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## The Repertoire of the Vienna Philharmonic in the Nazi Era

The programming of the Vienna Philharmonic was traditionally oriented less towards unknown novelties and more towards already established and canonised works and composers – also according to their self-definition. Already the “founding decree” of the “philharmonic concerts” in 1842 records that the concerts would “only bring classical and interesting [works.]”<sup>1</sup> And Clemens Hellsberg notes the “most careful selection of the works to be performed” as an essential element of the ‘Philharmonic idea.’<sup>2</sup> In plain terms, this meant since the end of the 19th century: little contemporary music and only exceptionally works of low profile. In 1939 the Vienna Philharmonic furthermore officially set this out in writing in their new association rules: “The purpose of the association is to foster orchestral music in highest perfection. Classical music is to be especially considered.”<sup>3</sup> (See also [“An Association Based on National Socialist Principles”](#)) The Vienna Philharmonic’s concert performance during National Socialism thus is marked by a high degree of continuity in terms of its repertoire – but only concerning the subscription concerts. This distinction between subscription concerts and other concert and performance forms is central with a view to National Socialist cultural policy, because a multitude of concert forms was introduced in National Socialism with which the Vienna Philharmonic were only slightly familiar, if not at all unfamiliar, before 1938: KdF-events (“Kraft durch Freude,” i.e. Strength through joy), for example, but also Wehrmacht and factory concerts as well as radio broadcasting concerts or sound film recordings, which occasionally entailed significant deviations from the traditional repertoire.

Concerning first of all the subscription concerts, the previously mentioned standing rule of 1939 – the purpose of the association being to foster orchestral music in its highest perfection, under special consideration of classical music – can on an empirical level be largely verified: A significant change after 1938 in the general repertoire of this form of concert is not ascertained.<sup>4</sup> Already before 1938, the Vienna Philharmonic would in their evening concerts only sporadically perform music of composers extensively prohibited in National Socialism, such as Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy or Gustav Mahler.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cit. in Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> “Der Zweck des Vereines ist die Pflege der Orchestermusik in höchster Vollendung. Die klassische Musik soll besonders berücksichtigt werden.” *Satzung des Vereins Wiener Philharmoniker*. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vereinsakt, M. Abt. 119, A 32: Gelöschte Vereine, 4602/21.

<sup>4</sup> For details see Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 233-249. Concerning the entire repertoire of the Vienna Philharmonicists cf. the electronic database of the orchestra itself in the historical archives of the Vienna Philharmonicists.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 242 f.

Also the variously mentioned medial consolidation of the orchestra's relationship to Vienna is not reflected in the repertoire: An increased "Austrification" of the repertoire is not found in the Vienna Philharmonic's traditional subscription concerts – just as little, by the way, as an increase of the rate of Reich-German composers after the 'annexation.' The traditionally minor presence of Schumann-symphonies did not change even after 1938,<sup>6</sup> even though Schumann was increasingly received in National Socialism on the whole.<sup>7</sup> Never the less, there selectively are some noticeable changes in the repertoire, also concerning the subscription concerts. One item on the programme that underwent considerable extension was the works of Bruckner. In this manifests not primarily a relationship to Vienna or Austria, rather this fact may be read as the consequence of a generally forced reception of the composer in National Socialism (a similar increase in Bruckner's works can be observed in the repertoire of the Berlin Philharmonic since 1933).<sup>8</sup> It may also be supposed that the catholic-national attitude of the Nazi chairman Jerger was jointly responsible for this increase in the Vienna Philharmonic's reception of Bruckner. Additionally remarkable is the considerably increased presence of Wagner's music since the 'annexation.' This is due to the great and politically connoted popularity of the composer in the Nazi state<sup>9</sup> and starts immediately following the 'annexation': The rate of Wagner-items on the programme in the subscription programme after 1938 doubles from barely 5% before 1938.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, the concert repertoire of the Vienna Philharmonic is in conflict with the presence of Wagner's works on German opera stages.<sup>11</sup>

Much more severe as in the case of the subscription concerts was the change in repertoire in the other concerts of the orchestra; these constituted the main part of its activity outside of the performance of operas and often stood in close relation to the Nazi propaganda in direct or indirect ways.<sup>12</sup> Especially to be emphasized here are those concerts which the Philharmonic recorded for the broadcasting corporation or at least those that were broadcast: The formation of the orchestra as a decidedly Viennese one is for the main part

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 319 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. for example Loos, Helmut. *Schumann-Rezeption im ‚Dritten Reich‘*. In: Grochulski, Michaela G./Kautny, Oliver/Keden, Helmke Jan (Hrsg.). *Musik in Diktaturen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Tagungsband zum Internationalen Symposium an der Bergischen Universität Wuppertal vom 28./29. 2. 2004. Wiesbaden 2006.* p. 57–70.

<sup>8</sup> Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 235. Concerning the Bruckner-reception in the Nazi era, cf. for example Dümling, Albrecht. *Der deutsche Michel erwacht. Zur Bruckner-Rezeption im NS-Staat*. In: Idem. (Hrsg.). *Bruckner-Probleme. Beiheft zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. XLV. Stuttgart 1999. p. 20–214.

<sup>9</sup> A statistical survey of the American cultural scientist David B. Dennis revealed that in National Socialism Wagner was not only widely received in expert circles, but was also by far the composer mostly addressed in the media. Idem. „Honor Your German Masters“. *The Use and Abuse of "Classical" Composers in Nazi Propaganda*. In: *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, 202, Vol. 30, No. 2. p. 273–295. Here p. 276. Cit. in: Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 235 f.

<sup>10</sup> Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 321.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the performance of the operas of Wagner in National Socialism, cf. for example Fischer, Jens Malte. *Richard Wagner und seine Wirkung*. Wien 2013. p. 261 ff.

<sup>12</sup> An overview of the concerts with obvious propagandistic nature is found in Hellsberg, *Demokratie*, p. 476 ff.

associated with this broadcasting presence in National Socialism.<sup>13</sup> The Vienna Philharmonic were quasi contractually obliged to broadcast a “Viennese note.” One of the main protagonists of this Strauss renaissance would have likely been the conductor Clemens Krauss.<sup>14</sup> He informed the Vienna Philharmonic in January 1940 that the Broadcasting Corporation Administration had for the coming season given green light for a broadcast of “four evening concerts of the Vienna Philharmonic under Clemens Krauss,” and at the same time he stressed: “In order to give the events a pronounced Viennese character, the soloists should preferably be selected from the circle of the orchestra, or at least from the circle of artists emerging from the Vienna school.”<sup>15</sup> Building on Krauss’ academies, the orchestra was presented with yet another chance for broadcasting production. A report from October 1940 records the plan “to produce Schwarzplatten-recordings of Viennese music for the Greater German Broadcasting, predominantly of course the works of Johann Strauss, with a conductor especially mastered in the Viennese note. The conductor Wacek could be won as conductor for the recording of these gramophone records, who despite his age is still very agile and without a doubt the best conductor for this kind of music.”<sup>16</sup>

The resonance of this “Viennese note” can be assessed from the “situation reports of the Security Service of the SS,” writings of an informant enterprise that with dubious methods attempted to identify different moods in the population. According to these reports, the Berlin Philharmonic were ahead by more than a nose in the reception of symphonic works,<sup>17</sup> whereas only the Vienna Philharmonic came into question for works of the Strauss dynasty: “Especially the broadcast of the concert of the Vienna Philharmonic on August 6 was received with special appreciation by all in the audience. The music experts were delighted about the exceptional rendering of the played works (especially the ‘Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald’) which otherwise were run through rather like pop songs, and the general audience approved of the selection of simple melodies (such as Kiel).”<sup>18</sup> With music of the Strauss family, the Broadcasting Corporation reached the ‘experts’ as well as the general audience. This audience was fond of melodies as such, the experts however especially of its precise rendering by one of Germany’s finest orchestras, which allegedly emancipated Strauss’ works of their entertaining nature and brought them in proximity of ‘Viennese Classical Music’.

<sup>13</sup> Details in Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 263–275.

<sup>14</sup> This may be assumed on the basis of the different grades of the presence of Strauss’ works in the programme of the Vienna Philharmonists since the years of the 1920s: these were tendentially higher in those years Krauss conducted the orchestra, than in those phases in which Krauss did not conduct in Vienna. Cf. also the chart on the Strauss-repertoire of the orchestra between 1920 and 1945 in Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 256.

<sup>15</sup> Krauss to Vienna Philharmonists, January 12, 1940. HAWPh, Korrespondenzmappen, K/51 – Clemens Krauss (6).

<sup>16</sup> Protocol Vorstandsrat-Sitzung, October 7, 1940. HAWPh, A-Pr-030: Protokolle 1938-44, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 274.

<sup>18</sup> Boberach, Heinz (Hrsg.). *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938-1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS. Vol. 5: Nr. 102 vom 4. Juli 1940 bis Nr. 141 vom 14. November 1940.* Hesching 1984. Here Nr. 115, 15. August 1940, p. 1472/II.

'Popular Music' thus through the Vienna Philharmonic became socially acceptable also with the 'experts'.<sup>19</sup>

The fact that during National Socialism the works of Johann and Josef Strauss found increased entrance into the concert programme of the Vienna Philharmonic is not only attested in reference to the broadcasting concerts, but also on the whole: In the last year of war, 1944/45, the works of the Strauß-dynasty amounted to about 50 percent of the entire repertoire outside of the subscription concerts.<sup>20</sup> This was part of the political calculations of the National Socialists. After all, even Goebbels was convinced that Vienna had to again become "a city of culture, of optimism, of music and sociability."<sup>21</sup> In this context is also to be located the establishment and the sustained success of the New Year's concert. (See also "[From the Johann Strauss Concert in 1939 to the New Year's Concert in 1946](#)") The fact that explicit resentment was repeatedly voiced against this development of the repertoire from within the orchestra<sup>22</sup> indicates that this truly represented a radical change in the programming of the orchestra, but the conservative line of the subscription concerts could only be politically and financially sustained by an opening of the Vienna Philharmonic to the musical entertainment sector – and this was a clearly changed situation for the orchestra. The Strauss waltzes were especially qualified for this task, because they allowed to be as easily linked to the topos of the 'music city' as to the myth of 'Old Vienna', which was likewise forced by National Socialism of Viennese character; thereby, the dominating position of the orchestra in the municipal enterprise of 'high culture' was in no way compromised.

The same is true for the Vienna Philharmonic's intense participation in sound film recordings, which, just like the waltz-renaissance, was in service of the past-oriented image campaign of the city.<sup>23</sup> These sound film recordings, which had already been maintained by the orchestra during 'Austrofacism,' again meant a repeated opening of the orchestra to the entertainment sector, which did not remain unopposed – and this resistance was put up even by the orchestral chairman: "Strasser advocates a rejection by all means of all sound film recordings and insignificant concerts on the basis of artistic reasons and due to work overload. Chairman Jerger aligns himself with Strasser's view."<sup>24</sup> Encouragement for the sound film recordings however came from the committee. General Manager Jelinek disagreed with Strasser's

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<sup>19</sup> Concerning the problem of the classification of the music of the Strauss-dynasty, cf. Trümpi, Orchester p. 255f.

<sup>20</sup> Trümpi, Orchester, p. 256.

<sup>21</sup> "Eine Stadt der Kultur, des Optimismus, der Musik und der Geselligkeit." Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Teil 1, Aufzeichnungen 1924 – 1941, Bd. 4. München/New York/London/Paris 1987. p. 471. Entry of January 19, 1941.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Trümpi, Orchester, p. 257 f.

<sup>23</sup> A selection of the film music recorded by the Vienna Philharmonists can be found in Bartolomey, Franz. "Was zählt, ist der Augenblick." Die Bartolomeys. 120 Jahre an der Wiener Staatsoper. Wien 2012. p. 117.

<sup>24</sup> "Strasser tritt für unbedingte Ablehnung aller Tonfilmmusikaufnahmen und unbedeutender Konzerte aus künstlerischen Gründen und Arbeitsüberlastung ein. Vorstand Jerger schliesst sich der Anschauung Strassers an." Protocol KS, 2.9.1940. HAWPh, A-Pr-030, 16.



opinion and pointed out "that also church music, trumpet choir events or the like very often are inartistic, and the works of private assemblies such as string quartets and wind player assemblies also contribute to work overload. The only difference is that with sound film work and smaller concert events the whole orchestra has a financial profit, whereas with string quartets and similar assemblies [...] only a selected few are financially involved. After all – to be honest with you – we did not only choose to become musicians to be artists exclusively, but also to be able to make money with it, such as all the other men also do. We know from experience that the greatest artists are also the greatest usurers."<sup>25</sup> The discussion about the continuation of sound film recordings was postponed.

While the orchestra frequently declined requests for waltzes and sound film recordings, but then most often reluctantly executed these orders, it was wilfully obstructive towards requests for a more frequent performance of contemporary music. Schirach's general cultural adviser, Walter Thomas, requested the orchestra in 1942 to incorporate contemporary works into the subscription concerts, but the committee promptly refused. The task of the subscription concerts would not consist in "promoting contemporaries, but to perform the greatest and most beautiful complete orchestral literature in its most accomplished form. It would amount to a breach in the philharmonic tradition and a decline in class if contemporaries would have their say in the philharmonic subscription concerts."<sup>26</sup> At the same time, probably due to political reasons, some accommodation was signalled: "In order not to be completely unapproachable to Gen. Ref. [Thomas], it has been decided to conduct three extraordinary concerts with mainly contemporary works in the programme."<sup>27</sup> Beginning in 1943 then, single items with contemporary works are found on the programme for extraordinary concerts, like a dance suite of Paul Constantinescu, or Maurice Ravel's "Boléro", but also Pfitzner's Palestrina-prelude, or orchestral variations by Zoltán Kodály. The demand for more contemporary music in the programmes of the Vienna Philharmonic obviously proceeded directly from Schirach: In May 1942 he acted as the organizer of a "Week of Contemporary Music," to which also the Vienna Philharmonic was obliged. Wilhelm

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<sup>25</sup> "Dass auch Kirchenmusiken, Trompeterchorveranstaltungen und Ähnliches sehr oft unkünstlerisch sind und die Arbeiten der privaten Vereinigungen wie Streichquartette, Bläservereinigung, ebenso zur Arbeitsüberlastung beitragen und der Unterschied nur darin besteht, dass bei der Tonfilmarbeit und kleineren Konzertveranstaltungen das ganze Orchester einen finanziellen Nutzen hat, während bei den Streichquartetten und ähnlichen Vereinigungen [...] nur ganz wenige finanziell beteiligt sind. Schliesslich sind wir – um ganz ehrlich zu sein – nicht nur Musiker geworden, um ausschließlich Künstler zu sein, sondern um damit auch Geld verdienen zu können, wie das ja alle anderen Herren auch tun. Wir wissen aus Erfahrung, dass gerade die grössten Künstler auch die grössten Geldwucherer sind." Protocol KS, 2.9.1940. HAWPh, A-Pr-030, 16.

<sup>26</sup> "Zeitgenossen zu fördern, sondern das Beste und Schönste der Gesamtorchesterliteratur in vollendetster Form zur Aufführung zu bringen. Es würde einen Bruch der philharmonischen Tradition und zugleich einen Niveauabstieg bedeuten, wenn in den philharmonischen Abonnement-Konzerten in erster Linie Zeitgenossen zu Worte kämen." Protocol KS, 10.9.1942. HAWPh, A-Pr-030, 33.

<sup>27</sup> "Um aber dem Gen. Ref. [Thomas] gegenüber nicht ganz abweisend zu sein, wird beschlossen, drei außerordentliche Konzerte mit hauptsächlich zeitgenössischen Werken im Programm zur Durchführung zu bringen." Protocol KS, 10.9.1942. HAWPh, A-Pr-030, 33.



Jerger, the chairman of the orchestra, made use of Schirach's open-minded attitude towards contemporary music and occasionally made the Philharmonic perform his own works, which the orchestra had partly also recorded for the Broadcast Corporation.<sup>28</sup> In the subscription concerts however, the Vienna Philharmonic continued to largely keep away from contemporary music.

This example of the dealings with requests for more contemporary music shows the considerable scope of action that the Vienna Philharmonic managed to retain even during National Socialism. In politically sensitive cases however, the orchestra in its programming made efforts at accommodation towards the Nazi regime. For example, the committee on January 4, 1943 decided "due to considerations of the State Police" to decline a requested composition evening with works of Raimund Weissensteiner: Weissensteiner was chaplain and professor at the Vienna College of Music and in 1938 received a warning "because of utterances hostile to the Reich." He was arrested and sentenced to three years of prison only a short while after the committee had decided to decline a performance of his works.<sup>29</sup> In another example, the repertoire decision of the committee is directed against a member of the Philharmonic themselves: Richard Krotschak. Krotschak, solo cellist of the orchestra since 1934, was married to a Jewish woman and could remain in the orchestra only on basis of a "special permit." Despite his numerous activities also during National Socialism as a soloist in and with the orchestra, Jerger went back on him with an anti-Semitic tirade: "At this point, the chairman Jerger opposes the performance of Brahms' double concerto because of Krotschak's kin-relation (Versippung)."<sup>30</sup> About a year later though, the committee at short notice resorted to his skills as a soloist for Brahms' double concerto, as evident from a request of the committee as well as a thank-you letter – the designated soloist in a piano concerto, Alfred Cortot, had cancelled due to illness.<sup>31</sup>

The maintenance of these privileges certainly had its price, especially in the case of the so-called UK-Stellung, which saved the Philharmonic from being called into the Wehrmacht, and which Schirach had secured for the orchestra since his assumption of office as regional leader and Reich governor in Vienna in August 1940.<sup>32</sup> On the one side the orchestra – with more or less enthusiasm – at irregular intervals complimentarily played music in Schirach's villa in Döbling, at the Hohe Warte and in the Hofburg,<sup>33</sup> on the other side the maintenance of the diverse privileges was also connected to performing Wehrmacht and factory concerts

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. the programme-database in the historical archive of the Vienna Philharmonists.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 244.

<sup>30</sup> "Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird vom Vorstand Jerger gegen die Aufführung von Brahms' Doppelkonzert wegen Krotschaks Versippung Stellung genommen." Protocol KS, 11.7.1942. HAWPh, A-Pr-030, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Letter of the committee (Kainz) to Krotschak from October 8 and October 20, 1943. Historical archive of the Vienna Philharmonists, "Depot Staatsoper" (Ordner 1).

<sup>32</sup> Details in Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 189-192.

<sup>33</sup> Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 192 f.

(Werkskonzert). Sense and purpose of these Wehrmacht concerts was to offer amusement to the soldiers and to brand them with 'German cultural assets', whereby the aspect of national representation in these concerts becomes clearly manifest.<sup>34</sup> The Vienna Philharmonic performed about 20 concerts for members of the Wehrmacht, and in one case "in the context of troop entertainment of the Waffen-SS."<sup>35</sup> With reference to the programme, a clear dominance of works of the Strauss dynasty is confirmed also in these concerts, and in addition Mozart, Schubert and Wagner were played (proportionally in this order).<sup>36</sup> Most of these concerts were held in Vienna, only rarely did the orchestra travel to the soldiers – still in March 1945 for example, there was a "soldier concert" in the SS-barracks Glasenbach.<sup>37</sup> While major general Paul Winter in a heroic article on "The cultivation of music in the Wehrmacht"<sup>38</sup> comments upon the musical 'troop entertainment' and holds that the Vienna Philharmonic "spare no effort and danger to provide the whole wealth of music to our soldiers, from Murmansk to Africa, from the Atlantic Coast to deep into the East, in hours of relaxation and concentration," this statement cannot be confirmed in face of their obvious avoidance of war zones. Less numerous were the factory concerts of the Vienna Philharmonic: First in 1943 they performed three, and from September 1944 to the end of war nine more – in total they thus performed a dozen factory concerts during National Socialism.<sup>39</sup> Next to aspects of entertainment and the representation of "German music creation," their aim must have been not least the sublimation of defence production as such: The presence of the elite of 'German' representational arts in the factory hall meant for the German war production as it were a consecration by the 'German Arts,' which took place in front of the eyes and ears of the 'German people's community.'<sup>40</sup>

Travel concerts abroad were also relatively rare for the Vienna Philharmonic during National Socialism: After 1938 these were in sharp decline,<sup>41</sup> while orchestral trips to Germany were still relatively numerous. This decline in concerts abroad is due to the fact that the external musical representation was provided mainly by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>42</sup> The relatively frequent performances in Germany however manifest as the urge to represent the newly created Ostmark respectively Vienna within the new state structure and in addition to

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Trümpi, Orchester, p. 275 ff.

<sup>35</sup> "Im Rahmen der Truppenbetreuung der Waffen-SS" Cf. Hellsberg, Demokratie, p. 476 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Trümpi, Orchester, p. 279 f.

<sup>37</sup> An overview of the Wehrmacht-concerts of the Vienna Philharmonicists during National Socialism can be found in Trümpi, Orchester, p. 276.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. for example Winter, Paul. Musikpflege in der Wehrmacht. In: Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943. Im Auftrage der Abteilung Musik des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda herausgegeben von Hellmuth von Hase. Leipzig/Berlin o. J. S. 54–57. Here p. 57. Cit. in Trümpi, Orchester, p. 276.

<sup>39</sup> According to the catalogue of the concert programme of the Vienna Philharmonicists. Cit. in Trümpi, Orchester, p. 283.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Trümpi, Orchester, p. 283 f.

<sup>41</sup> Trümpi, Orchester, p. 298 f.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Trümpi, Orchester, p. 287-298.



secure a most favourable position in the German music enterprise.<sup>43</sup> There were however still a few trips abroad which exhibited a highly propagandistic nature and which were received in coverage less in a Viennese and much more in a Reich-context. For example, in the case of both concerts in Krakow, in December 1939 on occasion of the “reopening” of the “German Theatre,” and in April 1940 on occasion of the “Birthday of the Führer.” On the occasion of the “reopening” of the “German Theatre,” the “Governor General,” Hans Frank, personally invited the orchestra. His speech at the opening of the “German Theatre” was at the same time a Nazi laudation on the Vienna Philharmonic. Frank stressed that they were “the representatives of this glorious, indestructible, thousand-year-old cultural asset of German artistic production, artistic work and German artistic reproduction.”<sup>44</sup> It should not have been a coincidence that it was the Vienna Philharmonic who were selected to represent German ‘high culture’ in the occupied Krakow – Vienna was the former central authority of the “Kingdom Galicia and Lodomeria”, to which belonged also the “Duchy Krakow.” Frank proclaimed in his speech that “the Polish here was but a historical attempt of forgery.” He also directly stated what the Polish and Jewish population had to expect of this “German town”: “We will strive, for justice of effort, to again raise the German character of this town. [...] Soldiers live here who carry still their wounds from the battles in Poland, and these will be your guests tonight. Men live here, who strive to bring German order into this area, placed alone in their position, facing thousands of difficulties in life and office, dependent on their vigour; these will today be delighted by you; and here, in and around us, also live the spirits of the Germans who had here formerly worked.”<sup>45</sup> The opening concert thus must be viewed as a musical prelude to the persecution and murder of thousands and thousands of people, the keyword of which is delivered in the headline to the opening ceremony in the *Krakauer Nachrichten*: “Krakow again German cultural centre.”<sup>46</sup>

During National Socialism, the Vienna Philharmonic in all also strengthened their already close relationship to Vienna in terms of the programme – but this is not to be read as an act of resistance against the German supremacy, as long-term attempts at representation on behalf of the orchestra itself would have wanted to make us believe. The repeatedly increased enrolment of the Philharmonic in the topos of the ‘Music city Vienna’ since 1938 served to establish the consolidation of Nazi rule in Vienna. According to the situation’s demand, the orchestra as well as political entities were readily willing to temporarily drop the

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<sup>43</sup> Trümpi, *Orchester*, p. 298 f.

<sup>44</sup> “Die Repräsentanten dieses herrlichen unzerstörbaren 1000jährigen Kulturgutes deutschen Kunstschaffens, deutschen Kunstwaltens und deutscher Kunstwiedergabe.” *Krakauer Zeitung*, 17./18.12.1939. p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> „Wir werden uns bemühen, um der Gerechtigkeit der Leistung willen den deutschen Charakter dieses Ortes wieder emporzusteigern. [...] Hier leben Soldaten, die aus den Kämpfen in Polen noch ihre Wunden tragen, sie werden heute Ihre Gäste sein, hier leben die Männer, die sich bemühen, deutsche Ordnung in dieses Gebiet zu bringen, einsam auf ihre Positionen gestellt, tausend Schwierigkeiten des Lebens und Amtes gegenüber, nur auf ihre Tatkraft angewiesen; sie werden heute durch Sie beglückt werden; und hier leben in uns und um uns die Geister der Deutschen, die hier gewirkt haben.” *Krakauer Zeitung*, 17./18.12.1939. p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> „Krakau wieder deutsches Kulturzentrum.” *Krakauer Zeitung*, 17./18.12.1939. p. 1.





Vienna reference in favour of a Reich context, as has been exemplary demonstrated by the Philharmonic' Krakow concerts. In light of the highly diverse concert practice and the flexible programming during National Socialism, multiple connections between the Philharmonic and political entities may be recognized, which never before in the history of the orchestra were as numerous as during the time between 1938 and 1945.

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