The origins of New Music: a study of the social history of a cultural phenomenon[*]

Frank Hentschel

"A rebellion is viewed differently by a loyal subject than a rebel or a foreigner, just as the perception of a court official differs from that of a burgher or a peasant, even though none of them knows nothing but that which is compatible with the truth." With these words written in 1742, Martin Chladenius illustrated how the writing of history is dependent on perspective.[1] Exemplary of what Chladenius would have termed a *Sehepunkt* is the quite particular viewpoint on the history of New Music adopted by the very composers of this music; they are analogous to court historians writing the history of their own court. Anton Webern's lectures on the origins of atonal music from 1932 and 33 are paradigmatic of this view of history that the composers of New Music themselves advanced:[2] according to this view of history, New Music emerges out of a continuous development of musical material, as a sort of historical necessity. The central guiding idea of this historiography was that of progress and emancipation, which can be traced back to the musical historiographical models of the 19th century educated German-speaking bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*).[3] If we accept the premise that innovation and not mere change in music is a desirable quality in music-historical processes, then this model of history is indeed workable. However, it is not sufficient, as it raises too many questions: How are we to justify applying a concept such as that of progress to the arts? Which changes are to be considered progress, which not? Why has the wider public of listeners closed themselves off to this music that proports to speak to its time,[4] especially given that this has been the situation for 100 years? Thus, it seems to be high time to complement the historical perspectives advanced by the exponents of New Music with an outside perspective.

In the meantime, alternative approaches to the historiography of New Music have gained traction, especially in the English-speaking world, in particular studies relating to music and the postwar period or music and the cold war, which are much more rigorous in their attempt to understand New Music from a wider historical perspective.[5] But as with earlier

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[1] Von Auslegung Historischer Nachrichten und Bücher (1742), excerpted in: Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie, Bd. 1: Die theoretische Begründung der Geschichte als Fachwissenschaft, edited by Horst Walter Blanke and Dirk Fleischer, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1990 (= Fundamenta Hístórica, Bd. 1.1), pp. 214-225, hier p. 217, § 308.

[2] Anton Webern, Der Weg zur Neuen Musik. Der Weg zur Komposition in zwölf Tönen, edited by Willi Reich, Wien 1960.

[3] On the history of music as a history of progress, see Warren Dwight Allen, Philosophies of Music: a Study of General Histories of Music 1600–1900, second revised edition, New York 1962; Frank Hentschel, Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik, Frankfurt a. M. 2006, ch. 3.

[4] The German terms *zeitgenössisch* and *zeitgemäß* can both be translated as with the more neutral term "contemporary." Here the term used is *zeitgemäß*, which implies a value judgement, thus the rendering as "music that proports to speak to its time." This term is used, for example, by the "Bludenzer Tage für zeitgenmäße Musik."

[5] e.g.: Martin Brody, "Music for the Masses": Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory, in: The Musical Quarterly 77 (1993), p. 161-192; Inge Kovács, Die Ferienkurse als Schauplatz der Ost-West-Konfrontation, in: Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt, 1946-1966, edited by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, Freiburg im Br. 1997, Bd. 1, p. 116-139; Mark Stephen Carroll, When Worlds Collide: Music and Ideology in France, 1946-1954, PhD diss., University of Adelaide 2000; Anne C. Shreffler, Ideologies of serialism: Stravinsky's Threni and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, in: Music and the aesthetics of modernity: Essays, Cambridge, MA 2003 (Isham Library papers 6), p. 217-245; Amy C. Beal, New Music, New Allies. American

approaches, this work fails to answer the question how New Music was able to emerge in first place and much less become an established cultural phenomenon given that its audiences are negligibly small. The present study seeks to address this question by adopting a decidedly social-historical meta-perspective, while steering clear of an examination of the aesthetic norms of New Music and rather focusing on their origins and establishment as a central element of the historiography. To do this, it will be necessary to look back to the transitional period between the early modern period and modernity approximately between 1750 and 1850 (what Reinhart Koselleck termed the "*Sattelzeit*"), as the roots of New Music reach back to the rise of the bourgeoisie in Europe.

I. What is New Music?

The deeper one is involved in a music scene, the more heterogenous, diversified, and contradictory it will appear. This is also true of New Music. However, too much differentiation does not necessarily contribute to a fundamental understanding of a phenomenon; at least, the degree of differentiation required is dependent on the type of question being asked. For the following discussion, it is important to distill a few core elements of New Music that stand out above the various directions, traditions, schools, and battle fronts in this music scene. The point of departure for this investigation will be the heyday of New Music in the 1950s, and the Darmstadt Summer Courses have been selected as a representative New Music institution during this period.

In order to identify the central characteristics of New Music in this time period, one possible method is to examine the works of the composer most frequently programed at Darmstadt. The Summer Courses have been held on a yearly basis since 1946; however, the first years are best regarded as a consolidation phase and should therefore be disregarded from our sample. This results in a 10-year time frame from 1951–1960, in which we will look for the most frequently played composers, namely those programed at least six times with works written in that same time period. Applying these criteria yields the following list:[6]

Hans Ulrich Engelmann (9x)	Sonate für Klavier Orchester-Fantasie Klaviersuite II Integrale Atlantische Ballade Streichquartett op. 10 Strukturen für Kammerorchester Nocturnos Variante
Bruno Maderna (9x)	Musica su due dimensioni Quattro lettere Flötenkonzert Quartetto per archi Notturno Syntaxis Musica su due dimensione (Neufassung) Cncerto per pianoforte e orchestra

Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification, Oakland 2006; Lisa Jakelski, Górecki's Scontri and Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Poland, in: The Journal of Musicology 26 (2009), p. 205-239; Dies. Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956-1968, Oakland 2017; Brigid Cohen, Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora, Cambridge 2012.

[6] The list is based on the chronology in Borio and Danuer 1997 (note. 5), vol. 3, pp. 513-638.

	Dimensioni II
Karlheinz Stockhausen (9x)	Kreuzspiel Kontra-Punkte Klavierstücke I-IV Klavierstücke V-VIII Gesang der Jünglinge Zeitmaße Klavierstück XI Zyklus Refrain
Hans Werner Henze (8x)	Lyrische Suite (aus Idiot) Ode an den Westwind Quattro poemi Concerto per il Marigny Vokal-Symphonie (aus König Hirsch) König Hirsch Sonata per archi Sonata per pianoforte
Olivier Messiaen (8x)	Cinq rechants Quarte etudes de rythme Timbres-durées Ile de feu I-II Le merle noir
Luigi Nono (8x)	Polifonia – Monodia – Ritmica Espana en el corazón Y su sangre ya viene cantando A victiore de Guernica Incontri Canti per tredici Composizione per orchestra n. 1 Composizione per orchestra n. 2
Pierre Boulez (7x)	Deux études concrètes Polyphonie X Structures pour deux pianos Le marteau sans maître Le soleil des eaux 3. Klaviersonate Pli selon pli
Giselher Klebe (7x)	Streichquartett op. 9 Deux nocturnes pour grand orchestre Rhapsodie für Orchester Sonate für Violine allein Raskolnikows Traum Elegia appassionata Kantate, Neun Gedichte von Hans Magnus Enzensberger

Of course, this is a crude sample, as the Darmstadt Summer Courses were just a single—albeit very influential—festival in the context of an international cultural phenomenon. Moreover, such a sample glosses over much internal differentiation: there may have been many different reasons why these particular people were invited to Darmstadt, and they would have taken on different roles during the Summer Course. The sample is nevertheless suitable for our present purpose, as it allows us to arrive at a relatively unified characterization of New Music based on the works of the composers in the sample. It is remarkable that this sample exhibits a relatively consistent age structure of the composers: with one exception, they were all born

less than a decade apart from 1921–1928. The only composer to fall outside of this range was Olivier Messiaen, who was born in 1908.

The composers in this sample have entered the canon of New Music to a greater or lesser degree; nevertheless, based on their music written at that time, it is possible to derive several fundamental features, pronounced to varying degrees but nonetheless distinct, that characterize New Music, namely:

- Rejection of tonality: The music does not conform to the major-minor tonal system, and as a rule there is a total lack of any discernable tonal center.
- High degree of dissonance: In the sense of Schoenberg's "emancipation of dissonance", the music is not based on a hierarchy of consonant and dissonant sonorities, but rather it most frequently employs sonorities that would be classified as dissonant without any need for resolution. De facto, almost all the vertical sonorities used are dissonances.
- Rejection of traditional melodic structures: The tendency to avoid melodic gestures is difficult to prove, as any linear series of pitches can be described as a "melody". And while the conventional concept of melody clearly differs from this more general description, it is almost impossible to provide a clear definition of melody. Nevertheless, it can be said that spinning recognizable melodic lines that serve as the building blocks for themes or motives does not belong to the spectrum of this music. Instead, there is a tendency towards disjointed lines and large leaps (pointillistic style).[7]
- Rejection of periodic rhythmic structures: The move away from tradition melodic constructions is also related to the abandonment of periodic rhythmic structures, as a melody's rhythmic structure also has a strong effect on how memorable it is. New Music tends to completely avoid regular rhythmic structure that listeners would intuitively be able to follow.
- Inclusion of noise into the repertoire of musical sounds: more clearly pitched sonorities traditionally considered musical are increasingly mixed with noisy sounds. In particular, the familiar instruments of classical music are often expanded using live electronics or even replaced with electronic instruments.

This description of the characteristics of New Music is by and large negative, i.e., they describe the music first and foremost by stating what this music is not or what features it does not exhibit. This is by no means a coincidence, but rather resonates with an observation that Theodor W. Adorno made very early on when he spoke of (and also continued to repeat in his later writings) the "canon of prohibitions"—as in these examples:

The relationship to tradition is realized as a canon of prohibitions.[8]

By no means can we say that all imaginable combinations of pitches that have been used are indiscriminately available to composers today. Even those with the dullest ears can easily recognize how shabby and overused the diminished seventh chord or certain chromatic passing tones found in 19th century salon music have become. For the technically adept listeners, such a vague sense of unease becomes codified in a canon of prohibitions.

[7] On melodic structures in new music, see Frank Hentschel, Die Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik. Über Geschichte und Historiografie aktueller Musik, Stuttgart 2007 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 62), pp. 83-99.

[8] Volume 10: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft I/II: Über Tradition [1968]. Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften, p. 7909 (cf. GS 10.1, p. 314).

Unless all appearances deceive, this canon already excludes all the tools of tonality, that is the entirety of traditional music. It is not only that these sounds may be outdated and not keeping with the times. They are wrong.[9]

The firm negation of traditional musical means gives rise to selection principles that, paradoxically enough, establish expressionism as a style. This includes implicit prohibitions such as the ban on consonances and consonant series of intervals in a melody; avoiding homogeneous sounds; rejecting rhythmically uniform development; shunning sequences; an absence of "thematic development" in the conventional sense, a lack of formal symmetry; in principle, eschewing all forms of repetition whatsoever. What results is a "compositional practice of extremes."[10]

These observations are in no way intended to deny the diversity in these composers' music, nor to reduce their compositional work to these negative characteristics. Nevertheless, the adherence to a canon of prohibitions established a common basis that unites works of New Music and distinguishes them from other musical scenes, milieus, and styles. Nor should we ignore the fact that the composers in our sample adhered to the canon of prohibitions to varying degrees. The clearest exception is Hans Werner Henze, whose increasing efforts to make his works understandable for a broader segment of the public can also be seen in the works in this sample. And the compositions of Giselher Klebe (at least for those that I have been able to access) are reminiscent of Arnold Schoenberg and thus hark back to an ideal of New Music that is even more strongly oriented to Romantic ideals. In contrast, serial music can be understood as the strictest and most consistent implementation of these prohibitions (or to formulate it positively, norms) insofar as it effectively prevents the emergence of tonal relationships, melodic sequences, or rhythmic periodicity by the systematic nature of its serial techniques. Since it is precisely these parameters that the vast majority of listeners (at least those from the same cultural background) depend on to make sense of music, it is hardly surprising that New Music was and is enjoyed by a miniscule segment of the public. In fact, the prohibitions or norms of New Music could be said to actively contribute to preventing wider acceptance of the genre. This is an act of pronounced social distinction.[11]

The prohibition canon also remained the unifying feature of New Music in the following decades. Evidence for this can be found in another sample from the period 1971–1990, which is however not drawn from the Darmstadt Summer Courses, as there is no chronology available for this period. Instead, the sample is drawn from the Donaueschingen Festival, whose programs are archived on the Internet.[12] Applying a similar method to that used above for the Darmstadt Summer Courses yields the results in the table below. It should be noted that the number of times each composer is represented are much lower (this is likely because, on the one hand, the program is much more limited in scope than in Darmstadt and, on the other hand, because the New Music scene as a whole had grown considerably).

[9] Volume 12: Philosophie der neuen Musik: Schönberg und der Fortschritt [1949]. Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften, p. 10037 (cf. GS 12, p. 40)

[10] Volume 18: Musikalische Schriften V: Neunzehn Beiträge über neue Musik [1946]. Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften, p. 14374 (cf. GS 18, p. 61)

[11] Here, as in the following, Pierre Bourdieu is fundamental to understanding this view of New Music: Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft, transl. by Bernd Schwibs and Achim Russer, Frankfurt a. M. 1982.

[12] https://www.swr.de/swr-classic/donaueschinger-musiktage/programme/donaueschinger-musiktage-archiv/-/id=2136962/did=14231624/nid=2136962/csruw2/index.html (accessed Nov. 29, 2021).

Karlheinz Stockhausen (6x)	Trans für Orchester Vortrag über HU für einen Solisten Michaels Reise um die Erde mit Trompete und Orchester Kathinkas Gesang als Luzifers Requiem für Flöte und 6 Schlagzeuger Oberlippentanz (Protest) für Piccolo-Trompete, Posaune oder Euphonium, 4 Hn und 2 Schlagzeug Solo für Melodieinstrument mit Rückkopplung, Version für Violoncello und Live-Elektronik
Dieter Schnebel (5x)	Réactions II, Realisation für 8 Vokalisten Maulwerke für Artikulationsorgane und Reproduktionsgeräte, Großverlauf Diapason, Kanon à 13 für ungleichartige Instrumente Jowaegerli, alemannische Worte und Bilder von und nach J. P. Hebel mit vokalen und instrumentalen Klängen u. mit Schlagwerk Monotonien I-V für Klavier und Live-Elektronik
Pierre Boulez (4x)	..explosante - fixe... für 8 Instrumente und Live-Elektronik, dreiteilige Version Répons für 6 Solisten, Kammerensemble, Computerklänge und Live-Elektronik Dérive I für 6 Instrumentalisten ...explosante - fixe..., Version für Vibraphon und Live-Elektronik
Heinz Holliger (4x)	Die Jahreszeiten, 4 Lieder für gemischten Chor nach Scardanelli (Hölderlin) 5 Stücke für Orgel und Tonband Not I (Nicht ich), Monodram nach S. Beckett für Sopran und Tonband Scardanelli-Zyklus für Soloflöte, gemischten Chor, Orchester und Tonband, Teile I u. II
Luigi Nono (4x)	Io, Frammento dal Prometeo für 3 Soprane, Kammerchor, Baßflöte, Kontrabaßklarinette und Live-Elektronik Post-Prae-Ludium per Donau für Tuba und Live-Elektronik No hay caminos. Hay que caminar... Andrei Tarkovskij für 7 Instrumentalgruppen A Carlo Scarpa (in memoriam)
Wolfgang Rihm (4x)	Morphonie für Orchester mit Solo-Streichquartett Sub-Kontur für Orchester Klangbeschreibung, drei Stücke Frau/Stimme für Sopran u. Orchester mit Sopran

This sample confirms the continued relevance of the prohibition canon. It is particularly striking that some of the composers who were already dominant figures in New Music's first decade are still among the most frequently played composers: Stockhausen, Boulez und Nono. This should not obscure the fact that these composers' music underwent marked stylistic transformations from the 50s to the 80s. Once more, the point here is that the canon of prohibitions is a persistent basic characteristic of this music. In this sense, Wolfgang Rihm stands out the most, as elements of aesthetic opening can be seen in his music, which have

been associated with the problematic terms New Simplicity or Postmodernism[13] and have been related to the political tumult of the late 1960s.[14]

Despite these internal differentiations within New Music, the principle of normative prohibitions remained valid. The associated act of social distinction was supported by the (self-)image of New Music, which composers working in this scene consistently projected to the wider public. We will again reconstruct this image by looking at another festival, this time the Wittener Tagen für neue Kammermusik between 1970 to 2000, which was selected because we are able to draw on an existing study.[15] In this study, more frequently programed composers in Witten were selected based on specific criteria defined in the study,[16] and all their work commentaries were coded according to recuring content and characteristics. In the absence of other systematic evaluations of these sorts of self-representations by composers of New Music, this study will serve as a basis for our analysis of this social distinction of New Music,[17] even though certain differences from the Darmstadt Summer Courses of the 1950s are to be expected. However, both anecdotal evidence (my own experience) and the constancy of the image of New Music that composers projected in the 30 years between 1970 and 2000 do not suggest that this image was profoundly different before 1970 or after 2000; future research is needed to falsify or differentiate this hypothesis.

New Music projects itself according to its self-image as erudite, educated, intellectual, and difficult to access. It does this both through the content that its composers address in their work commentaries and the way in which they present it. For our purpose here, these two tendencies can only be briefly illustrated by way of example:[18]

- New Music locates itself in history: it consciously reflects on its position in history, especially through the lens of innovation, and it places itself in relation to older music, thereby signaling its composers' knowledge of history. For example, Georg Kröll modeled his compositions on the Estampida of the 13th and 14th centuries (P 1970, 21 f.)[19], composed for Renaissance instruments (P 1980, 49), drew inspiration from Frescobaldi (P 1982, 37), and the isorhythmic motet (P 1986, 51); Tilo Medek referred to the *alta cappella* tradition of town wind bands (P 1973, 34), Friedhelm Döhl referenced the conductus (P 1984, 40), Paul-Heinz Dittrich the cantus firmus (P 1984, 35), and György Ligeti employed structures that were reminiscent of medieval talea in his Piano Concerto (1985–86/87) (P 1988, 45).

[13] On the problematic nature of the terms "new simplicity" and "postmodernism," see Franke Hentschel, "Wie neu war die 'neue Einfachheit'?" in Acta musicologica 78 (2006), pp. 111-131, or Andreas Domann, Postmoderne und Musik. Eine Diskursanalyse (Musikphilosophie 4), Freiburg im Br. and Munich 2012.

[14] Frank Hentschel, "Ein Popkonzert und die ästhetische Entdogmatisierung der 'Neuen Musik' nach 1968," in Musikkulturen in der Revolte. Studien zu Rock, Avantgarde und Klassik im Umfeld von '1968', ed. by B. Kutschke, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 39-54.

[15] Hentschel 2007 (as note. 7); see also Frank Hentschel,"Neue Musik in soziologischer Perspektive: Fragen, Methoden, Probleme," in: Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 5 / 2010, pp. 38-42. This is an abridged version; full version, OSF Preprints, 2018 (DOI: osf.io/27fw5).

[16] Ibid, p. 67.

[17] However, it is worth mentioning a study on speaking about New Music in relation to three case studies: Julia Heimerdinger, Sprechen über Neue Musik. Eine Analyse der Sekundärliteratur und Komponistenkommentare zu Pierre Boulez' Le Marteau sans maître (1954), Karlheinz Stockhausens Gesang der Jünglinge (1956) und György Ligetis Atmosphères (1961), Halle 2013 (https://digital.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/hs/download/pdf/1801704; accessed 26 October 2021).

[18] For complete evidence, see Hentschel 2007 (as note. 7), ch. 4.

[19] "P" stands for the program booklets of the Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik.

- Composers of New Music deal with themes of existential, religious, and spiritual significance; they understand their music almost as sounding philosophy or theology. Klaus Huber, who had already become interested in the existential dimension in Teresa of Ávila's poems (P 1986, 44), reinforced the notion that music is "always an existentially central place" (P 1999, 52). The Requiem for six voices *Auf schmalem Grat* [on a narrow ridge] (1978) by Friedhelm Döhl already alluded in its title to "our existence between not living and life and death" (P 1980, 37 f.), and Günther Becker also highlighted his view that the poem of Kurt Marti that he set to music in *Linie, Zirkel, Kreis* for five solo voices (1982–83) should be understood as "attempts towards an orientation in which the existence of human beings in our time with their questions, fears, and hopes recurs again and again" (P 1984, 32). Against this background, it is no coincidence that Helmut Lachemann's collected writings bear the title "Music as an existential experience."[20]
- Composers of New Music frequently refer to culturally recognized, canonized myths, poets, and thinkers. In particular, ancient Greek sagas and mythical figures were enthusiastically adopted. These include Sisyphus, the Argonauts, Medea, Oedipus, and the goddesses Athena and Nemesis. Bojidar Dimov worked on an opera about Alexander the Great (P 1977, 30), Walter Zimmermann references the Sieve of Erastosthenes (P 1990, 21), and in *L'alibi della parola* for four voices (1993–94) Salvatore Sciarrino used, alongside other texts, inscriptions of Greek vases (P 1994, 37). Sophocles, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Novalis, Friedrich Hölderlin, Rainer Maria Rilke, Robert Musil, James Joyce, Franz Kafka, Ezra Pound, Georg Trakl Bertolt Brecht, Pablo Neruda, Paul Celan, Samuel Beckett, and Josif Brodskij are mentioned at least twice. The recourse to poetry thus proves to be a central source of inspiration for these composers. The most frequently mentioned of them—James Joyce, Samuel Beckett and, above all, Friedrich Hölderlin—are not coincidentally among the most hermetic of the poets mentioned. The philosophers mentioned at least two times are Plato, Augustine of Hippo, Blaise Pascal, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Ernst Bloch. But the most frequently mentioned is Theodor W. Adorno, which is unsurprising given the role his writings have played in establishing ideological frameworks and his iconic status in the New Music world.
- Composers of New Music highlight their interest in destruction, limits, and paradoxes, thereby projecting the image of New Music and its composers as transcending the norm and being anomalous, embodying otherness, thinking differently, embracing experimentality, etc. The topos of destruction was particularly widespread. Prototypical are the performance instructions for Hans-Joachim Hespos's – *Z…( )* from 1969, which the composer included in the program book in lieu of a program note: "every instance of destruction as a productive act is also in turn to be disturbed and dissolved … and so on … (destroy … change—include … shape … transform … disturb … destroyed … silence … destroy …)" (P 1971, 26). Bojidar Dimov composed a "process of repeated disintegration and regeneration" (P 1971, 19); in *Mouvement – vor der Erstarrung* for ensemble (1982–84), Helmut Lachenmann was interested in "the futility and the process of sedimentation and decomposition" (P 1985, 38); Edison Denisov was concerned with the "interaction of constructive and destructive elements" (P 1979, 26).

[20] Helmut Lachenmann, Musik als existentielle Erfahrung. Texte 1966 bis 1995, ed. by Josef Häusler, Leipzig 1996.

- Through the mentioned and some further characteristics, New Music presents itself decidedly as serious music:
    - Humor is foreign to the works of New Music and also to the composers themselves (at least as they present themselves in their publications and public appearances). It is quite remarkable how few composers smile in portrait photos printed in program booklets. One of the great exceptions to this rule is György Ligeti, who also provided the following razor-sharp observation: "Regarding my piece *Fragment*: here I'm directing the same criticism at myself, and I'm the parochial musician who is ridiculed. It is really a strange situation: it was not common for composer to laugh at themselves. *Fragment* makes *Apparitions* look totally ridiculous." Similar to Kagel, Ligeti was adopting a critical stance towards strict division of music into serious and entertainment music (P 2001, 95). In contrast, Helmut Lachenmann's attitude was typical when he wrote, "the ultimate cause of this feeling of breaking a tabu that we had in the 1970s—not just in this piece—was not so much the phenomenon of deformation of sounds (rattling sounds, extreme bow pressure in the strings, pitchless air sound in the winds), for such 'distortions' were actually completely acceptable if they were presented as a humorous, Dadaist, or Expressionist element. The true cause for this shock was in the compositional logic, which relativized what had been merely surrealistic effects of rattling sounds, extreme bow pressure in the strings, pitchless air sound in the winds etc. and transformed them into something serious rather than something fun" (P 1985, 36).
    - Among the terms used to describe and evaluate music were concepts such as "thinking" and "truth". For example, Dimitri Terzakis spoke of the monophonic "manner of thinking" in his Third String Quartet from 1982–83 (P 1983, 55); Helmut Lachenmann composed his *Salut für Caudwell* (1977) in such a way that his music seems to accompany "if not a text, then individual words or thoughts" (P 1985, 37); and for Elliott Carter, thinking played an important role in his Fifth String Quartet in several respects. Carter was interested in the similarity between chamber music rehearsals and "our process of thinking, the way our feelings and thoughts take shape, how we order them, bring them to a point, let them come to fruition until we finally express them. These patterns of human behavior serve as the basis for my Fifth String Quartet." (P 1996, 58) These concepts emphatically seek to ascribe a value to music that transcends its physical-sensual qualities, which we immediately and intuitively attribute to music.
    - Despite the physical-sensual quality of music, which in many types of music expresses itself in dance and ecstasy, New Music is far removed from any reference to eroticism. This is remarkable as this is often such a conspicuous element in other contemporaneous music—especially in the world of so-called pop music (iconic figures such as Madonna come readily to mind, but hundreds of other names ranging from Jim Morison and Prince could be mentioned). By denying this physical dimension, New Music is transported to another, intellectual, spiritual sphere, as suggested by the themes and cultural reference outlined above.

As indicated, the construction of the image of New Music is not limited to the content explored, but also extends to the way it is presented and performed. Two aspects are noteworthy:

- Composers of New Music write in a style that clearly elevates them above the average educated adult; they craft intricate, sophisticated, playful, metaphorical linguistic constructions. Nicolaus A. Huber, for example, compared the processes in one of his compositions "to different worlds that stand in a certain self-commenting contradiction to each other and which not long after came to be designated with the formulation muscular coda with body tremolo" (P 1992, 56, 57). Friedhelm Döhl said about *SÜLL*, "seemingly incidental things take on a life of their own, overgrow musicians and music," and alluding to religious themes, he titled his piece *A & O* [the alpha and the omega] a piece "for a speaker who is four [selbviert]," (P 1974, 31) and a few years later he coined the phrase "death horizontal / vertical" to describe his work *Traum-Stück* (P 1980, 34). Helmut Lachenmann spoke about materials, energies, resistances, noise actions (P 1974, 48), and a "game of perception: tones 'pulled out of the air' – 'air' extracted out of tones." (P 1990, 50) These texts, then, do not serve as aids to help the listener understand the music, but rather continue the artistic gesture of the music itself in the commentaries.
- This first observation leads directly to a second one: composers of New Music deliberately obscure the background and intentions of their works, thus creating a sort of occult science; they present themselves as initiates of an impenetrable, highly sophisticated, deeply meaningful, and important sphere of knowledge or cultural practice, which is not accessible to everyone. For example, Rolf Gehlhaar wrote the following about *musi-ken*: "The inner structures of these noises exhibit a distinct musical form that becomes clearly audible when transposed down several 'octaves of musical time'. Analyses of such forms, especially the noise produced by the strings, revealed the dynamic and static proportions used in this composition." (P 1972, 26) And Wilfried Jentzsch provided this explanation of his "Streichquartett 72": the "transformation of a character into its opposite represents one of the most important artistic devices of Greek tragedy. I have translated this concept into geometrical terms and have applied this abstraction to the music. Let us take, for example, a static sound surface, which can be represented by horizontal lines, and watch as this dissolves into a moving surface, whose direction and length we vary and finally reduce to a point. In this way, we obtain a 'molecular structure' whose entropy can be controlled. If we let the maximum entropy of pitches converge to zero in a stepwise manner (with steps of different intervals) such that there is no more uncertainty, then this will correspond to a unison in the pitch domain. We can treat all parameters in the same way and thus adjust the tension from a state of perfect order to different degrees of not ordered to complete disorder." (P 1978, 23)

By cultivating this image, New Music seeks to clearly distinguish itself from pop music, as well as from classical music and other more widely accepted forms of cotemporaneous musical practice, thus contributing greatly to social distinction.

Of course, this reconstruction of the image of New Music is an ideal-type reconstruction based on an evaluation of data selected from a corpus that was in turn defined according to particular criteria. There are individual counterexamples to most of the content and characteristics mentioned—but what is remarkable is precisely that these

counterexamples are clearly outliers when quantitative criteria are applied. They are the exceptions that prove the rule. It is certainly true that composers of New Music must meet the expectations of cultural institutions and sponsors in order to make a living. Nevertheless, these expectations do not simply come out of nowhere; it is therefore reasonable to assume that we are dealing with an internalized habitus. And this in turn raises the question how this habitus came to be.

II. The historical background and origins of the image of New Music

To answer the question of how the habitus that gave rise to the image of New Music developed, we need to adopt a much wider historical perspective and look back to the 18th century, as this was when the socio-political functionalization of music typical of the emerging bourgeoisie in Europe arose, which as will be argued below led directly to New Music. Once again, the argument here will be based on a previous study that examines the socio-political subtexts of 19th century music historiography.[21] As in the previous section, the historical sources quoted here are merely typical examples drawn from the much more exhaustive survey. The reconstruction of New Music's origins and image will be based on the evaluation of historical documents from German-speaking regions, but as New Music is undoubtably an international, above all European, phenomenon, it is to be expected that future research will uncover further nuances related to different national contexts. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that the broad strokes of music history and its socio-political background in the long 19th century followed a similar course.

Since the middle of the 18th century at the latest, music theorists and educated people with an affinity for music have endeavored to elevate the intellectual significance of music; they felt music should be recognized as a legitimate subject of scholarship. In 1740, Johann Adolph Scheibe complained in several passages of his *Critischen Musikus* about the unscientific and unscholarly nature of musicians and music theorists:

> The last two or three centuries [have] not been beneficial for music. […] The men who have tried to write about music have based their theses on false imagination, prejudices, and unfounded and long-winded pedantic studies, which true scholars would not dare to touch under any circumstances.[22]

> Just ask how many of these men today there are who […] understand more than […] the notes and their instrument.[23]

> To the investigation of musical truths belong the study of reason, metaphysics, natural sciences, and mathematics.[24]

This vision of music as an academic field formed the basis of Scheibe's calls for the study and teaching of music at universities,[25] and he presented a plan for the establishment of an academy of music, which he envisioned as "a society of various persons who would combine

[21] Hentschel 2006 (as note 3).
[22] Johann Adolph Scheibe, Critischer Musikus (1740), second, extended and revised edition, Leipzig 1745, reprint., Hildesheim 1970, p. 13.
[23] Ibid, p. 525.
[24] Ibid, p. 555.
[25] Ibid, pp. 572-574.

forces to advocate for the reception of music."[26] The society would, among other activities, provide the "men" "who could teach music and lecture at universities."[27]

Among the topics that the scholarly study of music addressed was the historical study of this art form. Johann Mattheson summed this up in an anecdote that illustrates how unusual historiographical research into music had been up to that point:

> Some time ago, a certain librarian, who had held his post for forty-seven years, asked me when I was perusing volumes by various historians in […] the treasure room of his public library, whether I wanted to take on the role of a historian (*historicus*). My answer was that no science in the world could survive with such aids. That was the end of it.[28]

Such efforts to gain recognition of music as a legitimate field of study soon seemed to have borne their first fruits: in 1769 Charles Burney was awarded a doctorate from Oxford University,[29] follow in 1791 by Joseph Haydn.[30] In 1787 Johann Nikolaus Forkel received a master's degree from University of Göttingen for his studies in music history.[31] This academic recognition certified the scholarly nature of musical activities. Nevertheless, Forkel was still lamenting the status of music at universities several years later: "In the course catalogues of most German universities [one would have found …] not long ago that music was listed under physical education, such as fencing, riding, and dancing."[32] But it was only from the perspective of the educated bourgeoisie, of which Forkel was an early representative, that such a complaint was obvious. After all, what was meant here was not the mathematical science of sounds, the *musica theorica*, whose presence at the university had led a shadowy existence for centuries, but nonetheless represented a reality. What was meant here was music as an art and cultural practice. From the perspective of courtly society, in which the primary function of this cultural practice was to build social competence in an aristocratic context, the combination of fencing, riding, dancing, and music must have seemed completely obvious. It was therefore not surprising that in the German context, in which court structures were to persist for a considerable length of time, that Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl would also be making a very similar complaint more than half a century later:

> Unfortunately, music still often [falls] under the so-called "free arts," that is in the farthest corner where riding instructors, fencing masters, and dancing masters are also listed as free artists; the professorship of music is a sinecure, a mere title.[33]

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[26] Ibid, p. 576.

[27] Ibid, p. 582.

[28] Johann Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte, woran der tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler etc. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste etc. erscheinen sollen. Zum fernern Ausbau angegeben, Hamburg 1740, reprint., ed. M. Schneider, Kassel 1969, p. VII.

[29] Kerry p. Grant, artice "Burney, Charles," in: Grove Music Online. Retrieved 28 Oct. 2021, from https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004399.

[30] Georg Feder and James Webster, article "Haydn, (Franz) Joseph," in: Grove Music Online. Retrieved 28 Oct. 2021, from https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044593.

[31] George B. Stauffer, article "Forkel, Johann Nicolaus," in: Grove Music Online. Retrieved 28 Oct. 2021, from https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000009979.

[32] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik, 2 vols., Leipzig 1788–1801, reprint, ed. O. Wessely, Graz 1967 (Die großen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung 8), vol. 2, p. 6, note 13.

[33] Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten (1859), fourth unrevised edition, Stuttgart 1873, p. 405.

This reduction of music to its physical aspects (and its social function) was a thorn in the side of the educated bourgeoisie's understanding of music. For musicians, music theorists, and music critics, it was a matter of securing a place in the emerging urban middle-class society, specifically in the framework of the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*). The reputation of music determined whether it would be codified as a school subject, whether state subsidies for music would be available, what salaries musicians would receive in public institutions, whether enough publicly funded orchestras would be founded thus creating jobs, whether state conservatories would be established and whether professorships for musicology would be created at universities. It was therefore not surprising that a music critic like Franz Brendel not only submitted a petition to the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848,[34] but also gave great thought to an "organization of musical life [*Musikwesen*] by the state."[35]

Authors who wrote about music in the 19th century—whether in the form of reviews, aesthetic writings, or historical accounts—never tired of emphasizing the high intellectual value of music, i.e., its value in keeping with the ideals of the educated bourgeoisie. For only when the educational relevance of music was recognized could musical institutions and professions be anchored in society. Therefore, musicologists repeatedly emphasized, on the one hand, the cultural significance of music, its national, intellectual, and ethical qualities; on the other hand, they ensured that music was elevated by associating it with concepts that actually belonged to philosophy and addressed essential epistemological and metaphysical content: one spoke of musical logic and truth, invoked the Absolute and the elevated nature and depth of music. In particular, music was supposed to be spiritual, not simply sensual. The emotional content of music, which was placed in opposition to pure rationality, was presented as especially content-heavy and weighty; depth of feeling was distinguished from mere passion. Given this weighty terminology, it was much easier to effectively argue that music was a subject worthy of academic study with significant educational value. Accordingly, the spirituality of musical enjoyment was emphasized, for example when Wilhelm Christian Müller insisted that "in a state of true poetic enjoyment" we should be aware of "the feeling of sensual emotion and mental activity—without being able to separate the two,"[36] or when Adolph Bernhard Marx wrote that what mattered was, "that the mental—and indeed the moral-spiritual in the freest sense of the word—prevails over the sensual,"[37] or in Franz Brendel's diagnosis that "the stumbling block" was "that there is still a reluctance to accept the idea as the mediator of understanding, and we instead want to continue to indulge in sensual perception of the ear."[38] In this context the mental was not synonymous with the rational intellectual, but also included the inner (whatever was meant by this), which was regarded as something more, something higher. What Franz Brendel described as an achievement in human history was in fact only something necessitated by societal developments at the time:

> In the beginning, the whole spirit of art appears only in combinations of the rational intellect; later, in the intermediate stages, where the subject becomes emancipated, that rigor dissolves into free movement, but in

[34] These efforts were brought into sharp focus in the petition that Franz Brendel submitted to the Frankfurter Parlament in 1848 (as well as a petition, in: NZ 28, 1848, pp. 177f.).

[35] Franz Brendel, Die Organisation des Musikwesens durch den Staat, Leipzig 1865.

[36] Wilhelm Christian Müller, Aesthetisch-historische Einleitungen in die Wissenschaft der Tonkunst, 2 vols., Leipzig 1830, vol. 1, pp. 9f.

[37] Adolf Bernhard Marx, Denkschrift über Organisation des Musikwesens im preußischen Staate, in: Neue Berliner Musikzeitung 2 (1848), pp. 241–247 and 249–256, here p. 243.

[38] Franz Brendel, Franz Liszt als Symphoniker, Leipzig 1859, pp. 18f.

such a way that both sides are in equilibrium, equally entitled to stand side by side; finally, as the individual ascends to the apex, the inner mental stirrings of the individual emerge more and more decisively, negating that logical, rational basis of music and reducing it to a means of expression for the subject.[39]

Increasingly, authors interpreted the act of listing to music as involving mental processes similar to thinking, but in some cases the analogies were even more far-reaching. Amadeus Wendt put music on the same level as science:

The position of art in relation to science […] is peculiar to modern times. The higher refinement of consciousness through science also necessarily exerted peculiar effects on the art in the time.[40]

And Eduard Hanslick took pains to characterize listening to music as a process of mental reflection, contending that listening to music is "a mental process of attending and following, which could quite properly be called a reflection of the imagination."[41]

These were obviously strained philosophical constructions that implicitly sought to reinterpret the strongly sensual-physical enjoyment of music as a mental activity (or to bring this aspect to the fore within this complex phenomenon). The increasing use of the term "truth" in an aesthetic context also serves a similar purpose. As early as 1788, in the first volume of his *History of Music*, Johann Nikolaus Forkel reacted quite harshly to Gotthold Ephriam Lessing's position (so typical of the Enlightenment) that the purpose of the arts was pleasure, as if he had been personally attacked:

Here Lessing has clearly been abandoned by his usual sharp sense of reason; for the ultimate purpose of the fine arts is no more mere pleasure than it is the ultimate purpose of the sciences. In the arts, too, lies truth—truth of feeling.[42]

In the 19th century, the concept of truth appeared repeatedly in an aesthetic context. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, for example, wrote that "in art" we are "not dealing with a merely pleasant or useful mechanism, but rather […] with an unfolding of truth."[43] It is not surprising to find very similar statements in the writings of a Hegelian like Karl Christian Friedrich Krause:

As for the idea of the beautiful and beauty, the German words for beautiful and beauty (*schön* and *Schönheit*) are etymologically related to the German word *scheinen* ["to shine" or "to appear"], implying that in the beautiful, the essential shines forth in faithful truth, "*erscheine*" ["appears"].[44]

But even the philosophers who held a position contrary to Hegel ascribe a far-reaching cognitive function to art. For Arthur Schopenhauer it was music that embodied this claim to a special degree:

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[39] Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich von den ersten christlichen Zeiten an bis auf die Gegenwart. 25 Vorlesungen, sechste, neu durchgesehene und vermehrte Aufl., ed. F. Stade, Leipzig 1878, pp. 463f.

[40] Amadeus Wendt, Ueber die Hauptperioden der schoenen Kunst, oder die Kunst im Laufe der Weltgeschichte, Leipzig 1831, p. 369.

[41] Eduard Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen (1854), in: Sämtliche Schriften, ed. Dietmar Strauß, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar 1994, p. 253.

[42] Forkel 1788–1801 (see note 28), vol. 1, p. 403, note.

[43] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik, ed. E. Moldenhauer and K. M. Michel, vol. 3, Frankfurt a. M. 1986, vol. 3, p. 573.

[44] Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, Darstellungen aus der Geschichte der Musik nebst vorbereitenden Lehren aus der Theorie der Musik (1827), second, revised edition, ed. A. Wünsche, Leipzig 1911, p. 130.

Now, if in this whole account of music I have endeavored to make it clear that music expresses in a singular substance, namely mere tones, with the greatest definiteness and truth, in a most general language the inner essence, the world-in-itself, which we can most simply conceive of under the term will; if, furthermore, as is my opinion and aspiration, philosophy should be nothing else than a complete and correct repetition and expression of essence of the world, in very general terms, since only in such a version of philosophy is a universally sufficient and applicable overview of this entire essence possible; so whoever has followed me to this point and have become drawn into my way of thinking will not find it so paradoxical when I say that if it were possible to provide a perfectly correct, complete, and exhaustive explanation of music, i.e., a detailed repetition of what music expresses in linguistic terms, this would also be a sufficient repetition and explanation of the world in linguistic terms, or completely equivalent to such, i.e., it would be the true philosophy.[45]

In the context of music history, such views were then reflected in formulations such as the following passage from Arrey von Dommer:

In the music or Heinrich Schütz, the fundamental feeling is no longer only expressed in the music's overall mood; the various phrases and their variations are crafted and illustrated in such a way that the whole confronts us with the now even more immediate truth of life.[46]

The theoretical absurdity of such arguments and formulations was impeccably analyzed and criticized in a study by Käte Hamburger from 1979.[47] However, the obvious correctness of her arguments only reinforces the importance of the sources and historical documents: it is not the sources' theses themselves that are crucial for explaining the origin and dissemination of this particular way of speaking about music, but only the specific social-historical situation of music taking on a distinct function among the bourgeoisie in Europe. At the same time, the emphasis that writers place on music's power to create knowledge apparently had no limit, but rather exaggerated this elevation of music to the point of an irrational religiosity of the arts, especially as such a claim could hardly have been compatible with Enlightenment rational sobriety. Schopenhauer's "metaphysics of music"[48] and E.T.A. Hoffmann's "realm of the infinite" belong to the classic topoi of such a view of music. The affirmation of the ineffable and non-rational in music can be interpreted as an attempt to deflect potential criticism: the claimed intellectual nature of music could not be justified by recourse to either simply semantic or rational-logical meanings of music and thus the only way to defend against attacks was through exaggeration. Wilhelm Langhans was very explicit on this point when he wrote:

Since music here speaks a language which, with its free and audacious conformity to natural laws, must seem to us more powerful than logic, while we find no evidence at all for reasoning, which moves according to the constraints of cause and effect: Beethoven's Symphony must appear to us as a revelation from another world.[49]

These were not statements that were specifically inspired by Beethoven's music, but they were deeply rooted in thinking about music in general. As can be seen in this passage by Amadeus Wendt:

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[45] Arthur Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, hg. von Arthur Hübscher, Zürich 1977, Bd. 1.1, § 52, p. 332.

[46] Arrey von Dommer, Handbuch der Musikgeschichte von den ersten Anfängen bis zum Tode Beethovens in gemeinfasslicher Darstellung (1868), zweite, verbesserte Aufl., Leipzig 1878, p. 326.

[47] Käte Hamburger, Wahrheit und ästhetische Wahrheit, Stuttgart 1979.

[48] Schopenhauer 1977 (see note 45), Bd. 1.2, § 39, p. 526-538.

[49] Wilhelm Langhans, Die Musikgeschichte in zwölf Vorlesungen (1878), zweite, wesentlich vermehrte Aufl., Leipzig 1879, p. 161.

In fact, it is [music] that, lacking any sort of external model, establishes a realm of invisible beauty embedded in the element of time, accessible only to the intellect. Music, which is able to express the inner life, inexpressible in words, the mental travails in nature and the human breast with the depth and fullness of foreboding.[50]

Because of this revaluation of music, the written and public discussion of music seemed to be a natural cultural practice. Music histories had been written since the end of the 18th century. Interest in older music and its development grew rapidly, not only in terms of its study, but increasingly also in terms of its performance and reception.[51] Specialist journals emerged in which, among other things, current performances and new publications were reviewed. The aesthetic, historical, and critical examination of music suddenly became part of the cultural practice of music. All this was new: the emergence of aesthetics as a discipline in the narrower sense is often associated (unquestionably an oversimplification) with Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's *Aesthetica* from 1750; and a body of music-critical writing gradually established itself in the 18th century before exploding throughout Europe in the 19th century.[52]

Today we take the existence of publications that serve as outlets for music criticism so for granted that we seldom realize how recent a cultural practice this is: For centuries, people did not deal with older music, nor did they critically examine works or performances in a written form. The fact that specific works were occasionally mentioned in publications, for example by Iacobus de Ispania or Johannes Tinctoris, was without exception in the context of discussions of music theory or compositional theory. The dispute between Monteverdi and Giovanni Artusi in the early 17th century could be best understood as an exception that confirms the rule.

This form of intellectualization and revaluation of music was also reflected, for example, in the subjects taken up by program music. The titles of Franz Liszt's symphonic poems read almost like a history of world literature: ancient mythology, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller provided him with his material. Titles such as *Prometheus*, *Orpheus*, *Hamlet*, *Tasso*, *Die Ideale*, Faust Symphony or Dante Symphony speak for themselves. Musicians thus became educated people—so much so that a cultural critic like August Wilhelm Ambros sometimes found it too much:

Nowadays the composer reads his Shakespeare and Sophocles in the original language and knows them half by heart, he has studied Humboldt's *Cosmos* as well as the historical works of Niebuhr or Ranke, he is familiar with the operations of the dialectical process according to Hegel as exactly or rather even more exactly than the correct way of answering a fugue theme.[53]

Just as the object, music, was upgraded to an object of intellectual study, so too were its producers, musicians and composers, assigned the role of educated people, and the role of the recipients also had to be adapted. This is expressed very clearly, for example, in the words of Wilhelm Christian Müller:

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[50] Amadeus Wendt, Ueber die Hauptperioden der schoenen Kunst, oder die Kunst im Laufe der Weltgeschichte, Leipzig 1831, p. 163.

[51] For more on increasing historicism see Walter Wiora (ed.), Die Ausbreitung des Historismus über die Musik, Regensburg 1969 (Studien zu Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts).

[52] For more on the history of music criticism see Christopher Dingle (ed.), The Cambridge History of Music Criticism, Cambridge 2019. Helmut Kirchmeyer has compiled a comprehensive collection of sources relating to German music criticism in the 19th century: Situationsgeschichte der Musikkritik und des musikalischen Pressewesens in Deutschland, Regensburg 1967ff. See also Kirchmeyer's study, System- und Methodengeschichte der deutschen Musikkritik vom Ausgang des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 2017.

[53] August Wilhelm Ambros, Die Grenze der Musik und Poesie (1856), second edition, Leipzig 1872, p. IV.

Innate, trained ears, imbued with the intelligence of the mind, will then be able to serve (as an educated ear) for the determination of the necessary prerequisites if musical works are to be accorded the essence of beauty in our intelligent age.[54]

III. Music and the bourgeois public sphere: integration and division

It is obvious that central elements of this educated bourgeois understanding of music live on in the image of New Music: the reflection on the historical location of music; the reference to Greek and Roman classicals and culturally recognized poets; the use of terminology related to cognition, knowledge, and truth; the reference to religious content; and the philosophical exaltation of music. In part, these elements were modified or amplified; in part, new aspects were added, such as the obscuring of content in writing about music, music distancing itself from humor, and the thematization of limit, paradox, and fragment. Moreover, the use of a style of composition that prevented broader comprehension through normative prohibitions was entirely remote from music in the long 19th century. At that time, music had in many ways sought to forge a direct connection with the entire bourgeois audience. Changes in the relationship of music to its social environment or its political framework can explain these developments and thus the emergence of New Music and its image.

Music had become an important part of bourgeois life and self-image in the 19th century.[55] Between 1830 and 1848, a commercial bourgeois concert system emerged in major European cities such as Paris, London, and Vienna.[56] Singing societies and music festivals flourished and attracted a growing audience.[57] Music thus represented an important sphere of bourgeois public education and identity construction.[58] Composers became anchored in cultural memory and acquired a national significance that was reflected in anniversary celebrations and monuments.[59]

This integration of music into the gradually forming bourgeois society is only one facet of a broader process in which the arts and cultural life supported the interests of the bourgeoisie. Wolfgang J. Mommsen has devoted several essays to this subject, which he has published in the volume *Bürgerliche Kultur und politische Ordnung: Künstler, Schriftsteller und Intellektuelle in der deutschen Geschichte 1830–1933*.[60] The following remarks are based on this publication. Building on Mommsen's theses, it will be shown how elevating music's status

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[54] Müller 1830 (see note 36), vol. 1, p. 268.

[55] Fundamental sources in this context include: Leo Balet and Eberhard Gerhard. Die Verbürgerlichung der deutschen Kunst, Literatur und Musik im 18. Jahrhundert (1936), ed. G. Mattenklott, Frankfurt; Peter Schleuning, Der Bürger erhebt sich. Geschichte der deutschen Musik im 18. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart 2000.

[56] William Weber, Music and the Middle Class. The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848, second edition, Aldershot 2004, pp. 7f.

[57] See for example: Dieter Langewiesche, Nation und Nationalismus in Deutschland und Europa, München 2000, ch. 6; Dieter Düding, Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808-1847). Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung, München 1984 (Studien zur Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 13); Friedhelm Brusniak and Dietmar Klenke, Sängerfeste und die Musikpolitik der deutschen Nationalbewegung, in: *Die Musikforschung* 52 (1999): 29-54; Christoph Müller-Oberhäuser, Zwischen Kunst, Politik und Geselligkeit. Eine Geschichte der Chorwettbewerbe in Deutschland zwischen 1841 und 1914 (BzAfMw), Stuttgart 2021.

[58] On the concept of the bourgeois public sphere, see Jürgen Habermas's still essential study, Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, new edition, Frankfurt am Main 1991.

[59] Hentschel 2006 (see note 3), p. 140-146.

[60] Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Bürgerliche Kultur und politische Ordnung. Künstler, Schriftsteller und Intellektuelle in der deutschen Geschichte 1830-1933*, Frankfurt a. M. 2000.

to that of a subject any educated person was expected to be familiar with initially served general bourgeois interests, but that later—after 1871—certain compositional tendencies split off from the mainstream, and these new currents were, as described above, underpinned by the radicalization of the formerly widely accepted bourgeois view of music in New Music circles.

Mommsen understands the bourgeoisie as "the strata of education and property, which were then progressively joined by the rising groups of industrial and commercial entrepreneurs."[61] "Science, art, trade, and industry" were by that time already considered "basic forms of bourgeois activity."[62] In this context, culture functioned as a space in which the emancipatory aspirations of those strata could be developed. Here, "the bourgeoisie, which had been excluded from the political establishment, found an area in which its emancipatory aspirations were not hindered by the state and in which it could develop an independent identity."[63] Some historians even prefer to attach the category of bourgeoisie less to a particular economic or social status and rather associate it with a particular concept of culture, which tends to be anti-aristocratic.[64] The emancipatory elan was by no means definitively lost with the failure of the 1848 Revolution, but "resurfaced after 1860 with the decline of Restoration politics."[65]

The identity of the bourgeoisie, however, included not only emancipation from aristocratic strata, but also demarcation from the strata "below." Thus, Mommsen attributes the high willingness of municipal bodies to promote culture also to the fact that this offered the possibility of "legitimizing the hegemony of the bourgeois strata at the level of municipal self-government in the face of the encroaching democratic forces from below, often also directed against the Catholic lower classes."[66] Contributing to this demarcation were the membership fees levied by the various associations and societies, which were so important for strengthening the bourgeoisie.[67] Culture thus became an

> essential weapon in the arsenal of the liberal bourgeoisie, on the one hand, in its struggle against princely despotism and aristocratic paternalism and, on the other hand, in defending its political and social supremacy against the mass movements emerging from the lower levels of society, be it democracy or industrial labor.[68]

This attitude can even be detected in discourses on music, for example in St. Julien, who wrote, albeit in humorous exaggeration, the following:

> It is saddening that the thin sliver of truly ardent art lovers for the noble and sublime are lost in the crowd and drowned out by the deafening clamor of the proletarians. Since the masses have emancipated themselves from the leadership of the art intelligentsia, the young brood crawls out of the nest barely fledged and half blind.[69]

After the founding of the German *Reich* in 1871, however, the structure of culture, bourgeoisie, and social policy changed. The homogeneity of the bourgeoisie broke down.

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[61] p. 46.
[62] p. 47; also p. 67.
[63] p. 49
[64] p. 63
[65] p. 244.
[66] p. 48.
[67] p. 49.
[68] p. 62.
[69] St. Julien, H[einrich] von. Aphoristische Beiträge zu einer Theorie des Beifalls, in: Jahrbücher des deutschen National-Vereins für Musik und ihre Wissenschaft 1 (1839), reprinted in: Kirchmeyer 1967ff. (see note 48), vol. II.3, column 141–165, here p. 164.

Since the middle of the 19th century, science, art, and culture had already begun to increasingly lose their high status for the bourgeois self-image.[70] "The leading economic elite of Wilhelmine society" then gathered in the museum associations of the newly founded empire.

[The museum association's members] associated with the top state authorities and ministers as equals and not infrequently had access to the monarch. It goes without saying that, unlike the bourgeois members of the art associations at the beginning of the century, they identified fully with the existing political and social system, but not with liberal politics. The promotion of art and science was no longer, or at least not primarily, understood as a means of strengthening bourgeois identity in opposition to the dynasties and the higher ranks of the nobility.[71]

Emancipatory tendencies were replaced by the goal of representing one's own elevated position:[72]

It is impossible to overlook the fact that cracks in the edifice of the bourgeois cultural establishment began to appear more and more from the early 1880s onward, and all the more as parts of the established artistic community were drawn into the service of the new, now strongly conservative and militaristic nation-state, thus indirectly distancing themselves from the emancipatory components that had been peculiar to the bourgeois concept of culture in the *Vormärz* period that was still dominate in the period of the founding of the *Reich*.[73]

Since art and literature were "all too willing to be dragged along in the wake of official cultural policy,"[74] countercurrents arose. In literature, naturalism strove for renewal, and in the context of the visual arts, first the Munich and then the Berlin Secession were founded.[75] This led to a deep split in the artistic community:

On the one hand, there was a considerable number of artists who were important in their own way, who moved entirely in the wake of official—or perhaps it would be better to say: average bourgeois—artistic taste and who increasingly allowed affirmative tendencies to come to the fore in their works; on the other hand, there were innovators who sought to break out of the existing patterns of a realism that sought to legitimize itself historically and who wanted to make a difference.[76]

The transfer of these processes to music is not easy, at least given the present state of knowledge. It would be too easy to point to works such as Wagner's ***Kaisermarsch*** or Brahms's *Triumphlied*. It is true that they celebrate the founding of the empire, which seemed at least in part to realize the idea of a nation-state, but neither their other works nor late 19th-century works by other composers provide clear evidence that would allow us to assert either an affirmative accommodation to the ruling elite or a dissociation from the normative bourgeois taste in music. After all, William Weber has shown that in the course of the late 19th century and early 20th century, concerts featuring the canonized composers of the classical-romantic period increasingly gained the upper hand over concerts featuring contemporary composers.[77] It is possible, then, that the concerts of the canonized composers are to be understood as analogous to "normative bourgeois" artistic taste, while the less-played

[70] Mommsen 2000 (see note 57), p. 57.
[71] p. 56.
[72] p. 65.
[73] p. 71.
[74] p. 76.
[75] p. 71.
[76] p. 250.
[77] William Weber, "Beyond the classics. Welche neue Musik hörte das deutsche Publikum im Jahre 1910?" in: Kommunikation im Musikleben. Harmonien und Dissonanzen im 20. Jahrhundert, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, pp. 68–87.

contemporary composers are analogous to the Secessions. But for the time being this can only remain a vague hypothesis.

Nevertheless, the processes described are extremely illuminating for the understanding of music history, too. For, as Mommsen goes on to explain, the countercurrents in the 20th century led to the avant-garde movements:

> Not surprisingly, the avant-garde, which since the turn of the century had been striving with increased vigor to break free from this artistic and literary milieu, ended up adopting a radically anti-bourgeois orientation, aiming either to shatter the bourgeois way of life or to retreat into the isolation of small intellectual circles.[78]

The art of the avant-gardes was "supported by small groups of the bourgeois upper classes and, beyond that, by the intellectuals; it could not—and did not want to—become the art of broad social strata, let alone a mass art."[79] This development was accompanied by a tendency toward a "radically individualistic aestheticism."[80] One consequence of these processes was a kind of "'cultural expropriation' of those educated in the conventional way," who were no longer willing to follow this art.[81] Thus, the cultural system became independent:

> Since the end of the 1880s, the cultural system began to break away from the bourgeois social order and organize itself as an independent subsystem. This subsystem increasingly emancipated itself from the ideological premises of bourgeois thought and propagated the principle of the autonomy of art and literature in opposition to political and social powers with ever greater emphasis.[82]

From these observations, a transfer to the history of music can be made more easily. It is still not quite so simple, because the influence of ragtime, blues, and later jazz coming from North America can hardly be accounted for against this background. For even if the recourse to jazz by some composers, such as Erwin Schulhoff, can certainly be understood as a strategy of renewal and demarcation, the reception of African-American music in Germany can hardly be understood in the context of these distinctly European social-historical processes. But it would also be difficult to fit operetta, chanson, and dance music into the same schema. Clear tendencies toward demarcation, however, can be identified in Futurism and Dadaism, but musical expressions for these art movements remained marginal. This is especially true of Erwin Schulhoff's Dadaist works which were almost singular;[83] while the influence of Futurism on music was probably somewhat greater, thanks to Luigi Russolo's activities and writings.[84]

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[78] Mommsen 2000 (see note 60), p. 73.

[79] p. 90.

[80] p. 173.

[81] pp. 257f.

[82] pp. 27f.

[83] For more on Schulhoff see the studies by Tobias Widmaier: Dada siegt im Shimmytakt: Erwin Schulhoffs Saarbrücker Jahr 1920/21. In: Musik in Saarbrücken – Nachklänge einer wechselvollen Geschichte, ed. Nike Keisinger and Ricarda Wackers. Saarbrücken 2000, pp. 147–152 and 231f.; Colonel Schulhoff, Musikdada: Unsinn als Ausdruck von Lebendigkeit. In: Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 155 (1994), no. 3, pp. 14–21; "In meinen Eingeweiden kräuseln süsse Kakophonien": Erwin Schulhoffs Dadatöne. In: Erwin Schulhoff. Die Referate des Kolloquiums in Köln am 7. Oktober 1992, ed. Gottfried Eberle. Hamburg 1993 (Verdrängte Musik 5), pp. 69–87; Dadaist mit Wolkenpumpe. Zur Wiederentdeckung von Erwin Schulhoff. In: Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 152 (1991), no. 11, pp. 5–11.

[84] For more on Futurism see also Mark A. Radice, Futurismo: Its origins, context, repertory, and influence, in: The musical quarterly, 73/1 (1989), pp. 1–17; Esther Schmitz-Gundlach, Musikästhetische Konzepte des italienischen Futurismus und ihre Rezeption durch Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts, Frankfurt a. M. 2007; Beate Hannemann, Tod dem Mondschein: Von Futurismus zur Geräuschmusik der Avantgarde, in: Musik & Bildung: Praxis Musikunterricht 31/3 81999), pp. 30–37.

The music and musical worldview of Arnold Schoenberg is in no way be compared to the radicalism of such anti-bourgeois approaches. Nationalistic and emancipatory thought patterns, the idea of progress, artistic-religious pathos, and Romantic rhetoric cast Schoenberg appear as a direct heir to bourgeois thought as it was codified before 1871. However, the break with tonal harmony in his freely atonal and later twelve-tone compositions led to such alienation from the audience that a situation comparable to the Secessions or even avant-garde movements certainly occurred.

Music's split from the bourgeois social order can be observed particularly vividly in Schoenberg. For in 1918, due to a lack of public acceptance of his music, Schoenberg founded the "Society for Private Musical Performances." The goal of the Society was stated in section 2 of its statutes:

> To give Arnold Schoenberg the opportunity to personally carry out his intention: to provide artists and art lovers with a real and accurate knowledge of modern music. The Society will strive to achieve this goal through regular, possibly weekly, Society evenings at which works of modern music will be performed.[85]

All the elements that had typically characterized the performance of music as a public civic event were explicitly excluded in the statutes. As an essential element of its artistic program, the Society sought to separate music from the broader bourgeois public sphere:

> The members of the Society are obliged […] not to violate the character of the Society, which seeks to distance itself from the public music business as completely as possible, i.e., not to write or inspire any public reporting about the Society's performances and activities, especially reviews, notes, and discussions in periodicals or other publications.[86]

Schoenberg thus radicalized a tendency that had arisen as a result of the increasing dominance of the classical-romantic canon. For as a consequence of this, contemporary composers had often taken to "staging concerts themselves, which contained almost only new works."[87] That other composers at the time also felt the need to find forums for their activities that stood outside the official art establishment is evidenced by the founding of the Donaueschingen Festival in 1921 and the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) in 1922, both of which continue to exist today. The canon of prohibitions was and is the most important means of maintaining such a demarcation from the public sphere, even in compositional practice itself.

IV. Distinction from pop music

Thus, through the intensification and radicalization of the educated bourgeois' elevation of music, an image of New Music crystallized in which the distinction from the educated mainstream was central. This image was flanked by a music that, due to the prohibitions introduced by Schoenberg at the latest, also strove for distinction from that mainstream (and even more so from the broader public). One can understand the basic principle of twelve-tone music as the implementation of a central prohibition in this sense: a tone may only be repeated after all other tones in the series have sounded. Any elements reminiscent of tonality, the basis of traditional music familiar to the public, was to be avoided. Serial music and, somewhat later, aleatoric music enforced these tendencies in the most consequent form

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[85] Schönberg-Archiv, Online Archive, Resource ID 5024, Statuten § 2.
[86] Ibid, § 6.
[87] Weber 2015 (see note 77), p. 69.

in the 1950s: these compositional techniques led to an uncompromising implementation of the canon of prohibition through their de-subjectified systemization of musical parameters or the surrender of compositional decisions to random procedures.[88] At the same time, a theorization of New Music began, which had its social location in institutions such as the International Summer Courses for New Music in Darmstadt as well as in specialized branches of music criticism and musicology and thus transpired in a decidedly isolated subsystem of culture.

Already at the end of the 19th century, the emergence of a cultural subsystem led to a partial reorganization of the sponsorship and, in particular, the financing of art, as Wolfgang J. Mommsen explains:

> This cultural subsystem was supported by a comparatively narrow but influential class of artists, art lovers, and patrons who made the promotion of new artistic or literary movements their life's work. By contrast, the importance of traditional patrons, especially the state and municipalities, declined considerably, although they remained considerable by international standards.[89]

New music in the sense outlined above was completely dependent on state or municipal subsidies in the second half of the 20th century. In 1949, SWF [South German Radio] started its long-term association as a financial and media partner of the Donaueschingen Festival,[90] and the WDR [West German Radio] supported the early development of electronic music by establishing its electronic studio.[91] When the Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik later also developed into a prestigious forum for New Music, this was largely due to the initiative of the WDR.[92] The Darmstadt Summer Courses were initially financed by the American military government and then by the city of Darmstadt, the state of Hesse, and the German federal government.[93]

In a clear split from the use of mass media and broadcasting by the National Socialists, who used the medium for their propaganda, broadcasting in the post war period was now to be used to vigorously promote the freedom of opinion in a new democratic Germany. Thus, "public broadcasting had become a rallying point for critical intelligentsia" in the 1950s, which "was a thorn in the side of the federal government under Konrad Adenauer."[94] The chancellor, who wished to use broadcasting as a "political leadership tool,"[95] thus sought to establish an advertising-financed second television channel,[96] provoking a lawsuit brought by several German states, and in 1961 the Constitutional Court issued its verdict in this case, issuing a ruling on the role of public broadcasters which states:

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[88] György Ligeti explored the relationship between "decision and automatism" using the example of Pierre Boulez's Structure 1a (see Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 1, ed. Monika Lichtenfeld, Mainz 2007, pp. 413–446.)

[89] Mommsen 2000 (see note 60), p. 77.

[90] See Josef Häusler, Spiegel der Neuen Musik: Donaueschingen. Chronik – Tendenzen – Werkbesprechungen, Kassel 1996, pp. 130-141.

[91] For more on the WDR studio, see Christoph von Blumröder, Die elektroakustische Musik. Eine kompositorische Revolution und ihre Folgen, Vienna 2017 (Signale aus Köln. Beiträge zur Musik der Zeit 22), pp. 80–126.

[92] Hentschel 2007 (see note 7), pp. 39–53.

[93] Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, (eds.), Im Zenit der Moderne. Die internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946 –1966, 3 vols., Freiburg 1997, vol. 1, p. 61; Amy C. Beal, New Music, New Allies. American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification, Oakland 2006, pp. 36–41.

[94] Brigitte Baetz, Geschichte aktuell: Vor 50 Jahren: Ein Massenmedium organisiert sich. Die Gründung der ARD, https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/geschichte-aktuell-vor-50-jahren.724.de.html?dram:article_id=97182, 10. Juni 2000 (accessed 8 November 2021).

[95] Rita von der Grün, Rundfunkentwicklung nach 1945, in: Musik der 50er (fünfziger) Jahre, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern, Berlin 1980, p. 29.

[96] Baetz 2000 (see note 94).

Article 5 unequivocally requires that this modern instrument for forming public opinion be placed neither at the mercy of the state nor any social group. Broadcasters must therefore be organized in such a way that all relevant interests have influence in broadcasters' institutional structures and can have their say on the overall programming, and that the content of the overall program is governed by binding principles that guarantee a minimum of balance in terms of content, objectivity, and mutual respect for different viewpoints.[97]

With this ruling, the Constitutional Court gave credence to the concerns that Hans Bauch, director of Süddeutscher Rundfunk, had expressed when he said that "the directors saw a danger to the independence and objectivity of one of the most important sources of information. They warn of the consequences for our society and political life." [98]

Against this background, it is understandable that broadcasters felt obligated, also from a cultural perspective, to represent the entire breadth of artistic currents and activities. Thus, new music found one of its most important funding institutions in broadcasting. The list of commissioned compositions financed by public broadcasters between 1946 and 1975 comprises 933 works, including numerous works by composers who were known from the milieu of the Darmstadt Summer Courses, such as Hans Ulrich Engelmann, Giselher Klebe, Hans Werner Henze, Luigi Nono, Bernd Alois Zimmermann, etc.[99] It is difficult to imagine how New Music could have existed at all without the support of the radio. To a large extent, public broadcasters made and continue to make an essential contribution to maintaining the cultural subsystem of New Music.

But after the Second World War, the world was of course no longer what it had been before in political, social, and societal terms. One must therefore ask why the mechanisms of the cultural subsystem described by Mommsen were so clearly preserved in New Music, and even intensified. For it is obvious that New Music maintains an exceedingly large number of features of the arts after their split from the bourgeois mainstream: first, it perpetuates the elevation of music to an aspirational educational goal by borrowing its aesthetics of concepts from science and epistemology (truth, cognition …); second, it replicates values established in the educated bourgeoisie by working through a canon of important philosophers and authors; third, it clearly places intellectual understanding above the sensual and emphasizes the seriousness of its concern by emphasizing existential content and excluding humor. Finally, it projects the image that it is difficult to understand by adopting strategies of obfuscation in how the music is described.

Accordingly, the features of differentiation and distinction were maintained and intensified. But an upper-middle-class elite supporting the political leadership as was the case at the turn of the century no longer existed in a comparable way after the defeat of National Socialism and the introduction of democracy in Germany. Although there was a tradition of "moderate" composing, i.e., composing that did not consistently adhere to the canon of prohibitions[100] and addressed the needs of a broader group of educated people, and likewise, of course, concerts of the classical-romantic repertoire continued, the culmination of the canon of prohibitions and New Music from about 1950 onward was probably related to another phenomenon: the same period saw the emergence of "pop music" in the true sense

[97] Ibid
[98] Ibid
[99] Anneliese Betz, Auftragskompositionen im Rundfunk 1946–1975, Frankfurt a. M. 1977 (Bild- und Tonträger-Verzeichnisse, ed. vom Deutschen Rundfunkarchiv, vol. 7).
[100] cf. Frank Hentschel, "Wie neu war die 'neue Einfachheit'?", in: Acta musicologica 78 (2006), pp. 111–131.

of the word as a mass cultural phenomenon.[101] The striking contemporaneity of the emergence of serial music, aleatoric music, and electronic music, on the one hand, and the explosion of pop music as a mass cultural phenomenon, on the other, was thematized by David Clarke in his aptly chosen essay title "Darmstadt and Elvis."[102]

Beyond the simultaneity of pop music's emergence, there are two reasons that support the explanation proposed here for pop music's role in the emergence and specific character of New Music: first, the absence of alternative explanatory models, and second, differentiating from pop music fits of the extreme version of the canon of prohibition so perfectly.

There are two alternative explanatory models that at first seem plausible: one of which states that New Music was a reaction to National Socialism, the other that it emerged as a symbol of artistic freedom during the Cold War and thus as an alternative to Socialist Realism. In the scholarly literature, the thesis that New Music should be understood as a reaction to National Socialism is found extremely rarely. Reinhart Kannonier summarizes some positions that point in this direction.[103] Hans Vogt, for example, argues that New Music can be understood as a flight reflex, triggered by feelings of guilt, into a renewed dogmatism, but this time purely materialistic. According to Hans Werner Henze, composers of New Music focused on those musical characteristics that had been suppressed and forbidden by National Socialism and Fascism. And according to Dietrich Stern, a sort of ideology emerged after 1945 that it was possible to overcome ideologies entirely. This ideology seemed to be particularly well realized by the retreat of the subject behind quasi-mathematical models as in serial music (but also random procedures as in aleatoric music). But these explanatory approaches are limited by an all-too-German postwar perspective: the retreat into pure material, the focus on the l'art-pour-l'art principle so well elaborated by Wolfgang J. Mommsen, was already prevalent at the end of the 19th century in the Secessions and their aftermath. And more importantly, New Music was by no means only a German phenomenon. Rather, it was also present in Italy and France, as well as—though perhaps to a lesser extent—in other countries such as Great Britain, Poland, the then Czechoslovakia, or the former Soviet Union. One would then have to understand it rather as a countermovement to the most diverse range of dictatorships (National Socialism, Mussolini Italy, Stalin era). This is not very convincing, however, because some of the dictatorships had ended, while others had only just begun, but especially because it is not particularly convincing to interpret a music characterized by an extremely high degree of dogmatism and normativity as a response to precisely this problem: dogmatism and normativity. Moreover, the beginnings of the canon of prohibitions were already very clearly laid out by Schoenberg and Webern, that is, long before the dictatorships mentioned.

In recent years, therefore, the relationship between New Music and the Cold War has received much more attention, because here there are demonstrable connections that shed a highly revealing light on New Music in terms of contemporary history. Studies such as those by Mark Stephen Carroll and Lisa Jakelski have shown how much New Music, as well as other

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[101] see for example, Robert Walser, article "Rock and roll", in: Grove Music Online, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000049136 (accessed on 8 November 2021).

[102] David Clarke, Elvis and Darmstadt, or: Twentieth-Century Music and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism, in: Twentieth-Century Music 4/1 (2007), pp. 3–45.

[103] Reinhart Kannonier, Bruchlinien in der Geschichte der modernen Kunstmusik, Wien, Köln und Graz 1987 (Kulturstudien 8), pp. 219f.

forms of other contemporaneous music, were involved in political discourses and events.[104] There is probably little doubt about the entanglement of New Music and contemporary politics; but whether the emergence of New Music was in any way causally linked to the Cold War is a more difficult question. Inge Kovács, for example, assumes that:

> Against this background, it is striking that the Western European avant-garde increasingly propagated and presented precisely that which was subject to persecution from the Stalinist side. In this respect, their development around 1950 must be understood against the backdrop of the Cold War, without excluding other explanatory approaches, especially the context of the recently defeated Nazi dictatorship and the Second World War.[105]

Less explicitly, but arguably in a very similar direction, Anne Shreffler writes: "That the development of serial music after 1945 was affected by the Cold War is probably not a controversial statement anymore."[106] Like Kovács, she also invokes the theory that both National Socialism and the Cold War or Socialist Realism played a causal role in the emergence of New Music: "On the one hand, composers embraced musical idioms and techniques that had been forbidden by Nazi cultural policies; on the other, they systematically and ostentatiously exercised the freedom that was denied their Eastern counterparts."[107]

Both authors, however, fail to provide evidence for this explanatory approach. Anne Shreffler brings forth a single argument, namely that the central role of the concept of freedom in the musical aesthetics of serial music mirrored the political significance of this concept.[108] However, not only has Wolfgang J. Mommsen shown that the freedom and autonomy of art had become a central idea of aesthetics as culture became independent from the political mainstream at the end of the nineteenth century,[109] but moreover this idea was so readily available at that time because it had always been part of the central terminological repertoire of aesthetics and art historiography since the emancipation efforts of the middle classes.[110] The presence of the concept of freedom in discourses on serial music can therefore be more easily explained as the continuation of rhetoric related to music (which, of course, does not preclude a new semantic orientation of the terminology).

This can be shown very convincing, especially with regard to the musical aesthetics, in one of the most important points of contact between New Music before National Socialism and the Cold War on the one hand and post-war serial music on the other: Webern's already mentioned lectures "Der Weg der Neuen Musik" [The Path of New Music] (1932) and "Der Weg zur Komposition in 12 Tönen" [The Path towards Composition with 12 Tones] (1933). For in these lectures, the importance of freedom for music is emphasized as if it were a sort of leitmotif, for example when Webern writes about the development from Bach to Beethoven to Schoenberg that "nothing new had come, except that one had treated the forms more and more freely," [111] just as when he states that the advantage of the twelve-tone row was that it

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[104] Mark Stephen Carroll, When Worlds Collide: Music and Ideology in France, 1946–1954, Ph.D. diss., University of Adelaide 2000; Lisa Jakelski, Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968, Oakland 2017.

[105] Inge Kovács, Die Ferienkurse als Schauplatz der Ost-West-Konfrontation, in: Borio und Danuser 1997 (see note 93), vol. 1, pp. 116–139, here pp. 129.

[106] Anne C. Shreffler, Ideologies of serialism: Stravinsky's Threni and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, in: Music and the aesthetics of modernity: Essays, Cambridge, MA 2003 (Isham Library papers 6), pp. 217–245, here p. 217.

[107] Ibid

[108] Ibid, pp. 219–229.

[109] See above.

[110] Hentschel 2006 (see note 3), ch. 4.

[111] p. 33.

could "employ the thematic elements much more freely,"[112] or when at the end of his lectures, he reaches a sort of climax, exclaiming:

> "By saying in a completely new way" we want to say the same thing that was said before. But I can invent more freely now, everything has a deeper connection. Only now is it possible to compose giving imagination free rein, without being bound—except by the series. Quite paradoxically: Only as a result of these heavy chains has full freedom become possible![113]

Moreover, there are at least two further reasons that speak against the assumption that the emergence or the special character of New Music can be traced back to the Cold War. First, it needs to be explained why New Music had its center in Europe, while the Cold War had its political (Western) center to a great extent in the United States. On the other hand, and this is the stronger argument, the question arises why New Music distanced itself so offensively from most of the musical trends that constituted the mainstream in its own political sphere (besides classical-romantic music and jazz, especially pop music), although the majority of the population identified with the political positioning in the Cold War. Both arguments make it very unlikely that the Cold War functioned as the raison d'être for new music. As already emphasized, this in no way excludes New Music's Cold War claim, nor other forms of New Music's involvement in political power relations, as Shreffler, Carroll, Jakelski, and others have shown, but this political backdrop can hardly be used as an explanation for its emergence or the development of its particular character described at the beginning of this study.

In this respect, the social-distinctive differentiation of new music from pop music represents a more plausible hypothesis for the emergence of new music. In this way, New Music can indeed be described as the Other of pop music: What New Music prohibits itself from doing is precisely the elements that characterize pop music. It can be said that a mirror image of the canon of prohibitions resurfaces in pop music transformed from "thou shalt not …" to "thou shalt …" Music like that of Elvis Presley is characterized by harmonic and rhythmic simplicity, by singable and catchy melodies, by themes close to everyday life such as love (without existentialist exaggeration), far removed from the academic canon of poets and thinkers, and often having a dance-like character that is also displayed in Presley's physical performance and presence. This presence is erotically charged to a high degree, and this physical-sensual-erotic presence is also reflected in the reactions of the audience, who move, shout, and scream—while the audience of New Music sits and listens in silent devotion.[114] As late as 1996, after a concert at the Wittener Tage für neue Kammermusik that had dared to discreetly bridge the gap between New Music and jazz, Heinz-Klaus Metzger wrote:

> But the new music is also threatened from another side: by the playfulness of some of its best interpreters. Without a doubt, Mauricio Kagel's *pandorasbox, bandoneonpiece for david tudor* from 1960, one of the first European paradigms of instrumental theater, is one of the enduring works of the century. The clarinetist Michel Portal performed it perfectly and impressively in all respects. But then Michael Riessler (clarinets), Michel Portal (bandoneon, clarinet), Jean-Louis Matinier (accordion), and Carlo Rizzo (percussion) joined forces to perform their own collective composition, which turned into a kind of "jam session," and in no time bewitched the Witten specialist audience into a horde of jeering popular music fans [Metzger uses the strongly pejorative term *U-Musik*]. Rizzo is the most incredible tambourine virtuoso I've ever heard. But it was the only concert I left early,

[112] p. 42.
[113] p. 60.
[114] It is not surprising that these aspects are among the most important criticisms that led to a rejection of pop music on the part of religious institutions; cf. Friedrich Geiger, Popmusik und Kirche. Skizze einer Konkurrenz, in: Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 102 [2018], pp. 19f.

mainly to avoid having my ears deprogramed in advance of the chamber music evening that followed, featuring late works by Elliott Carter and Goffredo Petrassi.[115]

If Elvis Presley has so far been addressed here as the most successful pop musician of his time and as one of its icons, he has of course acted merely as a pars pro toto, namely for a very broad, mass-media movement, whose origins lie in the African-American musical culture of the first half of the 20th century. Some aspects such as physicality, expressed in extreme vocal treatment and stage presence, are in fact even more clearly expressed in other musicians from the same period such as James Brown.

From the point of view of composers and many of their historiographers, New Music seems to have emerged as a historical necessity as result of a process of musical progress or because the musical material had been used up. A history of musical progress can be written with ease, as music historians have shown since the end of the 18th century and as Webern did in his lectures cited above. But it is just as easy to question a history of progress. For it is true that music changes with changing political, social, and cultural circumstances, but neither can it be determined that these changes follow any sort of clear path, and certainly not one leading to an ultimate goal, nor can these changes be regarded as improvements; and least of all can it be the case that of several existing types of music only one or another variant is classified as "legitimate" or "fitting with the times."[116]

As a motivation for the composers, this concept of progress was undoubtedly constitutive and important. Without this belief in the progressiveness of their music, they would probably not have composed the works as they did. From a social-historical perspective, however, the canon of prohibitions seems to have emerged from tendencies toward social distinction. It is true that the musical mainstream changed during both World Wars, but it was pop music, which by the 1950s had become so widespread or was in the process of proliferating, that led to not only a continuation but even an intensification of the canon of prohibitions. New music emerged as a continuation of a cultural subsystem that had emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century and served as a refuge for intellectuals to separate themselves from the dominate culture (initially the conformist bourgeois culture, and then starting around 1950 pop culture). And while there is reason to believe this explanation is applicable to a wider international context, it is important to remember that the present account has focused specifically on German social history, and thus for the time being, it must remain open to what extent these observations can be applied to countries such as Italy and France.

[115] Die Zeit 20, 1996 (online: https://www.zeit.de/1996/20/Der_Utopie_ein_letztes_Asyl; accessed on 20 October 2021).

[116] Hentschel 2006 (see note 3), pp. 212–216 and 2007 (see note 7), pp. 171–175; Hentschel, Musikgeschichte als Fortschritts- und Emanzipationserzählung, in: Historische Musikwissenschaft. Gegenstand – Geschichte – Methodik, ed. Hentschel, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2019 (Kompendien Musik), pp. 94–105.