the race and political persuasion of the musician which had the greatest effect on the reception of his music. Just as not all the musicians who fled Nazi Germany should be lauded; neither should all those shunned by the regime be heralded as musical greats.\textsuperscript{19} Potter shows an excellent example of this with composer Paul Hindemith who was a composer denounced by the Nazi’s. In reality she claims that Hindemith really tried his best to work his way into the Nazi good graces, and she says “The spate of attacks he endured at the hands of Nazi leaders arose out of political rivalries beyond his control rather than any heroic acts of resistance on his part.”\textsuperscript{20} Like everything the Nazis did, their musical criteria was fueled mainly by their hatred of anyone or anything they believed to be inferior to themselves.

Despite inconsistencies, there were however certain musical ideas and standards which the Nazis both embraced and disdained. Chromatic and atonal “modern” music was met with the most hostility by cultural leaders such Alfred Rosenberg and Reich speaker Hans Severus Ziegler. Ziegler said that “Atonality in music signifies degeneracy and artistic bolshevism,” while Rosenberg said “The whole atonal movement in music is contradictory to the rhythm of blood and soul of the German nation.”\textsuperscript{21} This view, however shows an inconsistency in that, while they shunned Arnold Schoenberg’s music because of its departure from the diatonic method of composing they overlooked the fact that Wagner himself utilized a large amount of chromaticism in his own compositions and that Schoenberg drew largely on German style and technique for composition.\textsuperscript{22} They chose to de-emphasize Wagner’s more chromatic works such as \textit{Tristan und Isolde} and instead focused on his more diatonically pleasing works such as \textit{Die

\textsuperscript{18} Potter, 635
\textsuperscript{19} Potter
\textsuperscript{20} Potter, 631
\textsuperscript{22} Etlin, 59
Meistersinger von Nurnberg and Parsifal. While atonal music was shunned, diatonic music was largely embraced. This is a somewhat confusing fact about the Third Reich. Because of the intense intellectualism that twelve-tone and atonal composition entails, one would assume that the Nazis would have embraced it as a high art form, but this was not so. This was due in a large part to the role of the emotional and theatrical that Hitler used to indoctrinate the people. Hitler had a very romantic view of music, and this would explain why he would have shunned modern music which is based on intellectualism as opposed to emotion. “According to Hitler’s understanding, the composer should produce his creations spontaneously.” This is in direct opposition to the way composer’s such as Schoenberg would have composed. Etlin says that “Hitler grounded Nazi policy on music according to his own predilection. Whatever impressed him…should also impress the entire German population. On the other hand, whatever made him unsure or repelled him…should also be withheld from the entire population.”

The three composers which were considered to be the “musical greats” of the Reich were Beethoven, Wagner, and Anton Bruchner. Looking Specifically at Richard Wagner we find the embodiment of everything that the Reich held essential. This fact joined with Hitler’s ardent love of his music secured his lasting link with the party. Wagner was seen to be a German in every sense of the word, and he ardently believed in the superiority of the German race. He grew up in a world surrounded by the theater and would have known all the inner workings of the theatrical world. He once said “Everything connected with the theatre had for me the charm of mystery, an attraction amounting to intoxication…” Wagner, like Hitler, had a rather warped view of
himself, and he saw himself as the oppressed artist.\textsuperscript{27} Hitler seemed to strongly identify with this concept in his own life. For Wagner, everything was combined with art. It was almost as if he had created his own religion—a religion of art and music combined.\textsuperscript{28} It seems that to Wagner everything was really connected with the dramatic and the artistic and James Treadwell says that “Wagner describes himself as having been attracted first and most powerfully to the purely fantastic element.”\textsuperscript{29} This type of thinking was key in the Nazi implementation of its policies ideologies, and propaganda.

In opposition to composers that the party loved, there were specific composers which they particularly wanted to defame, and one of the most prominent was Arnold Schoenberg. Schoenberg’s music has been met with a variety of responses from different governments such as the USSR and the German Democratic Republic even after the war, and so it comes as no surprise that a government as oppressive as the Nazi’s would have taken issue with it. Schoenberg was an ethnic Jew, however, Michael Kater says “…it is unclear during various phases of his life how Schoenberg would have defined his nationality, although especially as far as music was concerned, he always saw himself as part of the German-Austrian cultural tradition.”\textsuperscript{30} Before the Nazi’s came to power he was a prominent composer of the Weimar Republic, and was on staff as a professor of composition at the Preussische Akademie der Kunste in Berlin. Unfortunately he was ousted from this position after the Nazis came to power, and in a letter he sent to a friend it appears that this came as a somewhat surprising event to him.\textsuperscript{31} He eventually ended up emigrating to the US where he became a citizen in 1941. He was widely

\textsuperscript{27} Treadwell,\textsuperscript{20} \textsuperscript{28} Treadwell \textsuperscript{29} Treadwell, p 7 \textsuperscript{30} Michael Kater, \textit{Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits} (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 183 \textsuperscript{31} Erwin Stein, ed. \textit{Arnold Schoenberg Letters} (New York: St. Martin’s Press), 182
criticized by the Nazi’s because of his compositional styles even though it “never had anything to do with revolution but was an orderly process; it represented ‘ascendance to a higher and better order.’” The rejection of his music can be seen as having several different reasons behind it. First of all, even though he “…remained loyal to the German tradition” he was still Jewish and his embracing of that heritage included things such as his composition of ‘Der Biblische Weg’ (The Biblical Way) which was a work about how the Jews became a people. In addition to his cultural heritage and the work which he produced, he was not afraid to speak out passionately about what he believed about music and because of this Kater says that “Schoenberg would have become the immediate target of Nazi persecution in the event of Hitler’s takeover…even if he had not been Jewish.” However, the two combined sealed the fate of his music under the regime.

The Nazis regarded the German nation as being an intensely musically based nation, and this fact contributed to the party’s extreme use of music in its public propaganda. Lynn E. Moller says “The use of music in such a format, often disguised as entertaining and recreational diversions, was capable of eliciting desired response from the people almost on cue.” The idea of German nationality and culture became very closely tied with music. The Germans wanted to be known for their music and it was definitely seen as a plus for Nazi party members to be thought of as musical connoisseurs. The Nazi’s knew that in order for their ideology to survive there could be no freedom of thought, even when it came to music. In short, the entire stage had to be set to brainwash an entire nation. “Thus, conditions were created for the cleansing of

32 Kater, 192
33 Stein, 177
34 Kater, 184
36 Etlin, 53
emotions, for their order and new form.” Joseph Goebbels was the official Reich Minister of Propaganda and he himself recognized the power that music had over people, and he was not about to let that power go unexploited. He once made a chilling statement about the use of propaganda when he stated “It is not enough to reconcile people more or less to our regime, to move them towards a position of neutrality towards us, we want rather to work on people until they are addicted to us, until they realize, in the ideological sense as well, that what is happening now in Germany not only must be allowed, but can be allowed.”

The integration of Nazi music propaganda into society began even before the regime officially came to power in 1933. Party member Hans Severus Ziegler believed that “What was required was a wholesale eradication of the Jewish influence in all aspects of German musical life, so that capable and gifted true-blooded German musicians could once again work together for the common good.” The 1930s were paving the way for the cultural climate of the Third Reich, and Hans Ziegler’s vision was slowly being implemented in the Weimar Republic. The Nazi political agenda was slowly but surely being pushed into the musical life of German culture. The opposition to Jewish musicians, composers and conductors started out somewhat unofficially, and then grew to be government mandated. After laws passed in 1933 Jews were no longer allowed to teach in music conservatories or state opera houses. There were two particular individuals who wanted to be in charge of the cultural affairs of the nation, Joseph Goebbels and Alfred Rosenberg, and in the end, while Rosenberg still played an active role in the party, Goebbels received the head position.

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37 Etlin, 56
38 The Nazi State and German Society A brief history with documents, 58
40 Levi, 15
After the party came to power things changed suddenly. In 1933 the Reichskulturakammer was established. This was the highest artistic society which joined all the arts, while the specific musical branch was called the Reichsmusikkammer and the reading panel called the Reichsmusikprufstelle decided what music was “harmful” to Germany. Levi states that “While the RMK was established so as to ‘further the advance of German music’ and ‘integrate the various trends which exist in the field of music’, in practice its functions were also to be restrictive and prohibitive.” This organization controlled all musical aspects under the Reich. For a musician to be employed in Germany, membership was required, but to become a member one had to be considered “racially pure.” This clearly shows that the Jews were systematically being pushed out of the musical life of Germany. Music composed by Jews was largely removed as they were banned from the Nazi music organizations. A lot of the prominent composers had left Germany already, but many musicians still remained. The Jews were allowed to start their own organization, the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, but the Jewish musicians were basically puppets. They were used when they were wanted or needed, but in general they had no rights. The Nazi’s had to work to portray a disparaging view of the Jewish race and “Consequently, the regime created the necessary climate in which indiscriminate anti-semitic propaganda could thrive.” However, simply because the Nazi’s refused to recognize the wealth of talent in the Jewish musicians they were shunning, did not mean that those musicians remained silent and music thrived even in the concentration camps and the ghettos. Many victims used music as a means of simply surviving the atrocities they were living through, and there has been an

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41 Levi, 94
42 Levi 28
43 Levi, 28
44 Levi, 57
extensive amount of literature and art that has come out of the experiences of these individuals. Try as they might, the Nazi’s could not silence their voices.

Musicologists played a vital role in the spreading of musical propaganda. They went to great lengths to criticize Jewish composers and were willing to say just about anything to discredit them and make them look inferior in the eyes of the general public.\textsuperscript{45} As the Nazi regime progressed, musicologists got increasingly specific about their anti-semitism and the necessity of prohibiting anything Jewish\textsuperscript{46} There was a myriad of books, articles, and papers written portraying the musical inferiority of the Jews. Now that anti-semitism was actually something which was more or less required in culture, musicologists felt the need to extend this ideology into their field.\textsuperscript{47} The musicologists of the time were really carrying a heavy responsibility for their party, and it was their job to determine just how and what types of music were consistent with Nazi ideology.\textsuperscript{48} They felt that they had to look through all the music of the past and the present and reconcile the two in order to discover how the German musician should invest his energies because “…music was to be integrated with National Socialism to the degree that the two realms would appear inseparable.”\textsuperscript{49} Several leading musicologists at the time of the Nazi takeover include Hans Joachim Moser and Heinrich Besseler, and while these men were at times closely associated with the party, their relationship to it can be looked at with some ambiguity. Moser had a particularly checkered relationship with the party, at times falling out of favor, and then being reinstated in different positions.\textsuperscript{50} Even though it was very clear through his writing and life that Moser held anti-semitic views and had done superb work for the Reich, his works

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item [45] Levi
\item [46] Levi, 67
\item [47] Levi 62
\item [49] Meyer, 652
\item [50] Potter, 95
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
were banned because of the discovery of “…positive representations of Jewish composers.”\textsuperscript{51} However, despite this set-back another Nazi official wanted him to simply write under a pseudonym, and he was eventually was appointed to the position of deputy director of the Reichsstelle fur Musikbearbeitungen. Anselm Gerhard implies in his article “Musicology in the ‘Third Reich’: A Preliminary Report” that more study needs to be given to the idea that perhaps many musicologists were more concerned with furthering their own careers than being politically fueled. He says “In an academic community characterized by jealousy and resentment, many decisions that at first glance may seem politically motivated could easily be as much due to human…foibles.”\textsuperscript{52} While there may be truth in this statement, it is quite clear that even though many musicologists did find it in their best influence to propagate Nazi ideology and were fueled with the thought of their own personal advancement and not speaking solely on their beliefs, the majority did hold the views to be true and were not afraid to be used by the party to brain-wash the nation.

The years after World War I paved the way for the musicologist’s role as propagandist in the Third Reich, and during this time many scholars were attempting to make their voices heard in the public life of society. \textsuperscript{53} The Reich provided the perfect opportunity for this idea. It was fond of its large organizations which had specific branches for nearly every aspect of society, and music was no exception. The SS-“Ahnenerbe” was a branch of one such organization as well as the Amt Musik branch of Alfred Rosenbergs’ Amt Rosenberg or Reichsüberwachungsstelle. It was necessary and advantageous for musicologists to be involved in these organizations and reap the benefits of funding and exposure. The Amt Musik branch had both small-scale and large

\textsuperscript{51} Potter,95
\textsuperscript{52} Anselm Gerhard, “Musicology in the ‘Third Reich’: A Preliminary Report,”\textit{The Journal of Musicology} 18, no 4 (Fall 2001), 535
\textsuperscript{53} Pamela Potter, “Musicology under Hitler: New Sources in Context,” \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 49, no 1 (Spring, 1996), 74
scale duties and even included “…direct preliminary policy-making with regard to the occupation.”

Musicologists also furthered the Party cause by their influence in spreading the idea of Lebensraum, or, ‘living space.” Pamela Potter says that they offered their “…authoritative explanations for the musical advantages of German expansion into each region.” They attempted to make it clear that many of the annexed countries and territories were rightfully German territories because “…the music of these regions was and always had been German.”

Because Germany had such a musical culture, Propaganda Leader Joseph Goebbels knew that this art form would be a significant place to reach the people. Goebbels knew that music “…often disguised as entertaining and recreational diversions, was capable of eliciting desired responses from the people almost on cue.” The Nazis wasted no time in implementing their doctrine into even the simplest things, and in addition to the music which was banned from public repertoire there was also a substantial amount which was added. There was a rise in bands, drums and bugle corps, and people were greatly encouraged to attend concerts. There were specific songs that were composed for the Reich, and many that became standard repertoire. Two anthems which the Nazi’s used extensively were the Horst Wessel Lied, and Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles. One influential composer of Nazi party music was Ernst Hanfstaengl. He was influential in showing Hitler how the rhythms of band music could bring about an audience affect, and this was a concept that Hitler utilized extensively. One of the biggest ways that music was utilized was in the form of the radio broadcast, and war announcements often utilized specific musical arrangements at their beginning and then ending.

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54 Potter, 84
55 Potter 87
56 Potter, 87
57 Moller, 40
58 Zalampas, 39-40
with *We’re Marching Against England*. Appropriately, this was an incredibly popular song during the early years of the war. Hitler himself knew how to carefully hone the craft of the dramatic and the spectacle, and he showed this shrewd manipulation of the people through the use of music at his rallies. He knew exactly how to get people to respond the way he wanted them to, and Zalampas says that “He combined elements borrowed from the circus, grand opera, and the church such as banners, march music, repetitious slogans, communal singing and repeated cries of ‘Heil.’” At the Nuremberg party rallies, he even opened with a theme from a Wagner opera, and one can see a considerable parallel between music and his speeches, specifically in the areas of his dramatic Wagnerian repetitions. He clearly knew the power that music had over the German people and used it to his advantage.

Since the beginning of time man has been taking what has been meant for good and polluting it for their own evil purposes. Music is no exception. It is powerful—so powerful that it can make even the wrong seem right, and men like Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg and Ziegler knew this. Fueled by an ideology of passionate hate, they chose to utilize this powerful weapon in a way to spread destruction and hatred. In the end they did not succeed, but the wound still run deep for those who are left to feel the effects of this oppressive and deadly regime. Just as music has the potential to be used for evil and the spreading of lies and hate, even so it has the power to be used for healing and restoration. As composers, musicians, politicians, or simply citizens of the human race, we must all be on our guard to ensure that we approach the music we hear and create with an open and yet still critical mind. We must all do our part to ensure that this beautiful and powerful gift is utilized for the edification of humankind, and not for the propagation of the evil agendas of a fallen human race.

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59 Moller, 42-43  
60 Zalampas, 41  
61 Zalampas, 41