Introduction

We can identify two turning points in the early career of Hanns Eisler. They took place in the years 1919 and 1926, and each was characterised by a desire on his part to embark on a fundamental realignment as a composer. His success in achieving his aims is revealed most obviously in the works he wrote at the time in the genre of the *lied*. In fact, the songs for voice and piano that he composed between 1922 and 1932 – not least because of their sheer uninterrupted number – assume a kind of seismographic function, enabling us to discern the upheavals that he endured in his self-understanding as a composer. Eisler had heard Schoenberg's Chamber Symphony op. 9 under the composer's baton back in 1917, and the impression this made on him was so long-lasting that in autumn 1919 he decided to break off his composing studies with Karl Weigl at the New Vienna Conservatory, despite having only just recently enrolled there, and join Schoenberg's group classes as a private student instead. Eisler studied with Schoenberg for the next four years, with Anton Webern deputising during Schoenberg's occasional absences. These years of tuition with Schoenberg and Webern culminated in the publication of Eisler's *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* (Six Songs for Voice and Piano) op. 2 by Universal Edition in Vienna. These works signified a radical break with the aesthetic of Eisler's earlier songs,[1] which had been very much influenced by Hugo Wolf and Gustav Mahler, for they adopted the highly expressive language of his new musical environment. Just how much Eisler desired to emulate Schoenberg's avant-gardism at this time is also evident in his use of the twelve-note system in 1925, before it was adopted by his master's other students. However, these early dodecaphonic essays, *Palmström* op. 5 and *Der kleine Kohn* ('Little Kohn') from *Lustige Ecke* ('Joke corner'), also demonstrate an ironic distance in that their "serious" technique is subverted by the use of decidedly "un-serious" texts.[2] It was also in 1925 that Eisler began to doubt the artistic path he had chosen for himself – doubts triggered by the disappointment he experienced at an event organised by the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM).[3] For the moment, Eisler continued to compose in a "modern" style, and completed works that he had begun in it, such as his *Zeitungsausschnitte* ('Newspaper clippings') op. 11, though as the title of this work suggests, it comprised settings of "found" texts from daily newspapers and thereby constituted a break with "bourgeois concert song".[4] But by the time the *Zeitungsausschnitte* were given their first performance at an ISCM conference in Berlin in December 1927, Eisler had already assumed a new, very different role. He had become politically radicalised, was working with the communist agitprop troupe "Das rote Sprachrohr" ('The red megaphone'), and was writing feature articles for *Die Rote Fahne* ('The red flag'), the official newspaper of the German Communist Party (KPD). His essay "Über moderne Musik"[5] ('On modern music') of October 1927 reads like a personal manifesto for the compositional, aesthetic and political reorientation that he underwent after writing his *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11. In this article, Eisler diagnosed a crisis in modern music whose origins lay, he claimed, both in its inability to forge any kind of community beyond a small, esoteric circle, and in its refusal to reflect societal developments and to assimilate them in its art. "The disintegration of bourgeois culture finds its strongest artistic expression in music. Despite all its technical sophistication, it is running dry because it is devoid of ideas and devoid of a community. An art that loses its community loses itself".[6] Whereas "in the post-war years […] a number of truly revolutionary artists emerged in almost all the arts who in their works truly accepted the consequences of our societal situation, *this was not the case in music, nor is it the case now*".[7] – "In 1918–1923, at the time of the inflation, the Spartacist battles, the soviet republics of Munich and Budapest, and the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw, musicians were tussling only over purely technical matters. There was no one who might have felt even the slightest breath of the air of

1 See in this regard Hanns Eisler, *Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier 1917–1921*, ed. Julia Rittig-Becker and Christian Martin Schmidt, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel 2009 (= *Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe* III,1).

2 See *Palmström* op. 5 to texts by Christian Morgenstern and *Lustige Ecke*, in which Eisler sets two jokes to music.

3 We have been unable to determine which of the two ISCM events of 1925 prompted Eisler's negative reaction; these were the festival in Prague of 15–20 May 1925 (see the commentary to letter No. 51 in: Hanns Eisler, *Briefe von 1907–1943*, ed. Jürgen Schebera and Maren Köster, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel 2010 [= *Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe* IX, 4,1], p. 307) and the festival in Venice of 3–8 September 1925, at which Eisler's Duo for Violin and Cello was performed (see Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM), Ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart*, Zurich: Atlantis 1982, p. 560).

4 See Review by „F" entitled *Neue Kammermusik. Hanns Eisler: „Vertonte Zeitungsausschnitte"*, in: *Die Rote Fahne*, 15 December 1927 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3471*).

5 In: *Die Rote Fahne* of 15 October 1927, without any mention of the author. See commentary to: Hanns Eisler, *Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, ed. Tobias Faßhauer and Günter Mayer, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel 2007 [= *Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe* IX, 1,1], p. 349.

6 *Ibid*., p. 48.

7 *Ibid*., p. 47.

these times".[8] From now on, Eisler saw it as his task to counter this "narrow-mindedness" and to "utilise the experiences and the artistic means of the bourgeoisie to create a new music for the proletariat".[9] For Eisler, creating a decidedly proletarian music culture meant taking his composing ability – learned in the "bourgeois" music world – and transforming it so that it could serve the aesthetic needs, the vital interests and the political aims of the working classes (at least as seen from a communist perspective).

Eisler subsequently resorted to writing almost exclusively vocal music[10] in which he focused his choice of texts on political poems by Erich Weinert, Bertolt Brecht, Kurt Tucholsky, Walter Mehring and David Robert Winterfeld (alias Robert Gilbert, David Weber). Whereas Eisler's op. 2 still featured poems with subjective content by Romantic (Matthias Claudius) and neo-Romantic writers (Hans Bethge and Klabund), he now moved onto general, contemporary, socially critical topics[11] that thematised the misery of the unemployed[12] and their families,[13] the difficult situation of the proletariat,[14] the fate of disabled war veterans[15] and war widows[16] and the injustices of the capitalist class society.[17] But he also chose texts that confronted political opponents,[18] appealed to a proletarian consciousness[19] and a proletarian understanding of history,[20] and called for a revolutionary class war.[21] By focusing on topics that linked up directly with the lived reality of their addressees, these songs were also intended to help instil and strengthen a sense of class consciousness. This agitational ambition was also matched by their intended performance context. These songs were no longer composed for the concert hall, but primarily constituted incidental, introductory or transitional music for plays, films, cabaret programmes or political events and were thus part of an overarching dramaturgical concept. Since these songs were conceived for various purposes, it is also logical they should exist in diverse arrangements besides voice with piano. Many of these songs were conceived so that their refrain could be sung alternatively by a group of voices, a chorus or even by the audience, with the solo singer functioning as a kind of precentor. The traditional solo song here becomes a community song, in some cases even a song for massed chorus. One especially vivid example of a "rallying" song is the version of *Der heimliche Aufmarsch* ('The secret mobilisation') for speaker, unison chorus and piano published in 1931 by the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur ('Publishing house for workers' culture'). In this variant, the role of the vocal soloist is reduced to that of a "comrade who has to recite [the text of the strophes] coldly and harshly, but precisely in rhythm, like an instructor"[22] – thus the performance indications. The refrain, however, is sung by a collective, namely a unison choir.

Eisler's reorientation in the genre of song also had an impact on his publishing practices. He had entered into a five-year option contract with Universal Edition in 1925, but they only published a small number of his songs, namely the *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2 in 1925, the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 in 1929, the *Balladenbuch* ('Ballad book') op. 18 in 1931 and the *Solidaritätslied* ('Song of solidarity') and *Die Spaziergänge* ('The walks') in 1932, these last two as op. 27 Nos. 1 and 2, both of them taken from the talking picture *Kuhle Wampe*. Instead, Eisler ensured that his songs were published by the workers' cultural movement, primarily in journals whose proximity to the KPD meant that they would reach their intended addressees – agitprop groups and workers' choruses – better than they could if they were printed by a "bourgeois" publisher.[23] In the case of Eisler's opp. 18 and 27, the editions published by Universal Edition were in fact followed up by licensed reprints by the Verlag des Deutschen Arbeitersängerbunds (the publishing house of the German Worker's Singing Association), which was also responsible for the first edition of the Ballads op. 22.

Eisler himself played a leading role in various workers' cultural organisations. In 1930 he was elected the national head (*Reichsleiter*) of the Syndicate for Worker's Culture ('Interessengemeinschaft für Arbeiterkultur', IfA), and in 1932 he was appointed to the committee of the International Music Bureau (IMB) in Moscow, becoming its chairman in 1935. When the National Socialists assumed power in 1933, these cultural activities and their attendant organisations were all dismantled in Germany. But institutional contacts continued on an international level, and this meant that Eisler was able to publish works abroad. In Leningrad, Michail Druskin published the anthologies *Pesni revolyutsionnoĭ germanii* ('Songs of revolutionary Germany', 1932) and *Dve satiricheskie Dzhaz-pesenki – Zwei satirische Jazz-Lieder* ('Two satirical jazz songs', 1935), each of which included songs by Eisler. In

8 *Ibid*.
9 *Ibid*.
10 See in this regard Hanns Eisler, *A cappella Chöre 1925–1932*, ed. Johannes C. Gall, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel 2018 (= *Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe* I, 5).
11 The only love songs here (*Anna-Luise* and *Die Spaziergänge*) approach their topic on an unemotional, exclusively instinctual plane, and the only poem in which an auctorial narrator offers insights into his emotional life (*Song von Angebot und Nachfrage*) is the cynical monologue of a radical *homo economicus*.
12 See *Stempellied*.
13 See *Ballade zum § 218*, *Vier Wiegenlieder für Arbeitermütter*.
14 See *Lied der Bergarbeiter*, *Ballade von den Baumwollpflückern*, *Lied vom Trockenbrot*, *O Fallada, da du hangest*.
15 See *Ballade von der Krüppelgarde*.
16 See *Ballade vom Soldaten*, *Lied der Mariken*.
17 See *Ballade vom Nigger Jim*, *Die Heinzelmännchen*, *Ballade von der Wohltätigkeit*, *Ballade von den Säckeschmeißern*, *Der neue Stern*.
18 See *Das Lied vom SA-Mann*, *Feldfrüchte*.
19 *Lied vom roten Sport*, *Anrede an den Kran Karl*, *Solidaritätslied*, *Ein neues Stempellied*.
20 *Spartakus 1919*, *Der Marsch ins Dritte Reich*.
21 *Song der Roten Matrosen*, *Der Rote Wedding*, *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*, *Kampflied für die IAH*, *Mit der IfA marschiert!*, *Komintern*, *Bankenlied*.
22 See Akademie der Künste Berlin [hereinafter AdK Berlin], *HEA 916*.
23 The Hanns Eisler Archive at the AdK Berlin holds copies of the printed edition of the *Balladenbuch* op. 18 formerly owned by Mordechai Bauman and Elie Siegmeister, both of whom were professional musicians.

spring 1935, Eisler undertook a lecture and concert tour to the USA that lasted several months. That same year, songs by Eisler were published there in the *Workers' Song Book No. 2* (New York: Workers' Music League 1935), and also two years later in the songbook *Songs of the People* (New York: Workers' Library Publishers 1937). In Paris in 1934, Bertolt Brecht and Hanns Eisler published the fruits of their hitherto collaboration under the title *Lieder*, *Gedichte*, *Chöre* ('Songs, poems, choruses'); their publisher was Editions du Carrefour, which was owned by Willi Münzenberg. The dissemination of Eisler's song *Komintern* can here serve to illustrate his international significance as a composer of marching songs (Kampflieder) and the important role played by the IMB. This song was published in Russian, Armenian, French, Flemish, English, Spanish and Catalan translations, and when it was included in the *Cancionero Revolucionario International* published in 1937 by the Comissariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya, it also joined the repertoire of the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War. And *Der Rote Wedding* ('Red Wedding', referring to a working-class district in central Berlin), which became best known through a recording of its version with ensemble, was published in a transcription for voice and piano in Russian, Ukrainian and American versions in order to make it universally available; this version was made by a third party,[24] before Eisler ever got around to making a version with piano accompaniment himself.

Thanks to his work in the theatre and on assorted committees, Eisler was personally acquainted with most of the poets whose words he set to music. His collaboration with Bertolt Brecht and Erich Weinert began in 1929 and proved especially durable. That same year, Eisler also became acquainted with the actor and singer Ernst Busch during rehearsals for Walter Mehring's play *Der Kaufmann von Berlin* ('The merchant of Berlin'). Eisler and Busch became longstanding friends and also performed together, with the former accompanying the latter at the piano. Busch gave the first performances of many songs by Eisler. His cutting, theatrical voice and dramatic powers of persuasion made him an ideal partner for the composer, and earned him the soubriquet "Tauber of the barricades"[25] (after the famous Viennese tenor Richard Tauber). His last joint performance with Eisler before the latter's emigration to the USA took place in Strasbourg at Whitsun in 1935 before an audience of thousands, on the occasion of the First International Workers' Music Olympiad. But aside from their personal collaboration, Busch remained for decades one of the most important interpreters of Eisler's songs, and contributed to their international popularity primarily through his performances on the radio and on record, and through his contacts with important functionaries in the USSR. In 1930, he released his first record on the Homocord label, which included the *Stempellied* ('Song of the dole') and helped this song to become a hit. He released dozens more records, quite a number of them in exile, such as his joint recording with Eisler in the newly opened Abbey Road Studios in London in 1935. Busch's radio broadcasts for VARA in Hilversum in Holland became legendary. However, his Eisler performances for record and radio generally did not feature the versions for voice and piano, but ensemble versions in which he was accompanied by a salon orchestra in the so-called "Paris" combination of clarinet, trumpet, trombone, drums, banjo and piano. In 1934, Busch performed his programme "Songs of the time" at the German Club in Paris. In 1935, he moved to the Soviet Union. His performances there in artists' clubs and on the radio were avidly commented on in the press. In Moscow, Busch became firm friends with the music functionary Grigoriĭ Shneerson, who acted as his piano accompanist alongside Hans Hauska. Busch remained in contact with Shneerson even after leaving Moscow in 1936, after which his first stop was Spain, where he sang for the International Brigade for several months; they also kept in touch after the Second World War. In 1937, Busch and Shneerson collaborated on the anthology *Pesni Bor'by*, edited by Shneerson and published by Muzgiz, the state publishing house in Moscow, which included marching songs by Eisler, several of them in their initial versions for voice and piano. In 1959, Shneerson honoured his friend with another volume published by Muzgiz, entitled *Poét Érnst Bush*. This contained Busch's biggest successes, including several songs by Eisler. In 1962, Shneerson published *Pesni, Ballady, satiricheskie Kuplety* with Muzgiz and also two anthologies entitled *Izbrannye Pesni* (collected songs) with the publishing house Sovetskiĭ Kompozitor that he edited in collaboration with the Berlin musicologist Nathan Notowicz, a friend of Eisler's. In 1946, the Soviet military administration in Germany gave Ernst Busch a licence to set up the record company "Lied der Zeit" ('Song of the times'), which also incorporated a music-publishing company. In 1949, Busch published seven songs by Eisler with Lied der Zeit entitled *Sieben Lieder für Massengesang mit vereinfachtem Klaviersatz* ('Seven songs for massed chorus with simplified piano accompaniment'), which included versions with texts by Busch himself. In 1953, Busch also published the anthology *Internationale Arbeiterlieder* ('International workers' songs').

Eisler's songs of the years 1922 to 1932 cover a broad spectrum, as is to be expected given the different contexts in which they were composed and for which they were intended. Even the *lieder* of his "art song phase" are diverse in character – besides the collections *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2, the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 and *Lustige Ecke*, these also include the individual songs *O könnt'st Du meine Augen sehen*

24 See Ivan Shchishchov, *Красный фронт* – Rot Front, Moscow: Muzgiz 1931, with original German text and Russian translation, S. R. Dietrich, *Песня красного веддинга*, Leningrad: Ogiz 1931 with Russian translation, Oleg Dashevs'kij, *Червоний ведінг* Kharkov: Dvou mystectvo 1932 with original German text and translations into Russian and Ukrainian, and green proofs with the arrangement by Lan Adomian, entitled *Red Front*, using an English translation (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1074*).

25 This nickname is supposed to have been invented by Werner Finck, the head of the Berlin Cabaret "Katakombe" (see Jochen Voit, *Er rührte an den Schlaf der Welt. Ernst Busch. Die Biographie*, Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag 2010, p. 46).

('Oh, if you could see my eyes'), *Certificat d'honneur* ('Certificate of honour') and *Danklied an Jan Śliwiński* ('Song of gratitude to *Jan Śliwiński*). The songs *Was möcht'st du nicht* ('What wouldn't you like') and *Ich hab' heut' Eis gegessen* ('I ate ice cream today') are exceptional cases. The former because its date is uncertain and it is stylistically closer to the period before Eisler began his studies with Schoenberg; the latter because it initiated Eisler's shift towards the popular in his "chanson phase" – though as yet it remains without any political implications. This phase is characterised by a radical limitation of musical means, and a rejection of pretensions to be "art" in the conventional sense. Eisler's music remains artful and well thought-out, to be sure, given its purpose and the impact that it was intended to achieve. But these songs were written above all for the spoken theatre, so the verbal message and textual comprehensibility were of primary importance. Since they were also meant to be suitable for performance by non-professional singers, music has more of a supporting role in them. Some of these songs explicitly had the function of "marching songs", being intended as a propaganda tool to achieve a mass impact when performed on stage, and they envisaged the possibility that the audience might sing along. They also became part of the general repertoire of protest songs to be sung in public at demonstrations and political events, and in private with the like-minded.

As their titles suggest, the "ballad" is the genre that is the most common reference point for these songs. In line with the texts Eisler set here, which are mostly by Brecht, their genre can perhaps best be described as the ballad in its original guise as a "Bänkelsang" or "street ballad". The ballad form known as the "Moritat" is especially prominent.[26] When Eisler set verses by Tucholsky here, he treated them appropriately as "couplets", specifically following Tucholsky's own definition of the "Berlin couplet". This was especially the case in *Anna Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)* ('Anna Luise [When the hedgehogs in the evening]'), where the "couplet" genre applies not just to the structure, but to the manner in which critical content is concealed behind a humoristic façade:

> In the couplet, the poetry has to come from the language itself. The song they sing up there is such a thin wooden stage that it can't bear much weight. The words have to follow each other easily, unconstrainedly, and the ideas have to be light and clear – the couplet cannot cope with any embroiled, interlocking ideas. It will suffice only for the simplest of things, it's got to be understood in a flash. You can say all kinds of things in a couplet, but you have to say them simply. […] Only when people say: "You surely came up with that off the cuff!" has a couplet truly succeeded. (If people only knew how clumsy and boring things look when you've come up with them off the cuff …!) […] The political couplet doesn't thrive properly among us – the Germans don't like it – and if the charming Otto Reutter didn't add some refrain or other to his political verses that could suit other things just as well, he wouldn't have as much success with his couplet politics.[27]

As one would expect, the propaganda songs are dominated by marches, though only in exceptional cases do they actually imitate functional military marches – such as *Der Rote Wedding*, which sounds as if suited for street fighting. Instead, Eisler's marches here tend to the sublimated form of the concert march.[28] The march idiom appears in (rallying) songs not as the main musical aspect, but as a substructure for melodies that are decidedly close in spirit to "Gassenhauer", popular "street" songs. And the march is just one of several such idioms to which Eisler refers in these works. Dance types are no less prominent, and they have the most varied origins. Besides the fashionable Anglo-American "jazz" dances of the time – such as ragtime,[29] shimmy[30] and foxtrot[31] – we also find the polka[32] and galop,[33] and there are many borrowings from jazz (or at least what people in the German-speaking world in the 1920s imagined jazz to be), ranging from the ubiquitous syncopations to "blue notes" in the melody.[34] In some of these songs, Eisler did not just utilise prefabricated musical elements that were public property at the time, but even quoted concrete works that were well-known or at least had a certain idiomatic recognition value.[35] Providing this material with a new text had the function of "determinate negation", in that the melodic quotation and the meaning of the text were characterised

26 See *Ballade vom Nigger Jim* op. 18 No. 6, *Ballade vom Soldaten*, *O Fallada, da du hangest*.

27 Kurt Tucholsky, *Das Couplet*, in: *Kurt Tucholsky. Texte 1920*, ed. Bärbel Boldt *et al.*, Reinbek: Rowohlt 1996 (= *Kurt Tucholsky Gesamtausgabe* 4), p. 122 f.

28 Eisler was an avowed admirer of the marches of Julius Fučik, and called his *Einzug der Gladiatoren* ('Entry of the gladiators') his favourite march of all (according to a transcription of a recording of a "club conversation" at the Humboldt University in Berlin of 28 November 1961; see Tobias Faßhauer, *Fesche Märsche. Hanns Eisler und die Militärmusik*, *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 67, April 2019, p. 4). The "presentational" character of Eisler's own marches that he wrote in the form of agitprop songs is not least underlined by un-marchlike introductions (see *Komintern*) or by his limiting the march section to the refrain (see *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*). Faßhauer (*ibid.*) lists the following as being the significant characteristics of Eisler's marches: "Alienation and montage techniques in the musical text and in the metre, a preference for the minor mode [that was] presumably inspired by the use of the minor in Russian and Soviet songs […] an avoidance of (major) triad motives, signal motives and fanfare motives, and an avoidance of any 'oompah' accompaniment […] and syncopation […]".

29 See *Ballade von den Baumwollpflückern*.

30 See *Ich hab' heut' Eis gegessen*, *Ballade vom Nigger Jim*.

31 See the chorus of *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)*.

32 See *Die Heinzelmännchen*.

33 See *Anna-Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)*.

34 See *Ballade vom Soldaten*.

35 *Spartakus 1919* was based on the melody of the German soldier's song *Argonnerwald um Mitternacht* ('The Forest of Argonne at midnight'), and it was given a new text by Richard Schulz to commemorate the Spartacist Uprising. *Der Marsch ins Dritte Reich* is based on *It's a long way to Tipperary*, which was widely popular among the British forces in the First World War. The *Lied der Arbeitslosen (Stempellied)* quotes from Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's men's chorus *Der Jäger Abschied* ('The hunter's farewell') from his op. 50.

by a precisely calculated antagonism. *Spartakus 1919*, a song commemorating the communist Spartacist Uprising, used the melody of a song of the German Army, i.e. the very counter-revolutionaries who had fought against the Spartacists; the *Marsch ins Dritte Reich* ('March into the Third Reich') was based on a song from England, the recent enemy in the war, and thus turned the friend/foe scheme on its head; and the Mendelssohn quotation in *Lied der Arbeitslosen (Stempellied)* served to unmask the inhumanity of bourgeois escapism in the face of the misery of the working classes. Eisler even on occasion employed mimetic congruence between his text and its musical realisation. The political naivety of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) as described by Tucholsky in his *Feldfrüchte* ('Arable crops') is reflected appropriately in Eisler's music by means of an innocent nursery rhyme tune.

The songs in this volume

1. The Viennese avant-garde: *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier op. 2*

In autumn 1919, Eisler joined the free-of-charge group tuition provided by Arnold Schoenberg. His fellow students were Max Deutsch, Karl Hein, Olga Novakovič, Karl Rankl and Joseph Travniček (alias Trauneck). When Schoenberg left for Holland for several months in autumn 1920, their tuition was continued by Anton Webern. As Webern's letters to the absent Schoenberg demonstrate, he took his duties very seriously. He drew up an ambitious syllabus, and kept his former teacher informed about his plans and the progress made by the students assigned to him. At this time, Eisler was sickly on account of the poor food situation, often missed his lessons, and so Schoenberg decided to fetch him to Zandvoort for the winter months in 1920. Eisler afterwards continued his lessons with Webern from March to June 1921. It is no longer possible to determine just how the tuition was divided up between Schoenberg and Webern. After Eisler had dedicated his Sonata for Piano op. 1 "with the greatest admiration" to his teacher Schoenberg, he dedicated his next work, the *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2, to his teacher's deputy, Webern. These songs were published by Universal Edition in Vienna in 1925, but Eisler had in fact already given the autograph clean copy of several of these songs to Arnold Schoenberg "with the greatest reverence" at Christmas 1922, entitled *Drei kleine Lieder (nach Klabund und Bethge)*[36] ('Three little songs (after Klabund and Bethge)'; held today by the Arnold Schönberg Center Wien, *Ms I [9]*). The initial manuscript copy of five songs (AdK Berlin, *HEA 8424*) only gives a date for two of them (*28 Nov. 1922* and *29 Nov.* for [*Erhebt euch, Freunde*, 'Rise, friends'] and [*Der Mond wird oft*, 'The moon is often']), but we may assume that they were composed at roughly the same time in autumn 1922, because they are written one after the other in the manuscript. There is no autograph source for the song that later became No. 2 in this collection, *Ach, es ist so dunkel* ('Oh, it is so dark'), which was later named *Der Tod* ('Death') in *Lieder und Kantaten* ('Songs and cantatas') in line with the original title by Matthias Claudius. It is thus possible that this song was composed independently of the others and was only later added to the collection.

Besides Claudius,[37] Eisler chose to set the poets Klabund (*aka* Alfred Georg Hermann Henschke), who was extremely popular at the time, and Hans Bethge. Eisler had already become acquainted with Klabund's free renderings of poems from the Chinese before he went to study with Schoenberg, and in 1917 he had set to music two poems from Klabund's collection *Dumpfe Trommel und berauschtes Gong. Nachdichtungen chinesischer Kriegslyrik* ('Muffled drums and ecstatic gong. Free adaptations of Chinese war poetry') that had been published in 1915, and that reflected Eisler's own situation at the time (one of these two settings, for example, was entitled *Der müde Soldat*, 'The tired soldier'). For his op. 2, Eisler used two sections from Klabund's *Das Sinngedicht des persischen Zeltmachers. Neue Vierzeiler nach Omar Khayyâm* of 1916/17 ('The epigram of the Persian tentmaker. New quatrains after Omar Khayyâm). Bethge's poetry was well known in musical circles, not least because Gustav Mahler had set him in *Das Lied von der Erde*[38] (1908/09), and Eisler's own teachers Schoenberg and Webern had also set Bethge to music.[39] In his op. 2 collection, Eisler chose an aphorism from Bethge's *Japanischer Frühling. Nachdichtungen japanischer Lyrik* ('Japanese spring. Free renderings of Japanese poetry'). The content of the two poems by Matthias Claudius – *Ein Wiegenlied bei Mondschein zu singen* ('A lullaby to sing by moonlight') and *Der Tod* ('Death') – form a kind of parenthesis within the collection, because they thematise the beginning and the end of life. The fact that Eisler began his op. 2 in unusual fashion, with an atonal lullaby, could also have been tied up with the dedication to Anton Webern. Webern had similarly begun his Four Songs for Voice and Piano op. 12 with a lullaby – *Der Tag ist vergangen* ('The day is past') by Peter Rosegger. Webern's op. 12 had not yet been published at the time, but this opening song was published as a preprint in the journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch* in 1922, the same year that Eisler composed his op. 2. Both in his choice of genre and his use of framework tones (though primarily in the piano rather than in the vocal line),[40] Eisler is here clearly paying his respects to his teacher.

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36 These were [*Erhebt euch, Freunde*], [*Der Mond wird oft*] and [*Wenn ich erführe*].

37 *Ein Wiegenlied bei Mondschein zu singen* and *Der Tod*.

38 Text after Hans Bethge, *Die chinesische Flöte. Nachdichtungen chinesischer Lyrik*, Leipzig: Insel 1906.

39 The former had set Bethge in his a-cappella choruses op. 27, the latter in his orchestral songs op. 13 and in the fragment *Zwei Lieder aus Hans Bethges "Die chinesische Flöte"* (1918–1920).

40 See Thomas Ahrend, *"Vielen Dank für Ihre schönen Lieder". Hanns Eislers Klavierlieder op. 2 im Kontext seines Unterrichts bei Anton Webern*, in: *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 61 (2016), p. 12.

The *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2 were first performed at the fifth Donaueschingen Chamber Music Festival that took place from 25 to 26 July 1925. The soloist was Hedwig Cantz. The reviews were mostly negative. There was criticism that these songs showed Eisler to be "completely in the slipstream of Arnold Schoenberg",[41] and that they were proof of "the swift mechanisation of the Schoenberg style in a young musician".[42]
In the *Neue Musikzeitung*, Hermann Ensslin wrote:

> The songs with piano op. 2 (world première) by Hanns Eisler greatly displeased me. This music, which obviously derives from Schoenberg, is thoroughly unpleasant in its artificial, unnatural posture. What's more, it is already out of date. The singer declaims and leaps around constantly in the most uncomfortable positions, and there can be no talk of the composer having responded to the mood or form of the verses. Instead, the piano imitates the situation depicted in the words in the most superficial manner possible. These songs at least had the virtue of being short.[43]

The reactions among Eisler's circle and in the progressive press were much more positive. The dedicatee of the songs, Anton Webern, thanked Eisler by letter as follows:

> My dear Eisler,
> Many thanks for your lovely songs and especially for your kind dedication, which pleased me very much. I have just received your songs and looked at them straightaway. I like them a lot. I take the greatest pleasure in their delightful sensibility, the coherence of their melodies and everything else too.[44]

The review of the work by Hans Mersmann in *Melos* reads like a direct reply to the hatchet job by the other reviewers of the festival:

> It is only in his vocal music that Eisler has felt compelled to engage unconditionally with Schoenberg, and he displays his individuality with increasing clarity. The six songs op. 2 are settings of Claudius and Klabund. Experiencing these songs gives one a favourable attitude to the text. Despite expansive intervals (Schoenberg), the songs express themselves in a cantabile, flowing line, of which the opening of the second song can give an impression: [there follows a music example with the vocal line of *Ach es ist so dunkel*, mm. 1–6].[45]

The individualism of the songs and their affirmation of the "Schoenberg style" (which is in no wise "mechanistic") is praised, and the reviewer points to Eisler's ability in mediating between atonality and expressive melody, and between singability and delineating the text. Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt's review of op. 2, however, adopts a line of argument that can also help to explain why Eisler began to take an increasingly critical attitude towards the avant-garde music of his time (and thus also towards his own op. 2), and why he embarked on a different path after these six songs:

> Incidentally, what makes the diction of Schoenberg's followers seem so homogeneous, almost uniform in character, is not so much their melodies with their preference for large intervals, nor their atonal harmonies, which are utilised so assiduously by all modern musicians. It is that strange interweaving of homophony with polyphony; that mindset that no longer sees any fundamental difference between the horizontal and the vertical; the way even chords are penetrated by melic logic. The most concentrated organisation of this style has been found by the oldest Schoenberg student, Anton Webern, who in this way advanced to a unique aphoristic music. Eisler too has approached these extremes briefly in his search for his true self. The result is the six songs op. 2 […]. In his whole oeuvre, these are his only excursion into the esoteric – the result of an atmosphere in which one might thrive today only if one is an ascetic or a glutton. He soon turned to parodying that esotericism.[46]

The *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2 are a singular occurrence in Eisler's oeuvre for voice and piano. Neither before nor after did he set poets in the tradition of the *fin de siècle*, nor did his songs ever again adopt the tone so aptly characterised by Stuckenschmidt as "esoteric". Instead – here Stuckenschmidt seems already to have known the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11, which were not yet published – Eisler resorted to parody, not least as a means of self-critique. Nevertheless, these six songs were clearly important to Eisler. They were first published by Universal Edition in Vienna in 1925, but he published them again after the Second World War in his anthology *Lieder und Kantaten*, though not without having made certain changes to them. He now ignored the initial grouping of the six, and published *II Der Tod* and *III Wenn ich erführe* as a separate pair of songs, numbered and entitled *55. An den Tod* and *56. Das Alter*, presumably because of their similarity in poetic content.[47] He also made a textual change to *Ich habe nie vermeint* ('I never thought'), expunging its theological implications by removing the reference to God in Klabund's *Das Sinngedicht des persischen Zeltmachers. Neue Vierzeiler nach Omar Khayyâm*.[48]

41 Heinrich Lemacher in: *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, 7 August 1925, p. 688.
42 Adolf Weißmann in: *Die Musik*, 12 September 1925, p. 914.
43 *Neue Musikzeitung*, 22 August 1925, pp. 517–519.
44 Letter from Webern to Eisler of 26 February 1926, quoted as in: *Sinn und Form (Sonderheft Hanns Eisler)*, Berlin: Rütten & Loening 1964, p. 108.
45 Hans Mersmann, *Hanns Eisler*, in: *Melos* 2 (1928), p. 77.
46 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Hanns Eisler*, in: *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 5 May (1928), p. 164.
47 See Hanns Eisler, *Lieder und Kantaten*, vol. 1, Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag 1955, pp. 148–149. The remaining songs were published in Hanns Eisler, *Lieder und Kantaten*, vol. 5, Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag 1961, pp. 47–52.
48 See the textual comparisons, p. 233 ff.

The musical text remained the same, however. By republishing his six songs from op. 2 in these *Lieder und Kantaten* (1955, 1961), Eisler brought a little piece of Viennese *fin-de-siècle* avant-gardism into a German Democratic Republic that was still suffering from the aftershocks of the formalism debate.

2. "Des Knaben Wunderhorn": *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen*, *Was möcht'st du nicht*

On four different occasions, Eisler set poems from the folk-song collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* for voice and piano ('The boy's magic horn', published by Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim between 1805 and 1808). In three of these cases, we can discern a concrete biographical reason for the composer's choice of text. The first two settings date from roughly 1918/19 and were dedicated to his then girlfriend Irma Friedmann:[49] *Mädele, bind den Geißbock an* ('Girl, tie up the billy goat') and *Kindchen, mein Kindchen, was soll ich dir singen?* ('Little child, my little child, what should I sing to you?'; autograph score: AdK Berlin, *HEA 1122*). In 1938, during his first summer in exile in the USA, Eisler made new settings of both these songs for voice and viola (autograph score: AdK Berlin, *HEA 573*). The sketches for them (which also include his setting of *Der Vogelfänger*, 'The bird-catcher', AdK Berlin, *HEA 830*) are not yet written on American manuscript paper, unlike the final clean copy. Between these two chronological cornerstones there are two *Wunderhorn* settings from the 1920s, namely *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen* ('Oh, if you could see my eyes') and *Was möcht'st du nicht* ('What wouldn't you like'). They can neither be assigned to any specific date, nor do they seem in any way connected. Sketches and drafts for other works are also found on other manuscripts that offer hints as to when the two songs might have been composed. We must bear in mind, however, that Eisler tended to reuse manuscript paper over a long period in order to save paper. So it would not have been unusual for him to use the back page of a score to make sketches for other works at a much later date (or vice versa). The earliest extant manuscript of *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen* is already a clean autograph score (AdK Berlin, *HEA 959*) that was written on the same sheet as a draft score of part of the String Quartet op. 8 and sketches for the Duo for Violin and Cello op. 7. And on the back of the autograph score of *Was möcht'st du nicht*, there are sketches for the radio cantata *Tempo der Zeit* ('Tempo of the time') op. 16 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 503*). All these sketches can be dated relatively well. The radio cantata was given its first performance on 28 July 1929, and the sketches for it probably date from spring 1929 because we have no proof of any earlier collaboration between Eisler and the author of its text, Robert Gilbert (i.e. Robert David Winterfeld). The autograph clean copy of the Duo for Violin and Cello op. 7 bears the date *29. Juli 1924*,[50] so the sketches for it must have been made earlier. The draft score for the String Quartet op. 8 dates from spring 1925. Since these sketches were made in pencil, but the draft score for the String Quartet and the score of *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen* are in ink and the handwriting is similar, we may assume that these two last sources date from close to each other.

The content of *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen* also points to its having been composed in the summer or autumn of 1925. It describes the painful separation of two lovers for reasons beyond themselves, and does so from the perspective of the wistful girl who is being sent to a convent. Eisler also had to bear the pain of separation in September 1925 when he moved to Berlin, because his then wife Charlotte stayed behind in Vienna. They kept up a long-distance relationship for many years thereafter. The fact that Eisler made a separate, clean copy of this song and signed it (AdK Berlin, *HEA 888*) also suggests that it was of personal relevance to him.

The summer that the Eislers spent in Valley Cottage near New York City in 1938 as guests of their friends Joachim and Sylvia Schumacher, and in the company of other guests including Kurt and Freyda Adler and Ernst and Karola Bloch, was characterised by the pain of a very different kind of separation. It seems likely, and indeed natural, that in this circle of German exiles Eisler might have decided to express their common distress at losing their native country by means of compositions expressing "homesickness". And since the 19th century, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* had been felt to express firmly anchored, universal values of German cultural identity in a way matched by no other literary work (except perhaps Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*). We may assume that circumstances themselves prompted Eisler to choose the unusual combination of voice and viola, as it meant he could have it performed ad hoc by his assistant Harry Robin, who played the viola and was also present at Valley Cottage.[51]

The *Wunderhorn* songs *Mädele, bind den Geißbock an*, *Was soll ich dir singen?*, *Hab ein Vöglein gefunden* ('I found a little bird'), and *O könnt'st du meine Augen sehen* are love songs that employ overtly sexual allusions and imagery ranging from the richly erotic to the pornographic – such as the little bird in a bed of feathers, the compliant billy goat, the dried-up trees and grass after the lovers are separated, and anthropomorphic fruits (pears, plums, apples, raisins, figs) that bear a similarity to female erogenous zones. It is notable that Eisler made specific alterations to the text in the "American" version of *Vorbereitung zur Tanzstunde*[52] ('Preparation for the dancing lesson') from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. In the original, "Viennese" version dedicated to Muschi, the girl ties up the billy goat so that it will submit to her, but Eisler now had a "Büble" ('little

49 "Dear Muschi warmest greetings from your Hanns", on the autograph score (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1122*, fol. 1[v]).

50 See AdK Berlin, *HEA 1151*, fol. 10[r].

51 See the letter from Robin to Manfred Grabs of 21 January 1982 (typescript in AdK Berlin, *HEA 7736*).

52 See Eduard Grisebach (ed.), *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder gesammelt von Ludwig Frederick Achim v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, Leipzig: Hesse & Becker Verlag 1906, vol. 2, p. 873.

boy') feed the goat with "hard hay" so that it will dance "like a lackey". The original sexual connotation is here transformed into a critique of society and the economic situation.
Unlike the other *Wunderhorn* songs, *Was möcht'st du nicht* (autograph score AdK Berlin, *HEA 503*) seems not to have been composed for an external event or for any concrete biographical reasons. It is a "grotesque" – a genre popular with Eisler since his *Galgenlieder* ('Gallow songs') to texts by Christian Morgenstern of 1917, and which are found in several collections from about the same time as the *Wunderhorn* setting, namely *Palmström* op. 5 (1924), also after Morgenstern, *Tagebuch des Hanns Eisler* ('The diary of Hanns Eisler') op. 9 to texts of his own (1926) and *Lustige Ecke* with found texts from the joke pages in newspapers (1927). *Was möcht'st du nicht* is different from these other "grotesques", however, in that there is an auctorial narrator and because the poem does not operate with symbols, metaphors, emblems or semantic ambiguity, but instead deals with a plane of imagery and experience that seems ideal for psychoanalytical dream interpretation.[53] This song also seems to have been an opportunity for Eisler to deal with very personal issues.

3. A diary from Vienna to Berlin and Paris: *Ich hab' heut' Eis gegessen*, *Certificat d'honneur*, *Danklied an Jan Śliwiński*

The year 1926 was a transitional time for Eisler. He was able to look back at considerable successes in his hitherto brief career as a composer; in 1925 he had been awarded the Artist's Prize of the city of Vienna, and that same year his most recent chamber music works and songs had been performed at important festivals for new music in Donaueschingen and Venice. He could contemplate with pride his five-year option contract with Universal Edition, one of the most internationally renowned music publishing houses. 1925 had also seen him compose his first twelve-note work (*Palmström* op. 5), though he had also fallen out with his teacher Schoenberg and had begun distancing himself inwardly from the new music scene. In spring 1926, he moved to Berlin. In many respects, Eisler had folded up his tents, but without finding comparable opportunities elsewhere. Although we cannot date *Was möcht'st du nicht* precisely (see above), we can acknowledge that this song's expression of existential uncertainty would have been ideally matched to Eisler's living situation at the time. Berlin was at this time developing into one of the most important music metropolises of the world, in both the "classical" and popular fields. The first of Eisler's compositions that we can date with certainty in his new place of residence was also, appropriately, an excursion into the lighter muse. It is dated *15 April 1926*,[54] and was a musical joke in the manner of a "hit" song written for an acquaintance in a Berlin coffee house who has remained unidentified. It is a "shimmy" – a dance type of African-American origin that was one of the most fashionable and popular in Germany between 1920 and 1924, and which was used in many hit songs of the time.[55] *Ich hab' heut' Eis gegessen* unites the genre of the "nonsense song"[56] with the laconic tone of the "songs of scarcity and consolation"[57] that were popular during the period of inflation (see the textual comparisons, p. 234).
In personal terms, the move to Berlin brought with it the burden of a long-distance relationship, because as already mentioned above, Eisler's wife Charlotte stayed in Vienna. Eisler succumbed to a certain degree of depression, to which he gave expression in songs to texts of his own that thematised his personal sensitivities. Most of these songs, along with drafts and copies of works for piano and chamber music, are gathered together in a collection of loose sheets that have all been trimmed down to a uniform format suitable for carrying in one's pocket. The consecutive, autograph pagination of these 41 pages of score (numbered variously in pencil and in ink) was made afterwards, and the ordering of the sheets thereby established does not correspond to the chronology of the content. We may thus assume that these sources did not form a collection from the start. They also include sketches for parts of the work that Eisler later published as *Tagebuch des Hanns Eisler* op. 9. In this chamber cantata for a trio of women's voices (soprano, mezzo-soprano, contralto), tenor, violin and piano, Eisler gave expression to his *Weltschmerz* ("Die ganze Welt ist eine kalte Douche", 'The whole world is a cold shower') and his feelings of abandonment ("Es ist unmöglich, allein in einer fremden Stadt zu sein", 'It is impossible to be alone in a unfamiliar city'). But even the *aperçus* he did not explicitly include in the *Tagebuch* seem to be musical records of specific situations. One might initially suspect that even *Certificat d'honneur* – which certifies that its addressee is "not moody" – is an endeavour to defuse relationship problems by means of a joke. But in the source collection it features directly[58] after *Depression* from the *Tagebuch*, which suggests that their content is in some way related. In this context, the song might actually hint at a deeper grievance. *Depression* begins with the line "Wenn man ein dummer, schlechter Bürgerknabe ist" ('If you're a stupid, bad, bourgeois boy'). In his dispute with Arnold Schoenberg, Eisler had made the following reproach to his teacher:

> I am furthermore astonished at your opinion of my person. I shall be more precise (though I exaggerate somewhat): A bourgeois boy of the "dernier cri" full of buzzwords, extremely inter-

53 "Ich möcht' vor tausend Taler nicht, | Daß mir der Kopf ab wär', | Da spräng' ich mit dem Rumpf herum | Und wüßt' nicht, wo ich wär, | Die Leut' schrien all' und blieben stehn: | Ei guck einmal den! Ei guck einmal den!" ("I wouldn't accept a thousand thalers | to lose my head, | I'd jump around with just my rump | and wouldn't know where I was, | all the people would stand still and shout: | Hey, look at him! Hey, look at him!").

54 See the autograph score (Austrian National Library in Vienna, hereinafter ÖNB Wien, *Mus.Hs. 44281*).

55 See in this regard: Christian Schär, *Der Schlager und seine Tänze im Deutschland der 20er Jahre*, Zurich: Chronos 1991, pp. 92–94.

56 See *ibid.*, p. 66 f.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

58 ÖNB, *Mus.Hs. 44276*, fol. 15r.

> ested in all directions, but whose ambition does not shy away from any shabbiness, telling people he needs whatever they want to hear, etc. etc.[59]

He went on to say:

> If time and health allow me to complete a little text ["Schrift"] that I have begun, then I could prove to you with the greatest clarity that things are not so simple. Perhaps it will still get finished. You will surely completely reject the few things I have to say, but it would allow you to confirm my complete loyalty to your person and your concerns.[60]

If this "text" in question is the *Tagebuch des Hanns Eisler* op. 9, which is one of his most advanced works, then the *Certificat d'honneur* would assume the function of acquitting the depressed "bourgeois boy" of all accusations made against him. Eisler subsequently made a copy of the song (ÖNB Wien, *Mus.Hs. 44283*), thus also removing it from the thematic context of the source bundle. This meant that the *Certificat d'honneur* could now be addressed to anyone.

In the summer of 1926, Eisler travelled to Paris in order to work on the music for the pantomime-ballet *Die Verfolgung oder fünfzehn Minuten Irrsinn* ('The pursuit, or fifteen minutes of madness') to a libretto by Béla Balázs.[61] Eisler had presumably got to know Balázs through Georg Lukács in Vienna in 1919 or 1920, and they had met again in Berlin in May 1926.[62] The commission itself was not particularly attractive to Eisler – he regarded its subject matter as "(well-nigh) idiotic"[63] – but the trip enabled him to experience new things, to come to terms inwardly with his break with Schoenberg, and to make interesting new acquaintances. One of these was the Austrian book dealer and gallerist Jan Śliwiński, who lived in Paris and who clearly provided generous support to his young composing countryman, as is intimated by the dedication to him of the *Danklied an Jan Śliwiński* ('Song of thanks to Jan Śliwiński'). Śliwiński's real name was Hans Effenberger,[64] and he ran the gallery-cum-bookshop "Au sacre du printemps" in Paris that was well-known as a meeting point for artists. He was an important curator of modern art and was friends with both Karl Kraus and Adolf Loos – the latter being yet another member of the wider circle of Schoenberg's friends. Effenberger was a music-lover, a composer, and an excellent pianist and organist. His friendship with Eisler might well have begun at the musical salon of the singer Marya Freund, who had performed in the world première of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and since then had been "Schoenberg's ambassador in Paris".[65] In 1922, she had visited Vienna together with Darius Milhaud and Francis Poulenc, in order to "make contact with Austrian musicians",[66] and it is conceivable that those musicians had included Eisler, via the good offices of Schoenberg. It was in Freund's home in Paris that Eisler got to know the leading modern French composers. He also made friends with Freund's son, Stefan Priacel, who worked as a music critic, and who later recalled Eisler's visits as follows:

> Eisler would often meet the friends of our house. On the evening I'm thinking of, Darius Milhaud, Jean Wiener and Roger Désormière must have been present. But Eisler will also have met Albert Roussel, Florent Schmitt, Jaques Ibert and Francis Poulenc. Because he spoke bad French, I served as his interpreter.[67]

Eisler stayed in Paris until September, and he made use of the opportunity to get to know new things. He was "primarily interested in expanding his knowledge […] Eisler observed attentively the opinions uttered by his colleagues, and since music was generally played at my mother's home, he also got to know music performed by one or the other [guest]".[68] But Eisler was clearly still too preoccupied with his problems with Schoenberg to be able to make productive use of these experiences.[69] He had also become politicised by this time, and "did not want to admit any musical language, not even the most intelligent language, if it was but the privilege of a small group of initiates".[70] The social circle at a salon must surely have seemed the very embodiment of such a "group of initiates". It is possible that the two mottos[71] that Eisler gave the *Intermezzo* from the *Tagebuch* in his draft referred in fact not to his conflict with Schoenberg, but were a dig at upper-class salon society with their fine manners of conversation, their public displays of erudition and their distinguished sense of complacency; the

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59 Letter to Schoenberg of 9 March 1926. Schebera/Köster [fn. 3], p. 41.

60 *Ibid*.

61 See his picture postcard from Paris to Alban Berg of 8 June 1926. Schebera/Köster, *ibid*., p. 44.

62 See in this regard Simone Hohmaier, *Die Verfolgung oder Fünfzehn Minuten Irrsinn – Hanns Eisler und Béla Balázs*, in: Hartmut Krones (ed.), *Hanns Eisler – Ein Komponist ohne Heimat?*, Vienna etc.: Böhlau 2012 (= *Schriften des Wissenschaftszentrums Arnold Schönberg* 6), p. 54f.

63 Postcard of 5 July 1926 to Alban Berg. Schebera/Köster [fn. 3], p. 46.

64 Śliwiński was born in 1884, the illegitimate son of the landscape painter Robert Śliwiński and a lady of the court. He was adopted as a child, but assumed his biological father's surname during the First World War and served as a volunteer soldier in the Legiony Polskie in the Austrian Army. (See *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* [ÖBL], Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001–2005, vol. 12, p. 358 f.)

65 Albrecht Betz, *Hanns Eisler. Musik einer Zeit, die sich eben bildet*, Munich: Edition Text und Kritik 1976, p. 55.

66 Egon and Emmy Wellesz, *Egon Wellesz. Leben und Werk* (ed. Franz Endler), Vienna: Zsolnay 1981, p. 146.

67 Stefan Priacel, *Für Hanns*, in: *Sinn & Form (Sonderheft Hanns Eisler)*, Berlin: Rütten & Loening 1964, p. 368.

68 *Ibid*., p. 369.

69 A series of variations entitled *in Park di Louxembourg* never got beyond the sketching stage (ÖNB Wien, *Mus.Hs. 44276* fol. 33^{r}–35^{v}).

70 Priacel, [ibid.], p. 369.

71 "Sapientia amandi est stultitia" and "Si tacuisses philosophus mansisses". There exists a separate autograph copy of the first page of the score (ÖNB Wien, *Mus.Hs. 4437*, fol. 29^{r}). We may thus assume that Eisler did not write this score solely for himself.

fact that Eisler noted the place and date in Latin in his draft might also be a hint in this direction.[72]
It was in Marya Freund's salon that Eisler met Darius Milhaud, though they had presumably already come into contact back in Vienna in 1922. In 1919, Milhaud had composed his *Machines agricoles* for voice and chamber ensemble, in which he had set texts taken from agricultural catalogues, thereby utilising "determinate negation" as a means of thwarting expectations without the use of irony. Instead of hymning the idyllic beauty of Nature and the supposedly cheery life of peasants, Milhaud's six "pastorals" maintain the traditionally lyrical character of the pastoral while listing the technical data of combine harvesters – in other words, those objects that determined the reality of modern agricultural life. Eisler adopted a similar procedure in his *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 in order to subject conventional song genres to a radical, unsparing realism.

4. "Objets trouvés": *Zeitungsausschnitte op. 11*, *Lustige Ecke*

In conversation with Nathan Notowicz in the late 1950s, Eisler was asked about the 1920s and mentioned his *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 as being especially "characteristic […] of that time":

> Here we have a relatively young man, who instead of writing the usual songs that were being written in their thousands back then, writes songs whose texts have been cut out of newspapers. For example, instead of love songs he sets marriage announcements; instead of children's songs of the mischievous kind as were written, say, by Blech or Pfitzner – usually after the manner of *Hänsel und Gretel* – there are songs from the streets, mostly from Wedding [in Berlin], children's verses from the Great War and suchlike. It was […] a kind of protest primarily against everything that I would call bourgeois concert song, which I was mocking. That stood out, as you can see if you consider the kind of songs that Schoenberg composed back then, or Anton Webern, Alban Berg or my colleagues Krenek or Hindemith. […] Well, those songs aren't folksy. […] They are absolutely songs of the big cities, and were intended for them too. They immensely shocked the concert audience at their first performance. But it wasn't about, say, "épater le bourgeois". That wasn't intended. The songs were completely serious and completely unironic. Where my colleagues in Paris, for example, might have made jokes out of such things, I meant it all absolutely seriously.[73]

The reviewers were also consistent in perceiving the songs this way. "Eisler's music is in no wise grotesque, but endeavours seriously to reproduce the sorrows and humour of the back yards and alleyways. He is a Zille of music! [It's] a music that touches us",[74] wrote the critic Eberhard Preussner, and in *Vorwärts* Klaus Pringsheim coined the phrase "proletarian Romanticism"[75] to describe these songs. The texts for the *Zeitungsausschnitte* were a result of Eisler's own reading of the newspapers, and feature children's songs, excerpts from serialised novels and marriage advertisements. Eisler slightly modified them before setting them to music. Only for the *Frühlingsrede an einen Baum im Hinterhaushof* ('Spring speech to a tree in the back yard') is there no proof of origin – its author was presumably Eisler's friend Erwin Ratz. And in the case of *Aus einer Romanbeilage. Predigt des Feldkuraten* ('From a serialised novel. Sermon by the army chaplain'), Eisler set a section from Jaroslav Hašek's novel *Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk* ('The adventures of the good soldier Švejk') that did not actually feature in the excerpts that were serialised from spring 1926 onwards in the newspaper *Arbeiterwille*. In this case, the published excerpts clearly achieved with Eisler just what the serialisation of the novel had intended: he went and procured the actual book in order to read the whole thing. The section that he set to music was one that obviously appealed to him, perhaps because it reminded him of his own time in the military. It is the monologue of a sadistic field chaplain who is looking forward lustfully to the horrors about to be perpetrated in the coming battle. The other song texts here were taken from articles by Walter Benjamin in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 16 August 1925 and by Theodor Steiskal in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of 11 October 1924, and from the journal *Das Tage-Buch* edited by Stefan Großmann and Leopold Schwarzschild. Benjamin's article tells of children's rhymes collected by a school headmaster in Hesse and includes several samples. In the newspaper column "Ed-

72 These two mottos – 'If you had remained silent, you would have remained a philosopher' and 'The wisdom of the lover is foolishness' are linked here, and can be explained by Eisler's reference to "Sanctus Espiditus". In 1906, Saint Expédit was removed from the calendar of saints by Pope Pius X., despite being widely and internationally popular as the patron saint of speedy cases (see https://austriaforum.org/af/Wissenssammlungen/ABC_zur_Volkskunde_Österreichs/Expeditus, hl.). The Curia harboured doubts about the authenticity of the Saint and his relics on account of a story according to which the name of the Saint – supposedly a Roman legionary of Armenian origin who had converted to Christianity and suffered a martyr's death – was a mere linguistic mistake. Some nuns had reputedly acquired a box full of relics with an incomplete Spanish or Italian express postal mark "expedito" or "e spedito", whereupon they had assumed that their package contained the bones of a saint of that name; thus the cult around him began. Pilgrims (especially in Latin America and on La Réunion) have to this day remained unimpressed by the verdict of the Vatican. Christian Morgenstern created a monument to this saint and to the naïve but fervent nuns in his *Palmström*. (Christian Morgenstern, *St. Expeditus*, in: Christian Morgenstern, *Galgenlieder, Palmström*, ed. Clemens Heselhaus, Weyarn: Seehamer 1998 [= *Gesammelte Werke* 1], licensed edition, Munich: Piper 1979, pp. 155–158). Eisler left this poem unused in his own *Palmström* op. 5, but he presumably took pleasure in its criticism of authority.

73 Nathan Notowicz, *Wir reden hier nicht von Napoleon. Wir reden von Ihnen! Gespräche mit Hanns Eisler und Gerhart Eisler*, Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik 1971, p. 49 f.

74 See AdK Berlin, *HEA 3470*. The name of the author is added by hand without any mention of the source. "Zille" here refers to the artist Heinrich Zille (1858–1929), who was renowned for his depictions of everyday Berliners.

75 *Vorwärts* of 15 December 1927, No. 592, evening edition (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3470*).

ucation and tuition", Steiskal offered excerpts from a scholarly survey about the "Vocabulary and concepts of Viennese schoolchildren", which Eisler turned into his "Enquête des Oberschulrats an die Kinder der Vorschulklassen" ('Inquiry by the School Board into children in kindergarten'). The children's statements here tell of domestic violence, a lack of proper family relationships and the impact of Sunday School instruction on young minds. All this is reported tersely in the words of children who as yet have been unable to develop any other conception of the world.

As in the case of Milhaud's *Machines agricoles* (see above), which debunk the escapism of nature poetry in the age of technology, Eisler's *Zeitungsausschnitte* turn the conventional lied genre on its head.[76] The genre of the "spring song" is in this work "no effusive act of languor",[77] as was noted aptly by the reviewer of *Die Rote Fahne*, but a tree in a tenement courtyard that refuses to blossom. And in the children's songs *Mariechen*, *Kinderlied aus dem Wedding* and *Kriegslied eines Kindes* ('Little Marie, A children's song from the Wedding district' and 'The war song of a child'), the "dear little ones" turn into sadistic cynics as soon as they are among themselves on the street – torturing ladybugs ("ich reiße Dir ein Beinchen aus, dann musst du hinken, auf deinem Schinken" – "I'll pull off one of your legs then you'll have to limp on your ham") and mocking the disabled (here one "Mother Schmidt" with her wooden leg). They thereby hold up a mirror to the world of adults with a childlike mixture of nonchalance and a sense of reality: "Hurrah, my mother is going to be a soldier; […] then she'll get a gun and shoot around then she'll go to the trenches and be eaten by the black ravens […] and she'll land in the field hospital in a bed in heaven". Instead of writing love songs, Eisler sets to music the complementary wedding advertisements of a bride and groom-to-be. At first glance, it seems as if they are ideally suited to each other: there is the shy young woman of 29 – already considered an "advanced" age for a bride[78] – and a young widower who professes only to be seeking a good mother for his children, while he himself desires just an "inner spiritual life". But the music employs a quotation from the Prelude to Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (to which a footnote in the score expressly refers) in order to reveal his true erotic intentions. Did the naïve young woman, looking for a partner for a "holy bond", really take that into consideration? The striking manner in which Eisler interprets the texts of these songs (which at times is even onomatopoetic, see *Kriegslied eines Kindes*) is conveyed by what Theodor W. Adorno described as a chromaticism "oriented on early Schoenberg" that is "liberal and dissonant",[79] both "vertically and horizontally".[80]

Eisler worked for a long period of time on these *Zeitungsausschnitte*. The earliest clippings he used date from 1924, though the project only seems to have assumed concrete form in summer 1925. Erwin Ratz was responsible for copying out part of the texts to be set (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1078*), while the earliest source for the music can be dated to September 1926. It is no longer possible to determine just when Eisler completed the autograph score of the whole opus (ÖNB Wien, *Leihg. 1 UE 75*). The dates given in it refer solely to individual sections. The work was first performed on 11 December 1927 in the Meistersaal in Berlin, at an event organised by the Berlin Section of the ISCM. It was sung by its dedicatee, Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèbre, accompanied at the piano by Franz Osborn. The programme also included Arnold Schoenberg's Third String Quartet, played by the Kolisch Quartet, and Alban Berg's *Lyric Suite*. The *Zeitungsausschnitte* were published by Universal Edition in Vienna in 1929.

Erwin Ratz wrote out all the texts for these songs, and this document (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1078*) proves that the two from *Lustige Ecke* were also originally intended to be part of the *Zeitungsausschnitte*. We have been unable to identify any concrete sources in Austrian newspapers for either *Noblesse oblige* or *Der kleine Kohn* ('Little Cohn'),[81] but the overall title "Lustige Ecke", "joke corner", clearly refers to the omnipresent joke columns in newspapers, to which stereotypical genre the two jokes set by Eisler clearly belong. The figure of "little Kohn" is an antisemitic counterpart to what are known in German as "little Fritz" or "little Erna" jokes, whose humour is based on misunderstandings or linguistic ambiguities. The same applies to *Der kleine Kohn*.[82] *Noblesse oblige*, however, deals with the ambiguity of social appearances and reality. Eisler's decision to remove these two joke settings from his *Zeitungsausschnitte* cycle seems apt because the other songs do not resort to humour to invoke their socio-psychological critique of society, but employ satirical reality at best. Nevertheless, it is obvious that there is a close connection between the two sets. *Der kleine Kohn* is a twelve-note piece, but the sketches only contain an incomplete twelve-note row table for *Noblesse oblige* (see the sketch book in AdK Berlin, *HEA 1070*). Accordingly, only the beginning of this piece seems to be dodecaphonic. But the melodic material of several songs from the *Zeitungsausschnitte* unfolds all the notes of the octave in such a manner that one initially has the (incorrect) impression that the composer has here employed a dodecaphonic approach. This applies especially to the two marriage advertisements, the *Enquête* and the

76 In his review, Theodor W. Adorno calls it "negative poetry". In: *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (1929/5), p. 219.

77 Review by "F" [fn. 4].

78 Unlike the original marriage advertisement (in the *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung* No. 9040 [Sunday, 22 March 1925], p. 21, col. 6), Eisler's song highlights the age of the young woman.

79 Adorno [fn. 76], p. 220.

80 *Ibid*.

81 See the online search engine provided by the Austrian National Library (ÖNB), "Anno" (anno.onb.ac.at).

82 The search engine "Anno" provides one possible source, in the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung* No. 43 (Vienna, 21 October 1928), p. 6, col. 2, where the same joke is told, but about "little Fritz", not "little Kohn".

Frühlingsrede an einen Baum im Hinterhaushof. These are all songs that thematise relational disturbances that are caused by authoritarian structures (between man and woman, father and son, educational institution and pupil, nobility and the bourgeoisie), expose their ridiculousness (*Noblesse oblige*) or protest against them (*Frühlingsrede an einen Baum im Hinterhaushof*). The fact that only *Der kleine Kohn* is dodecaphonic while the other pieces merely simulate the technique (the schoolboy depicted in the song is clearly more knowledgeable that he seems) might well be proof of a successful instance of self-applied behavioural therapy to free the composer from the authority of his former teacher Schoenberg.

5. Foxtrot ballads: *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)*, *Ballade vom Soldaten*

In his review of the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 in the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* of 13 December 1927, Heinrich Strobel wrote about Eisler's intentions:

> He wants to make music of today and at the same time document his world view. He wants to grapple with the naked, everyday life of the proletariat.[83]

Perhaps Eisler's most impressive achievement in this regard is the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* ('Song of the dole (song of the unemployed)'), which is a setting of the poem *Wer hat dich, du armer Mann* ('Who has so [degraded] you, you poor man') by David Weber (i.e. David Robert Winterfeld, alias Robert Gilbert), and was published by the *Welt am Abend* on 14 October 1929 under the title "Berliner Leierkastenliedchen von David Weber" ('Berlin barrel-organ song by David Weber').[84] This song was thus the result of a poem that Eisler might well have simply stumbled upon by reading the paper. But as it happens, Eisler was also in close personal contact with Winterfeld in 1929.[85] The ensemble version (autograph score AdK Berlin, *HEA 1023*) mimics the typical Berlin barrel organ sound with its characteristic appoggiaturas more accurately than the original version with piano accompaniment (AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 558*). The score of the ensemble version was used by Busch and Eisler for their recordings on the Homochord[86] and Lindström/Gloria labels in 1930.[87] The version for voice and piano that was published by the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur in Berlin in May 1931, as part of its series *Kampfmusik* ('Propaganda music'), was in fact a transcription for piano of the ensemble score, though it is impossible to determine who arranged it. It seems that this reduction for piano and voice was reprinted in 1932 by the Verlag für neue Musik[88] (the successor company to the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur, run by Otto Pariser), but an authentic version for voice and piano by Eisler also exists. Its autograph score was owned by Ernst Busch (AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 558*), who also used it when performing the work. This version thus remains important for the reception history of the work, independently of the piano reduction. Busch sang this song in his programme for the Berlin cabaret Katakombe for almost six weeks, from 24 January to 4 March 1930.[89] In the late 1940s, Busch had an unknown third party make a new version of it, written on Finnish manuscript paper (AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 454*). Herbert Breth-Mildner, Eisler's sometime assistant and Busch's piano accompanist,[90] also made a copy of the original version for voice and piano, and took it with him when he emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1931. This copy bears handwritten remarks in Russian that testify to its having been used in performance. The published piano reduction was also disseminated widely in the Soviet Union. In 1935, Michail Druskin included the song in *Dve satiricheskie Dzhaz-pesenki – Zwei satirische Jazz-Lieder*[91] that he edited for Triton in Leningrad, with the foxtrot rhythm in the song's refrain presumably having prompted him to assign the work to the "satirical jazz" genre. In 1962, the song was published with just a Russian text in the anthology of Eisler's songs *Izbrannye Pesni*, edited by Grigoriĭ Shneerson and Nathan Notowicz. Besides the foxtrot allusion, this song also includes a notable quotation at the line "Who up there on high has so [degraded] you, you poor man?", for Eisler here quotes *Der Jäger Abschied* ('The hunters' farewell') from Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's Six Songs for Men's Chorus op. 50, where the melody in question is sung to the words "Wer hat dich, du schöner Wald, aufgebaut so hoch da droben?" ('Who raised you up so high over there, you lovely forest?'). Winterfeld's literary negation of the poem by Joseph von Eichendorff is emphasised by his characteristic use of Berlin dialect ("wer hat dir, du armer Mann, abjebaut"), and Eisler adds his own emphasis on a musical level.

The *Die Ballade vom Soldaten* ('Ballad of the soldier') also uses a foxtrot. It was originally an ensemble number in Eisler's incidental music for the play *Kalkutta, 4. Mai. Drei Akte Kolonialgeschichte* ('Calcutta, 4 May. Three acts of colonial history') by Lion Feuchtwanger and Bertolt Becht, which was

83 *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, Tuesday, 13 December 1927, evening edition, p. 2 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3470*).

84 See *Welt am Abend* (Monday, 14 October 1929) 1st supplement, p. [2], cols. 1–2.

85 See the photograph from the year 1929 that shows Eisler in his dressing gown at Winterfeld's country home in Pfefferberg am See. It is reproduced in: Ludwig Hoffmann, Karl Siebig, *Ernst Busch. Eine Biographie in Texten, Bildern und Dokumenten*, Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft 1987, p. 76.

86 Production number H 3 942. This was the first record that Ernst Busch made for Homocord (see *ibid.*, p. 368).

87 Production number G. O. 10 605.

88 See the publisher's catalogue of the Verlag für neue Musik, no date (AdK Berlin, *Arbeiterliedarchiv 2438*).

89 See the review for the 100th performance of the "Kabarett der Jungen" in Katakombe. Ernst Busch's performance of the "well-known Stempelbrüderlied'" is mentioned explicitly in *Berlin am Morgen* of 29 January 1930, p. 7 (folder AdK Berlin, *HEA 8559*).

90 See Peter Deeg, *Nachricht über Herbert im anderen Land. Eislers Assistent, Stalins Opfer – Herbert Breth-Mildner (1900–1938)*, in: *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 56 (October 2013), p. 5.

91 The second song was *Hymnus auf die Bankiers* by Wolf Simoni (alias Louis Saguer).

given its first Berlin performance at the State Schauspielhaus on 12 June 1928, directed by Erich Engel. It was a reworking of Feuchtwanger's play *Warren Hastings. Gouverneur von Indien* from the year 1916. In 1925, Brecht and Feuchtwanger revised the play together. The *Ballade vom Soldaten* was one of Brecht's additions, and he presumably also had a part in providing the music for it. It was at the time still entitled *Weib und Soldat* ('Woman and soldier'). Back then, Brecht used to sing his ballads among friends to his own accompaniment on the guitar, so it is likely that he was also the author of the melody for *Weib und Soldat*. In November 1925, Brecht got to know Franz Servatius Bruinier at Berlin Radio, and had him make a piano version of the ballad.[92] In 1927, Brecht and Eisler became acquainted with each other at the Piscator Theatre in Berlin, and their first collaboration was on *Kalkutta, 4. Mai. Drei Akte Kolonialgeschichte*. Eisler was commissioned to contribute an ensemble version of the *Ballade vom Soldaten* for the incidental music. Only a banjo part has survived of the performance materials of this stage version (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1095* fol. 18). However, we do have a gramophone recording that was presumably made in 1931.[93]

We have documentary evidence of a radio broadcast of the *Ballade vom Soldaten* having been made on 12 August 1930, sung by Ernst Busch, in Berlin Radio's programme "Chansons von gestern, Chansons von heute" ('Chansons of yesterday, chansons of today').[94] It remains unknown just when Eisler transcribed the ensemble version for voice and piano. Unlike the case of the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)*, the piano version of the *Ballade vom Soldaten* was published only in 1937, thus several years after it had been made. What's more, it had to be published in exile (it was included in the anthology *Pesni Bor'by*, published by Muzgiz in Moscow). The first German edition of the song was published only in 1955, as part of the volume *Lieder und Kantaten*. But the Ballad was already part of the permanent, international repertoire of Ernst Busch.[95] Both songs, the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* and the *Ballade vom Soldaten*, were among Eisler's most popular songs from the very start. Their allusions to the blues and to the foxtrot meant that they were able to grapple in a musically catchy manner with two crucial topics that were of immense social and psychological significance for the German collective consciousness in the 1920s: the rampant poverty that was a result of mass unemployment during the economic crisis, and the fate of the victims of the war – soldiers and their surviving dependents. The record company Homocord referred to the topicality of the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* in its letter of 27 December 1930, offering to cooperate with the publisher Wieland Herzfelde:

> […] but the Stempellied too reflects the feelings of all the millions who would like to go to work, but only have the possibility of meagrely eking out their lives with their dole money.[96]

In the *Ballade vom Soldaten*, Eisler changed the text in order to shift the location of the song from the Indian city of Munger[97] on the Ganges ("Mongefluss") to Volga in Russian, thus closer to the events of the World War, at least in geographical terms. The *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* is situated among the Berlin proletariat by its use of dialect. Its author, Winterfeld, had already assigned it to the street ballad, "Bänkelsang" genre, by calling it a "Leierkastenlied". Eisler followed his lead, treating both this ballad and the *Ballade vom Soldaten* as narrated dialogues – the one about the starving unemployed, the other about a fallen soldier floating down the river. In the *Ballade vom Soldaten*, a wise woman offers the soldier a warning, though he ignores her, as in his macho posturing he is blind to all danger and convinced of his heroic invincibility; in the *Stempellied*, the unemployed man conducts a dialogue with himself on two levels – the one subjective and emotional, the other reflective and dispassionate. The latter level is featured in the foxtrot chorus.

6. Tucholsky songs for the cabaret: *Anna-Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)*, *Feldfrüchte*, *In Weißensee*

In autumn 1929, Werner Finck, his actor friends Hans Deppe and Rudolf Platte, and the author and later film director Robert Adolf Stemmle together founded the cabaret "Katakombe" in the cellar restaurant of the Association of Berlin Artists at Bellevuestrasse 3. Their first performance, with Finck as compère, took place on 16 October 1929. By January 1930, Ernst Busch and Hanns Eisler were already regulars on its stage. The Katakombe had a house composer with his own jazz combo, Tibor Kasics and the "Tibor Blue Boys", and it was not a specifically political cabaret, but was rather characterised by an informal, varied revue programme in the tradition of the Parisian cabaret or the Viennese Brettl theatres. Its aim was

> ingenious entertainment with lots of small-scale forms that lived from their variety and from improvisation. In a cabaret like Katakombe there were dance, quick cartoonists and caricaturists, poems were read, there were short, theatrical improvisations and one-acters, songs of course, instrumental numbers, prose was

92 See Albrecht Dümling, *Laßt euch nicht verführen. Brecht und die Musik*, Munich: Kindler 1985, p. 280.

93 Produced by Gloria / Carl Lindström (10 451), with Ernst Busch and an instrumental ensemble directed by Eisler (see Peter Deeg / Jürgen Schebera, *Eisler auf Schellack*, in: *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 59 [April 2015], p. 8).

94 See the programme guide for 12 August 1930 in: *Radio Wien*, vol. 6, No. 45 (8 August 1930), p. 52.

95 It is given in *Poët Ėrnst Bush* (ed. Grigoriĭ Shneerson, Moscow: Muzgiz, 1959).

96 See AdK Berlin, *HEA 6190*.

97 Feuchtwanger was inspired to write his play by James Mill's *Geschichte des britischen Indien*, vol. 3 (German edition: Quedlinburg, Leipzig: Basse Verlag 1840). Mill often mentions "Fort Mongeer" (today Munger) in the province of Bihar (see e.g. p. 249, p. 261 ff.), where a Bengal tributary ruler resided.

recited, sketches were performed, and there were parodies and all kinds of small forms.[98]

In the fourth programme of Katakombe, which ran from 5 March to 18 April 1930, Ernst Busch performed a new composition by Eisler whose ironic, frivolous content made it ideally suited to a revue format. However, as Busch recalled, Eisler first had to be convinced to compose *Anna Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)*:

> I needed a new song for the cabaret. I had heard the "Anna Luise" song by Tucholsky. Back then, a woman sang a pretty sad melody to it (it was in March 1929 at a Tucholsky matinee of the Universum book shop; Annie Mewes sang the song back then. K. S. [i.e. Karl Siebig, the editor]). I thought it wasn't a song for a woman. A man had to sing it. So I went to Eisler with the text and asked him for a new melody. "No, I won't do that! I only do serious things". Back then he was a little bit annoyed at Tucholsky because the man had quarrelled with Brecht. But I really needed a new song and put 50 marks on the table. "How do you want it?" he asked. […] While Eisler played at the piano, I kept improvising with him. In this manner, the song was finished in barely ten minutes. Then Eisler wrote on the manuscript paper: For Ernst Busch and by Ernst Busch. We did it for Werner Finck's "Katakombe". I wore a top hat when singing, and had a walking stick in my hand.[99]

We do not know precisely what songs Eisler and Busch performed at the Theater am Nollendorfplatz in Berlin on 9 February 1930[100] at the "Sunday satire" organised by the "Universum library for everyone". Suitable songs would have been the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* but above all *Anna Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)*. Perhaps they had already added another, new Tucholsky setting by Eisler that similarly managed to unite the satirical with the composer's political views – *Feldfrüchte*. But the first proven performance of it took place only slightly later, on 19 March 1930, at a youth event of the "Lithographers' association" in the Lehrervereinshaus (teachers' club house) at Alexanderstraße 41 in Berlin. The event was dominated by union members from the SPD, and Busch and Eisler had decided to provoke them by programming Kurt Tucholsky's satirical attack on their party. Yet the scandal of the evening was not caused by *Feldfrüchte*, but by their performance of *Seifenlied* ('Soap song') by Otto Stransky, which mocks a promotional gift that the SPD handed out before the parliamentary elections of 1928 (a piece of soap with an election slogan printed on it).

On 20 March 1930, the newspaper *Welt am Morgen* offered an extensive review of this noteworthy performance and the heated political atmosphere in which it took place; the article was entitled "the burst soap bubble".

> Hanns Eisler, the composer, and Ernst Busch performed songs […]. A huge success, the young people went wild, encores had to be given, and they called for the "Stempellied". At the passage "– – holde Rationalisierung, singt dir die Gewerkschaftsführung – –" ['lovely rationalisation, sings the union leadership to you'], some tried to hiss. But afterwards there was such applause that even one of the functionaries asked for the *Seifenlied*. What an innocent. Busch senses how things are, and sings "Wohltätigkeit" by Tucholsky. The applause is even stronger. – Seifenlied – Seifenlied! – – – Then we fell on our feet and became black-red-gold, the revolution came of its own accord, we didn't want it – – – The bosses jump on the stage, there is screaming, the piano is slammed shut, the young people are enthusiastic about the truth and the rumpus. Eisler demands a vote. Busch reminds the bosses that they had decorated the hall red. Outside people are jostling wildly, for and against, the bosses pacify things – and as a punishment, Busch and Eisler are not given their fee. The court proceedings are going to be funny![101]

Eisler and Busch won their court case, and it brought them even more recognition. In the summer of 1930, the Katakombe cabaret gave guest performances in the Nelson Theatre on the Kurfürstendamm, one of the most famous revue theatres in Berlin, where artists such as Josephine Baker, Claire Waldoff and Marlene Dietrich performed. Since Kurt Tucholsky was one of the preferred authors of the theatre's director Rudolf Nelson, it is possible that *In Weißensee* was also composed in this context. The Busch/Eisler duo now also performed on the radio. The first verifiable broadcast of *In Weißensee* took place on 12 August 1930.[102] Eisler hesitated to publish his Tucholsky songs, despite their popularity – *Anna Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)* in particular remained part of Ernst Busch's regular repertoire. They were only published posthumously by Stephanie Eisler and Nathan Notowicz, in the ninth volume of the *Lieder und Kantaten*. Only *Feldfrüchte* was published in Eisler's lifetime. A Russian edition[103] appeared in 1962, the year of Eisler's death, for which he had written a new piano accompaniment (see AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 552*). This new version took up an introduction again that had already existed in early sketches, but which had been deleted there (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1013*; see the edition in the Appendix). This

98 Talk by the German scholar Alan Lareau in a programme broadcast by Deutschlandradio Kultur on 11 October 2009. The script of the programme "'Zwischen den Zeilen der Abgrund.' Das kurze Leben des literarischen Kabaretts 'Die Katakombe' (1929–1935)" by Jens Brüning is to be found at: https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/manuskript-zwischen-den-zeilen-der-abgrund-pdf.media.53c0beb4dca0c321feb813bc8b344039.pdf, *ibid.*, p. 4.

99 Hoffmann, Siebig [fn. 85], p. 81. The note "Music for and with Ernst Busch" is in the autograph score in AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 378*.

100 See the advance notice in the *Welt am Abend* of 27 January 1930 (folder AdK Berlin, *HEA 8559*).

101 Review with a caricature of Busch and Eisler in: *Welt am Morgen*, 20 March 1930 (folder AdK Berlin, *HEA 3491*). "Black-red-gold" refers to the colours of the national flag under the Weimar Republic (later also of today's Federal Republic).

102 See Dümling [fn. 94].

103 Hanns Eisler, *Pesni, Ballady, satiricheskie Kuplety*, Moscow: Muzgiz 1962, here: pp. 67–70.

printed edition – which is of the second version of the song – was also used as the basis of the posthumous German first edition in *Lieder und Kantaten* (vol. 9). When they performed the song, however, Busch and Eisler clearly preferred to use the first version (see AdK Berlin, *Ernst Busch Archiv 377*; AdK Berlin, *HEA 376*; AdK Berlin, *HEA 620*). *Feldfrüchte* (also known as *Radieschen*, 'little radish') became extremely popular soon after being composed, and was on the programme of the mass gathering entitled "Fest der 20 000" at the Berlin Sportpalast on 5 December 1931, organised by the Universum book shop and the newspapers *Welt am Abend* and *Welt am Morgen*.[104] Eisler's refusal to publish his Tucholsky songs in German could have two possible reasons. First, they might have still seemed too frivolous to him, and secondly, a song mocking the SPD ceased to have any relevance after the founding of the socialist unity party *SED* in the GDR.

7. "Rot Front!" – Rallying songs for agitprop theatre: *Song der Roten Matrosen*, *Der Rote Wedding*, *Der neue Stern*, *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*

The first national education conference of the KPD took place in Berlin on 6 and 7 August 1922. The KPD's board of education published a series of guidelines in advance of the event, in which they stated the fundamental aims of communist education:

> The KPD should organise systematic, intensive educational work both among its members and in the broader masses. It cannot restrict itself to making a small number of "leaders" acquainted with Marxist theories. It has to popularise these theories in the best sense of the word; it must understand how to educate materialist and dialectical thought not just among a small upper stratum but in a broader circle of people. […] Communist educational work thus has to be fundamentally different from that of the social-liberal institutions of public education and from that of the petit-bourgeois, socialist parties. Its purpose is not to give the proletariat a so-called "higher general education". On the contrary! Any such educational work is a diversion from the economic, political struggle for power and can only serve to cultivate a small number of "worker aristocrats". […] The communist party consciously restricts its educational activities to ideological preparation and training for the struggle ahead. [We must] win the broad masses for the class war by means of popular propaganda and artistic performances […].[105]

As a result, workers' theatre groups were formed whose repertoire was often chosen from the twelve volumes published by Malik-Verlag entitled *Sammlung revolutionärer Bühnenwerke* ('Collection of revolutionary stage works'). Proletarian speaking choruses were also founded, out of which performance groups developed such as the "Proletarische Sprech- und Spielgemeinschaft Steglitz" that was set up in 1923 (the 'Proletarian speaking and acting collective of the Steglitz district'), whose development is an exemplary case of how a speaking chorus was transformed via a theatrical group entitled "Proletarian stage" into the agitprop troupe "Red shirts" that offered mixed programmes of short scenes that they wrote themselves and were exclusively propagandistic and militant in content.

An initial trigger for the development of agitprop culture in Germany was the tour of the Moscow agitprop group "Sinyaya bluza" ('Blue Shirt') in the autumn of 1927, thus at a time when the Russian blue-shirt movement had already been transformed into the Theatre of Young Workers (TRAM). In 1923, students of the Moscow State Institute for Journalism had had the idea of appearing as a kind of "living newspaper",[106] and so founded the first "blue shirt group" – named after the blue workers' overalls they wore at their performances. From 1924 onwards, a journal was also published of that name "that contained repertoire materials, methodological approaches, photos, sketches for costumes and décor, and information about the activities of the artistic worker's circles of the Soviet Union and abroad".[107] At the All-Union Congress in 1926 in Moscow, 5,000 Blue-Shirt groups were present from all over the Soviet Union, all of them modelled on the original group from Moscow.[108] The programmes of the "Sinyaya bluza" were very attractive on account of their sheer variety. They performed political sketches, acrobatic gymnastic displays, folk dances and folk music, musical parodies, pantomimes, puppet shows, tableaux vivants, pamphlet readings and songs, all of them offering entertainment with a didactic explanation of the revolutionary achievements in the USSR.[109] The German tour of the "Sinyaya bluza" prompted a big response in the press, but most of all, it inspired others to do likewise. In "most places that the Blue Shirt visited, agitprop groups sprang up immediately after they had performed".[110] In Berlin, the "Sinyaya bluza" performed on the Piscator Stage from 7 to 9 October 1927. As a result, several local agitprop groups were founded.[111] The Young Communist League (KJVD) brought forth "Das Rote Sprachrohr" ('The red megaphone'), directed by Maxim Vallentin; the "Kolonne Links" ('Left-wing column') emerged from the sports association "Fichte"; and the "Rote Raketen" ensemble ('Red rockets') belonged to the Roter Frontkämpfer Bund ('The red association of front-line fight-

104 See the article *Das Massenfest im Sportpalast* in *Welt am Abend* of 7 December 1931 (folder AdK Berlin, *HEA 3541*).

105 Excerpt from: *Leitsätze zur Bildungsarbeit der KPD. Entwurf des Reichsbildungsausschusses*, as quoted in: Ludwig Hoffmann, Daniel Hoffmann-Ostwald, *Deutsches Arbeitertheater 1918–1933*, Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft 1972, p. 101 f.

106 *Ibid*., p. 240.

107 *Ibid*.

108 See *ibid*.

109 See the programme for the German tour of the "Sinyaya bluza", as given in *ibid*., p. 247 ff.

110 *Ibid*., p. 242.

111 See in this regard: Erika Funk-Hennigs, *Die Agitpropbewegung als Teil der Arbeiterkultur der Weimarer Republik*, in: Helmut Rösing (ed.), *"Es liegt in der Luft was Idiotisches …" Populäre Musik zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, Baden-Baden: Coda 1995 (= *Beiträge zur Popularmusikforschung* 15/16), pp. 82–117, see especially pp. 86–89.

ers'). In November 1927, Eisler first came into contact with Das Rote Sprachrohr,[112] and in spring 1928 he composed its signature song "Wir sind das Rote Sprachrohr" ('We are the red megaphone').[113]

Following up on the successful example of the Blue Shirt, the KJVD supported its own agitprop group with a journal also named *Das Rote Sprachrohr*, whose subsidiary title ran "Material for agitprop troupes and workers' theatre associations". Its July 1929 edition published the first propaganda song that Eisler composed for voice and piano, the *Song der Roten Matrosen* ('Song of the red sailors'). It appeared alongside a decorative illustration that showed a sailor singing at the piano. It is not impossible that Eisler was directly inspired to write this song by the touring programme of the "Sinyaya bluza", because their performances in Germany closed with a number entitled "Song of the sailors of 1918/19 with acrobatics and dance".[114] This song thus also enabled agitprop groups in Germany to follow the programming policy of the "Sinyaya bluza" themselves. The author of the text is known only as "J. Grau"; it is a propaganda song directed against the Locarno Treaties of 1925 that had sketched out a new post-war order based on reconciliation, and that paved the way for Germany's return to the international community (and indeed, it joined the League of Nations soon after, in 1926). The Treaties of Locarno were themselves an explicit reaction to the bilateral Treaty of Rapallo of 1922 in which Germany and Russia had agreed upon economic collaboration in the face of sanctions by the Western powers. In the *Song der Roten Matrosen*, the omniscient narrators are diverse crew members from the real-life Soviet warships Marat[115] and Komintern[116] (which had both participated in the October Revolution) and the fictional ship "Red October";[117] they accuse the German and British foreign ministers (Gustav Stresemann and Joseph Austen Chamberlain respectively) of having merely feigned establishing a peaceful order, and of having done so at the cost of the Soviet Union. We have no other source for this song, nor have we been able to find any other source for the words, though the song was actually published in two versions with slightly divergent texts (see the textual comparisons, p. 245 f.). One of these versions (see Source **A1**) is mistakenly addressed not to "Stresemann", but to "Scheidemann" (i.e. the German Chancellor of 1919, who by this time was no longer active in national politics).

Der Rote Wedding was also composed in reaction to a concrete historical event. On 1 May 1929, the police had caused a bloodbath at a forbidden Workers' Day demonstration by the KPD in the Berlin working-class district of Wedding. At least 32 people were shot dead – some of them demonstrators, others uninvolved passers-by – and there were innumerable wounded. Apartment buildings adorned with red flags came under indiscriminate fire, and there were 1,200 arrests, followed up by 68 convictions.[118] The following weeks saw mass strikes and further police brutality. The Berlin chief of police Karl Friedrich Zörgiebel, a Social Democrat, instituted a de-facto state of emergency in the working-class areas of the city. There were curfews, and blackouts were ordered in rooms in apartment buildings that faced the street. It was forbidden to open windows, the KPD's party newspaper *Die Rote Fahne* ('The red flag') had to cease publication for several weeks, and the Roter Frontkämpferbund was banned across the country. This "Bloody May" in Berlin was a decisive event in the history of the Weimar Republic, and made permanent the split between those in the working class who were allied to the Social Democrats and those who supported the Communists. One reaction to the events of that May was the founding of an agitprop group in November 1929 that had its roots in the sports association Fichte (just like the Kolonne Links mentioned above), and whose members were from the KJVD. This group called itself "Red Wedding", and commissioned Erich Weinert to write them a signature song entitled thus. He in turn had Eisler set it to music. Because it was conceived "as a song for the troops […] and only for a specific point in time", Weinert assumed that "it wouldn't become one of the best songs, artistically or ideologically".[119] The first performance of *Der Rote Wedding* took place in the Pharus Hall in Berlin, shortly before 5 November 1929. It was a complete success.[120] After just a few performances, audiences began singing along. It then got a decisive publicity boost in December 1929 when it was released on a record that was distributed by the mail-order house "Arbeiter-Kult" (see leporello, AdK Berlin, *HEA 3172*; regarding the date, see the description of source **D** for *Der neue Stern*). Weinert recalled this as follows:

> After a few months, it was being sung in all the halls as a rallying song. Soon it was sung as a marching song at demonstrations. It took barely half a year before "Red Wedding", an occasional little song expressly conceived for Berlin, spread across the whole country like flying seed, and even fell on fertile ground beyond our borders. Wherever I went on my lecture tours, I heard people sing "Red Wedding".[121]

112 See Christian Glanz, *Hanns Eisler. Leben und Werk*, Vienna: Edition Steinbauer 2008, p. 73.
113 See Gall [fn. 10], p. 12.
114 Quoted as in: Hoffmann, Hoffmann-Ostwald [fn. 105], p. 249.
115 A battleship of the Gangut Class, originally stationed in Kronstadt. See Siegfried Breyer, *Enzyklopädie des sowjetischen Kriegsschiffbaus* (2 vols.). See vol. 1: *Oktoberrevolution und maritimes Erbe*, Herford: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft 1987, p. 33. See vol. 2: *Konsolidierung und erste Neubauten*, Herford: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft 1989, pp. 13, 83–97.
116 Cruiser of the Bogatyr Class that belonged to the Black Sea Fleet. See *ibid*., vol. 1, p. 43. See *ibid*., vol. 2, p. 13.
117 The name of the ship was presumably derived from the battleship of the Gangut Class "Oktyabr'skaya revoluciya". See *ibid*., vol. 2, pp. 13, 83–97.
118 See Thomas Kurz, *"Blutmai". Sozialdemokraten und Kommunisten im Brennpunkt der Ereignisse von 1929*, Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfahren 1988, pp. 67, 78.
119 See Erich Weinert, *Schicksal eines Liedes* in: *Die Rote Fahne*, 24 February 1931 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3520*).
120 See the review in *Die Rote Fahne*, 5 November 1929 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3487*).
121 See Weinert [fn. 119].

In May 1931, the song was banned by law. In the justification given, it was stated that it indulged in "public slander of the constitutionally determined republican form of government of the country",[122] and the following lines were singled out: "The republic is a lovely palace | but it stands on a deep swamp | of stupidity and reactionism! | We shall advance and muck it out!". Besides this ban on performances, the authorities also ordered the song's confiscation in print and on record. Eisler tried to compensate for this loss, and in June 1931 he made a new ensemble version in Moscow that he called a "gramophone score" (autograph score, AdK Berlin, *HEA 951*). It remains unknown whether or not this version was recorded before the Second World War. Eisler made a version of *Der Rote Wedding* for voice and piano in 1937, though such versions had already been made by others and published in the Soviet Union and the USA,[123] which were obviously transcriptions from the recording.[124] They offer impressive proof of the song's international popularity.

Eisler authorised two different musical versions of *Der Rote Wedding* for voice and piano. The first version was bilingual and was published by the State Music Publisher Muzgiz in Moscow in 1937 in the anthology *Pesni bor'by* ('Fighting songs'). The second version was published by Ernst Busch in 1947 in the anthology *Hanns Eisler. Sieben Lieder für Massengesang mit vereinfachtem Klaviersatz*. This latter version was reprinted several times thereafter with an altered text and with translations into Russian (see the textual comparisons, p. 255 ff.).[125] Over the course of its history, *Der Rote Wedding* was subjected to a continuous process of textual modernisation in order to adapt it to shifting political situations. It had been composed as a song in protest at the events of May 1929, but the piano version of 1937 invoked the struggle against fascism and postulated a "storming of the brown palace".[126] The post-war prints (see sources **D**, **F**) took up a historicising position once more, and reverted to the original text. For *Hanns Eisler. Sieben Lieder für Massengesang mit vereinfachtem Klaviersatz*, Ernst Busch rewrote the song's text and gave it the title *Freie Jugend* ('Free youth'); the piano accompaniment is that of the second version. This rewrite was also translated into Russian, was printed several times, and was a repertoire piece of Busch himself.

The record of *Der neue Stern* ('The new star'), which was advertised as a "proletarian Christmas carol",[127] was similarly included in the banning case of 1931. It too had a text by Erich Weinert and music by Eisler, and its recording featured Reneé Stobrawa, the ensemble "Gruppe Junger Schauspieler" ('Group of young actors') and the agitprop group "Die Stürmer" ('The attackers'). But unlike the verdict on *Der Rote Wedding*, the court decided that the content of *Der neue Stern*

> does not violate any criminal law […] because in this poem the author is not opposed to the Church and its institution […] but in these verses wanted to make evident merely the indignity with which the holy feast of Christmas is celebrated by unworthy citizens who in the hour of Christmas think only of themselves and forget those poor people who are hungry […] The fact that two of the most heartfelt Christmas carols, "Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht" and "Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen" are here jazzed up does not signify any mockery of the Church, but is merely a tasteless act that we also find in other fields of art today.[128]

The record of this song – presumably made in December 1929 – thus remained available and was still being advertised heavily in the period leading up to Christmas 1930.[129] It features an ensemble version for which no materials have survived. The only source for *Der neue Stern* (AdK Berlin, *HEA 305*) is an incomplete score for voice and piano that includes sporadic notes on its instrumentation, and thus had some connection to the ensemble version. The close of the song, an adaptation of *Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit* ('Brothers, into the sun, into freedom') is merely indicated here. This is why our edition of this sketch is to be found in the Appendix to this volume.

In March 1929, the ensemble Das Rote Sprachrohr won the competition for agitprop groups at the national youth day of the Young Communist League of Germany in Düsseldorf. As their prize, they were invited by the Young Communist International to undertake a tour of several months through the Soviet Union, starting in August 1929. It took them to Kronstadt, Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, Grozny and Rostov and was a complete success, as is already intimated in their own report of their opening night in Kronstadt on 15 August 1929:

> We were received enthusiastically. In the intervals, down in the auditorium, the cry repeatedly rang out "Long live the Red Front!", chanted in chorus in German. […] After the end of the event, the audience formed a demonstration and wanted to

122 Decision of the Berlin-Mitte District Court of 24 March 1931, p. 3 f. (see the photocopy in AdK Berlin *HEA 3440*).

123 See [fn. 24].

124 Some of the incorrect pitches in the printed versions correspond precisely to those passages where the amateur singers of the agitprop group Der Rote Wedding sing imprecisely (see the recording in AdK Berlin, *AVM-30 2709*).

125 First in 1958 as No. 55 in the series *Unser Neues Lied*, published by the International Music Lending Library in Berlin; then in the volume *Poét Érnst Bush* edited by Grigoriĭ Shneerson in 1959 (Moscow: Muzgiz 1959); and finally in the anthology *Lieder der Partei*, edited by Inge Lammel for the Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin in 1961. Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister 1961 (= *Das Lied – im Kampf geboren!* vol. 10).

126 See the text underlay in source **B** (see the textual comparisons, p. 252).

127 See the catalogue *Unsere neuen Schallplatten* of the mail-order firm Arbeiter-Kult, p. 9 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3172*).

128 Photocopy of the excerpt from the case file of 22 November 1932 regarding the appellate judgement of the Imperial Court (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3440*).

129 See various newspaper advertisements and advertising articles from *Die Rote Fahne* in AdK Berlin, folder *HEA 8559*.

> accompany us back to our hotel. […] time and again, a thousand voices cried out hurrahs and cheered.[130]

This tour was also intended to strengthen the bilateral committee work between the Young Communist League (KJVD) and the Theatre of Young Workers (TRAM). On 28 September 1929, a corresponding contract was signed. In TRAM, the dominant policy was now to present larger-scale, independent scenic montages instead of the number revues that the "Sinyaya blaza" still practised. Even before the contract was signed, "Das Rote Sprachrohr" seems to have adopted the aesthetic and dramaturgical policies of TRAM, because their tour programme also included *Kollektivreferat I. Zehn Jahre Komintern. Dritte Internationale* ('Collective lecture I. Ten years of the Comintern. The Third International') by Karl Jahnke and Maxim Vallentin,[131] in which the actors appeared as "instructors" and turned the theatre into a political education centre. This collective lecture also contains the textual passage from which Eisler later derived his song *Komintern* (see below). The stage instructions offer a vivid impression of how the song was incorporated in the semi-scenic staging, though there was as yet no melody for it[132] (see the textual comparisons, p. 290 ff.). Once they were back in Germany, "Das Rote Sprachrohr" designed the "scenic report"[133] *For Soviet Power* about the emergence of socialism in the Soviet Union. It was given its first performance on 16 October 1930 in the Pharus Hall in Berlin. It was probably also for this *Lehrstück* that Eisler composed *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*.[134] The first edition of its version for voice and piano was published in two variants in 1931 by the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur in Berlin (see sources **D1/2**). The version given as **D1** in the list of sources is for speaker, unison chorus and piano accompaniment, with the speaker (who is called "comrade") instructed "to speak coldly and clearly, like an instructor, but precise in rhythm". The chorus sings the refrain. This manner of performance, with a speaker and collective chorus, could be a reference to the original mode of performance by "Das Rote Sprachrohr". *Der heimliche Aufmarsch* also exists in versions for voice and piano, and for voice with an ensemble accompaniment. The latter was released on record in 1931, and is one of Eisler's most popular songs. It was primarily Ernst Busch who ensured its overall fame, because it was in his repertoire for decades. An article in the newspaper *Welt am Abend* of 30 May 1932 about the people's fair in the Lunapark in Berlin offers us an impression of the impact of the duo Eisler/Busch:

> But when Eisler and Busch appeared on the podium, even the most enthusiastic revellers left the long slide alone and gathered before the music pavilion. The applause became a tempest, with encores demanded again and again […] when the rallying song "Arbeiter, Bauern …" [i.e. *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*] sounded, the massed thousands joined in, singing along, rocking in time with the song – like a mighty river. There, you felt: […] here, today, is red Berlin![135]

The many different printed editions of the song in German and Russian also testify to its significance. At some point (the precise date remains unknown), Eisler entered revisions into his personal copy of the first edition (AdK Berlin, *HEA 1423*) that resulted in a further version for voice and piano (source **D2** post correcturam).

8. For the world socialist republic: *Komintern*, *Mit der IfA marschiert!*, *Kampflied der IAH*, *Lied der Roten Flieger*

During their tour through the Soviet Union in the late summer of 1929 (see above), "Das Rote Sprachrohr's" programme had included a "collective lecture" commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Communist International (Comintern). As can be seen from the printed text for *I. Zehn Jahre Komintern. Dritte Internationale*,[136] Eisler's song *Komintern* was incorporated in this semi-staged event, presumably in its unison, a-cappella version.[137] The first edition, which included a piano accompaniment, was published in Moscow in 1931 by the state music publisher Muzgiz, in German and Russian. This printed version became the basis for its international dissemination in subsequent years, when it was translated into numerous languages.[138] The decisive factor in this success seems to have been the International Music Bureau (IMB) that was founded in Moscow in 1932, because the publishers in the USA, France and Belgium who printed and distributed *Komintern* in English, French and Flemish translation were either members of this association of revolutionary musicians and music associations, or linked to it and to the communist parties of their respective countries. These organisations included the Workers' Music League in New York, the Fédération du théâtre ouvrier de Belge (FTOB) and the Fédération Populaire (FMP) in France, though the last of these only moved ideologically towards the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s under the auspices of Charles Koechlin and Romain Rolland.[139] The autonomous Catalan authority for whom the German communist Otto Mayer compiled the song anthology *Cançoner Revolucionari International* / *Cancionero Revolucionario Inter-*

130 Travel report in: *Die Rote Fahne*, 6 September 1929, feature page, No. 172, p. [9], col. 1 f.

131 Published in: *Das Rote Sprachrohr* vol. I, No. 2 (February 1929), pp. 4–10.

132 See "preliminary remark: […] If you can't provide a melody of your own for the agitprop song that is a central theme throughout, you can also speak it in a march rhythm". *Ibid.*, p. 4.

133 Hoffmann, Hoffmann-Ostwald [fn. 105], p. 194.

134 See Manfred Grabs, *Hanns Eisler. Kompositionen – Schriften – Literatur. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik 1984, p. 50.

135 Newspaper clipping of the article "Das rote Berlin im Lunapark. Das Fest der Hand- und Kopfarbeiter" from *Welt am Abend*, 30 May 1932 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3561*).

136 See *Das Rote Sprachrohr* [fn. 131]. See the textual comparisons, p. 290 ff.

137 Gall [fn. 10], p. 147, entitled *Verlasst die Maschinen*.

138 See the textual comparisons, p. 291 ff.

139 See in this regard also "3. Quellenbewertung" about *Komintern* in the critical report, p. 221.

national in 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, was not directly connected to the IMB, but for strategic reasons saw itself compelled to open itself up to the Soviet Union – a fact to which the publication of *Komintern* also testifies.
From 14 to 28 March 1931, the Syndicate for Worker's Culture ("Interessengemeinschaft für Arbeiterkultur", IfA) held a cultural show in the Austrian Trades Fair House at the Leipzig exhibition grounds. There was a "freethinkers' exhibition", the Leipzig Marxist Workers' School "MASCH" was represented (Eisler happened to be a lecturer in its Berlin section), and the Esperanto Workers' Movement, the Free Radio Association of Germany and the Association of Worker Photographers all promoted themselves. The Workers' Theatre League and the Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists were also represented. The IfA promoted its own cultural projects at the show, such as the IfA Balalaika Orchestra and the IfA Worker-Singers (affiliated to the Deutscher Arbeiter-Sängerbund, the 'German Workers' Choral Association').
Eisler had already been a speaker at the founding ceremony of the IfA on 13 October 1929 in Berlin.[140] His contribution to the 1931 cultural show was a setting of *Mit der Ifa marschiert!* ('March with Ifa!'), a poem by Fritz Hampel (who went by the pseudonym "Slang"). Hampel became known primarily as a satirist and caricaturist, but he also worked for *Die Rote Fahne* and was a founding member of the Association of Proletarian-Revolutionary Authors in 1928.
The programme book for the IfA cultural show included a brief article that described the work of the Workers International Relief (WIR):

> Today's global situation is characterised by the mass hardship of the oppressed working class, which is caused by the reactionary measures of the ruling class, and by natural disasters that the same ruling class is unwilling to alleviate effectively. It has become absolutely necessary to create an international organisation that spans the whole globe and can combat this mass hardship effectively. This organisation is the Workers International Relief. Its aims are: 1. Bringing together the working population in order to set up children's recreation homes and children's day care […] for those workers' children whose physical and mental development are threatened by the economic suffering of their parents. […] 3. Financial assistance during natural and economic disasters […]. 4. The battle against private and religious charity and in aid of general public services.[141]

The WIR was founded on 12 August 1921 in Berlin after Lenin's appeal for relief for the famine and drought in the Volga region. The WIR took part in the resultant campaign alongside other international organisations. Under its chairman Willi Münzenberg, the WIR provided emergency aid in cases of natural disaster, war, civil war and strikes, and was also active in the publishing and film sectors. The publishing house Neuer Deutscher Verlag and the film production companies Prometheus-Film and Filmkartell Weltfilm GmbH belonged to WIR. In 1922, Münzenberg also founded the company Aufbau Industrie und Handels AG, and through it the WIR became involved in the Soviet film company Mezhrabpom.
In October 1931, the WIR celebrated its 10th anniversary with a world congress in Berlin. One of the accompanying events was a cultural evening in the Schubertsaal in the Bülowstrasse at which "a band of the revolutionary union opposition [played] motivating songs",[142] while Busch and Eisler performed a series of songs. The highpoint of the festivities was an event at the Sportpalast on 10 October at which Eisler was one of the speakers. We may assume that Erich Weinert and Eisler were jointly commissioned to provide a suitable song for the masses for this commemorative year. The *Kampflied für die IAH* ('Rallying song for the WIR') was published by the Verlag für Arbeiterkultur in Berlin in August 1931 as part of its series "Lieder der Kampfmusik" ('Songs for propaganda music'). Eisler composed it during his visit to Russia in spring 1931. A copy of the score in an unknown hand is dated 17 June 1931, and bears manuscript annotations by Eisler himself.
Eisler's visit to Russia in 1931 also resulted in another propaganda song.

> On his second visit, in June and July 1931, Eisler was asked to participate in a competition for a new march for the Soviet air force. This request was signed and published by the high command of the air force, and was given to the composers Eisler, Davidenko, Schechter, Myaskovsky, Shostakovich, M. Steinberg, Khachaturyan, Voloshinov, Kolyada and Mshvelidze. Hanns Eisler's *Lied der roten Flieger* ['Song of the red airmen'] resulted from this honourable commission, to a text by the Soviet poet Semyon Kirsanov, a comrade-in-arms of Mayakovsky.[143]

The Internet site "Retroplan",[144] which is dedicated to military history, provides additional information about this competition, stating that handsome sums had been offered as prize money by the political directorate of the Red Army and the Russian state publisher (500, 300 and 200 roubles respectively), and that the winning march was intended for a touring propaganda unit of the air force that was supposed to spend six months undertaking cultural and training activities in the military districts of the country and giving 200 performances. It is impossible to determine whether or not the text really was by Semyon Kirsanov; in any case, it ideally fulfils its political task of emphasising the class function of the USSR's air force and its significance and role in the presumed future battles with

140 See the report in *Welt am Abend*, 14 October 1929 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 2817*).
141 Programme book for the IfA cultural show in Leipzig from 14 to 28 March 1931, p. 12 f. (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3993*).
142 Review in *Welt am Abend*, 12 October 1931 (AdK Berlin, *HEA 3536*).
143 Israel W. Nestyev: *Lieder und Artikel Hanns Eislers in der sowjetischen Presse*, in: *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. Sonderheft Sowjetische Musikwissenschaft. Studien – Besprechungen – Berichte*, 1968, vols. 1/2, p. 34.
144 See http://www.retroplan.ru/oldnews/389-Poezdka-po-chastyam-VVS-muzykalnojj-brigady.html (accessed May 2020).

the capitalist world.[145] The text is not to be found in Kirsanov's collected poems. *Pesnya krasnykh letchikov* has survived solely in a version for voice and piano that was published in Moscow in 1932 together with a bilingual edition of *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*. The performing version with wind band has not survived. Nor do we have any German translation of *Pesnya krasnykh letchikov*.

About this edition

When editing the songs for this volume, several specific issues had to be borne in mind regarding the sources and how they have come down to us.

1. Eisler utilised most of his autograph scores as performance materials himself. They are thus often pragmatic in character, meaning that the information they offer can be meagre, and can be spread across the different parts intended for the pianist and the singer. In other words, we are here faced with several informative sources that have to be examined together. In these cases, our task as editor was to ensure consistency and completeness.

2. These songs were mostly composed with specific events in mind and were performed in different, changeable formats depending on the performance context. They are correspondingly flexible in how they were adapted to varying circumstances, and these adaptations could also affect their key and scoring. Many songs – not just those that were specifically composed for agitprop theatrical performances – were intended for performance with alternating solo and choral sections. They were also sung as unison songs by massed choruses of any number, sometimes in a call-and-response with a solo singer or precentor, sometimes with a solo speaker (as in an alternative version of *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*). In order not to have to assign the same version of a song to more than one volume in the HEGA (both as a solo song and as a choral work), the present volume (in Series III, Music for voice and piano) includes all those songs with piano accompaniment in which the vocal line is notated as a single part; these will be included in no other volume in the Complete Edition.

3. Many of these songs exist in a version for voice and instrumental ensemble as well as for voice and piano. In some cases, these two versions are directly dependent on each other, in that the piano version is either a reduction of the ensemble version, or was an initial draft that served as the basis for the latter. In both cases, we have refrained from listing the sources for the ensemble versions (which were often used for gramophone or radio recordings) in our overview and description of the sources for the present volume. This is because the ensemble versions will be edited separately in Series II of the HEGA. However, these sources – inasmuch as they constitute autograph material – were consulted in order to clarify the text in cases where such clarity was lacking. In the commentary column of the critical remarks, these sources are designated not by a source siglum but by their shelfmark in their respective archives.

4. Some of these songs also exist in several versions for voice and piano that in some cases are very different from each other. Certain versions are a result of interventions in the musical text, but sometimes only the words were reworked – whether by being adapted to altered political or societal circumstances, or through translation into another language. The present edition includes all extant authorised versions. Independent versions have been edited and placed in the main section of the present volume; versions that have survived only in fragmentary form are given in the Appendix. Versions that have been derived from those published in the main body of the volume, or vary from them only minimally, are mentioned in the list of variant readings in the critical report. The supplement with textual comparisons offers a complete collation of all variants of the texts set to music, including translations into other languages. These translations are not included in our editions of these songs in the main body of this volume when the primary source has a text underlay in several languages, but where languages other than German were not underlaid by Eisler.

5. Eisler sometimes made different versions himself, while at other times he left the task to a third party. Such versions that were made by others but were nevertheless authorised by Eisler are marked as such in our edition. Eisler had many different reasons for making several versions of a song. There are cases where he reworked the original version for purposes of publication, and others in which he revised the first edition at a later time. The former cases (reworkings of an original version with a view to publication) include the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* and *Feldfrüchte*. For *Feldfrüchte*, Eisler made a version with a more elaborate piano accompaniment when he published it for the first time in 1962, more than thirty years after its composition – this despite the fact that the first version of the song had already become well-established in the concert repertoire. In the case of *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)*, Eisler drew a clear line between the performance version that he had used in his duo work with Ernst Busch and the version that he published. In this case, Eisler made a reduction for voice and piano of the ensemble version (or had someone else make it), and then published this new version. Here, the piano part mimics the wind entries of the ensemble version, which gives this version a different character from the original. For the second case mentioned above – the subsequent revision of a printed version – the *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2 and the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 are exemplary cases. When they were republished in his *Lieder und Kantaten* vols. 1 and 2 (in 1955 and 1957 respectively), Eisler dismantled the original collections and published their songs either individually, with no mention of their original context, or in wholly new constellations. Thus the two settings of marriage advertisements from the *Zeitungsausschnitte* op. 11 (*Liebeslied eines Kleinbürgermädchens* – 'Love song of a girl from the petit bour-

145 *Ibid*., "Марш должен отображать в себе классовое значение воздушного флота СССР, его мощь и его роль в предстоящих боях с капиталом".

geoisie' – and *Liebeslied eines Grundbesitzers* – 'Love song of a landowner') were added to a cycle entitled *Sieben Lieder über die Liebe* ('Seven songs about love') in the *Lieder und Kantaten* vol. 2 (1957); this cycle contains songs of varying origins that are linked by their common topic. In the case of *Ich habe nie vermeint* from op. 2, Eisler made a significant change to the text he set when publishing it in his *Lieder und Kantaten*, in order to eliminate the religious references of the original (see the textual comparisons, p. 233). In the present volume, opp. 2 and 11 are given in the versions in which they were first published by Universal Edition in Vienna in 1925 and 1929 respectively – thus in their original context, as part of the opus originally intended by the composer. The versions of these songs from the *Lieder und Kantaten* are included in the list of variant readings, as is the smaller compilation of songs from op. 2 that Eisler gave his teacher Arnold Schoenberg as a Christmas present in 1922. *Der heimliche Aufmarsch* exists both in the abovementioned variant for speaker and chorus and in a version that Eisler made in his personal copy of the first edition, where he indicated a change of metre and wanted to switch round the strophes and refrain. The category of authorised versions can also easily encompass versions by third parties in which we can prove that Eisler either collaborated with them, or added his own subsequent alterations by hand. Our edition of the different versions of *Anna-Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)* is one such case. It was first published in the *Lieder und Kantaten* (vol. 9), but this version cannot really be regarded as authoritative because it was only made posthumously. However, several equally valid versions exist in different keys; the only autograph score is in B-flat major and has no text underlay, and also includes a remark in the hand of Ernst Busch that it should be transposed to G-flat major. Besides two versions that are actually notated in G-flat major, there is also a version in E major. These versions, however, were all made by third parties and some of them were clearly made much later. But since materials have survived for these versions that contain autograph annotations by the composer, they can also be regarded as having been authorised by him. Nor can we discern any hierarchy of significance between them (see in this regard the evaluation of the sources in the critical report, p. XX).

6. Besides versions that were the result of Eisler's own arrangements, there are also other arrangements that are completely the work of others. Some are arrangements made abroad that Eisler presumably permitted, but for which he cannot be proven to have been involved in their conception or publication.[146] We have not included them in our edition because of this lack of clarity in matters of their authorisation. Foreign prints also feature editorial decisions whose aim was usually to make them more user-friendly for local performers in their own language. These instances are referred to in the list of variant readings.

7. Many of these songs were written as political "Gebrauchsmusik" ('utilitarian music'), i.e. they set texts with topical relevance, and were intended as propaganda songs to inspire the masses. As a result, the most popular songs in particular are subject to an ambivalent degree of historicity that found expression in the different versions of their sung texts. Some underwent a constant process of updating that was at least passively authorised by Eisler, as they reacted to shifting political circumstances with propagandistic intent. But in others we can observe a "traditionalising" process whose aim was to assign historical precedence to one specific version of the text. In order to elucidate this unusual reception process clearly, the present edition also takes into consideration those versions that were made after 1932 inasmuch as the song in question was actually composed during the period to which this volume is restricted (namely 1922–1932). The first edition of a version for voice and piano of *Der Rote Wedding*, published in 1937, is also distinct from its original ensemble version in that its sung text is different. In accordance with the circumstances of the time, the version of 1937 urges its listeners to take up the battle against fascism. In the GDR, it enjoyed semi-scholarly editions in 1958 and 1961 that reverted to the first version of Erich Weinert's poem in order to bring to mind the events of May 1929. Ernst Busch modernised the texts of some of these songs in the post-war years (*Der heimliche Aufmarsch*, *Feldfrüchte*) in order to refer to the new political situation of the Cold War. In the case of *Der Rote Wedding*, he even completely rewrote the text and published the song himself under the title *Freie Jugend* in the volume he edited entitled *Hanns Eisler. Sieben Lieder für Massengesang mit vereinfachtem Klaviersatz*. This version is also listed in the supplement with textual comparisons, though Eisler's part in it remains uncertain.

8. In several cases, the present edition had to confront the problem of lost sources, in particular the loss of the scores that had served as engravers' copies and would thus have been of great scholarly value to us. For example, the loss of the engraver's copy for the first edition of the *Sechs Lieder für Gesang und Klavier* op. 2 at Universal Edition in Vienna meant both that we lack an important link between the autograph source and the printed version, and have no source material at all for the second song except the print itself. The manuscript piano reduction of the second version of the *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* is similarly lost – this was the source for the manuscript copy made by the publisher that was then printed in facsimile as the first edition. The lack of this important source is at least mitigated by the fact that this source clearly served as the engraver's copy for a Russian print four years later. This means we can compare the two printed versions. But in most cases, there is no means of compensating for the loss of these sources, which puts considerable constraints on any editor. The lack of sources is especially problematic for *Der Rote Wedding*. The source history for the variant setting for voice and piano is

146 We refer here to the arrangement of the a-cappella choral song *Ferner streiken 50.000 Holzarbeiter* by Michail Druskin, which was printed in Leningrad in 1932, and to Russian, Ukrainian and English versions of *Der Rote Wedding* that had clearly been transcribed after listening to the ensemble version on record [see fn. 124]. Some of these editions, published variously in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and New York in the early 1930s, were also printed in bilingual editions under other titles.

patchy, and was interrupted at two critical junctures. There are two independent versions of the musical text, but there is no extant autograph source for either of them. These two versions were also published at a considerable chronological distance to the time when the song was composed (the one version was published 8 years later, while the other was published twice, 18 and 22 years later); the original was presumably a version with ensemble. The last published version keeps the original version of Weinert's poem (see above), but it remains unclear whether this was the original version of the song or a subsequent compilation with historicising intent, and it is impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the genesis of this variant for voice and piano. The task of our edition here is to present the extant material and to make the reader aware of the problem with the different versions.

Overall, we can state that Eisler's songs for voice and piano composed between 1922 and 1932 that are presented in this volume can only be adequately comprehended by means of a critical, historical approach. The prime reason for this is the complex history of their composition, arrangement, performance, reception and publication in eventful times. Many of these songs were first published in a remote place or in journals or circulars, and most of their editions (whether published at home or abroad) are in any case out of print. The present volume thus makes many songs available that have been long inaccessible (at least in their versions for voice and piano). We have also been able to correct printing errors and other mistakes in those anthologies that have thus far determined the reception of these works (*Lieder und Kantaten*, *Hanns Eisler. Gesammelte Werke*). The present volume also offers the first-ever publication of several works, namely *Ich hab' heut' Eis gegessen*, *Certificat d'honneur*, *Danklied an Jan Śliwiński*, the fragment of *Der neue Stern*, the early versions of *Stempellied (Lied der Arbeitslosen)* and *Feldfrüchte*, and alternative or revised versions of *Anna-Luise (Wenn die Igel in der Abendstunde)* and *Der heimliche Aufmarsch*.

This volume was primarily dependent on sources in the Hanns Eisler Archive and the Ernst Busch Archive at the Academy of Arts in Berlin. I am very grateful to the staff of the Archive of the Academy of Arts for their help and assistance in providing information, especially to Werner Grünzweig, the head of its music archives, Anouk Jeschke, who is responsible for the Hanns Eisler Archive, Elgin Helmstaedt, who runs the Ernst Busch Archive, and Franka Köpp, who is in charge of the Erich Weinert Archive. I should also like to thank the staff of the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Staatsarchiv Leipzig and the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig for providing materials from the publishing archives of Breitkopf & Härtel and the library of the Georgi Dimitroff Museum. I am grateful to our colleagues in Vienna for their courteous assistance: Eike Feß and Hartmut Krones of the Arnold Schönberg Center, Hannes Heher of the Austrian Section of the International Hanns Eisler Society, and the staff of the music divisions of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus. Peter Deeg kindly made us aware of a source in a remote, private collection and provided important assistance when we were preparing this volume. My colleagues in the office of the *Hanns Eisler Complete Edition* – the editors-in-chief Georg Witte, Thomas Phleps (†) and Hartmut Fladt, and our research staff Marte Auer and Johannes C. Gall – were of significant assistance in bringing this volume to a successful conclusion. I should like to thank them all for their collegial cooperation, their expert assistance in editorial matters and their help with the proofreading process – a process in which Klaus Völker, the Chairman of the International Hanns Eisler Society, and Elmar Juchem of the editoral committee also generously participated. I should also like to express my thanks for our fruitful collaboration with Breitkopf & Härtel's production department and with Thomas Frenzel, who is the editor responsible for their complete editions.

Berlin, January 2020 Knud Breyer

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