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The Personal Tragedy in Paul Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*

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**Abstract**

Paul Hindemith is hardly remembered for his music prior to the 1940s. During the Nazi occupation of Germany in the early 20th century, Paul Hindemith, reviled for his modernistic styles and relation to his Jewish wife, was forced to emigrate out of the Third Reich for his safety. Hindemith was known for his connections to *New Objectivity*, *Gebrachsmusik*, and tonality instability placed him in the wrong realm of composition in the Nazi's minds. As Hitler rose to power in 1933, Hindemith knew he would need a composition to prove his worth amongst the Nazis. As such, Hindemith attempted to change his tides through the composition of the opera/symphony *Mathis der Maler*. *Mathis* featured the strong tonality, German nationalism, and Romantic monumentality the Nazis were hoping for to strengthen their regime and the global understanding of German culture. However, *Mathis* also illustrated Hindemith's personal pains and struggles with the Reich.

**Keywords**

Paul Hindemith, Third Reich, Nazis, Tragedy, German nationalism, social exploration, politics in music, Mathis der Maler

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*Mathis der Maler* was composed in the period after 1930 when Paul Hindemith began to stray from his avant-garde leanings and promote the “Austro-German symphonic tradition.”¹ The project existed in two forms: opera and symphony. The opera was staged in seven scenes to depict the German Peasant’s War of 1525. The symphonic version of *Mathis der Maler*, however, was premiered in 1934 in Berlin as a precursor to the opera version. It consisted of three movements (“Engelkonzert,” “Grablegung,” and “Versuchung des heiligen Antonius”) that each depicted one of the so-named panels of the Isenheim Altarpiece near Colmar, which is now in modern-day France.² Hindemith then built these three movements into the opera as the overture, the orchestral interlude in the final act, and the visionary scene in Scene 6, respectively. In both forms, the *Mathis* project was praised for its adherence to traditional tonality and German monumentality. The *Mathis* project depicts tenets of German nationalism such as monumentalism, and romanticism, and the use of folk song. It depicts an almost autobiographical account of Hindemith’s own conflicts with the Reich as portrayed by Grünewald—the famous historical figure who painted the panels at the altarpiece—and his fictional plights in the opera. Finally, the *Mathis* project accounts the means by which Hindemith chooses to navigate the social context of musicianship in the Reich. Hindemith’s great work *Mathis der Maler* captures the complex ideals

² Editor’s note: Colmar lies in the Alsace region of France, which was under German control from 1871–1945. During the 1930s the Isenheim Altarpiece was in French territory, and its depiction by Hindemith as a monument of great German art was a symbol of aggression against its French possessors.
of German nationalism, personal conflict, and the use of music for social action during the Third Reich.

German nationalism during the Third Reich is hardly easy to identify. The Nazis were known for their inconsistency on the kind of music that they believed was verifiable. It seemed the only thing they could agree on was that anything even vaguely resembling Beethoven, Wagner, or Bruckner (the first two for whom Hitler himself held a particular affinity) was allowable. Anything modern, untraditional, or atonal was anathema. The Nazis believed that atonal and modern works were exclusive in that only a select few could understand and appreciate them. They wanted music that would speak to all people.

Hindemith was a promising composer to the Nazi leaders, who wanted symphonic music that would depict this golden age of German music. In 1935, Hermann Ambrosius, the advisor to the Reich Radio Society and a disciple of Hans Pfitzner (a German, anti-modern, post-romantic composer), bemoaned the fact that the traditional monumental symphonic tradition no longer interested German composers. He longed for music that would “reveal the German Volk and soul in its most distinctive inheritance.” He believed that during the time of political despondency which was the Third Reich, Germany needed music that portrayed its “pure…spirit.”

Hindemith composed the Mathis project as a picture of German nationalism in characterization, tonality, form, and monumentality. The opera version of the project contained characterizations and thematic elements which would have been familiar to the German people. The opera depicted the Peasant’s Revolt in 1525 where peasant farmers and Protestant clergy protested the corrupt aristocracy and deteriorating Church. The revolt ultimately failed. Scholars suggest that the opera’s depiction of the Lutheran Reformation was specifically meant to draw upon the “historic halcyon years for the Nazis.” Matthias Grünewald was also historically familiar and accessible: an artist devoted to his craft. He was understandable and relatable. Nazi art historian Wilhelm

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5 Kater, Eight Portraits, 33–34.
6 Ibid., 33.
Pinde and expressionist artist Emil Nolde loved Grünewald and what he stood for, which ideally meant the public loved him as well.\(^7\)

*Mathis der Maler* was the piece that the Nazis would have wanted at the foreground of this new era. It featured traditional tonality, accessible characterizations, and an affirmation of the classical and romantic German traditions in music, as well as German folk melodies. In the operatic form, Hindemith followed the conventional roles of the aria, ensemble, and chorus for character development, much unlike his earlier *Cardillac*, a firmly modernist opera with “defiantly self-contained forms,” which premiered in 1926.\(^8\) *Cardillac* was missing the tension-release nature of romantic music. *Mathis*, however, was Wagnerian in style, featuring “abrupt changes of mood, dominance of love interest, heroic action,” dramatic tension, and an attention focused on human emotion rather than the musical sphere.\(^9\) It featured singable melodies, tonal language, and the vernacular.\(^10\) The project was highly accessible.\(^11\) This was one of the ideals that the Nazis wanted from new music: it should be clearly understood and appreciated by all people and not by only a select few to whom modern music spoke.

The symphonic version, likewise, featured tonal music in homogenous and triadic orchestral textures with clear musical forms.\(^12\) Like many of Hindemith’s compositions, *Mathis der Maler* is written without a key signature. However, the first movement begins and ends on a G major triad, allowing us to assume that the movement was to be understood in and around G tonalities (Examples 1 and 2). There was a wealth of thematic conflict, resolution, and transformation, all features of the classical symphonic forms upon which many of the great romantic symphonies are based. For example, the first movement presents a theme

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\(^7\) Kater, *Eight Portraits*, 33.
\(^9\) Ibid., 34.
\(^12\) Kemp, *Hindemith*, 34–35.
that begins eight measures before rehearsal marking 3, which returns at several points throughout the movement.\textsuperscript{13}

**Example 1**: “Engelkonzert,” mm. 1–5.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example1.png}
\caption{Example 1: “Engelkonzert,” mm. 1–5.\textsuperscript{14}}
\end{figure}

**Example 2**: “Engelkonzert,” mm. 335–342.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example2.png}
\caption{Example 2: “Engelkonzert,” mm. 335–342.\textsuperscript{15}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{13} Paul Hindemith, *Mathis der Maler*, with a preface by Ian Kemp (London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 1984), 6.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 1.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 32.
The *Mathis* project also employs German folk song in its thematic material. The first movement of the symphony, “Engelkonzert” (Concert of the Angels), features the folk song “Es sungen drei Engel ein süßer Gesang” (Three Angels Sang a Sweet Song). It dominates the introductory section of the movement and the allegro. It also appears in the operatic version of the project in the Prelude and in Scene 6.\(^\text{16}\) The other significant folk quotation is “Lobt Gott Ihr Christen allzugleich” (Praise God You Christians Altogether), which is known as the Lutheran rally cry,\(^\text{17}\) and it appears dramatically in Grünewald’s love duet with Ursula in Scene 4 of the opera.\(^\text{18}\) Once again, the folk tune “Es wollt ein Maidlein waschen gehn” (A Maid Would Like to Wash) is used to trace the development of Regina, Grünewald’s daughter-figure, from innocent child to suffering adult.\(^\text{19}\)

Both opera and symphony closely related the kind of music that the Nazis were hoping to receive from the new German composer. One author says that the project “conformed very precisely to the official expectations for modern German music in the Third Reich.”\(^\text{20}\) The operatic form resembled the film-like musicality of Wagner’s operas. Additionally, it held potential for the moments of monumentality which were profoundly established in the symphonic/operatic traditions of Wagner, Beethoven, and many other romantic German composers whom the Nazis were so diligently trying to uphold. The symphonic version “revitalizes the great German symphonic tradition,”\(^\text{21}\) and in general, the works were committed to “an extension of traditional tonality.”\(^\text{22}\) The Nazis wanted the removal of all atonal music, which they associated with “degenerate” composers Schoenberg and Stravinsky, who were both Jews. For them, the *Mathis* project seemed very promising.

In addition to his nationalistic aims, Hindemith used *Mathis der Maler* to depict his personal conflicts with the Third Reich. This is most easily seen in the opera by its specific characterizations and presentation of historical and personal events. However, the symphony does have

\(^{16}\) Kemp, *Hindemith*, 31.

\(^{17}\) It appears in works by German composers Buxtehude and J. S. Bach, who both wrote a chorale to it.


\(^{19}\) Ibid., 31–32.


\(^{21}\) Kemp, preface to *Mathis der Maler*, by Paul Hindemith (London: Ernst Eulenberg, 1984), viii.

significant personal proclamations as well. The symphonic version, though the movements are named after Grünewald’s paintings, does not seek to depict the paintings themselves, but rather, the emotions that guided the artistry in the paintings and the emotions brought forth from viewing the paintings. One writer emphasizes that the instrumental Mathis project was less of a symphony and more of an operatic suite.23 The symphony is so programmatic in nature that it tells the story of Grünewald as if it were an opera without any words, staging, or characters. It was comprised of images, not movements: the first was tender and the last individualistic. The tenderness of the first movement illustrated Hindemith’s careful consideration of his moves with the Reich. For example, Hindemith had pulled back his Etienne und Luise project—which recounted a love affair between a French war prisoner and a German girl during World War I—in reaction to the controversy that was beginning to surround modern musical dramas.24 During the wake of persecution in 1934, Hindemith moved forward tenderly and made only moves of which the Nazis would have approved. In addition to the Mathis project, he continued to develop his relationship with the Reich by presenting himself as one pleading for the Youth.25

This personal conflict is seen in the interaction and integration between the three movements. The movements of the Mathis symphony are not thematically connected. Even the first movement of the symphony is not unified. The themes are constantly exiting and returning, and the folk song quotation that is presented at the beginning never returns. The second movement lacks a strong build-up. For example, there is a brief oboe and flute duet in the middle of the piece, which sets up a climax that the piece never reaches; the whole movement ends on a haunting C# major chord.26 The third movement, however, finally “possessed the strength of shaping.”27 This may have symbolized the turbulence in Hindemith’s life. Though there is little proof from Hindemith himself to defend this, we assume that this may have been the case based on Hindemith’s techniques in his work. Bruhn’s The Temptation of Paul Hindemith illustrates how Hindemith uses characterizations in this composition to illustrate his personal struggles.28

25 Kater, Eight Portraits, 35.
26 Hindemith, Mathis der Maler, 37.
In the first movement of the symphony, Hindemith sets the scene where Grünewald is painting the crucifixion scene. Here, Grünewald has resigned himself to the forces which govern his life: his art and artistry, and the Archbishop. The music is wrought with “plaintive and poignant” melodies.\(^2\) Perhaps here, Hindemith was likening it to his own complacency to do whatever the Reich had wanted from him instead of the art he wanted to create.

The lack of unity in the first movement may have illustrated the volatility in Nazi opposition. Often, the Nazis reviled him for his connections to Jewish people (his wife and brother-in-law were of Jewish decent), to political leftists, and to progressives. However, for as many Nazi enemies as he had, he also had Nazi supporters. For many years, the same Nazis that collaborated with the composer often persecuted him harshly in the media and in music critiques. Often, they seemed to do this for his musical modernism, but since it remained long after his venture back into traditional German styles, we must assume his wife’s Jewish heritage is ultimately what kept the Nazis from fully accepting Hindemith.

The lack of strong build-up in the second movement may have demonstrated Hindemith’s lack of personal passion for the project. Until about 1929, Hindemith was known as an avant-garde composer. Some of his compositions tailored a neo-baroque style, and ties to modernism were suggested by his associations with Gebrauchsmusik (music for a specific, practical purpose), New Objectivity, and new-music festivals.\(^3\) New Objectivity, specifically, was a reaction against German romantic expressionism, which the Nazis were trying to uphold. Hindemith’s own earlier music portrayed an aversion to this “self-indulgent expression” and, instead, an emphasis on line, texture and form. The Mathis project was hardly the style Hindemith was known for writing, and it seems that he lacked passion for this project that was expected of him because it was unfamiliar and opposite to the style he wanted to write. He wrote, in silent protest, music to which he was particularly averted whilst weaving in pictures of his plight and his discontent with the Reich. The last movement’s individualism and “strength of shaping”\(^4\) marked Hindemith’s decision to cut off associations with the Nazis and, instead,

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to write what he wanted to write. Hindemith was not known for his political acuity.\textsuperscript{32} Even when it may have suited him to present himself as the German ideal for the sake of his safety, he chose instead to remain a firmly modernist composer and to retain his associations with Jews. Even as the Nazis “intensified their attacks in the months after Hitler’s installation as chancellor” in January of 1933, Hindemith still carried on “his musical liaisons” with Jews.\textsuperscript{33}

Likewise, the operatic \textit{Mathis} emphasized autobiographical aspects of Hindemith’s conflict. Grünewald’s painting for the Archbishop of Mainz was an allusion to the countryside of Mainz, where Hindemith grew up.\textsuperscript{34} The opera begins by depicting Grünewald’s introspection as he debates his usefulness and worth as an artist. He was interrupted by two peasants who were fleeing the archbishop. These peasants distracted him from his brooding and ultimately led him to help the peasants to revolt against the aristocracy and the Church. When the plight failed, however, Grünewald sought counsel from the Archbishop, who guided him by saying that artists do the Lord’s work by working in the talents they have been given.\textsuperscript{35} With this encouragement, Grünewald painted the panels of the Isenheim Altarpiece between 1512 and 1516. Autobiographically, the opera features consistent themes of struggling to act within unfamiliar sociocultural contexts and pressure to conform to social convention. For example, Grünewald brooded over the triviality of his art and chose to fight alongside the peasants in their war against the aristocracy. Yet despite his presence, he was powerless to help and the whole venture failed. In his pain and sorrow, he was overcome by hallucinations that, alongside his inner conflicts, drove him to despair. Albrecht, the archbishop whom he was protesting (and for whom he painted the altarpiece), showed him that to best serve God and man, Grünewald must nourish the talents he had been given. Grünewald was then able to construct many beautiful masterpieces.\textsuperscript{36} This is a picture of Hindemith’s own struggles. Hindemith believed that the artist would remain fruitless so long as he tried “to appease his moral and social conscience” instead of nourishing his gift.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{32} Kater, \textit{Eight Portraits}, 32.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{34} Kemp, \textit{Hindemith}, 30.
\textsuperscript{35} Sutherland and DeNora, “Musical Creativity as Social Agency,” 84–85.
\textsuperscript{36} Kemp, \textit{Hindemith}, 30.
\textsuperscript{37} Kemp, preface to \textit{Mathis der Maler}, iv.
Hindemith wanted to experiment musically and challenge the beliefs of aesthetics (the general ideas about what makes music “beautiful”) on form and tonality. In the opera of Mathis der Maler, Hindemith is confronted by the realization of his true nature as a modernist composer; the opera’s violent musical actions and tensions fall into serenity.\(^{38}\) Though this is a romantic ideal (which Hindemith may have used for his gain stylistically), it is meant to symbolize torment followed by harmony. Here, Hindemith has found peace with who he is as a composer and is resolved to compose to that end going forward.

Hindemith’s personal conflicts are also depicted in specific characterizations. Grünewald was a transitioning artist; he was transitioning from the late-gothic style to the baroque style. Grünewald no longer wanted to make art for art’s sake as was the gothic (and later romantic) convention but wanted to make art that would provide a “sermon in pictures,” as was the baroque ideal.\(^{39}\) Hindemith depicts this transition in his use of baroque style tonality and counterpoint. Like Grünewald, Hindemith was being forced to transition from his early modernist, atonal style to his later traditional, more tonal style.

Additionally, Grünewald lived in a time that was marked by both “spiritual renewal and political unrest,” when, in reaction to the drastic changes occurring, people turned to either rationalism or irrationalism. The sciences and the development of one’s own knowledge flourished. Conversely, the Church became increasingly more secular and corrupt. Science and mathematics were flourishing; the church was declining.\(^{40}\) This coincided with Hindemith’s present situation. The Nazis were turning Hindemith’s Germany into something unrecognizable. Though science and education seemed to flourish, the Reich’s leaders seemed to become only more irrational in their treatment of musicians and their blatant anti-Semitism. More generally, facets of the opera very closely mimicked facets of Hindemith’s time in Germany. In Scene 4, Hindemith depicts the burning of Lutheran literature. Scholars suggest that this may have been meant to allude to the Nazi burning of “politically and morally un-German writings” in May of 1933.\(^{41}\)


\(^{39}\) Clendenin, “The Spirit of Grünewald,” 17. (Baroque composer J.S. Bach held some of the same convictions about the purpose of art.)


\(^{41}\) Kemp, *Hindemith*, 30.
Mathis der Maler continues the theme of pressure to conform to social convention through Grünewald’s participation in the Peasant’s Revolt. Grünewald did not feel he was doing his best when all he was doing was making art. He wanted to have a part in social change and, as such, chose to fight with the peasants. Hindemith, however, did not believe that the artist was competent to engage in politics, at least not without engaging in such a way that is tailored to his strengths. Grünewald’s own engagement in politics—without engaging his artistry—failed as plainly as the Mathis project did to change Hindemith’s place in the Nazi’s minds.

Many scholars suggest that Hindemith used music to understand and navigate the political realm. Hindemith was wholly unfamiliar with politics. As such, he mapped and developed his understandings of politics through developments in music. He reflected on the conditions and the perceptions of his music; his understanding of political and social changes developed as the reception of his music developed. When music was well received, Hindemith understood a time of relative political peace, and when music was widely criticized, he understood political unrest was coming. As his music was beginning to become more extensively critiqued on all facets, and often even by Hitler himself, Hindemith understood that he would need some sort of political bargaining chip to secure his stay as an artist.

Hindemith needed the Mathis project to change his fate in the eyes of the Nazis. At the end of the Great War (1914–1918), Hindemith was poised to become the new representative of German music. The Nazis, who were not yet in power but rising, wanted to see a composer who would promote the later romantic, expressive style. They hoped Hindemith would become “an acceptable and conformist musical leader.” However, Hindemith held some connections to both leftists and progressives—namely Bernhard Sekles, Hindemith’s professor at the Hoch’sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt—and to Jews—his wife and brother-in-law. Additionally, his writing was planted “firmly in the modernist camp.”

42 Kemp, Hindemith, 30.
43 Sutherland and DeNora, “Musical Creativity as Social Agency,” 76.
44 Kater, Eight Portraits, 32.
45 Sutherland and DeNora, “Musical Creativity as Social Agency,” 76.
46 Kemp, Hindemith, 28.
47 Kater, Eight Portraits, 31.
48 Ibid.
Due to his untraditional musical leanings and connections to Jews, Hindemith continually fell under attack from such forces as Nazi rulers, Socialist music critics, and other “conformist” musicians. Joseph Goebbels, the chief of the Reich Music Chamber, seemed to dislike Hindemith for his vague associations with Jews as much as for his jaunt into the avant-garde in the early years of his career. Richard Strauss, the head of the Reich Music Chamber (who seemed to contribute only for the sake of his own standing), continually criticized Hindemith’s music as being hardly German mastery. Alfred Ernst Rosenberg, the hot-headed journalist and critic who seemed to have it out for Hindemith, seemed eager to use Hindemith’s old ways against him, propagating that Hindemith’s modernistic music did not fit the National Socialist ideals.

The Mathis project would have been the perfect piece of propaganda for the Reich. German culture at the time was beginning to stray from the romantic, German symphonic tradition. Though citizens seemed to tolerate some Wagner, they preferred movies and movie music. However, as National Socialism rose to power, the Nazis began to use the term “symphony” to denote control. Goebbels employed the term “orchestra principle” to describe the state. Each member of society played an instrument, each with its own sound and tune, which resulted in a contiguous whole according to a plan set by a conductor, hereby the Reich. The symphonic version of the Mathis project would have been perfectly placed to promote this ideal.

Hindemith went forth bravely. Mathis der Maler sought to provide an expansion of the traditional tonal system and an emphasis on balance of linear writing. As previously stated, the Mathis project was hardly what he would have wanted to have been composing. During his years as a student, in a letter to a friend, Hindemith stated that he felt his growth as a musician was being challenged and bridled by the conservatory. He wanted to become unbound from the old patterns of thinking. And yet, several years later, the Reich was requiring it of him, and he was going along without complaint. In many ways, Mathis was the means by which Hindemith would endeavor to survive the war as a musician, even if it meant writing in a style in which he was not particularly fond.

49 Kater, Eight Portraits, 38.
50 Ibid., 36.
51 Ibid., 37.
52 Painter, “Symphonic Ambitions, Operatic Redemption,” 120.
53 Kater, Eight Portraits, 33.
54 Sutherland and DeNora, “Musical Creativity as Social Agency,” 75.
Accordingly, Hindemith believed that music could be a tool for both self-reflection and for planning for the future. His music was involved in connecting personal and social change.\(^5^5\) Hindemith used *Mathis*’s German nationalism, traditional tonality, and romantic-style monumentality to situate himself within the context of changing art worlds and sociopolitical conditions. The Nazis attacked and destroyed several historic and contemporary pieces of musical and visual art in the name of promoting the “true spirit” of German culture.\(^5^6\) Hindemith hoped that the *Mathis* project would convey that “true spirit.”

Through *Mathis*, Hindemith aimed to develop an understanding of what it meant to be a cultural producer in the Reich. *Mathis*’s ties to German nationalism were Hindemith’s means to secure for himself a future as an artist in modern Germany. He hoped that he would be able to use *Mathis* to bide time until Hitler’s Germany fell and he could produce the art he wanted to produce. He understood that music could be used to bring about social change; he endeavored in this project to do just that.

*Mathis der Maler* portrayed the complex ideals of German nationalism and Hindemith’s personal conflicts with the Reich, all for the purpose of enacting social change. Hindemith hoped that *Mathis der Maler* would become the picture of German nationalism through its folk tune additions, traditional tonality, classical and romantic forms, and traditional German monumentality. However, he masterfully tied his nationalistic work into a social commentary on the dire political venture that was the Third Reich. Hindemith built this nationally masked commentary on the hopes that it would build for him some political clout with the Reich.

Though the *Mathis* project seemed to be the picture of German nationalism that the Nazis were looking for from the new German composer, the symphonic version was only performed once at its premiere in 1934 and was never allowed to be performed again. The Nazis were not persuaded by *Mathis*’s entrance into traditionalism. Ultimately, they saw through Hindemith’s underhanded spike at the Nazi regime and rejected the project despite its intrinsic German romanticism. The project was understood to depict the artist’s own struggle for artistic freedom in a repressive climate. The symphony’s insulting political message did not escape the Nazis’ notice, and as a result, the opera

\(^{55}\) Sutherland and DeNora, “Musical Creativity as Social Agency,” 73.

\(^{56}\) Ibid.
version was never staged in Berlin. In 1935, Hindemith was denied acceptance by the National Socialist party, meaning his music could no longer be performed in Germany. Three years later, in 1938, Hindemith was publicly denounced by the Reich at the Exhibition of Degenerate Music.57 In August of that year, Hindemith and his wife fled their residence in Berlin and, by 1940, had permanently emigrated to the United States. Unfortunately, Hindemith is hardly remembered for his talent as an “out-of-the-box” composer, but as a sad refugee from a real-life dystopia.

Bibliography


