

# Karl Amadeus Hartmann's *Miserae* (1933-1934)

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Karl Amadeus Hartmann's symphonic poem *Miserae* (1933-1934) stands as a watershed in the career of an artist for whom the political events of the early 1930s would assume major personal significance. A lifelong resident of Munich, Hartmann wrote *Miserae* to protest the establishment of the first Nazi concentration camp, which opened in the neighboring village and former artistic community of Dachau in March of 1933. He dedicated the score "to my friends, who must die one-hundred fold, who sleep for eternity--we will not forget you." The sense of moral anguish and political outrage that Hartmann expressed toward Nazism in *Miserae* and other works from the period--for example, the First String Quartet (1933), called the "Jewish Quartet" for its use of the melody "Elijahu ha-nari," or the opera *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1934-1935) and the cantata *Friede-Anno 48* (1936-1937), both of which invoke clear parallels between Nazi repression and the Thirty Years War--led to the designation of the composer as a "confessional musician" (*Bekanntnis Musiker*) and his compositions as "scores of social commitment."<sup>1</sup>

Hartmann himself acknowledged the importance of both *Miserae* and the year 1933 to his artistic development in a memorable passage from his "Autobiographical Sketch":

Then came the year 1933, with its misery and hopelessness, [and] with it, that which must needs have developed logically from the idea of despotism, the most horrible of all crimes--the war. In that year, I recognized that it was necessary to make a statement, not out of despair and anxiety in the face of that power, but as an act of protest. I told myself that freedom triumphs even at those times when we are annihilated--at least, this is what I believed at that moment. During this period, I wrote my first String Quartet, the symphonic poem "MISERAE" and my first symphony with the words of Walt Whitman, "I sit and look out upon all the sorrows of the world, and upon all oppression and shame."<sup>2</sup>

As Hartmann's remarks suggest, the works he composed around the time of *Miserae* signaled a self-conscious turning point in his artistic development. More



specifically, this period marked the beginning of the composer's self-imposed exile from German musical life, a form of silent protest he waged against Nazism that came to be known as "inner emigration" (*innere Emigration*).<sup>3</sup> Although Hartmann continued to compose during the 1930s and 1940s, he disallowed all public performance of his compositions within the territorial Third Reich. Individual works were heard in neighboring free countries such as Czechoslovakia (1935), England (1938), Belgium (1938 and 1939), and Switzerland (1936 and 1940); however, with the acceleration of World War II, all public performance of Hartmann's music effectively ceased.

*Miseræ* is notable further for the fact that the work's genesis is intimately intertwined with a figure who would have a major impact on Hartmann's socio-political *Weltanschauung*--the conductor Hermann Scherchen. Hartmann maintained a firm belief in the social responsibility of the artist throughout his life. In the 1920s, for example, he embraced the doctrines of socialism. In the 1930s, he participated actively in antifascist resistance efforts. And in the years following World War II, he contributed to the rebuilding of German social and cultural life through the series of new music concerts known as *Musica Viva*.<sup>4</sup> The particular course of political and artistic action he adopted in the early 1930s, however, was inspired in large measure by the model of Scherchen. Like Hartmann, Scherchen was a German of Aryan descent who chose self-exile as a means of opposing Nazism; but whereas Scherchen's protest was announced publicly, by his symbolic renunciation of Germany and withdrawal to neutral Switzerland, Hartmann's was expressed more privately, by his withdrawal into himself.

An event of singular importance to Hartmann's "inner emigration" and his desire to compose a work like *Miseræ* was Scherchen's first series of contemporary music workshops, held in Strasbourg in the summer of 1933. Scherchen's decision to hold the workshops in the capital of Alsace, a region historically disputed between Germany and France, and his emphasis on composers branded by the Third Reich as "degenerate" were recognized by many participants as subversive acts of political protest.<sup>5</sup> In addition to facilitating a performance of Hartmann's *Concertino* for trumpet and wind ensemble, the Strasbourg workshops left an indelible mark on the composer's artistic and political outlook, which he explained as follows:

...I learned nothing in any conservatory or music academy that is in the least bit comparable to what Scherchen imparted to me, for the simple reason that he proceeded from a practical perspective and placed the human element in the foreground. I am indebted to him for almost all aspects of my craft...Along these

lines, I think about his music festivals and music-dramatic workshops, the most important of which occurred in 1933, in Strasbourg.<sup>6</sup>

Hartmann composed *Miseræ* shortly after the Strasbourg experience, in the winter of 1933-1934, and asked Scherchen to conduct the work's premiere in 1935.

Hartmann's retirement from German musical life around the time of *Miseræ* was undoubtedly complicated by the fact that he came from a family with close ties to the Munich artistic and intellectual community. The family's activities, particularly in the realm of painting, contributed to the strongly interdisciplinary dimension of Hartmann's work; in the late 1920s, for example, he had sponsored a series of new music concerts in association with Munich's progressive *Deutscher Künstler-Verband "Die Juryfreien."*<sup>7</sup> Hartmann's severing of all cultural ties such as were left after the Nazi ascent to power in 1933 was apparently swift and decisive, for by 1936, he would confide to the Hungarian composer Alexander Jemnitz, "I sit here all alone, I do not interact with any musicians. I have just two people who are really loyal to me and open-minded; they are you, dear Mr. Jemnitz, and Dr. Scherchen."<sup>8</sup>

Hartmann's self-exile assumes all the more poignancy, given the knowledge that, by the mid-1930s, he stood on the threshold of a major international career, and the composition that had led him to this place was *Miseræ*. *Miseræ* was premiered to wide popular and critical acclaim at the Thirteenth International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) festival, held in Prague in the summer of 1935. Hartmann refrained from polemicizing the work in his notes for the festival's program booklet, but the impact of *Miseræ* was felt undeniably--both from the emotional weight of the composition's musical style, and the symbolic weight it received as the opening selection of the festival.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, *Miseræ* met with an uneasy indifference in the local Munich press;<sup>10</sup> however, the international press praised the composition as one of the highlights of the festival and the herald of a major new talent. The critic and novelist Max Brod declared that "the premiere of this intensely emotional, original work would alone have been sufficient to bestow historical rank on this music festival."<sup>11</sup> A reviewer from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote: "Among the many who received a forum, there was one new figure of whom one became especially aware. Karl Amadeus Hartmann threw open to discussion an orchestral work that may be regarded as technically exceptional, but above all, that far surpasses many other contemporary compositions by way of its expressive power and its spiritual potency."<sup>12</sup> Writing in the Berlin *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, Kurt Oppens lavished warm praise on Hartmann and *Miseræ*, in contrast to his equivocal reaction to Schoenberg's *Orchestral Variations*, op. 31 and Berg's *Lulu* Suite and his decidedly chilly response to Webern's *Konzert*, op. 24. Of Hartmann and *Miseræ*, he wrote:

As a work with a completely individual character, there was presented the symphonic poem *Miserae* by the Munich composer Karl Amadeus Hartmann. Conducted by Scherchen in the first concert, the work offered the impression of an extraordinary expressive talent that may be rooted in religiosity and that seized and moved the listeners directly.<sup>13</sup>

Even Scherchen, who expressed serious reservations about *Miserae* before conducting the work, came quickly to admire Hartmann and the resolve the composition represented. Shortly before the *Miserae* premiere, Scherchen confided to his wife: "Hartmann's piece is full of merit, but also full of harshness and awkwardness; we run the risk of ridicule with it, if the performance does not succeed extraordinarily well--but it probably will, after squeezing in the extra rehearsals!"<sup>14</sup> Within a few weeks' time, however, in a discussion of Nazi racial policy and its effect on other musicians, Scherchen observed, "Hartmann...is the strongest, the most gifted, the most serious."<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most important aspect of *Miserae* is the change it represented in Hartmann's approach both toward genre and what might be called his musical "attitude." This point is best illustrated by the reminiscences of Hartmann's friend Max See, who recalled: "When I returned to Munich for a longer stay in 1935, I found Hartmann completely changed. The musician who was once an enfant terrible, who had sown his wild oats in burlesque and persiflage, had become an emotionalist."<sup>16</sup> Like so many composers in the 1920s, Hartmann had initially adopted a cynical, at times highly critical attitude toward the expressive impulse of German romantic music, using his compositions instead as a platform for bold musical experimentation and pithy social commentary. In keeping with the lean, economical tenor of the times, he had also turned primarily to chamber works and small dramatic projects that exploited the myriad of musical styles currently in vogue. As Hartmann himself explained:

The epoch of the 1920s left its impression on my life. In Munich, there were circles of the public--there were few--that were open to new and the latest art. I carelessly mingled Futurism, Dada, Jazz and other [trends] in a series of compositions. One after the other, I flirted with different trends, which, like today, alternated swiftly on the cutting edge of modernity in those exciting years. I helped myself to the schemata of new ideas that surfaced in a flash in different areas of the world. I plunged myself into the adventure of the spiritual revolution, perhaps not completely free from the complacent feeling of having been there.<sup>17</sup>

Like so many of his German contemporaries, Hartmann had also conspicuously avoided the genre of the symphony, regarding it, as Winfried Zillig has suggested, as "antiquated, conceptually loaded, hypertrophied, in short...as obsolete."<sup>18</sup> With the monumental shift in the moral and artistic landscape of the early 1930s, however, and with his attendant urge to use composition as a medium of personal "confession" (his own word), Hartmann invoked the German romantic heritage passed down from Beethoven to Mahler and turned to the question of the symphony. Indeed, beginning with *Miserae*, symphonic writing became Hartmann's chief métier; the eight numbered symphonies he composed during the remainder of his career are today regarded as his most important musical achievement--so much so that Hartmann has been called "the legitimate heir and most highly original reviver of the grand German symphonic tradition."<sup>19</sup>

As his first major symphonic essay, *Miserae* reveals many of the hallmarks of Hartmann's mature style, as well as some of the perceived flaws that caused him to revise his works with an earnestness and regularity rivaled only by Bruckner. Emblematic of the difficulty Hartmann faced in establishing a modern definition of the symphony was his reticence about applying the designation to his compositions. *Miserae* he referred to alternately as an Orchesterwerk, a Symphonische Dichtung and its French equivalent, a Poème Symphonique, his Symphony No. 1, and Symphonie *Miserae* until 1950, when he withdrew the work for major revisions that were never carried out.<sup>20</sup> Other of the early symphonic works suffered a similar fate. Concomitant with Hartmann's diffidence about generic designation was his inability to accept his symphonic works as complete. This situation manifested itself in a number of ways. Nearly all of his symphonic compositions were subject to reworking in one form or another. In a number of instances, early works or parts of works became the basis for later compositions. And like *Miserae*, many of the early symphonic compositions were retracted as "unofficial" beginning in the late 1940s, when Hartmann first confronted the possibility that the highly personal musical "confessions" he composed under the cloak of self-exile might reach the very public arena of print.<sup>21</sup>

Among the more practical reasons underlying Hartmann's Problematik with the symphony may have been the inconsistency he apparently sensed between the rhapsodical impulse of his symphonic language and the collagelike nature of his "confessional" style on the one hand, and the conventions of architectonicism and organicism that were understood as synonymous with the German symphonic tradition on the other hand. Hartmann's symphonic works are often cited for their Brucknerian breadth and their Mahlerian inclusiveness of vision, yet they are equally notable for their loose, often unruly approach to form and thematic

procedure, a feature Ulrich Dibelius has likened to "interior monologue."<sup>22</sup> Like *Miseræ*, many of Hartmann's symphonic compositions are expansive, multisectional works based on independently conceived passages of highly diverse contents and characters. By Hartmann's own account, *Miseræ* may be understood in terms of: a slow introduction, the exposition and development sections of a sonata movement (Tempo I, Allegro agitato e vivace), an interpolated slow movement (Tempo II, Lento), the recapitulation of the sonata movement, a coda based on the slow movement, and a short Presto conclusion. The largely independent nature and character of the various sections reflects not only Hartmann's all-embracing view of the symphony, but also his strong reliance on quotation as a means of defining and treating themes.

While recent analysts have noted important parallels between this aspect of Hartmann's musical language and the language of postmodernism,<sup>23</sup> Hartmann's interest in quotation stems more directly from his desire to "confess" his support for those composers and musical styles banned under National Socialism. In a sense, his symphonic works can be understood as highly personal coded messages, which draw on the vocabularies of composers (e.g., Schoenberg, Berg, Bartók, Kodály, Stravinsky, Hindemith), musical traditions (e.g., catholic liturgy, Jewish ritual) and musical idioms (e.g., atonality, *Sprechgesang*, and the twelve-tone method) repressed by the Third Reich.

Not surprisingly, the music of *Miseræ* features prominently the monodic incantational style of Jewish folk melody, such as the *espressivo* bassoon theme at the opening of the slow movement shown here. Yet the work also embraces the rhythmic verve and fondness for woodwind sonorities commonly associated with Stravinsky, the saturated chromaticism of early Schoenberg, and the military *topoi* and rich timbral palette favored by Mahler. Even more specifically, Hartmann's first sonata theme, an extended marchlike passage set low in the cellos and basses, directly recalls the apocalyptic funeral march at the opening of Mahler's Second Symphony ("Resurrection"). While such an approach yields works of a certain semantic richness and complexity, the manner and extent to which quotation is used pose unique problems with regard to the structural conventions and type of thematic integration traditionally associated with the symphony.

It was Hartmann's desire to discuss compositional problems of an even more basic nature that led him to seek guidance in the early 1940s from Anton Webern. Over the years, Hartmann had become acquainted with Webern and his music through a variety of channels. In addition to their mutual friendship with Scherchen, Hartmann and Webern had both had works performed at the ISCM festivals of 1935 and 1938.<sup>24</sup> In 1937, Hartmann submitted his cantata *Friede-Anno 48*, by then retitled *In*

*Memoriam Alban Berg*, for a competition in memory of former Universal Edition director Emil Hertzka. The jurors for the competition, which included Webern, did not award Hartmann the highest prize, but they did offer him a commendation and strong words of encouragement. In 1941, Hartmann approached Webern about the possibility of having his works published by Universal Edition. While this effort did not meet with success, it did launch a cordial friendship between the two composers, and it led to the series of tutorials Hartmann took with Webern in the winter of 1941-1942.<sup>25</sup>

Hartmann's decision to study with Webern was undoubtedly motivated by practicality, since Webern was one of the few composers whose music he respected and who still resided within the Third Reich; but it also suggests a keen understanding of his current situation. Lessons with Webern--a composer known for both his intellectual rigor and his special skills in the areas of formal construction, thematic manipulation, and counterpoint--promised to yield important benefits for a young composer given to loose, somewhat undisciplined instrumental writing who desired to make a mark as a symphonist. Tellingly, among the works the two composers "discussed thoroughly" in terms of "the smallest ramifications of form and thematic content" was *Miserae*.<sup>26</sup>

The presence of the *Miserae* autograph in Moldenhauer's Collection speaks to the friendship that arose between the two men beginning in the late 1950s. Moldenhauer approached Hartmann in 1958 for a manuscript to be included in his growing archival collection.<sup>27</sup> Hartmann responded with the original (and only) score for the yet unpublished *Miserae*, thereby initiating a cordial relationship with the Mainz-born musicologist. In 1962, Moldenhauer arranged for Hartmann to receive an honorary doctorate from the Spokane Conservatory, which Moldenhauer had founded twenty years earlier. According to McCredie,<sup>28</sup> among the additional materials Hartmann made available to Moldenhauer during these years were the sketches for his final, incomplete work, the *Gesangsszene* for baritone and orchestra. This work, based on Jean Giradoux's drama *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1943) and dedicated to Moldenhauer, was published posthumously in 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Hartmann was known as a *Bekennnismusiker* even among his contemporaries; see Max See, "Erinnerungen an Karl Amadeus Hartmann," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 125 (1964): 102. Reference to Hartmann's compositions as "scores of commitment" is found in Andrew D. McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue of His Works* (Wilhelmshaven and New York: Edition Heinrichshofen, 1982), pp. 19 passim.

<sup>2</sup> [Dann kamm das Jahr 1933, mit seinem Elend und seiner Hoffnungslosigkeit, mit ihm dasjenige, was sich folgerichtig aus der Idee der Gewaltherrschaft entwickeln mu-te, das furchtbarste aller Verbrechen--der Krieg. In diesem Jahr erkannte ich, daß es notwendig sei, ein Bekenntnis abzulegen, nicht aus Verzweiflung und Angst vor jener Macht, sondern als



Gegenaktion. Ich dachte mir, daß die Freiheit siegt, auch dann, wenn wir vernichtet werden--das glaubte ich jedenfalls damals. Ich schrieb in dieser Zeit mein erstes Streichquartett, das Poème symphonique "MISERAE" und meine 1. Symphonie mit den Worten von Walt Whitman: "Ich sitze und schaue aus auf alle Plagen der Welt und auf alle Bedrängnis und Schmach..." ] "Autobiographische Skizze, 1955" in *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Kleine Schriften*, ed. Ernst Thomas (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1965): pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> While Hartmann is the composer most commonly associated with "inner emigration," the term was first introduced in Austro-German literary studies. On the provenance of the term and its meaning and usage in the realm of literature, see E. W. Herd and August Obermeyer, *A Glossary of German Literary Terms* (Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1983), p. 107; Henry B. and Mary Garland, *Oxford Companion to German Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), s.v., "Innere Emigration," p. 436; Erwin Rotermond, "Exilliterature," in *Moderne Literatur in Grundbegriffen*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer and Viktor Zmegac (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1987), pp. 124-26; and Reinhold Grimm, "Innere Emigration als Lebensreform," in *Exil und innere Emigration*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand [Third Wisconsin Workshop] (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1972), pp. 31-73, esp. pp. 34-38. Hartmann's own thoughts on the phenomenon of "inner emigration" are found in his "Gedanken zur Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst'," published in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>4</sup> On this aspect of Hartmann's career, see McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue* pp. 11-12, 23-24, 42; Andreas Jaschinski, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Symphonische Tradition und ihre Auflösung* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzwichler, 1982), pp. 10-13, 18-31; and Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York/Bern/Frankfurt/Paris: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 313-15.

<sup>5</sup> The Strasbourg workshops are discussed further in Joachim Lucchesi, *Hermann Scherchen: Werke und Briefe*, Bd. 1 (Berlin/Bern/Frankfurt/New York/Paris/Vienna: Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 36-37; and Alexander Jemnitz, "Das Straßburger Musikfest," *Anbruch* 15/8 (1933): 120-22. For an anecdotal yet insightful account of the event, see also Elias Canetti, *The Play of the Eyes* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1986), p. 56 ff.

<sup>6</sup> [...daß ich an keinem Konservatorium und an keiner Hochschule auch nur annähernd das gelernt habe, was Scherchen mir beigebracht hat, und zwar einfach deswegen, weil er aus der Praxis heraus arbeitet und das Menschliche in den Vordergrund stellt. ...alles Handwerkliche verdanke ich ihm...Ich denke dabei an seine Musiktagungen und musikdramatischen Arbeitstagungen deren bedeutendste 1933 in Straßburg stattgefunden hat.] Karl Amadeus Hartmann, "Hermann Scherchen," in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 23. Additional thoughts on Scherchen are found in Hartmann's "Autobiographische Skizze," and "Zu meinem 'Simplicius Simplicissimus,'" in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 12 and 49, respectively.

<sup>7</sup> On Hartmann's family background and his early career, see McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>8</sup> [...ich sitze hier ganz allein, mit keinem Musiker verkehre ich. Ich habe nur zwei Menschen, die mir wirklich gut gesind und die mir offen entgegentreten, das sind Sie lieber

Herr Jemnitz und Dr. Scherchen.] Hartmann to Sandor Jemnitz, June 29, 1936, quoted in Andrew D. McCredie, "Karl Amadeus Hartmann and the Hungarian Music of the Early Twentieth Century," *Studia Musicologica* 33 (1991): 164.

<sup>9</sup> The impact of *Miserae* on the festival audience is recalled by Luigi Dallapiccola in "Meine Erinnerungen an Karl Amadeus Hartmann," *Melos* 37 (1970): 333. The musical commentary that Hartmann provided for the festival program booklet is reproduced by McCredie in his introduction to the score of *Miserae* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1977), p. [7].

<sup>10</sup> As reported by McCredie in "Karl Amadeus Hartmann and the Hungarian Music of the Early Twentieth Century," p. 162.

<sup>11</sup> ["...die Uraufführung dieses stark emotionellen, originellen Werkes allein schon genügt hätte, diesem Musikfest historischen Rang zu verliehen."] *Prager Tagblatt* September 3, 1935, quoted in Andrew McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Sein Leben und Werk* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1980), p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> [Unter den vielen, die zu 'Wort' kamen, gab es einen Neuen, auf den man besonders aufmerksam wurde. Karl Amadeus Hartmann hat ein Orchesterwerk 'Miserae' zur Diskussion gestellt, das technisch ausgezeichnet genannt werden darf, aber vor allem durch seine Ausdruckskraft und seine geistige Potenz viele andere Kompositionen dieser Zeit weit übertraf.] *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 1935, quoted in McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Sein Leben und Werk*, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> [Als ein Werk ganz eigener Prägung erschien die symphonische Dichtung "Miserae" des Münchners Karl Amadeus Hartmann. Das von Scherchen im 1. Konzert dirigierte Werk vermittelte den Eindruck einer ungewöhnlichen Ausdrucksbegabung, die im Religiösen verwurzelt sein mag und den Hörer unmittelbar anpackt und erschüttert.] "Das internationale Musikfest in Prag," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 62/38 (September 20, 1935): 566. Earlier in the review, Oppens had praised the "sensualism" of Schoenberg's *Orchestral Variations* and the "masterful and precipitous sound magic" of Berg's *Lulu Suite*, but only after a harsh general indictment of twelve-tone composition. Oppens's claim that twelve-tone works relied too heavily on "artistic calculation," "ideological seriousness," and "complicated contrapuntal thematic intricacy," and that they were ultimately "unmusical... incomprehensible...and hopelessly unclear," coupled with his conspicuous avoidance of comment specifically on Webern's *Konzert*, suggests that his antipathy to twelve-tone music was directed largely toward Webern.

<sup>14</sup> [Hartmanns Stück ist voll Begabung, aber auch voll Härte u. Ungeschicklichkeit; wir riskieren damit das Lächerlichwerden, wenn die Aufführung nicht unerhört gelingt--das wird sie jetzt aber wohl nach den errungenen Extraproben!] Scherchen to his wife, Auguste ('Gustel') Maria Jansen-Scherchen, August 31, 1935, in *Hermann Scherchen...alles hörbar machen: Briefe eines Dirigenten 1920 bis 1939* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1976), p. 254.

<sup>15</sup> [Hartmann...ist der Stärkste, Begabteste, Ernsteste.] *ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>16</sup> [Als ich 1935 für längere Zeit nach München zurückkehrte, fand ich Hartmann völlig

gewandelt. Aus dem einstigen musikalischen enfant terrible, das sich in Burlesken und Persiflagen austobte, war ein Pathetiker geworden.] Max See, "Erinnerungen an Karl Amadeus Hartmann," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 125 (1964): 101.

<sup>17</sup> [Die Epoche der zwanziger Jahre drückte meinem Leben den Stempel auf. In München gab es im Publikum Zirkel--es waren wenige--die für neue und neueste Kunst aufgeschlossen waren. Futurismus, Dada, Jazz und anderes verschmolz ich unbekümmert in einer Reihe von Kompositionen. Ich schlug mich nacheinander zu verschiedenen Strömungen, die sich in jenen erregenden Jahren ebenso schnell an der Spitze der Moderne ablösten wie heute. Ich bediente mich der Schemata neuer Ideen, die blitzartig an den differenten Punkten der Welt Auftauchten und stürzte mich in die Abenteuer des geistigen Umbruchs, vielleicht nicht ganz frei von demselbstgefälligen Gefühl, dabei gewesen zu sein.] Hartmann, "Autobiographische Skizze," p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Winfried Zillig, "Hartmanns sinfonische Bekenntnisse," *Melos* 26 (1959): 287.

<sup>19</sup> [...legitime Erbe und höchst originelle Erneuerer der großen deutschen symphonischen Tradition.] Zillig, quoted in Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Karl Amadeus Hartmann-Zyklus Nordrhein-Westfalen 1989/1990* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1989), p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> On the later history of *Miseræ*, see also McCredie, *Thematic Catalogue*, p. 121, and Jaschinski, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann*, p. 14. *Miseræ* was published posthumously in 1977 by Schott, the firm that became the composer's sole publisher beginning in 1954.

<sup>21</sup> On the larger problem of revision, retraction, and cross-fertilization in Hartmann's symphonic works, see also Jaschinski, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann*, pp. 13-17, 31-32; John Warnaby, "Karl Amadeus Hartmann's 'Klagegesang' and the Re-emergence of His Early Music," *Tempo* 180 (March 1992): 6-12; and McCredie, "The Role of Sources and Antecedents in the Compositional Process of Karl Amadeus Hartmann," *Miscellanea Musicologica-Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 10 (1979): 166-212.

<sup>22</sup> *Moderne Music 1945-1965: Voraussetzungen, Verlauf Material* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1966), p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Warnaby, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> As noted earlier, the 1935 ISCM festival held in Prague saw the premieres of Hartmann's *Miseræ* and Webern's *Konzert*, op. 24. The 1938 ISCM festival held in London hosted performances of Hartmann's First String Quartet ("Carillon") and the premiere of Webern's *Das Augenlicht*, op. 26. Of the two composers, only Hartmann was in attendance at both events.

<sup>25</sup> The details of Hartmann's early acquaintance with Webern are recorded in Hans and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 539-40 and 687, n. 6; and McCredie, "The Role of Sources and Antecedents," pp. 189-90, 198, nn. 27 and 28; and *Thematic Catalogue*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>26</sup> Hartmann's remarks on his studies with Webern are found in his "Autobiographische Skizze," but above all, in his letters to his wife published as "Lektionen bei Webern: Briefe an meine Frau," in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 26-32; partial English translation in Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern*, pp. 539-43. The "First Symphony" to which Hartmann refers in his second letter ("Lektionen," p. 28) is doubtless *Miseræ*. The work that eventually became his official Symphony No. 1 was known alternately as *Cantata*, *Lamento*, *Sinfonie: Versuch eines Requiems--Nach Texten von Walt Whitman* and *Symphonische Fragmente* until 1955. In short, Hartmann referred to the latter work as his "First Symphony" only after *Miseræ* had been withdrawn.

<sup>27</sup> The Moldenhauer Archives at the Library of Congress preserves communications from Hartmann to Moldenhauer dating from the years 1958 to 1963. In the first two letters, dated December 24, 1958, and August 4, 1959, respectively, Hartmann discusses the genesis and political background of *Miseræ* and his anti-Fascist activities during the period in which he composed the work. (Excerpts from these letters may be found in Jaschinski, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann*, pp. 12, 18; and McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Sein Leben und Werk*, p. 169.) For further details on Hartmann's relationship with Hans Moldenhauer, see also Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern*, pp. 449 passim, and McCredie, op. cit., pp. 181-82.

<sup>28</sup> *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue*, pp. 39, 177.