

Cozarinsky's *La Guerre d'un seul homme* and Musical Categories: (Re)-Framing
Pfitzner, Strauss, Schreker, and Schoenberg Cinematically

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'Inflation music' (Klemperer on Schreker)¹

The framing of music, especially that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is bound up not only with the effects of the two World Wars that (dis)figured the period but also with the discourse on musical value and identity within which that music's reception was cast. When that reception is also associated with the political turbulence of the first part of the twentieth century and its aesthetic and political aftermath, it becomes yet more noteworthy as a testament to how musical reception is a powerfully engaging tool, whose historical effect can be long lived. The 'wrecking' of some composers and the 'elevation' of others—either as Aryan or 'advanced' modernist, as populist or old-fashioned—is a familiar story. Late-romanticism is a victim but, as Peter Franklin has observed:

the late-romantic crisis, ... like the post-First World War "Opernkrise" that it shadowed, was located in the interwar years, its outcomes terminally threatened, unsupported by factions or followers. Given its often localized, specifically conditioned nature, and the enormity of contemporary world-historical events, this late-romantic crisis was less widely noticed than those mythologized musical-modernist ones supposedly marked by the 1913 premiere of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* and Schoenberg's Viennese "Skandalkonzert" in that same year. In order to understand events nearly two decades later ... it is worth invoking the undoubted richness and almost chaotic diversity of the culture of "Weimar" Germany between the wars, even as it headed toward disaster.²

It is this richness and diversity that forms the focus of this chapter, though here, however, I tell this tale in reverse, as it were: for it is not the richness of Weimar itself that is invoked but, instead, a replaying of those values ascribed to Weimar but now transplanted to Paris fifty years later and projected through the lens of cinema. This tale is one that demonstrates the effects of the late-romantic crisis alluded to above and even the enduring effects of reception history's powerfully authorizing consequences. It also implicitly confronts the idea of innovative uses of music in film as invited and suggested by Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler,³ by introducing a 'different' way from that of modernist distance of achieving cinematic musical-dramaturgical counterpoint.

In order to examine these issues, I will offer a reading of some of the ways in which music that is often sidelined now as late-Romantic—and by the Nazis in the 1930s as 'degenerate'—is chosen by a contemporary director both *because* of its negatively-charged reception history and as a way of overturning the very same reception history. The focus of this reading will be the film *La Guerre d'un seul homme* (One Man's War) directed in 1982 by the Argentinian artist, writer and filmmaker Edgardo Cozarinsky. Categorized loosely by Cozarinsky as 'documentary-fiction', it is based on a combination of the critic and writer Ernst Jünger's Paris diaries (*Journaux Parisiens*) and

¹ Peter Heyworth, ed., *Conversations with Klemperer* (London: Gollancz, 1973), 47–8.

² Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 140–1.

³ Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler, *Composing for the Films*, ed. Graham McCann (London: Athlone, 1994).

contemporary video newsreel footage whose sentiments Cozarinsky often plays off against each other to generate the contradictory effects he seeks. Most of the film's sequences examine the ways in which the French came to terms with German occupation during the Second World War rather than outlining the period in merely horrific terms. Nonetheless, the film negotiates a series of moral binaries, in which we are invited to question both the extent to which Jünger is attempting to sidestep the moral dilemmas of the period whilst also constantly drawing attention to them and the ways in which they affected daily life. In a similar way, the music deployed in *La Guerre d'un seul homme* invites this kind of dual questioning. Cozarinsky uses only pre-existing music by composers whom he feels are linked to the war (either directly or by artistic extension). In the film, Richard Strauss and Hans Pfitzner are labelled as 'Aryan' composers (though not until the final credit roll) whereas the music of Arnold Schoenberg and Franz Schreker is categorised as 'degenerate' (similarly at the end of the film), loosely parodying the notion of *Entartete Kunst* proposed by the Nazis.

This chapter will examine the ways in which this music is used cinematically as two juxtaposing aesthetic forces, focusing in particular on the ways in which this music is deployed. A key model for the understanding of what has been termed the 'post-Romantic' symphonic repertoire is that it responded to the enticing phantasmagoria that the early cinema proposed. Its use here, therefore, as film music rather than concert music and also carrying an ideological weight emphasised by Cozarinsky's two category types, builds on a reception of this music that has endured throughout much of the twentieth century. The ways in which the deployments of these composers' works seek to bolster these ideological categories cinematically is instructive and this chapter also explores how such historical-musical reception informs the use of this music.

In order to establish a type of dual cinematic focus (one of the abject, the other of a kind of 'balanced' acceptance of the apparently 'normal life' that continued in occupied Paris), the film deploys original newsreel footage in such a way as to present a kind of objectivity, which is contrasted with the subjective encounters that other scenes suggest. Framing all this musically is Cozarinsky's historically thematic choice of 'degenerate' and 'Aryan' music. In foregrounding these categories, there is a sense in which the director is thematising the complexities of historical recounting by both accepting and assuming those categories of musical reception but also framing the scenes in such a way as to question their validity. The status of Jünger's commentaries further problematise the tensions and invite us, on occasion, to read the music against what we see and hear. Before moving to the film itself, therefore, I would like to sketch out the context that Cozarinsky's film seeks to critique, focusing first on Franz Schreker and Arnold Schoenberg.

'Degenerates', Decadence, Decline

By 1920, Franz Schreker had reached the peak of his career; his popularity thereafter, along with the support of his once erstwhile advocate Paul Bekker, had started to wane. Or so the story goes. Cognizant of this and worried for his artistic salvation, Schreker attempted to change his musical style to little avail. His opera *Der singende Teufel* (1928), premiered in Berlin under Erich Kleiber, was largely unsuccessful and *Christophorus* (1929) remained unperformed until 1978. Even by 1924 the opera *Irrelohe* received only very mild support following its performance in Cologne under

Otto Klemperer, and his publishers, Universal, were becoming anxious.⁴ As Christopher Hailey has noted, ‘*Irrelohe* had been an extravagance for Universal—no expense was spared in engraving both score and parts—and the returns by 1926 had come nowhere to covering the costs incurred.’⁵ How different it had been a decade or so earlier. The period at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century and into the 1920s was Schreker’s busiest and most lucrative. It coincided with the rapid rise in inflation in Germany, and Klemperer’s characterisation of Schreker’s music as ‘inflation music’ pays somewhat satirical reference to that. Schreker’s interest in financial returns also prompted social gossip, as Hailey explained in reference also to the frequency of Schreker’s travel outside Berlin: ‘At the beginning of the month (i.e., on pay-day) he was a *Schatzgräber* [treasure hunter, the title of Schreker’s 1918 opera], but by the end of it he was a *ferner Klang* [distant sound; Schreker’s *Der ferne Klang* was completed in 1903].’⁶ All this conspires to suggest a position that will contribute, in part, to increasing decline or at any rate to account for that decline in reception-history terms.

The decline was foreseen, to a certain extent, in what arguably should have been understood as an emphatic endorsement of Schreker’s success: in a special issue of the journal *Anbruch* dedicated to Schreker, Joachim Beck identifies him as a genius in decline by the early 1920s on account of his apparent readiness to maintain an earlier musical style in the face of the rising tide of modernism.⁷ Whether this decline was as a result of changing audience tastes or emerging personal tensions between author and publisher—or, as Paul Bekker had implied,⁸ a redrafting of older material—is not clear.⁹ Others have linked Schreker’s move from Vienna to Berlin in 1920 as marking the moment of decline. In the end perhaps all of these contributed in their own way to the historical position in which Schreker found himself. The increasing tide of antisemitism that followed, intensifying and institutionalised in the 1930s, put paid to any prospect of a transformation and recovery, as would the subsequent strengthening of historical narratives that foregrounded musical modernism.

The kind of decline and fall plot that Schreker’s latter-stage compositional career presents was also reflected in the reception his music received after his death in 1934. Otto Klemperer’s semi-humorous categorising of Schreker’s work as ‘inflation music’, redolent of the inflation that marked so firmly the Weimar Republic suggests firstly a somewhat pessimistic attitude to his style (elsewhere he also referred to Schreker as the ‘German Puccini’¹⁰ though he had been a clear supporter of Schreker) but also (and centrally) that Schreker’s music was very firmly rooted in a distinctive historical period and sound world that was stylistically conservative after the 1930s. Others have made similar claims, such as the music critic Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt who claimed that:

Strauss and Schreker, trapped in bourgeois-historical traditions,
have found neither a style nor a resonance despite all their artistic

⁴ For more on this, see Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music*, 140–70.

⁵ Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker, 1878-1934: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁷ Joachim Beck, ‘Die Gezeichneten,’ *Die Weltbühne* 15 (1919), 76.

⁸ In a letter of May 1924 to Schreker, Bekker had outlined that he felt that stylistic similarities between earlier successes (*Der ferne Klang* in particular) needed to be confronted and avoided.

⁹ For more on Schreker’s decline see Peter Franklin, *The Idea of Music: Schoenberg and Others* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), in particular chapter 8.

¹⁰ Heyworth, ed., *Conversations*, 48.

efforts. They could not but fail with the audience of 1928, given its complete preoccupation with the present and the future.¹¹

And yet, Klemperer elsewhere sets out just how stark the difference was between Schreker's Viennese heights and what came after. For Klemperer, Schreker's earlier successes marked a kind of revolutionary aesthetic because of the perceived complexity of *Der ferne Klang*:

When Dr Rottenberg conducted the first performance of *Der ferne Klang* in Frankfurt in 1912, he called for Schreker because they didn't know what to make of the score. In fact, one act *is* very complicated. That was his first opera and it was an enormous success.¹²

What is also of interest is the close friendship between Schoenberg and Schreker—*Christophorus* is dedicated to Schoenberg—even though their latter styles would be at the heart of varying reception histories of music that relegated Schreker, while 'elevating' Schoenberg. Both were Viennese and of the same generation, and Schreker remained a staunch supporter of Schoenberg, conducting the premiere of *Gurrelieder* in 1913. It is also interesting to note how this link is foregrounded in Cozarinsky's choice of composers within the 'degenerate' category.

For the critic Stuckenschmidt, modernism was clearly on the rise, and he would later be a voice in favour of Schoenberg. Unlike Stuckenschmidt, though, concatenating Strauss and Schreker is not what Cozarinsky undertakes in using these composers' works in *La Guerre d'un seul homme*. Nonetheless, what Stuckenschmidt outlined was a predominant position for much of the twentieth century that left its mark (at least in terms of Schreker) for many decades to come. Indeed, it is reasonable to assert that after Schreker's death in 1934, his music was virtually obliterated in the cultural imagination at least of European listeners. He died too early for the ravages of Nazism to affect him in the kind of horrific way that those who lived through it experienced, though his institutional position and health were affected. Similarly, his music, before his death, did not form part of early recording history—and so it fell, arguably, into the crack that, along with the wider reactive issues outlined above, secured its seclusion. Christopher Hailey has lamented that:

Franz Schreker was among that cultural wreckage deemed irrelevant to the post-war order of business. He and his music had played virtually no role in musical life anywhere in the world since the early thirties, and his greatest triumphs lay still further in the past ... In 1945 most of the sites that had marked the stations of his career lay in ruins ... Nothing seemed to indicate a lasting legacy; indeed, the oblivion into which he had sunk seemed license either to belittle his contributions or to ignore them altogether.¹³

Reception is key here, for it is that which articulates and positions a composer in relation to all kinds of historical-critical axes, and from which a composer may suffer or flourish. Furthermore, it also provides the context within which the broader use of music (as 'pre-existing' in film music terms) might gain some purchase and ideological substance. Lawrence Kramer characterised the reception of music as part of a network

¹¹ Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt, 'Der Musikverbraucher,' *Die Musik* 26 (1929); quoted and trans. in Hailey, *Franz Schreker*, 225.

¹² Heyworth, ed., *Conversations*, 47.

¹³ Hailey, *Franz Schreker*, 307.

of opposing methodological (and thus cultural) approaches that structured interest in terms of self and other.¹⁴ The process, within what Kramer sketches out as a ‘logic of alterity’, sees the opposition of score-confined analysis against a hermeneutic reading of music’s effect as an experienced medium.¹⁵ For Kramer, the result is the privileging in Western culture of musical-formal analytical logic above ‘both ... oriental “luxuriance” and western “decadence” and “effeminacy”’.¹⁶ It can be argued that part of this methodological mind set, for much of the twentieth century led, in part, to the sidelining of much of Schreker’s work with claims that it lacked the masculine rigour that came to be associated with the process of formal analysis; that his orchestration was overly lush and effeminate and that the spectacular nature of many of his operas’ plots spoke of populist absurdity. Indeed, in framing some of these claims and identifying some of the processes that came to form them, Peter Franklin—writing more specifically about the spectacular in Schreker—notes how much of this criticism ‘inspired negatively feminizing critiques of Schreker as a kitsch, irrational, dubiously manipulative, and sexually obsessed “decadent”’¹⁷ and, as such, has impacted the subsequent reception of Schreker.

The notion of the decadent, of course, must be read here very closely alongside the idea of the degenerate, a term under which much of Schreker’s music was held since the 1930s and whose influence, albeit translated after the Second World War into a lack of progressive commitment to ‘modern’ compositional styles, could still be felt by the 1980s.¹⁸ Both the idea of decadence and degeneracy warrant further examination as they directly inform Cozarinsky’s understanding and structure how he chooses and deploys music use in his film. As indicated, Cozarinsky, albeit *post hoc*, specifically links Schreker and Schoenberg’s music to the category of degenerate. Decadence usually implies a reactionary aesthetic condition as well as an abusive critical register. For Jeremy Tambling, however, the idea of decadence was fluid and subjective and although it may be approached in ways that highlight the stylistic features that fascism attributed to degenerate art, it might also be read positively (through Nietzsche): ‘decadence means nothing objectively, the question to be asked about it being who is describing what as decadent and why.’¹⁹ Tambling identifies the ways in which Nietzsche aligns decadence with nihilism and reads it as the antithesis of bourgeois culture. And also, which is pertinent here, how Walter Benjamin positions Ernst Jünger as a decadent for what Jeffery Herf claims was his ‘spectacularly aestheticized version of life in the trenches’,²⁰ in his work *In Stahlgewittern* (Storm of Steel) from 1920.

The elision of decadent and degenerate, therefore, has proved important in understanding the critical force and relationship between these ideas. Another way of reading the decadent, however, is to see it as somehow exemplary of the supposed ‘mid-way position’ that much of Schreker’s music was observed to occupy between a ‘high’ cultural elite and ‘lower’ forms of populist musical entertainment. It is ironic, of course,

¹⁴ See Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

¹⁵ Kramer argues that the ‘logic of alterity’ should be understood as a widespread cultural and social structuring force whose field of operation is pervasive and responsible for both the mystification of cultural activity but also the control of it into a dominant self and a range of ‘others’, characterized by their physical and ‘moral’ difference to that self.

¹⁶ Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge*, 35.

¹⁷ Peter Franklin, ‘Lost in Spaces: Recovering Schreker’s Spectacular Voices’, *The Opera Quarterly* 29 (2013): 22.

¹⁸ See Peter Franklin, “‘Wer weiss, Vater, ob das nicht Engel sind?’: Reflections on the Pre-Fascist Discourse of Degeneracy in Schreker’s *Die Gezeichneten*” in *Music, Theatre, and Politics in Germany: 1848 to the Third Reich*, ed. Nikolaus Bacht (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 173–83.

¹⁹ Jeremy Tambling, *Opera and the Culture of Fascism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 216.

²⁰ Jeffery Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 72.

that the fascist identity that relied on the very idea of the populist should shun music with such a dimension. But this leads to a third way in which decadence here can be constituted: one in which there is a sense of a morally decaying and ‘dangerous’ social and sexual reference. It was this form that most exercised the Nazis in terms of their opposition to and sidelining of Schreker. It was Judaism that marked the access point into the inherent degeneracy of Schreker’s work and, like much other Jewish art, the Nazis invoked the sexual and sexual depravity as justifications for their claims. After all, they had little problem with Richard Strauss, perhaps because, as Tambling asserts, ‘Strauss [moved] away from Wagnerian decadence, anti-Semitism, and anti-Feminism, as in *Salome*, towards the kitsch world of bourgeois culture in *Arabella* ... Perhaps kitsch [therefore] is the non-recognition of decadence.’²¹

Schoenberg had left Europe immediately, in 1933, following the pronouncements of Max von Schillings, president of the Prussian Academy of the Arts, that Judaism and Jewish composers should not influence or affect the development and character of German music. Schreker, by contrast, ever the stubborn individual, firstly denied his Jewish roots, and vowed to remain as director of the Hochschule für Musik.²² As Klemperer’s account attests, however, this position became untenable and ‘[h]e had to go, and after that not a note of his music was heard. The success of his operas disappeared overnight.’²³ This ideologically-charged climate intensified after Schreker’s death in the mid-1930s, when the concerted focus of the National Socialist regime to extricate the music of Jewish composers, labeled as permissive and generally transgressive to the desired order, took hold. A particular criticism that was leveled as part of the permissive character of these artists in general, was their willingness to invoke ‘unnatural’ sexual interest as part of their art; this, then, constituted its dangerous decadence.

Schreker and the ‘Problem’ of *Entartete Musik*

It was not *merely* the sexual in general terms that problematised fascism’s interaction with decadent art, though. Rather, it was the particular type of sexuality presented, undermining a constructed notion of productive virility and religious ‘purity’ that disturbed the fascists. In Munich between July and December 1937, the Nazis mounted their infamous exhibition *Die Ausstellung ‘Entartete Kunst’* (The Exhibition of ‘Degenerate Art’), in which they used the concept of *Die Entartung*—drawn from Max Nordau’s biological use of the term for plants or animals that did not belong to a species—as a catch all for works of art they felt were outside of their idea of German culture. The story is, of course, well known: the exhibition presented over 600 works of art, mostly commandeered from museums, that displayed categorised features of what the Nazis felt were the hallmarks of degeneracy, central to which was the place of Jewish artists and the idea of decadence, though this was accounted for in a range of contradictory ways. At first, this movement focused on visual art where ‘examples’ of the social and moral transgressions could be identified. It was arranged as a series of rooms the first of which had a broadly thematic character (works critical of religion,

²¹ Tambling, *Opera and the Culture of Fascism*, 221.

²² For more on the circumstances surrounding Schreker’s resignation, see Hailey, *Franz Schreker*, 272–75.

²³ Heyworth, ed., *Conversations*, 48.

works by Jewish artists, pieces that were regarded as hostile to German farming traditions and to German women).²⁴

It was, of course, just the beginning. But in many ways, the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was the most straightforward starting point because the fixed and singular nature of visual art—the painting on the gallery wall—and the seemingly clear ways of pointing to the perceived artistic problems meant that an exhibition of paintings where abstraction and ‘deformity’ could be highlighted by the Nazis as examples of the degenerate made it easier (quite literally) to frame the ‘problem’. In the context of the art gallery, the narrative can be constructed around the static works on display, each being used as part of a narrative that will serve to support the racial agenda being advanced. The difficulty with applying the same principles to music is inherent in the condition in which we encounter it: the performance. And yet, in the following year, in Düsseldorf, on May 24 1938, as part of a large celebration of German music (‘Reichsmusiktag’) from 22–29 May, there was an attempt to stage a musical counterpart to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition (*Entartete Musik*) with the poster shown in Fig. x.1 attempting to capture some of the perverse narratives.²⁵

<Figure x.1 The front page of the exhibition guide by Ludwig Tersch>

The rhetoric was as strong as it had been with the visual art exhibition, but the difficulties were greater. Although listening booths with caricatures of the condemned composers were set up, live ‘demonstration’ of this music was almost impossible.²⁶ As Adrian Daub has noted: ‘[g]etting orchestras to study, rehearse, and perform the music by Schreker, Schoenberg, Weill, Hindemith, or Krenek, and risking people applauding at the end of the performance was [a problem].’²⁷ Moreover, what might have been the musical equivalent of visual art’s abstraction—atonality—was certainly not a feature of all these composers. Hans Pfitzner’s reflex-like reactions to atonality and to dissonance more generally, outlined in 1920 in *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz* set part of the antagonistic tone;²⁸ and, as Pamela Potter’s work suggests, although the regime’s policy was far from unified,²⁹ Pfitzner was partially ‘adopted’ as a composer aligned with the Nazis’ thoughts in setting out the threatening ‘chaos’ that

²⁴ For more detailed examinations of *Entartete Kunst* and the exhibitions that attempted to exemplify the idea, see Stephanie Barron, ed., *“Degenerate art”: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1991); Neil Levi, *Modernist Form and the Myth of Jewification* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Olaf Peters, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (London: Prestel, 2014). For an example of the wider ramifications of the category in the 1930s, see Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller, *Degenerates and Perverts: The 1939 Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art* (Carlton, Australia: Miegunyah Press, 2004).

²⁵ For consideration of *entartete Musik*, see Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, eds, *Entartete Musik: Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion zur Diüsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938*, 2nd edn (Düsseldorf, 1988); Bente-Helene van Lambalgen, *Entartete Musik: verboden muziek onder het nazi-bewind* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004); Amaury Du Closel, *Les voix étouffées du Troisième Reich: entartete Musik: essai* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2005).

²⁶ For more on this see Erik Levi, ‘The Censorship of Musical Modernism in Germany, 1918–1945’, in *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*, ed. Beate Müller (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 63–85.

²⁷ Adrian Daub, *Tristan’s Shadow: Sexuality and the Total Work of Art after Wagner* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 57.

²⁸ Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz* (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1920).

²⁹ See Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, ‘Germans as the “People of Music”: Genealogy of an Identity’, in *Music & German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 26–7.

this form of music presented.³⁰ Cozarinsky's interest in *La Guerre d'un seul homme*, however, is in the foregrounding of a constructed reception of Pfitzner's music more than any sense of historical truth value.

Pfitzner's objection to Schreker lay less in his dabbling with the atonal than in the apparent violation or refusal to acknowledge the redemptive power of music. Recall how rapturous was the audience response to Schreker's music only a couple of decades before. Instead, the trope of race was invoked as one of the problematizing and corrupting aspects of the 'degenerate' composers' works. Six years earlier in 1932, the teacher and 'thoroughbred' Nazi Richard Eichenauer set out in his book *Musik und Rasse* (Music and Race) a way of understanding music as a thoroughly race-driven phenomenon.³¹ In so doing, Eichenauer claimed that music exhibited the racial components of the composer; thus, music by Jewish composers was 'degenerate' by virtue of the debasing by the Nazis of Jewish culture. These opaque claims were strengthened through references to Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* of 1869. And yet by this time, the narrative agenda was clear and hard to halt. Wider concatenations of moral turpitude and the 'degenerate' composer were invoked.

Hans Severus Ziegler, who instigated the *Entartete Musik* exhibition, accounted for the apparently perverted nature of Schreker's interest in the sexual by claiming, in the 'catalogue' that accompanied the exhibition,³² that 'Franz Schreker was the Magnus Hirschfeld of opera composers. There was no sexual-pathological aberration that he did not set to music.'³³ And in the speech that opened the broader exhibition of art, that '[w]hat has been collected in this exhibition represents an effigy of wickedness—an effigy of arrogant Jewish impudence and complete spiritual insipidness.'³⁴ Certainly, Schreker suffered heavily as a result of institutional antisemitism but he suffered as much from an aesthetic rejection of his style (often by the very same people who had also been castigated by the Nazis) as lacking the forward rigour of modernism and thus languishing in (late) Romanticism. Furthermore, the perception of self-indulgence was also part of the conditions of the decadent for the Nazis. And, in this way, Schreker fell victim yet further. *Der ferne Klang* (first performed 1912)—arguably his most popular work but also one from which his reputation as a decadent composer was formed—reflects both metaphorically but also 'literally' on the idea of 'the veristic contextualisation of Music as sensuously materialised sound ("Klang")...[which is] deliberately brought into a stubbornly resistant Real World'.³⁵ What constituted degenerate music is important here because these ascriptions inform Cozarinsky's use of these categories in his film. As noted earlier, Cozarinsky's interests are certainly not

³⁰ For more on Pfitzner's position, see Michael Kater's *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Chapter six focuses on Pfitzner and Kater argues that he was found to be too irascible to be adopted fully, and instead was moved out of any sphere of influence after 1933 (and, in his own view, humiliated).

³¹ Richard Eichenauer *Musik und Rasse* (Munich: J.F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1932).

³² Dümling and Girth, *Entartete Musik*, 133: 'Franz Schreker war der Magnus Hirschfeld unter den Opernkomponisten. Es gab keine sexual-pathologische Verirrung, die er nicht unter Musik gesetzt hätte.'

³³ Quoted in Peter Franklin, 'Distant sounds – Fallen music: *Der ferne Klang* as "woman's opera"?', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 162n13. Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) was a Jewish German doctor and sexologist who staunchly advocated the rights of minorities and believed that through scientific research the rights of homosexuals could be defended. He founded the 'Scientific Humanitarian Committee' for this purpose and, in 1919, the 'Institute for Sexual Research' (*Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*). He was vehemently attacked by the Nazis, and though he had left Berlin by 1933, his Institute and its archive were attacked and burned in May 1933.

³⁴ Part of Hans Severus Ziegler's speech that opened the exhibition. See <http://www.dw.com/en/the-nazis-take-on-degenerate-music/a-16834697> (accessed 14/12/2015).

³⁵ Franklin, 'Distant sounds', 161.

in confirming the categories but in deconstructing them—and of doing so within a decentered cinematic context.

Cozarinsky's Paris and *La Guerre d'un seul homme*

In choosing to formulate the music in his film in terms drawn from the categorical binaries of the Nazis ('Aryan' and 'Degenerate'), Cozarinsky is at once inviting the kind of deeper-level critique that his use of visual montage and the striking contrasts between types of footage also requires. Although made in 1982, *La Guerre d'un seul homme* never makes the year of its production clear and thus brings into question its own status as documentary because it avoids asserting the authority of opinion and commentary that are commonly associated with the genre. Fascinated by the possibilities suggested by Walter Benjamin, who postulated the idea of writing a book that might be constructed entirely from the quotations of others, Cozarinsky assembles his film from a range of newsreel footage, allowing it to flow seamlessly but also to act in dialogue with the obvious differences of aesthetic and social context that each reel provides. Furthermore, by choosing to present a kind of documentary *verité* he is also implicitly challenging the very means and possibilities of this form of documentary cinema.

Complicating this yet further are the voice-over diaries of the effete German writer and aesthete Ernst Jünger (1895–1998).³⁶ Jünger had been a celebrated soldier in World War One, during which time he had kept a diary, later published as *In Stahlgewittern* (Storm of Steel) in 1920 that contains detailed accounts of trench warfare.³⁷ However, he became deeply disillusioned with the direction that Germany was taking under the Nazis and wrote sceptically and later antagonistically about their policies. In part, perhaps because of his World-War-One status, his comments were conveniently overlooked by the Nazi regime and for much of the Second World War he was stationed in Paris as an administrator for the occupying forces as a way of shifting him from the sphere of influence. Although deeply skeptical of Hitler's policies, he nonetheless retained a staunch belief in the patrician values of the army. As in World War One, in Paris, he once again kept diary notes, published in 1942 as *Gärten und Straßen* (Gardens and Streets) in which he commented, with a seemingly dispassionate register, on what he saw as events of daily life during this period.³⁸ It is the notes from these diaries that Cozarinsky uses as the basis for the spoken voice-over narrative of *La Guerre d'un seul homme*.

The choice of Jünger is key to the broader critical interrogation of the ways in which cinematic narratives shape their flow and seek to present facts and truths. Cozarinsky is particularly interested in the ways in which lies and webs of truths come to be formulated, and the ease with which these contexts are malleable and open to manipulative reshaping, especially in film. To illustrate this 'problem', he sets out by deftly juxtaposing a set of binaries. These include the foregrounding of public (newsreel footage) and private commentary (from Jünger's diaries); of horrific and normal wartime activities; of the dispassionate and affectionate; the local and the global. Furthermore, he also engages playfully with the very binaries that the Nazis imposed: Jewish and non-Jewish; Aryan and degenerate. By using these categories, he is able to

³⁶ For a wider reading of Jünger's work and contributions in Paris, see Allan Mitchell, *The Devil's Captain: Ernst Jünger in Nazi Paris, 1941–1944* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

³⁷ Ernst Jünger, *Storm of Steel [In Stahlgewittern]*, trans. Michael Hoffmann (London: Penguin, 2003).

³⁸ Ernst Jünger, *Gärten und Straßen* (Paris: Einmalige Ausgabe der Zentral der Frontbuchhandlungen, 1942).

demonstrate the very contingency of such groupings. He achieves this firstly through a type of neo-Adornian ‘counterpoint’ between the sentiments and contents presented by the newsreel footage, and the categories (‘Aryan’ or ‘degenerate’) associated with the composers’ music. And secondly, he offers a deeper critique of the nature of cinematic hermeneutics by addressing (or indeed avoiding) the problem of how meaning is produced and authenticated. This is particularly germane in the loose documentary aesthetic within which Cozarinsky is working here; much of the newsreel footage is from the mass-media propaganda campaigns of the Vichy Government, which sought to portray life as (almost) normal in wartime Paris.

Cozarinsky has commented on how his use of varying types of newsreel footage was also a way of fixing the idea of a narrative gaze, around which both the diaries—which have a focused linearity—and the rather more kaleidoscopic range of varying newsreel footage might flow and interact:

One of the reasons for my deep distrust of documentary *verité* is that I’m never sure what it is a document of. The newsreels were basically ‘truthful’ [my emphasis] about what they captured; only, they were truthful about things other than what they thought they were saying. Time, in a sense, is the great flashlight because now you can see through the lie and everything seems obvious and apparent. There are moments when I repeat the same images but in a very different context, an example is the arrival of [Reinhard] Heydrich in Paris. Once it is there with the original newsreel commentary, presented as the arrival of a German personality in Paris, on a par with the arrival of Winifred Wagner or Franz Lehar ... Then I took some shots from the sequence containing the Heydrich arrival, intercut them with black leader and put on them Jünger’s comments about the fauna to be seen at the German Institute, individuals “he wouldn’t touch with a barge pole.” Repeating the same shots with a different editing and soundtrack shows them to be both continuous and discontinuous, constructed.³⁹

Cozarinsky’s approach, then, also problematises how we interpret the lens through which we view much of the film. Are we to assume Jünger’s position as a German officer? When, just over thirty minutes into the film, we see newsreel footage of winter in Paris (a girl skating in front of a snowy Eiffel Tower; thick ice flowing down the river Seine—see figs x.2–4), we hear the following entries from Jünger’s diary:

Paris, June 24, 1941

We’ve been at war with Russia for three days

The news barely touched me

In times like these our capacity to record facts is limited

If not we would face them vacuously⁴⁰

<Figures x.2–x.4: Newsreel scenes from winter in Paris>

³⁹ Thomas Elsaesser, ‘Discourse and History: *One Man’s War* – An Interview with Edgardo Cozarinsky [1984]’, in *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 399–400.

⁴⁰ Ernst Jünger’s diary in *La Guerre d’un seul homme* (00:31:50).

Clearly, this event refers to summer, yet Cozarinsky deliberately undercuts the semantics of this with images of snow, winter, ice, and solitary individuals. Furthermore, the 'we' in terms of who is waging war against whom is likewise softened in this process. It is Germany, to be sure, but the associations of Jünger with Paris and with his sometimes touching comments on the nature of life during this period helps to dislocate that understanding, to a certain extent, and to foreground once again the film's idea of a discursive historical encounter with the visual and aural material it presents. This is interesting because it will also inform how his deployment of 'Schreker and Schoenberg' and 'Pfitzner and Strauss' will contribute to this deconstructive dialectic in music-historical terms.

Shortly before this sequence, Jünger recounts an instance at the German Cultural Institute when he apparently became disgusted by the speaker resorting to biology as a form of justification for violence towards, and killing of, Jews: 'I learned something from his monologue. He made clear the monstrous power of Nihilism. When such people speak of biology it's just a means to kill others.'⁴¹ This suggests a deep scepticism about his country's broader position on the war (a marked change from his defence of the 'aesthetics' of war espoused in *Stahlgewittern* and his work of the 1920s) and yet he is in occupied Paris as an officer and administrator; elsewhere, we learn that he supervised the execution of deserters. Furthermore, as if to undermine this suggestion, Cozarinsky includes an entry, so dark in humour that it almost masquerades as serious critique, in which Jünger outlines an encounter at Ambassador De Brinon's residence with Sacha Guitry the French actor and playwright. Guitry had explained how the famous writer, critic and journalist Octave Mirbeau (1848–1917) had died in his arms 'whispering his last breath "Never collaborate!" A finding for my collection of last words!'.⁴² Jünger's apparent warmth towards this moment of dissent once again disrupts the moral stability and predictability of the narrative, and refers implicitly to Roland Barthes's idea presented in *Mythologies* in which the distinctions between what constitutes news and what constitutes fiction are impossible to discern.⁴³ Indeed, in many ways they constitute the very fabric of how Cozarinsky wishes us to examine what he presents; how he wishes us to interrogate critically the 'facts' that are set out; and, more broadly, how news (and music) is routed along political and ideological axes.

Musical reception as *mise-en-scène*

Since we have seen that a key aspect of the impact of the *mise-en-scène* in *La Guerre d'un seul homme* is the deliberate rendering of morality and documentary as intrinsically unstable and subject to wide-ranging points of view, it is also reasonable to read into this process the deliberate use of composers' music to contribute to the 'blurring' of both moral and reception-history categories. Just as it did not snow in Paris in June 1941, so too what Cozarinsky has called a deliberate 'counterpoint' is key to the fracturing of moral certainty:

I knew since I first thought about the film that the soundtrack and the image should be distinct, meeting occasionally at certain points but in general diverging, even where the sound track carries the commentary of the

⁴¹ Ibid., (0:30:45).

⁴² Ibid., (0:31:30).

⁴³ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Paladin, 1972).

original newsreel. I wanted to have the image and soundtrack in counterpoint, each commenting on the other.⁴⁴

By ‘soundtrack’ here, Cozarinsky is referring principally to the original newsreel dialogue (when we hear it) and the music that was also presented with these newsreels. However, the works chosen for the ‘underscore’ are also key to the production of the film’s *mise-en-scène*, something of which music has not traditionally been considered a part.⁴⁵ And yet, by bringing into the reading the reception histories of Schreker, Strauss, Pfitzner, and Schoenberg in the context of the Second World War, the kinds of counterpoint that Cozarinsky suggests elsewhere become apparent. This is, of course, quite different from the film-music dramaturgical counterpoint that Adorno and Eisler advocated in *Composing for the Films*.⁴⁶ Instead, Cozarinsky’s ‘version’ of counterpoint is concerned most fundamentally with the notion of subjective and hermeneutic counterpoint. The overtones of Adorno and Eisler, perhaps uncharacteristically, suggest a fixed and uniform way in which musical association and meaning are rendered rather than how they might be reshaped cinematically and become part of a larger narrative dialectic. For Cozarinsky, it is the construction and use of such associations (either cultural, social, or historical) that enables the affective counterpoint to emerge.

Pfitzner and musical ‘structure’

A key narrativising feature of *La Guerre d’un seul homme* is Cozarinsky’s decision to structure the film around four movements, each introduced with a musical performance indication and thus alluding to the narrative ‘flow’ of a piece of music. As with the counter-posing of newsreel, diary and ‘contrapuntal’ cinematography, the use of these musical indications is not designed to invoke specific musical associations, nor to evoke certain types or styles of music. Instead, like the rest of Cozarinsky’s film, they create points of narrative tension and enquiry; they help to undermine the authority of what we see as well as the historical categories that have been applied to the music used. Furthermore, these named ‘movements’ also do not refer to the markings in the music used after them. They are imaginary section divides that remind us not only how contingent musical (and indeed all) meaning is on the wider hermeneutics of its context, but also how deterministic such meaning has become, particularly during the period of *La Guerre d’un seul homme*’s focus. By undercutting these expectations and ‘realities’, the use of performance markings plays on the idea of a musical narrative: that is, one whose flow is, as Adorno suggested, structurally like that of an unfolding story, but whose content is always veiled.⁴⁷

As mentioned above, the deployed music that overlays some of the newsreels and Jünger’s diary entries is given the nomenclature by Cozarinsky of ‘degenerate’ and ‘Aryan’ respectively. However, he does not use these categories in an unreconstructed

⁴⁴ Elsaesser, ‘Discourse and History’, 400.

⁴⁵ In making this assertion, I am widening Michel Chion’s notion of a *mise-en-bande* because part of the effect that Cozarinsky sought was not only sonic but an awareness of the historical resonances of historical image and historical music. As such, the broader idea of *mise-en-scène* seems relevant. For more, see Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision*, ed. and trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ They advise that ‘[Film music] instead of limiting itself to conventional reinforcement of the action or mood, can throw its meaning into relief by setting itself in opposition to what is being shown on screen.’ See Adorno and Eisler, *Composing for the Films*, 20.

⁴⁷ See Theodor Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 76.

manner. As Ziegler and Goebbels found with the *Entartete Musik* exhibition, the degenerate nature of the music, much more than the visual art, was difficult to locate. Cozarinsky amplifies and illustrates this position setting the music alongside both images of Nazis in Paris as well as the more reflective and contrite commentaries occasionally offered by Jünger.

Schreker and Schoenberg are the two composers who occupy the 'degenerate' category, with Pfitzner and Strauss exemplars of the 'Aryan'. But is this a meaningful way to consider them? This is really the question posed by Cozarinsky. He implicitly asks us to question the status of these categories (indeed, of a wider range of such boundaries) by interweaving material seemingly at odds with these groupings. In addition to this, some newsreel extracts also contain the dialogue of the news reader as well as the 'heroic' music that accompanies it. In doing so, this is not a denial of historical 'evidence' (these categories of art clearly existed for the Nazis) but instead, an attempt to undermine their force and to make them impotent: to devalue the cultural legacy of their effects and to expose their illegitimate aesthetic ascriptions.

Although sometimes linked to the news items, the sentiments expressed in Jünger's diary extracts are often at odds with what we see, thus encouraging a counter-reading of the news material presented. The music chosen and deployed by Cozarinsky is certainly not diegetic in the commonplace understanding of the term (though the commonly-understood status of the diegetic has recently come under well-deserved critical attention). And yet, its associated status as part of the collage of newsreels seems to place it in a different location from the choice of what we may call the categorical uses of the 'Aryan' and the 'Degenerate'. It also lacks the type of non-diegetic narrative authority commonly associated with a cinematic underscore. Again, one might well conclude this emergent effect is part of the very dislocating force sought by Cozarinsky in playing off traditional narrative contexts against one another.

The newsreel examples contain both the news narrator's comments, as well as the music that was originally associated with the variety of news events presented. They are chiefly about Paris, but occasionally also include material from elsewhere in Europe, and would have been part of the cinema auditorium news presentations, common during the Second World War. The type of music is typically triumphal or, in terms of referential-cliché, presents a sense of foreboding or 'glory' linked to the news stories that are being offered. As documents, such moments and their musical inclusions stand apart from the use of Schreker, Schoenberg, Pfitzner and Strauss because of the newsreel music's 'semi'-diegetic status, which enables tensions with Jünger's narratives to emerge.

The function of the newsreel music and its interaction in narrative terms with both Jünger's diaries and the chosen music is clear: to destabilise the established understanding of this music's effect. The writer and film critic Jonathan Rosenbaum has pointed to such use and the ways in which it highlights the deep limitations of textual evidence, the realisation of which leads to a sensation of knowing less in this film and thus to a curtailment of our satisfaction:

One reason why we know less is that even the satisfaction of being told a linear narrative is disrupted. Although the film begins with Jünger's early days in France and ends with the Liberation of Paris, the achronological arrangement of many of the diary entries that figures in between confounds any possible sense of progression or development in his thought. (In some

segments, the entries even proceed backwards: in one portion devoted to 1941, we move from December to October to June to January.)⁴⁸

The first musical choice from these categories occurs at the start of the film proper after an explanatory introduction and following a black screen shot on which the first ‘movement’ indication is inscribed: ‘1. Andante con Moto’. What follows is the opening to the first movement of Hans Pfitzner’s Symphony in C Major (Op. 46) (marked ‘Allegro moderato’ in the score). The movement is allowed to play in its entirety during which Jünger’s diary entries (read by the French actor and director Niels Arestrup) are heard. Prior to this, Cozarinsky presents a type of pedagogical introduction in which to the sound of a single marching drum, as though a link to the wartime context about to unfold, white text on a black background sets out the material types that are presented in the film: the newsreel footage and the voice-over diaries of Jünger. No mention, however, is made of the music. Pfitzner’s music is not introduced as such and instead is allowed to float separately, interweaving with the image and the off-screen voice-over.

Shortly after this movement ends, and in between the music of the newsreel footage (about twelve minutes into the film), the next example of Pfitzner’s music is presented, inviting further critical interrogation. It is the Prelude to Act I of *Palestrina* (marked *Ruhig* or ‘peaceful’). Cozarinsky uses only the instrumental preludes in the film but the reference to the opera offers the opportunity to examine how this choice influences the *mise-en-scène*. This complexity may well emerge more strongly still by reading Pfitzner himself into the context—as self-professed antisemite from the first decades of the twentieth century and advocate of National Socialism—as well as from the allegorical context of the opera. *Palestrina* (1917) is an opera about the eponymous sixteenth-century composer and the fanciful tale of Palestrina’s saving of polyphony from the wrath of the Council of Trent’s reforms concerning the audibility of liturgical texts in sacred music. The wider resonances in the film, however, may well be understood in terms of the artist as saviour of music and thus of the preservation of historic culture. As such it disavows the notion of music as ephemeral and locates it at the heart of cultural and national production. Furthermore, as Karen Painter has argued, *Palestrina* helped to bring gender, once again, to the forefront of a debate about music’s role in the projection of a national agenda:

In Austro-German music criticism of the previous decades, gender tropes were typically avoided in order to preserve music’s abstract status. The cult of masculinity in German culture that emerged with World War I and became strong in the Third Reich brought the return of masculine tropes—all the more with *Palestrina*, where the character and plot effectively excluded women... Pfitzner’s music promised more to listeners than did the “bloated sonorous fat of the New Germans”: he achieved “contrapuntally thought out, freely moving webs of voices” as well as “voice leading of manly strengths (diatonic), never feminine”.⁴⁹

Heady stuff indeed, and yet the redemptive qualities of music that Pfitzner felt were central to its essence are seemingly exploited by Cozarinsky because the sequence

⁴⁸ Jonathan Rosenbaum, ‘Ambiguous Evidence: Cozarinsky’s “Cinema Indirect”’ (1995), <http://www.jonathanrosenbaum.net/1995/09/ambiguous-evidence-cozarinsky’s-“cinema-indirect”-tk/> (accessed 18/12/2015).

⁴⁹ Karen Painter ‘Symphonic Ambitions, Operatic Redemption: *Mathis der Maler* and *Palestrina* in the Third Reich’, *Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001): 149–50. Painter quotes here from Walter Abendroth, *Hans Pfitzner* (Munich: A. Langen, 1935).

during which the Prelude plays contains a series of newsreel shots that move firstly from scenes of soup kitchens feeding large numbers of hungry Parisians to images of Hitler arriving on a train to visit France to survey the German authorities' mark on the city (images include the portrayal of German language signposts in Paris). Thereafter there follows a series of shots identified as Vichy and street and crowd scenes that appear to reinforce the occupied control exerted over France.

But what is even more striking, however, is the increasing tension between these images and the content of Jünger's diaries at this point (21 May 1941). He begins to outline an incident in which he had to supervise the execution of a deserter. He goes into detail about the ways in which this event unfolded and the deep feelings of powerlessness and futility that suffused him. Pfitzner's prelude is heard alongside all this, before concluding as the sequence ends, with Jünger's words that a doctor is pronouncing the condemned man dead. This then leads into a different newsreel shot of macabre images of mass executed and badly decayed bodies, many in makeshift mass graves. It is unclear why we are shown these sequences, and the sentiments expressed in Jünger's diaries and the images we see here mark an unusual moment of conformity when Jünger outlines how he had to translate the letters from executed hostages, many of whom spoke consistently of 'courage' and 'love' and of 'farewell' and 'hope'. This sequence would seem to align the so-called redemptive qualities of Pfitzner's music with a different understanding of degeneracy, one in the horror of the actions of the regime with which it comes to be associated are exposed, highlighted and brought under review by the very music that notionally supports it. Such a use of music here attempts to reposition these aforementioned musical categories (recall that Pfitzner is part of Cozarinsky's 'Aryan' group) by concatenating Pfitzner's music with the horrors conveyed through the speech and images. As a result, the obvious degenerate scenes we witness are somehow authenticated through the lens of 'Aryan' Pfitzner for Cozarinsky and it is in this sense that Pfitzner's music may thus be read as redemptive in its clarity of the exposure of Nazi atrocities.

The second significant sequence of Pfitzner's music occurs about half way through the film, and marks the third 'musical movement', which is identified as '3. Rondo Tenebroso'. Cozarinsky returns to the orchestral preludes of *Palestrina*—this time the Prelude to Act II (marked *Mit Wucht und Wildheit*, 'with wild momentum'). The stirring opening horn-lead passage accompanies a newsreel proclaiming how 'Europe unites against Bolshevism', followed by a map that indicates (Nazi) Europe's advances (see Fig. x.5).

<Figure x.5: Propaganda newsreel shoot indicating the progress of Nazi advances through Europe towards the Soviet Union>

The absence of perhaps-expected newsreel sounds and music, and the cutting of the sequence in such a way that we repeatedly return to the map above between scenes of marching soldiers and triumphant villagers, allows the urgency of Pfitzner's prelude to present a type of parody of newsreel music. This is Pfitzner the Aryan in play for Cozarinsky. Pfitzner's music, however, is soon 'joined' once again with Jünger's words and, on this occasion, to a mixture of image and newsreel narrator. The mixing of the chosen music with the newsreel's narrator seems to highlight the Pfitzner prelude more than before, especially when the images and newsreel commentator return to explain the solidarity of Germany's allies in support of the Nazi strategy. Perhaps this is a deliberate attempt to force an obvious hermeneutic contrast—a more intense narrative aside—not least because this eventually leads back to the music from the original newsreel as Pfitzner's prelude ends.

The prelude does not end for long, however, as Cozarinsky's repeats it following a sequence in which we see images and a description of how Ukrainians like to listen to their 'sacred songs' after which we hear choral music and shots of a Ukrainian Orthodox church. For the repeat, however, the music does not play in its entirety and merges with the end of a performance of Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* conducted by Herbert von Karajan and attended, as we are told by 'Mrs. Winifred Wagner' (Richard Wagner's daughter in law), friend and correspondent of Hitler. The subtle elision from Pfitzner into the Wagner is telling, not least because both operas are essentially concerned with the role of the artist, and suggests a kind of musical-political synergy between the two composers.

After this point, music (in its sound but also in terms of images of concert-going and the foregrounding of composers) becomes an increasingly important thematised component in the film. Franz Lehár appears in a newsreel and we see and hear a section of a performance of his romantic operetta *Das Land des Lächelns* (first performed under this title in Berlin in 1929).⁵⁰ We also see concert-goers responding to the concerts they attend and the propagandistic use of Lehár in a concert in Paris which he conducted for the German military in 1941. Thereafter, the film shifts to another orchestral concert, this time a performance for French factory workers of Beethoven by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under the celebrated German conductor Clemens Krauss. By showing scenes of music-making and concert-going, Cozarinsky here presents music as a type of galvanizing force with the communal function of the concert in this period as its centrepiece. Furthermore, because the newsreel footage of some of these concerts was clearly part of a propaganda campaign, it subtly reinforces Cozarinsky's use and understanding of music as a tool of historical and textual critique.

The Voice *en fin*

But what of the 'degenerates' in this context? Schoenberg and Schreker are not deployed by Cozarinsky until the final part of the film, in the section marked '4. Finale'. Whether this is to defer a sense in which they can be reconstructed or whether, in fact, they serve to mark the very degeneracy of the war and of National Socialism's effect, and thus constitute a reversal of the ascription of 'degenerate' by the Nazis remains unclear; indeed, the wide hermeneutic expanse this opens up is in keeping with Cozarinsky's broader attitudes towards the deep contingency of narrative perspectives and of the need to 'read' scenes for their subtextual resonances. Nonetheless, the rich collage of silent newsreels that 'accompanies' Schoenberg's *Variations for Orchestra* (Op. 31) is telling. The scenes include footage of orchestral concerts (presumably not Schoenberg!), fashion shows, hat making and vaudeville-type performances including puppet theatre. Most of these present examples of mass-entertainment and the use of Schoenberg against them produces a range of contested areas of meaning: a critique of popular culture or even of the narrow limits of modernism. It both seems to outline and undermine Adorno and Eisler's notion of 'counterpoint' (see note 46 above). By using Schoenberg as the 'film music' for this exercise, it is possible to see Cozarinsky's sequence as a parody on a number of levels. It situates Schoenberg's music prominently among a tapestry of (popular) cultural activities, something that a modernist such as he would perhaps wish to disavow, although he simultaneously longed for popular success. Figure x.6, from the central portion of this sequence, shows

⁵⁰ *Das Land des Lächelns* was the adapted title. The operetta first's version was as *Die gelbe Jacke* in Vienna in 1923, but following weak reviews, Lehár revised it with a new premiere in Berlin.

a puppet and clown performance set to a Surrealist visual background redolent of work by Picasso, Joan Miró or even foreshadowing the graphic scores of composers such as Morton Feldman and Cornelius Cardew more than a decade later.

<Figure x.6: Scene of a puppet and clown performance with Surrealist background>

Clearly, there are signatures of modernism here, but these are deftly intercut with examples of cabaret and the can-can and offer a sense of the pleasurable that was often the antithesis of the modernist aesthetic. Indeed, there is nothing *but* instances of pleasure and mass-entertainment here and the association with Schoenberg, which is made perhaps with the intention of producing comical results, appears to undermine the music's modernist ambit and expose its latent hermeneutic potential, as well as to point out modernism's embedded-ness in notions of mass cultures (whether defined against it, or in the ways in which composers like Ernst Krenek used it—most famously in his opera, *Jonny spielt auf*).

The sardonic tone of this collage is largely at odds with much of the final section of the film's wider narrative of pessimism, both of the war but also of human actions. In order to articulate this more intensively, Cozarinsky changes from instrumental excerpts to song. This constitutes the first use of the voice as part of the deployed music, in spite of earlier examples being drawn from opera, and it also marks a shift in the narrative axes of the *mise-en-scène*. It is refined, as always here, by Jünger's voice and the first of these songs occurs following Jünger's diary entry from Paris, 1 September 1943:

In my address book I mark, every time more often "So and so dead, so and so unknown whereabouts". I dreamt I had lost the insignias on my uniform, the Reich eagle on my cap and my epaulets.⁵¹

In the middle of this, the third of Schreker's *Fünf Gesänge für eine Singstimme und Klavier*, 'Die Dunkelheit sinkt schwer wie Blei' (1909) is introduced. This is a song about death and the foreboding emptiness of loneliness; the text is by Edith Ronsperger:

Die Dunkelheit sinkt schwer wie
Blei,
in totem grauen Einerlei
ersterben Farbe und Gestalt.
Das müde Schweigen stört kein
Laut
gleich einer schwarzen Mauer baut
zum Himmel sich der Wald.

In öde Leere riesengroß
streckt sich mein Leben
hoffnungslos.
Es weht so dumpf und grabeskalt
der Atem dieser Nacht mich an,
ein Grauen kriecht an mich heran,
o schlief ich, schlief ich bald.

The darkness descends as heavy as
lead,
in deathly greys of monotony
colour and shape die.
No sound disturbs the deathly
silence,
the forest is like a black wall
built to heaven itself.

Into vast desolate emptiness
stretches my life hopelessly.
So vacant and cold as the grave
blows the breath of this night on me,
what dread creeps on me here,
O sleep I must, sleep I shall soon.⁵²

⁵¹ Ernst Jünger's diary in *La Guerre d'un seul homme* (01:28:03).

⁵² Translation by the author.

It is deployed by Cozarinsky to supplement the desolation expressed by Jünger and thus to problematise the status of the degenerate as applied by the Nazis: it appears to chime with the sentiments of Jünger who, although a lukewarm regime member, is clearly distancing himself from its exploits. In an unusual moment of concordance with the visuals and the sentiments of the narrator, the important textual references supplied by song assist in this process: they provide the semantic content that the earlier uses of music could only implicitly suggest.

All the deployed music thereafter is by Richard Strauss and is taken from his *Vier letzte Lieder*, completed in 1948. The film concludes with the final song from the sequence, 'In Abendrot', the words of which mark an impending end and the use of which here, once again, inverts the presentation of the Aryan values associated with Strauss (as strong, triumphal, masculine) by connecting him with the terminal moment for National Socialism:

Wir sind durch Not und Freude
gegangen Hand in Hand;
vom Wandern ruhen wir beide
nun überm stillen Land.

Rings sich die Täler neigen,
es dunkelt schon die Luft.
Zwei Lerchen nur noch steigen
nachträumend in den Duft.

Tritt her und lass sie schwirren,
bald ist es Schlafenszeit.
Dass wir uns nicht verirren
in dieser Einsamkeit.

O weiter, stiller Friede!
So tief im Abendrot.
Wie sind wir wandermüde--
Ist dies etwa der Tod?

This also marked the end of Strauss's life (the songs were published posthumously in 1950 by his erstwhile colleague Ernst Roth, who also named the collection). For Cozarinsky, this provides a symbolic finale. It closes the film by returning to the 'Aryan' composers with which it started: Pfitzner's positive proclamations for Germany's future at the outset; Strauss's contemplations of the end at its conclusion. It renders the categories of 'degenerate' and 'Aryan' entirely contingent and seeks both to apply the meanings of these categories to music and thus to the production of narrative and also to question the stability of such meanings by inviting interrogation of their effects. This use of music in film, therefore, is different from much of the use one encounters in narrative cinema and is akin, perhaps, to the ways in which contemporary art invites the overt political and ideological questioning of its constituent components. By deploying the music categorised historically into characteristics of purported ideological and moral quality, Cozarinsky achieves a reframing of these very categories by illustrating how music in film may operate as ideologically fluid (something more

solidly considered elsewhere in studies into the effects of film music),⁵³ but also how this operation works on the level of historical and cultural critique both of itself (as film music) and of the intellectual-historical qualities that its earlier identities may have formulated. In the end, perhaps Cozarinsky is attempting what Leon Botstein advocated when he suggested that '[i]f, however, one separates *Palestrina* from Pfitzner's subsequent career, one can recognize the significance and originality of the work.'⁵⁴

This sense of dislocation is clearly a device that Cozarinsky finds aesthetically and ontologically satisfying because it widens the affective focus and highlights the malleability and contingency of musical meaning and hermeneutic ascription. The use of these four composers invites just such hermeneutic interrogation. It certainly marks his approach out from that of much film music; its 'requirement' for historically-familiar engagement likewise enriches the medium. Given that Adorno and Eisler were so concerned with the potential for music in cinema to offer unsettling, critically-urgent readings against the formulaic grain, might we perhaps modify Adorno's claim, which was quoted earlier, with respect to music's involvement with narration, to incorporate its reception-history identity? Music, here, seems to 'narrate' *because* of its narrative (namely, reception-history) content and Cozarinsky seeks to explore the tensions that these musical-historical-textual interactions generate.

⁵³ See, among many others, Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Peter Franklin, *Seeing Through Music: Gender and Modernism in Classic Hollywood Film Scores* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Ben Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Concert Experiences in Screen Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2014); and the still-pioneering text by Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).

⁵⁴ Leon Botstein, 'Pfitzner and Musical Politics', *Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001): 70.