THE SAXOPHONE IN GERMANY 1924-1935

by

Daniel Michaels Bell

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Alice Elizabeth Ervin	12 May 2004 Date
Keith M. Johnson	12 May 2004 Date
Jerry E. Kirkbride	12 May 2004 Date
	Date
	Date

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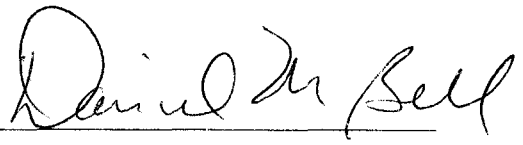
SIGNED: 

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For my parents

Bob and Margaret

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Photograph courtesy of Dr. Rainer Lotz, Bonn.

ABSTRACT

This document presents a holistic view of the saxophone in Germany from 1924 to 1935. A "wide field" view is presented in order to examine the saxophone within its social and historical contexts. Chapter One contains a general political and cultural history of Germany and a description of the saxophone in Germany before 1924. Chapter Two offers a definition of jazz in Germany and surveys the music's prominent saxophonists. Chapter Three documents and interprets portrayals of the saxophone in literature, art, and the press that might clarify its position within German society at the time. The instrument's journey through the turbulent period of Hitler's early government is followed. Chapter Three ends with a discussion of the references to the saxophone in the writings of philosopher Theodor W. Adorno. Finally, Chapter Four examines the role of the saxophone in the medium of serious concert music in Germany between the two World Wars.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *In the period of political and social upheaval which occurred during the 1920s the saxophone was to become a glittering symbol in Germany, heralding in a new way of life and offering wider possibilities of musical expression.*
>
> Karl Ventzke
> *7th World Saxophone Congress*
> *Nuremberg, 1982*

Goals of the Study

The dramatic premiere of Alban Berg's *Symphonic Suite from the Opera Lulu* took place in Berlin on November 30, 1934. Berg, although Aryan, had been listed as a *cultural bolshevist* by the Nazi government for his connection to the Jewish composer Arnold Schoenberg. Performances of his music had been banned throughout Germany and there was little hope, it seemed, for a German production of the nearly complete *Lulu* score. Still determined to promote his new opera, Berg sent a letter to the General Director of the Berlin State Opera, Erich Kleiber, to inform him of the five symphonic pieces that had been assembled from the opera. Berg posed a provocative question to his long-time friend and supporter: do you have the courage to make the first performance? Kleiber readily accepted the challenge and, with the shrewd assistance of Mrs. Kleiber,

obtained permission from Nazi leader Hermann Göring to hold the concert.[1] "An air of tension was felt in the house that night," wrote one reviewer, "and many people came, it is safe to say, just to see what might happen."[2] As an added precaution, Göring stationed a truck full of police at the stage entrance, ready to intervene at the first indication of trouble.

The concert proceeded without incident and the *Lulu Suite* was received with a sustained and deeply felt ovation. Music critic Hans Heniot of the American periodical *Musical Courier* writes, "Under Kleiber, the [State Opera] Orchestra gave a performance of microscopic precision and glowing warmth."[3] Noteworthy to Heniot was an orchestra that made use of a piano, a saxophone "in no way suggestive of jazz", and a vibraphone that helped to complete "a range of orchestral color ravishing at one extreme, defiantly crude at the other."[4] The Nazi authorities, however, were scandalized by the event and made it clear that favorable reviews of the concert would not be tolerated in the German press.[5] Four days later, Kleiber resigned his post, declaring that it was "impossible to carry on in a country where music was not, like air and sunlight, free to all."[6] The premiere of Berg's *Lulu Suite* was, by all accounts, a final vestige of a remarkable period

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[1] John Russell, *Erich Kleiber* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1857), 146.

[2] Hans Heniot, "Berlin Police Guard Hall for Hearing of Berg's *Lulu* Score," *The Musical Courier* 109 (December 1934): 5.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Douglas Jarman, *Alban Berg: " Lulu"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 8; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The MacMillan Press, 1994), 104.

[6] John Russell, *Erich Kleiber* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1957), 147.

in German and Austrian cultural life before an intolerant political regime closed the curtain.

Among the many intriguing aspects of Alban Berg's *Lulu Suite* (1934) and the opera *Lulu* (1929-1935) is the curious presence of a saxophone in the orchestration. A somewhat misunderstood newcomer to the instrumental world at the time, the saxophone is an integral part of Berg's orchestration of *Lulu*, appearing throughout in both solo and ensemble passages. Very few "standard repertory" works prior to 1935 can make this claim. Consequently, one is presented with an intriguing question: What kind of saxophone activity occurred in Germany prior to the composition of *Lulu* that may have inspired Berg to include an extensive part for the instrument in his second opera?[7]

The value of such an inquiry becomes evident when one considers the sheer number of works composed for the instrument in Germany between 1924 and 1935. The final tally from the List of Repertoire[8] that was generated from this project finds the saxophone in 24 operas, 31 symphonic works, 4 concertos, 22 sonatas, 8 etude books, and over 30 chamber works. This list includes pieces of extraordinarily enduring artistic value: Alban Berg's *Lulu*, Anton Webern's *Quartet,* Op. 22, Franz Schreker's *Kleine Suite*, Sigfrid Karg-Elert's *Capricen*, Paul Hindemith's *Konzertstück*, Kurt Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Edmund von Borck's *Konzert*, and the politically charged *Balladen* of Hanns Eisler for voice and small orchestra. Yet, the saxophone's standard scholarly literature, which includes seminal works by Hemke (1975), Rousseau (1982), Gee (1986),

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[7] Berg was Austrian and intimately connected with Vienna. Berlin, however, emerged as the cultural center of the German-speaking world after World War One and it was impossible to escape its influence.

Horwood (1992), Ingham, ed. (1998), and Umble (2000) offers scant information about the saxophone in Germany during the 1920s and 30s.[9] Two recent dissertations by Wylie (2002) and Zumwalt (2003) effectively address the saxophone works of Paul Hindemith and Edmund von Borck.[10] The beautifully prepared and illustrated German saxophone text by Ventzke, et al. (1979) and the book by Schroder (1990) contain excellent essays about the decade under review.[11] However, like many of the sources used throughout this document, they are available only in German and thus are inaccessible to the English-speaking student. The fascinating book simply titled *Das Saxophone* by Jaap Kool, a work published in Berlin in 1931 and generously translated by Dr. Lawrence Gwozdz in 1987, provides ample insight but will bear a re-examination in the context of its own time and place.[12] Finally, several works from the general historical literature contain valuable commentary about the saxophone, including the dissertation by Susan C. Cook (1985)

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[8] See Appendix A.

[9] Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975); Eugene Rousseau, *Marcel Mule: his life and the saxophone* (Shell Lake, WI: Etoile, 1982); Harry R. Gee, *Saxophone Soloists and Their Music, 1844-1985: An annotated bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Wally Horwood, *Adolphe Sax 1814-1894: his life and legacy* (Baldock, England: Egon, 1992); Richard Ingham, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); James C Umble, *Jean-Marie Londeix: Master of the modern saxophone* (CherryHill, NJ: Roncorp, 2000).

[10] Karen Wylie, "*Gebrauchmusik* in Paul Hindemith's Works for Saxophone: The Place of *Konzertstück für Zwei Altsaxophone*," (Diss., University of Houston, 2002); Wildy Lewis Zumwalt, "Edmund von Borck: A Study of his Life and Music with an Emphasis on His Works for the Saxophone." (Diss., Florida State University, 2003).

[11] Karl Ventzke, "The Saxophone in German-speaking countries up until the 2nd World War," in The 7th World Saxophone Congress Program Booklet (Nuremberg, 1982); Heribert Schroder, *Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933 (* Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990).

[12] Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987).

and the article by Marc Weiner (1991).[13] Other valuable works are noted throughout this document.

The issues surrounding the saxophone in inter-wars Germany are relevant to a contemporary understanding of the instrument. The saxophone was strongly linked to the dance and jazz bands of the time, as one example, and its subsequent place in art music was widely discussed. Many German musicians felt that the saxophone's association with jazz, a cheap and potentially destructive form of entertainment, should preclude its use in any type of serious music. Numerous other composers, in the meantime, readily experimented with jazz and the saxophone as progressive alternatives to the staid Romantic orchestra. Still others made a case that the saxophone should be appreciated for its inherent qualities alone, independent of its role in popular culture. Other countries also dealt with the issue of understanding the saxophone at this time, notably France and the United States; however, the saxophone was almost completely absent in Germany before the 1920s. When it finally arrived, its presence was keenly felt.

The goal of this document is to present a holistic view of the saxophone in Germany from 1924 to 1935. I hope to present a "wide field" view in order to examine the saxophone within its social and historical contexts. The remainder of Chapter One contains a general political and cultural history of Germany and a description of the saxophone in Germany before 1924. In Chapter Two, I offer a definition of jazz in

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[13]Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith" (Diss., University of Michigan, 1985); Marc Weiner, "*Urwaldmusik* and the borders of German identity: jazz in literature of the Weimar Republic," *The German Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991).

Germany and survey the music's prominent saxophonists. Chapter Three will document and interpret portrayals of the saxophone in literature, art, and the press that might clarify its position within German society at the time. I also follow the instrument's journey through the turbulent period of Hitler's early government. Chapter Three ends with a discussion of the references to the saxophone in the writings of philosopher Theodor W. Adorno. Finally, in Chapter Four, I examine the role of the saxophone in the medium of serious concert music in Germany between the two World Wars. When taken as a whole, a great arching curve emerges in the life of the saxophone beginning in the earliest German jazz combos and ending in the illustrious opera orchestra of Alban Berg. My goal is to describe the points that constitute this curve.

A Political and Cultural Background

> *Contrasted with its cultural history, the political history of the Weimar Republic is a depressing affair.*
>
> Peter Gay
> *Weimar Culture: The Outsider As Insider*

During the brief period between World War I and World War II, Germany served as the cultural and intellectual heart of Europe. Indeed, present-day architects, film makers, orchestra conductors[14] and painters, among others, all look to the works of inter-wars German artists to explore and inform the modern foundations of their crafts. Yet, now separated in time by eight decades and a World War, it becomes increasingly

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[14] This list would include Wilhelm Furtwängler, Erich Kleiber, Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, and Hermann Scherchen.

difficult to piece together the unique confluence of events and people that made this time and place so extraordinary. One sometimes must rely on mere speculation when considering its true character.

Following an unexpected loss in World War One, the disillusioned people of Germany ousted the imperial government that had failed them and established a new democracy. The Weimar Republic, proclaimed on November 9, 1918, was a grand political experiment that represented a break with the past and an opportunity for a fresh start.[15] As the subsequent control of opera houses and theaters shifted from the former aristocracy to supportive new State agencies, censorship of the arts quickly disappeared. War-weary German citizens turned to the arts and sciences to propel them towards a brighter future and an air of openness and permissiveness encouraged artists in every genre to experiment with bold new forms and ideas.

Life in post-war Germany, however, was difficult. Food shortages, poverty, a global flu epidemic, and isolation from the rest of the world marked the time between 1918 and 1923. The world attitude towards Germany was hostile. The Allied terms outlined in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 greatly minimized Germany's economic and military potential: German territories were ceded, its military was limited, and severe financial penalties were imposed. In a final tribulation, German currency was rendered

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[15] Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 147.

nearly worthless by a crippling "hyper-inflation" that peaked in 1923. The impact of these events on German society is inestimable.[16]

Towards the end of 1923 inflation was brought under control by the creation of a new currency. In 1924 the Dawes Plan further eased the situation; reparation payments to the allied countries were reduced and Germany was provided with sizable foreign loans, especially from the United States. Eventually, the economy stabilized and even prospered. In 1926, Germany was accepted into the League of Nations. The improved political and economic climate between 1924 and 1929, often termed Germany's Golden Twenties or its Jazz Age, fostered an intense flowering in the arts. During the unprecedented 1927-28 concert season, for example, no fewer than 60 new operas premiered throughout Germany.[17] Musicians enjoyed plentiful work aided by an impressive network of publishers, concert venues, radio and recording opportunities, and a prolific critical press. Most important, they enjoyed active and engaged audiences that were hungry for entertainment.

The 1927 silent documentary film "Berlin: Symphony of a Great City" by Walther Ruttmann provides a unique account of a day's proceedings in Berlin during the height of Germany's Golden Twenties.[18] Immediately noticeable is a city that is clean and well manicured, its inhabitants fashionably well dressed. Consistent with other descriptions of

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[16] Douglas Jarman, *Kurt Weill: An illustrated biography* (London: Orbis, 1982), 27.

[17] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith" (Diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 2.

[18] Walther Ruttmann, *Berlin, Symphony of a Great City* , Chicago, IL: International Historic Films, 1980, videocassette.

the age, a sense of purpose and optimism is apparent in the faces of people engaged in their daily routines. There is constant motion throughout Ruttmann's cinematic vision: locomotives, automobiles, delivery trucks, trolleys, horse-drawn carriages, taxi cabs, pedestrians, motorcycles, bicycles, subways, buses, and elevated trains all race from one part of the city to the other. From roller coasters and revolving doors to typewriters, radios, telephones and gramophones, the common Berliner was surrounded by a chaotic array of new and fantastic technologies.

The final segment of Ruttmann's film offers a window into the famed nightlife of Berlin. Amid glittering lights a tuxedoed barkeep shakes a martini for patrons at a nightclub; couples emerge from elegant town cars to see a show; trapeze artists, jugglers, and high-kicking chorus lines perform for an appreciative audience. The camera pans the theater orchestra where (upon close inspection) we note its saxophone players. Later, a small jazz band called the *Novelty Club Orchestra* plays to a frenzied sea of bodies engaged in a new American vogue dance, the Charleston. A close-up shot of saxophone keys opening and closing provides the perfect accoutrement in Ruttmann's fascinating artifact from a fast-paced, modernized Berlin.

The charged atmosphere of the Golden Twenties was short-lived. The American stock market crash of October 1929 and the world depression that followed held disastrous consequences. Without the support of American loans and investments, Germany's fragile economy collapsed. A fearful population faced with massive unemployment turned to extreme political parties for answers. In the elections of 1930 the National Socialists (Nazis) went from 12 to 107 seats in the *Reichstag,* the national

legislative body. In 1932 they won 230 seats to become the most powerful political entity in Germany.[19] The tide of conservatism that swept Germany, however, also provided a unique stimulus for many of its creative artists. Composer Hanns Eisler, in discussing his fortuitous collaboration with playwright Bertold Brecht in the early 1930s states, "It was a remarkable time, a contradictory time. [Even] with all the terror, poverty, and difficulties which we had, it was fabulous. May every young artist experience such productivity. And did we produce! Had the petty bourgeois seen us he would have said, 'These two gentlemen are completely crazy!'."[20] Of course, no amount of energy or striving in the face of adversity could have overcome the imminent political realities in Germany.

Much of the fascination with this time stems from the knowledge of what follows it. In an unbelievable course of events Germany, along with much of Europe, Asia, and Africa, would soon lie in ruins and tens of millions would perish in the war. Germany's prominent Jewish population, along with many non-Jewish intellectuals and artists, would be forced to flee the country--or be murdered. Indeed, the events of World War Two, precipitated by the rise of a prejudiced and violent fascist regime, provided for one of the darkest episodes in human history. The seeds for these events, many of which lay in unresolved issues created by the First World War, also help to define the character of Germany in the 1920s and early 30s.

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[19] Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 160-162.

[20] Niv Fichman, *Solidarity Song: the Hanns Eisler Story*, Oley, PA: Bullfrog Fllms, 1997, videocassette.

The Saxophone in Germany Before 1924

The saxophone was newly invented around 1838 and patented in Paris by its inventor, Adolphe Sax, in 1846. By the 1870s the saxophone was well established in the military bands of France, Italy, Spain, and somewhat later in England and the United States. The prestigious French *Garde Republicaine* was noted for featuring six to eight saxophones and numerous saxophone soloists during this time.[21] In addition, the saxophone appears in a handful of orchestral works, including a prominent part in Georges Bizet's *L'arlesienne* (1872). The saxophone found its way to America in the 1870s as a feature of the Patrick Gilmore Band, and later enjoyed a prosperous tenure with the John Philip Sousa Band .[22] Following the end of World War One in 1918, interest in the saxophone mushroomed into a "veritable epidemic of saxophone mania."[23]

The saxophone was rarely encountered in Germany prior to the 1920s and references to the instrument are sparse. Hemke notes that the famed Dutch soloist E.A. Lefebre performed in the towns of Leipzig, Hanover, Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and Weisbaden in 1871.[24] Ventzke notes that the Baden Grenadiers (Regiment No. 109) used saxophones during the 500th anniversary celebration of Heidelberg University in 1886.[25]

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[21] Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975), 239-242.

[22] Michael Eric Hester, "The Saxophone Soloists Performing with the John Philip Sousa Band: 1893-1930," *The Saxophone Symposium* 23 (1998): 1-35.

[23] Harry R. Gee, *Saxophone Soloists and Their Music, 1844-1985: An annotated bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 23.

[24] Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975), 406.

[25] Karl Ventzke, "The Saxophone in German-speaking countries up until the 2nd World War," in The 7th World Saxophone Congress Program Booklet (Nuremberg, 1982).

Both Schroder and Ventzke point out that the German instrument manufacturer Oscar Adler & Co. produced saxophones as early as 1901, probably for foreign markets.[26] The saxophone method book by Fedorow and Baresel (ca. 1926) notes that "until Jazz-music came into vogue" the saxophone was overlooked by German composers and known only from foreign military orchestras and French theatre orchestras.[27] The *Schule* mentions, however, the use of saxophones in works by Gustav Bumcke, Richard Strauss, and Eduard Erdmann who made "ample use of the instrument" in a symphony composed in 1920.[28] The saxophone's sketchy existence in Germany is peppered with exceptions; nonetheless, these exceptions indicate isolated occurrences rather than a wide-ranging recognition of the instrument. Ventzke affirms that these occasional increases of interest did not foster an overall acceptance. [29]

A noteworthy exception to Germany's early inattention to the saxophone is the inclusion of four saxophones in the *Symphonia Domestica* (1903) by Richard Strauss, considered Germany's greatest living composer at the time. The inclusion of saxophones in *Symphonia* is a curious one, however, and possibly prompted by the instrumentation text of Hector Berlioz that Strauss had translated into German that same year. Berlioz

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[26] Heribert Schroder, *Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933* Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990), 129; Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zurBaucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 147.

[27] N. Fedorow and Alfred Baresel, *Schule fur Saxophon* (Frankfurt: Zimmerman, ca. 1926), 4.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zurBaucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 147.

was an ardent supporter of Adolphe Sax and the saxophone. Nonetheless most analysts, including Jaap Kool, feel that Strauss's symphony did little to advance the instrument.[30] The parts are marked *ad libitum* (optional) and are buried inside a thick orchestration; that is, the saxophones would not be missed should they be unavailable for a performance. Indeed, four saxophonists could not be found in Berlin for the 1904 premiere of *Symphonia Domestica* .[31]

The person first credited with giving serious consideration to the saxophone in Germany is Stern's Conservatory (Berlin) music professor Gustav Bumcke. Bumcke was a true pioneer whose mission was to introduce the instrument into Germany. He traveled to Paris in 1902 to study with the son of Adolphe Sax, along with Paris opera soloist Victor Thiels. He returned to Berlin with eight saxophones and started a class.[32] In addition, Bumcke composed a symphony and several chamber works during this time that included parts for the saxophone. Nonetheless, Bumcke writes that his early efforts were met with a "total lack of appreciation of my idea, on the part of the press and the public."[33] Bumcke resurfaced in 1926 with an important and still viable saxophone method book and as a composer of over two dozen new works for the instrument--but he must have felt like a lonely apostle in the years prior to World War I.

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[30] Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987), 259.

[31] Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975), 302.

[32] Wildy Lewis Zumwalt, "Edmund von Borck: A Study of his Life and Music with an Emphasis on His Works for the Saxophone." (Diss., Florida State University, 2003), 10.

The most conspicuous absence of saxophones in Germany, with the exception noted previously, is from its military bands. A possible reason for this omission can be traced to an often-cited confrontation between Adolphe Sax and Wilhelm Wieprecht.[34] Wieprecht was given the commission of reorganizing the Prussian military bands in 1838. He also collaborated with the instrument maker J.G. Moritz in developing the piston valve, which had been invented in Germany around 1814 by Stölzel and Blühmel.[35] By the mid 1840s the Prussian military bands were the envy of Europe, an embarrassment that prompted the French bands to undertake a restructuring of their own. For this, the services of Adolphe Sax were enlisted. However, when Sax attached his name to an improved family of brass instruments that utilized German valves (the Saxhorns) Wieprecht was indignant: how could Sax claim a German invention as his own?

A meeting was arranged between the two during the Beethoven celebrations of 1845; unfortunately, an unbiased account of the meeting doesn't seem to exist. Sax did not have a saxophone at the meeting with Wieprecht. When the new instrument was explained, Wieprecht assumed that it was simply an imitation of a *bathyphone* (a now-obsolete type of contrabass clarinet) which he himself had invented in 1839. Indeed, the correspondence between Wieprecht and Sax betrays a disregard for the other that is

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[33] Gustav Bumcke, *Saxophon-Schule* (Hamburg and London: A. J. Benjamin, 1926), 3.

[34] Leon Kochnitzky, *Sax and his saxophone* (North American Saxophone Alliance Publication, 1985), 19-24; Fred Hemke, "The Early History of the Saxophone" (D.M.A. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975), 109-125; Wally Horwood, *Adolphe Sax 1814-1894: His life and legacy* (Baldock, England: Egon, 1992), 82-84; Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987), 232.

[35] Wally Horwood, *Adolphe Sax 1814-1894: His life and legacy* (Baldock, England: Egon, 1992), 29-32.

colored by misunderstandings, national pride, and confrontational personalities. It is safe to speculate that Wieprecht would have been reluctant to (and did not) welcome a new instrument into the Prussian military named for an irascible and opportunistic Belgian instrument maker.

A telling example of the continued absence of saxophones in the German military comes from a study by Carmichael of the 1926 Donaueschingen Music Festival.[36] The festival, held annually under the direction of Paul Hindemith, was an internationally respected venue for the presentation of new music. The final concert of the 1926 festival featured new works for military band by Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, Ernst Pepping, and Ernst Toch. The festival's wind band was representative of professional military groups throughout Germany and none of the commissioned works for military band in 1926 contain parts for the saxophone.[37] In his *Konzertmusik fur Blaserorchester* op. 41 (1926), Hindemith indicated the possible substitution of saxophones for the flugelhorns and tenor horns (both brass instruments were idiomatic to German bands and not consistently found in the bands of France, England, or the United States). However, the original manuscript for this piece has been lost and it is unknown exactly when he made these suggestions .[38]

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[36] John Carmichael, "The Wind Band Music of Hindemith, Krenek, Pepping, Toch, and Others From the 1926 *Donaueschingen* Music Festival" (Diss., Florida State University, 1994).

[37] Ibid., 81-82.

[38] Ibid., 130-131.

Wylie speculates that the saxophone parts were added in 1951 for a performance of the work by the United States Army Band.[39]

One of the goals of the 1926 festival was to promote neglected instruments and idioms. In this spirit, the *Suite für Trompete, Saxophon und Posaunne* (1926) by Ernst Pepping was programmed. A review entitled *Step-Children of Music* states that Pepping's *Suite*, while "amusing but far too long for a joke" was nonetheless an attempt to bring "new honors to the old saxophone".[40] During the 1927 festival, in contrast, one could hear the saxophone singing prominently and honorably in several key works on that year's program. These included Hindemith's chamber opera *Hin und Zuruck* (1927), and Kurt Weill's *Kleine Mahagonny* (1927). Clearly, an extraordinary change had occurred in the fortunes of the saxophone in Germany in the mid-1920s.

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[39] Karen Wylie, "*Gebrauchmusik* in Paul Hindemith's Works for Saxophone: The Place of *Konzertstück für Zwei Altsaxophone*," (Diss., University of Houston, 2002), 40-41.

[40] Erwin Felber, "Step-children of Music," *Modern Music* 4 (November/December 1926): 33.

CHAPTER 2

THE SAXOPHONE IN GERMANY'S JAZZ AGE

> *Then suddenly I hear the real note of the saxophone, unforgettable, high, and clear, as if from a heart of brass, the new thing, the thing we have come to hear. To me it has quite passed out of humanity, this famous upper register, but it is still near enough for me to understand; piercing, musical, the cry of a faun that is beautiful and hurt. The leader tips his instrument into the air; he blows with all his force but his cheeks remain pale. He is now at the height of his art. The voice of our age has come through his lips through this marvelous instrument. He is a priest possessed with half human god, endlessly sorrowful, yet utterly unsentimental. Incapable of regret, with no past, no memory, no future, no hope. The sound pricks the dancers, parts their lips, puts spring into their march. . . . This is the thing that makes the saxophone great and brings fortunes and ruin to its players.*
>
> William Bolitho, *The Saxophone*

A Topical Timbre

South African journalist William Bolitho, who lived in both England and France during the 1920s, captures eloquently the post-war European fascination for the saxophone.[41] As Bolitho's 1925 essay might suggest, the saxophone's featured role in the jazz and dance bands of the time was unquestioned and the public demand for it quite high. Indeed, the saxophone had become the clarion voice of a new American dance music that overtook Europe in the years following World War I--and it would seem that the 80-year-old instrument had been reborn to this single purpose.

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[41] William Bolitho, "The Saxophone," in *Modern Essays (Second Series): Selected by Christopher Morley* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1924), 451-457.

> *The nineteenth century had violins and pianos: we are tired of them, and of four years of drum and fife. We needed a new sound . . . so some rummager refound this saxophone in the lumber room of musical invention.*
>
> Bolitho

Germany, although culturally and politically isolated for the first part of the decade, was hardly immune to the infatuation. "Like the Sleeping Beauty the saxophone slumbered," wrote the German musicologist Eugen Rosenkaimer in 1928, "until Prince Charming Jazz appeared and awakened it with a loving kiss, restoring it to happiness, honour, and renown."[42] Hungarian composer Alexander Jemnitz, a student of both Reger and Schoenberg, also wrote about the instrument in Universal Edition's prestigious house journal *Anbruch.* Writing in 1926, Jemnitz noted how the saxophone, virtually ignored since its invention in 1840, had suddenly become "the most popular wind instrument of our time," thanks, he continued, "to an indefinable but no less contestable timbral topicality [*Klangfarbenaktualität*]."[43]

> *So, for the supreme expression of our hard, unreflective joys, we have chosen this instrument. Our fathers left it uncomprehended; our children will shiver at it, and discard it again. For the present it makes audible the spirit of the age.*
>
> Bolitho

For those of Bolitho's generation the music of the age was jazz. The energetic, syncopated, and uninhibited music from America resonated with a post war German

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[42] Eugen Rosenkaimer, "The saxophone in its earliest stages and in the judgment of reknowned musicians," *Sackbut* 11 (October 1930): 72.

[43] Christopher Hailey, "Rethinking sound: music and radio in Weimar Germany," in *Musicand performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 25.

population. Jazz bands, large and small, seemed to populate every nightclub, café, hotel lobby, cabaret and theater stage in Berlin and other urban centers throughout the republic. Sociologists often remark that jazz in the 1920s was a musical manifestation of the times. Jazz reflected the hustle of urban life, the insistent rhythm of machines, and the frenzied pace of a world that had noticeably "sped up" after the war.[44] This notion is entirely plausible during Germany's Golden Twenties.

History provides numerous examples of musical instruments that are associated with a specific musical genre or musical function. Precedents span the ages, from the lyre of Orpheus in ancient Greece to the electric guitar of twentieth-century rock and roll. Likewise, the saxophone took its place, along with the banjo and drum set, as the representative instrument of jazz in 1920's Germany. The saxophone's association with jazz and popular music began in America. By 1919 the saxophone was well known in professional and amateur wind bands, on the vaudeville circuit, and through early recording artists such as Rudy Weidoeft and The Brown Brothers Saxophone Sextet.[45] Paradoxically, the saxophone was rarely favored in early New Orleans' jazz, but as the music progressed northward through Chicago to New York the saxophone found its way into nearly every American jazz ensemble. Through new recording technologies, published sheet music, and touring performers the association between the saxophone and jazz spread quickly to Europe, especially France and England. Horwood notes a subtle connection in the public mind between the "new raucous music" and the saxophone in

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[44] Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 144.

London already by 1919.[46] When jazz appeared somewhat later in Germany the saxophone's connection to the music was particularly pronounced. This was due in part to the instrument's historical unfamiliarity within German musical traditions coupled with its simultaneous appearance with jazz around 1924. Fedorow and Baresel write, "Whereas the [German] public had become used to [other] instruments, the saxophone was something entirely new for them and they automatically connected the expression 'Jazz' with the coming of the saxophone."[47] By the mid-1920s the saxophone had become an undeniable aural and visual symbolic marker of Germany's Jazz Age.

A reinforcement of the saxophone's connection to Germany's Jazz Age is found in the engaging memoirs of Michael Danzi, an American banjo player who worked with the ubiquitous German jazz bands from 1924 to the late date of 1939. During his tenure in Germany Danzi worked with some 76 different groups; his story as told to Dr. Rainer Lotz provides a rare and intriguing glimpse into the era.[48] In the following excerpt, Danzi assists the German bandleader Felix Lehmann to staff his struggling dance orchestra with American musicians (all members of Alex Hyde's touring *New York Jazz Orchestra*) in order to win a competition. Danzi's narrative clearly illustrates the stature the saxophone had achieved by then:

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[45] Thomas Smialek, "Performance Practices of Early Twentieth-century Concert Saxophonists in North America," *The Saxophone Symposium* 27 (2002): 39-40.

[46] Wally Horwood, *Adolphe Sax 1814-1894: His life and legacy* (Baldock, England: Egon, 1992), 174.

[47] N. Fedorow and Alfred Baresel, *Schule fur Saxophon* (Frankfurt: Zimmerman, ca. 1926).

[48] Michael Danzi, *American music in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoir of the jazz, entertainment, and movie world of Berlin during the WeimarRepublic and the Nazi Era--and in the United States, as told toRainer E. Lotz* (Schmitten: Norbert Rucker,1986).

> In the first week of September, 1925, I heard that the Leipzig Ausstellung (exhibition) for international trade had planned to offer a Golden Saxophone to the best dance orchestra. Fred Bird, whose real name was Felix Lehmann, had a band of no consequence in comparison to the leading recording groups. So I suggested to him that he should use our six men plus some of Hyde's arrangements, which Alex had left with us. With just two rehearsals Bird went on; he followed my tips on when to conduct, and when to stop for individual hot chorus improvisations. When it was announced that Fred Bird had won the Golden Saxophone prize the other band leaders cried "Schiebung!" (Cheat--big cheat!) but the jury was not impressed. Bird had presented the best in modern music--synonymous with the saxophone's identity, and he got the prize.[49]

Jazz in Germany

Jazz is a nebulous art, one whose definition shifts and changes depending on when and where it is performed and who performs it. Most modern definitions conclude that jazz is a music that is improvised and possesses a unique rhythmic component called swing (once described by Stravinsky as the resultant clash between "lived" and "measured" time). Jazz is also populated with towering personalities whose individual performing styles are immediately recognizable to any follower of the music. Saxophonists especially enjoy a rich legacy of players who have advanced the art form throughout the music's history. Jazz is defined as originating with lower social class blacks in America, its genesis fueled by African rhythms, western European harmony, and a participatory performance practice.[50] Many definers of jazz, in addition, agree that jazz is a purely American art form and a significant American cultural contribution to the

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[49] Ibid., 16.

[50] Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 54.

rest of the world.[51] Jazz in Germany during the second and third decades, however, most of which was neither improvised nor swung, challenges this concept of jazz and warrants a closer look at the music to which the saxophone was so closely allied at this time.

Jazz in Germany in the 1920s requires a very general definition. The muddled amalgam of genuine jazz, nut jazz, pseudo jazz, popular song, dance forms (foxtrot, shimmy, Charleston) and any other kind of noise, rattle, or squeak from America was likely to be called "jazz" at the time. By most accounts, the bulk of jazz in Germany during the 1920s consisted of syncopated "hot"[52] dance music based primarily on ragtime.[53] Of the pre-jazz styles, ragtime was the most accessible to European audiences; it was entertaining, danceable, and contained captivating cross rhythms. It was also a composed music rather than improvised. Typical instrumentation of German jazz bands, both large and small, included violin, drumset, banjo, piano, muted brass, and saxophones.[54] Bands usually employed two or three saxophones (alto and tenor were the most common) scored in close parallel harmony.[55] Most native jazz bands evolved from

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[51] Michael J. Budds, "The New World Enriches the Old," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 1-18.

[52] "Hot" can be defined as an exuberant performing style characterized by "rhythmic and improvisational wildness." Matyas Seiber, "Jazz-Instrumente, Jazz-Klange und Neue Musik," *Melos* ix (1930): 126.

[53] Frank Tirro, "Jazz Leaves Home: the Dissemination of 'Hot' Music in Central Europe," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 64-69.

[54] Alfred Baresel, Das Jazz-Buch: Anleitung zum spielen, improvisieren und komponieren moderner Tanzstück, 4th ed (Berlin: Zimmermann, 1926), 35.

[55] Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987), 271-274.

the salon orchestra, a light classical dance ensemble fronted by a *Stehgeiger*, or standing violinist.[56]

The academic literature that jazz inspired in Germany provides further definition of the saxophone's role in the music. Alfred Baresel's famed jazz tutor *Das Jazz-Buch*, first published in 1925, became the definitive German language source for jazz techniques. The saxophone, writes Baresel, is the primary melodic instrument in jazz.[57] In a section that defines how to convert a salon orchestra into a jazz band, Baresel notes that the lead violin part must be given to the saxophone.[58] In 1927, a jazz class was created at the conservatory in Frankfurt, the first of its kind in the world.[59] The course, headed by Hungarian composer Matyas Seiber, offered private lessons on jazz instruments, instruction in jazz instrumentation, and performance opportunities in a jazz ensemble. Saxophone instruction was offered by Eduard Liebhold.[60] In the following quotation, Seiber discusses the saxophone's function in the jazz band as that of balancing the dry, percussive qualities of the other instruments (emphasis is Seibers'):

> It is the *vibrato* and the *use of saxophones in an ensemble situation* that determines the sound of jazz music. The slightly vibrating, soft tone of the

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[56] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 115.

[57] Alfred Baresel, *Das Jazz-Buch: Anleitung zum spielen, improvisieren und komponieren moderner Tanzstück*, 4th ed (Berlin: Zimmermann, 1926), 33.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Kathryn Smith Bowers, "East Meets West: Contributions of Matyas Seiber to Jazz in Germany," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 121-122.

[60] Ibid., 125.

> saxophone hovers like a veil above the sound of the jazz orchestra, wrapping it in a soft cocoon, so to speak.[61]

In his authoritative text *Das Saxophone* (1931) Jaap Kool also notes "only the saxophone brings roundness to this angular, rhythmic, and exact atmosphere."[62] The saxophone method books of Fedorow (ca. 1926) and Bumcke (1926) both contain sections on jazz performance.[63] They each offer exercises in syncopated ragtime rhythms and rhythmic subdivisions with examples drawn from classical music. They define improvisation as adding syncopated rhythms to an existing melody, turning a slow melody into a lively one. Finally, the techniques of vibrato, double tonguing, and glissando, along with the tonal effects of growls, moans, laughs, quivers, whimpers, weeping and whining are presented as necessary components of jazz saxophone performance. Indeed, most German jazz bands in the 1920s maintained an element of comedy and clowning, in defiance of the etiquette and conventions of classical music performance.

Many researchers suggest that jazz in Germany during the 1920s was a second rate imitation of the original.[64] This assessment is based on several factors, including Germany's late start in assimilating the music. Due to the war and its effects, the

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[61] Matyas Seiber, "Jazz-Instrumente, Jazz-Klange und Neue Musik," trans K. Gehrmann, *Melos* ix (1930): 123.

[62] Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987), 269.

[63] N. Fedorow and Alfred Baresel, *Schule fur Saxophon* (Frankfurt: Zimmerman, ca. 1926), 2-30 of Part Two; Gustav Bumcke, *Saxophon-Schule* (Hamburg and London: A. J. Benjamin, 1926), 122-129.

[64] Frank Tirro, "Jazz Leaves Home: the Dissemination of 'Hot' Music in Central Europe," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 82.

pioneering 1917 recordings of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, for example, weren't distributed in Germany until after 1923.[65] Less than ideal performance models further hindered the assimilation of jazz in Germany. J. Bradford Robinson makes a compelling case that recordings of authentic black American jazz, such as those by Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, were unavailable in Germany until 1930.[66] Without a doubt, the most influential and imitated jazz band in Germany was Paul Whiteman's orchestra. Although Whiteman's syrupy "symphonic jazz" was of very high quality, it was also a diluted form of original jazz mainstreamed to suit white audiences.[67] Nevertheless, an attempt to assess the quality of jazz in Germany with comparisons to a legitimate black American standard is of secondary importance. Most important is the considerable interest and excitement the music generated both to its urban middle class consumers and the numerous art composers who would later appropriate the idiom.

Overview of Select Performers

A definition of jazz can be clarified by a discussion of the music's significant performers. However, a perusal of relevant literature, including works by Rainer E. Lotz, Horst Lange, Heribert Schroder, and Michael Kater reveals an extremely complex tapestry of names and photographs of both jazz bands and saxophone players from the

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[65] Ibid., 77-78.

[66] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 115.

[67] Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 154.

time.[68] The issue is further complicated by a dearth of commercially available recordings of German jazz musicians from the 1920s and 30s.[69] The best known society dance bands of the time include those led by Marek Weber, Bernard Etté, Dajos Béla, and Barnabas von Géczy, all violinists from the salon orchestra tradition.[70] Schroder notes that editions of music for the *Salonorchester* turned into *Salonorchester mit Jazz-Stimmen* around 1924 and many cellists and violinists had to either learn to play saxophone or lose their position in the ensemble.[71] Players drifted in and out of the bands, formed small combos from larger groups, worked as both leaders and sidemen, worked on numerous recording and studio projects, and toured. A jazz musician, furthermore, could make a considerable amount of money in Germany between 1925 and 1929.[72] The names of

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[68] Horst J. P. Bergmeier, and Rainer E. Lotz, *Billy Bartholomew: Bio-Discography,* Jazzfreund Nr. 27 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1985); Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, Eric Borchard Story, Jazzfreund Nr. 35 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1988); Michael Danzi, American music in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoir of the jazz,entertainment, and movie world of Berlin during the WeimarRepublic and the Nazi Era--and in the United States, as told toRainer E. Lotz (Schmitten: Norbert Rucker,1986); Michael H. Kater, Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Horst Lange, Jazz in Deutschland: Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik, 1900-1960 (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966); Heribert Schroder, Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933 (Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990).

[69] The author was generously provided with recordings by Dave Radlauer from his radio show "Jazz in Germany, 1924 to 1939, with Ray Taubert" on KALW FM San Francisco's *Swingin' in Rhythm.* Program included Eric Borchard, Alex Hyde, Lud Gluskin (with Danny Polo), Dajos Béla, Sam Wooding, and the James Kok Orchestra.

[70] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4; J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 115.

[71] Heribert Schroder, *Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933* (Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990), 131.

[72] Jaap Kool, "The Triumph of the Jungle," *The Living Age (1924) :* 338.

German jazz saxophonists, a list that might include Kurt Arlt, Helmuth Friedrich, Wolf Gradis, Fritz Kellermann, Hans Mosel, Freddie Schweitzer, Franz Thon, Christian Wagner, and Kurt Wege, however, are names only familiar to those in German jazz scholarship. The following is presented not as a comprehensive listing but a representative sample of the more influential jazz saxophonists who were active in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s.

Saxophonist Eric Borchard is among Germany's important jazz band pioneers. Born in Berlin, Borchard played first clarinet in the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra before the First World War.[73] After hearing jazz in the United States in 1918-19 (and again in 1923) Borchard formed his first band around 1920 and made numerous recordings for *Deutsche Grammophon*.[74] The 1924-25 *Grammophon* catalogue states:

> Eric Borchard is the undisputed master of the saxophone--an absolute virtuoso on this instrument, from which he understands how to lure the most wonderful tones and with which he enchants the legs--no, the entire bodies of the dancers--with the authentic American dance rhythm. [75]

Eric Borchard's *Jazz-Band* performed at numerous Berlin venues, including the *Scala-Casino*, *Mercedes-Palast*, *Palais des Westens*, the exotic *Barberina* night club, the pleasure cruiser *Peer Gynt*, and the *Friedrichstrassen-Cabaret*. The band also accompanied silent movies at the *UFA-Palast am Zoo*. Borchard's typically international sidemen include New Orleans trombonist Emile Christian (from the Original Dixieland Jazz Band), Dutch trumpet player Louis de Vries, English saxophonist Billy

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[73] Horst J. P.Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Eric Borchard Story*, Jazzfreund Nr. 35 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1988), 1.

[74] Ibid., 1-7.

Bartholomew, and the American banjoist Harold Kirchstein.[76] A guidebook once listed Borchard as the most beloved figure of Berlin's nightlife.[77] Nonetheless, *Deutsche Grammophon* dropped him from their roster in late 1925 and his career began to fade into obscurity.[78] By all accounts a colorful personality, Borchard is described as a "high-strung playboy" and someone who lacked the discipline to lead an orchestra. Also addicted to drugs, in 1931 a young woman overdosed on black-market morphine in Borchard's hotel room and died of suffocation during his misguided attempts to revive her. Borchard spent ten months in prison for the incident.[79] Nonetheless, Borchard formed a new band upon his release and continued to perform, mostly in Amsterdam, until his own untimely death in 1934. A concert review from this later period reads: America jazzed-up Borchard, then in 1920 Borchard was the first to jazz-up Europe. And today? --a different man, musically and technically refined . . . Plenty of wit, but always with a sense of spirit.[80]

English saxophonist and bandleader Billy Bartholomew lived and worked in Germany from 1924 to 1939.[81] Bartholomew learned to play saxophone at a very early age in London and had developed a refined style. He started with Eric Borchard's combo

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[75] Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Eric Borchard Story*, translation by P. Friederici, Jazzfreund Nr. 35 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1988), 7.

[76] Horst J. P.Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Eric Borchard Story*, Jazzfreund Nr. 35 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1988), 1-20.

[77] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6.

[78] Horst J. P.Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, *Eric Borchard Story*, Jazzfreund Nr. 35 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1988), 37.

[79] Ibid., 53-55.

[80] Ibid., 56.

in 1924 and with Eddie Woods and his Kentucky Serenaders in 1925. He then found a position in the acclaimed German big band led by Julian Fuhs at the Eden Hotel. Bartholomew formed his first group in 1927/28 and replaced Fuhs at the Eden. In April 1928, Bartholomew padded his band with hot soloists, including the American saxophonist Teddy Kline, and won a coveted contract at the luxurious new Delphi Palast, along with a recording contract with *Deutsche Grammophon.*[82] Danzi recalls that Teddy Kline, "was a fine saxophonist . . . He had a tone like Frankie Trumbauer's and could improvise hot choruses on the spur of the moment."[83] Finally, in April 1931, a Berlin newspaper organized a dance band competition once again offering a Golden Saxophone "of the Conn make, donated by the Albert Company" as first prize. First place was awarded to the Dajos Béla Orchestra while second place went to Barnabas von Géczy. Billy Bartholomew's Orchestra took third with their renditions of *Happy Feet, Im Prater blüh'n weider die Bäume,* and *Choo-Choo.*[84]

Throughout the twenties, American hot soloists were in constant high demand by German band leaders.[85] Among the most important was Chicago clarinetist and saxophonist Danny Polo who was in Germany from 1927 to around 1930. Polo arrived

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[81] Horst J. P. Bergmeier, and Rainer E. Lotz, *Billy Bartholomew: Bio-Discography,* Jazzfreund Nr. 27 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1985), 7-52.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Michael Danzi, *American music in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoir of the jazz, entertainment, and movie world of Berlin during the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Era--and in the United States, as told to Rainer E. Lotz* (Schmitten: Norbert Rucker, 1986), 50.

[84] Horst J. P. Bergmeier, and Rainer E. Lotz, *Billy Bartholomew: Bio-Discography,* Jazzfreund Nr. 27 (Menden: Jazzfreund-Publikation, 1985), 36.

[85] Michael H Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of Nazi Germany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6.

with the New Yorkers, one of the best bands to visit Germany. Horst Lange notes that the New Yorkers really "showed the difference between American jazz and German efforts."[86] However, Lange continues, the band met "with only moderate success, as the Paul Whiteman style was still much in vogue. 'Hot' bands were of interest only to musicians and a few fans."[87] After the New Yorkers broke up in 1928 Polo joined a dance band led by the American Lud Gluskin. The Gluskin Orchestra was very successful in Germany and remained for nearly two years, boasting a line-up of soloists that included saxophonists Gene Prendergast, Emile Charron, Serge Glyckson and bass saxophonist Spencer Clark.[88] Finally, Mike Danzi recalls that he was asked by Kurt Weill to locate "good American jazz musicians" for the June, 1930 world premiere [radio broadcast] of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, for this work "had to have an American flavor."[89] Danny Polo, Billy Barton, and Teddy Kline were subsequently hired to augment the 65 member Berlin Symphony Orchestra. Notes Danzi:

> The biggest surprise in the rehearsal came from Danny Polo, who had been told to improvise an American-style hot chorus, and later played a fine and soft, velvet-like solo on the baritone saxophone. He skillfully invented a driving hot chorus on this bulky instrument, and around Weill's involved harmonies, too. Kurt Weill just looked at Danny and told him, 'I would love to write a hot suite in that idiom.' The Berlin Symphony Orchestra men all applauded, for they also recognized Danny Polo was a truly great artist.[90]

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[86] Horst Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland: Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik, 1900-1960*, excerpt trans. by P. Friederici (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966), 41-42.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., 42.

[89] Michael Danzi, *American music in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoir of the jazz,entertainment, and movie world of Berlin during the WeimarRepublic and the Nazi Era--and in the United States, as told toRainer E. Lotz* (Schmitten: Norbert Rucker,1986), 58.

[90] Ibid.

American saxophonist Billy Barton arrived in Germany in 1928 and stayed until 1932. He was a hot soloist in bands led by Marek Weber, Julian Fuhs, and Theo Mackeben and participated in numerous recording sessions.[91] As a bandleader, Barton created one of the first swing bands in Germany. In 1931 when many venues were closing their doors, Barton continued to lead a group at the Cafe Berlin in Berlin.[92] Lange writes, "Barton played swing music with some fascinating solos . . . These were quite modern even by international standards".[93] Finally, Barton is credited with the premiere performance of Erwin Schulhoff's *Hot Sonate* (1930), a piece that integrates jazz elements into a traditional sonata form. Schulhoff engaged Barton and presented the sonata in a Berlin radio performance on April 10, 1930 with the composer at the piano.[94]

Classical flutist and conductor-turned-saxophonist Ludwig Rüth was leader of the Lewis Ruth Band. As was commonly done, Rüth adopted an American sounding name to provide a certain legitimacy to his jazz career (see also Fred Bird née Felix Lehmann, Ben Berlin née Hermann Bick, et al.). Rüth's band was engaged by Theo Mackeben for the first performances and recordings of Kurt Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928). Weill composed his opera for the specific doubling capabilities of the seven-member ensemble, which included Rüth on alto saxophone, baritone saxophone, clarinet, and flute. The

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[91] Horst Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland: Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik, 1900-1960* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966), 45.

[92] Ibid., 59.

[93] Michael H Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany,* excerpt trans. by P. Friederici (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 59.

[94] Josef Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff: Leben und Werk* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1994), 109.

second part was played by either Curt Hasenpflug or Billy Barton and composed for tenor saxophone, soprano saxophone, bassoon, and clarinet.[95]

The saxophone's immediate facility allowed musicians who were proficient on other instruments to learn the saxophone fairly quickly. One example is Rudolf Hindemith who played cello in the prestigious Amar [String] Quartet. To the expressed exasperation of the group's violist, Rudolf's famous older brother Paul, Rudolf forced the breakup of the quartet when he decided to become a jazz musician in Frankfurt.[96] The composer Bernard Heiden recalls hearing Rudolf's jazz band sometime in the early 1920s, an experience that was to provide the young Heiden with his first encounter with the saxophone.[97] Rudolf Hindemith almost certainly played the saxophone in his jazz band as he appears on the 1926 Donaueschingen festival program performing the saxophone part in the premiere of Ernst Pepping's *Suite furTrompete Saxophon und Posaune.*[98]

Finally, in the early 1930s the Romanian James Kok led the best and possibly the first swing band in Berlin staffed entirely with German musicians. The band recorded many albums for *Deutsche Grammophon* including their arrangement of *Tiger Rag.* When Kok was forced to leave in 1935, leadership of the band went to saxophonist Erhard "Funny" Bauschke and the band stayed together until the members were drafted in

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[95] Geoffrey Abbott, "The 'Dreigroschen' Sound" in *Kurt Weill: The Threepenny Opera*, ed. Stephen Hinton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 162-163.

[96] Paul Hindemith, *Selected letters of Paul Hindemith,* edited and translated by Geoffrey Skelton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 49.

[97] Thomas Walsh, "The Music of Bernhard Heiden," *The Saxophone Symposium* 25 (2000): 4.

[98] John Carmichael, "The Wind Band Music of Hindemith, Krenek, Pepping, Toch, and Others From the 1926 *Donaueschingen* Music Festival" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1994), 282.

1940. With Kok's pre-1935 recording of *Tiger Rag*, the band's signature tune, it is obvious that German musicians had paid close attention to their jazz lessons throughout the previous decade. The recording of the Kok band presents a tight, well-oiled, hard swinging ensemble. Although Bauschke's saxophone solo on *Tiger Rag* can be criticized for its reliance on a well-prepared "noodling" vaudeville style as opposed to true improvisation, it is nonetheless a style that exhibits a genuine exuberance and an enviable command of the instrument.

CHAPTER 3

THE PLACE OF THE SAXOPHONE IN GERMAN SOCIETY

Of all the musical emblems of the twenties, none had more contemporary currency than the saxophone.

Christopher Hailey
Music and Performance during the WeimarRepublic

Introduction

Imbued with a compelling timbre and the power to make audible the spirit of the times, the saxophone enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in the German musical landscape of the 1920s and 1930s. German dance band saxophonists of the period, although rarely eulogized for advancing the improvised art form of jazz, are well remembered for their front-line presence in Germany's Jazz Age. Through the music they performed the saxophone emerged as one of the Age's primary emblems. The saxophone was a particularly potent symbol of jazz in Germany, in addition, because a strong counter "non jazz" tradition for the instrument was nearly nonexistent. Consequently, many leading painters, writers, and art music composers of the time felt compelled to use the instrument in works of their own. Their works, furthermore, suggest numerous extra-musical elements in effect beyond the saxophone's simple association with jazz and dance music.

The dissemination of jazz in Germany was part of a global flood of American cultural ideals. German citizens, as members of the rest of the international community,

became infatuated with all things American following World War One. America offered optimism and energy, and seemed to hold the key for Germany's successful post-war recovery.[99] In addition to jazz, aspects of American life that spread to Europe at this time include competitive professional sports, aggressive new principles of marketing and mass production, and new industries that glorified youth, beauty, and fashion. The spread of jazz, therefore, is an example of the "Americanization" of Germany's cultural life that followed the war.[100]

The effects of importing America's popular music to German soil should not be underestimated. Even in America, the diffusion of early jazz often met with the outbreak of a "moral panic" among the middle-classes, and was viewed as a "demonic force capable of wrecking civilization."[101] One can easily imagine how such reactions intensified in Germany where jazz, in addition, was a foreign commodity. "Jazz has presented a host of problems in countries with strong nationalistic traditions," writes sociologist E. Taylor Atkins, "the presence of jazz either confirms a particular nation's cultural affinity with America or highlights the extent to which America's pernicious

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[99] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 110-113.

[100] Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker, 1878-1934: A Cultural Biography,* Music in the Twentieth Century, ed. Arnold Whittall (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 231.

[101] Scott A. Appelrouth, "Polluting urban bodies: the discursive framing of early jazz" (Paper presented at the conference of American Socialogical Society, San Francisco, CA 1998), 2.

influence endangers that nation's cultural identity."[102] In other words, the ideological attraction of America through its dance music had both its advocates and its adversaries.

The reception of jazz and the saxophone is best understood in relation to two polarizing viewpoints. The creation of the Weimar Republic following World War One represents a conscious break with an outdated imperialist past. Moreover, this break produced an unrivaled clash of differing artistic ideologies. An aggressive young generation searched for alternatives to timeworn nineteenth-century conventions and a means of vitalizing (if not provoking) a post-war German culture. Within the tolerant atmosphere of the republic they began looking to foreign cultures for inspiration, and the powerful, democratic, jazz-driven American landscape was among the most appealing to them. Conversely, many conservative musicians shared a profound desire to preserve the Romantic ideals of the nineteenth century. To them the meretricious nature of progressive music threatened the German spirit and eroded a cultural identity already reeling from a devastating loss in the First World War. In any event, the "dynamic tension" created by pairing a conservative society with a radical culture provided an atmosphere that was extraordinary.[103]

The boisterous process of conflict between progressive and conservative voices often upstaged the very jazz bands about which the argument revolved. It is noteworthy that the music engendered an intense interest in the press. The discussion often assumed an importance beyond the music itself, becoming "entangled in Weimar Germany's

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[102] E. Taylor Atkins, "The War on Jazz, or Jazz Goes to War: Toward a New Cultural Order in Wartime Japan," *Positions* 6, no. 2 (1998): 347.

confusing maze of ideological and artistic positions and counterpositions".[104] J. Bradford Robinson writes, "Jazz captured the imagination of German journalists and intelligentsia to such an extent as to elevate it to the level of what was called a *Zeitfrage*--an 'issue of our times'."[105] The April 1925 edition of *Anbruch*, for example, was devoted solely to the subject of jazz. The issue featured essays by Alexander Jemnitz, Paul Stefan, Louis Gruenberg, Cesar Saerchinger, Darius Milhaud, and Percy Grainger. Such widespread discussion over jazz's origins, development, function, and aesthetic worth helped to establish the music as a topic infused with cultural meaning.

An insightful study by Marc Weiner analyzes portrayals of jazz in several literary works of the Weimar period. According to Weiner, jazz served as a vessel for the emotions with which its listeners (and non-listeners) imbued it, emotions that reflected the sweeping political and social changes occurring at the time. The cultural meaning of jazz in Germany, he concludes, is defined by its sociological function as the music of the "Other":

> To the popular imagination of the Weimar Republic, jazz functioned as an acoustical sign of national, social, racial, and sexual difference. Viewed within the cultural vocabulary of the time as fundamentally antithetical to German cultural traditions, the music both acted as an icon of non-German forces . . . and

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[103] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 29.

[104] Cornelius Partsch, " Hannibal Ante Portas: Jazz in Weimar," in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, ed. Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 109.

[105] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 107.

provided a locus for the expression of extramusical concerns in German society at the time.[106]

A consistent sociological feature of jazz in inter-wars Germany was the music's association with foreign, racial, and erotic aspects. In many artistic portrayals of jazz, moreover, the saxophone often provided the specific "sign of difference" in those works, a sign that revealed both an admiration for a foreign vitality and a resulting consternation.[107] The purpose of the following section is to examine the national, sexual, and racial implications of the saxophone as a symbol of jazz in Weimar society. This role is clearly delineated with the image of a black American jazz saxophone player. An attempt will be made to interpret the perceptions of the instrument as it appears in a select body of literature, painting, the press, and the *Zeitopern* [topical operas].

Perspectives of the Saxophone in the Arts

National Implications

The use of the saxophone to depict a foreign element is a theme that resonates throughout the following examples of Weimar art and literature. Most of the representations of this decidedly non-German instrument, furthermore, offer insights into both the saxophone and the creative artist's chosen subject matter. A well-known example of the saxophone's appearance in an artwork is the renowned three-paneled painting *Metropolis* (1927/28) by Otto Dix. Dix studied art in Dresden before commanding a machine gun unit on the French and Russian fronts during the First World

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[106] Marc Weiner, "*Urwaldmusik* and the borders of German identity: jazz in literature of the Weimar Republic," *The German Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991): 475.

[107] Ibid., 484.

War. Dix's work is filled with powerful anti-war statements and acute social criticisms. *Metropolis* and *Trench Warfare* (1932) stand as his masterpieces.[108]

The central panel of *Metropolis* depicts a nightclub scene replete with jazz band, dancers, and socialites. In a satirical commentary on modern life, Dix portrays a sexual fascination between a woman and the jazz band.[109] An elegant woman, almost certainly modeled after the famed Berlin cabaret dancer Anita Berber, stands poised in the right foreground of the painting. She is balanced on the left by a prominent baritone saxophone that is propped up by a metal stand. In the middle plane of the painting a tuxedoed alto saxophonist, with one foot raised in the air, plays to a dancing couple while a stately man and woman sit at a nearby table and listen. The seated woman's coat is decorated with oak leaves and lilies, as symbols for Germany and France. Writes Dix interpreter Dieter Sholtz, "The capitols of the wartime opponents are both conquered by a third power, American culture . . . the saxophone, as the symbol of the new culture, is set against the old European tradition."[110] The background of the painting contains the remainder of the jazz band, including a black drummer who is partly obstructed by menacing metal bars.

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[108] Brigette Reinhardt, "Dix-A Painter of Facts," in *Otto Dix*, trans. Joy Fischer (Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1989), 30-34.

[109] Beeke Sell Tower, "Ultramodern and Ultraprimitive: Shifting Meanings in the Imagery of Americanism in the Art of Weimar Germany," in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, ed. Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 94 .

[110] Dieter Scholz, "The triptych Metropolis by Otto Dix," in *Otto Dix*, trans. Joy Fischer (Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1989), 75.

One must consider all three panels of *Metropolis* in order to derive its full meaning. In stark contrast to the nightclub scene, the two outer panels portray grisly war veterans with amputated limbs and a host of prostitutes prowling the streets of a city. The juxtaposition of harsh social reality with the frivolous world of light entertainment is unsettling. Dix highlights not only the horror of war but also the delusional self-indulgence of the nightclub patrons. In this context the saxophone is a symbol of decadent high society. *Metropolis* captures a precarious moment in German history and in the frantic effort for enjoyment as the world around them falls apart, the socialites share the same desperation as the wretched denizens of the street.

Max Beckmann's *Still Life with Saxophones* (1926) provides a different perspective of the instrument. By 1926 Beckmann was among Germany's foremost modern painters, receiving high honors from both the public and his peers. *Still Life with Saxophones* contains a cacophony of objects, dominated by two stylized saxophones which seem to float above a table and chair. According to the Städel Museum in Frankfurt, where the painting is housed, little is known about what the various objects are meant to represent. However, two clues in the form of inscriptions on the saxophones suggest the painting is autobiographical. The first saxophone contains the words "BAR AFRICAN" which refers to a former Frankfurt jazz bar. The other reads "ON NEW YORK" and most likely commemorates Beckmann's first American solo exhibition at the I. B. Neumann gallery in New York, 1926 .[111] Both Otto Dix and Beckmann previously produced works with jazz themes: Dix's painting *To Beauty* (1922) and

Beckman's drawing *Jazz Band* (1922), both of which use black drummers to symbolize American jazz. Art historian Tower notes that the saxophone had replaced the drum as the icon of jazz in their later works.[112]

Composers steeped in the great German Romantic tradition of the nineteenth century found themselves in a drastically altered world following World War One. Life was faster, more hectic, disorienting. Many from this generation simply quit composing altogether or found they couldn't compete with the younger generation, either in staging new works or garnering attention from the press.[113] The course of modern music, marked by jazz and "atonal chaos," left them with feelings of homesickness and they became deeply concerned for the future of German music. Their primary spokesman was Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949), considered Germany's leading conservative composer behind Richard Strauss (who remained silent in most political and cultural debates). Known as "Pfitzner the German" by his supporters, Pfitzner was virulent in his polemical attacks against the destructive new age. [114]

Hans Pfitzner is known primarily for his opera *Palestrina* (1917) and the cantata *Von deutscher Seele* [of the German Soul] (1921). His music is characterized as meditative, introverted, spiritual, and austere. His well known polemical essay is titled

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[111] http://www.staedelmuseum.de/index.php?id=398; the bell of the saxophone obscures the text which most likely reads EXHIBITION NEW YORK.

[112] Beeke Sell Tower, "Ultramodern and Ultraprimitive: Shifting Meanings in the Imagery of Americanism in the Art of Weimar Germany," in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, ed. Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 93 .

[113] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 3.

[114] Michael H. Kater, *The twisted muse: Musicians and their music in the Third Reich* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 212.

"The New Aesthetic of Musical Impotence: A Symptom of Decay?" (1920). Pfitzner wrote the following statement in 1927 in response to the detested new jazz class at the conservatory in Frankfurt taught by Mátyás Seiber:

> The anti-German, in whatever guise it may appear, as atonality, internationalism, Americanism, German pacifism, besieges our existence, our culture, from all sides, and this as well as the European jazz scene means baseness, non-harmony, madness compared to high art music.[115]

Pfitzner wrote the next example in 1926 to describe his impression of a jazz band concert. Judging from other portions of the text, the concert is a Paul Whiteman type extravaganza with several thousand people in the audience. Pfitzner's assessment of the saxophone player, as someone with a seeming brilliance but who is essentially hollow, is remarkable in its similarity to an argument the Nazis would later use against famous Jewish composers such as Mendelssohn. The argument states that it is impossible for Jews to be original or creative because they lack an indigenous culture. They are, however, masters at imitation, often "showing off a superior technique to cover up a lack of substance":[116]

> One experiences the evening with the same feelings . . . as with the perfect, neck-breaking, comical, Bengali-lit productions in the circus. One hears the grotesque, nasally, squeaking, rattling, laugh-inducing, rhythms, sounds, and tones, all following one another in calculatedly quick variations. One is astonished by the amazing virtuosity of the saxophonist who, lit by white light, tackles his racing rhythms with sovereign confidence . . . all this in a completed execution, a type of art risen into eminence from the cafe and the variety show: soulless; lacking in depth and content; distant from the realm of the beautiful; distant from our experience; teasing the ears and laughter; sensation; deafness; meanness conveyed

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[115] Quoted in Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zur Baucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* excerpt trans. K. Gehrmann (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 149.

[116] Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 77

> by sound. The public is downright fascinated . . . by this soulless American machinism that I find unspeakably repellent. The feeling that I get from it is difficult to describe--something homeless, unsolid, almost fearful possesses me, as if I had blundered into evil and hostile company . . . [117]

The famous novel *Der Steppenwolf* (1927) by Nobel Prize-winning author Hermann Hesse tells the story of Harry Haller, and provides a more positive response to the saxophone. Harry Haller is a profoundly weary European intellectual engaged in a fierce internal struggle and on the brink of suicide. Bolstered by his alter ego, Harry begins to explore the strange world of nightclubs and jazz where he indulges in "charming cigarettes" and the delights of young women. Hesse's descriptions of jazz throughout the novel are fascinating. The music is hot and raw as the steam of raw flesh. Its savage gaiety breathes a simple honest sensuality. It is detestable, yet secretly charming; repugnant yet ten times preferable to the academic music of the day. Eventually Harry meets Pablo, a young, good-looking, dark-skinned (South American) saxophone player and leader of a jazz band. Pablo is enigmatic to Harry for he exists only for beauty and hedonistic pleasures. Pablo refuses to talk about music or analyze its characteristics. It benefits no one, Pablo finally explains, "but when I take hold of my mouthpiece and play a lively shimmy, it will give people pleasure. It gets into their legs and into their blood. That's the point and that alone."[118]

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[117] Marc Weiner, "*Urwaldmusik* and the Borders of German Identity: Jazz in Literature of the Weimar Republic," excerpt trans. by P. Friederici ,*The German Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991): 477.

[118] Hermann Hesse, *Steppenwolf*, translation by Henry Holt and Co. (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag A.G., 1929) 132; Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zurBaucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 148.

Eventually, the beleaguered Harry finds salvation in Pablo's world of sex, drugs, and jazz. Harry is especially transformed when he learns how to dance and his catharsis on the dance floor provides the defining moment of the novel. Metaphorically, Hesse bestows upon jazz and its attendant saxophonist the power to rejuvenate German culture:

> And when Pablo saw me so radiant, me whom he had always looked on as a very lamentable devil, his eyes beamed blissfully upon me and he was so inspired that he got up and, blowing lustily in his horn, climbed up on his chair. From this elevation he blew with all his might, while at the same time his whole body, and his instrument with it, swayed to the tune of "Yearning." My partner and I kissed our hands to him and sang loudly in response. Ah, thought I . . . for once at least, I too have been happy, radiant, released from myself, a brother of Pablo's, a child.[119]

Sexual Implications

In the Weimar Republic the saxophone, as a symbol of jazz, was associated with sex and seduction. Alfred Baresel's widely read handbook *Das Jazz-Buch* (1926), for example, states that in considering the different members of the saxophone family one should choose an instrument to accommodate the desired mood. First acknowledging the advice of Ernö Rapèe, music director at Radio City Music Hall in New York, Baresel then characterizes the saxophone family (emphasis is mine):

> Alto: carrier of the melody, *especially the amorous or erotic*
> Tenor: masculine tone; especially suited for rhythmic melodies
> Soprano and Baritone: full-voiced
> Sopranino and Bass: humorous effects[120]

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[119] Hermann Hesse, *Steppenwolf*, translation by Henry Holt and Co. (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag A.G., 1929), 170.

[120] Alfred Baresel, *Das Jazz-Buch: Anleitung zum spielen, improvisieren und komponieren moderner Tanzstück*, 4th ed., excerpt trans. P. Friederici (Berlin: Zimmermann, 1926), 34.

It is intriguing to consider the saxophone as an erotically charged instrument in 1920s Germany. Undoubtedly, the saxophone's association with nightclubs and social dances account for much of this perception. An informal survey on the subject might also elicit responses ranging from the instrument's sultry tone quality to its potential symbolism of the phallus. Perhaps the instrument's connection to America, itself associated with power, youth and glamour at the time, factors into the equation. One must also consider the relatively liberated and sensual atmosphere of the republic itself for nurturing such an association. Although speculative musings may never fully undress the issue, many artworks of Weimar Germany nonetheless reinforce—if not originate—perceptions of the saxophone's erotic nature.

Saxophones figure into the score of *The Blue Angel* (1930), the landmark film of the Weimar era starring Marlene Dietrich and Emil Jannings. Dietrich's on-screen sensuality as Lola not only launched her international career, but must have tested the limits of appropriate cinematic behavior at the time. Lola is a predatory seductress and jazz singer who attracts the attentions of a dignified albeit befuddled college professor, Dr. Rath. Unlike *Steppenwolf's* Harry Haller who finds enlightenment through the world of jazz, Professor Rath slips into utter depravity and degradation. In one of the earliest sound films, the saxophone accompanies Lola during her on-stage vocal solos (*men swarm around me like moths around the light; if they get burnt, it's not my fault; I can*

only love, and nothing else).[121] The movie features the Weintraub Syncopators, Germany's most popular jazz combo, in a score by Friedrich Holländer.

Polish born Karol Rathaus (1895-1954) studied with Franz Schreker and lived in Berlin from 1920 to 1932 .[122] His ballet *Der Letzte Pierrot* [the Last Pierrot] is a study on the demise of expressionism in music and was performed at the Berlin State Opera in 1927. The title refers to Arnold Schoenberg's landmark expressionist statement *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) in which the harlequin Pierrot stumbles in the moonlight plagued by the sinister giant black butterflies of his tortured psyche. As an indication of the changing times, Rathaus' incarnation of Pierrot is "forced to dance a *pas de deux* with a flapper and finds himself unequal to the eroticism of the situation."[123] Naturally, an onstage jazz band featuring a prominent saxophone part accompanies this scene.

Czech composer and pianist Ervin Schulhoff (1894-1942) studied in Prague, Leipzig, and Cologne. After World War One he lived intermittently in Germany where he aligned himself with the artistic avant-garde .[124] Schulhoff was among the earliest composers to incorporate jazz idioms into a composition, and saxophonists know him for his *Hot Sonate* (1930) that he premiered on Berlin Radio with the American saxophonist

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[121] Josef von Sternberg, *Der Blaue Engel*, Treasures from the Weimar Republic 1919-1933, New York: Kino Video, 1993,videocassette.

[122] The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., s.v. "Karol Rathaus," by Boris Schwarz and Donald Pirone.

[123] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 110.

[124] The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., s.v. "Erwin Schulhoff," by Josef Bek.

Billy Barton .[125] Schulhoff also wrote a jazz oratorio, an opera, and a symphony that included parts for saxophones.[126]

Schulhoff's article *Zeitkunst: Saxophon und Jazzband* (1925) was a response to *Anbruch*'s special "jazz issue" and was prefaced with a lengthy consideration of the saxophone. The tone of the article is humorous, and Schulhoff shows himself as a respectable satirist. Schulhoff writes, for example, that the saxophone is not suited for patriotic songs outdoors which should be left to the flugelhorn and tuba, "preferably blown in the Reich on spring days using lager beer, Kaiser suit, top-hat, and the iron cross band stuck in the buttonhole."[127] Like Baresel, Schulhoff also addresses the different moods attainable with each member of the saxophone family:

> Anger can be expressed on the soprano . . . melancholy on the alto . . . and joviality on the avuncular tenor (blown in short-sleeved shirts with a botanist's specimen container strapped around the shoulder). Consecration of the bowling club or *Wer hat Dich, Du schoener Wald* [a song celebrating the German forests] is suitable for the bass.[128]

Like all good satire, Schulhoff's humor is certainly founded on some form of truth:

> The community of saxophones practices the phallic orgies that had just been illusory musical lies before, and that is why it is gaining more popularity among women daily (especially in American beach resorts, where the saxophone is

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[125] Schott Publishing Company wrote to Schulhoff, then living in Berlin, concerning the *Hot Sonate*, "We know neither you nor we will become rich through this. But on the other hand we like the work so well that we would gladly have it in our catalog." As an aside, Schulhoff founded a jazz quartet in Prague in 1932 with Vladimir Riha on saxophone. Riha was a clarinet soloist with the Czech Philharmonic and later became a professor at the Prague Conservatory. Schulhoff wrote two light pieces for alto saxophone and piano for Riha which were presented together on Prague radio. Josef Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff: Leben und Werk* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1994), 109, 119.

[126] See Appendix B

[127] Erwin Schulhoff, "Zeitkunst: Saxophon und Jazzband," excerpt trans. by K. Gehrmann, *Auftakt* 5 (1925): 180.

[128] Ibid., 179-180.

> played with devotion by women and girls wearing leotards). . . . For that reason alone, the saxophone has to be considered an urgent necessity regarding sexual morals. . . . A female saxophone player is the symbol of invitation. The conversation between two lovers should be conducted with a saxophone, with the libido not suffering any diminution. For all eternity, an erotically healthy race would be born which, having been raised with the saxophone, certainly would be devoid of any prudishness. It is a fact that since the introduction of the saxophone, dance has come into being. In good conscience, strong cosmic influences can be attributed to the saxophone, and no less a person than Prof. Dr. Sigmund Freud deals with this problem in an extensive study, a parergra to his *Totem and Taboo* titled *Saxophone Fetish.*"[129]

If perceptions of the saxophone's erotic nature provided fodder for Schulhoff's sharp sense of humor, it also provided an easy mark for a conservative assault. Kater notes that educators, youth movement leaders, and even theologians tended to single out sexual corruption as the biggest danger posed by jazz.[130] Implicit in all of their condemnations, however, was an aspect even more alarming than the supposed degenerate atmosphere of nightclubs or the sleazy wail of a saxophone: the threatening sexual powers of the dark-skinned races that produced the music. The music of the black, in their opinion, was perceived as the "ruse entrapping Nordic German womanhood in sordid sexuality." [131] In 1931 and 1932, *Völkisch* [Nationalist] authors Gerhard Schumann and Edwin Erich Dwinger wrote stage plays and novels depicting "young white girls yielding to the lures of the erotic saxophone, and Gothic blond heroes seduced by the lascivious jazz songs of cheap prostitutes."[132] To the Weimar conservative, the

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[129] Ibid., 181.

[130] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 22.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid.

erotic nature of jazz, and the saxophone, was inseparable from the music's connection to black culture.

Racial Implications

The opera *Jonny spielt auf* (1927) by Ernst Krenek (1900-1991) was the first and most important representative of a new genre, the *Zeitoper* or topical opera. Susan C. Cook's important dissertation defines the *Zeitopern* as expressions of modern life, usually comic in nature, with libretti set in the present and populated with people and theatrical props from the modern, everyday world. The music always incorporates American jazz and dance idioms.[133] The title character in *Jonny spielt auf*, a black American jazz band leader, is associated with the saxophone in various ways. Most important, the cover of the published piano-vocal score and numerous publicity photographs and advertisement posters portraying Jonny, a black man wearing a checkered suit and carrying a saxophone, appeared throughout the republic.[134] *Jonny spielt auf* was the most performed opera of the decade for which a young Krenek achieved international acclaim.

Jonny spielt auf highlights the dichotomy of two unlike characters. The central figure is Jonny who is impulsive, sensuous, and full of life. He represents freedom and an artist who is connected to society. Jonny's counterpart is Max, a repressed white

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[133] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 7-8.

[134] Ibid., 224; see illustrations in Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone*. (Frankfurt: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979): 149; Alan Lareau, "Jonny's Jazz: From *Kabarett* to Krenek," in *Jazz and the Germans* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002): 20; Michael Meyer, "A Musical Façade for the Third Reich" in *Degenerate Art: theFate of the Avant-garde in Nazi Germany,* ed. Stephanie Barron, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New York: Harry Abrams, 1991): 180.

European art composer. Max, like his music, is isolated and misunderstood. The pivotal scene of the opera takes place in a Paris hotel where the wildly popular Jonny leads his band. Also in the hotel are Max's love interest Anita, an opera singer, and the shallow violin virtuoso Daniello. In scene three Jonny [American vitality] tries to seduce Anita [European culture] only to be diverted by Daniello [vain European tradition], who takes Anita for himself. In retribution Jonny steals Daniello's valuable violin [the New World conquers the old]. Later in the opera, poor Max [withdrawn composer] is mistakenly arrested for the theft, but is rescued from incarceration by Jonny [savior]. In the end Daniello is hit by a train, the reunited Max and Anita leave for America, and Jonny, with the violin, appears larger than life "the black jazz band king!"[135]

Ironically, Jonny plays a violin in the opera. Krenek's choice of violin as Jonny's primary instrument was logical and necessary. For symbolic reasons, for the New World to conquer the old, Krenek needed Jonny to appropriate an instrument that was already well known within German concert traditions. A saxophone would have been out of the question in this capacity.[136] Nonetheless, along with the advertisement posters and the score cover, Jonny is associated with the saxophone in additional ways. Jonny is directed to carry a saxophone for his first stage appearance and he later sings to the hotel maid Yvonne, "Now I must go down there to play the fiddle, pluck the banjo, blow my sax and sound my horn, and give me another kiss!".[137] Also, the music associated with Jonny,

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[135] Ibid., 431.

[136] Ibid., 224.

[137] Ernst Krenek, "Krenek: Jonny spielt auf," Heinrich Hollreiser, conductor, Vanguard Classics (New York: Omega Recording Group. OVC 8048, 1993), compact disc.

provided by his jazz band, is characterized by the sound of two saxophones, muted trumpet, banjo and woodblock.[138] Saxophone solos are heard in the much-anticipated introduction to scene three when Jonny's band is first heard. The jazz band also performs the song *"Lebwohl mein Schatz" Blues* which was published separately for singer and jazz band, and a Tango that immediately follows the Blues at the end of scene three.

Although the title character in *Jonny spielt auf* portrays crass comedic elements and is a thief and womanizer, Krenek nonetheless champions him. Jonny, the free and uninhibited black jazz band leader, emerges from the opera as the figure of salvation both for the modern composer and the whole of German society.[139] Of course, conservatives hated *Jonny spielt auf* and denunciations of Krenek were a "monotonously regular feature" in the conservative press.[140] Nonetheless, *Jonny spielt auf* dominated the 1927-28 operatic season, appearing 421 times in 45 different venues.[141] What does the positive reception of *Jonny spielt auf* say about attitudes toward the saxophone due to its implication with black culture?

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[138] J. Bradford Robinson demonstrates that the opening woodblock rhythm in scene three was immediately recognizable as jazz to German audiences. J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar Germany: in search of a shimmy figure," in *Music and performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 108.

[139] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 208.

[140] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 8; mention should be made that white actors wearing black makeup portrayed the character Jonny in *Jonny spielt auf.* A riot ensued at a performance in Munich when a newspaper article misled the public into thinking that an actual black would perform Jonny, but the rioters were appeased when they learned otherwise. Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 248-249.

Cook offers descriptions of other *Zeitopern* from the period, many of which illustrate an association between the saxophone and a black performer. For one, the cast for Eugen d'Albert's *Die schwarze Orchidee* (1928) includes a black servant, Jimmy. Notes Cook, he was "an ancillary character undoubtedly included for the sake of fashion, and he is subjected to outbursts of racist name-calling by the other characters and chorus." When he is abandoned at the end by his employer, "Jimmy breaks into the spiritual 'Deep River' accompanied by a saxophone quartet, and then concludes that the white world is certainly a merry [*lustig*] one."[142] In another, scene four of Max Brand's *Maschinist Hopkins* (1929), the most performed work of the 1929/30 season, takes place in an outdoor nightclub. The scene opens with a line of chorus girls dancing to the "Ma-Bram-Hob-Han" song performed by six black musicians, three of whom play banjo and three saxophone.[143] A third example is from Franz Schreker, the director of the prestigious conservatory in Berlin and Krenek's former teacher. Act two, scene one of Schreker's *Christophorus* (1928) takes place in a nightclub and requires "an on-stage jazz band, consisting of tenor saxophone, piano, and percussion, played by black musicians, who supply the music for the entire scene."[144]

Finally, Alan Lareau examines the iconographic tradition of the "Jonny figure" in German song, cabaret, and stage productions. Jonny resurfaced in the operetta *Blume von Hawaii* (1931) by Paul Abraham. The sheet music cover (reprinted after WWII) of the hit

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[141] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 438.

[142] Ibid., 383-385.

[143] Ibid., 388-389.

[144] Ibid., 383.

song from the operetta, *Bin nur ein Jonny,* depicts a smiling black saxophonist in a tuxedo. In the piece Jonny sings, "Black face, wooly hair, big saxophone. Don't you recognize me from the bar? . . . I'm just a Nigger and no white man will give me his hand. But the ladies find me exciting, fascinating!"[145]

Defining the saxophone as an instrument of black culture, and considering the attitudes towards the instrument due to those associations, places the discussion squarely within the volatile arena of race relations in pre-Hitler Germany.[146] The racist perspective of the conservative right is well documented, in part because they were outspoken in their opinions. For them, racial and cultural minorities served as scapegoats responsible for every possible malady in Germany, from the loss of World War One to the destruction of modern art. According to the "conservative fantasy," a Jewish-Negro

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[145] Alan Lareau, "Jonny's Jazz: From *Kabarett* to Krenek," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 28-30; Banjoist Mike Danzi recalls accompanying *Bin nur ein Jonny* with singer Harald Paulsen at the Metropol Theater in Berlin in 1931. Danzi recalls that the five accompanying musicians had only two minutes to get from the orchestra pit to the stage and part of that time was spent with burnt cork, "for we had to be in black-face, too." To save time, they eventually dispensed with the cork and instead pulled black stockings over their headsMichael Danzi, *American music in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoir of the jazz,entertainment, and movie world of Berlin during the WeimarRepublic and the Nazi Era--and in the United States, as told toRainer E. Lotz* (Schmitten: Norbert Rucker,1986), 69.

[146] Although German racism in the 1920s and 30s was centered on the Jew, and numerous writers have shown a connection between jazz and Jewish musicians at that time, the saxophone was associated with blacks. Therefore, the present discussion on racial difference is limited to black culture. Sigurd Rascher's experience, however, provides an exception where the saxophone was considered "Jewish instrument." Sigurd Rascher, "A few words about the *Konzertstuck* and its composer," preface to *Konzertstück* by Paul Hindemith (New York: McGinnis and Marx, 1978); Wildy Lewis Zumwalt, "Edmund von Borck: A Study of his Life and Music with an Emphasis on His Works for the Saxophone" (D.M. diss., Florida State University, 2003), 16.

conspiracy was underway to undermine German strength and purity.[147] This viewpoint intensified after the economic downturn in 1929, and its adherents coalesced into a political majority. The attitude towards blacks of more liberal and progressive groups, intellectuals and artists who were clearly in the minority but nonetheless setting the cultural standards during the Weimar period, is more enlightened but still ambiguous.[148] Although many embraced elements of black culture as symbols of freedom and democracy and as an antidote to a stagnating artistic milieu, many remained typically Euro-centric in outlook.

Sander Gilman presents two concepts relevant to an elemental understanding of racism in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s. For one, Germans created a mythological stereotype of the black in a context where virtually no blacks were present.[149] The German image of blackness, therefore, was often borrowed from other cultural traditions. The pejorative use of the word "nigger" that appeared in Germany following the First World War, for example, was appropriated from an American racist

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[147] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 18-24; Sander L Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), xiv; Michael Meyer, "A musical facade for the Third Reich," in *"Degenerate art": theFate of the Avant-garde in Nazi Germany,* ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1991), 171-182; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 12.

[148] Dieter Scholz, "The triptych Metropolis by Otto Dix," in *Otto Dix*, trans. Joy Fischer (Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1989), 75; Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 20.

[149] Sander L Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), xi.

model of the Black.[150] Indeed, very few black musicians performed regularly in Germany and the association between jazz and Blacks was largely a "cultural construct"; nonetheless, there is little doubt that jazz was an "acoustical emblem of the Black."[151] The connection can be seen in Carl Hofer's painting *Jazzband* (1927); of the six members portrayed in the ensemble only the saxophone player is black.[152] The connection was also strong enough to prompt Matyas Seiber to remark in 1930 that the saxophone "is not a 'Negro instrument' as some people still want to make us believe, but originates in Europe."[153]

The second defining aspect of race relations in Germany was an event, the occupation of the Rhineland following the First World War. The occupation forces numbered 200,000 of which 10,000 were black soldiers from French colonies in North Africa, Madagascar, and Senegal.[154] Defeated Germany, a former colonial power itself, was outraged and humiliated by what became known as the "Black Disgrace on the

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[150] Ibid., xii.

[151] Marc Weiner, "*Urwaldmusik* and the borders of German identity: jazz in literature of theWeimar Republic," *The German Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991): 479; a notable exception is Sam Wooding's all black ensemble that arrived in 1925 and made a home base in Germany (Berlin and Hamburg) for several years. Wooding employed a formidable saxophone section of Gene Sedric, Willie Lewis, and Garvin Bushell. The band's trumpeter Doc Cheatham comments that when the band walked around Berlin, "We'd have a crowd of people following us all down the street." Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 18.

[152] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 179.

[153] Mátyás Seiber, "Jazz-Instrumente, Jazz-Klang und Neue Musik," *Melos* ix (1930): 125.

[154] Sander L Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), xiii.

Rhine."[155] Conservatives responded with a massive propaganda effort to both discredit France and elicit sympathies from the rest of the world (in which they succeeded). Most shocking are the racist caricatures and drawings from the time that show ape-like soldiers dragging away helpless nude white women.[156] Consequently, the German stereotype of a black man became that of a powerful menacing rapist, and a savage African. A 1930/31 illustration provides an example of this stereotype with a music-related theme. It depicts a muscled, shirtless black man straddling his latest conquest, a crumpled heap of traditional orchestral instruments, while beating a drum and playing a saxophone.[157]

The very attribute that threatened the conservative mind, the uncontrolled sexuality of a primitive race, also accounts for the enormous allure of black performers on the concert stage. For example, *Le Revue Negre* starring Josephine Baker, with saxophonist Sydney Bechet in the band, performed in Berlin for two months in 1925. The performances sold out every night of the run. One biographer notes that Baker's dancing in Berlin was particularly feral, described as "a pagan appetite for life" and a "frenzied fertility rite set to the syncopated rhythm of jazz".[158] Baker was the icon of black sexuality and, to her German audience, the embodiment of Primitivism: she offered

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[155] Rosemarie K. Lester, "Blacks in Germany and German Blacks: A Little-Known Aspect of Black History," in *Blacks and German Culture*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand, 114.

[156] Ibid., 117; Alan Lareau, "Jonny's Jazz: From *Kabarett* to Krenek," in *Jazz and the Germans:Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*. ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 42.

[157] Velhagen and Klasings Monatshefte 45, 1930/31, 460; Reprinted in Heribert Schroder, *Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933* (Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990), 354.

liberation from what Freud might have termed the repression and inhibitions endemic to Western civilization.[159] Art historian Beeke Sell Tower notes that black entertainers combined the attributes of America's vitality and modernism with the exotic and primitive qualities of Africa, which accounts for their enormous popularity.[160] Tower further describes a "humorous" 1927 newspaper article (*Frankfurter Zeitung*) by Max Geisenheyner, which shows the saxophones role in the "primitive chic" of the time. The article describes a high society party where civilized restraint is temporarily abandoned when a race record is put on the gramophone. Geisenheyner writes, "A jungle flash hits the salon; the music thunderously electrifies silken calves and formal trousers . . . Saxophone blows cast couples about, niggersong entwines them like garlands, lustful cries weaken their knees." Finally, the party host is moved to pounce on a young woman like an old "nigger chief" but order is restored when the recording ends and the mocha is served.[161]

Jaap Kool, who would later write the most comprehensive German text on the saxophone (*Das Saxophone,* 1931) wrote an earlier article, titled "*Vom Negerdorf zur Philharmonie*." It was reprinted in the American magazine *The Living Age* as "The

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[158] Lynn Haney, *Naked at the Feast: A Biography of Josephine Baker* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company,1981), 85.

[159] Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 1989), 146.

[160] Beeke Sell Tower, "Ultramodern and Ultraprimitive: Shifting Meanings in the Imagery of Americanism in the Art of Weimar Germany," in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, ed. Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 92.

[161] Ibid., 93-94.

Triumph of the Jungle".[162] In the article, Kool expresses his early fascination with jazz, especially through the recordings of Paul Whiteman. He acknowledges the spirit and inspiration of jazz, the new and valued role of the arranger, and his predilection for the saxophone. Kool writes, "How full and beautiful the tone of the saxophone!" and notes that the victory of the saxophone marked the decisive turning point in the history of the jazz band. Kool's purpose for writing the article, however, was to acknowledge the positive role of black culture in jazz music. Especially important, he writes, were the contributions of primitive societies to the rich and complex rhythms found in jazz. The combination of exotic rhythm with European melody, provided by the saxophone, defines the music. Kool continues, "[jazz] was the inspiration of an entire race, of a whole world of feeling quite different than our own." He then posits the somewhat exasperated question, "Is it not possible that this much-ridiculed black race may have something of value to give us?"[163] Kool's question was given serious consideration during the short but brilliant period of the Weimar Republic. However, such inquiries were quickly silenced, and indeed became dangerous to make, as the conservative point of view was allowed full reign to proceed towards its final and disastrous conclusion.

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[162] Jaap Kool, "The Triumph of the Jungle," *The Living Age (1924)* : 338-343.
[163] Ibid.

The Saxophone in Nazi Debate

> *This, in my opinion, is the main office of the saxophone family in the military band: To refine our emotional susceptibilities, thereby making music-lovers (and perhaps mankind in general) more receptive to all those delicate stirs that make for world-peace and for a gentler and happier life on this globe.*
>
> Percy Grainger (1949)

Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of a desperate and distressed Germany on January 30, 1933. Offering to unite Germany and make it strong again, Hitler and the National Socialist German Worker's Party, the Nazis, rose to power on a platform of extreme nationalism and intense racism. Through effective oratory and propaganda, along with ruthless bullying by brown-shirted storm troopers, Hitler quickly seized dictatorial control. His opponents underestimated both his political shrewdness and his resolve to institute a criminal Nazi ideology. Almost immediately a general boycott of Jewish businesses was put into effect and civil servants of Jewish descent were dismissed from their posts. The Nuremberg Blood Laws of 1935 heightened the Nazi crusade against all "non-Aryans". The Night of Broken Glass, or *Kristallnacht*, which took place in November 1938 witnessed the destruction of over 1000 synagogues and Jewish businesses throughout Germany and marked the first large-scale deportation of Jews to concentration camps.[164] Hitler's blatant violations of the Versailles Treaty, which included rebuilding the military, reoccupying the Rhineland (1936), and the annexation of Austria (1938) went unchecked by foreign powers. Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939 marked the beginning of the Second World War.

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[164] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, http://www.ushmm.org.

The fate of the saxophone under Nazi rule is rife with confusion and contradiction. Immediately following the Nazis' assumption of power musicians were unsure of the saxophone's status. Many players quickly sold their saxophones or refused to use them.[165] Other dance band musicians felt compelled to conceal their saxophones whenever potential Nazi "spies" were present.[166] Kater notes that SA men (storm troopers) would knock the saxophones out of the mouths of dance band players.[167] Notwithstanding this kind of prohibition the saxophone clearly survived in Germany throughout the Nazi period. Saxophones appear in Nazi sanctioned dance bands, instruction was offered at the conservatory in Berlin,[168]and new method books were published, notably the *Jazz Saxophon Schule* (1937) by Gebhardt-Manz.[169] The instrument was even adopted by the Music Corps of the German *Luftwaffe* (airforce) in 1940.[170] Nonetheless, these facts are incongruous with the hostility that was also directed towards the instrument. Leading Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, for example, spoke

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[165] Horst Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland: Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik, 1900-1960* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966), 64-65.

[166] Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zurBaucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 150.

[167] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.

[168] Ernst Mittelbach from 1931 to 1938, and Erich Rochow from 1938 to 1944 and 1945 to 1958. Karl Ventzke, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zurBaucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 151.

[169] Gebhardt-Manz, *Jazz Saxophon Schule* (Frankfurt am Main: Zimmermann, 1937).

[170] Ibid.

against "tooting the saxophone and other nigger drums" in 1930.[171] Schroder further notes that the mental connection between "saxophone" and "Negro instrument" during the time of the Reich brought plenty of uncertainty, speculation, and disagreements in the music journals.[172]

Nazi policies on music were guided by two conflicting tenets: censure and toleration.[173] In charge of cultural life in Nazi Germany was Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, who had authority over every aspect of music, film, radio, literature, painting, and the press. Goebbels, an astute manipulator of people and ideas, endeavored to govern by popular consent rather than outright restriction. To this end he was willing to sacrifice a Nazi ideal in the interest of maintaining public support and military morale.[174] He was especially tolerant in terms of musical censorship during his first two years in power.[175] Goebbels' balancing act and the compromises he made angered more extreme and inflexible Party members, but history has proven the efficacy of his tactics.

The "degenerate" American art form of jazz posed a peculiar problem to the Nazis. Although jazz was despised it was never officially forbidden. The music was too entrenched--and too ill defined--for such a measure to be advisable or enforceable. As light entertainment, furthermore, jazz didn't have a viable substitute at the time. Berlin

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[171] Heribert Schroder, *Tanz -und Unterhaltungsmusik in Deutschland 1918-1933* (Bonn: Verlag fur systematische Musikwissenschaft GmbH, 1990), 137.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Michael H. Kater, *The twisted muse: Musicians and their music in the Third Reich* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11-12.

[174] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 84.

Radio prohibited the music in 1933 and the Reich Radio Chamber under Eugen Hadamovsky officially prohibited jazz from the airwaves in 1935. Goebbels, however, valued jazz as a propaganda tool and never fully backed these prohibitions.[176]

Without question, the saxophone was considered only a dance band instrument by the Nazi government. One sober assessment from May, 1933 states, "The saxophone . . . has not been placed on a level with the other instruments of the symphony orchestra, but rather haunts most heads solely as a jazz instrument".[177] Nonetheless, official Nazi support of the saxophone should not come as a surprise. The saxophone's European history and its existence before the advent of jazz gave credibility to the Nazi position. However, the real motivation behind the supportive gesture was economic. The general avoidance of the saxophone following Nazi seizure of power caused genuine troubles for German instrument manufacturers, and they appealed to the new government for assistance. The resultant dilemma between a Nazi ideal (an anti-jazz stance) and an economic reality required compromise. The dilemma is clearly illustrated by a later magazine announcement for the Nazis' *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (1940) [Dictionary of Jews in Music] in which the entire left-hand margin of the same page is filled with classified advertisements for saxophones.[178] The following quotation, entitled

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[175] Michael H. Kater, *The twisted muse: Musicians and their music in the Third Reich* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 19.

[176] Ibid., 46-56.

[177] Josef Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation,* excerpt trans. by. P. Friederici (Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 360.

[178] Josef Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 459.

"Rescuing the Honor of the Saxophone" was released to all applicable periodicals in September, 1933:

> As a result of the petition of May 10, 1933, the Economics Ministry has been in contact with the Reich Administration in order to avoid a boycott of the saxophone, which could result from the ban on so-called Negro music. The Reichs Ministry for Education and Propaganda answered that the saxophone bears no responsibility for Negro music. --It is an invention of Adolf [sic] Sax, born November 6, 1814, and is mainly used in military music . . . As with all other instruments, one can play good music with the saxophone. A ban on Negro music is no obstacle to continued use of the saxophone. A pertinent newspaper notice to this effect will be released.[179]

Jazz scholar Horst Lange also reprints the following editorial response, which appeared with the above quotation in a Berlin periodical, the *Music-Echo*. It not only reinforces the economic basis of the Nazi decision, but offers one of the most risible definitions of jazz in print:

> We hope the above has the effect of increasing demand for the saxophone. Our musicians should be cognizant of only buying German instruments, as the German ones are at least as good as the foreign ones, if not better. --The concept of "Negro music," just as that of "Jazz music," is not clearly defined here. . . . For even Negro music is often completely melodic as it is often taken from religious singing. Here there apparently is some confusion with so-called "Nigger music," which refers to quacking on different instruments in jagged rhythms.[180]

Interestingly, the omnipresent Nazi music critic and leading crusader in the war on jazz, Dr. Fritz Stege, offered his approval of the official pronouncement in December 1933. One could suppose, however, that his endorsement of the saxophone was politically motivated:

> The saxophone should also not be eliminated. For when it is played correctly, without the tricks that have been used to this day (glissandos, etc.), it proves itself

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[179] Horst Lange, *Jazz in Deutschland: Die deutsche Jazz-Chronik, 1900-1960,* excerpt trans. by P. Friederici (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966), 64-65.

[180] Ibid.

> as a valuable tool for dance music. For that reason it is praiseworthy that the Reich Propaganda Ministry has come to support the saxophone and has pronounced itself opposed to any restrictions on this instrument.[181]

Unable to officially prohibit jazz or the saxophone, attempts were subsequently made to make both more appropriate for German society. A conscious effort was made to transform "jazz" into "Good German Dance Music." An example of this attempt includes the creation of a Nazi sanctioned jazz combo to serve as a model for other such groups. The Golden Seven, with Franz Thon on saxophone, was established in December 1934.[182] This approach ultimately failed, however, because the group always sounded "too American." Their studio sound engineer at the time remarked that the combo would see how far they could go "without getting arrested the next day".[183] The following quotation titled "Unerringness" from July 1935 reflects a similar attempt to "Germanize" the saxophone.[184] The entire quotation is presented as an example of Nazi-inspired rhetoric:

> In its time jazz was unreservedly adopted by the Marxist Germany, under Jewish leadership; no attempt was made to meld it into the experience of our people. Only with the unerring vision of the National Socialist movement, especially with its anti-Semitic tendency, has there been any success in fostering substantial change in this area. Today's German dance music is in fine form. It has fundamentally moved away from the over exaggeration of the rhythmic, and is attempting a balanced melding of rhythm and melody. In contrast to what the

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[181] Josef Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation,* excerpt trans. by. P. Friederici (Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 268.

[182] Michael H. Kater, *Different drummers: Jazz in the culture of NaziGermany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 48.

[183] Ibid.

[184] It is interesting to note similar efforts by other repressive governments. In Japan during the 1920s the name "saxophone" was officially replaced with a Japanese equivalent, *kinzoku seihin magari shakuhachi* [bent metallic flute]. Taylor E. Atkins, "The War on Jazz, or Jazz Goes to War: Toward a New Cultural Order in Wartime Japan," Positions 6, no. 2 (1998): 369.

> music reactionary's say, those who believe that they have found the point of conflict in the use of the saxophone, it is possible to prove that Sax, the inventor of the saxophone, was a German.[185]

This attempt to rewrite history was, of course, far-fetched and the claim of Adolphe Sax's German heritage was corrected, if not ridiculed, by later Nazi writers.[186] The writer of the following quotation, from May 1936, took the opportunity to show how open-minded the Nazis were in their acceptance of the saxophone, a known invention of a foreigner. However, not able to claim the saxophone as a German invention or discredit it for a connection to black culture, issue was taken with its role in improvised music:

> We are not narrow-hearted enough to reject the use of the saxophone (acknowledged as an invention of the Belgian Adolphe Sax) as a "Negro instrument" in the dances in which its use is appropriate; but we do agree with those critics who find that the tootling and squeaking in the instrument's higher registers is an abomination. The "breaking" of the melody, which goes hand in hand with that use and is generally deliberate, being explained as "variation on the given theme," is unnecessary.[187]

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[185] Josef Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich:Eine Dokumentation,* excerpt trans. by P. Friederici (Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 349.

[186] See the quote by Alfred Weidemann (1943) in Josef Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich:Eine Dokumentation,* excerpt trans. by P. Friederici (Gutersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963), 360: It will not do, as has sometimes been attempted in recent times, to try to extenuate or sanction all jazzlike music by explaining that a special and previously unacknowledged role was played in it by the saxophone, which allegedly was invented by a German (!) named Sax * and was turned to account in higher music. As far as the latter is concerned, the saxophone was used by only a few, by Bizet, Verdi, and Richard Strauss, and then only quite occasionally . . . even a master like Wagner, who was so open to new instrumentations, did not take it into consideration. The fact is: the instrument that dominates part of today's popular and dance music, not infrequently applied in ample doses, most often lends a piece of music a soft, quavering, sometimes unhealthy, sultry [Schwül] tone, which a great many friends of music do not like at all.
*Weidemann's footnote here explains that Adolphe Sax was a Belgian instrument maker like his father.

[187] Ibid., 589.

The Nazi intolerance for improvisation is corroborated in the saxophone method books of the time. The *Jazz Saxophon Schule* (1937) by Gebhardt-Manz and the eighth edition of *Saxophon Schule* by N. Fedorow (ca. late 1930s), both published by Zimmerman, contain text by the acknowledged academic authority on jazz, Alfred Baresel. Baresel endeavored to adapt to life in the Third Reich, and his later writings clearly reflect the position of the government. Acknowledging (once again) the absurdity of labeling the saxophone a "Negro instrument," he credits the saxophone's success in jazz to its "capability of tonal expression coupled with the possibilities it affords for virtuoso technique".[188] In his discussion of improvisation, Baresel writes:

> " . . . there was at first a tendency to let . . . instrumentalists ornament and vary the melody and accompanying parts according to their own taste and skill. . . . This form of jazz has in the meantime been greatly modified and continuous improvisation on the part of individual artists is no longer permitted. It should be the aim of the modern saxophonist to play the written notes as if he were improvising."[189]

Finally, the saxophone made a noteworthy appearance in the *Entartete Musik* [Degenerate Music] exhibition which opened in Düsseldorf in 1938. The exhibit featured the work of "degenerate" musicians who had been discredited during the previous five years, including Arnold Schoenberg, Anton Webern, and Franz Schreker. The exhibit included photographs and portraits, books and magazines, and a series of listening booths where one could hear the music of "harmful" composers such as Paul Hindemith, Kurt

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[188] Gebhardt-Manz, *Jazz Saxophon Schule* (Frankfurt am Main: Zimmermann, 1937), 2.

[189] N. Fedorow, and Alfred Baresel *Schule fur Saxophon* (Frankfurt: Zimmerman, ca. 1926), 2-3 of Part Two.

Weill, Ernst Krenek, and others.[190] The exhibit followed the enormous success of the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibit from the previous year. However, Levi emphasizes that the music exhibit was not organized or supported by the Propaganda Ministry but represents the vision of a single fanatic individual, Hans Severus Ziegler.[191] The cover of the exhibition guide book, which included a copy of Zeigler's opening speech, featured a monkey-like caricature of a black saxophonist in a tuxedo, with a Star of David on his lapel.[192] The illustration is an obvious parody of the score cover and advertisement poster for Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), which were also on prominent display. Although the exhibit was not officially sanctioned, it nonetheless represents an expression of opinions and attitudes untempered by political compromise. The overriding message of the degenerate art and music exhibits, however, is this: art has power. Whether with an improvised jazz solo, the experimental use of tone rows or quarter tones, or the use of bold, distorted colors in an Expressionist painting, it has the type of power that a repressive government feels a need to control.

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[190] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 94-98; Michael Meyer, "A musical facade for the Third Reich," in *"Degenerate art": theFate of the Avant-garde in Nazi Germany,* ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1991), 180-183.

[191] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 98.

[192] Michael Meyer, "A musical facade for the Third Reich," in *"Degenerate art": theFate of the Avant-garde in Nazi Germany,* ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1991), 181; Alan Lareau, "Jonny's Jazz: From *Kabarett* to Krenek," in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the influence of "hot" American idioms on 20th-century German music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, Monographs and Bibliographies in American music No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 22.

The Saxophone According to Adorno

Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno was associated with the "Frankfurt school" of philosophers and was a major architect of Critical Theory, a fundamental critique of industrial capitalism .[193] Adorno is unique among the pantheon of German philosophers because he was also a trained musician who used music, rather than art or literature, to elucidate his philosophical inquiry. He wrote books on Wagner, Mahler, and Alban Berg, he served as co-editor of the music journal *Anbruch* and studied composition for a short time with Berg. Like the Nazi government Adorno endeavored to discredit the claims that jazz was a progressive art and an agent of revitalization for European culture. Unlike the Nazi government Adorno grounded his opinions in defensible philosophical positions free of racist or authoritarian aims. Adorno's thoughts on the saxophone, which are couched in his writings on jazz, provide a unique perspective of the saxophone in inter-wars Germany that serve to summarize and confirm preceding events in this document.

Adorno's writings about jazz include an essay titled *Abschied vom Jazz* [Farewell to Jazz] (1933) written on the occasion of the ban on jazz by Berlin Radio in 1933. A second essay titled *Über Jazz* [On Jazz] (1936) was written in England while living in exile from the Nazi government.[194] Since their inception *Abschied vom Jazz* and *Über Jazz* have inspired considerable debate and disagreement from scholars eager to defend the art of jazz from Adorno's tirades. With this said, understanding Adorno's writings on

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[193] Peter, J. Martin, *Sounds and society: Themes in the sociology of music* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 81.

[194] Theodor W. Adorno, "Abschied vom Jazz," *Gesammelte Schriften* XVIII (1984).

jazz requires the acceptance of two important assumptions. First is that Adorno's concept of jazz was informed wholly by the music of 1920s Berlin and not 1950s America. The music that Adorno wrote about was a highly arranged, commercial dance music and the popular music of the white middle class. The second assumption is that Adorno's essays aren't about jazz at all, but about his theory of mass consumer culture.

The basic tenet of Adorno's theory (which is a very difficult thing to summarize) defines jazz as a commodity within the sphere of the "culture industry." The function of jazz as a successful commodity is to constantly appear new and original while actually remaining the same. To fulfil this function, according to Adorno, jazz captivates the listener with superficial deviations from the norm while underneath it remains rigid and unchanged. These superficial deviations, which might include syncopation, excessive "hot" elements or the use of a saxophone, provide the illusion of originality while masking the true "commodity character" of jazz thus perpetuating its marketability. Genuine art music, by comparison, develops completely from its own inherent logic and therefore has the ability to provide the listener with a transformational experience. The underlying rigidness of jazz, on the other hand, denies the consumer a genuine subjective experience. The listener of jazz, writes Adorno, undergoes a "psychic mutilation" upon which the culture industry depends for survival.

Within his definition of jazz as a commodity Adorno acknowledges improvisation (the "reintroduction into the composition of those who are reproducing it") as a genuinely progressive element. However, the potential freedom provided by improvisation also is an illusion because the improviser is shackled by the demands of the market place; that is,

by the formulaic conformity of the 32 bar song form and the unrelenting beat of the bass drum. The improviser, writes Adorno, "is permitted to tug at the chains of his boredom, and even to clatter them, but he cannot break them."[195] Adorno writes in 1933:

> For the virtuoso saxophonist . . . who made his adventurous springs between the notated rhythm parts, who altered the accents and smoothed the tones with clever glissandos--he at least should have been lifted up above the industrialization; his realm was the realm of freedom; here the rigid wall between production and reproduction was seemingly blown down, the much-desired immediacy was found, the alienation between man and music mastered through vital art.
>
> It was not . . . Jazz did not venture such risks and was satisfied with the monotony of its superficial appearances.[196]

To Adorno the saxophone is the most representative instrument of jazz, or what he called the "vibrato sound principle." Vibrato, notes Adorno, introduces "subjective emotion" into a tone without altering the basic sound. It is, therefore, a vital component of the jazz commodity, which is characterized by "superficial excess and underlying rigidity."[197] The saxophone provides novelty while retaining the fundamental capabilities of a standard instrument. In Adorno's deconstruction of jazz, therefore, it is important to defuse the symbolic potency of the saxophone. In the following quotation Adorno disassociates the saxophone from jazz, and from black culture, by invoking the instrument's French classical history:

> In Europe the saxophone is considered representative of this sound [the vibrato sound principle], the instrument against which the resistance has concentrated its forces. In truth, the instrument to which so much modernistic infamy is attributed and which is supposed to perversely subject the over-stimulated Western nerves to

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[195] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 56

[196] Theodor W. Adorno, "Abschied vom Jazz," excerpt trans. by P. Friederici, *Gesammelte Schriften* XVIII (1984): 796-797.

[197] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 46

> the vitality of blacks, is old enough to command respect. It was already discussed in Berlioz's theory of instrumentation; it was invented during the nineteenth century when the emancipation of the art of orchestration stimulated the demand for more refined transitions between woodwinds and the brass instruments, and has been used--clearly not obligatory--in pieces such as Bizet's *Arlesian Suite*, which has long since been considered a classic. In many countries it has been used for generations in military music, and therefore is no longer shocking to anyone. . . .[198]

Adorno collaborated with several colleagues during the writing of *Über Jazz* (1936) and primarily with Frankfurt conseratory jazz professor Mátyás Seiber. In their published correspondence Seiber's critique of the above passage is informative. In an early draft of *Über Jazz,* Adorno notes that the saxophone is representative of a "certain vibrato sound." Seiber took issue with Adorno's emphasis on the saxophone and stated that he was more inclined to grant this distinction to the trumpet. Seiber's reply to Adorno, presented in the following quotation, also affirms the initial impact the saxophone had made in Germany:

> I believe that the overemphasis on the saxophone is a typically German point of view, to be explained by the fact that the sax. appeared among us in jazz music, purely from the outside, as the most characteristic and thereby as the most important. In comparison, in England, France, and so on--that is, in countries in which one was accustomed to see sax. and trumpet playing peacefully together in military bands for decades--there is nothing new or exotic in the sax. --I also want to add: it is also characteristic, that the large and famous orchestras never have a leader who is a *Sax-ist* (that is, a "standing sax"), but on the contrary often a trumpeter: only to cite the most famous: Louis Armstrong, the hottest Negro (whose records I would strongly recommend that you listen to) . . . That is also one of the main reasons why I am somewhat skeptical regarding your theory about the sax--I believe that the importance of the sax is overestimated—[199]

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[198] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 46

[199] Nick Chadwick, "Matyas Seiber's Collaboration in Adorno's Jazz Project, 1936," excerpt trans. by P. Friederici, *BritishLibraryJournal* 21, no. 2 (1995): 276.

Adorno also addresses the erotic and racial implications of jazz and the saxophone and both are subject to his theory of industrial capitalism. He wrote in *Über Jazz*, for example, that the "sexual moment is deliberately emphasized in all jazz," and his description of a jazz band as a "coitus-machine" raised more than a few uncomfortable eyebrows among his collaborators.[200] However, in the context of the culture industry the jazz commodity promises sexual liberation only to deny it, and the jazz consumer and jazz performer are ultimately rendered impotent. In his 1933 essay Adorno likened the excesses of jazz to an erotic scene in a film where those "ambiguous situations . . . stop before the final consequences." [201] He then mentions a "sexless saxophone bleating out its half agreement with things risque."[202] In the "Oxford addenda" to *Über Jazz*, written in 1937, Adorno notes that the saxophone may offer a unique form of resistance to the emasculating effects of the culture industry. The "potentially ambiguous sexual implications" of jazz represented by the saxophone's quality of combining the qualities of both brass and woodwind instruments could negate those effects.[203] The following is a paraphrase by Martin Jay of Adorno's original quotation (emphasis is mine):

> The suppression of the genital-centric subject, although possibly suggesting regression to sadism or homosexuality, might also provide a foretaste of the social order beyond patriarchal authoritarianism. The saxophone, the most characteristic jazz instrument, gives intimations of this sexual liberation because it is a *metal instrument played like a woodwind.* [204]

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[200] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 62

[201] Theodor W. Adorno, "Abschied vom Jazz," excerpt trans. by P. Friederici, *Gesammelte Schriften* XVIII (1984): 796.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Reasearch, 1923-1950* (Boston: Little, 1973), 187-188.

[204] Ibid., 188.

Marc Weiner also notes that the saxophone's "ill-defined, bisexual eroticism" as expressed through its own hybrid nature is apparent in the literary portrayals of jazz at this time.[205] Such notions appear in *Der Steppenwolf* (1927) when the character Harry Haller admits his homoerotic attraction to the saxophonist Pablo.[206] They also appear in Bruno Frank's *Politische Novelle* (1928) when a "grinning devil" from a Negro band provides an "uncannily convincing imitation on the saxophone of a female voice." [207]

In addressing the racial implications of jazz, Adorno refutes the claim that jazz has anything to do with genuine black culture. Adorno's often cited quote from *Über Jazz* that "the skin of the black man functions as much as a coloristic effect as does the silver of the saxophone" has brought accusations of racism and elitism against him.[208] Why does Adorno disparage the black contribution to jazz? Again, one must read such comments in the context of a critique on mass consumer culture and in the context of jazz in Germany during the 1920s, which was dominated by white performers and listeners. Adorno's message in *Über Jazz* is that the African origin of jazz is inconsequential because that element is lost when the music is appropriated by the culture industry. As this occurs "black jazz" simply becomes another brand name. The jazz commodity,

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[205] Marc Weiner, "*Urwaldmusik* and the borders of German identity: jazz in literature of the Weimar Republic," *The German Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1991): 484.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.; Bruno Frank, *The Persians Are Coming*, translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1929),39-40, original title: *Politische Novelle*, 1928.

[208] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 53

writes Adorno, turns the "triumphant vitality" of the black into "a confusing parody of colonial imperialism."[209]

Finally, a theme that appears in Adorno's jazz writings, and one that is particularly incomprehensible to modern jazz scholars, is that jazz is the music of fascism. According to Adorno if one strips away the "hot" elements and syncopation from jazz one is left with a military march .[210] Adorno continues, "Not only the saxophone is borrowed from the military orchestra; the entire arrangement of the jazz orchestra . . . is identical to that of a military band."[211] As a commodity, furthermore, jazz subordinates the individual to the controlling forces of the culture industry and at the same time pacifies them with an illusion of freedom. This notion is certainly supported by the fact that Propaganda Minister Goebbels valued jazz as a tool able to "placate the masses" and that he never fully supported the ban on jazz by the Reich Radio Chamber. Commenting on the futility of such prohibitions Adorno writes, "But characteristically enough, this [jazz] ban is a powerless one. The struggle against the saxophone has been appeased by the musical organizations and the instrument industry; jazz itself continues vigorously, under other names, on the radio as well."[212]

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[209] Ibid.

[210] J. Bradford Robinson. "The jazz essays of Theodor Adorno: some thoughts on jazz reception in Weimar Germany," *Popular Music* 13, no. 1 (1994): 21.

[211] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," translation and introduction by Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12.1 (Fall/Winter, 1989-90): 61.

[212] Ibid.

Adorno never re-evaluated his opinion of jazz as the music changed its position within the culture industry throughout the 1940s and 1950s.[213] The value of his theory in a modern discussion of jazz, therefore, is somewhat limited. Nonetheless, Adorno's writings are a product of their time and they provide a secondary function of confirming the saxophone's powerful connection to popular music in inter-wars Germany. This connection, furthermore, is fraught with racial and erotic implications for the instrument. In his subsequent attempt to disassociate the saxophone from these implications, however, it remains difficult to assess if Adorno truly felt that the saxophone should "command our respect." Nonetheless, a number of German composers and performers during the 1920s and 30s believed that the saxophone not only deserved respect but a role in the performance of serious concert music as well. The concept of a "classical" saxophone existed on the periphery of prevailing opinions about the instrument during the 1920s but emerged as a viable idea in the early 1930s. The potential of the saxophone in non-jazz idioms will be examined in the following chapter.

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[213] Robert Witkin, *Adorno on Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 177.

CHAPTER 4

THE SAXOPHONE IN THE MUSIC OF ALBAN BERG: A CASE HISTORY

> *The quality of the ambitious pieces written in Germany during the 1930s by composers with solid technique shows that the "classical" saxophone was more highly regarded in Germany than anywhere else at that time. . . . perhaps this was due to the spirit of liberty which the instrument embodied as it faced an inhuman regime that would unfortunately end up in getting the better of it.*
>
> Jean-Marie Londeix
> *150 Years of Music for Saxophone*

By the mid-1920s Alban Berg (1885-1935) was a central figure of the musical avant-garde and enjoyed near universal admiration from his colleagues and the public. He was known as the famed composer of the opera *Wozzeck* (1917-22), the culminating work of pre-war expressionism in music, and as a member of the Second Viennese School of composers that also included Anton Webern and Arnold Schoenberg. A hallmark of Berg's compositional style is an ability to absorb and synthesize an enormous number of ideological positions into his music. His music is at once atonal and tonal, expressionistic and impressionistic, traditional yet progressive. According to his pupil and admirer Theodor W. Adorno, Berg combined the late romanticism of Gustav Mahler with the uncompromising modernism of Schoenberg.[214] Likewise, Berg's handling of the saxophone reflects nearly every aesthetic issue surrounding the instrument in the 1920s and 30s. Berg used the saxophone, for example, both for its allusions to popular idioms

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[214] Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 37-8.

and in a more absolute manner. Berg synthesized these elements into a highly original part for the saxophone in his second and final opera.

The opera *Lulu* (1929-1935) by Alban Berg is based on the provocative plays *Earth Spirit* and *Pandora's Box* (both ca.1895) by Frank Wedekind, and is among the masterworks of twentieth-century music. The nearly three hour opera occupied Berg for the last five years of his life. To better understand the saxophone part in *Lulu* a condensed synopsis of the libretto is required. The title character in *Lulu*, writes George Perle, represents the ideal fulfillment of male sexual desire.[215] Lulu's pure and innocent sexuality, however, is pitted against the hypocritical values of bourgeois society and the result is disastrous. Indeed, as a consequence of loving and pursuing her most of the characters in *Lulu* wind up dead. Through Acts I and II, Lulu dispatches three well-to-do husbands. The first dies from a heart attack after seeing Lulu with another man. The second commits suicide at learning the truth about her sordid past. The third, Dr. Schoen, is shot when he hands Lulu a gun and angrily declares that she must end her own life. Another main character of the opera, Alwa, is a composer (whom Berg intended to represent himself) and the son of the late Dr. Schoen. Alwa is deeply and blindly in love with Lulu. In Act III, after Lulu's escape from prison and a fiasco in a Parisian gambling salon, Lulu is found living in squalor and prostitution in a London slum. Alwa (and two other characters from her previous life) has accompanied her. Eventually, Alwa is killed by one of Lulu's clients, and with a bloodcurdling scream Lulu is killed by Jack the Ripper.

What better choice than the saxophone to represent the sound world of *Lulu*! The instrument that had come to symbolize jazz, spiritual decay, and eroticism in German culture was an ideal voice for Berg to provide commentary on "morality and sex in Wedekind's decadent world."[216] This notion is reinforced by appearances of the saxophone during significant dramatic moments in the opera. The first important saxophone solo in *Lulu,* for example, occurs after the death of Lulu's first husband when she kneels over the body with utter indifference to what has happened (the "Canzonetta" in bars 258 to 282).[217] This saxophone solo returns, albeit in a truncated form, at the death of Dr. Schoen in Act II (bars 611-12).[218] A second function of the saxophone in *Lulu* is to provide an instrumental identity, in the manner of a Wagnerian leitmotif, for the character Alwa.[219] This connection is established in the prologue (bars 74-9).[220] More specifically the saxophone is identified with the unreasonable passion that Alwa feels for Lulu. Consider, for example, to the music in the scene leading up to Alwa's hymn of

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[215] George Perle, *The Operas of Alban Berg: "Lulu"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 34.

[216] Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer, 1988), 302

[217] Alban Berg, *Lulu: Oper nach Frank Wedekind Tragodien Erdgeist und Buchse Der Pandora.* Universal Edition No. 13640a, 68-73; Douglas Jarman, *Alban Berg: "Lulu"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 25-6.

[218] Alban Berg, *Lulu,* Universal Edition No. 13640a, 488-9.

[219] Pierre Boulez, "*Lulu*: The Second Opera" in *Orientations: Collected Writings by PierreBoulez,* ed. Jean-Jaques Nattiez, trans. Martin Cooper (London: Faber, 1986), 391.

[220] Alban Berg, *Lulu,* Universal Edition No. 13640a, 23; Alwa is equated with the Animal Trainer in the Prologue. CarnerCarner, Mosco Carner, "*Alban Berg: The Man and his Work*" 2nd ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 235.

erotic love, sung to Lulu on the same couch where she murdered his father (bars 1033 to1097).[221]

Indeed, Berg found a valuable new orchestral color in the saxophone that provided a cultural allusion for the provocative aspects of the *Lulu* text. However, to borrow an idea from Adorno's concept of the "vibrato sound principle," an instrument that provides a novel color must still meet the fundamental demands of a symphony orchestra. A remarkable feature of the saxophone part in the opera *Lulu* is the equal stature Berg gives to the saxophone in relation to the other instruments. The part, like all the parts in *Lulu*, is virtuosic in nature. The saxophone is used throughout the opera, its full range is utilized, and the performer must handle wide interval leaps and be sensitive to dynamics and ensemble. The part is also idiomatic for the saxophone and Berg exploits the instrument's inherent voice-like lyricism. In the five symphonic pieces from the opera, the *Lulu Suite* (1934), the saxophone assumes parts that are originally sung. The saxophonist, for example, plays Alwa's hymn from the opera in the *Suite* (1st movement bars 1094-1102).[222] Finally, in the famous dressing room scene of Act I scene 3 of the opera, Berg creates an offstage jazz band from within the orchestra.[223] One hears the jazz band performing a stylized Ragtime (bars 992-1020; 1155-1169) and an English Waltz (bars 1040-1093) as the door to Lulu's dressing room opens and closes.[224] Like the

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[221] Alban Berg, *Lulu,* Universal Edition No. 13640a.

[222] Alban Berg, *Symphonische Stucke aus der Oper Lulu,* Universal Edition No. 12.674, 38-9.

[223] The jazz band consists of 2 clarinets, alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, 2 trumpets in C, 2 trombones, tuba, percussion, banjo, piano, 3 violins, and 1 bass.

[224] Alban Berg, *Lulu,* Universal Edition No. 13640a, 240-5, 273-6, 249-59; the opening and closing of Lulu's dressing room door is remarkably similar to Lola's

Zeitoper of the previous decade to which Berg is referring with nostalgia, these sections are filled with syncopated rhythms and the saxophone parts are limited in range. It is interesting to note how different the alto saxophone part is between its role in the jazz band and in the main orchestra.

Berg interrupted the composition of *Lulu* in order to complete two other commissioned works, the concert aria *Der Wein* (1929) and the *Violin Concerto* (1935). *Der Wein*, composed throughout the summer of 1929, presents Berg's first use of the saxophone and is considered a preparatory piece for the composition of *Lulu*.[225] 1929 clearly marks the date of Berg's decision to include the saxophone in *Lulu*, which is consistent with considerable concurrent use of the instrument by other German composers.[226] Like *Lulu*, the saxophone in *Der Wein* provides extra-musical allusion. The saxophone and piano from a salon orchestra, notes Adorno, provides *Der Wein* with "allegoric melancholy and trivial frivolity; the laboriously invoked spirit of the bottle . . . the brooding sounds of the hermit's soul . . .".[227] And as in *Lulu*, many of the saxophone

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dressing room scene in the film *The Blue Angel* by Josef Sterberg (New York: Kino Video, 1993). In a letter to Schoenberg dated May 18, 1930, Berg writes, "Incidentally: I have long been absolutely convinced of a great future for the talking film (also in connection with our music). Speaking of which, have you seen the latest Jannings film: *The Blue Angel*? If not, be sure to go see it!" Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, ed. *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 402.

[225] Thomas Liley, "Alban Berg: The Concert Aria *Der Wein*," *The Saxophone Symposium* 10 (Winter 1985): 9.

[226] See Appendix A

[227] Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 113-4.

parts appear in *Der Wein's* jazz-influenced "Tango" sections. However, the saxophone appears in the "non-jazz" portions as well.[228]

The scant clues concerning Berg's introduction to the saxophone suggest that he came to the instrument through jazz but recognized its potential beyond the jazz idiom. Theodor Adorno, for example, recalls with "clear recollection of the evening in a Viennese bar" when Berg first became interested in jazz.[229] Adorno writes, "For years [Berg] pondered the use of the saxophone, to which he was ready in an instant to surrender. Not ready, though, to surrender to jazz."[230] Berg's closest colleague, Anton Webern, also provides an intriguing clue. On December 8, 1930 Webern sent a letter to the architect Adolf Loos, the dedicatee of his *Quartet,* op. 22 (1930) for violin, clarinet, tenor saxophone, and piano. Webern writes that the *Quartet* was informed by the recollection of "how you once--now almost a decade ago--initiated us into the mysteries of the saxophone and played the first jazz records for us."[231] According to the recollections of Elsie Altmann-Loos, the "us" in Webern's letter almost certainly refers to Alban Berg.[232] Finally, Susanne Rode-Breymann and J. Bradford Robinson both

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[228] Mosco Carner "*Alban Berg: The Man and his Work*" 2nd ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983), 112.

[229] Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 115.

[230] Ibid.

[231] Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Aus der Sphare der Unterhaltungsmusik: Alban Berg's Konzertarie Der Wein," *Musiktheorie* 10, no. 1 (1995): 42-3.

[232] Ibid; in August 1928 Webern informed Berg in a letter of his decision to use tenor saxophone in the *Quartet.* Hans Moldenhauer and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton Von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 423-4. Berg wrote a letter to Webern one year later that he, as Webern had in his *Quartet,* op. 22, "also used a saxophone (alto in E-flat) and much piano (this in spite of Celesta)"

demonstrate that Berg consulted Alfred Baresel's *Das Jazz-Buch* (1926) to learn about jazz and the saxophone. Berg's annotated copy of Baresel's handbook (fourth edition) is preserved at the Austrian National Library.[233] An analysis of Berg's annotations suggests that much of the piano writing in *Der Wein* and the tempo marking for its Tango section was informed by Baresel's book.[234] Berg also underscored the saxophone passages in the book and wrote out the ranges and transpositions of individual saxophones.[235] Furthermore, the instrumentation for the off stage jazz band in *Lulu* is identical to Baresel's "fifth variant" of possible jazz ensembles, to which Berg simply added a clarinet and two more violins.[236] Finally, an article by Hanns Jelinek titled, "On Technique for Jazz Wind Instruments" (*Pult und Taktstock*, 1929) was found inside Berg's copy of Baresel's handbook.[237]

Due to a paucity of written accounts, notwithstanding the exceptions noted above, defining Berg's influences concerning the saxophone is a matter of speculation. Nonetheless, influences favorable to the use of the saxophone by German composers generally during the 1920s and 1930s should be taken into account. These influences include the adoption of jazz and popular idioms, the new medium of radio, and the concept of the saxophone as a classical instrument.

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in his Wine Aria. Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Aus der Sphare der Unterhaltungsmusik," 42-3.

[233] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure," *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic*, Bryan Gilliam ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95-6.

[234] Ibid., 129-32.

[235] Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Aus der Sphare der Unterhaltungsmusik," 53-4.

[236] J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany," 132-3.

The adoption of popular idioms in Germany between the wars was part of an overall artistic trend termed *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or New Objectivity. In an effort to make art more accessible and viable in the modern age, composers associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit* searched for alternatives to the mannerisms of late Romanticism by writing music that was purposefully unsentimental and unpretentious. They composed music that placed an emphasis on clarity and directness of expression. Jazz and the saxophone provided them with these elements. However, notes Glenn Watkins, the jazz element in these works offer "a symbolic element of contrast to a developingly complex language, not the source material out of which a new language was being formed."[238] The musical personalities and traditions of the German art composer, in other words, were stronger than the popular idioms they appropriated.

Without question the most well known proponent for the adoption of jazz idioms in German art music was Kurt Weill (1900-1950). Weill integrated popular elements into a very personal compositional style marked by simplicity and clarity.[239] Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928), like Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927), was enormously popular in the late 1920s and was staged throughout the republic. As noted in Chapter Two, *Die Dreigroschenoper* was composed for a specific jazz ensemble, the Lewis Ruth Band. Perhaps influential for Berg, however, was Kurt Weill's opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (composed 1927-29, revised 1931) which includes alto and tenor

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[237] Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Aus der Sphare der Unterhaltungsmusik," 54; the author was unable to obtain a copy of this article.

[238] Glenn Watkins, *Soundings: Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Schirmer, 1988), 292-3.

saxophones in the orchestration. Berg attended rehearsals for a production of *Mahagonny* in Vienna in 1932.[240] Jarman and others have noted that aspects of Weill's music appear in *Lulu*, including the use of film, jazz, pantomime, and the concept of "epic theater."[241] The idea that Weill's use of the saxophone also influenced Berg, therefore, is plausible. Certainly, *Mahagonny* provided an opportunity for Berg to hear the saxophone paired with the human voice in an operatic context.

An intriguing aspect of adopting jazz materials into art music, and relevant to a discussion of the saxophone part in *Lulu*, is subjecting those adopted idioms to the technique of twelve-tone composition. Consider, for example, Anton Webern's *Quartet*, Op. 22 for violin, clarinet, tenor saxophone, and piano. Although Webern's instrumentation is vaguely reminiscent of a jazz combo and may even have been inspired by early jazz recordings, the rarified sound of the *Quartet* is far removed from that world. A by-product of the twelve-tone technique is that each voice of a composition is equal with the other and each instrument must meet the musical requirements that the row sets out for it. While working on the *Quartet*, Op. 22, Webern "rejoiced" in the method of "twelve tone composition" and wrote to Berg, "I made the discovery that, basically, the instruments become more and more immaterial to me."[242] A consequence for the saxophone in a composition where everything is secondary to the twelve-tone row is that

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[239] Kim H. Kowalke, Kurt Weill in Europe (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 520.

[240] Douglas Jarman, "Weill and Berg: *Lulu* as Epic Opera," *A New Orpheus:Essays onKurt Weill,* Kim Kowalke, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 150.

[241] Ibid., 151.

any supposed limitations placed on the instrument because it is new, untested, or unknown seem to disappear.

This notion is reinforced in Arnold Schoenberg's *Von Heute auf Morgen* (1929), a twelve-tone opera intended as a parody of Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* and of *Zeitoper* in general. Notes David Drew, Schoenberg pretends to adopt the *Zeitoper's* methods and then drops them like a mask.[243] Indeed, a review by the composer Hanns Eisler reads, "[Schoenberg] wanted to write a flowing opera, but what he created, whether he intended to or not, was a music of an extreme sort of eeriness . . . a sort of family-sized apocalypse."[244] The score calls for one musician to play soprano and alto saxophone, and a second to play tenor and bass saxophone in C. The numerous saxophones and the use of a bass, an instrument that figured prominently in almost every jazz band of the period, is undoubtedly part of Schoenberg's intended parody. Nonetheless, as a result of the twelve-tone technique the saxophones are not required to play, or even evoke, a jazz idiom. The bass saxophonist in particular is given difficult technical and rhythmic passages and is asked to play in the instrument's extreme high register.[245] Writes Susan C. Cook, "For the most part though, Schoenberg chose to use the instruments, which were identified with jazz, in a straightforward, absolute manner. He demonstrates that

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[242] Hans Moldenhauer and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton Von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 424.

[243] David Drew, "Musical Theatre in the Weimar Republic," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 88 (1961-2), 101.

[244]Hanns Eisler, "Arnold Schoenberg: Von heute auf morgen," Michael Gielen, conductor. Germany: Hessischer Rundfunk. CPO 999 532-2. Compact Disc.

[245] Kandace L. Farrell, "The Use of the Saxophone by Composers of the Second Viennese School: Arnold Schoenberg, *Von Heute auf Morgen*," *Saxophone Journal* (Spring 1988): 30.

saxophones are still saxophones and do not necessarily carry with them pre-existing social and aesthetic contexts."[246] In a letter to Schoenberg dated August 26, 1932 Berg exclaimed how he kept the score of *Von Heute auf Morgen* on his piano.[247]

An important aspect of German musical life in the 1920s and 1930s was the new medium of radio. By 1930, Germany had the largest radio market in Europe second only to Great Britian.[248] Radio presented composers with a unique opportunity for performances of their music and a means of greatly expanding their audience. Composers, however, found it necessary to accommodate their compositional style to the limitations of early radio technology. Hailey notes that composers who wrote specifically for the radio tended to avoid massed strings, low brass instruments, and horns in favor of woodwinds and high brass.[249] Massed orchestral sounds were replaced with transparent, well-defined textures.[250] Hailey further notes that the saxophone in particular had many qualities that "endeared it to the broadcast microphone."[251] Jaap Kool, who was the director of music for Vox Recording Company in Berlin from 1923-25 also notes, "the saxophone loses the least of its individual tone colors through mechanical reproduction,"

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[246] Susan Cook, "Opera during the Weimar Republic: The *Zeitopern* of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1985), 398.

[247] Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, ed. *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 433.

[248] Christopher Hailey, "Rethinking Sound: Music and Radio in Weimar Germany" in *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic*, Bryan Gilliam ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.

[249] Ibid., 27.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid., 25.

while the violin and piano don't fare as well.[252] Kool continues, "without wanting to, the huge surge that radio, record, and film industries have taken has pushed the violin out of its privileged position in favor of the wind instruments, particularly the saxophone."[253] Writing in 1931, flutist Alfred Lichtenstein even envisioned radio as a medium for new or unusual instrumental combinations unthinkable in the concert hall, such as the saxophone quartet with harp.[254]

In 1928 the Reich Radio Commissioner authorized funds for individual stations to commission works written specifically for the radio.[255] The inaugural composition of the project was Franz Schreker's *Kleine Suite* (1928), commissioned by the radio station in Breslau and broadcast on January 17, 1929.[256] The work was considered a great success. Schreker's biographer Christopher Hailey notes that Schreker creatively adapted his style to the requirements of the microphone.[257] The lush orchestral sonority known from Schreker's earlier work, for example, was replaced with a "transparent web of soloists" in the *Die Kleine Suite.*[258] Those soloists include a B-flat clarinet, tenor saxophone in C, and harp. Franz Schreker (1878-1934) was a prominent figure in Berlin's musical life. He was the director of the music conservatory in Berlin and known for his opera *Der ferne Klange* (ca. 1903-10). In May 1929, Schreker conducted five movements of the

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[252] Jaap Kool, *Das Saxophon*, translated by Lawrence Gwozdz (Baldock, England: Egon, 1987), 18, 40.

[253] Ibid., 40-1.

[254] Christopher Hailey, "Rethinking Sound," 25.

[255] Ibid., 26.

[256] Ibid.; among the commissions that followed Schreker's were Kurt Weill's *Berliner Requiem*(1928) and Max Butting's *Sinfoietta mit Banjo* and *Heitere Musik fur kleines Orchester* Op 38 (both 1929).

[257] Ibid., 27-8.

Kleine Suite for a radio broadcast in Vienna. Alban Berg, who had listened to the broadcast, wrote to Schoenberg, "Schreker was here yesterday and conducted his five radio pieces in the Vienna Radio, which aren't at all bad."[259] Interestingly, Schreker used the saxophone in every large-scale work of his later career.[260]

In January 1933, in the same month that Hitler became chancellor of Germany, a concerto for saxophone and orchestra by the talented young composer Edmund von Borck (1906-1944) was presented in Berlin.[261] The performance was repeated the next day for a broadcast on Berlin Radio. The name of the saxophonist was Sigurd Rascher. By all accounts the performances were enormously successful. Rascher was praised for his consummate artistry and dazzling virtuosity; Borck for his daring innovation in an effort to elevate the stature of the saxophone.[262] This singular event provided an entirely new feature in the history of the saxophone in Germany: the use of the saxophone as a solo instrument in a concert of serious contemporary music.

The idea, if not the actual realization, of the saxophone as a solo concert instrument had been cultivated in Germany before 1933 by advocates such as Gustav Bumcke, Jaap Kool, Sigfrid Karg-Elert, Paul Hindemith, and Eugen Rosenkaimer. In a 1928 article in the German periodical *Die Musik*, for example, Rosenkaimer contrasts the

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[258] Ibid., 32.

[259] Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, ed. *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 388.

[260] See Appendix A.

[261] Borck's concerto was premiered in Hanover on October 3, 1932. For complete biographies of Borck, Rascher, and Bumcke see Wildy Lewis Zumwalt "Edmund von Borck: A Study of his Life and Music with an Emphasis on His Works for the Saxophone" (D.M. diss., Florida State University, 2003).

noble European history of the saxophone with the negative attitudes pervasive in Germany during his own time. Rosenkaimer writes, "And since at that time great composers praised its tone qualities, it is surprising and at the same time regrettable that the [saxophone] in modern serious music is so rarely made use of. Of how many striking effects do modern composers rob themselves in consequence!"[263] Fortunately, the inspired tenacity of Sigurd Rascher and the vision of Edmund von Borck seeded the idea of the solo concert saxophone in the imaginations of numerous concertgoers and other composers. Unfortunately, political events in Germany in 1933 weren't favorable to their idea and it was never allowed to take root. As a final example of the sharply polarized points of view between progressive and conservative voices in Germany and of the general climate into which the concert saxophone was born (and subsequently thrown out with the bath water), Karl Ventzke offers the following excerpts. In a newspaper article titled "Brass Players Come Out!" dated February 12, 1932, Edmund von Borck writes:

> The saxophone is just now beginning its march of victory, even in modern, serious opera and art music. Only slowly are musicians daring to try this unique instrument that is so individual in its timbre . . . It is not difficult to recognize the importance that the use of one or several saxophones can gain in the future of serious art music.[264]

On April 29, 1932 in the same newspaper the infamous "Tract on the Saxophone" by Weiss-Ruthel appeared. The author describes the saxophone as a bizarre and

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[262] Sigurd Rascher, "Saxophone Playing in Germany: Past and Present," in printed program of the 7th World Saxophone Congress (Nurnberg, 1982).

[263] Eugen Rosenkaimer, "The Saxophone in its Earliest Stages and in the Judgment of Reknowned Musicians," *Sackbut* 11 (October 1930): 75.

grotesque monster and a "poorly modulated, nasal, faulty, sound-tool." Weiss-Ruthel writes:

> The tonal character of the saxophone is totally that of an unholy, hypocritical soul. . . . The moralizing, wailing tone in moments of longing for metaphysical values in saccharin-sweet lyrics grounded basically in indignation, the bleating of spinsters left on the shelves and, therefore, devoted to marriage reform, the nasal nagging of prayer-men . . . is what the saxophone will reveal to the attentive listener with disgusting realism.[265]

Conclusion

The original question of this document was to consider what influenced Alban Berg to include a part for the saxophone in his opera *Lulu* (1929-35). In searching for an answer to this question, I examined the saxophone's immense popularity in the dance bands of Germany's Jazz Age. I also considered the saxophone's appearances in paintings, literature, art music, and the press, and examined the extra-musical meanings attached to this instrument. Clearly, the saxophone had become a symbol in Germany that reflected the multitude of attitudes, fears, opinions, and desires in German society between 1924 and 1935. At the end of the decade, Alban Berg synthesized these varied perspectives concerning the saxophone into his compositions. The saxophone parts in *Lulu* (1929-35), the *Lulu Suite* (1934), the *Violin Concerto* (1935), and the concert aria *Der Wein* (1929) by Alban Berg realize the orchestral potential of the saxophone.

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[264] Ventzke, Karl, Claus Raumberger, and Dietrich Hilkenbach, *Die Saxophone: Beitrage zur Baucharakteristik und Geschichte einer Musikinstrumentenfamilie,* excerpt trans P. Friederici (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Das Musikinstrument, 1979), 150.

[265] Ibid.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF REPERTOIRE

Works for the saxophone by Austrian and German composers written between 1924 and 1935 including chamber, symphonic, and operatic works in which a saxophone appears in the orchestration. Format and abbreviations are adapted from *150 Years of Music for Saxophone* by Jean-Marie Londeix (1994).

Albert, Eugen d' (1864-1932)

Die schwarze Orchidee (1928) Opera

Saxophon Musik (193x) Asx/Orch

Berg, Alban (1885-1935)

Der Wein (1929) Sop/Orch (Asx) •Uni

Symphonic Suite from the Opera Lulu (1934) Orch (Asx) •Uni

Violin Concerto (1935) Vln/Orch (Asx) •Uni

Lulu (1929-35) Opera (Asx/Tsx) •Uni

Bernards, B. [von]

125 Übungen als tägliche Studies (1926) daily studies •Zim

24 Virtuosen-Etüden in allen Tonarten (1927) etudes •Zim

10 Instruktive Duos (?) 2 Sx •Zim

Des Saxophonisten Repertoire: Eine Auswahl bewähter Vortragsstücke

Blacher, Boris (1903-1975)

Jazz-Koloraturen (1929) textless Sop/Asx/Bsn •B&B

Blumer, Theodor (1882-1964)

Zwei Lieder ohne Worte, op. 67 (19xx) Asx/Pno •Zim

Borck, Edmund von (1906-1944)

Kommissar Rondart (1931) Opera

Concerto, op. 6 (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Orch or Pno •Kal

Introduktion und Capriccio, op.11 (1934) Asx/Vln/Pno •IMD

Brand, Max (1896-1980)

Maschinist Hopkins (1929) Opera

Brehme, Hans (1904-1957)

Sonata, op. 25 (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno

Bumcke, Gustav (1876-1963)

Notturno: "Traumnacht", op. 40 (1923/24) Orch (2 Asx)

Saxophon-Schule, op. 42 (1926) •VAB

Saxophon-Etuden, op. 43/1-5 (1927-32) •VAB

38 Duette/36 Ein fache Etüden/36 Leichte original Etüden/ 24 Jazz Etüden (1927)/*Tägliche, Technische Übungen*

2 Romanzen, op. 44 (19xx) Sx/Pno

Notturno, op. 45 (19xx) Sx/Harp •RE

Quartett, op. 46 (19xx) 4 sx

[*Passacaglia*, op. 47 (1929) Organ/Chamber Orch (Sx??)]

2 Konzertwalzer, op. 48 (1929) Asx/Pno •VAB

Quartett, op. 49 (1930) 4 Sx •Fro

3 Fantasien, op. 50 (1930/31) 10 Sx or wind ens

4 Fantasien, op. 51 (1931) 4 Sx

2 Quartett über amerikanische Lieder, op. 52 (1931-32) 4 Sx

2 Saxophon Trios, op. 53 (1931/32) 3 Sx

3 Kleine Praludium, op. 54 (1932) 4 Sx

3 Intermezzi, op. 55 (19xx) Sx/Pno

Variations sur "Le beau Danube bleu", op. 56 (1932) Asx/Orch or Pno

Konzert in F minor, op. 57 (1935) Asx/Orch •RE

2 Volksliederbearbeitungen, op. 58 (19xx) T/B/4 Sx

4 Volksliederbearbeitungen, op. 59 (19xx) S/T/Sx/Pno

Elegie, op. 60 (19xx) Sx/Pno

Präludium und Rondo, op. 61 (19xx) 4 Sx
Inka-Fantasie, op. 62 (19xx) Asx/Orch or Wind Ens or Pno
3 Lieder, op. 63 (19xx) (to R. Ziegler) Low Voice/Asx/Pno
Liedbearbeitung, op. 64 (1937) Voice/Sx/Pno

Butting, Max (1888-1976)
Sinfonietta mit Banjo: 1. Rundfunkmusik, op. 37 (1929) Orch
Heitere Musik: 2. Rundfunkmusik, op. 38 (1929) Orch

Dressel, Erwin (1909-1972)
Armer Columbus: Die Vorgeschichte einer Entdeckung (1927) Opera
Der Kuchentanz: Ein Schicksalslied (1927) Opera (Ssx/Tsx/BsSx)
Concerto, op. 27 (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Orch •RE
Sonate (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno

Eisler, Hanns (1898-1962)
Tempo der Zeit, op. 16 (1929) Cantata (Tsx) •Uni
Balladenbuch, op. 18/1-6 (1929-31) Voice/Ens (Asx) •Uni
Vier Balladen, op. 22 (1929-30) Voice/Ens (Asx/Tsx) •B&H
Suite Nr. 1: aus dem Film "Opus III", op. 23 (1930) Orch (Asx/Tsx) •Uni
Suite Nr. 2: aus dem Film "Niemandsland", op. 24 (1931) Orch (2 Sx) •B&H
Suite Nr. 3: aus dem Film "Kuhle Wampe", op. 26 (1931) Orch (Asx) •B&H
Solidaritätslied, op. 27/1 (1931) Voice/Ens (Asx/Tsx) •Uni
Sechs Lieder, op. 28 (1929-31) Voice/Ens (Asx) •B&H
Suite Nr. 4: aus dem Film "Die Jugend hat das Wort", op. 30 (1932) Orch (2 Sx) •B&H
Suite Nr. 5: aus dem Film "Dans les rues", op. 35 (1933) Orch (2 Sx) •B&H
Ballade vom Soldaten, op. 39 (1932) Voice/Ens (Asx) •B&H
Suite Nr. 6: aus dem Film "Le grand Jeu", op. 40 (1932) Orch (2 Sx) •B&H
Das Lied vom SA-Mann, op. 41/1 (1931) Voice/Ens (Asx) •B&H
Songs from *Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe*, op. 45 (1934-36) Solo Voices/Chorus/Orch (2 Sx) •B&H

Evans, O. A.

Jazz-Intermezzo (19xx) Asx/Pno or Jazzband

99 Breaks für Alt-Saxophon (1928) Asx

Fedorow, N. (ca. 1906), Neu Bearbeitet von A. Baresel (ca. 1926)

Schule für Saxophone (8 editions) Ssx/Asx/Tsx/Bsx/BsSx

Fortner, Wolfgang (1907-1987)

Suite fur Orchester: After the music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) (1930)

Sweelinck Suite (1930) [aatb]

Fournes, Sigfried

Stucke (1932)

Grosz, Wilhelm (1894-1939)

Baby in der Bar (1927) Jazz Ballet

Achtung! Aufnahme! (1930) Parody of silent film industry

Symphonischer Tanz (1930) Orch

Bänkel und Balladen, op. 31/1-4 (1931) Singer/Jazz Ens

Hindemith, Paul (1895-1963)

Cardillac (1926) Opera (Tsx)

Hin und Zurick (1927) Chamber Opera

Neues vom Tage (1928-29, rev. 1953) Opera

Trio, op. 47 (1928) Pno/Vla/Hklph or Tsx •ME/Sch

Konzertstück (1933) (to S. Rascher) 2 Asx •Gi&Ma

Jacobi, Wolgang (1894-1972)

Sonate (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno •Bou

Niederdenkscher Tanz (1936) Ssx/Asx/Tsx/Bsx

Pastorale (1936) S/Asx/Pno

Jemnitz, Sándor (1890-1963)

Sonata, op. 28 (1934?) Asx/Banjo

Karg-Elert, Sigfrid (1877-1933)

25 Capricen und Sonate für Saxophone solo, op. 153 (1929) Asx •Zim

Kaun, Hugo (1863-1932)

"Aus den Bergen" Suite (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno

Klenau, Paul von (1883-1946)

Michael Kohlhaas (1931) Opera

Knorr, Ernst Lothar von (1896-1973)

Chamber Concerto (19xx) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno or Chamber Orch

Introduction für drei Saxophone (1932) (to S. Rascher) 2 Asx/Tsx •TTF

Sonate (1932) (to S. Rascher) Asx/Pno •GrB

Korngold, Erich (1897-1957)

Baby-Serenade, op. 24 (1925)

[Das Lied der Liebe (1931) opera]

Krenek, Ernst (1900-1991)

Johnny Spielt Auf! (1928) Opera

Künneke, Eduard (1885-1953)

Die Fünf Suite (1931) Orch

Mohr, Gerhard

Douce espérance (1928) (to P. Bohrmann) Asx/Pno •Zim

Morning, Mister Plane (Fox-trot) (1928) Asx/Pno •Zim

Nick, Edmund (1891-1974)

Leben in deiser Zeit (1928-29) soloists (Voice)/Chorus/Orch

Paumgartner, Bernhard (1887-1971)

Divertimento: 5 altenglische Tanze (1933) Chamber Orch

Pepping, Ernst (1901-1981)

Suite (1926) Tpt/Asx/Trb •Sch

Rathaus, Karol (1895-1954)

Der letze Pierrot, op. 19 (1926) Ballet-Pantomime

Fremde Erde, op. 25 (1929) Opera

Serenade, op. 35 (1932) Orch

Reutter, Herman (1900-1985)

[Der verlorene Sohn, op. 34 (1929) opera]

Der Grosse Kalender, op. 43 (1930-32/70) Opera

Roters, Ernst (1892-1961)

Trio, op. 26b (1926) Vln/Asx/Vcl •Sim

Schoenberg, Arnold (1874-1951)

Von Heute auf Morgen (1929) Opera (Ssx/Asx/Tsx/BsSx--2 players)

Schreker, Franz (1878-1934)

Christophorus (1925-27, 1928-29) Opera

Vom ewigen Leben (1927) S/Orch

Kleine Suite (1928) Chamber Orch

Vier kleine Stücke (1929-30) Large Orch •Hei

Der Schmied von Gent (1929-32) Opera

Vorspiel zu einer Grossen Oper (1933) Concert Overture to *Memnon*

[*Das Weib des Intaphernes*]

Schulhoff, Ervin (1894-1942)

Flammen (1927/28) Opera (Ssx/Tsx)

Hot-Sonate, op. 70 (1930) Asx/Pno •Sch

H.M.S. Royal Oak (1930) Reciter/Jazz Singer/Mixed Choir/Symphonic Jazz Orch (Ssx/Asx/Tsx/ossia Bsx)
Symphony No. 2 (1932) Orch (
Valse Brilliante (1933) (To V. Riha) Asx/Pno
Danse excentrique (1933) (To V. Riha)) Asx/Pno
Orinoco (1934) Singer/Jazz Orch (2 Asx/Tsx)
Bruchstücke (unfinished) Asx/Tsx/Banjo/Vln/Pno
Jazz Concertino (unfinished) Vln/Sx/Pno
Serenata (Carl Fischer)

Seiber, Mátyás (Hungarian) (1905-1960)
Two Jazzolettes (1929-1933) 2 Asx/Tpt/Trb/Pno/Perc •WH

Spinnler, Victor
Russische Rhapsodie (1926) Asx/Pno •Zim

Toch, Ernst (1887-1964)
Der Facher (1930) Opera

Webern, Anton (1883-1945)
Quartet, op. 22 (1930) Vln/Cl/Tsx/Pno •Uni
Das Augenlicht, op 26 (1935) Chorus/Orch (Asx)

Weill, Kurt (1900-1950)
Royal Palace (1925-26) Opera ·Uni
Mahagonny-Songspiel (1927) Chamber Opera ·Uni
Die Dreigroschenoper (1928) Opera ·Uni
Kleine Dreigroschenoper (1928) Wind Ens ·Uni
Das Berliner Requiem (1928) Cantata ·Uni
Aufsteig und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny (1927-29, rev. 1931) Opera ·Uni
Happy End (1929) A comedy with music ·Uni

Wellesz, Egon (1885-1974)

Pastorale (1935) Fl/Ob/Asx-Tpt/Trb-triangle/2 Vln/Vcl/Bass

Zemlinsky, Alexander (1871-1942)

Der Kreidekreis (1932) Opera

APPENDIX B

Shulhoff, Erwin. Zeitkunst: Saxophon und Jazzband. *Auftakt* 5 (1925): 179-83.

Translation and notes by Klaus Gehrmann.

ART OF THE TIMES
SAXOPHONE AND JAZZ BAND
A response to the special issue "Jazz" of the
"Musikblätter des Anbruch"—Vienna

By Erwin Schulhoff, Prague

This article has a Dadaist coloring.
The Editors

The saxophone is neither a trumpet, nor is it an accordian. It looks rather like a pipe (of the "Peterson" brand), and has an unquestionably Anglo-Saxon design as far as looks go. Seen from close up, it looks like a stovepipe, an "Electro-Lux" vacuum cleaner, or a "Perolin" air freshener syringe.[1] Basically, of course, it doesn't make any difference how it looks, and the main thing is that you can use the saxophone to blow on anyone using the mouthpiece alone. The saxophone is best suited to express all the human and animal emotions, and that is why it is one of the most frequently used objects of the gilded youth. For each emotion, there is a corresponding category among saxophones. Anger can be expressed on the soprano (see "Electro-Lux"), melancholy on the alto ("Perolin" air freshener), joviality on the avuncular tenor (blown in short-sleeved shirts

[1] These are all brand names for German household articles of the 1920s.

with a botanist's specimen container strapped around the shoulder). Consecration of the bowling club or "Wer hat Dich, Du schoener Wald"[2] is suitable for bass (the two latter categories after Hildach, correspondingly, for the use of the stovepipe). Other wind instruments are usually equipped with a flush toilet, which proves to be highly impractical inasmuch as the player has to turn his instrument upside down every once in a while, which is usually followed by a flow of water permanently running down from the instrument and its integral parts, creating a revolting puddle in front of the player, which always forces the player to wear rubber shoes. The natural consequence of this are sweaty feet and an enormous consumption of "Kukiroll"[3] foot baths (available in all larger bakeries), with corresponding expenses. Hence, the instrument maker had to think of a solution, and so he invented the saxophone. That instrument proved to be thoroughly clean and the epitome of hygiene compared to other wind instruments, since it totally lacked the flush toilet. Its tone can be similar both to the famous Jericho-trombones and to the auto-claxon, but also, unfortunately, to the human voice, if necessary, in its higher and lower ranges. In every respect, it is the perfect instrument of its master. The saxophone family (soprano, alto, tenor, baritone, and bass) gains even more popularity because each of its categories sounds entirely unsentimental, yet endowed with a healthy sort of *spiritus familaris* that some of us (to be quite frank) wish they had for the sake of well-being. Patriotic songs do not suit the saxophone, which is why it is not popular outside, but also because the saxophone does not agree with open air music like the

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[2] *Wer hat dich, du schoener Wald* [Who has made you, beautiful forest] is a patriotic song of the 1920s celebrating the German forests.

[3] See note 1

fluegelhorn and helicon, which is preferably blown in the Reich[4] on spring days (see Riemann's Dictionary of Music) using lager beer, Kaiser suit, top-hat, and the iron cross band[5] stuck in the buttonhole. However, the saxophone is an instrument which, as opposed to the fluegelhorn, is only a caricature, negating each sentiment it expresses with a charming smile. Rhythm is more suitable for it than tootling melody, which may appear for a moment, only to be dissolved into its rhythmic parts. Therefore, the saxophone is better suited for pure dance music than the fluegelhorn with helicon and lager beer.

The music allows herself be smooched by anyone without putting up any resistance. Usually, she wears the most common garb consisting of linear counterpoint, since she was born into poverty. Her parents' names were tonic and dominant, an old aunt on her mother's side was called subdominant, and the prototype of asexuality presided over her education. The saxophone has all of a sudden put an end to this relationship, which is a big advantage inasmusch as the highly necessary dismantling of the superfluous art goes together with the disappearance of the corresponding emotionalism. The community of saxophones practices the phallic orgies that had just been illusory musical lies before, and that is why it is gaining more popularity among women daily (especially in American beach resorts, where the saxophone is played with devotion by women and girls wearing leotards), which has the advantage of the abominable double bass player[6] disappearing from the face of the earth once and for all. For that reason

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[4] The German Empire before World War I.

[5] The E. K. or "*Eiserne Kreuz*" was a decoration awarded to German soldiers for bravery during World War I.

[6] *Bassgeigen-Pepi* was a standard term used for the ubiquitous double bass player entertaining tourists in seaside resorts.

alone, the saxophone has to be considered an urgent necessity regarding sexual morals. Which pretty much sums up the purely tonal-aesthetic image, considering the difference between the double bass player and our sweet Saxophone-Daisy . . . ! A female saxophone player is the symbol of invitation. The conversation between two lovers should be conducted with a saxophone, with the libido not suffering any diminution. For all eternity, an erotically healthy race would be born which, having been raised with the saxophone, certainly would be devoid of any prudishness. It is a fact that since the introduction of the saxophone, dance has come into being. In good conscience, strong cosmic influences can be attributed to the saxophone, and no less a person than Prof. Dr. Sigmund Freud deals with this problem in an extensive study, a parergra to his "Totem and Taboo" titled "Fetish Saxophone."

To strike a different note, I would now like to talk about the "Jazz" special of the Viennese "Anbruch" music periodical, noticing that the opinions of Messrs. *Jemnitz*, *Gruenberg*, *Saerchinger*, and *Grainger* focus on the general aestheticizing of "jazz", which is something *Darius Milhaud*, in agreement with my own opinion, really is not striving for. I would like to venture even further than Milhaud and confess the following: In no way will I ever demand an understanding of contemporary music from anyone, not even of the generally acknowledged masterpieces of the classics. For that reason, I do not believe in any "artistic sense", which is how I would label the sense for "The Sublime" concisely, since I do not have that sense myself to feign a condition that does not exist in reality. For example, I would like to start from what seem to be the simplest facts: When I am hungry, I will not be fooled about this fact by either listening to music or looking at a

picture. I would have to lie if I said that I am sufficiently enthralled by its beauty to be able to forget my hunger. I certainly like looking at a masterpiece of art, just as I like listening to a masterpiece of music, and I also love jazz. But I can only really enjoy it like any other normal person, if I am not experiencing any physical discomfort. It is certainly a matter of physical disposition whether a masterpiece, either seen or heard, read or experienced in some other way, will contribute to an increase in physical comfort in someone who is already in a state of contentment anyway. Of all masterpieces, the least effective seems to be music, the most abstract of the arts, and it is just in this category that I can most decidedly expect the least understanding from all my fellow men. In music, pure dance music shows its most concrete and enjoyable side by means of its succinct rhythm. But what is most important about absolute dance music is the fact that it has always adapted to the erotic expression of its time, which is why, obviously, absolute dance music has always been favored most. Never will I force any of my fellow humans to understand a masterpiece, since that is totally dependent on individual disposition. I would rather say that I will not force the common man into that appreciation, just as I will not force the exceptional artisitic person to appreciate jazz. Viewing both types of people as being diametrically opposed, however, I will have to come down heavily in favor of the common man, who is much more rhythmically inclined than the artist, or, to narrow it down even more, more rhythmical and musical than the musician, who, upon hearing contemporary dance music, rarely has the ability to distinguish between separate dances, like, for instance, the tango, blues, shimmy, paso doble, etc. Another shortcoming of the artist as compared to the common man is made obvious by the fact (particularly as

regards the musician) that he is either a bad dancer, if he dances at all, or a good dancer only as a very rare exception, which is in inverse relation to the common man, who nowadays is a brilliant dancer in 95 percent of all cases.

The common man, therefore, has a sense of joy and rhythm, of which the artist has the least. No wonder, then, that he feels more or less like a painful hemmorhoidal lump in human society and is therefore rightfully eyed with suspicion because of his social inadequacy?! Doubtlessly, this one-sidedness and lack of mobility is in direct relation to his level of intelligence. Thus, the exceptional artistic human tarrying on earth will always remain the "lost sheep" in human company, and will incessantly play the fool for society without noticing it. But since only the common man is endowed with the sense of rhythmically structured (chic) dance, I would expect from him the power to discern between bad and good dance music, or, at least, encourage him to grade rag music in the educational sense and (to use one of the worst technical terms, what is commonly called "serious" and "non-serious") never be led astray by philosophical drivel about "highest cultural values" and "eternal values", which has poisoned every healthy culture in history. To the other gentlemen who write about "jazz" I would like to respond that it would be a sign of the worst decadence if someone started to write music for a jazz band in a symphonic (serious) manner in order to return the listener to the condition of neurotic bliss (as is supposed to be good form according to Knigge)[7] so that he may fool himself again into believing something that--as I have already shown--has never existed. Better that Ferdie Grofe, Whitman's [sic] arranger, makes his "popular classics" into jazz

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[7] Knigge was the leading German authority on manners.

cliches, which has the advantage that maybe something useful will be created from kitsch. Considered rationally, Grofe's efforts can be compared to a recycling facility: one only has to know how to extract practical use from garbage, yet not everyone has the skills required for it. Grofe has an instinctive sense for selecting pieces to be used, which, other than the instrumentation, is a mark of his originality, and he most likely will not use imperial hymns to entertain the masses. "Flavoring a selection with borrowed themes"--which already points out that he is content to be a skilled craftsman, certainly better than to be a bad composer. Dramatic forms designed in a grand manner are just not suitable for a jazz band. Herr Saerchinger advises Zez Confrey, the ingenious creator of "Kitten on the Keys" and "Stumbling", to learn to arrange his music for jazz bands. Why not counterpoint and theory of musical forms, too? Zez Confrey, above anything else, has brilliant ideas like no one else, that much is true, but he just has so many of them that he would have no time for instrumentation. It would unquestionably be better for him to leave the orchestration to the seasoned craftsmanship of Grofe and have his ideas processed in Grofe's sausage machine. Incidentally, no one Anglo-Saxon fox is ever like the other, and the genius of invention is inexhaustible there. So, why should the American of the future end up in the loony bin when he already has all those distractions right here? He rather leaves it to the average European and enjoys his fresh vitality. Finally, a word to Herr Gruenberger, who asserts that only an American of blood, heart, and education will be able to write this new and true music. What is an American of blood? Does Herr Gruenberger believe in a certain race? Americans live in Potschappel, too, and also, for

instance, in the Saechsische Schweiz[8] in Obervogelgesang near Pirna. The American: A man with his feet firm on the ground, with a practical view of life and a naive, cheerful disposition--and this man can exist everywhere, live everywhere, and that is why this "New Music" can emerge everywhere! Too much sentimentality, too much drama, gentlemen. Forget scholarship, do not give well-meaning advice. The earth turns left on its own axis, and you will not make it turn right. Above all, gentlemen, allow me to openly admit that I, as a composer, wish I had Zez Confrey's brilliant ideas, whose genius I am holding in highest esteem as concerns rhythmic inventiveness! In which case I would not give a damn for jazz band instrumentation and other sciences, and I would have nothing better to do but write down my ideas in a hurry, and with these words, I will take my leave as the author mentioned above!

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[8] The *Saechsische Schweiz*, literally the "Switzerland of Saxony", is a mountainous area in Eastern Germany along the Elbe River.

APPENDIX C

Seiber, Mátyás. Jazz-Instrumente, Jazz-Klang und neue Musik. *Melos*, ix (1930): 122-26.

Translation by Klaus Gehrmann

Notes by Seiber are from the original article.

JAZZ INSTRUMENTS, JAZZ SOUND, AND NEW MUSIC

By Matyas Seiber (Frankfurt a. M.)

The question of whether jazz has had any influence on the development of new music at all has been discussed frequently, and most scholars now more or less agree that its influence mainly extends to the areas of rhythm and instrumentation. With regards to rhythmic influences, we must qualify this even further: It can be shown that the rhythmic phrases that occur in jazz over and over again were used by contemporary composers at the same time or even *before* the advent of jazz, and, naturally, in an even more complex and varied form, since jazz has chosen one particular rhythmic pattern out of many. Hence, we might rather call it a phenomenon of our times appearing at different places simultaneously, or a matter of mutual influence. As most people who have studied this problem have stated correctly, jazz has reached its greatest achievements in the area of instrumentation. New instruments (or older, unusual instruments that have fallen into oblivion) appear, and a new type of orchestra is born in the form of the jazz orchestra, which extends its influence to "art music". Also, a new sound is created by combining the

new instruments. Apart from the dance rhythm, it is exactly that peculiar sound, recognizable from far away, what distinguishes a jazz orchestra from any other orchestra.

The new sound originates not just in the use of new instruments that jazz has discovered, but also in the way the instruments (even those that have been used in orchestral music for some time) are played, which is completely different from the way they have been used until now. For instance, the way the saxophone solo is played in the goldsmith's aria of Hindemith's "Cardillac" is totally different from how a saxophone player blows his instrument in a jazz band. If one wanted to describe what distinguishes that particular sound, one would have to study each instrument with respect to its changed role in the orchestra.

What is new about the jazz orchestra is really just the saxophone group, the banjo, and the percussion group, enriched with new colors. The saxophone, which is essentially almost a hundred years old but so far has been used only in French, Italian and other military bands, has aquired a totally new and leading role in jazz. It is the *vibrato* and the *use of saxophones in an ensemble situation* that determines the sound of jazz music. The slightly vibrating, soft tone of the saxophone hovers like a veil above the sound of the jazz orchestra, wrapping it in a soft cocoon, so to speak. Practically, this is similar to what the *horns* do in the romantic orchestra. It has a similar function harmonically, that is, filling in the sound using "filling voices", which is, of course, obvious in absolutely homophonic jazz. Tonally. the saxophone (particularly the E-flat alto saxophone dominating the medium range) is very similar to the sound of the horn (using sustained notes), the difference being, of course, that the saxophone, a member of the clarinet

family, can be used for melodic purposes much better than the awkward horn. Hence, it occupies a middle position between the leading woodwinds (instrumentally) and the horns (tonally and harmonically) of the romantic orchestra.

Consequently, the striving for full harmonies always causes the saxophone voices (usually three of them) to be written in parallel, mostly close harmony. From the very first moment, this basically primitive way of parallel voice leading makes a surprising impact on the listener by its sheer fullness. If another group of instruments (for instance, two trumpets and a trombone) takes the lead, the saxophone section usually fills the tonal and metric space between with sustained notes and complimentary rhythms. This way, a complete jazz orchestra always sounds full and soft.

The use of saxophone in jazz has created several other instrumental effects that had been hitherto unknown, in particular the voice-like *portamento* the jazz-saxophonist uses to drag the notes of a melody into each other. This technique would be frowned upon if used by an orchestra player, but it is just through that vibrato and portamento (glissando) that the saxophone tone approaches voice quality. A good saxophone player can blend an entire scale into one glissando without the listener being able to recognize separate notes.

Another characteristic jazz-effect on the saxophone is the 'slap-tongue', which creates a short, dry, "slapped" tone that has a certain similarity with the tone of a *percussion instrument*. This effect is mostly used on the lower-range saxophones (bass, baritone), since it has its greatest impact there. Another known effect is the "laugh" on high notes, which the player produces by playing a small glissando followed by abruptly

cutting off the note and sliding the lips off the mouthpiece (a famous example would be "Sax-o-phun" by Rudy Widoeft on "Columbia").

Naturally, all these effects are also possible on the clarinet, except that concert clarinetists cannot employ them very well, since they have a different "embouchure" that would be spoiled by changing it. [1]

It is this divergence that separates the jazz saxophonist and clarinetist from the concert clarinetist. The concert clarinet player cannot get used to these jazz affectations without endangering his embouchure.

The case is similar, although not quite as bad, with the trumpets. It is possible for a good orchestra trumpet player to be a good jazz player as well. It is easier for him to discard the vibrato, because the trumpet will sound soft even without it. (The saxophone, on the other hand, if played without vibrato, has an almost bassoon-like, hollow tone that does not suit the jazz mode very well).

The jazz trumpet knows several effects like sliding, smearing, fluttering, etc. Likewise, the brass section has also gained many new colors using different techniques of dampening, including, for instance, the "wah-wah" mute, blowing "into a hat", blowing into an open bell, etc.

The versatility of the brass instruments (the trombone in particular) has also been helped a great deal by introducing them into jazz.

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[1] As far as I know, I was the first person to introduce the "slap tongue" effect into chamber music in my "Divertimento for Clarinet and String Quartet" (1926). The glissando for clarinet is marked very well at the beginning of "Rhapsody in Blue" by G. Gershwin (played by Paul Whiteman on "Electrola"). "Laughing" also occurs there.

Other instruments commonly used outside of jazz frequently had to change their roles in jazz music. The *piano* partly belongs to the rhythm section of the jass orchestra (containing piano, banjo, and drums), especially as regards the machine-like bass trill technique for the *left hand*, with the right hand being reserved for playing new, dry, syncopated lines and chords, especially in solo parts. During simpler, accompanying passages, the right and left hand share the task of keeping rhythm by playing bass lines and trills.

The banjo shares the rhythmic function ogf the piano. The dry tone of the banjo, created by struming the strings with a plectrum over a tightly stretched skin, is one of the characteristic sounds in jazz. The banjo technique mostly consists of playing syncopated chords and trills; it is rarely used ina melodic manner (only in solo parts).

The banjo, like the saxophone, is a new discovery for European art music[2] (although, like the saxophone, it is not a "Negro instrument" as some people still want to make us believe, but also originates in Europe).

The instrument section that has received the biggest and most valuable boost from jazz as far as art music is concerned is the *percussion section.* The simple fact that a set of different instruments is worked by *one* player using both hands and feet has become the foundation of a kind of virtuosity not known in orchestral music. Also, of all the instrumental combinations possible in jazz, the percussionist still has the greatest freedom to improvise rhythm at a time when the originally freely improvisational style of jazz is beginning to be tied down in notes. (a development that seems inevitable and has

repeatedly occurred in history). The jazz drummer has the following instruments at his disposal: the core group consisting of small drum, big drum, and cymbals, different tom-toms (drums made from thick, usually colorfully painted skins producing a muffled sound), wood drum (or "Korean Temple Blocks"), different cymbals (double cymbal, foot cymbal, folding cymbal, etc.) and several other instruments; in bigger orchestras, he can also use kettledrums, glockenspiels, xylophones, vibraphones, etc.[3]

Today's composers have different reasons for using jazz instruments. In some cases, it is the desire to be sensational or original. Often, they also want to create experiments in sound (for instance, the Duo for Saxophone and Banjo by Alexander Jemnitz). In the case of the "Cardillac" mentioned above, the jazz element seemed to be least important; there, the use of the saxophone just grew out of the urge to find a suitable instrumental expression for an imagined tone color (which makes it a case similar to the use of the Heckelphone by Strauss etc). After all, Debussy tried to introduce the saxophone as a solo instrument into art music a long time before jazz. The most promising case seems to be the "Threepenny Opera", which uses a jazz orchestra (and some side instruments) just because of the usefullness and timeliness of this combination. Nowadays, this combination (2 saxophones [with clarinets], trumpet, trombone, bass, banjo [with harmonica], piano, harmonium, drums) is the easiest one to put together, and I believe--though I don't know of any statistics--that the saxophone today is used more (by

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[2] Ernst Krenek, for instance, very skillfully uses a combination of two banjos and a mandolin in his "Kleine Symphonie", treating, however, the banjo somewhat like a mandolin.

[3] Anyone more deeply interested in the topic of the jazz drummer should read the "Schule fuer Jazz-Schlagzeug" by M. Seiber (Verlag B. Schott's Soehne).

amateurs, too) than any other wind instrument (in the cities, at least). Many have followed and will continue to follow Weill's example.

Conversely, the influence of the symphonic orchestra on jazz has been noticable over the course of time. The soprano saxophones have been frequently replaced by the more agile clarinets (but clarinets played by jazz musicians!); when the music is just too sweet and soft, the harsh-sounding banjo yields to the good old guitar (except that the guitar often has only four strings and is tuned like a banjo for ease of playing). String basses appear beside the sousaphone, and the choral effect of the violins surprises us on Hylton's first recordings. The "Symphonic Jazz" propagated by Paul Whiteman gradually extends to the other orchestral instruments (woodwinds, strings, horns), and other big orchestras follow his example by forming "Jazz Symphony Orchestras".

This phenomenon is yet another example of the validity of the law of the pendulum, which, having reached its extreme position, swings back and eventually comes to rest at the center. The initially revolutionary powers of jazz, after letting off steam in instrumental and tonal extremes as well as in rhythmic and improvisational wildness ("hot" style), have gradually retreated into a quieter life. Jazz already has its stormy youth behind it. It has now reached mature "middle age". We should not expect many more surprises from it anymore.

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