

Erich Korngold's Discursive Practices:
Musical Values in the Salon Community from Vienna to Hollywood

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Dedication

To my children, Amy and Thomas,
in memory of my father, Richard Pelsue,
and my grandmother, Nellie Pelsue,
who all inspired me to pursue the study of music.

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Abstract

Erich Wolfgang Korngold, a Viennese musician of the early twentieth century, composed western art music and film scores. Some scholars suggest his musical values and success in film music related entirely to his experiences composing operas. Indeed, Korngold's adherence to tonality and his reputation as a European high art composer contributed to his success both in Vienna and Hollywood. However, much research has failed to address his time spent arranging and composing operettas. Few scholars have discussed that his lifelong style, including his operas, also reflected the Viennese light and popular music of his youth. Korngold's background in Viennese music set the stage for Korngold's discursive practices and negotiation between European high art music and popular music. Based on the work of Simon Frith, I use discursive practice to discuss ongoing discourses between high art and lighter or popular forms, along with social presentations and interaction with mass media. I apply Frith's ideas to my research through the examples of Korngold's works and social connections in Vienna and Hollywood. Additionally, through the identity theories of Turino, I demonstrate how Korngold's Viennese upbringing influenced his musical tastes toward popular styles, such as the waltz, while his father's influence contributed to his self-perception as a high art composer. Korngold grew up in a close-knit Viennese community of high art musicians, which impacted his music and personal identity. The salon communities in Vienna and Hollywood also contributed to the formation of his group identity. Korngold's musical style is consistent throughout his life, but the presentation and reception of his music varied based on particular cultural and compositional contexts.

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CHAPTER I: KORNGOLD'S DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

Scholars have investigated Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957) from the perspectives of his status as a World War II émigré, European high art composer, and film composer. Korngold's work is diverse, ranging from western art, popular music, and opera in Vienna to American film scores, and symphonies. I investigate Korngold, his musical compositions, and their reception in the western art music communities of Vienna and Hollywood through the topic of discursive practices among European high art music, light European art music, and popular music. Scholarly sources rarely discuss Korngold's experiences with Viennese light music, which undoubtedly influenced his musical style and values; this thesis addresses the gap. Discussing the evaluative principles of high and low art forms, Simon Frith explains, "The differences lie in the objects at issue, in the discourses in which judgments are cast, and in the circumstances in which they are made."¹ Such are the cases in Korngold's compositions. Korngold's musical style is consistent throughout his life, but the presentation and reception of his music varied based on the particular cultural and compositional context of his own self-perception and identity politics.

When Korngold became a film score composer in 1930s Hollywood, his identity and past experiences as a child prodigy and Viennese high-art music composer, along with his theatrical experiences with light music, fundamentally shaped his resulting film music. Many scholars, such as David Neumayer, argue that Korngold brought western high art music to film scores through a Wagnerian opera influence.² Indeed, Korngold and Max Steiner even acknowledged

¹ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 19.

² David Neumayer, "The Resonances of Wagnerian Opera and Nineteenth-Century Melodrama in the Film Scores of Max Steiner," in *Wagner & Cinema*, edited by Jeongwon Joe and Sander Gilman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 115.

this Wagnerian influence.³ However, as Peter Franklin states of contemporary scholarship, “The fatal chemistry of the German term *Leitmotiv*, mixed with awareness of the German or Austrian background of some of the key founding composers of cinema’s sound era, has nevertheless led perhaps too quickly and easily to Wagner.”⁴ I posit that Korngold’s western musical values were shaped first by his father Julius Korngold (1860-1945), a Viennese high art proponent and music critic, and by the salon communities of Vienna and Los Angeles, respectively. Despite the pressure from his father to compose in conservative musical styles during his youth, music such as popular waltzes and operettas of Vienna influenced Korngold. Later, his compositions of these genres contributed to his discursive practices of negotiation between western high art music and light or popular music. His shifting musical values, along with consistent musical style, culminated in the film scores he composed for Hollywood.

From Vienna to Hollywood, the social-musical community of the salon shaped Korngold’s musical values and social networks. His reputation as a high art composer in Vienna contributed to his success in Hollywood and acceptance into the salon community of exiles there. Referring to class structures at the beginning of the twentieth century, Simon Frith points out the importance of the community in regard to distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow music. This concept affirms the influence of the salon for Korngold. As discussed later in this thesis, Frith notes of Western Europe, “The high/low cultural boundary was partly defined by the choices made by people (composers, performers, listeners) within a shared musical context. It was only through such choices (the serious over the frivolous, the idealistic over the commercial)

³ Hilan Warshaw, “‘The Dream Organ’: Wagner as a Proto-Filmmaker,” in *Wagner Outside the Ring: Essays on the Operas, Their Performance and Their Connections with Other Arts*, ed. John Louis DeGaetani (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2009), 192.

⁴ Peter Franklin, *Seeing Through Music: Gender and Modernism in Classic Hollywood Film Scores* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 38.

that the social significance of the judgment could be made clear.”⁵ For Korngold, such choices and social significance had previously developed in the salons of Vienna, where Korngold often spent Sundays performing and listening to musicians. To demonstrate the use of aesthetic criteria as a social function beyond the bourgeoisie, Frith suggests, “If social relations are constituted in cultural practice, then our sense of identity and difference is established in the processes of discrimination.”⁶ Thus, some salon music enhanced the value Korngold placed on western high art music, but other salon gatherings, such as those at the home of Johann Strauss’ widow, Adele, encouraged his enjoyment of lighter musical values such as the waltz.

The salon communities of Vienna and Hollywood strengthened Korngold’s acceptance into European high art society, which pleased his father Julius Korngold, music critic for *Die Neue Freie Presse*. His father’s preference for late romantic and other traditional western art music undoubtedly contributed to Korngold’s identity as a western art composer.⁷ Although Korngold was considered a modernist composer, like Richard Strauss (1864-1849) he largely rejected atonality and serialism, which differentiated him from the Second Viennese School and Schoenberg.⁸ He also bridged the gap between serial and late-Romantic styles. Peter Franklin states, “The younger Korngold’s musical contribution to the early twentieth-century ‘style wars’ can readily be heard in the way he could mobilize and orchestrate dissonant vertical harmonies of the post-*Elektra* variety, only to resolve them tonally.”⁹ His musical connections in the salons contributed to the circulation of his work in popular realms even while he maintained his

⁵ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 27.

⁶ Ibid, 18.

⁷ Brendan G. Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 44.

⁸ Ibid, 45.

⁹ Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 120.

European western art style compositions, thus exemplifying Korngold's ability to traverse popular and western art music.

Discursive Practices: European Art Music, Light Music, and Popular Music

In this thesis, I use the term discursive practice to discuss the ongoing discourses between European high art music and lighter or popular forms of music, along with the various societal presentations of said musics. According to Frith, three types of discursive practices in music contribute to the discourses regarding high and low music. The discourse of the bourgeois, or academy, focuses on conservatory education, scholarly skills, and the teacher/pupil relationships.¹⁰ Frith's second discourse involves the folk music world or "popular culture." An appreciation of this music is tied to social function, encompassing performing rituals within an informal setting.¹¹ The third discourse is the commercial music world, or "majority culture," where values are created around the music industry. Here, sales charts measure value and sounds are turned into commodities.¹² Frith states "Each discourse represents a response to the shared problems of music making in an industrial capitalist society."¹³ Korngold, as a musician in the early twentieth century, shared in these discourses as industrialization created new mediums and social contexts for music.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century European musical values and practices differed from those in America. European high art culture included symphonic and operatic music in concert halls as part of the class-bound cultural definitions of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Wealthy industrialists and the haute bourgeoisie sponsored the salon musical tradition during the

¹⁰ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 36.

¹¹ Ibid, 39.

¹² Ibid, 41.

¹³ Ibid, 43.

¹⁴ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 137.

nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, which included lighter forms of music, such as chamber music. Chamber music included forms such as instrumental quartets and trios. Additionally, the musical staples of middle-class European homes included mostly Lieder and chamber music.¹⁵ The context of domestic music-making included the popularity of European salon customs, defined later in this section. Popular or entertainment music of this time in Europe incorporated dance pieces, such as waltzes by Johann Strauss II.¹⁶ It is important to note that in the first part of the nineteenth century, European popular music did not imply music of a low status. Social classes mixed often at European promenade concerts, which featured dance music, such as waltzes and polkas.¹⁷ Frith states that in Western Europe, little distinction between high art and popular music existed in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ However, in the late nineteenth century, categories of high or low music genres such as symphonies or cabaret music were strongly associated with types of culture and social classes. By the end of the twentieth century, the cultural landscape had shifted to acknowledge a high/low distinction.¹⁹ Thus, European society labeled certain popular music, such as operettas and waltzes, as lighter forms of music.

In late nineteenth-century America, the sacralization of opera and symphonic music also contributed to the disparities observed between high art and popular music. Sacralization refers to a cultural elevation of a previously popular style, in both art and music. Levine states, “Because the primary categories of culture have been the products of ideologies which were always subject to modifications and transformations, the perimeters of our cultural division have

¹⁵ Leon Botstein, “Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity: The Tradition and Legacy of the Salon,” in *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation*, eds. Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun (New York: The Jewish Museum, 2005), 166.

¹⁶ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 43.

¹⁸ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 26.

been permeable and shifting rather than fixed and immutable.”²⁰ Thus, although many Americans idealized European musical values, they supported the arts by attending band concerts, which featured John Philip Sousa’s marches and other light music instead of European operas.²¹ Hymns and popular songs, such as Stephen Foster’s works, supplemented the European repertoire.

The discursively defined boundaries on music often shifted through heated discussions about art and entertainment beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth.²² In the United States, although many composers retained their high art preferences for European music and practices, they learned to combine them with American musical preferences, producing more popular styles similar to that of Tin Pan Alley or Broadway.²³ The term popular music represents many facets, but in this thesis, its meaning reflects the commercialized music of the American early twentieth century, such as that in radio, films, printed sheet music, Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and other places not considered part of the high art western tradition.²⁴ Popular music versus art music was a subject of debate among salon participants, as I discuss in Chapter IV. For instance, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), a European high art, modernist composer and contemporary of Korngold, refused to call America’s popular music “art.”²⁵ Thus, for Schoenberg and many other western art composers, most of America’s music in the early twentieth century did not qualify as art due to its commercialism.

²⁰ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 8.

²¹ *Ibid*, 165.

²² *Ibid*, 254.

²³ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 45.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 45.

²⁵ Lydia Goehr, “Music and Musicians in Exile: The Romantic Legacy of a Double Life,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 74.

Definitions of Terminology

Émigré

In this thesis, I use the word *émigré* to denote the German-speaking musicians and artists that left Europe, including Austria and other countries, while Hitler was in power.²⁶ Immigrant, emigrant, and *émigré* are not interchangeable. Immigrants have arrived to a country and seldom return to their original home. Likewise, emigrants have left a country and usually have no plan or desire to return to it. On the other hand, *émigré* is associated with someone affected by political circumstances or exile, usually with intent to return to his homeland.²⁷ *Émigrés* are connected with exile of some kind, whether forced or voluntary. Exile, as discussed by Caren Kaplan, and as I use it here, signifies coercion and estrangement from one's original community, with a similar cultural identity apparent in their new place, as demonstrated in the community of German-speaking artists in Los Angeles in the early twentieth century.²⁸

Korngold had traveled to the United States to work on one film, but the Austrian *Anschluss* in 1938 and takeover of his home by the Nazis eliminated his ability to return to Vienna. The resulting political expulsion of the surviving Jewish population meant that Korngold and other *émigrés* continued their lives in America rather than Europe. The *émigré* salon community of German-speaking musicians in Hollywood often sponsored other *émigrés*

²⁶ Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 12. Korngold grew up in present-day Austria and many of the musicians discussed in this thesis were German or Austrian. However, until after 1945, the modern concepts of Germany and Austria within their current borders did not exist. Michael Haas states, "Until the latter part of the nineteenth-century, however, Germanic Europe was not a single unified country but a network of independent fiefdoms, principalities, bishoprics and kingdoms, often reaching far into neighbouring regions." German was the official language through most of the empire, hence the reference to German-speaking people or countries. I also refer to this entire pre-World War II region as Germany or Austria, depending on the city being discussed.

²⁶ Dorothy Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), x, xv.

²⁷ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "Émigré," <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/%C3%A9migr%C3%A9>, accessed December 1, 2013.

²⁸ Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 31.

searching for places to reside as they fled Europe. In addition, the larger circulation of Jewish friends contributed funds for émigrés and the continued requests for visas in the 1930s and 1940s.

Salons

The history of salons spans several centuries. The institution originated in France during the seventeenth-century, and by the end of the eighteenth-century salons, or “at homes,” emerged in Europe as a frequent social event.²⁹ Salons served as a weekly gathering place for regular attendees; other guests received invitations from the salon host as well. These affairs took place at the same time each week and included an informal meal. The gathering focused on conversations and musical performances, embracing both western art and popular forms.³⁰ Emily Bilski and Emily Braun note that from its beginnings, a large number of European Jewish women were hosts and this “institution of modern secular culture spread throughout Europe after 1789 and lasted until World War II.”³¹

While primarily hosted by Jewish women, salons attracted men and women of all religions and social strata. Bilski and Braun state, “From the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries they fostered the decline of aristocratic castes and the rise of the new egalitarian elites.”³² Social circles, which formed around both popular and high art cultural activities, also reflected high or low statuses within a community. Despite the perceived social elitism of the salon, it allowed persons of various economic standing, religion, and nationality recognition as

²⁹ Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, *The Power of Conversation: Jewish Women and Their Salons* (New York: The Jewish Museum, 2005), 2.

³⁰ Ibid, 2.

³¹ Ibid, 3.

³² Ibid, 1.

individuals and encouraged the exchange of ideas. The tradition continued with the émigré community in Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles community of exiled artists, composers, and musicians also gathered frequently in homes of other displaced Europeans for meals, entertainment, and support in the form of the salon. Such gatherings in Hollywood reflected a continuation of a European Sunday afternoon salon tradition within this community. Dorothy Lamb Crawford researched the 1930-1950s Hollywood community and focused deeply on the writers and musicians who lived there, as well as their output.³³ These salons often brought exiles together for reminiscing, while maintaining the culture and customs of their European origins.³⁴ At gatherings, émigrés spoke native languages, played familiar card games, and entertained each other with music of their former homes. While living in Los Angeles, exiled persons from many European countries, including Austria, Hungary, Russia, Poland, Germany, and Italy attended these salons.³⁵ During the 1930s and 1940s, Lion Feuchtwanger (1884-1958) and his wife, Marta (1891-1987), and Salka Viertel (1889-1978) hosted many of these salons, opening their homes to other exiles.³⁶

Identity

One's individual identity emerges from a compilation of the experiences amassed during the process of day-to-day living, and one often looks for others with similar backgrounds. Likewise, according to Thomas Turino, group identities recognize and select those with common habits, constructing cultural formations.³⁷ The salon community in Los Angeles affirmed these aspects of group identity with their closeness. Levine also reiterates that in America, attendance

³³ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, ix.

³⁴ Ibid, 31.

³⁵ Ibid, xv.

³⁶ Skirball Cultural Center, "Light & Noir: Exiles and Émigrés in Hollywood, 1933-1950," Exhibit letter dated May 1942, tour.

³⁷ Thomas Turino, and James Lea, *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 7.

at concerts and preference for European high art became a vehicle for the newest group of American upper-class society to demonstrate cultural finesse and identification with the elite class. This social construct allowed the perpetuation of the European cultural ideal within the émigré community.³⁸

Life experiences contribute to the habits that form the identity, and make up the interaction of both individual and social environments through the mediation of signs, both icons and indices. Individual identity, as the representation of selected habits in certain contexts, defines oneself in relation to both self and others. However, Turino notes, “Group identities are the foundation of all social and political life.”³⁹ The émigrés in Hollywood within the artistic community exhibited a strong sense of group identity along these lines, identifying with other displaced artists.

Methodology and Scope

I explore Korngold’s musical practices during his years in Vienna and after exile in Hollywood among the displaced European community of artists in Southern California. In looking at Korngold’s styles of European high art music and Viennese and American popular forms, I draw on Simon Frith, Peter Franklin, and Lawrence Levine, who provide frameworks for my discussion of discursive practices. My discussion of Korngold also applies theories of identity to the salon community in Los Angeles, while exploring the historical background of Korngold and his musical contemporaries in Vienna and Los Angeles.

I question the sharp distinction between European high art and popular music. Korngold participated in blurring these categories by claiming his place as a high art composer, while frequently presenting his music in light or popular venues. Lawrence Levine contributes to the

³⁸ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 226.

³⁹ Ibid, 7-8.

discussion of high and low music in America during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and points to the sacralization that occurred in opera and symphonies of that time.⁴⁰ As industrialization of Europe and America broke down barriers between the upper and lower class citizens, the high arts became a form of cultural capital for those with newly acquired wealth. However, in America, popular arts such as band concerts also remained an important pastime.⁴¹ Peter Franklin formulates the relationship between late-romantic music and the Hollywood film score, while Simon Frith discusses the discursive practices associated with high art versus low art music, applying sociological discourse to these meanings.⁴²

Despite Korngold's perception of self as a high art composer, he demonstrated a predilection for a more popular style, such as Viennese operetta. My analysis employs Thomas Turino, who asserts the importance of one's individual experiences in identity formation. Turino discusses deep socialization, or internalization, and emblems of identity, or consciously manipulated signs.⁴³ Turino states, "A person's internalized dispositions and habits are products of relations to the conditions around her and her concrete experiences in and of the environment."⁴⁴

In this thesis, I discuss how European high art and popular musical values affected Korngold's relationships and sense of identity within the musical salon communities in Vienna and Hollywood. The scope of this project encompasses *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and its influence on the émigrés found in Appendix I, including Korngold's years as a child and adolescent in Vienna. Examining the Los Angeles studios in the 1930s and 1940s, I relate how Hollywood's Golden Age of film music provided a means of survival for many of these exiles. I illustrate the

⁴⁰ Ibid, 104.

⁴¹ Ibid, 166.

⁴² Franklin, *Seeing Through Music*, 4; Frith, *Performing Rites*, 22.

⁴³ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

⁴⁴ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 120.

importance of Korngold's theatrical experience in Vienna and demonstrate how it influenced the development of American film scores. I describe the tensions surrounding the European artists and their mindsets regarding early twentieth-century American classical and popular idioms of music.

Historical Background

Korngold grew up in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna as an active participant in its musical sphere. According to Carl Schorske, "Almost simultaneously in one area after another, that city's intelligentsia produced innovations that became identified throughout the European cultural sphere as Vienna "schools" – notably in psychology, art history, and music."⁴⁵ Salons and cafés functioned as places where various intellectuals shared ideas and values and mingled with both business and artistic people.⁴⁶

During the years preceding World War II, Vienna, Austria was a leader in European musical culture. Korngold's close connection to the Viennese music world at this time exposed him to many styles of composition. Korngold not only composed opera and other concert hall music, but also wrote an abundance of chamber music and Lieder before the 1930s. Most of his compositions prior to film consisted of the salon styles of sonata and chamber music, but occasionally critics had referred to his music as "kitschy."⁴⁷ Korngold's numerous musical experiences began in early twentieth-century Vienna, where he resided until his permanent relocation to Hollywood in 1938. Baroness von Bienerth presented his first public performance,

⁴⁵ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), xxvi.

⁴⁶ Ibid, xxvii.

⁴⁷ Schott Publishing Co., "Erich Wolfgang Korngold: List of Published Works up to March 2013" (Mainz, Germany: Schott Music GmbH, 2013), 26-38.

the ballet *Der Schneemann* (1909), after which Korngold's fame began to spread.⁴⁸ Thus, Korngold's reputation as a western high art composer became established early in his life.

The Korngolds were cultural Jews rather than religious. No mention of their Jewish roots appears in the memoirs of Korngold's father or Korngold's wife, Luzi, both of whom are discussed later in this chapter. Korngold's dietary practices were not kosher, nor is any mention made of a Bar Mitzvah.⁴⁹ They did not regularly attend synagogue. Although they were Jewish, his family saw themselves as Austrian first.⁵⁰ The same was true for many of the European Jews who would later settle in Hollywood.

Venerated composers in Vienna, such as Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Richard Strauss (1864-1949), and his teacher, Alexander von Zemlinsky (1871-1942), mentored Korngold.⁵¹ Early in life, Korngold began formal music training with Zemlinsky. Korngold also maintained a close relationship with Mahler and attended many salons with him in Vienna. The *Theater an der Wein*, *Die Staatsoper*, and *Die Volksoper* hosted numerous operas and operettas, which Korngold attended.⁵² The people who shared Korngold's social life and contributed to his exposure to various musical values are examples of what Thomas Turino describes as cultural formations, or a group of people who have a majority of habits in common.⁵³ After 1933, when Hitler forced Jewish musicians out of Berlin, many composers relocated to Vienna, which added to the musical and artistic energy there.⁵⁴ However, if one listens closely to Korngold's first compositions, such as *Der Schneemann*, characteristics of popular Viennese music can be heard,

⁴⁸ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 46.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 72.

⁵⁰ Jessica Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 12.

⁵¹ Ibid, 36.

⁵² Tony Thomas, *Music for the Movies* (Cranbury, NH: A.S. Barnes, 1973), 130.

⁵³ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 112.

⁵⁴ Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, xviii.

such as the lilting, cheerful quality typical of Johann Strauss II's Viennese waltzes, affirming Korngold's early connection with popular styles of Viennese music.

Korngold composed a wide variety of pieces during his lifetime, many of which utilized the piano. His list of works included both European high art, such as orchestral works, and popular music composed for operetta arrangements, stage works, and film scores.⁵⁵ The piano remained Korngold's primary instrument throughout his life, and Hugo Friedhofer (1901-1981), Korngold's orchestrator at Warner Brothers, was one of many who commented on his ability to sound like an entire orchestra on the instrument.⁵⁶ Piano also played a large part in his compositional output, as only four of his works do not employ it.⁵⁷ Many of his early pieces, such as his ballet, *Der Schneemann* (1909), were written for piano and published as piano compositions prior to orchestration. Other songs, such as "Lautenlied," from his three-act opera, *Die Tote Stadt* (1916), were published as piano sheet music and promoted for popular home use.⁵⁸ As such, the piano, which I discuss in Chapter II, may be considered an emblem of his identity as defined by Turino.⁵⁹ Thus, Korngold utilized it as a means for expression of his enjoyment of popular music in addition to high art songs.

Despite the rich culture Vienna offered, Korngold spent time traveling in Europe with Max Reinhardt (1873-1943), a German theater producer, from 1929 to 1933. Although Reinhardt left for the United States in 1933, this association remained one of the most important relationships of Korngold's life for several reasons. First, their collaboration created the two largest theatrical successes of the decade, including *Rosalinda* (1942) a Broadway adaptation of

⁵⁵ *Korngold Society* website, http://www.korngold-society.org/works_list.html, Last updated October 2013. Accessed September 15, 2015.

⁵⁶ Ben Winters, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold's The Adventures of Robin Hood: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 26.

⁵⁷ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 85.

⁵⁸ Benjamin Goose, "Opera for Sale: Folksong, Sentimentality and the Market," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, Part 2 (2008): 211.

⁵⁹ Turino, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

Johann Strauss, II's *Die Fledermaus*, (1929), and *Walzer aus Wien* (1930), or *The Great Waltz*, which compiled compositions by Johann Strauss, Sr. and Johann Strauss, II.⁶⁰ *The Great Waltz* eventually played on Broadway in New York, and Alfred Hitchcock produced a film version in Britain, which used Korngold's arrangements. The film was released in Britain as *Waltzes from Vienna* (1933) and in the United States as *Strauss' Great Waltz* (1934). Korngold and Julius Bittner (1874-1939), an Austrian composer, arranged the music for the film.⁶¹

Over time, Reinhardt advised Korngold in artistic ventures, encouraging his talents, and served as an antidote to his father's critical tongue. Last, but most importantly, Reinhardt deliberately saved Korngold and his family from the Nazis, by insisting that Korngold leave Vienna and compose the film score for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) in the United States.⁶² Thus, Korngold came to the United States not only to escape the *Anschluß*, but also to work for Warner Brothers Studios. Although research clearly shows Reinhardt as responsible for bringing Erich Korngold to the United States for film score composition, Korngold's theatrical affiliation with Reinhardt currently receives little attention by scholars.⁶³ Earlier in 1929, the two had collaborated on musical plays, often traveling around Europe for productions, such as their new arrangement of *Die Fledermaus*. When Korngold worked on the operetta *Waltzes from Vienna*, he found that he enjoyed composing for musical theater.⁶⁴ This area of Korngold's compositional identity has not received sufficient scholarship.

When Korngold began collaboration with Warner Brothers Studios in 1937, Max Steiner (1888-1971) was the music director. Steiner had also excelled in composition and arrangement

⁶⁰ Thomas, *Music for Movies*, 129.

⁶¹ Jack Sullivan, *Hitchcock's Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 20.

⁶² Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 196.

⁶³ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 148.

⁶⁴ Thomas, *Music for Movies*, 129.

for musical theater in Austria and New York before moving to Hollywood.⁶⁵ Steiner had left RKO and joined Warner Brothers Studios in 1937, where he and Korngold worked closely together through the 1940s. Both Korngold and Steiner composed award-winning film scores during that time. Academy Awards for Best Music Score went to Korngold in 1936 and 1938 for *Anthony Adverse* and *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, and Steiner won in 1935, 1942, and 1944 for *The Informer* (RKO), *Now, Voyager*, and *Since You Went Away* respectively.⁶⁶

Korngold and Steiner, two Austrian exiles, set the standard for the American film score to follow for many years by emphasizing the composition of original scores. Although American film scores had existed prior to this, film studios often utilized arrangements of previously composed works.⁶⁷ For example, Korngold arranged Mendelssohn's music in his first Hollywood film, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1934), with Reinhardt. Incidental music, as seen in theater, accentuated Korngold's adaptability. His first two film scores contained entirely incidental music, or music that underscores the action in a drama.⁶⁸

Korngold's compositional style for film scores resembled the manner in which he composed opera and operettas. He drew upon musical motifs and dramatic expression, and his musical style and identity was influenced primarily by Viennese composers, including Mahler, Richard Strauss, and Johann Strauss, II (1825-1899).⁶⁹ Korngold held Mahler in high esteem and appreciated Mahler's influence on other people. During a conversation about a film orchestration process with Friedhofer, Korngold smilingly acknowledged Mahler's influence on Friedhofer's

⁶⁵ Mark Slobin, "The Steiner Superculture," in *Global Soundtracks: Worlds of Film Music* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 6.

⁶⁶ Paul Michael, ed., *American Movies Reference Book: The Sound Era* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 585-590.

⁶⁷ Martin Miller Marks, *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies, 1895-1924* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 4.

⁶⁸ Don Michael Randel, ed., "Incidental Music," *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 408.

⁶⁹ Royal S. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994), 96.

work, “You must be very well acquainted with the music of Gustav Mahler.”⁷⁰ Perhaps this mutual admiration of Mahler was one of the reasons Korngold worked well with Friedhofer at Warner Brothers Studios.

Self-borrowing, an important feature of Korngold’s compositional style appears in his opera compositions, his years with Reinhardt in musical theater, and throughout his film scores. For example, Ben Winters described Korngold’s operetta, *Die Katherin* (1939), as bearing a striking resemblance to the martial musical language heard in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938).⁷¹ Winters also points out that the descending chromatic death motif from the opera, *Die Tote Stadt* (1916), can also be heard in *The Sea Hawk* (1940) during a struggle in the Panama jungle and again in *The Prince and the Pauper* (1937) just before the young king is murdered.⁷² Through such self-borrowings, Korngold placed his high art music from operas into popular music within the film score.

Despite his work during the 1930s arranging operettas and other light forms of music in Europe, Korngold’s reputation as a high art composer generated interest from Warner Brothers to hire him as a composer for their film scores in order to build a new image for themselves.⁷³ Korngold had considerably more western art composition experience prior to his arrival in Hollywood than did most film score composers at the time, and his reputation as a child prodigy gained him the leverage needed to request special considerations in his contracts.⁷⁴

Los Angeles, unlike Vienna, lacked the cultural diversity and opportunities to which European émigrés were accustomed. For example, Joseph Horowitz points out, “Klemperer often

⁷⁰ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 26.

⁷¹ Ibid, 30.

⁷² Ibid, 31.

⁷³ Gary Marmorstein, *Hollywood Rhapsody: Movie Music and Its Makers, 1900-1975* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 79.

⁷⁴ Christopher Palmer, *The Composer in Hollywood* (New York: Marion Boyars Publishing, 1990), 53.

found Los Angeles ‘an intellectual desert.’”⁷⁵ Despite the lack of Western European musical arts, these exiled composers began settling in the United States after the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938, many in Los Angeles.⁷⁶ The émigrés settling in Southern California brought their European culture with them, which resulted in efforts by the newcomers to infuse the area with the Western European arts they knew and valued.⁷⁷ In addition to composition and performance, the other area of employment open to the newcomers was in the film studios. Émigré musicians became studio players, and composers joined teams of the various film production crews.⁷⁸

The film studios and émigré composers mutually supported one another. European musicians like Korngold brought a high level of expertise to film scoring in Hollywood and established this kind of work as a serious pursuit. With a growing film industry in Hollywood, the newcomers embraced the opportunity for employment and sponsorship and the chance to draw on their well-developed skills and histories as European musicians.

Literature Review

The disparities in musical values between European high art and American popular music caused friction among the émigrés in America. However, Korngold and other émigrés in Hollywood supported each other within the salon community, as musicians and friends. The social setting of Los Angeles in 1930s Hollywood figures predominantly in my argument. More specifically, the regular salons hosted by several prominent émigrés and their wives, including author Thomas Mann (1875-1955) and Katia Mann (1883-1980), novelist Lion Feuchtwanger

⁷⁵ Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 315.

⁷⁶ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 134.

⁷⁷ William Safran, “The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theological Perspective,” *Israel Studies* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 19.

⁷⁸ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 30.

(1884-1958) and Marta Feuchtwanger (1891-1987), and screenwriter Salka Viertel (1889-1978), were central to the salon community of German-speaking émigrés.⁷⁹

Musicologist Dorothy Lamb Crawford examines those gathered in Los Angeles during the 1930s.⁸⁰ Focusing on the lives and influence of several dozen performers and composers, her insight into the salons and social gatherings of these musicians allows better understanding of the life of the émigré. She explains the dynamics of the film studios and the various composers that attempted film score composition, but not all as were successful as Erich Korngold. Crawford shares the stories of émigrés who were successful in building a new livelihood in Los Angeles. She discusses the friendships formed at the gatherings and points out the differences and disagreements among prominent composers and conductors. Her book is a valuable observation of the salon community in Los Angeles.

Film music drew upon the forms of Viennese twentieth-century operetta and melodramatic theater of the nineteenth century, as Michael Pisani and Peter Franklin have suggested. Michael Pisani details the development of theater incidental music, comparing it to the underscore found in film music.⁸¹ Franklin provides details pertaining to Korngold's transition from opera to film scores.⁸² He also discusses the relationships between European high art music and lighter forms of popular music, such as found in operettas and theatrical works.⁸³

⁷⁹ Ibid, x, xv.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Michael Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London & New York* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), xi-xx.

⁸² Franklin, *Seeing Through Music*, 54.

⁸³ Peter Franklin, "Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others: Los Angeles circa 1940," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 144.

Brinkmann and Wolff edited an important anthology of essays regarding the impact of exile on these German-speaking émigrés as they established a new home in the United States.⁸⁴ This work examines the musical migration from Germany and Austria, providing an in-depth discussion of numerous émigrés' views on music, as well as their lives in Europe and America. Although all the essays in this collection contribute to my scholarship, one essay in particular stands out as most important to my thesis. Bryan Gilliam addresses Korngold's life in the studios of Hollywood by comparing and contrasting Korngold and Kurt Weill (1900-1950), a Broadway and film composer.⁸⁵ Discussing Hollywood film composers, Gilliam examines Korngold and compares him to other émigrés in the film industry. He analyzes several sections of Korngold's score for *King's Row* and defines the characteristics of Korngold's music. Gilliam additionally looks at Korngold's early years in Vienna and his transition to Los Angeles.

In a comprehensive discussion of Korngold's film scoring techniques in Hollywood, Ben Winters provides background information on the music of Korngold's films, and catalogues incipits of scores from the film.⁸⁶ Winters discusses Korngold's much ignored self-borrowing technique, which he considered a major component of Korngold's film scores. Winters provides a history of Korngold and the studio system in Hollywood, along with Korngold's technique of scoring films. He also addresses Warner Brothers Studios policies for musicians.

Although I focus on the socio-cultural elements of the Los Angeles community, Korngold's biography remains essential to my discussion of identity. Brendan G. Carroll, through extensive research and interviews with the family, gives personal insight into

⁸⁴ Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁸⁵ Gilliam, "Viennese Opera Composer." 223-242.

⁸⁶ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 5-79.

Korngold's life and personality.⁸⁷ Carroll details the relationship between Korngold and his father Julius, who contributed an important facet to Korngold's perception of his own identity. All of Korngold's pieces are discussed, including the premieres, their reception, and who influenced the compositions. The book reveals many of the personal issues Korngold dealt with, such as the difficult relationship with his father, which was magnified by their close living arrangements in Vienna after Korngold's marriage.

I employ the previously mentioned sources on the Hollywood salon community, film and theater music, and Korngold's compositions to demonstrate how Korngold negotiated between popular and serious music throughout his life. While the above sources discuss Korngold's reputation as an opera composer as the primary basis for his success as a Hollywood film score composer, I point out the connections between his early music, operetta arrangements, and film scores.

Chapter Overview

In this thesis, I explore the discursive practices of Erich Korngold. I examine his musical style and values through his works, first in Vienna, then as an émigré in Hollywood. Korngold oscillated between high art and popular styles in the cultural context of his music, but his musical style remained consistent across his compositions. Chapter II establishes the basis of Korngold's Viennese identity through his musical styles and experiences in western high art music. Thomas Turino provides a framework for understanding identity as I examine Korngold's individual and group identities. I discuss early twentieth-century Vienna political issues as well as the musical culture of the city. Korngold's childhood influences included several prominent Viennese composers, such as Mahler. Additionally, the importance of the salon community in Vienna, and

⁸⁷ This paragraph summarizes Carroll, *Last Prodigy*.

to Korngold personally, is illustrated. Many attendees of the European salons would later become members of the Los Angeles salon community. I also discuss the piano and how it exemplifies the discursive practices of Korngold's music.

Chapter III examines Korngold's operas, operettas, and his engagement with mass media. Employing Simon Frith's discussion regarding the discursive practices between European high art and popular music, I explore Korngold's fluctuation between, and simultaneous interest in, high art and popular music in Vienna. This includes his Viennese experiences, concert works, operas, such as *Die Tote Stadt* (1916), and participation in musical theater and operettas as a composer. I examine the importance of Korngold's arrangements of Johann Strauss II's operettas and waltzes in his perceptions of lighter styles of music. Korngold's European collaborations of operetta arrangements led to Korngold's opportunity as a film composer in Hollywood during the 1930s and 1940s. These arrangements and collaborations set a framework for Korngold's musical values, as his compositions pertained to the European high art world of his modernist music and were also received into popular culture in both Vienna and the United States. I also touch briefly on the German film music industry and theater music.

In Chapter IV, I relate how Korngold's Viennese theater background contributed to his success in Hollywood and discuss his employment at Warner Brothers Studios, where he occupied a unique position among Hollywood score composers. I illustrate details about Korngold's role as a commercial composer in popular music, as well as how both America and the émigrés received Korngold's new direction as a film score composer. I affirm the tensions between émigrés that existed due to the discursive practices between European art music and popular styles. The 1930s social life in Los Angeles of important émigrés features prominently. I show the cohesiveness and importance of the émigré salon community, examining their social

network in the area. By appraising Korngold's musical style, especially the self-borrowing techniques he used in film composition and concert music, I demonstrate his crossover between high art and popular music.

Concluding in Chapter V, I assert the impact of Korngold's earlier music to his success in Hollywood as a film composer and I synthesize my evidence for understanding the importance of the salon community's support. Finally, I conclude my arguments by showing that his musical compositional style remained constant as he varied his music presentation based on the particular cultural and compositional context of the surrounding community.

CHAPTER II: KORNGOLD'S EUROPEAN YEARS AND MUSICAL INFLUENCES

When Erich Wolfgang Korngold died on November 29, 1957, his wife, Luzi, née Sonnenthal, began a relentless mission to see that his legacy remained intact. For his memorial concert in California, where many of Korngold's friends performed his music, Luzi wrote the following program note:

Korngold in his youth was a Sunday child. He was happy in his art going from success to success, and happy in his human relationships. His crystal clear intellect, his overwhelming sense of humor, modesty, and his generous heart won as friends everyone he encountered.⁸⁸

Even upon her death on January 29, 1962, her last will and testament requested that their sons keep Korngold alive by promoting his works.⁸⁹ The steady growth of current scholarly interest in this Viennese-American composer demonstrates the success of her efforts. His cheerful personality touched numerous friends and colleagues, and even pervaded his music.⁹⁰ This quality permeates his music compositions from the beginning of his life and remains consistent through his European western art music, operettas and film scores. In 1922, Rudolf Hoffmann wrote "*Und so ist Korngold durch und durch lauterster Optimist* [Korngold is first an optimist through and through]."⁹¹ People around him welcomed his light sense of humor.

In addition to his pleasant personality, Korngold's reputation as a child prodigy with numerous compositions in the twentieth-century European western art tradition established him as a contributor to European high art music. Likewise, his place in the Jewish salon community

⁸⁸ Brendan G. Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 365.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 366.

⁹⁰ Dorothy Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 181.

⁹¹ Rudolf Stephan Hoffmann, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Wein: C. Stephenson, 1922), 129.

of Vienna placed him in the center of Viennese high art society. Korngold's experiences growing up immersed in *fin-de-siècle* Viennese culture rooted his compositional styles in western art music. However, his musical adaptability was demonstrated as he oscillated between high art and lighter popular musical values. Korngold's Viennese experiences relate to Turino's concept of a *cultural formation*. Turino discusses the basis within a society for social group formation that permits identification and ease of social interaction, which also shapes individual selves.⁹² He uses "the term *cultural formation* to refer to a group of people who have in common a majority of habits that constitute most parts of each individual member's self."⁹³ The cultural formations of Korngold's life were the composers and musicians of European high art in Vienna and Germany.

Korngold in Vienna

Korngold's early exposures to western art music, in addition to the light music of Vienna, were internalized within him. His musical abilities revealed themselves before he was four years old. Frith argues that music is both individualizing and collective. Referring to musical conventions that surround a person, Frith states, "Music stands for, symbolizes *and* offers the immediate experience of collective identity."⁹⁴ For Korngold, his musical aptitudes grew from both European high art at concerts and popular styles within the salons.

Korngold moved to Vienna from his birthplace of Brünn, Moravia (now Brno, Czech Republic) in 1901 when his father, Julius, succeeded Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) as the music critic for *Die Neue Freie Presse*.⁹⁵ Julius, a pianist who had trained at the University of Vienna

⁹² Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 112.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 121. Emphasis original.

⁹⁵ Jessica Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 12.

with Anton Bruckner, exposed Erich to music in his early years.⁹⁶ Demonstrating his innate abilities, Erich beat perfect time with a wooden spoon to his father's music by the age of three. At five, he played by ear on the piano, replicating themes from *Don Giovanni* and other operas he had heard his father play. Korngold began piano lessons at six years old and it was later found that he had perfect pitch as well as a fantastic music memory. Once he heard or played a piece, the music stayed with him indefinitely. Korngold began composing original music in 1904, at the age of six.

Korngold's early experiences of music-making and listening to other musicians provided opportunities for him to formulate his self-perception. As Frith states, "Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind."⁹⁷ For instance, the cantata *Gold* (1906), which Korngold wrote for solo singers, chorus, and piano clearly shows influences of the operas his father played on piano. As a music critic, Julius usually played the pieces he was critiquing before he wrote his articles. Brendan Carroll described Korngold's early music in his biography, "The early music of Erich Wolfgang Korngold is strikingly original, mature and innovative. Korngold's astonishing creativity separates him from other gifted children and places him on a par with the greatest musical prodigies of history."⁹⁸ Bruno Walter, who lived in the apartment just below the Korngold's in 1907, heard ten-year-old Korngold play and commented on his ability to sound like an entire orchestra on the instrument.⁹⁹ Thus, Korngold integrated into Viennese high art society early in his life.

⁹⁶ This paragraph relies on Brendan Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang* (Portland OR: Amadeus, 1997) 29.

⁹⁷ Frith, "Music and Identity," 109.

⁹⁸ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 28.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 63.

Korngold kept “music notebooks” containing his early compositions. The notebooks, which he maintained throughout his Viennese years, highlighted his artistic development.¹⁰⁰ His early works contained the idiosyncrasies evident in his later works, but also demonstrated his rapid advancement in compositional technique. He carried a notebook with him constantly, including on family vacations. Two of his earliest pieces are dated 1905. *Melodie Opus 1* and *Melodie Opus 2* are simple, yet contained an occasional dissonance that figured prominently in his later music. In his memoir, Julius noted that Korngold’s notebooks at age seven included primarily waltz compositions, no doubt influenced by the time spent at the Strauss salons.¹⁰¹ Thus, his early exposure to European art music fundamentally contributed to Korngold’s identity formation.

Korngold’s emotions also shaped his early music. A near tragedy had a profound effect on Korngold when he was just eleven. He accidentally wounded a friend with a paper knife, hitting so close to the jugular vein that the friend nearly died. Quite disturbed, he composed the first two movements of the *Piano Sonata No. 1 in D minor* (1908-09), which demonstrated how his music reflected his inner feelings. It was full of jagged, chromatic harmony, similar to Alban Berg’s neo-romantic one-movement *Piano Sonata, op. 1* (1908) written while Berg was a student of Schoenberg that same year.¹⁰² These works showed Korngold’s skill for variation, which would be a marker of his later music.¹⁰³ Additionally, early pieces such as these placed Korngold as a modernist style composer, accepted by European high art society.

¹⁰⁰ This paragraph relies on Ibid, 31.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 30-31. Taken from Julius Korngold’s memoir: *Die Korngolds in Wien: Der Musikkriteker und das Wunderkind*, (Memoirs: original 1944 title *Postludes in Major and Minor*), Zurich: M&T Verlag, Edition Musik & Theater, 1991.

¹⁰² John C. Crawford and Dorothy L. Crawford, *Expressionism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 128.

¹⁰³ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 38.

Meanwhile, Julius was hesitant to bring Korngold into the public eye, fearful that his own reputation as a harsh, public music critic would contribute to a cold reception for Erich's music.¹⁰⁴ Carroll relates that in order to promote Erich without negative ramifications or ethical conflicts, Julius reportedly decided to have a private publisher print forty copies of Korngold's piano works anonymously, *Piano Sonata No. 1* (1908-09), *Don Quixote: Six Characteristic Pieces*, (1907-09) and *Der Schneemann* (1909), and sent them privately to other musicians.¹⁰⁵ However, Michael Haas states, "We now know this claim is untrue as the name of the composer is clearly printed on the scores and the correspondence refers to Julius's son."¹⁰⁶ In the elder Korngold's memoirs, Julius notes that he also requested the works not be brought into the public.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the music impressed some of the composers who received the work. Englebert Humperdinck, although he thought they were too modern, commented on the elaboration and inventiveness of the pieces.¹⁰⁸ Richard Strauss wrote in a letter to Julius "This assurance of style, this mastery of form, this characteristic expressiveness in the sonata, this bold harmony, are truly astonishing."¹⁰⁹ Based on the positive feedback, Julius felt he had to allow Korngold the opportunity to perform his works publicly.

Julius' prominence as a critic held both positive and negative attributes for Korngold. When he co-authored the ballet, *Der Schneemann* (1909) with his father, Korngold used original leitmotives for all the principal characters and showed innovative harmonic thinking.¹¹⁰ In 1910, the Baroness von Bienerth, wife of the prime minister, was promised a performance of *Der*

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 40.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 40.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Haas, "The False Myths and True Genius of Erich Wolfgang Korngold," *Forbidden Music* (blog), July 18, 2015, <http://forbiddenmusic.org/2015/07/18/the-false-myths-and-true-genius-of-erich-wolfgang-korngold/>.

¹⁰⁷ Julius Korngold, "Die Korngolds in Wien: Der Musikkritiker und das Wunderkind" (Zurich: M&T Verlag Edition Musik & Theater, 1991). Carroll cites this German text in *Last Prodigy*, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 42.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 43.

¹¹⁰ This paragraph relies on Ibid, 46-48.

Schneemann in the ministerial palace by Dr. Ludwig Winter, director of the Court Theater Administration. Julius' notability and connection with the newspaper made it difficult to refuse the baroness. The ballet was performed with four dancers from the Imperial Ballet as a quickly arranged four-hand piano version with a violin solo. After the successful performance, Julius further realized how gifted his son was. However, as he had predicted, from that point onward Julius' activities brought about difficulty for Korngold's career. These included scandals, rumors, smear campaigns and derogatory insinuation.

Julius Korngold's public criticisms of other well-known musicians created a hindrance for the younger Korngold's music, and Korngold struggled with this situation. When his father critiqued Richard Strauss in *Die Neue Zeitschrift* as far back as 1911, it impacted Korngold negatively. Referring to this incident, Gilliam states, "The Vienna Opera was no longer a friendly venue for Korngold the composer and frequent guest conductor – this thanks to his father Julius Korngold's vehement campaign in the press against co-directors Franz Schalk and Richard Strauss."¹¹¹ The exchanges between Korngold and his father were often strained, despite their seemingly close working relationship. Referring to underlying signs of social identity that result from deeply embedded habits, Turino states, "To understand the roles of artistic forms in relation to identity it is important to recognize both the signs that emerge from deep socialization and that remain largely outside of focal awareness, and those that are consciously manipulated as emblems of identity."¹¹² In other words, signs deep within a person's identity may surface and become a means of negotiation within their own self-perception, despite identification by others as a particular type of artist.

¹¹¹ Gilliam, "Viennese Opera Composer," 226.

¹¹² Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

Although father and son lived in the same household, their speech patterns greatly differed from each other, reflecting the disparity between the two. According to Turino, the representation of selected habits in particular contexts defines both oneself, and the presentation of self to others. Signs in a person's focal awareness reflect social identity based on reactions to the surrounding social signs, such as music.¹¹³ Deeply embedded habits, on the other hand, may remain outside one's focal awareness, for example, in learning one's native tongue.¹¹⁴ Life experiences lead to the habits that form the self, and this makes up the interaction of individual and social environments through the mediation of signs, such as speech or language. Interestingly, voice recordings of Erich and Julius show a marked difference in their inflections. Haas noted, "Erich spoke with a Viennese cadence much coloured by an accent of Jewish Czech-German; it lacked any hint of pretension or self-importance."¹¹⁵ This observation reflects opinions of Erich's personality as a genuine, caring person engaged with popular culture. However, Julius's speech articulated the German of Vienna's leading opinion makers, originally meant for courts of law in Vienna. Although his first academic choice was music, due to family pressure, Julius attended law school. His inflection supported the perception of a strong-willed, outspoken critic, allying him with the elite. His traditional views on music also contributed to Eduard Hanslick's preference for Julius as his successor as music critic for *Die Neue Freie Presse*.¹¹⁶

The elder Korngold's criticism of his son extended to the personal side. Julius disapproved of his marriage to Luise (Luzi) von Sonnenthal (1900-1962), as well. Luzi, as Korngold called her, came from a prestigious Viennese family with musical and theatrical roots.

¹¹³ Ibid, 8.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 9.

¹¹⁵ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 74.

¹¹⁶ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 25.

Born in 1900, Luzi was the musical granddaughter of Adolf Ritter von Sonenthal, a popular actor of the Vienna Burgtheater. She was an accomplished pianist and actress.¹¹⁷ After Korngold's marriage to Luzi in 1924, they found apartments difficult to afford, so they resided with his parents. As Julius was not fond of Luzi, this created a problematic situation.¹¹⁸ Haas states, "He [Julius] was hostile to any relationship that questioned his position as absolute mentor over every aspect of Erich's life."¹¹⁹ Julius even held Luzi responsible for Korngold's decision to compose cinematic music. This later became a point of contention between father and son. Julius defended the opinion that European western art music composers should avoid popular form film music in order to maintain their reputations.

Increased public performances and exposure to European high art culture defined Korngold's identity within this society. As Korngold's fame began to spread, he performed in numerous public places, including salons and festivals all over Germany and Austria. For instance, the Vienna public premiere of *Der Schneemann* took place in October 1910 by the Vienna Court Opera and initiated a long line of Korngold productions held at the venue.¹²⁰ While in Munich for the premiere viewing of Gustav Mahler's *Symphony No. 8*, Korngold and his father were invited by Mahler to attend rehearsals as well as the opening night.¹²¹ In addition to the salon connections, Korngold met many great musicians at these rehearsals, such as Arnold Schoenberg, Anton Webern, Richard Strauss, Bruno Walter, Arnold Rosé, and Otto Klemperer. Korngold also met Max Reinhardt at a rehearsal. Reinhardt would eventually be a catalyst for change in Korngold's life, as I discuss in Chapter III.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 195

¹¹⁸ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 104.

¹¹⁹ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 195.

¹²⁰ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 56.

¹²¹ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 22.

¹²² Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 55.

Although the Viennese music community was aware of Korngold's abilities, his father downplayed Erich's talents, conscious of his own position as an influential music critic. Still, other composers such as Mahler and Richard Strauss, recognized Korngold's talents. The *fin-de-siècle* Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) and Hapsburg monarchy touched Korngold's life as a young prodigy.¹²³ Furthermore, the rise of the Nazi regime affected all of these acquaintances in some fashion, as discussed later. Overall, Korngold's cultural ties to European high art composers in Vienna situated him in the center of bourgeois musical life.

The mark Julius left on Korngold's formative identity as a person and composer reflected Erich's desire to label himself as a serious music composer, when in actuality he enjoyed composing all styles of music. Haas states, "What set Korngold apart from his contemporaries was his ability to compose serious music that was popular, while popularising the light music of other composers."¹²⁴ This unique aesthetic contributed to Korngold's ability to blend into both musical and social worlds with popular and European high art music.

World War I and the Weimar Republic

Korngold's experience with the Great War (1914-1918) consisted of musical rather than military service. Although most Austrians willingly joined the military to serve the country, musicians could receive an exemption from military service if they obtained a government assignment. Thus, Korngold's position as a composer insulated him from experiencing a portion of the war-related poverty in Austria. Hans Gregor, director of the Vienna Court Opera, wanted the rights to perform Korngold's operas, *Der Ring des Polykrates* (1914) and *Violanta* (1914), so he offered Korngold a position as a conductor, which released him from active duty. Korngold

¹²³ Ibid, 18.

¹²⁴ Haas, "False Myths and True Genius," (blog).

made his debut as a conductor at the Vienna Opera Court on May 26, 1916.¹²⁵ By the end of the year, however, his exemption was questioned and he entered military service. Fortunately, the doctor at his medical exam knew Korngold and exempted him from duty at the front. Instead, Korngold was assigned as music director of his regiment and able to stay in Vienna.

During this time, Korngold demonstrated his musical adaptability and composed popular marches for his regiment in addition to his assigned duties. His duties included conducting the regimental band and maintaining the archives and music for the library of the regiment.¹²⁶ He also played piano in the officer's mess. As a consciously manipulated sign of patriotism, he composed *Österreichischer Soldatenabschied* (Austrian Soldier's Farewell, 1915) for voice and piano, as well as other patriotic songs. These all helped raise money for the Austrian War Relief Fund.¹²⁷ Korngold's composition of popular marches is an example of Turino's supposition. Turino states, "Once externalized through public artistic forms, the meanings subjectively produced become part of the environment that dialectically shape the emergent models of the self."¹²⁸ Thus, although Korngold's military experience kept him distanced from other young men of like age, it encouraged him to identify with military music, a form of popular composition. The patriotic compositions demonstrated Korngold's identity as an Austrian and also reinforced his connections to popular forms of music, while it shaped his emergent sense of self.

Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated during Korngold's time in the service. On June 28, 1914, the Hapsburg dynasty began to crumble and totally collapsed by the end of World

¹²⁵ Ibid, 109, 124.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 114.

¹²⁷ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 70, 71.

¹²⁸ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

War I in 1918.¹²⁹ When the Hapsburg dynasty fell, anti-Semitism rose along with the new government, affecting Jews such as Korngold. The First Republic (1919-1937) government of Austria also brought changes for the musicians of Korngold's country. Austria adopted the name German-Austria (1918-1921) and became a democratic republic.¹³⁰ However, it was still a component of the German Republic.¹³¹

Most citizens of Austria wanted to join the newly formed Weimar Republic in Germany, but because of the restrictions placed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty, Austria was forced to remain separate. Therefore, although the governments did not merge legally, many of the same issues affected both countries.¹³² Ironically, reflecting Austria and Germany's juxtaposition, the hymn of Third Reich, *Horst Wessel-Lied*, was an old Austrian hymn.¹³³ As described by Turino, group identities are foundations of political life.¹³⁴ Turino further states, "Nations and diasporas are both dependent on people subjectively joining up, as opposed to being a subject of a state where legal means define membership."¹³⁵ However, the political situation continued to deteriorate and was ultimately felt by the Jewish residents of Austria, including the Korngolds.

The bulk of music in the Weimar Republic was artistically advanced and highly politicized, while it also elicited forms of emancipatory consciousness and action. The Nazis would later classify this music as "cultural bolshevism" and abolish the movement, sending those involved into exile.¹³⁶ Haas states, "New Objectivity was the determining aesthetic of the serious

¹²⁹ Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s. v. "Austria," accessed March 28, 2015, <http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/44183/Austria>.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 12.

¹³² Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s. v. "Austria."

¹³³ Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 258-259.

¹³⁴ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 8.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

artistic movements in the Berlin of the Weimar Republic, representing not just a rejection of Romanticism, but a resolute Counter-Romanticism.”¹³⁷

Korngold, however, had little to do with these specific movements in his art music. He did not compose according to the 1920s chamber symphony prototype. Instead, he maintained a modern, but lush orchestral sound, with tonal elements enjoyed by the Viennese public audiences. Turino refers to identity formed from internalization of lifelong habits as outside one’s focal awareness.¹³⁸ As an example of Turino’s reference, Korngold learned pride in his Austrian heritage from his family and the Austrian musical community. He also composed music with which the Austrian public would identify.¹³⁹

The political group identity formations within the Weimar Republic lifted up German nationalistic pride in the democratic nation. However, the musicians in the Weimar Republic also showed an interest in American life and tied avant-garde music to the entire revolutionary movement. Thus, many of these musicians became associated with the movement that shaped the musical philosophy in the Weimar Republic. As the political climate in Germany deteriorated for Jews, they left Europe and later became part of the Los Angeles salon community.¹⁴⁰

German Anti-Semitism

Nazi agencies began to appear in the early 1920s, while a display of anti-Semitism also became more prominent, increasingly affecting musicians’ performances, especially those linked with avant-garde music.¹⁴¹ Despite Korngold’s sheltered upbringing, by 1923 he felt the

¹³⁷ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 147.

¹³⁸ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

¹³⁹ Duchen, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Bryan Gilliam, “A Viennese Opera Composer in Hollywood: Korngold’s Double Exile in America,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 223.

¹⁴¹ Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Publishing, 1997), 214.

economic difficulties, due in part to rising anti-Semitism in Germany. In 1921, German-Austria had become the *Republik Österreich* (Republic of Austria) but functioned as a dictatorship. Austro fascism followed in the next decade, when Austria became the Federal State of Austria (1933-1938).¹⁴² A majority of the population in Vienna experienced sparse living and supported a union with Germany in order to improve their living conditions.

However, as the introduction of discriminatory laws towards the Jewish people affected entire communities in the early 1920s, all Jews, religious or not, were often forced to relocate. The community acknowledgement of Jewish collective identities grew more pronounced, as Jewish neighborhoods became segregated. In addition to increasing difficulties for Jews in obtaining basic needs, anti-Semitism laws began appearing in Germany. A political lobby, the *Kampfbund für deutsch Kultur* (Combat League for German Culture) was founded in February 1926 by Alfred Rosenberg. The purpose of this agency was to save German culture from all art forms that the National Socialists considered a corruption of the arts.¹⁴³ The deteriorating tolerance of Jews affected many German musicians, such as Korngold, Otto Klemperer (1885-1973) and Bruno Walter (1876-1962), all of whom would eventually move to Los Angeles.¹⁴⁴ For example, in 1921, Korngold's previously popular opera *Die Tote Stadt* (1910) was pulled from a Munich stage due to increasing anti-Semitic demonstrations at events.¹⁴⁵

Thus, even with the continued protection of his father, the Korngolds began to witness the realities of anti-Semitism, often while traveling for concerts. On a 1931 trip to Nürnberg to promote the release of *Das Wunder der Heliane*, Luzi remained in the hotel while Korngold attended a business meeting. Luzi described her unease in her memoirs, which Carroll relates,

¹⁴² Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s. v. "Austria."

¹⁴³ Kater, *Twisted Muse*, 214.

¹⁴⁴ Martin Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* (New York: Wiley, 2000), 40.

¹⁴⁵ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 185.

“With fearful forebodings, I watched the Nazis stamping past my window in their torchlit demonstrations and listened to their pounding marches.”¹⁴⁶ The rise of anti-Semitic actions in Germany demonstrated the marginalization that affected the Jews of Germany during this time.

The anti-Semitism in Germany that began in the 1920s increasingly affected musicians and composers in the 1930s. On February 13, 1933, Richard Wagner’s opera *Tannhäuser* was at the Berlin Staatsoper. Klemperer conducted there, as he had since 1927. The performance was criticized, as Joseph Goebbels had already stated that Jews were incapable of understanding Wagner’s music. Goldsmith states, “Reviewers called the new production an affront to the memory of the great composer and demanded the dismissal of those responsible for this ‘bastardization.’”¹⁴⁷ By the end of March, all of Klemperer’s scheduled orchestra concerts with the Berlin *Staatskapelle* had been cancelled. In early 1933, he left for exile in Switzerland.¹⁴⁸ Bruno Walter also experienced trouble with Nazis in Vienna 1936, and was not allowed to conduct any future performances at the *Gewandhaus* in Vienna.¹⁴⁹ Walter left for New York in 1933, and then moved to Los Angeles in 1939.¹⁵⁰ In the United States, both Klemperer and Walter would become prominent members of the Los Angeles salon community and associated with Korngold.

After the passing of the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 in Germany, non-Aryans could no longer hold public positions, including in municipal orchestras.¹⁵¹ Non-Aryan was defined as

¹⁴⁶ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 191. Cited from Luzi Korngold, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold – Ein Lebensbild*. Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite und Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1967.

¹⁴⁷ Goldsmith, *Inextinguishable Symphony*, 40.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ryding and Pechesky, *Bruno Walter*, 247.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 201.

¹⁵¹ Goldsmith, *Inextinguishable Symphony*, 88. The Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 consisted of two anti-Semitic laws. The first, “The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor,” forbade Jews to marry or have sexual relations with Aryans. “The Reich Citizenship Law” categorized Jews according to the degree of Jewish blood they had. For example, someone with one Jewish grandparent was a *Mischling* of the First Degree. If one had three Jewish grandparents, they were considered a Jew, four Jewish grandparents constituted a Full Jew.

any person with a Jewish parent or grandparent. Thousands of Jewish actors and musicians suddenly had no job.¹⁵² The only place of employment for them existed in the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* [Jewish Culture League], where Jewish musicians and actors could work. The audiences were Jews as well, each paying a subscription fee to attend concerts and plays, since they were no longer welcome in theaters or symphony halls.¹⁵³ After the Austrian *Anschluß*, these laws also affected many Viennese musicians, despite their previous belief that the city was unlikely to succumb to Hitler.

Korngold felt the racial prejudice that most other Jewish artists of the time experienced within their collective identity. In an effort to rid Germany of non-Aryan influences, the Third Reich banned all syncopated music, primarily jazz, and Nazis created lists naming acceptable and non-acceptable composers.¹⁵⁴ Nazis placed Korngold on the non-acceptable list. They based the ban of his music on the premise that it did not create an emotional response and lacked cultural roots. One Nazi commentator, Julius Friedrich, stated in his essay “Der Jude als Musik-Fabrikant,” that all Jewish composers would make good film composers.¹⁵⁵ Meant as a disparaging characterization, Friedrich further commented, “The Jews as *Musikdekorateur* manufactured ‘musical wallpaper on the assembly line for every cinematic possibility.’”¹⁵⁶ This portrayed one way in which the Nazi community demeaned popular music and Jewish musicians, often equating the two.

However, these comments also reflect the Frankfurt School’s thinking and its debasement of popular music, in which the half-Jewish Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) participated. In

¹⁵² Ibid, 49.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 44.

¹⁵⁴ Lynn E. Moller, “Music in Germany During the Third Reich: The Use of Music for Propaganda,” *Music Educators Journal* 67, no. 3 (Nov. 1980): 42.

¹⁵⁵ Gilliam, “Viennese Opera Composer,” 229.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

America, Adorno vocally criticized film composers in the same way, stating that Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943) “emptied the musical gesture of all content, freed it of every genuine musical event and threw it on to the market as a commodity.”¹⁵⁷ This position is discussed further in Chapter IV.

Anti-Semitism continued to worsen in both Germany and Austria and with the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938, Germany completely absorbed the Austrian Republic. Disturbingly prophetic of Friedrich’s comment, many Jewish composers fled to Hollywood and became successful film composers. By 1939, over 100,000 Jews fled Austria, half the previous population of Austrian Jews. Sadly, by the end of World War II, 65,000 Austrian Jews had died.¹⁵⁸

Vienna’s Music

Despite the poor living conditions of the destitute Viennese population during and after World War I, music continued as an integral part of Viennese life in 1917-1918, even as food became scarcer and air raids multiplied.¹⁵⁹ Starving children, high unemployment, and a daily rise in inflation contributed to the stark realities of post-World War I.¹⁶⁰ In the face of the deterioration, the Viennese public turned to the arts as a means of escape. Gartenberg states, “With inflation rampant and little to buy, the Viennese went to operas and concerts as never before.”¹⁶¹ As a result, Korngold flourished artistically under these difficult conditions and he often played and conducted own works.¹⁶² His opera, *Die Tote Stadt* (1916), reflected abstract expressionism in its theme and received accolades amidst the performances of Mozart and

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 229-30.

¹⁵⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s. v. “Austria.”

¹⁵⁹ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 87-88.

¹⁶⁰ Egon Gartenberg, *Vienna: Its Musical Heritage* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), 237.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 225.

¹⁶² Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 131.

Richard Strauss at the Vienna State Opera.¹⁶³ “Lautenlied,” the aria from *Die Tote Stadt*, also became a popular hit, sold in sheet music and heard on recordings. Although Germany had enacted anti-Semitic laws, Jewish race laws did not impact the citizens of Vienna until the *Anschluß* in 1933.

Viennese citizens, in the years from World War I to World War II, continued their traditional enjoyment of theater, opera, and other arts despite political dissension and poor living conditions. Similarly, Turino shows that groups of people experiencing similar life situations develop comparable inclinations.¹⁶⁴ However, the Second Viennese School established by Schoenberg and others in the early twentieth century contributed modernist twelve-tone and atonal music to the styles heard in Viennese venues. The new works contributed to a division between groups among high art proponents.¹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Viennese waltz and operetta traditions flourished, important to the citizens of Vienna, particularly Korngold, as an emblem of their identity.¹⁶⁶ Industrialization during the 1920s also allowed technological advancements and brought about the medium of film, which created a new place for music as film scores.¹⁶⁷ I discuss operettas and film further in Chapter III.

Many theaters, including the *Volksoper* and the *Wiener Stadttheater* demonstrated the Viennese love of theater, concerts, and opera. As political conditions altered, names of places also changed. For example, the *Wiener Staatsoper* was formerly the Vienna Court Opera, where Korngold’s first public performance, *Der Schneemann* (1910), a ballet with popular appeal, took place. Other celebrated institutions and sources of Viennese pride included the Viennese

¹⁶³ Gartenberg, *Vienna: Its Musical Heritage*, 227.

¹⁶⁴ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 8.

¹⁶⁵ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 180.

¹⁶⁶ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 85.

¹⁶⁷ Frances Guerin, *A Culture of Light: Cinema and Technology in 1920s Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005), xx.

Philharmonic, which held its first concert in 1842.¹⁶⁸ Gustav Mahler took over in 1898, and after 1903 brought in guest conductors once or twice a year. Richard Strauss conducted there over eighty-five times and Korngold often attended.¹⁶⁹

Thus, Vienna was a center of European music revolution after World War I.¹⁷⁰ The University of Vienna dated back to 1365, and its conservatory was considered the best in Europe during Korngold's time.¹⁷¹ However, western high art in Vienna experienced a split during the 1920s and 1930s between the Second Viennese School and lighter, popular forms. Composers such as Mahler and Strauss, although open to modern compositional forms, did not embrace total atonalism. Viennese composer Hans Gál, interviewed by Carroll in 1985, reflected on the early 1920s, "It is now forgotten that the so-called 'New Music' was accorded a rather lukewarm reception. We regarded these experiments as simply that: experiments."¹⁷² Despite the cool reception, Schoenberg and Webern composed twelve-tone and atonal music and displayed a definite split of styles in Europe between the modernist factions and the more traditional. The sounds of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, more prominent outside the Third Reich, further demonstrated the musical diversity of the 1920s.¹⁷³

As modernist music became normalized by performances and accepted by high art musicians, the musical values of high art shifted to include new forms.¹⁷⁴ Many Berlin composers also focused on modernist works.¹⁷⁵ Georgina Born notes, "Musical modernism emerged out of the expansion of tonality in late-romanticism and the break into atonality in the

¹⁶⁸ Richard Rickett, *Music and Musicians in Vienna* (Vienna: Prachner, 1973), 141.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 142.

¹⁷⁰ David Wallace, *Exiles in Hollywood* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Limelight Editions, 2006), 195.

¹⁷¹ Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity," in *Music & German National Identity*, edited by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 18.

¹⁷² Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 157.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 148, 149.

¹⁷⁴ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 38.

¹⁷⁵ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), xviii.

early decades of the twentieth century. It took a number of forms.”¹⁷⁶ The form highly appreciated by the Austrian state was the style of composers similar to Schubert, like Eric Zeisl (1905-1959), who composed chamber music and Lieder.¹⁷⁷ Other Viennese styles of the early twentieth century differed from the prevalent modernism. Vienna was associated with two popular genres, the waltz and the Viennese operetta, both styles that heavily influenced Korngold in his discursive musical practices.¹⁷⁸ I discuss these further in Chapter III.

Influences of Viennese Composers

Several prominent Viennese composers influenced Korngold during his youth. In 1906, when Korngold was nine, his father sent him to study with Robert Fuchs, a professor of music theory at the Vienna Conservatory. Fuchs reluctantly accepted him, but within several weeks was amazed at young Korngold’s abilities.¹⁷⁹ His compositions in this time period became longer and more complex. Korngold’s notebooks contained sonatas, waltzes, scherzandos and sonatinas, all with his unique harmonies. At this point, Julius thought Erich might need someone more contemporary to teach him, so he asked Gustav Mahler for a recommendation.¹⁸⁰ The Mahlers were close friends of the family, and Korngold spent time at their house playing with Mahler’s daughter, Anna.¹⁸¹ Mahler saw the musical strengths within Korngold, and recommended that Alexander von Zemlinsky (1871-1942) teach him. Julius trusted Mahler and

¹⁷⁶ Georgina Born, “Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music, II. Musical Modernism, Postmodernism, and Others,” in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, eds. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12.

¹⁷⁷ Alexander Gordon Kahn, “Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles,” (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2009), ProQuest (506778932), UMI Dissertations Publishing (3410929): 74.

¹⁷⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s. v. “Austria.”

¹⁷⁹ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 32-33.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 22.

followed his suggestion, even though Zemlinsky had been a pupil of Schoenberg, whom Julius disliked.¹⁸²

Zemlinsky's tutelage had a great impact on Erich's compositions. They became more cohesive works with substance and form. Another feature of his music, which surfaced at this time, was clear character delineation within his pieces, which helped his development as an opera composer. Korngold's major composition from this time was *Don Quixote: Six Characteristic Pieces* (1907-09), a piano suite based on Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.¹⁸³ Unfortunately, Zemlinsky had to leave Vienna in 1910 and Korngold's formal instruction also came to an end.

With mentors such as Zemlinsky and Mahler, Korngold identified himself as a high art composer and moved within the cultural world of Viennese high art musicians. Julius approved of Mahler's mentorship. He had a strong passion for Mahler's music and supported Mahler in his musical critiques written for *Die Neue Freizeit*. Like Mahler, Korngold often used a song as a basis for a chamber movement or instrumental work, as seen in Mahler's use of *Lieder* in his symphonies. The best example of this in Korngold's music is in his *Piano Quintet in E Major, op. 15* (1921-22), based on a nineteenth-century *Lied*.¹⁸⁴ Although Mahler mentored the young Korngold in many ways, including conducting and orchestration, Korngold preferred Puccini as one of his models for composition, leaning toward a light, happy sound and composing operettas extensively.¹⁸⁵

Korngold's compositional techniques reflected the influence of varied composers. Wagnerian impact is evident in his use of leitmotiv in his earlier *opéra buffa*, *Der Ring des*

¹⁸² Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 73.

¹⁸³ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 36.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 92.

¹⁸⁵ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 74.

Polykrates (1914). In addition, he utilized this technique in *Violanta* and later operas.¹⁸⁶ However, in *Die Tote Stadt* (1919), Korngold's orchestration skill is reminiscent of Mahler, Puccini, and Richard Strauss, as he endeavored to create a cohesive, tight orchestral sound. Carroll states that Erich's intention was to "sound like a single, intensely resonant instrument. He wanted to give the timbre and texture of the orchestra sound a cohesion that would recognizably be *his* sound."¹⁸⁷ He achieved those qualities in both *Die Tote Stadt* and *Der Wunder der Heliane*, as critics claimed his sound imitated Strauss's work.¹⁸⁸ His last opera, *Die Katherin*, which he began composing in 1932, was a large-scale operetta that reflected Viennese popular taste.¹⁸⁹ Thematic use of these operas appeared later in his Hollywood film scores as well, highlighting his self-borrowing technique, which I discuss in Chapter IV.

Salons in Vienna and Berlin

The European salons were a vital part of both musical and social life in Vienna. Prior to the *Anschluß*, Vienna was home to members of the future salon community in Los Angeles, such as Schoenberg and film director Otto Preminger. Due to the diversity of attendees, the salons also greatly influenced the aesthetic debates regarding European high art music and popular music.¹⁹⁰ Turino discusses the idea that no single culture exists for a society, but instead the habits of commonality develop from personal experiences. Despite the diverse cultural habits within a community, it is the similarities of experiences that bond people together. He states, "We *belong* to social groups and *are part of* society, whereas the habits shared among actual

¹⁸⁶ Duchon, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold*, 66-67.

¹⁸⁷ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 123. Emphasis original.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 190.

¹⁹⁰ Leon Botstein, "Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity: The Tradition and Legacy of the Salon," in *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation*, eds., Emily Bilski and Emily Braun (New York: The Jewish Museum, 2005), 162.

groups of people – cultural phenomena – are part of and belong within us.”¹⁹¹ Korngold was part of the European high art musical community and the Jewish salon community. The musical and social experiences he had in the salons became deeply engrained in his identity and stayed with him from Vienna to Los Angeles.

Most of the musicians mentioned in this study eventually moved to the United States during World War II, where the community continued to support each other (Appendix A). Regardless of the location or time of the artist’s introductions, both the music community in Vienna and the community in Hollywood maintained an interwovenness. Many of the people discussed in this thesis were born in Vienna, but found careers in Berlin. However, after 1933, when Hitler forced the Jewish musicians out of Berlin, they returned to Vienna, resulting in a city that teemed with musical and art energy.¹⁹² These same displaced Europeans later settled in Los Angeles and formed a real and symbolic home, a community of musicians and artists.

The Viennese salon community contributed to Korngold’s success as a respected composer. In particular, Viennese salons were significant in Korngold’s early life. Korngold’s early performances of his works often came about due to his salon attendance and performances. The opportunity to create piano rolls of Korngold’s childhood composition *Sieben Märchenbilder* (1910) was presented through salon connections and reinforced his ability to present himself in popular music settings such as homes.¹⁹³ As Botstein states, it is important to remember that “Until the twentieth century, lieder, sonatas, and all manner of chamber music were staples of German middle-class homes, not concert halls.”¹⁹⁴ However, the homes of the

¹⁹¹ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 110. Emphasis original.

¹⁹² Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, xxvii.

¹⁹³ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 79.

¹⁹⁴ Botstein, “Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity,” 166.

salons were those of high society; thus, the chamber music that filled the salons would be considered popular by some and high art by others.

Adele Strauss, widow of Johann Strauss II, hosted one of Korngold's favorite salons.¹⁹⁵ Many well-known artists attended, including Richard Strauss and Max Reinhardt. There Korngold met an Austrian pianist, Alfred Grünfeld, who would become the first to commercially record Korngold's music. The meeting resulted in a sponsored recording of *Die Wichtelmännchen* from *Sieben Märchenbilder* (1910) by the Gramophone Company of Vienna.¹⁹⁶ This incident exemplifies Korngold's contributions to popular forms early in his compositional career.

Korngold also attended salons in Berlin early in his life. When visiting Berlin for a 1911 performance of his *Piano Trio in D Major* (1909-10), Korngold attended the salon of Louise Wolff. Her influence prompted a recital of his most significant works to that point.¹⁹⁷ At that recital, due to the illness of Bruno Walter, Korngold played the piano part in his *Piano Trio*. Arthur Nikisch, a conductor and friend of Wolff's, was present for the performance and was deeply impressed with Korngold's works. According to Carroll, "Nikisch was the deciding factor in the acceptance of the young Korngold by the rest of the critical fraternity in Germany, his father notwithstanding, particularly in Berlin..."¹⁹⁸ Again, the salons connected Korngold to success by opening his path to influential musicians.

The most important salon in Vienna during the early 1900s was that of Mrs. and Dr. Hugo Ganz, the political and foreign correspondent of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.¹⁹⁹ Dr. Hugo occasionally wrote for the *Neue Freie Presse*; therefore, due to Julius's publication

¹⁹⁵ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 79.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 71.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 79.

connection, the Korngolds attended the soiree each Sunday. Carroll interviewed Gertrud Lövy, who attended many of these salons at the Ganz home and remembered Erich as “the life and soul of the party,” who also possessed a “wicked” sense of humor.²⁰⁰ She relates her memory of the fourteen-year old Korngold and his father, “I remember, too, the striking contrast between Erich and his father, Julius Korngold, who was of course the all-powerful critic.”²⁰¹ Lövy also noted that Julius only spoke with others if they could claim social importance and ignored people such as her, as she was only a teacher.²⁰² This also demonstrates the elitist attitude of Korngold’s father and his hierarchical separation of high and low society and culture.

Korngold’s continued attendance at Viennese salons secured his reputation and social status in the European art community. For example, his *Schauspiel Ouvertüre* (1913) was first heard by Cologne conductor Fritz Steinbach at the salon of Jenny Mautner. Carroll states, “After hearing the boy play his *Schauspiel Ouvertüre*, Steinbach immediately secured the rights, performed it in Cologne, and inaugurated what amounted to a ‘Korngold Week’ in Cologne in January 1913, with performances of the *Schauspiel Ouvertüre*, the *Piano Trio in D Major* (1909-10), *Der Schneemann* (1908-10) at the opera house, and the newly completed *Sinfonietta in B Major* (1911-12).”²⁰³ The salon of Dr. Guido Engelmann, his orthopedic doctor, also influenced him, as this salon happened every night of the week, instead of just Sundays. His social circle widened with attendance of celebrated artists, such as Otto Klemperer.²⁰⁴

Korngold also became close friends with Rudi Duschnitz and his wife, Lilly, who were close relatives of the Engelmanns. They often offered Korngold a refuge for composing when

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 80.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid, 79.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 82.

relations became strained with his father at his own home.²⁰⁵ Duschnitz held an important place in Korngold's life, as he was responsible for the introduction of Korngold to his future wife, Luzi, in 1917.²⁰⁶ Both Luzi and Korngold were friends of Duschnitz and they were invited to the same dinner party. The attraction was mutual and they became close friends. They became engaged in October 1923 and on 30 April 1924 were married in a small, private service.²⁰⁷ The two remained loving partners until Korngold's death in 1957.

The Piano

The piano has the unique power to act as cultural medium between opposing social spheres. Piano is a mediating sign, sometimes representing high classical culture, other times popular.²⁰⁸ The cultural history of the piano illustrates its importance to social activities, which in turn define the identities of the players and listeners.²⁰⁹ Similarly, Korngold reveals discursive practices between popular and western art music, often fixed to the social activities within the salon community. The piano was a centerpiece of the salon culture and most homes possessed one. As Korngold's primary instrument and an emblem of his identity, it also demonstrated a means of negotiation between the high and low practices within his compositions. It was especially important in the salon, as a medium for the music of those present.²¹⁰ The piano also became important for orchestration of his compositions later in Korngold's film score career.

Indeed, piano played a large role in Korngold's music throughout his life, as only four of his works do not employ its use.²¹¹ The piano was engaged in a number of ways in Korngold's works; some of his pieces feature it as harmonic support, or as unexpected color. His *Symphony*

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 120.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 171, 175.

²⁰⁸ James Parakilas, *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 3.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Bilski and Braun, *Power of Conversation*, 17.

²¹¹ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 85.

in *F#* (1947-1952) utilizes piano as a percussion instrument, using staccato octaves or emphasis for cadences.²¹² Further, Korngold's entry into the popular medium of commodified music occurred with his childhood creation of piano rolls for *Sieben Märchenbilder* (1910).²¹³

The piano was featured as a solo instrument of nineteenth-century Romanticism. Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, and Brahms all contributed to the piano as symbolic of the high art tradition in classical music and culture surrounding it.²¹⁴ Referring to film music, Franklin states, "Appropriated by mass culture, late-romanticism becomes effectively invisible to either 'high' or 'low' taste."²¹⁵ However, the same holds true for the discursive use of the piano, as sheet music based on opera arias was arranged and sold for home use.

In western musical culture, the piano's role was particularly important from 1870-1920, aligning with a rise in commercialism. Compositions such as Lieder enjoyed popularity for domestic use. The music business was also profitable, experiencing an abundance of music publishing, concert giving and music education.²¹⁶ Music publishers sold scores for use in homes, schools, and churches, including scores from concert performances, such as Korngold's opera aria, "Lautenlied" from *Die Tote Stadt*, or sheet music from Tin Pan Alley in New York. In the twentieth century, silent film brought the piano into the movie theater.²¹⁷

Despite its role in popular forms of music entertainment in 1930s and 1940s cinema, the piano primarily remained a symbol of elegance, an example of refined and cultured entertainment.²¹⁸ The piano also contributed to cultural identities in America, as it promoted

²¹² Ibid..

²¹³ Ibid, 69.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 269.

²¹⁵ Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 117.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 224.

²¹⁷ Ibid, 225.

²¹⁸ Parakilas, *Piano Roles*, 269.

western art music, and made it accessible within many middle-class homes.²¹⁹ Likewise, Korngold remained a composer of the European high art musical society, even as he arranged operettas with Max Reinhardt or composed film scores for Warner Brothers.

Korngold's life in Vienna produced music that the European beau monde accepted as high art. However, his music was also enjoyed in additional settings as a popular form, such as the "Lautenlied" piano sheet music.²²⁰ As Frith relates from Van Der Merwe, "Highbrow and lowbrow lived in the same world, and quite often they were the same person."²²¹ Korngold lived as an accepted member of the salon communities in Berlin and Vienna and was a sought out guest in many homes. Ben Winters states, "Korngold's musical persona was also a rich tapestry of musical voices gained from his musical upbringing and early career in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna."²²² His experiences during the early 1900s demonstrated his adaptability to present his music both as European high art and light music. I discuss Korngold's operas and operettas in the next chapter.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 226.

²²⁰ Benjamin Goose, "Opera for Sale: Folksong, Sentimentality and the Market," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, part 2 (2008): 190.

²²¹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 31.

²²² Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 14.

CHAPTER III: LIGHT MUSIC AND FILM

As Korngold traversed composition between high and popular styles, so did Vienna. The traditions of popular Viennese theater and operettas, the waltzes of elder and younger Johann Strausses, the tradition of Mozart, and modernist Mahler all inhabited early twentieth-century Vienna, and variously influenced Korngold's work and self-perception. Although Korngold's fame was primarily as a high art composer, my research shows that he became involved with popular music even before his entrance into Hollywood film. Operettas, rather than operas as is typically thought, became a major influence in Korngold's ability to bridge western art music and popular styles, including his later film music. Korngold's success in writing for multiple mediums also demonstrated the ability to work as a collaborative composer on stage productions and eventually contributed to Korngold's Hollywood success. Korngold began delving into popular music through mass marketing, a form of popular culture, long before he began film score composition.

The boundaries set out during the early 1900s stimulated a disparity between composers of the various styles, popular and western art. This split required composers in both realms to remain adaptable. Thus, the negotiation between European high art and popular styles exemplifies Frith's idea about, "The high/low cultural boundary was partly defined by the choices made by people (composers, performers, listeners) within a shared musical context."²²³ Derek Scott notes that the distinction in Western Europe between light, "popular" music and serious "art" music began around 1900. According to Scott, the light vs. serious music binarism places "serious" as the dominant term, with "light" defined against it; therefore, "light music"

²²³ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 27.

denotes music lacking seriousness, aligning it with popular culture.²²⁴ However, Korngold disregarded the set boundaries and composed music for the full range of settings presented to him, popular theaters in addition to western high art venues.

Other issues also contributed to the rift between European high art and popular styles. Scott states of Vienna during the late 1800s, “The rupture between art and entertainment was caused primarily by an intense dislike of the market conditions that turned art into a commodity.”²²⁵ Thus, in this instance, elitist attitudes toward Viennese popular music related to issues of commodification, rather than a lack of musical excellence or seriousness. This held true in reference to the early twentieth-century styles of waltz and operetta, which were heavily marketed to the Viennese public. Scott also notes that Viennese dance music defied categorization in regard to its aesthetic status, which sometimes appeared as art music and sometimes *Gebrauchsmusik* [utility music].²²⁶

Light music genres had originated in Vienna during the early nineteenth century. Both the operetta and the waltz reflected the early twentieth-century desire for frivolity and escape from the destitution of post-WWI Vienna. Although the waltz came into popular existence during the eighteenth century, its popularity in Vienna during the war escalated and became a Viennese staple. Speaking of wartime Vienna, Scott points out, “The Viennese are famous for being easygoing, and for seeking an escape from grim reality in gaiety.”²²⁷ However, the waltz also moved into western art society. Zoe Lang points out, “By the 1840s, the waltz had moved from the lowly dance hall to the upper echelons of society.”²²⁸

²²⁴ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 85.

²²⁵ Ibid, 87.

²²⁶ Ibid, 94.

²²⁷ Ibid, 90.

²²⁸ Zoe Alexis Lang, *The Legacy of Johann Strauss: Political Influence and Twentieth-Century Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 20.

Waltzes also influenced Korngold's use of both popular and European high art music, as many of his early piano works, such as *Der Schneemann* (1910) contained waltzes. The waltz developed into a discursive dialogue regarding popular and western art music. As Scott relates, earlier in the nineteenth century the dance music of Johann Strauss, Sr. "mixed traditional and classical styles in a new, exhilarating, rhythmic, and entertaining manner."²²⁹ In this mixing, Strauss, Sr. modelled what Korngold would later do. Johann Strauss II carried on the waltz tradition and became known as "The Waltz King." The waltz, blending the traditional and classical, remained popular with the general public and the operettas that featured the waltzes further recontextualized waltzes by bringing them into the theater.²³⁰ The waltz appealed to all social classes. Crittenden states, "A waltz...evoked different associations for each social class (from a private formal ball to a public beer garden), but it evoked some association for everyone, an effect that would not hold true for most genres of concert music."²³¹

Like the waltz, the operetta played a role in discursive practice and negotiation between popular and western art music. *Opéra comique*, *opéra buffa*, operetta and comic opera all participated in popular entertainment. By the 1920s and 1930s, such entertainments were also known as musical comedy or musical drama.²³² Operetta derived from the French nineteenth-century *opéra comique*. The differences between operetta and *opéra comique* are difficult to define. While *opéra comique* had some appeal to emotions, French operetta sought to amuse the audiences.²³³ By the nineteenth century, *opéra comique* incorporated serious events, while the

²²⁹ Scott, *Sounds of Metropolis*, 85.

²³⁰ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 110.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Don Michael Randel, ed., "Comic opera, *opéra buffa*," *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 192.

²³³ "Operetta," *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th edition (June 2015): 1. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost, accessed September 15, 2015.

operetta remained comic in nature, with subjects that ranged from satire to farce.²³⁴ Both *opéra comique* and operetta omitted recitative and instead used an alternation between spoken dialogue and musical numbers.²³⁵ *Opéra buffa* retained the recitative, but primarily addressed humorous subject matter. These genre differences become important as they pertain to Korngold's operas and his discursive practices, as discussed later in this chapter.

Viennese operetta was a meaningful activity for the Viennese during the early 1920s. Although Viennese operetta originated in 1870, it reached its peak of popularity about 1900. Its origin drew from the Slavic and Hungarian regions, also Korngold's birthplace.²³⁶ Crittenden states, "At the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna provided an ideal environment for the creation of a new musical genre, the Viennese operetta."²³⁷ Crittenden additionally acknowledges that Viennese operetta was unlike the satirical Parisian operettas, but was instead more sentimental and romantic.²³⁸ The most prolific Viennese operetta composer was Franz Lehár, known for *Die lustige Witwe* (1905), or *The Merry Widow*.²³⁹ In Vienna, operetta popularity can also be credited to the broad spectrum of social classes that attended the performances.²⁴⁰ Frith notes the shift in social structure, "In other words, the nineteenth-century mapping of musical taste in Europe was bound up with shifting identities within the middle class."²⁴¹ Operettas and operas crossed the social boundaries and contributed to discussions of discursive practices in twentieth-century Vienna.

²³⁴ Don Michael Randel, ed., "Operetta," *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 592.

²³⁵ Don Michael Randel, ed., "Opéra comique," *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 591.

²³⁶ "Operetta," *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*.

²³⁷ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 7.

²³⁸ Ibid, 13.

²³⁹ "Operetta," *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*.

²⁴⁰ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 35.

²⁴¹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 28.

Korngold's Operas, Mass Media and "Lautenlied"

Commercial successes for composers often prompted criticism toward a composer's work. In 1922, the German music critic Adolf Weißmann (1873-1929) wrote, "Erich Wolfgang Korngold – composer of *Violanta*, *Der Ring des Polykrates* and *Die Tote Stadt* – is the only true contemporary opera composer who has been able to balance the many different factors demanded by musical theater."²⁴² Weißmann had criticized Puccini's operas in his 1920 book, *Der klingende Garten. Impressionen über das Erotische in der Musik*. Weißmann also compared Korngold to Puccini and believed that both had sacrificed their "individuality" as high art composers by appealing to commercial concerns and the mass public.²⁴³ As Franklin states, "Weissmann proposes that Puccini loses his way between 'true' erotic expression and mere theatrical effects... thanks to the dual influence of American 'business' and the deadening effect of the bourgeois."²⁴⁴ Similarly, the perceived sacrifice of Korngold's individuality was linked to the discursive dialogues related to European high art, popular music, and mass media. Gilliam points out that many artists thought Korngold "sold out" when he began to compose film music.²⁴⁵ Beliefs that Korngold later surrendered his artistic identity to Hollywood industry expectations are featured in critical accounts of his film music, as discussed in Chapter IV.²⁴⁶ However, I maintain that Korngold had already established connections to mass media and popular styles from his earliest works.

²⁴² From Adolf Weißmann, *Der Musik in der Weltkreise* (Stuttgart, 1922): 245, cited in Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 184.

²⁴³ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 185.

²⁴⁴ Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 97.

²⁴⁵ Bryan Gilliam, "A Viennese Opera Composer in Hollywood: Korngold's Double Exile in America," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 224.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

Korngold wrote his most of his operas in the early part of his compositional career. His first opera, *Der Ring des Polykrates* (1914), was a one-act *opéra buffa*, affirming his early predilection for lighter music. Referring to Korngold's operatic songs, Benjamin Goose notes, "It is evident from their reception and musical structure that they brought emergent notions of mass culture and kitsch into the traditionally bourgeois realm of opera."²⁴⁷ Kitsch, a recurring description of Korngold's music by critics, is discussed further in this section. In contrast, Crawford notes, "The Viennese composer Erich Wolfgang Korngold – endorsed as a prodigy by Mahler and Richard Strauss – had been internationally acclaimed as an opera composer since the age of eighteen."²⁴⁸

However, when a close look is taken at his operas outlined in Table 1, I posit that they challenge the "serious" traditions as discussed by Scott. Despite Korngold's reputation and legend as an opera composer, he contributed far more to other styles of music. Korngold composed over forty chamber music compositions, more than twenty-one pieces for orchestra, and numerous solo voice and piano songs.²⁴⁹ Korngold only composed five operas, one of which is a comic opera; another is labeled an operetta by Franklin and a folk opera by Winters.²⁵⁰ Thus, the compositions most responsible for his success through the years, including his film scores, are his operettas, chamber music, and other forms of popular or light music, not his operas.

²⁴⁷ Benjamin Goose, "Opera for Sale: Folksong, Sentimentality and the Market," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, Part 2 (2008), 191.

²⁴⁸ Dorothy Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 17.

²⁴⁹ Schott Publishing Co., "Erich Wolfgang Korngold: List of Published Works up to March 2013" (Mainz, Germany: Schott Music GmbH, 2013), http://www.schott-musik.de/shop/kataloge_werbemittel/1000156/show,65332,,,download.html.

²⁵⁰ Ben Winters, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold's The Adventures of Robin Hood: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 30.

Table 1: Korngold's operas

Opera	Year	Librettist	Genre
<i>Der Ring des Polykrates</i>	1913-1914	Leo Feld, Julius Korngold	Comic opera in one act
<i>Violanta</i>	1914-1915	Hans Müller-Einigen	Opera in one act (tragedy)
<i>Die tote Stadt</i>	1916-1919	Paul Schott (Julius and Erich Korngold's pseudonym)	Opera in three scenes "Lautenlied" aria became popularized
<i>Das Wunder der Heliane</i>	1923-1926	Hans Müller-Einigen	Opera in three acts
<i>Die Katherin</i>	1932-1937	Ernst Decsey	Opera in three acts (called operetta by Winters and folk opera by Franklin)

Der Ring des Polykrates premiered on a double bill in Munich on March, 16, 1916 with his second opera, the one-act tragedy *Violanta* (1914-15).²⁵¹ Both were written closely together and represent the adaptability of the young Korngold in traversing between serious and lighter styles. These lighter styles also feature much use of percussion. The percussion in Korngold's music often adds a playful or humorous touch. The beginning of Korngold's score for *Der Ring des Polykrates* lists an orchestra of twenty, with four of those players as percussionists on ten instruments, such as glockenspiel, large drum, and tamtam (See Figure 1).²⁵²

²⁵¹ *Korngold Society* website. <http://www.korngold-society.org/Synopses>.

²⁵² Erich Wolfgang Korngold, *Der Ring des Polykrates*, op. 7, Plate 30241, Libretto by Leo Feld and Julius Leopold Korngold (Mainz, Germany: B. Schott's Söhne, 1916), IMSLP, 1.

BESETZUNG DES ORCHESTERS:		
1 Piccolo (nimmt auch 3. Fl.)		Glockenspiel
2 Große Flöten		Xylophon
2 Oboen (2. nimmt auch Engl. H.)		Triangel
2 Clarinetten (A und B)		Kleine Trommel
2 Fagotte		Große Trommel
1 Contrafagott		Tambourin
3 Hörner in F		Rute
2 Trompeten in C		2 Pauken
1 Posaune		Becken
		Tamtam
Streichquintett — 1 Harfe, 1 Celesta		4 Spieler

Figure 1: Instrument list for *Der Ring des Polykrates*

In *Violanta*, Korngold orchestrated for twenty-three wind and string instruments, with an additional eight percussion instruments specified.²⁵³

In both these operas, as well as other orchestrated compositions, he used a music visualization technique in which the music parallels the action of the scene, not unlike the “Mickey-mousing” technique used by many composers later in Hollywood film. For instance, at the beginning of scene one in *Der Ring des Polykrates*, the glockenspiel notes accent the fluid opening sequence percussively with a descending line, literally mimicking the entrance of the characters as they step into the scene (See Figure 2).²⁵⁴ This effect is heard in the percussion most prominently, but is echoed by the strings as well. Korngold’s extensive use of percussion as a means of lightness and character within his music is also seen later in his film scores.

²⁵³ Erich Wolfgang Korngold, *Violanta*, op. 8, Plate 30300, Libretto by Hans Müller-Einigen (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1916), IMSLP, 1.

²⁵⁴ Korngold, *Der Ring des Polykrates*, op. 7, 1.

1. SCENE

Lieschen kommt, eine Tablette mit Kaffeegehirn in der Hand, von links, zugleich Florian mit einem Notenpaket unter jedem Arm aus der gegenüberliegenden Seitentür. Sie treffen in der Mitte der Bühne zusammen und küssen sich mit vorgestrecktem Munde

1

Gemütlich, heiter, mit Anmut
(♩) (♩ wie zuletzt ♩)

30241

Copyright 1916 by B. Schott's Söhne Mainz

Figure 2: Scene 1 Entrance, *Der Ring des Polykrates*²⁵⁵

Korngold's last three operas varied in style and reception. *Das Wunder der Heliane* (1923-26) was an opera in three acts with well-received duets and arias. Korngold believed it was his best opera, although it was not as in demand as *Die Tote Stadt*, due to competition from the simultaneous run of Ernst Krenek's *Jonny Spielt Auf* (1923).²⁵⁶ Both *Heliane* and *Jonny* premiered in different cities simultaneously, but Julius' negative critiques of *Jonny* proved detrimental to the reception of Korngold's *Das Wunder der Heliane*. Korngold's last opera, *Die Kathrin* (1932-37), has been referred to as both a folk opera and an operetta, a generic uncertainty that reinforces Korngold's oscillation between serious and light music within his operas.²⁵⁷ Winters states, "*Die Kathrin* makes use of popular styles: Kathrin's aria 'Ich soll dich nicht mehr wiedersehen,' which bears striking resemblance to 'Glück, das mir verblieb,' from *Die Tote Stadt*, is described as 'in modo d'un canzone popolare [in the mode of a popular song].'"²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Korngold Society website. <http://www.korngold-society.org/Synopses>.

²⁵⁷ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 30.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

Through *Die Tote Stadt* (1916), Korngold's discursive practices became widely apparent. His third opera, scholars have acclaimed it as his best. When it premiered and ran for ten performances at the New York Metropolitan Opera House in 1921, Korngold achieved worldwide fame in the European opera tradition.²⁵⁹ As mentioned previously, the libretto for *Die Tote Stadt* was a collaboration between Erich and Julius. Due to Julius's roles as Erich's father and a leading critic, they elected to use the pseudonym, "Paul Schott."²⁶⁰ Julius also claimed credit for the idea of the action within a dream, which is a major component of the opera's plot.²⁶¹

In three acts, *Die Tote Stadt* (1916) reveals ways in which Korngold's music connects to early notions of mass culture, including his use of auxiliary percussion.²⁶² The first song of *Die Tote Stadt*, "Behutsam! Hier ist alles alt," reveals similarities to his film score overtures; it begins with a percussive statement of glockenspiel and ratchet matched by accented strings, and continues with an overarching sweep of full orchestral sound. The instrument list for *Die Tote Stadt* specifies percussion similar to that in his first two operas, such as triangle, glockenspiel, and tamtam, contributing to an effect that lightens the seriousness of the opera (See Figure 3).²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Peter Franklin, *Seeing Through Music: Gender and Modernism in Classic Hollywood Film Scores* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55.

²⁶⁰ Brendan G. Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 121.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 122.

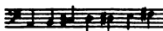
²⁶² Goose, "Opera for Sale," 189.

²⁶³ Erich Wolfgang Korngold, *Die tote Stadt: Oper in 3 Bildern: opus 12*, Klavierauszug von Ferdinand Rebay. Mainz, Germany: B. Schott's Söhne, 1920, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015048016326>.

Orchesterbesetzung:

Piccolo (nimmt auch 3. gr. Fl.)	4 Hörner in F	4 Pauken (1 Spieler)
2 große Flöten (2. nimmt auch 2. Piccolo)	3 Trompeten in C	Glockenspiel
2 Oboen	Bass-Trompete in C	Xylophon
Englisch Horn	3 Posaunen	Triangel
2 Klarinetten (A und B)	Bass-Tuba	Tambourin
Bass-Klarinette in B	Mandoline	Ratsche
2 Fagotte	2 Harfen	Kleine Trommel
Contra-Fagott	Celesta	Rute
	Klavier (ev. Piano)	Große Trommel mit Becken
	Harmonium	Freihängendes Becken
		Tamtam
	Streichquintett (möglichst stark besetzt)	

Auf der Bühne :

Orgel
 2 Trompeten in C
 2 Klarinetten in Es
 Triangel, Tambourin, Kleine Trommel, Grosse Trommel, Becken
 7 tiefe Glocken in  (am besten Stahlplatten)
 Windmaschine

Erhöht aufgestellt :

(über dem Orchesterraum, 1. Loge rechts)

2 Trompeten in C, 2 Posaunen (wenn möglich mehrfach)

Figure 3: Instrument List for *Die Tote Stadt*²⁶⁴

Additionally, the aria, “Lautenlied” [Lutesong] from *Die Tote Stadt* took on characteristics of mass entertainment and was marketed as a parlor song. In German-speaking countries, hit songs were extracted from some operettas and revues for popular use during the 1920s.²⁶⁵ In addition to sheet-music arrangements, the new gramophone industry contributed to new ways of marketing and consuming popular songs.²⁶⁶ The most common records were military-band pieces, operetta excerpts, popular songs, and music for dance bands, all representative forms of Korngold’s compositions. As an example of discursive practices and negotiation between western high art and popular styles of music, favorite German performers,

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Goose, “Opera for Sale,” 190.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 191.

such as Lotte Lehmann, recorded Korngold's "Lautenlied" nine times during the years of the Weimar Republic.²⁶⁷ Goose states, "Korngold's 'Lautenlied' became probably the most recorded modern German aria in that decade."²⁶⁸ Also released as sheet music by Schott Publishing, "Lautenlied" appeared in two versions, one for solo voice and one for solo violin, each with piano accompaniment.²⁶⁹ He notes that Schott also commissioned an arrangement for their *Domesticum Salon Orchestra* series.²⁷⁰ Advertised as a piece for use in salons and casinos, it primarily circulated in entertainment venues, where music was a background to other activities such as drinking or dining. Goose notes, "The 'Lautenlied' competed with the popular songs and modern dance music that formed the overwhelming majority of salon-orchestra repertory."²⁷¹

The connection to folksong facilitated the popularity of "Lautenlied." Identified by Goose as a folksong, "Lautenlied" relied on musical and textual gestures that stemmed from the function of folksong.²⁷² According to Frith, "In the early nineteenth century, under the influence of Romanticism, with its concepts of 'genius' on the one hand, and 'the folk' on the other, German classical music came to be seen as high art, while other forms of composed music (Italian opera, for example) or virtuoso performance (soon to be embodied in Liszt) were seen as 'popular.'"²⁷³ Thus, folksongs became tied into the discursive process between high art and low music during the Romantic era. But in the twentieth century, Georgina Born notes that folk idioms were adopted by European high art composers such as Stravinsky and Vaughan Williams, who turned to folksong as an influence in their compositions.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 212.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 191.

²⁶⁹ Schott, "List of Published Works."

²⁷⁰ Goose, "Opera for Sale," 211.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid, 190.

²⁷³ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 28.

²⁷⁴ Georgina Born, "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music, II. Musical Modernism, Postmodernism, and Others," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and*

“Lautenlied” exemplified the twentieth-century musical struggle with light vs. serious aesthetics as demonstrated by this aria from an opera, based on folksong form, and published for parlor performance. Korngold borrowed elements of European folk culture. In doing so, he continued a social discourse that operated similarly within popular culture in the United States. Likewise, referring to the connection between music and social function, Frith noted “Terms of folk culture are sustained in the ways in which people talk about popular music in the West.”²⁷⁵

Korngold’s arrangements or compositions of popular forms of music, such as operettas and marches, often resituated historical musical styles as contemporary and recontextualized the idea of kitsch.²⁷⁶ The meaning of kitsch has changed over time. According to Adorno:

Kitsch is the precipitate of devalued forms and empty ornaments from a formal world that has become remote from its immediate context. On the other hand, the objectivity of kitsch is the source of its justification. For kitsch precisely sustains the memory, distorted and as mere illusion, of a formal objectivity that has passed away.²⁷⁷

Although today we might characterize it as a light-hearted or cheesy, during Korngold’s early years kitsch referred to art of a past time that was repositioned into the present. Korngold, in both arenas of Viennese discursive practices, favored earlier tonal modern music, such as Mahler’s, rather than that of the more contemporary Second Viennese School. Thus, his own style choices blended past and present. In 1920, Walter Jacobs wrote in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that

Appropriation in Music, eds. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 13.

²⁷⁵ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 40.

²⁷⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, *Essays on Music*, Selected with Introduction, Commentary and Notes by Richard Leppert, Translated by Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 502.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 501.

“Lautenlied,” from *Die Tote Stadt*, drew on another kitschy form of mass culture, the cabaret.²⁷⁸

He stated, “Korngold’s romanticism, where it tries to portray simple feeling, descends into kitschy sentimentality. It is that false folk-style that we know from the cabaret.”²⁷⁹

In fact, kitschiness often characterized Korngold’s popular styles of music throughout his career, from operetta to film scores. According to Goose, the term “kitschy sentimentality” evokes terms common in criticism of mass culture, especially operetta and the hit-song.²⁸⁰ Korngold demonstrated engagement with the popular sphere and transversed both light and serious music. Certain elements of Korngold’s music, kitchiness being one of them, remained constant throughout his life, evident in his operettas, operas, and film scores.

Korngold, Operettas, and Johann Strauss II’s Music

It appears that Korngold composed his more serious operas in the beginning of his career, then moved into lighter music in the second half of his life, a situation especially evident once he began working with Reinhardt on operettas.²⁸¹ In doing so, Korngold recontextualized musical style traits of serious and light art. Turino describes the ability to manipulate signs on a foreground-background continuum that allows a shift of social identity.²⁸² In Korngold’s case, his identity as an opera composer granted him respect within the western art music community. Due to this standing, his social status remained intact as part of that community even while he expanded his compositions into popular operetta arrangements.

Economic difficulties during the Weimar inflation drove Korngold to operettas at first.

Korngold’s financial situation as a newlywed during the Weimar years had worsened.

²⁷⁸ From Walter Jacobs, “*Die tote Stadt* von E. W. Korngold,” *Kölnische Zeitung* (6 December 1920), cited in Goose, “Opera for Sale,” 208.

²⁷⁹ Goose, “Opera for Sale,” 208.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 190.

²⁸² Thomas Turino and James Lea, *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 9.

Composing and conducting were his only source of income and by the 1920s, he came to find the popular operettas not only lucrative, but quite enjoyable.²⁸³ Korngold's adaptability to any style or circumstance during a performance or salon gathering also served him well in conducting operettas. According to Crittenden, operettas, unlike operas, were commonly performed away from the political centers of power, and also allowed a certain amount of improvisation.²⁸⁴ These aspects of operettas reflect Korngold's engagement with popular culture.

Korngold's first opportunity to arrange an operetta presented itself through the close family friend and salon hostess, Adele Strauss (1856-1930), widow of Johann II. Adele thought that reworking her husband's operetta, *Eine Nacht in Venedig* (1883), for a more modern audience would create a better success than Strauss had previously experienced. Korngold took the opportunity to arrange and conduct performances of the work, as he loved Strauss' music.²⁸⁵

Johann Strauss II held a major role in the discourse between serious and light music. Associated with operettas and waltzes, his Viennese stature came from recognition as an international icon, beginning with the "Blue Danube Waltz" in 1867.²⁸⁶ Crittenden states, "What Strauss enjoyed, and his colleagues did not, was a close relationship with the social and institutional structures that shaped musical opinion."²⁸⁷ The Strausses, both elder and younger, symbolized Vienna. Their famous waltzes were representations of the Viennese musical taste and thus influenced young Korngold. Relating to questions regarding high and low art, Frith states, "The differences between high and low emerge because these questions are embedded in different historical and material circumstances, and are therefore framed differently, and because the answers are related to different social situations, different patterns of sociability, different

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 10.

²⁸⁵ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 195.

²⁸⁶ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 91.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 3.

social needs.”²⁸⁸ As such, Adorno appraised the music of Strauss thus: “The music of Johann Strauss is set off from the art music of the time through its ‘genre,’ but this separation is not total; his waltzes leave room for harmonic differentiation and, furthermore, they are formed thematically out of small, contrasting units never subject merely to empty repetition.”²⁸⁹ Hanslick and Brahms had also lauded Strauss’s melodic inventions because he conformed to western art music standards.²⁹⁰

Korngold’s father approved of Erich’s Strauss arrangements, despite his distaste for popular music in general. Carroll notes, “Korngold was a great admirer of the music of Strauss, a passion he had inherited from his father.”²⁹¹ Eduard Hanslick had supported Strauss, which possibly influenced Julius’ acceptance of Strauss’ popular forms. Erich also became recognized as a Strauss expert and later arranged additional operettas.²⁹² Beyond the arrangement of Strauss’s operettas, however, Julius Korngold did not like the popular direction of his son’s music and voiced his critical opinion.²⁹³ Carroll states, “Julius felt that most of these activities were not fitting for a composer of his son’s stature, and the regular arguments between father and son became ever more bitter.”²⁹⁴ Skeptical of the modernist forms presented by composers such as Schoenberg, as well as the light side of Viennese music, as was Korngold’s inclination, the elder Korngold remained rooted in the more traditional facets of high art music.

Much of Korngold’s operetta music reflected Strauss II’s and incorporated many of the same characteristics, including a lilting rhythm, and light, happy melodies.²⁹⁵ Korngold not only arranged the operettas listed in Table 2, he conducted most of them as well. He also composed

²⁸⁸ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 19.

²⁸⁹ Adorno, *Essays on Music*, 428.

²⁹⁰ Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna*, 4.

²⁹¹ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 162.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid, 44.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 207.

²⁹⁵ *Korngold Society* website.

several additional songs in the style of the original composer for many of the operettas. For instance, in *Rosen aus Florida* (1928), “Irina’s Song” was entirely Korngold’s own work, even while the larger arrangement evoked the style of Leo Fall, the original composer of the operetta.²⁹⁶

Max Reinhardt prominently contributed to the rise of operettas in the early twentieth century as they took on a larger and more popular dimension. *Forbidden Music* author Michael Haas states, “Reinhardt probably did more to develop music and drama in the early twentieth century than any other stage director.”²⁹⁷ Korngold’s expertise in operetta arrangements attracted the attention of Reinhardt, a theater producer and director. Although Reinhardt and Korngold had first met in 1911, they did not work together until their collaboration on Strauss II’s operettas in 1929.²⁹⁸ Many other important Viennese composers and conductors worked with Reinhardt as well. For example, Otto Preminger joined Reinhardt’s Viennese theater company in 1922. When Reinhardt left for the United States, Preminger remained in Vienna until 1935, succeeding Reinhardt as administrator of Theater der Josefstadt.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 206.

²⁹⁷ Michael Haas, “Max Reinhardt-Music, Theatre, Circus,” *Forbidden Music* (blog), August 18, 2013, <http://forbiddenmusic.org/2013/08/18/max-reinhardt-music-theatre-circus/>.

²⁹⁸ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 72.

²⁹⁹ David Wallace, *Exiles in Hollywood* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Limelight Editions, 2006), 90.

Table 2: Operettas arranged by Korngold³⁰⁰

Operetta	Year	Arrangement of:
<i>Eine Nacht in Venedig</i>	1923	Johann Strauss II
<i>Cagliostro in Wien</i>	1926-1927	Johann Strauss II
<i>Rosen aus Florida</i>	1928	Leo Fall (performed at Theater an der Wien)
<i>Die Fledermaus</i>	1929	Johann Strauss II (with Max Reinhardt)
<i>Walzer aus Wien</i>	1930	Based on the life of Johann Strauss II Music by Johann Strauss II Libretto by Alfred Maria Willner, Heinz Reichert, Ernst Marischka
<i>Die Schöne Helena</i>	1931	Jacques Offenbach (with Max Reinhardt)
<i>Das Lied der Liebe</i>	1931	Johann Strauss II
<i>Die Geschiedene Frau</i>	1932	Leo Fall
<i>At Your Service</i>	1939	Arrangements of Rossini for Hollywood's Max Reinhardt Workshop Production of Goldoni's "Servant with Two Masters"
<i>Rosalinda</i>	1942	US version of Korngold/Reinhardt's version of "Die Fledermaus" by Johann Strauss II
<i>Helen Goes to Troy</i>	1944	US version of Korngold/Reinhardt's version of "Die Schöne Helena" by Jacques Offenbach
<i>The Great Waltz</i>	1947	US film version of "Walzer aus Wien"

³⁰⁰ Korngold Society website.

Although Korngold only worked with Reinhardt on two operettas, the relationship they established became an important part of Korngold's later career and move to Hollywood, as I discuss further in Chapter IV. Speaking of Reinhardt, Haas states "He saw more clearly than others how Operetta should divide the spoils of spoken word and music and, in my opinion, paved the way towards a European version of the American musical."³⁰¹ For example, his work with Korngold on Strauss II's *Fledermaus* and Offenbach's *La belle Hélène* replaced many operatic roles with speaking actors, as they were easier to cast.³⁰² The operettas ran at *Theater an der Wein*, then travelled through Austria and Germany.³⁰³ Demonstrating his oscillation between serious and light music during the early 1920s, Korngold composed chamber music and operas in addition to the operetta arrangements.³⁰⁴ However, he became better known for his work on the operettas with Reinhardt than he did for his serious music.³⁰⁵ Korngold's stage and theater experience with Max Reinhardt most likely contributed more to his success in film than did any other of his previous experiences.

However, Korngold did not focus on any single style or form, but on the continuing composition and production of music. Korngold wrote both western art music and popular forms of music, but his operetta experiences and his Viennese high art largely contributed to his fluctuation between musical spheres. The waltz's light characteristics appear in much of his music. Nonetheless, it blended well with high styles of modernism and Viennese art music. Korngold's sound would also resonate with the American public, and film scores would define a new beginning and identity for Korngold, in a new medium.

³⁰¹ Haas, "Max Reinhardt-Music, Theatre, Circus," (blog).

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 195.

³⁰⁴ Schott, "List of Published Works."

³⁰⁵ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 207, 215, 222.

Theater and Film Music

Germany's "Golden Era" of film was brief, from 1919-1925. Technology had already developed techniques for film in other countries, which allowed Germany to expand on that knowledge.³⁰⁶ However, many leaders of the German film industry, such as Fritz Lang, emigrated to Hollywood by the 1930s, which contributed to the decline of the German film industry.³⁰⁷ Unlike in the United States, musical film composition in the German 1920s was considered an elite art and established Western art composers usually scored films. By 1931, the German film industry utilized sound production, which contributed to the rise of the screen musical. The German musical genre focused on screen operettas.³⁰⁸ Korngold, with his expertise arranging operettas with Reinhardt, appealed to the German studios and they approached him to do film composition. Due to his commitments with Reinhardt and his own operas, however, he turned down the opportunity.³⁰⁹ Later, American film would be central in Korngold's career.

In addition to the musical genre, German film also produced expressionist art. The German film medium of the 1920s developed symbiotically along with technological advances. The post-World War I effects of industrialization, in addition to redefinitions of spatial and temporal issues of German daily life, permitted a convergence between cinema and modernity in Germany.³¹⁰ Reinhardt's influence was multi-faceted, as many actors in his theater troupe became sought after in German films, due to their own expertise and Reinhardt's skill with

³⁰⁶ Arthur Knight, *The Liveliest Art: A Panoramic History of the Movies* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1978), 44.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 54.

³⁰⁸ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 218.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Frances Guerin, *A Culture of Light: Cinema and Technology in 1920s Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005), xx.

performance lighting.³¹¹ Technology designed and imported from the United States also influenced German film.³¹²

Likewise, the flow of industry and arts from European immigration brought America a new style of operetta at the turn of the century. The American operetta style in the early twentieth century came almost entirely from Austria, Hungary, and Germany.³¹³ Larry Stempel relates the three basic characteristics of this genre as, “luscious melody, rousing choruses, and romantic passions.”³¹⁴ Love songs frequently appeared as waltzes, demonstrating the international popularity of the Strauss’ music. Stempel notes, “The Silver Age of Operetta in the United States lasted roughly from the arrival of *The Merry Widow* (1907) to that of the Broadway operetta, *The Great Waltz* (1934), a Viennese pastiche based on the lives and music of both Johann Strausses, father and son.”³¹⁵ This particular operetta had several versions. First in Vienna, Korngold and Julius Bittner arranged Strauss’s music in *Walzer Aus Wein* (1930). Alfred Hitchcock released a film as *The Great Waltz* (1934) in Britain and as *Strauss’ Great Waltz* (1938) in the United States. Korngold’s musical arrangements were used for all three versions. Thus, his 1934 entrance to Hollywood film scoring coincided with America’s Silver Age of Operetta.

During the Silver Age, popular culture of the 1920s overlapped a developing commodity culture. Americans newly defined themselves through purchased goods rather than inherited wealth or identities formed at workplaces.³¹⁶ World War I also changed America’s opinion of high art, altering what Levine refers to as cultural formations of highbrow, middlebrow, and

³¹¹ Lotte H. Eisner, *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 44.

³¹² Guerin, *Culture of Light*, xxv.

³¹³ Larry Stempel, *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 171.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid, 173.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 207.

lowbrow music.³¹⁷ During the war, the political opposition of America and Germany diminished the prestige of German scholarship and art in the United States. Horowitz states, “America’s musical high culture was essentially a German import. Artists and repertoire were mainly Germanic, as were the ideals of uplift that music was thought to serve.”³¹⁸ Thus, after World War I, German composers were banned or downplayed, altering the shape of high art culture in America. According to Horowitz, “At the Met, Wagner was banned even in translation, along with the rest of the German repertoire.”³¹⁹ Likewise, the chasm left by restricted German high art allowed American popular and high art styles to move into prominence during the 1920s.

During this time, American musical theater and the introduction of jazz expression into musicals articulated an increasingly clear split between American popular Tin Pan Alley songs and Broadway on the one hand, and European operettas on the other.³²⁰ Early twentieth-century musicians introduced jazz as popular music into American culture, which musical comedy and theater incorporated.³²¹ Operetta songs used more sustained melody lines and emphasized classical vocal techniques, such as vibrato, and breath control. Traditional string and wind orchestras accompanied operettas. On the other hand, Broadway’s musical comedy songs had shorter vocal phrases requiring less breath control and were often modeled on jazz rhythms and short instrumental riffs. They also utilized swing bands for instrumental support.³²² Musical comedy became firmly established on Broadway, prominently composed by the Gershwin brothers, Cole Porter, Rodgers and Hart.³²³ Although some émigrés, such as Kurt Weill,

³¹⁷ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 7.

³¹⁸ Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 266.

³¹⁹ Ibid, 267.

³²⁰ Stempel, *Showtime*, 207.

³²¹ Ibid, 205.

³²² Ibid, 229.

³²³ Ibid, 239.

embraced the jazz elements in his Broadway musicals, Korngold remained constant in his compositional style of operettas and European high art music within film scores.

Interestingly, Korngold came to the US for the first time to arrange Mendelssohn's music to accompany the 1934 film *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, seemingly exchanging his success in composing and arranging of operettas for the medium of film scores. However, operetta and song are both forms of light music, and many similarities exist between these and Korngold's film scores, such as the use of percussion and brass to establish an emotional register and a popular idiom. In addition, the film production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* demonstrated discursive practices in numerous ways. Reinhardt produced the film based on a Shakespeare play. It also starred Mickey Rooney, a popular vaudeville, stage, and film actor.

Further demonstrating Korngold's negotiation of high and low, Franklin notes Korngold's film scores, such as "*Captain Blood* (1935), *Anthony Adverse* (1936), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), and *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939) could all be analyzed as spoken grand operas, with love scenes, arias, choruses, processions, and even orchestral interludes."³²⁴ However, in the films of the 1930s, the music rarely ran through the entire production, thus linking them more closely to the traditions of operettas.³²⁵

However, Korngold often felt discouraged composing for historical action films. Film composers frequently lost their autonomy during the filmmaking process, as studios rarely gave the composer any voice or authority regarding musical direction. Franklin states, "It was a commodity produced to commission, often at great speed."³²⁶ European high art proponents and

³²⁴ Peter Franklin, "Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others: Los Angeles circa 1940," in *Western Music and Its Others*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 156.

³²⁵ David Neumeyer, "The Resonances of Wagnerian Opera and Nineteenth-Century Melodrama in the Film Scores of Max Steiner," in *Wagner & Cinema*, eds. Jeongwon Joe and Sander Gilman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 118.

³²⁶ Franklin, "Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others," 156.

composers of film denied the similarities between film music and high art music, which contributed to tensions between them. Conversely, scholars such as David Neumeyer now present the multi-dimensional connections of these early film scores to Viennese art forms.³²⁷

Another Austrian émigré, Max Steiner (1888-1971), had a profound impact on Korngold's later film career. Both worked at Warner Brothers Studios in Hollywood during the 1930s. Korngold and Steiner, as well as other composers for film, treated their music similarly to the incidental music composed for operettas, ballets, and melodrama. The recontextualization of European theater music for Hollywood film scores demonstrates the discursive practices surrounding Korngold's musical values. This exemplifies Frith's observation that the high and low cultural boundaries set by a given musical context rely on the choices that designate the social sphere of the music, such as in a high art theater or low art movie house.³²⁸ Similarly, referring to a continuity of practice and links between film and opera, Franklin observes, "The family connection between opera, operetta, 'musical comedy,' and film is reflected in the way early twentieth-century composers, producers, and performers would often make the move from more stylized forms of musical theater into film."³²⁹

Max Steiner also made the transition from lighter forms of Viennese music to Hollywood film. Steiner had grown up in Vienna, where his grandfather, Maximilian Steiner, directed the *Theater an der Wien*, which had been in operation for three generations.³³⁰ His father, Gabor Steiner, managed the theater and family friends included Gustav Mahler, along with Steiner's godfather, Richard Strauss. Steiner's background was primarily in entertainment theater, rather

³²⁷ Neumeyer, "Resonances of Wagnerian Opera," 122.

³²⁸ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 27.

³²⁹ Franklin, *Seeing Through Music*, 39.

³³⁰ Mark Slobin, "The Steiner Superculture," in *Global Soundtracks: Worlds of Film Music* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 5.

than in the so-called high art of the *fin-de-siècle*.³³¹ This provides an example of Turino's concept regarding the deep socialization of identity.³³² Internalized habits of music production from a childhood spent in theater remained with Steiner after his move to the United States and contributed to his success as a composer in the Hollywood Studios.³³³ Steiner arrived in Hollywood in 1929, leaving a career on Broadway as the Great Depression encompassed the nation.³³⁴

The theatrical community practices of Europe, along with the legacy of Viennese romanticism and light musical styles, facilitated Korngold's transition into film music. The links between film scores and theater music illuminate the collaborative nature of the musical work of Korngold and Steiner. Both Steiner and Korngold worked with theatrical productions in Vienna, and then brought their skills in musical collaboration into the Hollywood venue. As composers in Hollywood on a tight time schedule, they worked closely with orchestrators, musicians, and others in the music department of the studio.³³⁵ Thus, they drew upon their earlier experiences of theater in Vienna.

Korngold and Steiner had a profound effect on Hollywood film music in the 1930s. Marcus, positioning Korngold in the nineteenth-century high art tradition, stated that despite the commercialization of Hollywood film music, Korngold "brought the symphonic score to a new level of sophistication."³³⁶ Regarding Steiner's work, Haas notes, "The first dedicated original score for film was not until 1933, with *King Kong*, and music by Max Steiner, a Viennese Jew

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 10.

³³³ Neumeyer, "Resonances of Wagnerian Opera," 115.

³³⁴ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 251.

³³⁵ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 8.

³³⁶ Kenneth Marcus, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 177.

who as a student had been dismissively regarded by Mahler as being ‘without talent.’”³³⁷ Despite Mahler’s disregard, Steiner helped set the stage for the nascent American film score. For both Steiner and Korngold, musical theater experiences prior to their Hollywood years were the greatest influence on their film composition.

Viennese styles of music shaped Korngold’s discursive practices in music composition. His operas and chamber music demonstrated European western traditions and were validated by the Viennese high art community. However, as the example of “Lautenlied” demonstrates, mass media commodified his opera by popularizing the aria through sheet music and other recordings. Korngold’s admiration of Johann Strauss II’s music drew Korngold toward the lighter side of Viennese music. His experiences with the operettas developed into a satisfying means of earning money. In addition to his success with popular operettas arrangements, Korngold maintained his status as a European high art composer, due to his musical connections and his father’s influence. As discussed more fully in the next chapter, Korngold encountered collaborative workplace situations within the Hollywood film studios similar to what he had found in his European theatrical experiences. His negotiation between European high art and popular forms of music continued. In Hollywood, however, instead of moving between operettas and operas or chamber music, his primary popular medium became film music.

³³⁷ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 251.

CHAPTER IV: HOLLYWOOD

Korngold's adroitness in adapting to both western art and popular musical values, based on the necessary presentation and reception of the given situation, shaped his Hollywood success and American experience. Throughout his life, he remained a respected member of the émigré salon community. European high art composers paid homage to Korngold's concert music. In addition, Korngold joined the film industry as a composer and became a leader in American popular film scores. Consequently, Korngold's self-borrowing techniques in these works further demonstrate his discursive practices between western art music and popular styles.

Korngold stated that as long as he was composing music, it did not matter to him whether it was operettas, concert music, or incidental music.³³⁸ Thus, as previously demonstrated, his purportedly high-art operas closely relate to popular operettas, supporting the idea that his musical values were discursive. As an example of Korngold's outlook, Carroll quotes from Korngold's article regarding film music, "Never have I differentiated between my music for the films and that for the operas and concert pieces. Just as I do for the operatic stage, I try to invent for the motion picture dramatically melodious music with symphonic development and variation of the themes."³³⁹ Frith refers to the complication of class structure during the early twentieth century as the middle class became wealthier and relates this to musical judgments and definitions of high and low boundaries. He states, "Musical disputes are not about music "in itself" but about how to place it, what it is about the music that is to be assessed."³⁴⁰ This point, exemplified in Korngold's music, demonstrated his consistency within his musical style, but showed flexibility in placing his music as required by the given context or situation.

³³⁸ Brendan G. Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 299.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 26.

Los Angeles

Early-twentieth-century Los Angeles functioned as a major port city where many displaced German-speaking émigrés settled. When émigré musicians first moved to Los Angeles, they found that little western high art culture existed there. Crawford states, “The centralizing influence was New York City, and Southern California was not yet on the cutting edge of the American cultural experience.”³⁴¹ Unlike in Europe, the American perception of music saw it as a social accomplishment, not a profession, leaving the field dominated by amateurs and females.³⁴² According to Levine, American cultural space also became more hierarchically defined in the early twentieth century, with a marked separation between high art or “serious” music, and popular music in films.³⁴³ With the 1930s arrival of German émigrés in Los Angeles, their European traditions of high art became part of the community.

Although most of the émigrés lacked an abundance of financial means, they enjoyed a certain amount of privilege due to their identities as European high art musicians and composers. Their identities as western art musicians remained intact, despite relocation. As Kaplan notes of the émigré experience, “Such identities are not always self-chosen, welcome, or advantageous to the newly arrived, but they do play roles in the formation of literary and artistic canons as well as the deployment of political interests on the part of state institutions.”³⁴⁴ Thus, the new residents of Los Angeles contributed to a distinct formation of European high art culture, which was not readily available in early twentieth-century Los Angeles, although some theaters existed.

³⁴¹ Dorothy Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 25.

³⁴² Ibid, 28.

³⁴³ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 234.

³⁴⁴ Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 31.

In addition to theaters, a feature of 1920s and 1930s Los Angeles music culture was media diversity. The combined roles of recording, radio, and film contributed to Los Angeles as an epicenter of US entertainment.³⁴⁵ The radio stations in Los Angeles played a wide variety of classical and popular music, in addition to comedy and informational shows.³⁴⁶ Ehrhard Bahr states, “The presence of the German exiles shaped the cultural life in Los Angeles, especially in the fields of music, theater, and film.”³⁴⁷ The music culture extended further than the city’s center. Theaters and concert venues were established in outlying communities, and film studios chose to locate outside the city as well, in order to have access to large plots of land for movie sets. Diversification such as this contributed to an ongoing transformation in the expressive culture of the United States.³⁴⁸

Hollywood also helped shape the musical values of the nation. Crawford states, “In the 1930s and 1940s, film scores were forming the musical tastes of the American public. As Hollywood became the film capital of the world, film composers’ music was heard everywhere.”³⁴⁹ Thus, musical émigrés of the high art western tradition sought studio employment in Hollywood during the 1930s. Although other composers contributed to the formation of the symphonic film score, Korngold and Steiner remained key innovators in its development, largely due to their background of participating in both theater and western art music.

³⁴⁵ Kenneth Marcus, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 194.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 196.

³⁴⁷ Ehrhard Bahr, *Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 190.

³⁴⁸ Marcus, *Musical Metropolis*, 196.

³⁴⁹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 166.

New and non-traditional locations for concerts also altered the reception of the arts.³⁵⁰ As Frith states, “The ‘transcendent’ meaning of classical, for example, was both exploited and denied by its use in the new movie houses, just as it has been since by radio and record and television companies.”³⁵¹ In Los Angeles, the Hollywood Bowl drew in concert audiences, and thus incorporated elements of western high art music and popular venues. Marcus states, “They came to worship at the shrine of a natural, outdoor theater but with few of the restrictions they would have found in standard concert halls, with the insistence on stylized forms of dress, strict behavioral codes, and hierarchal seating arrangements.”³⁵² Thus, the producers and performers of drama, symphonic and operatic music, as well as other forms of high culture, reached out to audiences in an effort to expand reception.

Despite interest in western art music, opera and concert ticket prices were too high for most of the population during the Great Depression.³⁵³ Movie theaters offered a more economical means of entertainment, although many of the theaters placed a high emphasis on box office returns rather than the quality of the production.³⁵⁴ Thus, Hollywood film music played a vital role in redefining Los Angeles’ music culture. Émigré composers, such as Korngold and Steiner, applied techniques they had learned in opera and theater to create the symphonic film score, contributing to the discursive practices of artists in film. Marcus states, “The message was clear: Orchestral music was not separate from but rather integral to a medium intended for a mass audience.”³⁵⁵

³⁵⁰ Marcus, *Musical Metropolis*, 196.

³⁵¹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 31.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 128.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Marcus, *Musical Metropolis*, 197.

Salons in Exile

[Exile] is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place,
between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted.

Edward Saïd³⁵⁶

Prior to the 1930s emigration of German-speaking exiles, the Russian Revolution of 1917 had triggered a mass exodus of high art musicians to the United States.³⁵⁷ Many went to New York and found work on Broadway. Although Broadway enjoyed success during the 1930s Depression, when the next group of musical German émigrés entered America in the early 1930s, jobs on the east coast were difficult to find. Many of the east coast émigrés relocated to Los Angeles, while others moved there directly from Europe. Thus, they settled in Los Angeles, an area with little pre-existing European classical music heritage at this time.

As German intellectuals and artists left their original homes and relocated to Los Angeles, the community entwined itself together, crossing paths at regular intervals. Kaplan states, “The alienation of writers or intellectuals from the abuses and injustices of their ‘home’ location can generate an ‘unhousedness’ or displacement that brings them in solidarity, if you will, to meet the involuntary exile on the terrain of textual and political affiliation.”³⁵⁸ Along similar lines, Turino defines cultural cohorts as people sharing similar habits.³⁵⁹ In the case of the Hollywood émigrés and their cultural cohorts, music became the defining link. Referring to the importance of a shared German culture, Hans Vaget states, “Evidently it was [Thomas] Mann’s belief that the common love of Schubert, of Wagner, and of the entire musical culture they represented provided the secret bond that would hold together the national community at a

³⁵⁶ Edward W. Saïd, *Reflections of Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 173.

³⁵⁷ Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 328.

³⁵⁸ Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 105.

³⁵⁹ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 112.

time of crisis and upheaval.”³⁶⁰ Indeed, the émigrés had come from cultures in which national identities were rooted in traditions of classical music.³⁶¹ According to Peter Franklin, the German musicians in America, “All perceived themselves as representatives of a ‘high’ artistic culture in whose techniques and values they had been trained.”³⁶² Thus, the link of music drew the émigrés into a continued salon community in Los Angeles.

The salons provided the émigrés with a means of holding onto the German culture and western high art that was otherwise missing from their new home in Los Angeles.³⁶³ Activities such as these are defined by Turino’s concept of group identities. Turino states, “Group identities are the foundation of all social and political life.”³⁶⁴ For Turino, individuals are social, and both individual subjectivity and identity are socially fashioned. Group identities recognize this and select those with common habits to form a community.³⁶⁵ Most of the émigrés disliked Hollywood, due partly to what they regarded as a lack of high culture. Crawford related Klemperer’s privately expressed opinion, “My God, my God, I didn’t know that such a lack of intellectuality (*Geistigkeit*) existed.”³⁶⁶ Thus, the salons prevailed as a place for the émigrés to gather with others of a similar culture.

At the salons, the émigrés not only gathered for food and conversation, but also supported each other musically, as each developed their art in the larger community. Writer Thomas Mann believed that the German culture, rather than defined by the limits of geography or the political

³⁶⁰ Hans Rudolf Vaet, “National and Universal: Thomas Mann and the Paradox of ‘German’ Music,” in *Music & German National Identity*, eds. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 161.

³⁶¹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 243.

³⁶² Peter Franklin, “Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others: Los Angeles circa 1940,” in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 144.

³⁶³ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 31.

³⁶⁴ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 8.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 25.

condition of a country, was carried from home by the émigrés and exemplified in Los Angeles salons. Goehr states, “German culture was being maintained abroad because it no longer existed in Nazi Germany.”³⁶⁷ For instance, Otto Klemperer (1885-1973), became the conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic in 1933. At the time, it was not a well-known or strong orchestra, as it had only existed since 1919. Klemperer, adding German repertoire and European ideals into the concerts, brought the Los Angeles Philharmonic into national prominence.³⁶⁸

By the 1940s, in the few square miles between Hollywood and the Pacific, hundreds of European émigrés settled. With this huge influx of knowledge and talent into a small area, the artistic and intellectual exiles mixed together.³⁶⁹ Crawford states, “They found inspiration in each other, breaching walls between them that might have been insurmountable in Europe.”³⁷⁰ For instance, émigrés like Hanns Eisler had socialist or left-leaning tendencies, which caused him difficulties and forced his deportation during the 1938 House Un-American Activities Committee inquiries; others, like Korngold, had little or no political leanings.³⁷¹ Further demonstrating a strong sense of a displaced, but coherent community, members of the salon community formed The European Film Fund. This group collected funds from employees and friends of the film studios. The collected funds monetarily assisted American bound refugees fleeing Nazi Germany. Many of the employed émigrés designated one percent of their weekly salaries to the fund. Korngold committed \$50 each month, along with others in the film industry,

³⁶⁷ Lydia Goehr, “Music and Musicians in Exile: The Romantic Legacy of a Double Life,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 77.

³⁶⁸ Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*, 314.

³⁶⁹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 31.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 243.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, 197.

such as film producer Carl Laemmle (1867-1939), film agent, Paul Kohner (1902-1988), and screenwriter, Salka Viertel (1889-1978).³⁷²

Most artists, including Korngold, lived within the community of exiles, remaining separate socially from the English-speaking Americans. Few émigrés, such as Reinhardt, spoke English. Thus, they rarely dealt with locals and instead found friendships in their displaced communities.³⁷³ Gottfried Reinhardt (1911-1994), son of Max Reinhardt (1873-1943), referred to the “mass migration of a thrown-together artistic and intellectual elite” as a “ghetto.”³⁷⁴ Gottfried observed it was not unusual to have lunch with Schoenberg, coffee and cake with Korngold, and then spend an evening with Thomas Mann (1875-1955).³⁷⁵ Hosts such as Salka Viertel or Lion and Marta Feuchtwanger were key contacts for many Jewish-German artists and musicians. Russian émigrés who also became part of the salon community, such as Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) and Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943) also gathered several times a month. Relationships such as these illustrate Turino’s concept of cultural cohorts.³⁷⁶

The social difficulties many émigrés overcame additionally cemented the bonds formed in the Hollywood salons. Lion and Marta Feuchtwanger bought a villa in Pacific Palisades in 1943. Despite being considered fairly remote at the time, their home became a major social site. The friends played games, including darts, and used a picture of Hitler as the target.³⁷⁷ The Feuchtwangers also hosted many of the salon gatherings and Schoenberg often played the organ in their living room.³⁷⁸ Salka Viertel was an active hostess of Hollywood salons, and known for her charm and culture of old-world Europe. Her extreme generosity welcomed the exiles as

³⁷² Skirball Cultural Center, *Light & Noir: Exiles and Émigrés in Hollywood, 1933-1950*,” Exhibit letter dated May 1942, tour.

³⁷³ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 31.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 112.

³⁷⁷ David Wallace, *Exiles in Hollywood* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Limelight Editions, 2006), 107.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

family, and as an excellent cook, she served the dishes of old Europe.³⁷⁹ As they had at European salons, the émigrés continued to share meaningful activities, often musically.

The extended network of the salon culture created a sense of home for the exiles in various locations around Los Angeles. A favorite gathering place was the farmers market on Fairfax Avenue and Third Street, as it reminded the émigrés of the European markets they had frequented.³⁸⁰ They also gathered at salons and the interconnectedness between émigrés demonstrated the salon's importance within the musical community of Los Angeles. For example, Korngold and Schoenberg renewed their Viennese friendship. Schoenberg's daughter, Gertrud, had been a close friend of Korngold's in Vienna, and their children became friends in Hollywood.³⁸¹ Alma Mahler Werfel and second husband, Franz, often held informal afternoon and evening salons, where regular attendees included the Feuchtwangers, the Manns, the Walters and the Korngolds.³⁸² The closeness of the community and salon hosts was exemplified when Korngold dedicated his 1948 Violin Concerto dedication to Alma Werfel on her sixty-ninth birthday.³⁸³

Additionally, mutual displacement in America often presented new possibilities, such as employment in education. Due to the influence of European musicians as American teachers, the discursive discussions between western high art music and popular music were further reinforced. Haas cited musicologist Christopher Hailey with regard to this phenomenon: "The émigré presence also introduced or reinforced certain long-held prejudices, including the notion that German music was superior to that of, say, France or Italy (substance over style), and the belief that instrumental music represented a higher, purer form of musical culture than vocal or

³⁷⁹ Ibid, 23.

³⁸⁰ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 228.

³⁸¹ Ibid, 115.

³⁸² Ibid, 43, 47.

³⁸³ Ibid, 56.

theatrical forms, which were among America's strengths."³⁸⁴ The émigrés who taught in numerous academic institutions, such as Yale, UCLA, and Harvard, left a significant cultural imprint on musicians, affecting future generations of Americans. The European influence also created perceived stylistic disjunctions between western high art music and popular styles.

Korngold was respected both socially and professionally by émigrés in his community. Socially, Korngold became involved with the émigrés of Los Angeles, attending events on a regular basis. According to Simon Frith, the experience of identity describes both a social and an aesthetic process.³⁸⁵ The social process is a form of interaction with the community around oneself, while the aesthetic process exhibits how one expresses oneself and portrays moral values through an act of participation.³⁸⁶ Korngold's aesthetic processes were exhibited through his work ethic and personality. Hugo Friedhofer (1901-1981), who orchestrated many of Korngold's compositions at Warner Brothers said, "I admired his music, I adored the man."³⁸⁷ Although other composers of Western art music, such as Schoenberg, accused Korngold of "selling out" by composing music for film, he successfully worked in the Hollywood film industry for the duration of World War II, from 1933 to 1945.³⁸⁸ Overall, Korngold maintained the respect of his European colleagues in California as a western art composer, even while he composed popular music for film.

³⁸⁴ From Christopher Hailey, 2005 essay, "Émigrés in the Classroom," which related experiences with German émigré teachers, cited in Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 262.

³⁸⁵ Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996), 111.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Michael Curtiz, William Keighley, et al, *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (Burbank, CA: Distributed by Warner Home Video, 2003), DVD.

³⁸⁸ Bryan Gilliam, "A Viennese Opera Composer in Hollywood: Korngold's Double Exile in America," in *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 224.

Musical Values in America

In the early twentieth century, American musical preferences became increasingly similar to those of Europeans, partially due to greater exchanges from both sides of the Atlantic. Acknowledging musical hybridity in a 1937 interview for *The Etude Music Magazine*, Korngold commented that little difference existed anymore between the music in Europe and that in America. The idea that high art only existed in Europe had faded away as more Americans experienced western style art music in concert halls and through other mediums.³⁸⁹ Many composers, including Schoenberg, blamed Los Angeles and Hollywood for the leveling of culture and blurring of social distinctions. Franklin wrote, “The fear behind the blame was that the traditional social function and ideology of high art, of which avant-garde modernism was really an integral part, was threatened by the resultant clarification of the oppositions of power and gender which had defined its discourse.”³⁹⁰ The addling of cultural classifications in America greatly disturbed the European high art musicians, as it often left western art modernists without a venue or audience.

Opera in America, simultaneously popular and elite, blurred cultural lines in the early nineteenth century, but this had changed by the twentieth century.³⁹¹ Levine reminds us that by 1900, opera was a symbol of culture, and the opera house became “a sacred source of cultural enlightenment” rather than a place of entertainment.³⁹² This sacralization extended to symphonic music as well, and was firmly in place in 1930s America. However, the reception of modern or avant-garde music in Los Angeles remained poor.

³⁸⁹ Verna Arvey, “Composing for the Pictures,” *The Etude Music Magazine* (January 1937), <http://thompsonian.info/korngold-etude-Jan-1937.html>, accessed January 18, 2015.

³⁹⁰ Franklin, “Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others,” 159.

³⁹¹ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 86.

³⁹² *Ibid*, 104.

For instance, Arnold Schoenberg's modern music was not well-received in Los Angeles and he often treated other Europeans in the émigré community coldly, as he felt due more respect than what he typically received.³⁹³ He had emigrated first to New York in 1933, then moved to Los Angeles in 1934 due to a lack of permanent employment, as well as health issues.³⁹⁴ Crawford states, "From his first years in California, memories of past repudiations and his sense of his own importance as a composer made him hypersensitive to any slight, even if imagined."³⁹⁵ Issues such as this surfaced often. Schoenberg, despite his low opinion concerning film scores, wanted to teach film composers. He was attracted to film as *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or a total work of art.³⁹⁶ He taught many composers privately, such as Alfred Newman, David Raksin, and Franz Waxman, all prominent names in Hollywood film composition.³⁹⁷ Therefore, despite his own lack of interest in composing for film, Schoenberg left his legacy through the film compositions of those he taught. In this way, his career reflects some aspects of the integration between western high art and popular music in California.

Meanwhile, tensions between high and low in America persisted. The fissure between western high art and popular music, or serious and light music began before the twentieth century. Scott states of the nineteenth century, "The rupture between art and entertainments was caused primarily by an intense dislike of the market conditions that turned art into a commodity."³⁹⁸ Likewise in the twentieth century, Frith asserts that mass culture relates more closely to the commercial process, rather than being defined by social classes. He states, "High/low thus describes the emergence of consumer elites or cults, on the one hand (the

³⁹³ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 109.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 102.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 103.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 111.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 113.

³⁹⁸ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 87.

bohemian versus the conformist), and the tension between artists and their audiences (the modernist and avant-gardist versus the orthodox and the mainstream), on the other.”³⁹⁹ Indeed, the discursive musical values of serious and popular music in Los Angeles appeared defined by the choices in favor of ideology on one side, or commercialization of music on the other. Thus, perspectives on musical values depend on the presentation medium or venue of the music.⁴⁰⁰

The discussion of high art versus popular music influenced the identities of the western art composers, as well as how their colleagues viewed one another on both sides of the line. Throughout his life, Schoenberg remained staunch in his belief that art was not for the masses; therefore, in his view, western high art music was for the elite.⁴⁰¹ He believed that despite the integration of western high art music into Hollywood, popular music was not art.⁴⁰² Korngold, however, challenged this position. Franklin states, “The trading of constructions of modernism between Stravinsky and Schoenberg against Rachmaninov and Korngold marked a significant stage in the decline and transformation of European music’s ‘good old tradition’ as part of it slipped out of the downtown concert hall and into the local cinema.”⁴⁰³ Rachmaninov had moved to New York in 1917, but relocated to Los Angeles in 1942, where he connected with the émigré community and embraced popular idioms. Horowitz notes, “Rachmaninoff was not immune to America and its popular arts. A whiff of Hollywood is discernible in the Third Symphony.”⁴⁰⁴ The evident tension between western high art and popular music also supports Frith’s previously mentioned observation.⁴⁰⁵ Both Korngold and Rachmaninov were seen as aligned with

³⁹⁹ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 35.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 27.

⁴⁰¹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 128.

⁴⁰² Marcus, *Musical Metropolis*, 195.

⁴⁰³ Franklin, “Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others,” 160.

⁴⁰⁴ Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*, 330.

⁴⁰⁵ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 35.

commercial concerns and thus shared a sense of alienation from high art, demonstrated by the power of the linked discourses of European high art and modernism.⁴⁰⁶

This perceived resemblance between Korngold and Rachmaninov brought about derogatory remarks from western high art composers who believed both composers had crossed over to music of popular taste. Additionally, Korngold's style, in his *Sonata No. 1 in D minor* (1909), bears a remarkable similarity to Rachmaninov's *Prelude in G minor* (1901), particularly in regard to their aggressive attacks on the keyboard. Referring to the popularity of Rachmaninov's piano concertos, Franklin states, "Adorno, indeed, unequivocally positioned Rachmaninov the composer as a representative of 'old' cultural values in their most commodified and debased form."⁴⁰⁷ Korngold's film scores were often compared to Rachmaninov's music, and western art composers devalued the music of both.⁴⁰⁸ Additionally, Korngold felt the public did not receive his music well. Referring to Korngold's perfunctory obituary in a 1957 issue of the *New York Times*, Gilliam notes, "Part of the reason, no doubt, lay in the fact that in the 1920s Korngold was still composing lush orchestral music when the chamber symphony had become the new prototype: he retained a tonal vocabulary when atonality was the progressive force."⁴⁰⁹

Film studios employed Korngold and other western high art émigrés with differing opinions concerning art music. Arguments often arose regarding the symphonic film score, including debates about whether it should be considered high art music or part of the popular genre. Korngold believed music was simply music, whether composed for the stage, the concert

⁴⁰⁶ Franklin, "Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others," 155.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 145.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Gilliam, "Viennese Opera Composer," 223.

hall, or the movie theater. Likely, his experiences composing for each of these styles contributed to his belief that all music mattered as art.

The Hollywood Film Industry

Eight movie studios dominated the 1930s and 1940s, controlling ninety-five percent of the theaters and productions within the United States. The Big Five controlled the majority of the film industry: Paramount, Warner Brothers, MGM/Loew's, Radio Keith Orpheum (RKO), and Twentieth Century-Fox. The Little Three were Universal, Columbia, and United Artists.⁴¹⁰ Of these five major studios in Hollywood, only Warner Brothers was a family-run business during the classic Hollywood years, between 1930-1956. There were four brothers, but Harry Warner ran the business, while Jack, Sam, and Albert managed other areas of studio production.⁴¹¹

Warner Brothers stood out among the studios in several ways. They kept studio costs low, but they were also known as penny pinchers unwilling to spend large amounts of money on productions. As a result, stars hated to work for them, knowing they would not receive much pay from the studio.⁴¹² In 1927, Warner Brothers released the first sound movie, *The Jazz Singer*, which featured Al Jolson, a vaudeville performer.⁴¹³ Thus, in 1931, most of the Hollywood studios still hired producers of songs, rather than composers of scores.⁴¹⁴ An example of recontextualizing music, Warner Brothers was the first studio to use a sizeable number of Tin Pan Alley songs in films, beginning the era of studio films with music.⁴¹⁵ This also enabled them to contribute to the public musical tastes developing across the nation. Within a few years, the

⁴¹⁰ Douglas Gomery, *The Hollywood Studio System: A History* (London: British Film Institute, 2005), 79.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ Warner Brothers website (Warner Brothers Entertainment, 2014), <http://www.warnerbros.com/studio/about/company-history>, accessed May 1, 2015.

⁴¹⁴ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 193.

⁴¹⁵ Gary Marmorstein, *Hollywood Rhapsody: Movie Music and Its Makers, 1900-1975* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 37.

film score developed a symphonic style, with high art characteristics, even while remaining a popular medium. A wide range of skills was required to compose in Hollywood studios at that time. Marcus points out, “Their positions called for the utmost in musical flexibility: the ability to write scores that integrated classical, popular, or folk music, and the musicians who staffed the studios’ music departments had to be capable of performing these works.”⁴¹⁶ Music departments in studios were run by directors with management backgrounds, running chains of movie palaces, or involved with vaudeville or popular song writing.⁴¹⁷ Music directors with previous European theatrical experience, such as Steiner, were not common.

In discourses about musical values during this period, film music surfaces often due to the commercialism of this popular medium.⁴¹⁸ Despite this, Franklin observes, “Hollywood’s film version of ‘European high culture’ drew Korngold into cinema’s challenge to established cultural hierarchies.”⁴¹⁹ Franklin also called film music “high culture at its most deliberately populist.”⁴²⁰

Korngold’s contract with Warner Brothers gave him more compositional freedom than that of his colleagues, primarily due to his successes in Vienna and his reputation as a high art composer.⁴²¹ For example, Steiner had composed several hundred more film scores than Korngold during his time at Warner Brothers. However, only Korngold had retained the rights for the music composed in his film scores, an important privilege for which Korngold’s father was responsible.⁴²² Julius had insisted that Erich retain ownership of all his music rather than allow it to become the studio’s property. For most composers, Warner Brothers retained the

⁴¹⁶ Marcus, *Musical Metropolis*, 197.

⁴¹⁷ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 164.

⁴¹⁸ Franklin, “Modernism, Deception, and Musical Others,” 148.

⁴¹⁹ Cited in Benjamin Goose, “Opera for Sale: Folksong, Sentimentality and the Market,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, Part 2 (2008), 189.

⁴²⁰ Cited in *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 178.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

rights and European artists regarded them with disdain. However, Korngold's situation set him apart from most studio composers during the classical years of Hollywood films.⁴²³ Maintaining this control would also have a major impact on Korngold's future compositions, in relation to his self-borrowing techniques discussed later in this chapter.⁴²⁴

Due to his status as an opera composer, Korngold bypassed the assembly line approach of most studio composers and had the freedom to decide which films he would or would not accept.⁴²⁵ In addition to the right to refuse projects, his privileges included his own screen title appearing in the film, his name in advertising whenever the director's name appeared, and the option to work at home rather than the studio. He was also involved in pre-filming decisions, such as where to utilize music in the film.⁴²⁶ Meanwhile, Korngold's father continued to greatly influence his major decisions, including those at the film studio. Julius attended every film recording session, and Korngold watched his father as he listened, in order to get the nod of approval for the completed score.⁴²⁷

Although Korngold and Steiner's contracts vastly differed, the two worked well together at Warner Brothers, largely due to their previous experiences in theater music. Korngold and Steiner's experiences of collaboration on stage productions were unfamiliar to the sets of Hollywood, but became an important part of their roles as film composers.⁴²⁸ Like in melodrama and theater, film requires teamwork among musicians, composers and other participants. Most frequently, studios utilized musical teams in various positions; composers, orchestrators, and

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 266.

⁴²⁶ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 178.

⁴²⁷ Ibid, 180.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 174.

copyists. Similar to the operations of an opera or theater production, these were situations that Korngold and Steiner knew well from their work in Europe.⁴²⁹

As collaborators, Korngold and Steiner were highly influential in the development of the symphonic film score, particularly in the composition of non-diegetic music. Non-diegetic music in contemporary terminology is music that accompanies a narrative film.⁴³⁰ Only the audience hears this music during the film; the characters within do not hear it. Non-diegetic music, or underscore, was the dominant practice from 1933-1949, during the Hollywood classical film years, also known as “The Golden Age of Film Music.”⁴³¹ In addition to non-diegetic music, Korngold makes frequent use of pre-existing diegetic music by other composers in all his films, with the exception of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, due to major restrictions in the rights of the screenplay.⁴³² For instance, in *Deception*, Korngold inserts Haydn’s *Cello Concerto in D-major*, and a waltz by Johann Strauss II.⁴³³ However, his thematic, non-diegetic music contributed to the success of his film scores, especially within the swashbuckler film genre. Likewise, the similarity of non-diegetic, or background music in a film, to aspects of theater music, demonstrates the relevance of Korngold and Steiner’s theatrical experiences for their success as film composers.⁴³⁴

Both Korngold and Steiner set important precedents in the studio. Steiner, with his technical expertise in theatrical melodramatic musicals, created the sound now associated with classical Hollywood film. Many standard techniques in Hollywood relating to interplay among

⁴²⁹ Gilliam, “Viennese Opera Composer,” 228.

⁴³⁰ Kathryn Kalinak, *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), xiv.

⁴³¹ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 133.

⁴³² Ben Winters, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold’s The Adventures of Robin Hood: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 36.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Michael Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London & New York* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), xvi.

music, dialogue, and film can be attributed to him.⁴³⁵ Upon Steiner's arrival in Hollywood, film music technology was cumbersome. However, by 1932, re-recording had greatly improved and allowed for use of an integrated soundtrack. His interests included the interaction of speech and music and the close synchronization of dialogue underscoring, which relied on post-production mixing. This manner of composing is reminiscent of 'arioso' textures that Wagner and Puccini used in their operas, thus providing another example of discursive practices and negotiation between western art music and popular forms.⁴³⁶ An example of the concept described by Frith, Steiner was able to transcend the meaning of classical music in American culture and package it for use in popular film scores.⁴³⁷ Korngold also set a precedent for film music by composing in long lines that reflected the ebb and flow of the feeling, action and mood of the picture.⁴³⁸ His recontextualization of his music from operetta into film music satisfied the need of the Hollywood film scores. Korngold's innovative style influenced a long line of film composers including Steiner, Alfred Newman, Franz Waxman, and John Williams.⁴³⁹

Korngold presented himself as a high art composer, yet possessed the willingness to compose popular works in the European high art style. He negotiated between musical values and presented a blurring of the high/low cultural lines.⁴⁴⁰ Referring to film composers in Hollywood, Dorothy Crawford states, "Unlike composing for European films, being 'a Hollywood composer' meant being rejected or ignored by musical circles in the rest of the nation."⁴⁴¹ These American views reflected the disregard given to film composers' music and

⁴³⁵ David Neumeyer, "The Resonances of Wagnerian Opera and Nineteenth-Century Melodrama in the Film Scores of Max Steiner," in *Wagner & Cinema*, eds. Jeongwon Joe and Sander Gilman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 113.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 31.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 180.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Frith, "Music and Identity," 114.

⁴⁴¹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 165.

demonstrated the disparity between popular film music and high art music composition during the 1930s in the United States. Other émigré composers who worked in European film were accustomed to consideration as artists, with the valued status of concert or opera composer.⁴⁴²

Although the composers arrived in Hollywood hopeful of a similar situation, eventually most just referred to their work in film as the “picture business,” thus denoting the disdain they felt for the studio’s commercialization. Negotiating such musical values between high and low proved difficult for many of the émigrés.⁴⁴³ However, for Korngold and Steiner, their previous theatrical experiences proved useful for collaboration in Hollywood.

Korngold in Hollywood: 1934-1954

In addition to his reputation as a high art composer, Korngold proved himself to be dependable. Marmorstein states, “Korngold arrived in Hollywood prepackaged as a ‘great’ composer, but it was his reliability, not any advances he made in his music that made him the darling of Jack Warner and Leo Forbstein [film music director and conductor].”⁴⁴⁴ Korngold began composing Hollywood film scores in 1934 with Warner Brothers’ production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1935). The studio executives had confidence that Korngold’s scores would enhance the profits of their films.⁴⁴⁵ In addition, the six months Korngold spent arranging Mendelssohn’s music allowed him the opportunity to work with Steiner, who was then music director at Warner Brothers Studios.⁴⁴⁶ Between 1933 and 1938, while Korngold still resided in Vienna, he scored nine other films with Warner Brothers (Table 3).

⁴⁴² Ibid, 163.

⁴⁴³ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 33.

⁴⁴⁴ Marmorstein, *Hollywood Rhapsody*, 83.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 177.

⁴⁴⁶ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 174.

Table 3: Korngold's film scores in chronological order⁴⁴⁷

Film	Studio	Year	Type work
<i>Waltzes from Vienna (Britain)</i> <i>Strauss' Great Waltz (United States)</i>	Gaumont British	(1933) (1934)	arrangement of Johann Strauss II's music
<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	Warner Brothers	(1935)	arrangement of Mendelssohn's music
<i>Rose of the Rancho</i>	Paramount	(1935)	two sequences only
<i>Captain Blood</i>	Warner Brothers	(1935)	score
<i>Give us this Night</i>	Paramount	(1936)	collaboration with lyricist Oscar Hammerstein II
<i>Anthony Adverse</i>	Warner Brothers	(1936)	score (Won Academy Award for Best Music, Score; Award given to Warner Brothers Studio Music Department) ⁴⁴⁸
<i>Hearts Divided</i>	Warner Brothers	(1936)	one scene only
<i>The Green Pastures</i>	Warner Brothers	(1936)	two sequences only
<i>Another Dawn</i>	Warner Brothers	(1937)	score
<i>The Prince and the Pauper</i>	Warner Brothers	(1937)	score
<i>The Adventures of Robin Hood</i>	Warner Brothers	(1938)	score (Won Academy Award for Best Music, Original Score)
<i>Juarez</i>	Warner Brothers	(1939)	score
<i>The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex</i>	Warner Brothers	(1939)	score (Nominated for Academy Award for Best Music, Scoring)
<i>The Sea Hawk</i>	Warner Brothers	(1940)	score (Nominated for Academy Award for Best Music, Score)
<i>The Sea Wolf</i>	Warner Brothers	(1941)	score
<i>Kings Row</i>	Warner Brothers	(1941)	score
<i>The Constant Nymph</i>	Warner Brothers	(1942)	score
<i>Devotion</i>	Warner Brothers	(1943)	score
<i>Between Two Worlds</i>	Warner Brothers	(1944)	score
<i>Of Human Bondage</i>	Warner Brothers	(1945)	score
<i>Escape Me Never</i>	Warner Brothers	(1946)	score
<i>Deception</i>	Warner Brothers	(1946)	score
<i>Magic Fire</i>	Republic	(1955)	arrangement of Wagner's music

⁴⁴⁷ Korngold Society website, http://www.korngold-society.org/works_list.html, Last updated October 2013. Accessed September 15, 2015.

⁴⁴⁸ Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, *Academy Award: A Complete List of Academy Award Winners for the First Thirty-five Years They were Conferred* (Hollywood, CA: Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 1963). Music Scoring and Songs first appeared in the Academy Awards in 1934. Over the next several years, the wording of the award shifted and expanded each year. For the first several years, the musical score award went to the entire studio department.

Korngold traveled to Hollywood for each film, but in between film scores, he returned to Vienna to continue work on his opera, *Die Kathrin* (1937).⁴⁴⁹ He planned to do the same after completion of the score for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), but due to the *Anschluß* of Austria, he could no longer return safely to Vienna and remained in Los Angeles. Korngold and his family, including his wife, sons, parents, and in-laws, socialized with the émigré community in Hollywood, but Korngold often became nostalgic for his homeland.⁴⁵⁰ For Korngold, his musical values retained the ideological baggage he brought from Vienna, relating to his own definition of high art.

After the *Anschluß*, Korngold refused to compose “his own music,” or concert music, until Hitler’s death or removal from power.⁴⁵¹ Towards the end of the war in 1944, Korngold did begin to compose “his own” music again. The *Third String Quartet* (1945) was inspired on his drive home one night. He witnessed a stream of car headlights headed to the night shift at Lockheed aircraft plant in North Hollywood, and believed it signaled Hitler’s downfall. For Christmas in 1944, he presented the rough sketches to his wife.⁴⁵² The following year, Korngold completed the quartet and dedicated it to Bruno Walter. Crawford describes the quartet as, “A dramatization of his inner conflicts, it portrays the freeing of Korngold’s spirit.”⁴⁵³ The work premiered in 1949 as part of producer Peter Yates’s *Evening on the Roof* productions designed to promote twentieth-century music.⁴⁵⁴ Characterized as a piece styled between “early 20th century modernism and a late and slightly overripe romanticism,” reviewer Albert Goldberg detailed the

⁴⁴⁹ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 73.

⁴⁵⁰ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 276.

⁴⁵¹ Gilliam, “Viennese Opera Composer,” 228.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴⁵⁴ Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939-1971* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), 9. Peter Yates (1909-1976) and his wife, concert pianist Frances Mullen, began the concert series in 1939 to promote twentieth-century music. The *Evening on the Roof* concerts are still in existence today, but have been under the name *Monday Evening Concerts* since 1954.

various movements of the quartet. He wrote, “But in the vigorous finale, the composer relies chiefly upon the frank diatonic idiom of his own earlier works with fleeting memories of the thematic material of the opening movements to round off a composition that as a whole is light-textured, economical, and sure of touch.”⁴⁵⁵ Goldberg’s review highlights the self-borrowing technique discussed later in this chapter. It frequently appears in Korngold’s compositions, beginning with his operas and remaining present throughout his life.

Korngold’s wife wrote in her memoirs that Korngold probably would not have composed for films if the income had not been needed. Born states, “Korngold, meanwhile, achieved mass popular success with his film scores. Yet, like Rachmaninov, he was profoundly ambivalent about this success and considered the music ‘not serious,’ not ‘for himself,’ simply a way of earning money.”⁴⁵⁶ Korngold, however, ultimately found some satisfaction from it, as he said,

When, in the projection room or through the operator’s little window, I am watching the picture unroll, when I am sitting at the piano improvising or inventing themes and tunes, when I am facing the orchestra conducting my music, I have the feeling that I am giving my own and my best: symphonically dramatic music which fits the picture, its action, and its psychology, and which nevertheless will be able to hold its own in the concert hall.⁴⁵⁷

Korngold’s attitude toward composition and music exemplifies his comfort with his new identity in the United States.

⁴⁵⁵ Troy Dixon, “The Premiere of Erich Wolfgang Korngold’s *String Quartet #3 in D Major, op. 34*,” September 20, 2010, <http://www.korngold-society.org/research.html>.

⁴⁵⁶ Georgina Born, “Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music, II. Musical Modernism, Postmodernism, and Others,” in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music*, eds. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 18.

⁴⁵⁷ From Luzi Korngold, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold – Ein Lebensbild*, Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite und Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1967, cited in Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 180.

Korngold at Work

Despite Korngold's ongoing movement between popular and European high art music, his musical language and style remained constant throughout his life. Winters notes, "Korngold's fondness for delayed harmonic resolution, seen throughout the operas...is likewise displayed throughout the film scores."⁴⁵⁸ Crawford defines a key marker in Korngold's music, which resonates with his style of light music, "Throughout his career, he used rising fourths to express an essentially cheerful spirit."⁴⁵⁹ This characteristic also exists in his film scores throughout the non-diegetic music. Some of his melodies employ his "motiv of the cheerful heart," which utilized intervals of the fourth, fifth, and seventh. For instance, these are seen in the love theme from *Another Dawn* (1937), in *The Sea Wolf* (1941) for the accordion song, and again in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) for the "Jollity" theme (Figure 4). These motifs also appear in Korngold's art music. Winters ties the motifs to Korngold's study with his teacher Zemlinsky."⁴⁶⁰ Thus, Korngold's music illustrates characteristics that remain constant throughout his life, whether utilized in European high art pieces or popular film scores.

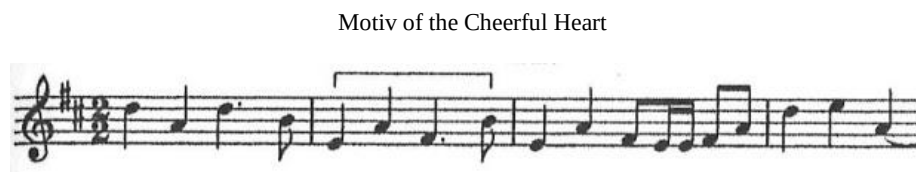


Figure 4: The Jollity Theme in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 29.

⁴⁵⁹ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 181.

⁴⁶⁰ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 30.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, 31.

Korngold used other thematic musical markings for his film scores. Although thematic structures are frequently referred to as leitmotives and associated with Wagnerian dramas, I prefer Winters's label "recurring themes" as a description of Korngold's smaller scale motivic construction. Commonly used in film, each theme is normally associated with a major character. Korngold adjusts each theme musically for each character as plot and psychological transformations occur within the film.⁴⁶² Winters asserts, "In the case of many of Korngold's scores, a subtle use of thematicism is frequently operating at a level that transcends other visual or aural information."⁴⁶³ I concur with Winters that Korngold's recurring themes bring emotional depth to the film score beyond the visual cues.

Korngold also proved sensitive to the dialogue of the film and adjusted the music in order to accommodate the spoken words. Winters notes, "In the opening sea battle in *The Sea Hawk* (1940), the music will reach 'plateau notes,' or sustained chords, allowing the dialogue to be clearly heard without any complex musical accompaniment diverting the ear."⁴⁶⁴ Korngold often made notes on the film's music cue sheets indicating where dialogue occurred. This sensitivity to dialogue came out of his theatrical background, where scenes of extended dialogue were common.⁴⁶⁵ Changes in time signatures that occur due to the rhythm of speech are common in Korngold's work. Likewise, Korngold often extended phrases by an extra beat as a written out rubato, which also affected the time signatures.⁴⁶⁶ A flexible meter appears often in his works, as well. His orchestrator, Friedhofer, characterized the meter and described its sound as "very free and relaxed, but it was all metronomically on the paper that way."⁴⁶⁷ Korngold possessed

⁴⁶² Ibid, 32.

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 34.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, 32.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

excellent math skills, and he learned how to calculate timing of background music for synchronizing the sound without the technical aids that others used, such as the click track.⁴⁶⁸

The success of Korngold's film scores demonstrated his ability to adapt to new compositional situations. He used other techniques new to film during production and conducted the orchestra on the stage where the actors stood.⁴⁶⁹ For example, during the film shooting, he determined what music would be used during the dialogue and then conducted the actor, having him speak his lines in the required rhythm without music. Once the film was complete, Korngold sat at a piano in the projection room and improvised musical ideas as he watched the film.⁴⁷⁰

He had confidence in his skill as a high art composer, yet doubted his ability for the same task in a new medium.⁴⁷¹ However, this situation also serves as an example of Korngold's own self-perception as a European high art composer rather than a composer for popular mediums. Before each film project, his children overheard him muttering that he could not do it. Despite this, Crawford states, "His talent for improvisation, along with his aptitude for drama, provided a natural basis for film composing."⁴⁷² Korngold's musical style also reflected his mentors in Vienna. Like Richard Strauss' tone poems, he used recurring themes, developed contrapuntally according to character and plot. Tonal key schemes, according to the dramatic action, were pushed along by his expressive melodies.⁴⁷³ A tribute to his popular success, fans wanted the score music released as piano music, as well as issued in recordings.⁴⁷⁴

The piano, and Korngold's employment of it, symbolically corresponds to his own discursive practices of fluctuating between western art and popular music usages. Korngold's

⁴⁶⁸ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 177.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 174.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*, 177.

⁴⁷² *Ibid*.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 178.

skill on the piano enhanced his film scores in Hollywood. As part of his compositional process, Korngold used the piano as a starting point. He frequently improvised thematic music at the piano while watching the film.⁴⁷⁵ Due to his exceptional piano transcriptions, the studio orchestrators were easily able to understand Korngold's intent for instrumentation. As the piano defined Korngold's individual identity, its broader cultural history also demonstrated its importance to social activity among group identities and its importance to players and listeners.⁴⁷⁶

Drawing on his high-art experience composing operas and concert works, along with his popular ability to compose for lighter genres, like operettas and stage-works, Korngold understood how to create dramatically effective film scores within the entertainment industry. Hugo Friedhofer remembered Korngold talking with a producer, "Look, can you give me a little more footage at the end of 'whatever scene it was.' I feel that as the end of an act. I feel that there's a first act curtain there."⁴⁷⁷ Whether it was an opera or film score, composing music rested at the center of his identity, and Korngold defined himself as a "musician of the heart, of passions."⁴⁷⁸

Despite Korngold's outward hesitation to embrace his identity as a film composer, his vacillation between high and low music demonstrated an ongoing desire to create music. In a November 1946 *Overture* magazine interview, Korngold stated, "The cinema is a direct avenue to the ears and hearts of the great public and all musicians should see the screen as a musical opportunity."⁴⁷⁹ The Academy Awards Korngold received for his film scores reflected the elite

⁴⁷⁵ James Parakilas *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 4.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 24.

⁴⁷⁸ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 178.

⁴⁷⁹ Alexander Gordon Kahn, "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles," (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2009), ProQuest (506778932), UMI Dissertations Publishing (3410929): 175.

art aesthetic in which he composed (Table 3). However, his understanding of composing for emotion, and his ability to portray that through film scores demonstrates his connection to the popular world. Franklin notes, “Many in the cinema audiences of the 1930s, 1940s, or 1950s might never have attended a conventional opera performance or symphony concert, yet the passions, pleasures, and responses associated with cinematic experiences were arguably not significantly different.”⁴⁸⁰

Additionally, Korngold was well liked and respected in his community and the studios. He was not outspoken regarding the differences between high and low music in the salons and appeared to like most of the other émigrés. Carroll states, “He did make a niche for himself in the Hollywood community and, with his loveable personality and sparkling wit, made many new friends.”⁴⁸¹ Korngold’s performances on the studio orchestra stage, where he conducted his film scores, as well as those in the sound room of the studio, defined him as a musician and a composer. Frith states, “Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social body in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind; identity, like music is a matter of both ethics and aesthetics.”⁴⁸² Korngold fluidly moved between the worlds of high art and popular mediums, with little change to the compositional style of his youth. Winters states, “Korngold’s musical persona was also a rich tapestry of musical voices gained from his musical upbringing and early career in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.”⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ Peter Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 135.

⁴⁸¹ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 290.

⁴⁸² Frith, “Music and Identity,” 109.

⁴⁸³ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 14.

Korngold's Self-Borrowing

Musical borrowing occurs across Korngold's operas, film scores, concert works, and operettas. His self-borrowing substantiates his discursive practices and negotiation between European high art music and popular styles. For instance, Winters notes the striking resemblances between the fanfares in his opera, *Die Kathrin*, (Act 1, Scene iv) and the military marches in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.⁴⁸⁴ Winters refers to this practice as intertextuality. Indicating Korngold, he states, "It is clear his musical output can be investigated within the context of theories of intertextuality – theories that state that all Texts speak of other Texts, and thus that all music speaks of other music."⁴⁸⁵ Intertextuality occurs in numerous places more extensively than just in a passing motif. Therefore, Winters declares, borrowing must be considered a major element of Korngold's compositional style.⁴⁸⁶

Korngold sometimes borrowed thematic content from other western art musicians. He recognized early that his Viennese musical heritage was important, and he allowed musical voices of the past to speak through his own music. Describing a similar phenomenon, Levine states, "Culture remains a dynamic process, a constant interchange between past and the present."⁴⁸⁷ Korngold demonstrates this by often borrowing small quotes from older classical pieces and incorporating them into new media and genres. For instance, Korngold used the Andante from Haydn's "*Surprise*" Symphony in his *opera buffa*, *Der Ring des Polykrates*, in 1913.⁴⁸⁸

However, Korngold more extensively used self-borrowing than borrowing from other composers. Korngold's American works draw on those that he composed in Vienna. *The*

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, 105.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, 40.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 41.

⁴⁸⁷ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 249.

⁴⁸⁸ Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 17.

Adventures of Robin Hood contains the most obvious self-borrowing example in Korngold's films. During Robin Hood's escape from the castle of Nottingham, Korngold used the theme from his *Symphonic Overture, op. 13, Sursum Corda* (1919) as the chief theme for *The Adventures of Robin Hood's* Captain of the Brigands. Prompted by his father's advice to insert the theme, Korngold received permission from his Austrian publisher, Schott.⁴⁸⁹ *Sursum Corda, op. 13*, was a symphonic overture for a large orchestra. Dedicated to Richard Strauss, the work had been one of Korngold's few failures in Vienna, only to become a huge success in the film score.⁴⁹⁰ These examples support my argument that although Korngold felt denied "his own" music while he composed for film in Hollywood, his "own" music reached across multiple venues and situations, working around high versus low constructs. Additionally, Korngold's melody for the "March of the Merry Men" in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* was borrowed from his previous works. His operetta, *Rosen aus Florida* (1928) supplied the "Miss Austria" cue for the Merry Men.⁴⁹¹

Due to his retained thematic rights, Korngold also reused themes from his film music within his concert works, such as the *Symphony in F#* (1954). Korngold's symphony borrows from five previously scored films: *Captain Blood* (1935), *Anthony Adverse*, (1936), *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939), *Kings Row* (1941), *Deception* (1946).⁴⁹² As I consider his often voiced comment that he was not writing for concerts until after the war, I posit that he did write his symphony, finding an outlet for his symphonic ideas in his film scores while he waited for the war to end. Winters notes, "In fact, virtually every one of his post-Hollywood concert

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, 77.

⁴⁹⁰ Carroll, *Last Prodigy*, 133.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 206.

⁴⁹² Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 48.

works makes some reference to film music material.”⁴⁹³ Korngold’s *Violin Concerto of 1945* also includes his use of film themes, in part at Julius’ direction. The concerto borrows love themes from four films: *Anthony Adverse* (1936), *Another Dawn* (1937), *The Prince and the Pauper* (1937), and *Juarez* (1939). As mentioned previously, he dedicated the finished composition to Alma Mahler Werfel in 1945.⁴⁹⁴ This intertextuality within his music supports the observation that his discursive practices began early in his life and continued until his death in 1957.

Korngold’s use of film score themes in later concert works, along with his borrowing of his own Viennese composition themes for his film scores, demonstrate a consistency within his compositions, even as his style matured. His tonal, lush, full, orchestral sound is precisely what made him famous composing film scores.⁴⁹⁵ Undoubtedly, Korngold’s experiences prior to America shaped his output in Hollywood. Franklin observes,

What we glimpse here is a broad intertextual field in which symphonic music, opera, and popular dramatic genres like melodrama form a constellation in which the mechanisms of late-romantic musical meaning seem not only displayed but also revealed as focusing and driving something of the whole character of the mass entertainment ‘art’ experience of the early twentieth century and beyond.⁴⁹⁶

While Korngold’s music borrowed thematic material from across genres, his style was always adaptable, as seen in his range of compositions, from ballet to symphony. Despite his claimed identity as a western high art composer, his intentional self-borrowing, especially across genres and styles, substantiated his discursive practices between high and low music. The repositioning

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 180.

⁴⁹⁵ Gilliam, “Viennese Opera Composer,” 223.

⁴⁹⁶ Franklin, *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music*, 127.

of his musical values contributed to his successful film scores. Perhaps this ability contributed to the comment made by Ernst Toch, “Korngold has always composed for Warner Brothers, only he was at first unaware of the fact.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁷ Gilliam, “Viennese Opera Composer,” 230.

CHAPTER V: KORNGOLD'S DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

Korngold's background in Viennese music set the stage for Korngold's discursive practices and negotiation between European high art music and popular music. Through the identity theories of Turino, I have demonstrated how Erich's Viennese upbringing influenced his musical tastes toward popular styles, such as the waltz, while his father's influence contributed to his self-perception as a high art composer.⁴⁹⁸ Korngold grew up in a close-knit Viennese community of high art musicians. This had a tremendous impact on his music and identity. As Turino related, the deep socialization that forms the core of one's identity remains in place throughout a lifetime. It is not easily altered.⁴⁹⁹

Simon Frith discussed discursive practices as they relate to European high art music and low music, and examined how they interact with mass media, such as sheet music.⁵⁰⁰ Frith informed my research through the examples of Korngold's works in Vienna and Hollywood. I discussed the salons in both Vienna and Los Angeles and demonstrated their important role in the formation of his identity, both as a Viennese composer and as a film score composer in Hollywood. The salon community in Vienna contributed to the formation of his self-perception as a high art composer, and the community in Los Angeles supported him in a new country.

Existing research on film scores has typically placed Korngold as a high art composer and the musical complexity of his compositions supported this idea. However, much research has failed to address his time spent arranging and composing operettas. Some scholars, such as Crawford, suggested his musical values and success in film music related entirely to his experiences composing operas. However, few scholars have discussed that his lifelong style

⁴⁹⁸ Thomas Turino and James Lea, *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 8-10.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid, 10.

⁵⁰⁰ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 35.

sonically reflected the Viennese light and popular music of his youth. Accordingly, I demonstrate the effect that operettas and Viennese light music had on all his music. This included his first public pieces, his operas, which contained lighter Viennese styles, his operetta arrangements, and his film scores. Winters stated, “His scores thus carry around with them the often sublimated, but sometimes openly celebrated, musical voices of Mahler, Richard Strauss, and Zemlinsky, in addition to the ‘lighter’ traditions of Johann Strauss II and Leo Fall and the French modernism of Dukas.”⁵⁰¹ Korngold’s adherence to tonality and his reputation as a European high art composer contributed to his success in Vienna and Hollywood. His musical connections in the salons also advanced the circulation of his work in popular realms even while he maintained his European western art style compositions and thus demonstrated his ability to negotiate between popular and western art music.

In Chapter II, I examined how Viennese music represented a core part of Korngold’s identity. His childhood in Vienna provided an example of Frith’s concept regarding the collective culture surrounding and influencing one’s growth.⁵⁰² The relationship between Korngold and his father functioned as an example of Turino’s identity concepts of deep socialization and identity formation.⁵⁰³ Julius, a European high art proponent, served as a key element in Korngold’s development. In addition to the influences of his mentors, the Viennese salons provided an important community for Korngold, providing interactions with western art musicians and exposure to popular styles of music in Vienna, such as the waltz, an emblem of Viennese identity.

⁵⁰¹ Ben Winters, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold’s The Adventures of Robin Hood: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 15.

⁵⁰² Simon Frith, “Music and Identity,” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1996), 121.

⁵⁰³ Turino and Lea, *Identity and Arts*, 8.

The piano was also identified as an example of discursive practice featured in western art music, but also used in dance halls or other popular forms. It served as a medium for the sheet music of songs composed by Korngold then published for salon performances.⁵⁰⁴ As Korngold's primary instrument, it acted as a mediating sign. His European art music played on the piano sonically portrayed an orchestra and demonstrated his skill as a European art musician.

World War I and the Weimar Republic shaped his early life and music. Additionally, I described the poor economic conditions in Austria, which not only promoted Viennese enjoyment of popular styles during the early 1900s, but also propelled Korngold into employment as an operetta arranger.⁵⁰⁵ The difficulties for employment are reflected through the anti-Semitism experienced by German Jews in the 1920s and 1930s, which ultimately impacted the emigration of many musicians who belonged to the salon community. The eventual onset of World War II forced Korngold out of Austria and into Hollywood. Despite geographical and medium-based changes, Korngold's music remained recognizably his own. Emigration to the United States in the 1930s included Korngold and his family – his wife Luzi, two sons Ernst and Georg, his father Julius, and mother Josefine.

Chapter III illustrated Korngold's discursive practices, drawing on the work of Simon Frith. Frith stated that choices made by people such as composers or listeners, within a shared musical setting, partially defined the high and low cultural boundaries.⁵⁰⁶ Through Frith's concept, I examined Korngold's western art and popular music and illuminated his conscious and subconscious negotiations between the two. I used the example of "Lautenlied" from Korngold's opera, *Die Tote Stadt* (1910) to demonstrate the use of mass media for his music. I examined his

⁵⁰⁴ Benjamin Goose, "Opera for Sale: Folksong, Sentimentality and the Market," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, Part 2 (2008), 191.

⁵⁰⁵ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 90.

⁵⁰⁶ Frith, *Performing Rites*, 27.

operas and exposed their similarities to operettas or popular music.⁵⁰⁷ In addition, Korngold's use of percussion within his music was discussed, especially in his first two operas, *Der Ring des Polykrates* and *Violanta*. I demonstrated that Viennese light music resonated throughout Korngold's compositions, from Vienna to Hollywood, and thus revealed Korngold's flexible interaction with both European high and popular culture.

Although Korngold's fame was primarily as a high art composer, my research showed he became involved with popular music before his entrance into Hollywood film. For Korngold, Strauss waltzes and operettas presented a vehicle for his music and discursive practices. I defined how the waltzes and operettas, as Viennese icons, illustrated discursive practices. I demonstrated that operettas, rather than operas became a major influence in Korngold's mediation between western art music and popular styles, including his later film music. Korngold's experiences arranging operetta evolved into a major component of his compositional identity and discursive practices. I also described how the passage of operettas from Vienna to America played an important role in the development of theater and popular music for the United States.

In Chapter IV, I discussed the 1930s Los Angeles cultural climate, which in part reflected the sacralization of European high art as described by Levine.⁵⁰⁸ However, the process of high art's descralization was ongoing as well, which contributed to the discursive practices related to the use of western high art music in concert halls and popular music in film scores, and vice versa.⁵⁰⁹ I discussed how the salon community of émigrés in Los Angeles contributed to the culture of the area and in addition demonstrated the importance of the community for the displaced musicians. Nonetheless, I explained how the discursive dialogues at salon gatherings

⁵⁰⁷ Goose, "Opera for Sale," 191.

⁵⁰⁸ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 34.

⁵⁰⁹ Kenneth Marcus, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 195.

sometimes created tension between western art components and the émigrés involved in film music. As Crawford acknowledged, these tensions often involved or invoked Schoenberg, who exemplified Germanic seriousness and complexity.⁵¹⁰ The commodification of western art music in a popular forum generated the most conflict.

The Hollywood film industry welcomed the expertise of the émigrés, but many strongly opposed the studio system. I discussed how the studios operated and focus on Warner Brothers, Korngold's primary place of employment. Due to Korngold's reputation as a European high art composer, his contract with Warner Brothers gave him privileges beyond other composers in the studio.⁵¹¹ I described his film scoring technique and again drew a comparison to theater and the engagement of teamwork. I also illustrated his musical style and demonstrated his comfort with, and employment of both European forms and popular styles within his music.

Importantly, I examined his technique of musical borrowing. Due to Korngold's consistent use of previous music and themes in newer works, Winters declared borrowing to be a major element in his compositional style, referring to the practice as intertextuality.⁵¹² I showed evidence of how Korngold used the same themes throughout his life. Korngold's discursive practices thus became apparent, as he sometimes used opera themes for film scores, or film score themes for symphonies. I concluded with a final argument that although Korngold exhibited an aptitude for western art music at a young age, he drew on his experiences of lighter Viennese forms of music for many of his compositions, including his operas.

Thus, Korngold's experiences in opera and operetta prepared him to succeed in the studios of Hollywood. Winters stated, "His innate approach to dramatic musical composition,

⁵¹⁰ Dorothy Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 128.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 178.

⁵¹² Winters, *Film Score Guide*, 41.

and the ability to work with creative collaborators in the music department furnished Korngold with many of the skills he would require to produce film scores that were held in high regard by both the industry and the public.”⁵¹³ In this sense, Korngold combined the skills learned from theatrical productions and applied them to a new medium – film. Previous experience with operettas, and operating on a tight schedule, prepared him for composition of film scores in Hollywood.⁵¹⁴ Gary Marmorstein stated, “The very quality that made so many creative artists disdainful made Korngold grateful: no year-long schedules to compose, design, rehearse, and stage an opera; do the work, and ten weeks later, boom, there it is in front of an audience!”⁵¹⁵ His identity as a high art composer gave him status, while his experiences in operetta proved his aptitude for teamwork and rapid composition. Contemporary conductor Hugh Wolf was amazed that Korngold’s brain seemed able to pull out interchangeable parts of music whenever needed. He stated, “Music flowed out of him fully formed.”⁵¹⁶ Indeed, this idea substantiates Korngold’s common practice of reusing themes – often already partly formed in a prior composition, sometimes as European high art forms and other times as popular music.

Korngold’s reputation as a European high art composer in Vienna and his experience with popular forms contributed to his success in Hollywood. Thus, he employed discursive practices in negotiating between the European high art music and the popular styles of Vienna. The salon community of Vienna and Hollywood strengthened his acceptance into the European high art society. As I demonstrated, Korngold’s musical style is consistent throughout his life,

⁵¹³ Ibid, 21.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 19.

⁵¹⁵ Gary Marmorstein, *Hollywood Rhapsody: Movie Music and Its Makers, 1900-1975* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 77.

⁵¹⁶ Karl Erhard Thumm and Peter P. Pachl, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold: Adventures of a Wunderkind*, DVD, Perf. Brendan G. Carroll, ArtHaus Musik, 2003.

but the presentation and reception of his music varied based on particular cultural and compositional contexts.

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APPENDIX

List of Europeans Active in Salons⁵¹⁷

Name, Career	Birthplace, Religious Affiliation	Europe	Notes	Emigrated to/year
Lion Feuchtwanger (1884-1958) Writer	Munich, Germany Jewish	1927 Wrote sarcastic piece about Hitler, then home ransacked by Nazi agents	1933 Defected with wife, Marta, while on US tour, went to France, placed in internment camp, after escape, walked across Pyrenees to Spain, sailed to US Main hosts of Hollywood salons with wife	Los Angeles 1941
Otto Klemperer (1885-1973) Conductor	Berlin, Germany Jewish	1927-1933 Berlin Berlin Staatsoper	LA Philharmonic offered position to him	Los Angeles 1933
Thomas Mann (1875-1955) Writer	Lübeck, Germany Lutheran	1891 Moved to Munich 1929 Nobel Peace Prize winner	Spoke out as anti-Nazi 1933 Defected with wife, Katia while on tour to France, then Switzerland 1936 Nazis voided German citizenship	Princeton 1936 Los Angeles 1939
Otto Preminger (1905-1986) Director	Vienna, Austria Jewish	1922 Vienna Reinhardt's theater company 1931 Directed first film, <i>Die Grosse Liebe</i> 1933-1935 Vienna Theater der Josefstadt		Los Angeles 1936
Max Reinhardt (1873-1943) Producer Director	Vienna, Austria Jewish	1894 -1930 Berlin Deutsches Theater 1923-1933 Vienna Theater der Josefstadt	Worked in theater and film	Britain 1938 Los Angeles 1938
Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) Composer	Vienna, Austria Jewish	1901-1903 Berlin Cabaret musician 1904-1925 Vienna 1925-1933 Berlin	WWI service changed his style of music Second Viennese School 1933 Exiled from Germany	Los Angeles 1934
Ernst Toch ⁵¹⁸ (1887-1964) Composer	Vienna, Austria Jewish	1900-1909 Frankfurt 1918 Berlin	Served in WWI on front 1916 reassigned to Galicia Active in composition of experimental genres, incl. music for mechanical instruments and film	Paris 1933 New York, Los Angeles 1935

⁵¹⁷ David Wallace, *Exiles in Hollywood* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Limelight Editions, 2006), 22-24, 90, 98, 101, 102, 104, 117, 119, 175, 179, 187-189. Table based on Wallace unless otherwise noted.

⁵¹⁸ Alexander Gordon Kahn, "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles" (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2009), ProQuest (506778932), UMI Dissertations Publishing (3410929): 56, 60, 65, 66.

Name, Career	Birthplace, Religious Affiliation	Europe	Notes	Emigrated to/year
Salka Viertel (1889-1978) Writer Actress	Sambor, Galacia (Poland)	1904 Vienna theater 1919 Berlin theater	One of most successful salon hostesses in Hollywood	Los Angeles 1931
Bruno Walter ⁵¹⁹ (Bruno Walter Schlesinger) (1876-1962) Conductor	Berlin, Germany Jewish	1901 Vienna Court Opera 1913 Munich, Germany Royal Bavarian Generalmusikdirektor 1910-1925 Travelled between NY, Vienna, Munich 1925-1929 Berlin Städtisch Oper with Max Reinhardt 1929 Leipzig Gewandhaus Orch.	Close friend of Mahler 1907 Lived in apartment below Korngolds 1933 exiled from Germany	New York 1933 Los Angeles 1939
Franz Wachsmann (Frank Waxman) ⁵²⁰ (1906-1968) Composer	Upper Silesia (Poland) Jewish	1920s Weintraub Syncopaters 1932 Orchestrated and arranged <i>The Blue Angel</i> 1933 <i>Liliom</i> (Paris)	1920s Paid for music education by playing jazz in nightclubs Worked for Hollander 1934 beat up in Berlin, left for Paris	Paris 1934 Los Angeles 1934
Eric Zeisl ⁵²¹ (1905-1959) Composer	Vienna, Austria Jewish	1919 Vienna Composed Lieder, chamber music, large-scale choral works	Grew up several blocks from Toch Cousin of Schoenberg 1938 Escaped with wife, Gertrud, to France, day after <i>Kristallnacht</i> 1941 Worked with MGM in LA	Paris 1938 New York 1939 Los Angeles 1941

⁵¹⁹ Ryding, Erik and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 43, 175, 201, 229, 269.

⁵²⁰ Tony Thomas, *Music for the Movies* (Cranbury, NJ: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1973), 76.

⁵²¹ Kahn, "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles," 66, 67, 69.

VITA

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