

MUSIC HISTORY AND ETHNICITY FROM PRAGUE TO INDIANA: PAUL NETTL, EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA, AND GERMANNES

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Dedicated to the memory of Bruno Nettel (1930–2020)

In 1947, musicologist Paul Nettel published *The Story of Dance Music*, his first book after his immigration to the United States from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia.¹ In their reviews of the book, two critics accused Nettel of Czech nationalism and chauvinism. Hungarian-born musicologist Otto Gombosi (1902–1955), who settled in the US in 1939, was particularly bothered by what he called Nettel's „disturbing overemphasis on everything Slavic, and especially Czech.“² German musicologist Hans Engel (1894–1970) went even further to make an explicit connection between Nettel's scholarly work and his presumed ethnic identity. Engel was especially critical of Nettel's claims that the minuets in multi-movement compositions by eighteenth-century composers of the so-called Mannheim School originated in Czech folk music and that the accentuated openings of these minuets (on the downbeat, without an upbeat) corresponded “to the trochaic rhythm of the Czech language which has no article.”³ Engel viewed such claims as resulting from “patriotic or nationalistic

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- 1 Paul NETTL, *The Story of Dance Music* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947).
 - 2 Otto GOMBOSI, “The Story of Dance Music by Paul Nettel,” *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (October 1948): 627. Gombosi was even more critical of Nettel's minor comment about Smetana: “it is chauvinism gone rampant,” he wrote, “to say that ‘Smetana is ... a more universal type of genius than Chopin who used only the piano to glorify national aspirations.’”
 - 3 NETTL, *The Story of Dance Music*, 207; Hans ENGEL, “Paul Nettel. The Story of Dance Music,” *Die Musikforschung* 2, nos. 2–4 (1949): 270–71. The interest of Central European musicologists in the Mannheim School was initiated by Hugo Riemann's editions of Mannheim symphonies from 1902–7, as part of the nationalist series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*. As Alexander REHDING has shown, Riemann turned Johann Stamitz into a “[German] national icon.” Alexander REHDING, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 138–49. Whereas Engel's objections to Nettel's views might have been rooted in this Riemannian tradition, Nettel may instead have been expanding on the ideas of his mentor, Austrian musicologist Guido Adler, who claimed that classical symphony originated in Vienna, not Mannheim. Whereas Riemann, according to Rehding, stressed Stamitz's Bohemian origin to illustrate his connection to the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, Nettel, following in

biases of this Czech emigrant” (“patriotischen oder nationalistischen Einstellungen des tschechischen Emigranten”).⁴ Gombosi’s and Engel’s points make sense to some extent because Paul Nettl spent most of his early career in Prague, and after his arrival in the US, he wrote several articles about eighteenth-century Czech music. According to ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl, Paul Nettl’s son, “in the United States, [my father] did what he could to get Czech music known and appreciated.”⁵

Engel’s critique, however, prompted a response from Nettl in which he tried to define his own ethnicity. First, he dealt with the issue of Czechness: “I am not and never have been a Czech”; then he clarified his Germanness: “[I am] a German, [though one] with that racial parenthesis with which all German colleagues are familiar.”⁶ Here Nettl clearly endorses a German identity, yet he also refers to his Jewish background and to the fact that, up to the defeat of Nazi Germany in WWII, many German musicologists, including Hans Engel, the author of the review Nettl is responding to, viewed Jewishness as racially incompatible with a German identity.⁷ Toward the end of his response, Nettl approaches issues of identity from a different angle. The fact that he was a victim of “the German intellectual history between 1939 and 1945,” he claims, never stopped him, both in Europe and in America, from linking himself to the German cultural community and accomplishing pioneer service for the German culture. Nettl therefore operates with two different levels of Germanness: a racial one, about which he feels insecure because of his Jewish background, and a cultural one, which he fully endorses.

Nettl’s complicated views of Czechness and Germanness closely reflect the complex identity politics in the regions of the present-day Czech Republic during the first half of the twentieth century. Bruno Nettl often describes his father’s attitudes to ethnicity as ambivalent.⁸ The present article uses Paul Nettl’s writings, including autobiographical sketches and lecture drafts from his estate at Indiana University and the Czech Radio Archive in Prague, to probe his views on Czech and German cultures and place them in contempo-

the footsteps of Adler, possibly viewed Stamitz’s Czech ancestry as a link to the multinational traditions of the Austrian Empire. On the Riemann-Adler disagreement, see REHDING, 141–44.

4 ENGEL, 271.

5 BRUNO NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist: A Miscellany of Influences* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 11.

6 PAUL NETTL, “Erwiderung,” *Die Musikforschung* 3, Nos. 3–4 (1950): 297.

7 On Engel’s prominence in German musicology during the Nazi period and his avowal of German cultural superiority after WWII, see Pamela POTTER, *The Most German of Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), esp. 231 and 256.

8 The most recent statement about Paul Nettl’s ambivalence appears in BRUNO NETTL, “Paul Nettl, Bohemian Musicologist: Emigration and Virtual Return,” in *Return from Exile-Rückkehr aus dem Exil: Exiles, Returnees and Their Impact in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Austria and Central Europe*, ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Manfred Prisching (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 193 and 199.

aneous cultural and political contexts. I show that certain aspects of Nettl's national and ethnic views did evolve with the changes in political situation in Central Europe between 1918 and 1945. At the same time, I argue that Nettl in fact stayed committed to a consistent view of the German language and culture as – in contrast to what Gombosi and Engel thought they were finding in Nettl's first American book – more universal and therefore superior to all other Central European languages and cultures, particularly the Slavic ones.

German “Identity” in Bohemia

The difficulty in defining and discussing ethnic identity in the region of what is now the Czech Republic during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been the subject of several recent studies. As cultural theory has shown, identity is a fluid concept, and most identities are fractured and “shift according to how subjects are addressed or represented.”⁹ Similarly, an important aspect of why Paul Nettl's identity has been confusing to some commentators has to do, as Chad Bryant reminds us, with the fact that in the multilingual and multicultural Bohemia of that period, national and ethnic identities were not static, inherent categories but represented a matter of choice; “identifications” as opposed to identities.¹⁰ Identifying as a Czech or German (and increasingly also Jewish) Bohemian was therefore dependent for the most part on cultural and political practices in which one chose to participate. The fluidity of ethnic identifications in early twentieth-century Bohemia is also apparent in Paul Nettl's family background, as presented in two autobiographical essays. Nettl's short published autobiography appeared in a 1962 bibliographic monograph about Nettl and was edited by Thomas Atcherson, one of his students at Indiana University where Nettl started teaching in 1946.¹¹ A much longer version of Nettl's autobiography is preserved in his estate at IU. My edition of this autobiography can be found in the Appendix / Documents; it was probably written in 1949, because in it Nettl writes that he has been in the United State for nearly a decade (he emigrated in the fall of 1939).

Nettl was born in the heart of the so-called Sudetenland, in the North Bohemian city of Hohenelbe (presently known as the Czech Vrchlábí) at the foot of the Riesengebirge/Krkonose mountains. Nettl's father, Karl, was a prominent Jewish, German-speaking owner of a paper mill in Hohenelbe/Vrchlábí. In the 1949 autobiography, Nettl acknowledges that his mother was Czech and

9 Chris BAKER, ed. *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London, Sage, 2004), 94.

10 Chad BRYANT, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 4.

11 “Aus Paul Nettls persönlichen Erinnerungen,” *Ein Musikwissenschaftler in zwei Welten*, ed. Thomas ATCHERSON (Vienna: Schönborn, 1962), 9–19.

her maiden name was Becková. In an autobiographical memoir about his youth in the Riesengebirge/Krkonoše region from 1960, he also remembers that his mother always spoke German with a Czech accent.¹² It is conspicuous, however, that in the “official” version of the academic autobiography in Atcherson’s 1962 book, the information about his mother’s Czech background is missing. In his introductory essay to Atcherson’s book, furthermore, Nettle’s friend, the German musicologist Friedrich Blume, uses only the German form of his mother’s maiden name, Beck, which downplays her Czech background.¹³ In the Vienna and Indiana autobiographical essays, Nettle frequently writes about the German-speaking relatives on his father’s side, but provides no information about the (predominantly) Czech-speaking relations on his mother’s side.

The rhetorical emphasis on German heritage in certain essays by and about Nettle could be viewed as part of the “identification” process: Nettle is not so much tapping into his national and ethnic roots as acting out an identity that he and his family accepted as their own. This process also plays out in Nettle’s approach to the Czech language. Nettle was apparently fluent in Czech, as he points out in one of his autobiographical essays—in the Riesengebirge/Krkonoše memoir, written in Indiana (after his move there in 1946), he claims, in fact, that “even today, when I speak Czech, I could be easily taken for a Czech” (“noch heute könnte ich, wenn ich tschechisch spreche, glatt als Tscheche angesehen werden”).¹⁴ He was also still able to write in Czech in 1959, twenty years after his escape from Prague, as illustrated in the letters he sent to the Czech Mozart researcher Tomislav Volek.¹⁵ At the same time, in his writings Nettle also at times exposes negative and superior attitudes towards the Czech language. In the Riesengebirge/Krkonoše memoir, for example, he explains that this knowledge resulted from his need to speak with his father’s Czech employees, which represents one of many passages that associate Czechs with servant and working classes.¹⁶ Negative attitudes toward the Czech language are also expounded in Nettle’s manuscript draft “European Culture in Old Prague,” written in Indiana:

12 The essay was eventually published in 1960 in the magazine *Riesengebirgs-Heimat*. The original article draft is in Indiana University, Cook Music Library Special Collections, Paul Nettle Collection, “Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen: Paul Nettle für Herrn Johann Posner,” 8.

13 Friedrich BLUME, “Biographische Skizze,” in *Ein Musikwissenschaftler in zwei Welten*, 2. As Pamela Potter has shown, Blume is a controversial figure, specifically in connection to his studies about music and race during the Nazi period. Despite his problematic publications and activities from the 1930s and 1940s, he evaded scrutiny and criticism and became one of the most prominent figures of post-WWII German musicology. Potter, 253–58.

14 “Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen,” 8.

15 One of these letters is published in Milada JONÁŠOVÁ, “V archivu Tomislava Volka jsou i dopisy od... [Part] 1,” *Harmonie* 2018, No. 8 (August 1, 2018), 32. Volek does point out that Nettle supposedly received assistance with Czech grammar from Paul Kling, a Czech-Jewish violinist who survived the Holocaust and served as the principal violinist of the Louisville Orchestra between 1957 and 1977. During that time, Kling also taught the violin at Indiana University.

16 “Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen,” 8.

I remember well that even the knowledge of Czech was considered suspect in German University circles. As a characteristic detail I like to mention i.e., that it was not considered fashionable to pronounce Czech names correctly. There was a German “Kanzleidirektor” Prochaska whose name should have been pronounced Prochaska, with the accent on the first syllable. But an elegant man from the German side would pronounce him Prohaska. It was considered a disgrace in those circles to have knowledge of the Czech language or to know Czech people.

The passage does not necessarily show that Nettle espoused similar dismissive attitudes towards the Czech language as his German academic colleagues in Prague, but neither does it project any sort of distancing from such attitudes. The essay in which the passage appears is filled with nostalgia for the no-longer existent Prague German community (it ceased to exist during and after WWII, when the Nazis first murdered or forced to emigrate the German-speaking Jews and then the Czechs expelled the Germans based on the principle of collective guilt for Nazi atrocities). Nettle’s essay also exudes an attitude of German cultural superiority, especially since in the title he refers to the no-longer existent German culture of Prague as “European culture,” which implies that the remaining purely Czech culture is no longer international but merely national.

Austrian, Bohemian, German?

Most German-Bohemian intellectuals and artists in late imperial Austria and in the early years of the Czechoslovak Republic navigated among at least three Germanocentric attachments: to nostalgic memories of a multicultural, yet German-dominated Austria; to the German culture and population of Bohemia (an attitude also referred to as *Landespatriotismus*); and to the pan-German culture and nation.¹⁷ These three concepts also dominate Nettle’s early career and writings. Through his upbringing and education, Nettle was closely tied to the German cultural and intellectual elites of imperial Austria. After graduating from a German Gymnasium in Arnau/Hostinné, Nettle moved to Prague in 1908 to attend the German University, where he earned doctorates in law and musicology. After two years in the Austro-Hungarian army at the Italian front, Nettle moved to Vienna to pursue post-doctoral studies in musicology with Guido Adler. Nettle’s research in the early 1920s could have just as easily been created by a scholar in pre-WWI Austria, since it does not reflect the political shifts in Central Europe after 1918 and focuses predominantly on German music of the Habsburg lands in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

¹⁷ These loyalties are also discussed in Bryant, 12.

turies. Nettle's first important, internationally acclaimed academic publication represents a case in point: in 1921 his extensive study "Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts" appeared in the Austrian journal *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, edited by Nettle's Viennese mentor Guido Adler. The article was accompanied by a volume containing Nettle's edition of seventeenth-century dances created in the Habsburg dominions of Austria and Bohemia. The musical edition, moreover, appeared in the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, which, as Alexander Rehding has explained, was dominated by Germanocentric views since its conception in the nineteenth century.¹⁸ In Nettle's own words (see Appendix / Documents), the study was considered a groundbreaking work on the history of the dance suite and was particularly significant for the understanding of the origins of the waltz, which until then was considered a dance of the eighteenth century; Nettle discovered that the waltz had already appeared in the seventeenth century. In his research, Nettle relied on archival documents from Austrian, Bohemian, and Moravian libraries and archives, and his study therefore emphasized the importance of the union of the regions that now belonged to two independent countries for the development of Central European Germanic culture. The pro-German bent of Nettle's article becomes clear, for example, in his discussion of the composer Paul Joseph Weiwanowsky/Pavel Josef Vejvanovský, a trumpeter and eventually Kapellmeister of the Olmütz/Olomouc archbishop Karl II von Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn at his palace in Kremsier/Kroměříž. Nettle lists several dance compositions by Weiwanowsky/Vejvanovský but does not discuss them in detail because they are works of "a Czech composer" ("da es sich um Werke eines tschechischen Komponisten handelt").¹⁹ Bruno Nettle points out, that although his father contributed to the appreciation of Czech music in America primarily in non-academic venues, such as lecture-recitals with his first wife, pianist Gertrud Nettle (née Hutter), "in his European years, [he] did not publish on Czech music, and he did so only very occasionally in America."²⁰

In 1920, Nettle returned to Bohemia and started working privately at the Prague German University in the hope of receiving a full-time position. Nettle then stayed at the German University until his emigration in 1939, for most of the period as an unsalaried *Privatdozent*. More concrete motivations for Nettle's move from Vienna to Prague are unclear, and various versions of Nettle's autobiographical essays are contradictory. The 1949 Indiana memoir (see Appendix / Documents) presents the move to Prague as an escape from increasing tensions in Viennese musicological circles, specifically between the

18 Alexander REHDING, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 142–44.

19 Paul NETTL, "Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1921): 162.

20 Private correspondence with Bruno Nettle from August 26, 2019, and Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 171.

supporters of Guido Adler and a faction around Robert Lach, at one point the director of the music collections at the Austrian National Library, who later promoted anti-Semitic ideologies and joined the Nazi party in 1933, although it was still illegal in Austria. The 1962 memoir does not discuss the enmities in Viennese musicological circles in great detail, possibly because the memoir itself appeared in Vienna and was likely aimed at Nettle's German and Austrian colleagues. Instead, the 1962 memoir places the responsibility for Nettle's move to Prague on his Prague mentor Heinrich Rietsch.²¹ According to Nettle, Rietsch, who also started his academic career in the imperial capital and moved to Prague in 1900 to take Guido Adler's position at the German University, had a strong desire to return to Vienna. Nettle claims that Rietsch's dissatisfaction with Prague was based on his strong German national sentiments and his hatred for the new Czechoslovak regime after 1918. According to the 1962 memoir, it was Rietsch who supposedly persuaded Nettle to move to Prague by promising to make him his successor at the Prague German University. Rietsch nevertheless remained in Prague until his death in 1927, and Nettle never actually succeeded him.

The move to Prague clearly influenced the direction of Nettle's research and publication activities. Though he continued the line of studies focused on specifically Viennese Baroque music, in the 1920s he also worked on topics related to eighteenth-century Bohemian culture, together with Jewish musical history. More specifically, the move to Prague pushed Nettle's research along the lines of German-Bohemian *Landespatriotismus*. His studies deal with Bohemian and Moravian topics, but with a focus predominantly on composers, musicians, and patrons whom Nettle presents and understands as German. One of the most prominent expressions of Nettle's German-Bohemian *Landespatriotismus* in the late 1920s is his book *Der Prager Kaufruf*, not strictly an academic publication but an exclusive collectors' item, published by the Society of German Bibliophiles in Bohemia in a mere 300 copies.²² This sumptuously illustrated monograph brings together reproductions of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century engravings of individual participants in Prague's street life. In the introductory essay, Nettle explains that the engravings belong to the tradition of the "Cry," a type of eighteenth-century illustration, sometimes of comical nature, depicting common people of European urban centers in their daily activities, often connected to street commerce (for example, depictions of sausage and pretzel sellers) and other vocations, such as street music-making (for example, depictions of bagpipers).²³ Nettle also connects the eighteenth-century interest in urban street life to the rise of the interest

21 "Aus Paul Nettls persönlichen Erinnerungen," 10–11.

22 Paul NETTL, *Der Prager Kaufruf* (Prague: Gesellschaft der deutschen Bücherfreunde in Böhmen, 1930).

23 Paul NETTL, *Der Prager Kaufruf*, 5.

in German national culture during that period.²⁴ It is conspicuous that Nettel does not in the slightest acknowledge the possibility that some of the folksy aspects of Prague's street live depicted in the engravings might have been connected to the city's Czech-speaking population—instead he writes about eighteenth-century Prague as a purely German city.

Nettl's continual attachment to German cultural nationalism despite changing social and political conditions shows how powerful this ideology was among Central European musicians and intellectuals who came of age in late imperial Austria. More specifically, the historical roots of Nettel's attachment to Germanness are located in the nineteenth-century ideology of German liberal nationalism, which, as David Brodbeck has summarized, appeared in the 1860s and operated within "a framework of strict German elitism," as well as with the concept that national identities were not inherent and ethnic but fluid and civic – Austrian German liberals therefore encouraged and expected all non-Germans within the Western part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to accept the "superior" German culture as their own.²⁵ Because of its civic (rather than ethnic/religious/particularist) nature, the notion of German cultural superiority attracted many Jews, and Paul Nettel's biography shows that various aspects of this ideology survived long into the twentieth century. Close parallels to Paul Nettel's intellectual and cultural viewpoints can be found in the biographies of many earlier Austrian musicians and music scholars, such as the famous Viennese music critic Eduard Hanslick and music theorist Heinrich Schenker. Similar to Nettel, Hanslick, as Brodbeck has explained, replaced his initial allegiance to Bohemian *Landespatriotismus* and to his Jewish roots (on his mother's side) with an attachment to Germanness.²⁶ Just a generation older than Nettel, Schenker was born into a Jewish family in Austrian Galicia and first educated within the Polish cultural sphere of the Galician capital Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv. Suppressing Polish national sentiments soon after his arrival in Vienna, Schenker publicly embraced German cultural nationalism while privately continuing to view himself as a Jew. As Martin Eybl points out, Schenker's "vociferous commitment to Germanness contrasts sharply with that quiet practice [of Jewishness]."²⁷ Schenker's conflicting relationships to Polishness, Germanness, and Jewishness are not dissimilar to Nettel's intellectual interactions with German, Austrian, Bohemian, and Czech identities, though Schenker died in early 1935 and was therefore spared the experience of the Nazi Holocaust. Both Hanslick and Schenker renounced not only their

24 Paul NETTL, *Der Prager Kaufruf*, 5–7.

25 David BRODBECK, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8–9.

26 BRODBECK, chapter 1.

27 Martin EYBL, "Heinrich Schenker's Identities as a German and a Jew," *Musicologica Austriaca* (September 21, 2018): "Conclusion," <http://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/54>.

Slavic but also their Jewish roots, which once again closely parallels Nettl's development: in 1915, he converted to Catholicism to join the imperial army, and in 1918 he was re-baptized as a Protestant.²⁸

At the same time, in his 1949 Indiana autobiography, Nettl presents himself as someone who already in the 1920s stood up to anti-Semitism and suffered consequences for it. As Nettl explains, his Prague mentor Rietsch was actually half Jewish, which made him so uncomfortable, that he suppressed his paternal name Löwy and used his mother's maiden name instead. In addition to his anti-Czech and German nationalist sentiments, Rietsch, according to Nettl, also supported the anti-Semitic student movement at Prague's German University in 1922 (Nettl's 1949 Indiana autobiography dates this to 1925). In reaction to the election of Jewish historian Samuel Steinherz as the rector of Prague's German University in 1922, German nationalist students staged a strike, which also affected musicology classes. According to Nettl, the striking students wanted to prevent Rietsch from giving a regular lecture, and Rietsch supposedly "more than happily submitted to the students' dictate" ("beugte sich nur allzu gern der Diktatur der Studenten" – see Appendix / Documents). Nettl himself supposedly criticized the students' actions, which caused estrangement between him and Rietsch. Nettl also adds later that it was the poor relationship with the increasingly nationalistic Rietsch that prevented him from acquiring a professorship in musicology at the University. This account, however, to some extent contradicts his later claim that Rietsch's successor, Gustav Becking, was chosen for his initially openminded attitude towards the Czechs, which, as Nettl's account implies, contrasted with Nettl's own. Yet another point of view appears in the 1962 autobiography, where Nettl does not mention Rietsch's positive relations with the protesting students and instead writes about the weak Czech government that was unable to support Steinherz. Nettl's differing accounts about the 1920s therefore raise questions about the exact nature and motivations of his supposed anti-German-nationalist stances. One possible interpretation of the differences between the earlier and later memoirs is that although in his later years Nettl became less sensitive to memories of German-nationalist anti-Semitism in Prague, his anti-Czech viewpoints intensified.

Sudeten-German Identity

In the 1930s, the mixture of various cultural, ethnic, and political allegiances that Nettl operated with in his writings becomes further complicated by his gradual espousal of a Sudeten-German identification. As Eva Hahnová has shown, the term "Sudetenländer" first appeared in reference to German-speak-

28 Paul Nettl's religious affiliations are discussed in Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 136 and 191.

ing regions of Bohemian, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia in the late nineteenth century, and in the early twentieth century it transformed into the collective term “Sudeten-Germans” (“Sudetendeutsche”) for the German-speaking population of those regions.²⁹ After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the term became associated with a collective identity for German inhabitants of the lands of the former Bohemian crown (now simply viewed as Czech lands). Although Nettl rarely uses the term Sudeten-German in the 1930s, the concept of a collective identity for Czechoslovak Germans becomes prominent in both his academic writings and the educational music-historical programs he prepared for the German Department of Czechoslovak Radio. Czechoslovak Radio started broadcasting in 1923, and German programs for the German-speaking population of the country were added in 1925. Nettl started working with the Radio in 1926 and became the director of music programs there in 1933. All radio programs had to be censored for political content in the first Czechoslovak Republic, and that is why, as Eckhard Jirgens has explained, copies of some texts by Nettl were preserved in the Czech Radio Archive.³⁰ According to radio programs in the daily press found by Jirgens, the earliest dated contribution by Nettl to the German program, titled “Musik in Böhmen,” was broadcast on February 18, 1926.³¹ Nettl’s programs covered a wide variety of topics: music history lectures (e.g., the one about dance music), music historical dramatizations (e.g., a short play about Mozart’s second stay in Prague in October of 1787, or a program about Casanova and Mozart in Prague that contains dialogues between Casanova and Bondini, and Casanova and Mozart), music historical geography (e.g., a travelogue through musically significant locales in Prague’s Old and New Towns), and discussions of current events (e.g., a report on the 1936 Salzburg Festival or a program about Prague’s historical gardens

29 Eva HAHNOVÁ, *Od Palackého k Benešovi: Německé texty o Němcích, Čěších, a českých zemích* (Prague: Academia, 2015), 174–75.

30 For an overview of these censorial materials in relation to the political and cultural ideologies pursued by various factions of the Czechoslovak Sudeten-German community, see Eckhard JIRGENS, “Die Sudetendeutschen brauchen Prag absolut nicht...! Struktureller Zentralismus und ideologische Dezentralisierung in den musikbezogenen Vorträgen der Prager Deutschen Sendungen des Tschechoslowakischen Rundfunks (1925–1938),” in *Zwischen Brücken und Gräben: Deutsch-tschechische Musikbeziehungen in der ČSR der Zwischenkriegszeit*, ed. Jitka BAJGAROVÁ and Andreas WEHRMEYER (Prague: Akademie věd České republiky, 2014), 127–48.

31 This is based on Jirgens’s list of Nettl’s radio presentations in vol. 2 of Eckhard JIRGENS, *Der Deutsche Rundfunk der 1. Tschechoslowakischen Republik: Musiksendungen 1925–1938, Vorträge-Artikel-Autoren*, 2. vols (Regensburg: ConBrio, 2017), 495–98. The Czech Radio Archive, however, preserves typescripts of Nettl’s programs that are not listed by Jirgens, possibly because they were not part of the collection of materials submitted to censors. Among these, for example, is a 1937 program that commemorates the 150th anniversary of Leopold Mozart’s death. Typescripts of some programs that Jirgens lists as mentioned in daily press but not preserved in the Radio Archive might in fact be part of the Indiana collection. This is the case of the program “Wenzel Müller und seine Zeit,” which, according to Jirgens, was broadcast on October 17, 1935. Besides the German original, the Indiana collection also contains an English translation of that typescript, which suggests that Nettl used his Prague radio programs as a basis for his lectures in America.

that served as an introduction to the live broadcast of the Prague German Opera's performance of Mozart's *La finta giardiniera* in the Waldstein Garden on June 26, 1938).

Nettl's music historical programs put a prominent emphasis on a new type of sub-category for certain German composers – the German-Bohemian composers, such as Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, whom Nettle discusses quite often. Biber was born in Bohemian Wartenberg/Stráž pod Ralskem, and although he spent most of his career in Carinthian Graz, Moravian Kremsier/Kroměříž, and in Salzburg, Nettle continually refers to him as a German-Bohemian (“deutsch-böhmisch”) composer and often uses him to support the concept of a unique German-Bohemian cultural identity. This tendency is most prominent in the program “Deutsch-böhmische Tonmeister des Barock,” broadcast on November 12, 1933, in which Nettle talks about the music of “our German-Bohemian land” (“unser deutsch-böhmisches Land”).³² That this German-Bohemian homeland was interchangeable with Sudetenland is illustrated in Nettle's introductory remarks to the 1938 broadcast of *La finta giardiniera* at the Waldstein Garden. Nettle points out that the Garden had in recent years hosted several performances of Baroque music, including by Biber, whom Nettle this time refers to as a Sudeten-German composer (“sudetendeutscher Komponist”).³³ The crosspollination of “German-Bohemian” identity with the “Sudeten-German” identity in Nettle's radio programs becomes even more prominent in view of Nettle's initial biographical study of Biber, which already appeared in 1926 in the collection *Sudetendeutsche Lebensbilder*.³⁴ Edited by the Bohemian Germanist Erich Gierach and published in Reichenberg/Liberec, the unofficial Sudeten-German capital, the collection claimed other Bohemian musicians for the Sudeten-German cause, including Christoph Willibald Gluck, Johann Stamitz, and Eduard Hanslick.

According to Jiří Vysloužil, in the early 1930s Nettle and other German music critics and historians used the term Sudeten-German merely as “an ideology-free geopolitical term” (“ideologicky nezatížený geopolitický výraz”), but the radio programs and publications from this period in fact point to an ideological attempt to project geopolitical circumstances of post-WWI Central Europe on the culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁵ Vysloužil also points out that in the late 1930s, some German musicologists started us-

32 “Deutsch-böhmische Tonmeister des Barocks,” Prague, Czech Radio Archive, PA05942-PA1658, 2. A shortened version of this essay was also published in *Deutscher Rundfunk der Tschechoslowakei* 1933, No. 46 (November 12, 1933), no page n.; both versions are reproduced in JIRGENS, *Der Deutsche Rundfunk der 1. Tschechoslowakischen Republik*, 292–94 and 449–51.

33 “Von den Prager Gärten,” Prague, Czech Radio Archive, PA04467-PA3012, 5.

34 Paul NETTL, “Heinrich Franz Biber von Bibern,” in *Sudetendeutsche Lebensbilder*, ed. Erich GIERACH (Reichenberg: Steipel, 1926), 183–92.

35 Jiří VYSLOUŽIL, “Kdy a jak byl v písemnictví o hudbě používán výraz ‘sudetoněmecký’,” *Hudební věda* 30, no. 2 (June 1992), 159.

ing the term “Sudeten-German” is connection to a special kind of ethnicity associated with the German population of Czechoslovakia.³⁶ This tendency is also prominent in Nettle’s writings. Nettle’s identification with Sudetenland became in fact even more prominent after WWII, when he was already living in the United States. One untitled (and probably unpublished) post-WWII lecture manuscript in English from Nettle’s Indiana estate calls for a greater awareness of the Sudeten-Germans and their culture. In the manuscript, Nettle views Sudeten-Germans as a distinct “ethnological group,” into which he includes any German-speaking person born within the borders of the Czech-dominated parts of the post-WWI Czechoslovakia.³⁷ Nettle’s sympathetic attitude to Sudeten-Germans was no doubt related to the forced expulsion of most German population from Czechoslovakia after WWII. This is apparent in the Indiana lecture, where he repeatedly mentions that the Sudeten-Germans have been “condemned to death” as a distinct group by expatriation from Czechoslovakia.

One early reaction to the expulsion is Nettle’s 1946 article “Twilight of a Famous Opera House” published in *Opera News*. The article discusses the fate of the New German Theater in Prague, which was occupied by Czech forces during the anti-Nazi uprising in early May of 1945 and turned into an exclusively Czech institution (the theater is presently known as the State Opera). In the article, Nettle outlines the illustrious history of German opera in Prague and decries that the “institution is now withdrawn from the world of art; [its] death knoll sounded when the Russian troops entered Prague.”³⁸ Although the former German theater was still used for opera performances even under the Czech regime, Nettle claims that it only performed “operettas and plays of communist propaganda,” thus constructing a distinction between the high-minded German institution of the past and the populist Czech institution of the present (the distinction is suggested also by the catastrophic references to twilight and death). Nettle blames the destruction of German culture in Prague on the Nazis, whom he distinguishes from the creators and consumers of Prague’s German culture:

The Nazis had not only mistreated the Czech nation, but also the ancient German culture, whose symbol was the *Deutsches Theater* in Prague. For almost two hundred years this worthy culture had been carried in Prague by a minority of about thirty thousand inhabitants. It was diametrically opposed to Nazism, and might have heard its death sentence in the Munich pact, when Chamberlain and Daladier betrayed Czechoslovakia to Hitler.³⁹

36 VYSLOUŽIL, 159.

37 Indiana University, Cook Music Library Special Collections, Paul Nettle Collection, “We are living in a time,” [I].

38 Paul NETTL, “Twilight of a Famous Opera House,” *Opera News* 11, no. 1 (January 28, 1946): 24.

39 Paul NETTL, “Twilight of a Famous Opera House,” 24.

Although he wrote the article nearly seven years after his escape from the Nazi regime for the United States, Nettl here, and in a number of other writings, follows a course of thought that was typical in post-WWII Germany. As Pamela Potter has shown, most German musicologists in the post-war period attempted to “separate Nazi ideology from longer intellectual trends influenced by nationalism, völkisch thought, race theories, folklore, social Darwinism, German Idealism, and positivism.”⁴⁰

Nettl also associated with the expatriated Sudeten-German community on a personal level. In the *Riesengebirge/Krkonoše* memoir, Nettl writes that he regularly exchanges letters with former (Sudeten-German) inhabitants of Hohenelbe/Vrchlabí and Arnau/Hostinné.⁴¹ Nettl also references another memoir, about his time at the Gymnasium in Arnau/Hostinné, which appeared in one of post-war Sudeten-German exile journals. He also claims that he is a subscriber and a regular reader of the exile journal *Riesengebirgs-Heimat*. Bruno Nettl confirms that his father was in close contact with many acquaintances from the northern Bohemian Sudetenland and surmises that “a good many of [the Sudeten-German contacts of his father] might well have been Nazis or Nazi sympathizers ... [and that] it would have been reasonable on my father’s part to avoid associating with these Sudeten-German exiles, who had found homes in West German cities and, for a long time, agitated in vain for recovery of their homes and properties in Czechoslovakia, publishing books full of nostalgia and sentimental photos, and implying threats of revenge.”⁴² Paul Nettl himself was aware of the Nazi past (and present) of many of the Sudeten-German exiles, as he makes clear towards the end of his *Riesengebirgs-Heimat* memoir:

In the US, the government fights discrimination, we even have Negroes in the government and naturally also large amounts of Jews in prominent positions. I am in no way saying this with bitterness, but I would like to bring this to my compatriots’ attention, because I have a good reason to believe, that anti-Semitism is still rampant among Sudeten-Germans. It no longer operates as it did in the time of Henlein. *Riesengebirgs-Heimat*, which I like to read and which I subscribe to, refers to the Jews only very sparingly. Only rarely does one find a Jewish name. It seems that today the readers of the magazine do not even want to accept the historical existence of Jewishness in the Sudeten-German sector. I love my homeland, about which I dream every day, but I could no longer return to such conditions.⁴³

40 POTTER, 253.

41 “Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen,” 4.

42 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 161.

43 “Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen,” 8–9. “In U.S.A. wird die Diskriminierung von der Regierung bekämpft, wir haben sogar Neger in der Regierung und natürlich eine grosse Anzahl von Juden in prominenter Stelle. Ich sage das keineswegs mit Bitternis, sondern ich möchte dies vielen meiner Heimatsgenossen vor Augen führen, weil ich mit gutem Grunde glaube, dass

Mixed with this admonishment is Nettel's profession of reverence for the German people and their culture in which he once again rejects any connection between the Nazis and the German culture:

And yet, unlike so many Hitler-emigrants, from the first day of my arrival in the USA, I have done nothing but lived and worked for the German culture. It did not bother me at all, that the Czechs even today claim I am a German nationalist [...] In my house, we speak only German, and I am a member of the American "German Honors Society," which accepts only those who rendered outstanding services to German culture. [...] This and all of my activities show that I have never stopped feeling and thinking like a German, in contrast to so many other emigrants, who have turned their back on their homeland.⁴⁴

Paul Nettel presents himself as a member of the Sudeten-German community and partially compensates for his criticism of the Sudeten-German anti-Semitism by his profession of faith in the German culture and by the critique of the Czechs and German emigrants in the United States. Bruno Nettel's memoir shows that similar attitudes were quite typical for his father: he remembers that he frequently heard his father speak "angrily about Nazism [...]" but there was something sacred about the great German and Austrian composers and about literary figures such as Goethe and Schiller, and actually, something sacred about the German language itself.⁴⁵

Bruno Nettel also points out that after WWII Paul Nettel embraced German and Austrian musicologists and publishers, including people with serious Nazi pasts, and suggests that part of this embrace may have been opportunistic, because beginning in the late 1940s, his father came to be appreciated and honored in Germany and Austria much more so than in the US.⁴⁶ These close

der Antisemitismus noch immer unter den Sudetendeutschen schwelt. Dies geschieht freilich nicht wie in der Zeit von Henlein. In der "Riesengebirgsheimat," die ich gern lese und auf die ich abonniert bin, wird nur ganz selten auf die Bedeutung der Juden hingewiesen. Nur selten liest man einen jüdischen Namen. Es scheint, als ob noch heute die Leser dieser Zeitschrift die historische Existenz des Judentums im sudetendeutschen Sektor nicht wahrhaben wollten. Ich liebe meine Heimat, von der ich wohl täglich träume, aber ich könnte nie mehr in diese Verhältnisse zurückkehren."

44 "Persönliche Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen," 9. "Trotzdem habe ich, wie so viele Hitler-Emigranten, vom ersten Tag meiner Ankunft in U.S.A. an, nichts anderes getan, als für deutsche Kultur gelebt und gearbeitet. Es hat mir nichts ausgemacht, dass die Tschechen noch heute behaupten, ich sei ein deutscher Nationalist. [...] In meinem Hause wird nur deutsch gesprochen und ich bin Ehrenmitglied der amerikanischen "Deutschen Ehrenverbindung," zu der nur Personen zugelassen werden, die sich um die deutsche Kultur verdient gemacht haben. [...] Dies, und meine gesamte Tätigkeit beweisen, dass ich nicht aufgehört habe Deutsch zu fühlen und zu denken, im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Emigranten, die ihrer Heimat den Rücken gekehrt haben."

45 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 162.

46 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 165–67.

contacts with former German and Austrian colleagues, according to Bruno Nettl, may have led to Paul Nettl's estrangement from his former close friend, musicologist, and fellow Jewish emigrant Alfred Einstein, who had been instrumental in helping the Nettl family escape to the United States in 1939 (see Appendix / Documents) and completely severed his ties with Germany and Austria.⁴⁷ As Potter has pointed out, Einstein partially blamed Nettl for recommending for publication in *The Musical Quarterly* an article by Robert Haas, an Austrian musicologist of Bohemian origin who had to leave his academic positions after WWII due to his close ties to the Nazi regime.⁴⁸ Paul Nettl's close relationship with the exiled Sudeten-German community also suggests that his attitudes may have originated in a genuine sense of nostalgia for his homeland. Perhaps it was the ambiguous status of Bohemia as a site where Germanness was being contested for centuries that strengthened Nettl's continual, particularly in contrast to Einstein, support for certain German scholars and his unsurmountable indoctrination with the ideology of German cultural superiority. Nettl's post-WWII attitudes to Germanness might paradoxically be related also to his own Jewish background and parallel to what Eybl has observed in the writings of Schenker; that is, Nettl perhaps understood "himself explicitly as a Jew, called to save German music."⁴⁹

Struggling with Czechness

Nettl's belief in the superiority of German culture also informed his evolving attitude to Czech culture. Up until the mid-1930s, Nettl did not deal with Czech music in his academic studies, focusing mainly on German-language composers and musicians in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. Manuscript materials from Nettl's Indiana estate and his publications from this period suggest that this lack of interest was not incidental. I have already mentioned his refusal, in his first internationally acclaimed publication, to discuss Weiwadowski/Vejvanovský. Some of the Indiana manuscript materials also suggest that after the creation of Czechoslovakia, Nettl

47 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 167. Paul Nettl and Alfred Einstein were still on friendly and collegial terms in 1951, when Einstein sent a letter to Nettl (dated November 3, 1951, and preserved in the Nettl collection in Indiana University's Lilly Library). In the letter, Einstein thanks Nettl for lending him his copy of the 1791 first edition libretto of Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*, which Nettl thought to be the only surviving copy. Einstein returned the libretto to Nettl with the letter, and the libretto is still in the music collection at Indiana University.

48 POTTER, "From Jewish Exile in Germany to German Scholar in America: Alfred Einstein's Emigration," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold BRINKMANN and Christoph WOLFF (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 311. The article Einstein was upset about is Robert HAAS, "The Viennese Violinist, Franz Clement," *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (January 1948): 15–27.

49 EYBL, "Heinrich Schenker's Identities as a German and a Jew," under "The Self-Imposed Outsider," <http://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/54>.

encountered negative reactions from the then politically dominant Czechs: in the previously mentioned manuscript draft for the lecture about Sudeten-German musical traditions, Nettl writes that his research in Kremsier for his 1921 study of seventeenth-century dance music was cut short “after some time [...] by chauvinistic Czech priests.”⁵⁰ The fact that Nettl’s earlier publications show little interaction with the scholarship of Czechoslovak musicologists is complemented by Bruno Nettl’s statement that “he seemed to me never to associate with the Czech-speaking musicologists, although he counted Czech performers and composers among his acquaintances.”⁵¹

Nettl’s memoirs contain several passages that illustrate the distance between Prague’s Czech and German intellectual communities in the early years of the Czechoslovak Republic. One such passage appears in the discussion of Gustav Becking, in Nettl’s 1949 Indiana memoir. Becking was a German musicologist who became the director of the musicology department at Prague’s German University in 1930. A controversial figure, Becking embraced and promoted German nationalist and Nazi ideologies starting in the mid-1930s, joined the Nazi party in 1939, and became the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty at Prague’s German University in 1941, yet he still advised doctoral dissertations by Jewish students in the late 1930s and performed music by composers banned in the Reich; a Nazi document from 1944, furthermore, views Becking as untrustworthy.⁵² On May 8, 1945, Becking was executed by Czech revolutionaries. At the time of his arrival in Prague in 1930 and before the rise of the Nazis in Germany, Becking, according to Nettl, exhibited cosmopolitan and open-minded attitudes in comparison to other members of Prague’s academic circles, presumably including Nettl himself. Nettl also points out that Becking initially found it strange that professors in the same discipline at Prague’s Czech and German universities would not want to have anything to do with one another although they lived and worked in the same city:

I clearly remember, that [Becking] expressed radically leftist-socialist views, that he ridiculed the German, somewhat nationalistically inclined Professors of Prague, because they were not in the position to get along with the Czechs. It is also correct that to someone who had just arrived in Prague recently it must have seemed strange, that colleagues in the same field lived side by side and had not the slightest in common. A whole world separated the Czechs from the Germans and it seemed to me and others that Becking was the right man to bridge the differences. (See Appendix / Documents)

50 “We are living in a time,” [5]. The phrase “chauvinistic Czech priests” was later rewritten in blue ink as “chauvinistic antagonism.”

51 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 171.

52 Vlasta REITTEKEROVÁ, “Becking, Gustav Wilhelm,” in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí* (accessed August 16, 2019), http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=6945.

Nettl presents similar views about Becking in the 1962 autobiography, though there he suggests that Becking's friendly relationship with the Czechs was opportunistic from the very beginning of his Prague sojourn:

When he came to Prague, he immediately took the Czech side and pitied us, Prague Germans, because we secluded ourselves from the "state folk" ["Staatsvolk"]. Although one could understand this opportunism to some extent, it was still more than surprising, that he joined the cause of Henlein and the Sudeten-German Nazi party in such a short time. He always knew how to procure an alibi, in that he camouflaged himself as an activist in front of the Czechs and a liberal in front of the Jews.⁵³

Compared to the 1949 memoir, the 1962 statement shifts in several significant details. In 1962, for example, Nettel clearly presents himself as a member of the Prague German academic community that purposefully segregated itself from the Czechs. Unlike the 1949 document, furthermore, the 1962 memoir no longer contains a statement endorsing the need to bridge the differences between Czech and German academics in 1930s Prague. In the 1962 memoir, Nettel expresses more pointed anti-Czech sentiments, possibly because of his bitterness about the expulsion of Sudeten-Germans after WWII and his increasing estrangement from the predominantly Czech-dominated Bohemia.

Nettl's 1962 view that Becking became a supporter of the Sudeten-German Nazi party quite early, contrasts with his 1949 observation, according to which Becking joined the Nazis only after he saw that the future of Czechoslovakia would be determined by Hitler. At the same time, in both memoirs Nettel approached Becking's legacy with forgiveness and with a certain amount of selective amnesia, an attitude that became more pronounced in the later version of the autobiography. In the 1949 Indiana memoir, Nettel discusses the discrimination he suffered as a Jew at the German University in the late 1930s and surmises that "it was mainly the Nazi students of Prof. Becking who would belittle me" ("Ich habe das Empfinden, dass es hauptsächlich die Nazi-Schüler Prof. Beckings waren, die mich bei jeder Gelegenheit heruntersetzen wollten" – see Appendix / Documents). At a later point, Nettel claims that in the last period before his emigration to America, Becking's students would intimidate Nettel's students by locking and obstructing the doors to classrooms in which Nettel was teaching. Still, Nettel writes that Becking himself "kept in the background, and seems to have later, during the Protectorate, held a kind of protective

⁵³ "Aus Paul Nettel's persönlichen Erinnerungen," 13. "Als er nach Prag kam, stellte es sich sofort auf Seite der Tschechen und bemitleidete uns Prager Deutsche, weil wir uns von dem 'Staatsvolk' absonderten. Konnte man diesen Opportunismus einigermaßen verstehen, so war es mehr als überraschend, daß er sich in kürzester Zeit an die Seite Henleins und der sudetendeutschen Nazipartei stellte. Er hatte es immer verstanden, sich ein Alibi zu verschaffen, indem er sich bei den Tschechen als Aktivist und bei den Juden als Liberal tarnte."

arm over me” (“Becking selbst, von dem ich gleich sprechen werde, hielt sich im Hintergrund und scheint später, als das ‚Protectorat‘ errichtet worden war, eine Art von schützender Hand über mich gehalten zu haben“ – see Appendix / Documents). The curious juxtaposition of Becking’s rowdy and hateful students with the reserved attitude of Becking himself is missing from the 1962 memoir, where only the sentence about Becking’s protection remains.⁵⁴

Because of the increasingly anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi sentiments of large portions of the Czechoslovak Sudeten-German community, the Czechoslovak German anti-Nazis started collaborating more closely with the Czechs in the late 1930s.⁵⁵ Nettel’s scholarship from this period shows that he started to pay greater attention to the work of his Czech colleagues. Yet this interest in Czechness in fact also brought Nettel to spell out his beliefs about German cultural superiority. A particularly well-known work by Nettel from this period is his 1938 monograph *Mozart in Böhmen* (“Mozart in Bohemia”). This was an expanded reworking of an earlier book by Rudolph Freiherr von Procházka, first published in 1892. Despite his Czech name, Procházka was a German Bohemian, and his book emphasizes the contributions of German Bohemians to the success of Mozart and his music in Prague. (By the late nineteenth century, such views were heavily contested in the Czech press, and Czech critics and journalists stressed that already by the late eighteenth century Prague was a Czech city, but its inhabitants were forced to speak German.)⁵⁶ Nettel’s 1938 revision not only updates Procházka’s book by incorporating recent documentary discoveries and reflecting new scholarly approaches but also introduces a pro-Czech element into the book’s narrative. For example, Nettel acknowledges, in contrast to his earlier book *Prager Kaufmännerei*, that, although late eighteenth-century Prague had a German character (“Prag hatte zum Großteil deutschen Character”), the majority of the population was Czech (“die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung [war] tschechisch”), and that “in that time people in Prague and Bohemia pursued and cultivated both the Czech and German national consciousness simultaneously.”⁵⁷

54 “Aus Paul Nettel’s persönlichen Erinnerungen,” 13.

55 One of the most prominent cultural expressions of this collaboration was the 1936 production of Jan Nepomuk Štěpánek’s 1816 bilingual play *Čech a Němec*, depicting a reconciliation between Czechs and Germans, by an ensemble of actors from Prague’s Czech and German theaters. See Jitka LUDVOVÁ, *Až k hořkému konci: Pražské německé divadlo 1845–1945* (Prague: Academia, 2012), 511–12.

56 See Martin NEDBAL, “Mozart’s *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, Operatic Canon, and National Politics in Nineteenth-Century Prague,” *19th Century Music* 41, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 183–205.

57 Paul NETTL, *Mozart in Böhmen* (Prague: Neumann, 1938), 70–71. (“Damals [wird] in Prag und Böhmen tschechisches und deutsches nationales Bewußtsein zu gleicher Zeit vom Volk gepflegt und verlangt [...]”) Hinting at the tense political situation in his own time, Nettel also remarks with regret that such collaboration was no longer imaginable in the 1930s.

Nettl and Stamitz

Nettl expanded his ideas about Czech influence on Mozart after he emigrated to the United States. In his 1941 *Musical Quarterly* article titled “Mozart and the Czechs,” Nettl presents many eighteenth-century Bohemians associated with Mozart unequivocally as Czechs, including Mozart’s Prague friend, composer Franz Xaver Duschek, and Mozart’s first biographer Franz Xaver Niemetschek.⁵⁸ In the article, Nettl associated Czechness, as opposed to more general Bohemianness, with the Czech language, as becomes clear from his explanation that Franz Duschek “was of indubitably pure Czech origin,” because as late as 1789, at the age of fifty seven, he had “only a very imperfect mastery of the German language.”⁵⁹ In 1940, Nettl published his most extensive article on Czech music titled “The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music,” which appeared in *Music & Letters*.⁶⁰ In the article, similar to his later, contested claims in *The Story of Dance Music*, Nettl focuses on the music of Johann Wenzel Stamitz and views him as a specifically Czech, not Bohemian, composer. In the assumption that Stamitz was Czech, Nettl clashes with the views of earlier German studies, such as the one by Robert Haas published in the *Sudetendeutsche Lebensbilder* and many others from after 1938. Those studies presented Stamitz and other composers of eighteenth-century Bohemia as either Sudeten-Germans or simply as “true” Germans.⁶¹ The question of Stamitz’s nationality was hotly contested in the tense political atmosphere in Czechoslovakia of the late 1930s, particularly after the publication of a study on the composer by Peter Gradenwitz. Gradenwitz was a German-Jewish musicologist (later active at the University of Tel Aviv), who completed his dissertation on Stamitz under Becking at Prague’s German University in 1936.⁶² One of his main conclusions was that Stamitz was a German-Bohemian composer, which pleased Sudeten-German and Nazi musical circles (though they were wary of Gradenwitz’s Jewish origin), and infuriated Czech musicologists who believed that Stamitz was Czech and demonstratively spelled his name as “Stamic.” Nettl’s belief in Stamitz’s Czechness contrasts with his own earlier views. For example, in the 1933 radio program “German-Bohemian Music Masters of the Baroque” he mostly avoided the question of whether Stamitz and other Bohemian composers of the mid-eighteenth century were Czechs or Germans, referring to them as Bohemian and Austrian:

58 Paul NETTL, “Mozart and the Czechs,” *The Musical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (July 1941): 329–342.

59 NETTL, “Mozart and the Czechs,” 335.

60 NETTL, “The Czech in Eighteenth-Century Music,” *Music & Letters* 21, no. 4 (October 1940): 362–70.

61 Several such studies are discussed in Potter, 230.

62 The first volume of the dissertation was published in the same year: Peter GRADENWITZ, *Johann Stamitz: I. Das Leben* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1936).

In the eighteenth century, a musical flowering starts in Bohemia, which does not have an equal; one can even say, that [this flowering] is the origin of one specific cultural direction of the eighteenth century, namely *Sturm und Drang*, the direction that precedes classicism and to which one can ascribe the fresh pulsing liveliness of the new symphonies, [...] the special musicality of the musical style of a Stamitz, Richter, both Bendas, even if one cannot speak of a Bohemian national school, since Bohemia and Austria formed a unity in this respect. Instead, what starts to quietly stir in this music is the specifically regional [character].⁶³

In the *Music & Letters* article, Nettle addresses this nationalistic dispute in a footnote where he explains why he believes Stamitz was a Czech, not a German-Bohemian—and paradoxically uses racial criteria favored by Nazi musicologists to justify his views:

Stamitz's grandfather lived at Maribor in Yugoslavia, a town that has always been inhabited by a predominant number of Slavs and he was called Stamec—a purely Slavonic name. He migrated, however, to Pardubice in Bohemia and there married the daughter of a Czech named Kuhery. She was Johann Stamitz's grandmother. If one denies, therefore, Stamitz's Czech descent on the male side, one must at least admit it in the female line, through which, according to national-socialist theory, the stronger hereditary characteristics are transmitted. In the Deutschbrod baptismal register Stamitz's Christian names are expressly given as Jan Vaclav.⁶⁴

Nettle's support of the Czech side in his *Music & Letters* article suggests that as a fresh refugee from the recently-occupied Czechoslovakia, and in continuation of his scholarly views from final years in Prague, he to some extent embraced Czech musicological ideologies.

The stay in the United States eventually afforded Nettle with less binary views of eighteenth-century music in Bohemia and allowed him to move beyond ethnic and racial approaches. This is particularly obvious in Nettle's 1957 commemorative lecture on the occasion of the bicentennial of Johann Stamitz's death. In his earlier writings, Nettle felt the need to impose onto

63 "Deutsch-böhmische Tonmeister des Barocks," 2. "Im 18. Jahrhundert beginnt eine Musikblüte in Böhmen, die ihresgleichen nicht findet, ja man kann sagen, dass von hier aus eine bestimmte Kunstrichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts, nämlich die des Sturm und Dranges ausgeht, jene Kunstrichtung, die dem Klassizismus vorangeht und [der] das frisch pulsierende Leben der neuen Symphonie, [...] die] spezielle Musikalität [der] Kunstrichtung eines Stamitz, Richter, der beiden Benda zuzuschreiben ist, wenn man auch nicht von einer nationalen böhmischen Schule sprechen kann, da Böhmen und Oesterreich in dieser Hinsicht eine Einheit bilden. Es ist mehr das spezifisch Landschaftliche, das in dieser Kunst sich leise zu regen beginnt."

64 Paul NETTLE, "The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music," 366.

eighteenth-century composers ethnic and national identities that became significant only in the nineteenth century. Stamitz could therefore be either exclusively Czech or German, and in the 1940s Nettle decided to favor the Czech interpretation. In the 1957 essay, by contrast, Nettle writes:

People argue whether Stamitz was a German or a Czech. However, it is pointless to ponder such questions, because he was born, as so many others in this period, into the Austrian “melting pot,” in which various nations amalgamated into a uniform *Mixtum Compositum*, into an ethnic substance, which represented a unity on its own. The name “Stamitz” is seemingly of Yugoslav origin, since the name of the musician’s grandfather, who lived in Maribor, Yugoslavia, was Martin Stamec. He emigrated to Pardubitz in Bohemia and there he married Elisabeth Kuhey or instead of oder Kuley, a townsman’s daughter. Their son was Anton Stamitz, the composer’s father, who married Rosine, the daughter of Wilhelm Boehm von Lajsbach, a town councilor in Deutschbrod and a former citizen of Prague. I have emphasized specifically a racial analysis, because I wanted to show, how unreasonable it is to label Stamitz the musician as Czech or German.⁶⁵

To some extent, Nettle here returns to his ideas from the early 1930s, when he also viewed Stamitz as basically Austrian. At the same time, the term “Austrian” seems to be no longer imbued with associations of Germanness for Nettle, and becomes a more general geographical category. He also acknowledges that music history became a source of ethnic conflicts between Czechs and Germans and wants to move beyond it. Central European music historians, by contrast, continued to argue about the nationality of eighteenth-century composers for decades to come. For example, in 1964, Czech musicologist Bohumír Štědroň published an article in which he aimed at proving beyond any doubt that Stamitz was of Czech origin and persuasion.⁶⁶

65 Indiana University, Cook Music Library Special Collections, Paul Nettle Collection, “Zum 200. Todestag am 27. März; Johann Stamitz: ‘Shakespeare der Musik’; von Paul Nettle.”
2. Man streitet darüber, ob [Stamitz] ein Deutscher oder ein Czeche war. Es scheint indes ganz unnötig, sich darüber den Kopf zu zerbrechen, den er stammte, wie so viele andere aus dieser Epoche, aus dem österreichischen “melting pot,” in dem die verschiedensten Völker zu einem einheitlichen österreichischen *Mixtum Compositum* amalgamiert wurden. zu einem ethnischen Gebilde, das eben eine Einheit für sich wurde. Der Name Stamitz ist scheinbar jugoslawischer Herkunft, da des Musikers Grossvater, der in Maribor, Jugoslawien, lebte, Martin Stamec hiess. Er wanderte nach Pardubitz in Böhmen aus und heiratete dort die Bürgertochter Elisabeth Kuhey oder Kuley. Ihr Sohn war Anton Stamitz, der Vater des Komponisten, der mit Rosine, der Tochter des Deutschbroder Stadtrates Wilhelm Boehm von Lajsbach, eines früheren Prager Bürgers verheiratet war. Offenbar war jene Rosine Boehm deutscher Abstammung. Ich habe hier besonders Gewicht auf die rassistische Analyse gelegt, weil ich zeigen wollte, wie wenig berechtigt es ist, den Musiker Stamitz als deutsch oder czechisch zu bezeichnen.

66 Bohumír ŠTĚDRŮŇ, “Zur Nationalität von Jan Václav Stamic,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1964): 16–28.

Nettl also argues that Stamitz's music was influenced by the rhythms of Czech folk music and the accents of the Czech language, and that his folk-inspired idiom should be considered one of the main sources of the Classical style – thus suggesting that the new musical idiom appearing in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century had a prominent Slavic source. Similar ideas had appeared in Nettl's 1938 discussion of Mozart's music, where he claims that there is a close correlation between Mozart's melodies and Czech folk songs.⁶⁷ The attention Nettl pays in the late 1930s and 1940s to Czech elements associated with Mozart's experiences in Bohemia contrasts with the majority of Nettl's earlier scholarly works, including his works on Mozart, in which he focused exclusively on the German culture of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus, it seems that Nettl's interest in Czechness crystalized only in the later 1930s and 1940s and should therefore be understood as a reaction to the political situation of the period. In his 1940 *Music & Letters* article, Nettl suggests that his ideas respond to the "recent attempts on the part of National Socialist groups to minimize the importance of the Czechs in the musical history of the eighteenth century or indeed to deny it altogether."⁶⁸

Even in the 1940s, however, Nettl upheld Sudeten-German political perspectives, as the following passage from the *Music & Letters* article makes clear:

Even today most Germans would undoubtedly declare, if they were free to do so and nationalist propaganda had not poisoned mankind, that they would prefer to live on friendly terms with the Czechs; and it was probably a great mistake on the part of Masaryk to give a national rather than a territorial name to the new state created at the end of the last war.⁶⁹

In the final paragraph of the article, Nettl includes a sentence which suggests that he viewed the Czechs as opposed to the Germans as the Central European aggressors: "The Czechs, never anxious to squeeze into the Germans' so-called *Lebensraum*, were always a defiant people."⁷⁰

It was precisely in the Czech-centered publications, moreover, that Nettl most explicitly articulates ideas about the supremacy of German culture. In the 1941 *Musical Quarterly* article, for example, Nettl claims that in the eighteenth century the real Czechs were those of the peasant class, although later he discusses many urban Prague artists and intellectuals, such as Duscek

67 Nettl also suggests that some of Mozart's wordplays on names in his famous letter to Gottfried von Jaquin from Prague from January 15, 1787, might be related to his encounters with the Czech language.

68 NETTL, "The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music," 362.

69 NETTL, "The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music," 362.

70 NETTL, "The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music," 370.

and Niemetschek, and refers to them as Czechs. Furthermore, although Nettl claims that Mozart's music influenced many later Czech composers, he does not discuss how earlier composers whom he considers Czech may have influenced Mozart. Instead, he only talks about the influence of Czech folk music on Mozart's melodies. The reasoning behind the emphasis on eighteenth-century Czech folk music is clarified in the 1940 *Music & Letters* article, where Nettl makes the following distinction between German musical culture and most other cultures of Central and Eastern Europe: "The Czechs, like the rest of the Slavonic peoples of Europe, and also the Hungarians, Rumanians [...], have a peripheral musical culture. Occupying districts on the outskirts of central European culture, they have a musical life much richer in folk art than the Germans, Italian and French, whose cultivated art is much older."⁷¹ For Nettl, therefore, eighteenth-century Czech culture was a folk-like foil to high-art German culture. Bruno Nettl points out that such beliefs were part of his upbringing: "I myself got the feeling that German culture and language went with the great art music, while the Czech counterparts were particularly rich in folk songs, and also that Czech art music was often derived from the folk."⁷²

Paul Nettl's articles from the 1930s and 1940s operate with a German-Bohemian version of what in nineteenth-century Austria was associated with German liberal nationalism, an attitude similar to what Richard Taruskin has termed "colonialist nationalism."⁷³ Taruskin explains that German critics and composers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries deemed some national musical cultures, most prominently the German one, as highly sophisticated, humanizing, and universal, and others as interesting, folk-like, but ultimately merely national, inferior, and therefore dependent on support from the dominant cultural tradition. As Vít Zdrálek has pointed out, moreover, the reason why German scholars of the early twentieth century were much more interested in Slavic and South-Eastern European studies possibly had to do with the fact that Germany fell behind other nineteenth-century powers in acquiring non-European colonies and therefore used Eastern Europe to project its own "orientalist" ideologies and as a region of a cultural and later actual expansion.⁷⁴ Potter has provided several examples of how musicologists contributed "to a conceptualization of the East as a German musical and cultural terrain."⁷⁵ Many of Nettl's articles resonate with this type of nationalist ideology. Nettl, for example, often expresses interest in Smetana and Dvořák, but mainly

71 NETTL, "The Czechs in Eighteenth-Century Music," 364.

72 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 171.

73 Richard TARUSKIN, "Nationalism," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed August 19, 2019, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.www2.lib.ku.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846>.

74 Vít ZDRÁLEK, "Ne-politika hudebního výzkumu: historické kontexty jedné fonografické sbírky etnografických nahrávek," in *Mosty a propasti*, 315.

75 POTTER, *The Most German of Arts*, 153.

because they incorporate elements of folklore into their music. Although he often admits and welcomes that German culture was influenced by Slavic cultures, he also always adds that these Slavic cultures, and specifically Czech culture, were not just influenced but existentially tied to the German culture. One concise statement of this principle appears in Nettl's English lecture on Sudeten-German music, where he admits that "German culture couldn't receive its true shape without the Slavic contribution," and that "Czech culture is impossible without the German one."⁷⁶ Bruno Nettl often suggests that his father was fascinated with the multicultural character of pre-WWII Bohemia, and that he never returned to Prague in his later years although he often visited Western Europe because "he couldn't stand the change of Prague from a lively multicultural Mecca to being simply a Czech city dominated by a cold communist government."⁷⁷ This appreciation for Bohemian multiculturalism, however, was tied to a strong persuasion that Czech culture was inherently inferior to the German culture.

Nettl and Ježek

One wonders whether Nettl's somewhat condescending views of Czech music, which were not unusual in early twentieth-century German musicology, might be linked to the negative attitude with which several post-WWII Czech writers approached Paul Nettl's legacy. In a 1982 study about Czech jazz pianist and composer Jaroslav Ježek, who emigrated to New York in 1939, Czech musicologist and pianist Václav Holtzknecht accused "a German musicologist, an emigrant from Prague" of preventing the performance of a sonata by Ježek at the 1941 International Society for Contemporary Music Festival in New York and replacing it with a work by "one of his German protégés."⁷⁸ This "musicologist" and "emigrant" must have been Paul Nettl, whose wife Gertrud Hutter-Nettl performed a work by the German-Jewish-Bohemian composer Viktor Ullmann at the 1941 ISCM Festival.⁷⁹ The posthumous 2006 memoir of Czech diplomat and writer Miloš Šafránek, who passed away already in 1982, contains an even stronger accusation against Paul Nettl, according to which Nettl went to see the director of the ISCM Festival, Roger Sessions, at Princeton and persuaded him to replace an "outstanding composition [by Ježek] with a banal piano sonata by the Ostrava German Viktor Ulmann [sic]. Mr. Nettl also managed to have [the famous Czech

76 "We are living in a time," [2].

77 Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 143.

78 Holtzknecht cited and translated in Michael BECKERMAN, "The Dark Blue Exile of Jaroslav Ježek," *Music and Politics* 2, no. 2 (Summer 2008), <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0002.201> (accessed November 27, 2019). The passage first appeared in Václav HOLZKNECHT, *Jaroslav Ježek* (Prague: Horizont, 1982), 171.

79 NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 8.

piano virtuoso] Rudolf Firkušný replaced with a German pianist, who was Nettl's wife."⁸⁰ Bruno Nettl points out, however, that it is unclear whether Paul Nettl's attempts to get Ullmann's work on the program in fact caused Ježek's piece to be dropped and that Paul Nettl's help to his wife and his friend Ullmann was in no way "done because Ježek was an ethnically Czech Bohemian, and Ullmann, a German-speaking Bohemian."⁸¹ For Michael Beckerman, this episode illustrates the complex moral issues involved in cultural politics of emigrant communities in wartime America, because in it, Ježek, "a blind and poor Czech jazz pianist, trying desperately to be noticed in the world of New York high culture, and soon to be dead of kidney failure," was pitted against Ullmann, "a German-speaking Czech anthropologist of Jewish ancestry several months away from a journey to Terezin [*sic*] and a final trip to Auschwitz."⁸² Beyond the multiplicity of opposing moralistic judgements they elicited, the disparate versions of the story of Nettl's involvement with the 1941 ISCM Festival show that various national groups of emigrants from pre-WWII Czechoslovakia in New York viewed one another with distrust. Nettl's published views of Czech musical culture as peripheral and of the Czech people as defiant and constantly encroaching on the German *Lebensraum* reflected and probably also fed into this distrust.

Nettl and Brod

The alienation from Czech culture that Nettl sought to project in some of his written works should certainly not be viewed as a general condition of pre-WWII German Bohemians. As I have shown, Nettl's attitudes toward Czechness constantly evolved and were often expressed in reaction to specific social, political, and cultural circumstances. A parallel yet contrasting set of ideas about Czech culture from a Bohemian German perspective can be found in the works of Max Brod, another Jewish, German-speaking emigrant from Czechoslovakia, and Nettl's friend and supporter (see Appendix / Documents). In a statement from 1918, Brod expressed a sense of alienation from Czechness, though in much more ambiguous terms than Nettl's categorical anti-Czech statements from the following decades:

I don't feel as a member of the German nation, yet I am a friend of Germanness and, apart from that, I am culturally related to Germanness through

⁸⁰ Miloš ŠAFRÁNEK, *Setkání po padesáti letech* (Prague: Horst, 2006), 227. The statement is part of a chapter titled "Pan-Germanic Musicology," in which Šafránek accuses German-writing musicologists active in pre-WWII Czechoslovakia, especially Nettl and Gradenwitz (misspelled as Grandewicz), of diminishing the importance of Czech composers in the cultural history of Bohemia. See also, Jaroslav MIHULE, "Případ Sonáty pro klavír od Jaroslava Ježka 2," *Harmonie* 2009, no. 9 (September 11, 2009), 36.

⁸¹ NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 11.

⁸² BECKERMAN (accessed November 27, 2019).

language and upbringing, through many of what sociologists [...] call “traditional values” as opposed to “generational values” (inherited values).

I am a friend of Czechness but [I am] in essence culturally alienated from Czechness.⁸³

Whereas Nettl often categorically distances himself from Czechness and continues to espouse a German cultural identity even after WWII, Brod in 1918 already comments on a fascinating mixture of identification with and alienation from both Germanness and Czechness.

Similar to Nettl, Brod’s attachment to Bohemia oscillated between rejection and fascination. This can be seen in the post-WWII correspondence between Nettl and Brod, then settled in Tel Aviv after escaping Prague in 1939. Parts of the correspondence are preserved in Nettl’s Indiana estate and point to Brod’s fluid attitudes toward his former homeland. Brod opens his earliest preserved letter to Nettl, from February 22, 1951, by expressing alienation from Bohemia:

I was very pleased with your letter, especially because I have just read your excellent book about Casanova. Mozart, Bertramka, Prague – all of that was woken up in me. But without any trace of “homesickness”; I regard the whole period as finished and I have so much to do here (even in musical matters), that little time remains for retrospection.⁸⁴

The feelings of 1951, nevertheless, did not stop Brod from returning to Bohemian and Czech topics in his works in the following decades, such as in his 1962 biographical novel about Karel Sabina, the librettist of Smetana’s *The Bartered Bride*. The novel attempts to rehabilitate Sabina’s reputation, which was destroyed in the 1870s when it became known that he was a confidant of the Austrian secret police. Pursuing a clear streak of fascination with nineteenth-century Czech culture and politics, Brod’s novel suggests that Sabina collaborated with the secret police half-heartedly and never provided any important information; the collaboration was therefore a ruse, similar to that in *The Bartered Bride*, where Jeník pretends to sell Mařenka to Kecal so that she has to

83 Max BROD, “Ein menschlich-politisches Bekenntnis: Juden, Deutsche, Tschechen,” *Die neue Rundschau* 2 (1918): 1581. “Ich fühle mich nicht als Angehöriger des deutschen Volkes, doch bin ich ein Freund des Deutschtums und außerdem durch Sprache und Erziehung, durch vieles von dem, was die Soziologie [...] ‘Traditionswerte’ im Gegensatz zu ‘Generationswerten’ (Erbwerten) nennt, dem Deutschtum kulturwervandt.

Ich bin ein Freund des Tschechentums und im Wesentlichen [...] dem Tschechentum kulturfremd.”

84 Indiana University, Cook Music Library Special Collections, Paul Nettl Collection, “22. II. 1951,” [1]. “Ich habe mich sehr über Ihren Brief gefreut, umso mehr als ich gerade Ihr vorzügliches Casanova-Buch ausgelesen hatte. Mozart, die Bertramka, Prag – all das würde wach in mir. Übrigens ohne jede Spur von ‘Heimweh,’ ich betrachte diese ganze Epoche als abgeschlossen und habe hier so viel zu tun (auch musikalisch), daß für Retrospektive wenig Zeit bleibt.”

marry Vašek, but the barter in fact fits into his larger plan to marry Mařenka himself. Nettel was fascinated by Brod's novel as he shows in a 1963 review for the *Aufbau* magazine.⁸⁵ In a letter from February 16, 1963, Brod thanked Nettel for the review, and added details about the latest Sabina research in Prague:

Just now, I am reading your nice critique about my Sabina in the *Aufbau*. I thank you very much for your analysis, particularly because you approach the substance of my work and explain the core so clearly. Not every reviewer was as successful! One no doubt needs your special perspective, which was trained throughout your career by working on research projects of a similar nature. [...] It will be of interest to you, that precisely these days I have received an extensive letter from Prague, in which a researcher, who presents himself as an admirer of Sabina, sends transcripts of court records [...]. These show that my "vision" did not miss the mark.⁸⁶

Despite various public and private pronouncements about their alienation from Czech culture, both Nettel and Brod were also continually drawn to it. Nettel's investment in his German-Bohemian friend's book about a nineteenth-century Czech librettist once again points to the multifaceted nature of his relationship to Czechness.

Conclusion

As Bruno Nettel has pointed out, encyclopedia entries refer to the ethnic (and national, and linguistic, and cultural) background of his father in a wide variety of ways, but mostly avoid discussing Paul Nettel's Germanness:

In many music dictionaries in which there is a Paul Nettel entry, he is identified as just "musicologist," or "American musicologist," but more frequently, "American musicologist of Czech background" or "Czech birth," sometimes "Czechoslovakian birth," and sometimes "Bohemian birth." Interestingly, the word "German" never does appear, and he is not often identified as Austrian.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Paul NETTL, "Karel Sabina – Verräter oder Nicht? Max Brods 'Die verkaufte Braut' (Bechtle Verlag, Esslingen)," *Aufbau* 29, no. 6 (February 6, 1963), 28.

⁸⁶ Indiana University, Lilly Library, Paul Nettel Collection, "16. 2. 1963," [1]. "Ich lese soeben in 'Aufbau' Ihre schöne Kritik über meinen Sabina. Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für Ihre Analyse, vor allem auch dafür, daß Sie auf das Wesentliche meiner Arbeit gehen und gerade den Kern so klar herausarbeiten. Nicht jedem meiner Rezensenten ist das gelungen! Es gehört wohl ein besonderer Blick dazu, der, wie der Ihrige, sich ein Leben lang an Forschungen ähnlicher Art geschult hat. [...] Es wird Sie interessieren, daß ich gerade in diesen Tagen einen ausführlichen Brief aus Prag erhalten habe, in dem ein Forscher, der sich als Verehrer Sabinas vorstellt, mir Abschriften von Gerichtsprotokollen [...] sendet. Aus ihnen geht hervor, daß ich mit meiner 'Vision' nicht fehlgestossen habe."

⁸⁷ Bruno NETTL, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist*, 162.

Most of these designations are more or less related to one or several aspects of the multicultural background in which Paul Nettl lived and worked. As far as referencing Nettl's geographical background, one needs to acknowledge that Nettl was born, raised, and spent a significant part of his career in Bohemia, and that Bohemia with its ethnic, national, linguistic, cultural, and religious divisions to a large extent informed his scholarly work; in his most recent article about his father, Bruno Nettl himself settles on calling Paul Nettl a "Bohemian musicologist."⁸⁸ At the same time, Paul Nettl's commitment to Bohemian, and often also more widely Central European, multiculturalism was tied to and seemed compatible with a troubled relationship to Czechness and to the ideology of German cultural superiority. Thus, the term "Czech" as a reference to the ethnic, national, linguistic, and cultural characteristics of the majority Slavic population of Bohemia does not correspond with how Paul Nettl represented himself in his works. The word "German," by contrast, should play a prominent role in definitions of Paul Nettl's identity. It is Nettl's Germanness that connects various scholarly and cultural activities he pursued in disparate parts of the world, including those in 1940s America as a Jewish refugee from the Nazis. (One cannot help noticing that Nettl's Jewish background—crucial for his life history—goes unmentioned in his son Bruno's remarks just quoted.) Paul Nettl's ideological commitment to Germanness in fact illustrates the enduring power of German cultural nationalism even in the seemingly most unexpected times and locations. As many commentators have pointed out before, Germanness was particularly attractive to national and ethnic outsiders, especially those with a Jewish background. Paul Nettl's devotion to Germanness is therefore understandable particularly in connection to his position as an outsider in many different periods of his life. Facing difficulties as a German within the Czech majority of Bohemia, a Jew in the Bohemian German community, and a Central European immigrant in America, to name a few instances of alienation, Paul Nettl committed to a belief in the universalism and superiority of German culture, and it was this ideal that helped him find direction and guidance.

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An Unpublished Memoir by Paul Nettel

Preface by Martin Nedbal

Paul Nettel must have written this essay in 1949, because in it he writes that he has been in America for nearly ten years; considering that he had arrived in the fall 1939, the autobiography might have been written in the summer of 1949. Nettel also mentions that his mother-in-law is living with his family in Bloomington, IN; Clara Hutter lived there with the Nettls until her death in 1949. The essay is more substantial than the essay published in Thomas Atcherson's 1962 book *Ein Musikwissenschaftler in zwei Welten*, though both of them provide similar basic information. At times, however, subtle shifts in perspective are noticeable between the two essays, such as in relation to Gustav Becking (see my article).

The typewritten essay was originally 30 pages long. Additional pages were inserted into the document at a later point; I include these additional pages into the main document. The inserted material is in square brackets and in bold. I have kept Nettel's paragraph breakdown and text divisions. In my edition of the German original, I also kept Nettel's punctuation although it often breaks the rules of German punctuation. Nettel refers to many locations in the present-day Czech Republic by their German names, which are rarely used nowadays. As a result, I provide the current Czech names of those locations in square brackets whenever those locations are mentioned first. All of the footnotes are mine.

Paul Nettel's biography is not only an important historical document, which sheds light on the history of the no-longer existent German-Bohemian community, on the developments of Central European musicology in the early twentieth century, and on the interactions between European and American musicology during and after WWII, but also a gripping story, particularly in its description of Paul Nettel's suspenseful attempts to escape Czechoslovakia and later the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939.

Preface by Bruno Nettel

I am happy that Dr. Nedbal did some digging in the Indiana University archives and made me aware of this manuscript of memoirs of my father. I don't think I ever knew about it, and while there is not much in it that was not, at least in a general way, known to me, it clarifies many details from his earlier life, particularly the period between 1930 and 1939, and also provides insight into attitudes that he had at this time. Some of these (in particular his feelings about Germany and Germans) had changed by the time he published his 1962 memoir. I have looked at my records and believe there are only a couple of factual errors. Importantly, Paul Nettel met his future wife, Gertrud Hutter, in 1928, not 1929, and I was born in 1930, not – as implied – in 1931. Also, I believe we departed from Prague, to emigrate, on September 21, 1939, not a day later.

I am very glad to have access to this memoir, because a good many events, as they were related later over the years, changed in detail and in significance, as must be expected in oral transmission.

One may wish to ask why Paul Nettel chose this moment – 1948 – to write about his life. I believe that he felt that he had finally established himself in a position appropriate to his qualifications, after a career dominated by uncertainty – his treatment at the German university of Prague, and his long period of virtual unemployment for some nine years in USA. The satisfaction with which he states his appointment to a professorship with tenure at Indiana University suggests that this was the time to give an account.

I must say that I am surprised to see how little this manuscript tells about Paul Nettel's immediate family, particularly my mother's work. In explaining his livelihood in the first seven years in the USA, I think he understates the degree to which the family was supported by my mother's activities as a piano teacher, part-time at Westminster Choir College, and privately in Princeton NJ. I remember her spending some 40 hours per week giving lessons (she taught a large number of my school friends), and I think my father may be overstating slightly the degree to which his earnings were close to sufficient to help provide the needed support. But already in Prague (1930–1938), my mother spent many hours per week giving private piano lessons. I was raised mainly by my maternal grandmother, who lived with us, and a succession of nannies. I was a bit surprised to have been described as “sickly,” but I now feel that in my earliest years I was rather overprotected.

I was interested in my father's account of his own prowess as a performer on violin and piano; by the time I was aware of things, he had stopped practicing, but he was well able to play some four-hand piano music with my mother and to play illustrations for his music history lectures on the piano. By the time we came to USA, he had stopped playing the violin.

Two more brief items: The relationship to Gustav Becking. My father had a kind if ambivalent relationship with him and with his legacy. The fact was that Becking got the job in Prague that my father should have had, and he

was eventually very active as a supporter of Konrad Henlein, but my father thought that he was something of a genius – he was impressed by the “Becking curves” that are described in his book (*Der musikalische Rhythmus als Erkenntnisquelle*, 1928. NB. He has the title wrong), and also believed, I imagine with good reason, that Becking intervened with the Gestapo, in August-September 1939, to permit my family to exit the country even though Paul Nettl was the subject of Gestapo investigation. I myself remember Becking coming to our house off and on when I was perhaps 6 or 7, and looking, with my father, at manuscripts and scores.

And then there are the remarks about differences in personal relationships in old Austria-Hungary and 1940s USA. I do remember my father speaking frequently about these differences in social relationships, but wonder whether there is any objectivity in his viewpoint. It’s important to realize that he came to USA at age 50, too old to develop close friendships – so he thought. I do remember that our Prague friends (individuals, not couples) and maybe relatives would drop by in the late afternoon and chat for fifteen minutes, the kind of thing not common here now. And that one would stop in a café and find friends there, have a cup and move on. It may be, though, that my father’s nostalgic feelings for the past resulted from the disruption of his social life through emigration. But also, some anthropological research on styles of social relationships in different European and Euro-American cultures, also among social classes, might shed light on this.

Paul Nettel, geboren am 10. Januar 1889 in Hohenelbe in Böhmen.

Vater Karl Nettel aus Grossbock in Böhmen stammend.

Mutter Jenny Nettel, czechischer Abkunft, geborene Beckova aus Horice in Böhmen. Ihr Vater hatte eine Landwirtschaft, während die Eltern des Vaters von Paul Nettel kleine Kaufleute waren.

Vater Nettel stammte aus einer kinderreichen Familie. Er und seine Brüder waren anfänglich im Papierhandel tätig und gründeten später Papierfabriken, so dass der Name Nettel noch heute stets im Zusammenhang mit der Papierindustrie genannt wird. Vor dem Hitler-Umsturz waren acht Papierfabriken in der Czechoslowakei in den Händen der Familie Nettel.

In der Depressionszeit 1931 und 1932 wurde die Firma "Brüder Nettel", deren Inhaber Karl Nettel war, liquidiert und die Firma "Nettl & Co.", der ursprünglich auch Paul Nettel als stiller Teilhaber angehörte, ging in den Besitz seines Bruders Anton Nettel über. Die Eltern Paul Nettel's übersiedelten damals nach Prag, wo sie bis 1941 lebten, und dann nach Theresienstadt deportiert wurden.

Ich hatte drei Geschwister: zwei Schwestern und einen Bruder. Der Letztere, Anton Nettel, ging nach der Hitler-Invasion nach Australien, wo er eine Papierfabrik gründete. Meine jüngere Schwester Martha, verehelichte Neumann, starb 1941 in Prag, während meine Schwester Margarete Neufeld, die Ältere unter den Beiden und Witwe nach dem Wiener Advokaten Dr. Otto Neufeld, mit ihrem Sohne Otto in Palestina lebt.

Ich war der Älteste unter meinen Geschwistern. Schon frühzeitig machte sich meine musikalische Begabung bemerkbar, die hauptsächlich durch eine Erzieherin (Hanna Koechlin), die aus Elsass stammte und mit dem französischen Komponisten Charles Koechlin verwandt war, gefördert wurde. Frl. Koechlin war eine ausgezeichnete Pianistin und ihr verdanke ich auch die ersten massgebenden musikalischen Eindrücke. Violine und Klavier wurden gleichmässig gepflegt. Mit 11 und 12 Jahren spielte ich schon vierhändig mit Frl. Koechlin einfachere Symphonien und fiedelte auf meiner kleinen Geige Sonaten von Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven. Ich schreckte nicht einmal vor Mendelssohn's und Beethoven's Violinkonzerten zurück!

Die musikalischen Interessen wurden aber jäh unterbrochen, als ich 1901 ins Gymnasium nach Reichenberg, und ein Jahr später nach Arnau gebracht wurde. Besonders in Arnau war wenig Verständnis für Alles, was nicht zum Lehrplan des Gymnasiums gehörte zu finden. So musste man sich nolens volens sehr auf Latein und Griechische konzentrieren. Sehr bald erwachte mein Interesse für deutsche Literatur. Prof. Karl Wittmann war ein anregender Germanist, der die Studenten nicht nur mit Lessing, Schiller und Goethe, sondern auch mit Novalis, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Wackenroder und mit der modernen Literatur bekannt machte. Musikalische Interessen stellten sich erst wieder

Paul Nettel, born on January 10, 1889 in Hohenelbe [Vrchlabí], Bohemia.

Father Karl Nettel, from Grossbock [Velká Bukovina] in Bohemia.

Mother Jenny Nettel, Czech origin, born Beckova, from Horice [Hořice] in Bohemia. Her father owned a farm, whereas the parents of Paul Nettel's father were small merchants.

Father Nettel came from a family with many children. He and his brothers were originally active in the paper business and later founded paper mills, and the name Nettel is even today still mentioned in connection with the paper industry. Before Hitler's coup, the Nettel family owned eight paper mills in Czechoslovakia.

During the depression period, in 1931 and 1932, Karl Nettel liquidated the firm "Nettel Brothers," and his brother Anton Nettel took over the firm "Nettel & Co.," in which Paul Nettel was also a partner. Paul Nettel's parents then moved to Prague, where they lived until 1941, and then they were deported to Theresienstadt [Terezín].

I had three siblings: two sisters and one brother. The latter, Anton Nettel, went to Australia after the Hitler invasion, where he founded a paper mill. My younger sister Martha, married Neumann, died in Prague in 1941, whereas my sister Margarete Neufeld, who was the elder of the two and a widow after Viennese attorney Dr. Otto Neufeld, lives in Palestine with her son Otto.

I was the oldest among my siblings. At an early age I exhibited musical talent, which was encouraged by my governess (Hanna Koechlin), who came from Elsass and was related to the French composer Charles Koechlin [1867-1950]. Miss Koechlin was an excellent pianist, and I am indebted to her for my first substantial musical impressions. We practiced violin and piano in equal measure. At the ages of 11 and 12, I was already playing simpler symphonies with Miss Koechlin four-hands and fiddled sonatas by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven with my small violin. I was not even afraid of Mendelssohn's and Beethoven's violin concertos!

These musical activities were abruptly interrupted when I was brought to the Gymnasium in Reichenberg [Liberec] in 1901, and [switched] to [the one] in Arnau [Hostinné] a year later. Particularly in Arnau, it was difficult to find understanding for anything that did not belong to the study plan at the Gymnasium. Students had to concentrate on Latin and Greek whether they liked it or not. Very soon I developed an interest in German literature. Prof. Karl Wittmann was a stimulating Germanist, who familiarized the students not only with Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, but also with Novalis, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Wackenroder, and modern literature. Musical interests set in once again

ein, als ich 16 Jahre alt wurde. Damals war ich Autodidakt und machte mich als solcher selbst mit der klassischen Klavierliteratur bekannt.

Jedes Jahr wurde zum Schluss des Schuljahres ein Konzert des Gymnasiums gegeben, und einmal spielte ich dort das Rondo Capriccioso von Mendelssohn—natürlich auswendig—und hatte einen gewaltigen Erfolg.

Nach der Matura, 1908, ging ich nach Prag, um dort auf Wunsch meines Vaters Jus zu studieren. Ich war kein allzu eifriger Besucher der juridischen Vorlesungen, hingegen ein ständiger Hörer der Musikwissenschaftlichen von Prof. Heinrich Rietsch, der bald auf mich aufmerksam wurde. Als der damalige Assistent des musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars, Dr. Erich Steinhardt, zum Studium nach Berlin ging, wurde ich, ein zwanzigjähriger Student, sein Nachfolger und habe dieses Amt, welches später meine Stellung zu der eines „habilitierten Assistenten“ des dann entwickelten musikwissenschaftlichen Institutes ausgebaut wurde, bis zum Jahre 1931 innegehabt.

1913 promovierte ich zum Doktor der Rechte an der deutschen Universität von Prag und wurde im darauffolgenden Jahr Gerichtspraktikant beim Straf- und Zivilgericht in Prag und beim Bezirksgericht in Hohenelbe, sowie später Advokaturkonzipient in Wien. Meine Freude an dieser Tätigkeit war eine sehr limitierte. Mein Hauptinteresse galt der Musik und Musikwissenschaft und so kam es, dass ich bereits 1915 bei Rietsch in Prag mit einer Dissertation über die Arienform das philosophische Doktorat machte. Neben Musikwissenschaften hatte ich als Nebengegenstand romanische Sprachen und Literatur (Prof. Freymot) und Paläographie (Prof. Steinherz). Im philosophischen Rigorosum wurde ich von den Professoren Christian Ehrenfels, den ich sehr verehrte, und Oskar Kraus, mit dem mich später eine intime Freundschaft verband, geprüft. Einen Tag nach meiner Promotion zum Doktor der Philosophie (Juni 1915) rückte ich zur Traintruppe nach Trautenau ein, wo ich zur kriegsdienstlichen Ausbildung fast ein Jahr blieb. 1916 ging ich an die süditalienische Front und diente als Fähnrich und Leutnant beim 10. Armeekommando an der Kärntner und Tiroler Front. Als der Waffenstillstand mit Italien im Oktober 1918 abgeschlossen wurde, wandte ich mich nach Wien, und später nach Prag.

Prof. Rietsch schlug mit sehr eindringlich die Habilitation zum Privatdozenten für Musikwissenschaft an der deutschen Universität in Prag vor. Um meine Habilitationsarbeit fertig zu stellen, entschloss ich mich also, nach Wien zu gehen, wo ich an der Hofbibliothek, in den österreichischen Staatsarchiven, in den Klöstern und Schlössern Kremsier, Osseg und Raudnitz arbeitete. Resultat dieser Forschungen in Niederösterreich und Böhmen, welche ich mit dem allergrössten Eifer betrieb, war die umfangreiche Monographie, die in kleinstem Minuskeldruck in den „Studien zur Musikwissenschaft“ (herausgegeben von Guido Adler) in 200 klein geschriebenen Seiten erschien. Der Titel jener Arbeit war: „Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts.“ Sie wurde von der musikwissenschaftlichen

when I was 16. I was an autodidact then, and as such, familiarized myself with classical literature for the piano.

Annually at the end of the academic year, the Gymnasium organized a concert, and there I once performed Mendelssohn's Rondo Capriccioso—naturally from memory—and it was a great success.

After the *Matura*, 1908, I went to Prague, where I was to study law at my father's request. I did not attend the law lectures all too eagerly; instead I became a regular attendant of the musicological ones by Prof. Heinrich Rietsch [1860–1927], who soon noticed my interest. When the assistant of the musicological seminar, Dr. Erich Steinhardt [1886–1941], went to study in Berlin, I, at the age of twenty-two, became his successor and held this appointment, which was later converted to the position of a “habilitated assistant” at the then-established musicological institute, until 1931.

In 1913, I graduated with a degree of Doctor of Law degree at the German University in Prague, and in the following year, I became a court trainee at the criminal and civilian court in Prague and at the district court in Hohenelbe, and later also a junior attorney in Vienna. I did not derive much joy from these activities. My main interest was in music and musicology, and thus already in 1915, I completed a doctorate in philosophy with a dissertation about aria forms under Rietsch in Prague. In addition to musicology, I minored in romance languages and literature (Prof. [Emile] Freymon[d] [1855–1918]) and paleography (Prof. [Samuel] Steinherz [1857–1942]). In the philosophical oral exam, I was examined by Professors Christian [von] Ehrenfels [1859–1932], whom I idolized, and Oskar Kraus [1872–1942], with whom I later had a close friendship. One day after my graduation as a Doctor of Philosophy (June 1915), I reported for duty to the training troupe in Trautenau [Trutnov], where I spent nearly a year in military training. In 1916, I went to the Southern, Italian, front and served as a cadet and lieutenant with the tenth army commando on the Carinthian and Tyrolean front. When the armistice was proclaimed in October 1918, I returned to Vienna, and later to Prague.

Prof. Rietsch urged me to pursue a habilitation as a *Privatdozent* in musicology at the German University in Prague. In order to complete my habilitation I decided to go to Vienna, where I worked in the court library, in the Austrian state archives, as well as in the abbeys and castles in Kremsier [Kroměříž], Osseg [Osek], and Raudnitz [Roudnice]. This research in Lower Austria and Bohemia, which I pursued with the greatest diligence, resulted in an extensive monograph, which appeared in the *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* (edited by Guido Adler [1855–1941]) in 200 pages printed in a small font.¹ The title of the work was: “The Viennese Dance Composition in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century.” Musicological critics, especially Alfred

1 Paul NETTL, “Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1921): 45–175.

Kritik, besonders von Alfred Einstein und Joh. Wolf als grundlegendes Werk für die Geschichte der Suite bezeichnet. Hier wurden die Wurzeln der Wiener Tanzkomposition im Zeitalter des Barocks blossgelegt, vor Allem die Wichtigkeit der Komponisten Joh. Heinr. Schmelzer und zahlreicher Anderen, die man kaum dem Namen nach gekannt hatte. Aus Archiven und Briefen, die ich fand, wurde mir das Leben jener Meister bekannt. Vor Allem beschäftigte ich mich mit der Geschichte der Entstehung des Walzers, den man bisher als eine Tanzform des 18. Jahrhunderts angesehen hatte. Ich stellte fest, dass der erste Walzer um etwa 100 Jahre vorher geschrieben worden ist.

Ich gab auch einen Band der Wiener Tanzmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in den „Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich“ heraus, gleichfalls eine Sammlung, die von Guido Adler redigiert und geleitet wurde.

1920 und 1922 herrschte ein grosser Antagonismus unter den Musikgelehrten der Wiener Universität. Guido Adler, der ausserordentlich erfolgreiche und in seinem Fleiss, wie in seinen Kenntnissen überall bewunderte jüdische Musikforscher, welcher gemeinsam mit Spitta und Chrysander die deutsche Musikwissenschaft gegründet hatte, wurde von jüngeren Gelehrten, wie Robert Lach, damals Leiter der Musikabteilung der Nationalbibliothek, angefeindet. In diese persönlichen Konflikte wurde ich verwickelt. Anfänglich mit Lach sehr befreundet, wurde ich aufgefordert, mich zu entscheiden, auf welcher Seite (Lach oder Adler) ich stehen wollte. Für solche kleinliche Berufsreibereien und für solchen Neid, wie er von Seite der Gegner Adler's empfunden wurde, hatte ich kein Verständnis. Da ich mich natürlich den Intrigen nicht anschliessen wollte, wurde auch ich von Seiten der mächtigen Universitäts-Clique, welcher Lach angehörte, mehr und mehr angefeindet. Dies war mir ein Grund, dass ich mich entschloss, mich nach Prag zu begeben und dort zu habilitieren, trotzdem meine Anstellung als Amanuensis an der Wiener Nationalbibliothek bereits beschlossen war.

Lach hätte mich gar zu gern an der Bibliothek und auf seiner Seite gehabt. Ich sah aber in Guido Adler einen väterlichen Freund, der mir ein einzigartiger Berater und Förderer war und blieb. Diese Freundschaft hat bis in die letzten Jahre des Lebens von Hofrat Adler gedauert. In seiner Autobiographie „Wollen und Wirken“ bezeichnete er mich als einen Mann „mit dem ihn besondere persönliche Beziehungen verknüpften.“ Neben Prof. Ficker, der als sein Nachfolger in Betracht kam, hat er mich und Wellesz als für den Wiener Lehrstuhl in Betracht kommend, bezeichnet.

Noch 1937 kam Adler nach Prag, um mich aufzusuchen. Er war ein warmerherziger Mensch,—allerdings vom alten Schlag und nicht ohne Sonderlichkeiten. Wie oft hat er mich eingeladen, ihn auf seinen gewohnten Spaziergängen

Einstein [1880–1952] and Joh[annes] Wolf [1869–1947], called [the monograph] a pathbreaking work on the history of the suite. It uncovered the roots of the Viennese dance composition in the Baroque era, particularly the importance of the composer Joh[ann] Heinr[ich] Schmelzer [c. 1623–1680] and many others, whose names had been virtually unknown. Through my studies in archives and of the letters that I found there, I became familiar with the lives of those masters. I focused most on the history of the waltz, which had until then been considered an eighteenth-century dance form. I showed that the first waltzes were written about a century earlier.

I also published a volume of Viennese dance music from the seventeenth century in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, also a series edited and supervised by Guido Adler.²

Between 1920 and 1922, there was a great antagonism among the music scholars at the University of Vienna. Guido Adler, the extraordinarily successful Jewish music scholar, who was admired everywhere for his diligence and knowledge, and who founded German musicology together with [Philipp] Spitta [1841–1894] and [Friedrich] Chrysander [1826–1901], was treated with hostility by younger scholars, such as Robert Lach [1874–1958], then the director of the music department of the [Austrian] National Library. I became embroiled in these personal conflicts. As I was initially on friendly terms with Lach, I was asked to decide whose side I wanted to take (Lach or Adler). I had no understanding for the small professional frictions and the envy felt by the party of Adler's opponents. Since I naturally did not want to become involved in the intrigues, the powerful university clique, to which Lach belonged, showed more and more hostility toward me. This is why I decided to go to Prague and pursue my habilitation there, although I had already secured a position as an amanuensis at the [Austrian] National Library in Vienna.

Lach would have liked to keep me at his side in the Library. I, however, considered Guido Adler a fatherly friend, who was and remained my special adviser and supporter. This friendship lasted into Court Counselor Adler's final years. In his autobiography *Wollen und Wirken*, he referred to me as a man "to whom he was bound by special personal relations."³ Next to Prof. [Rudolf von] Ficker [1886–1954], who was considered as [Adler's] successor, [Adler] suggested me and [Egon] Wellesz [1885–1974] for the Vienna University position.

Adler also came to visit me in Prague in 1937. He was a warmhearted man—though of the old school and not without peculiarities. How often did he invite me to accompany him during his customary walk through the Vienna

2 Paul NETTL, ed., *Wiener Tanzmusik in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 56 of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, ed. Guido Adler (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1921).

3 Guido ADLER, *Wollen und Wirken: aus dem Leben eines Musikhistorikers* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1935).

im Wienerwald zu begleiten! Unsere Hauptgesprächsthemen waren neben rein wissenschaftlichen, auch seine Beziehungen zu Johannes Brahms, Hanslick und Bruckner, und vor Allem auch zu Gustav Mahler, mit dem ihn eine intime Freundschaft von Jugend auf verband.

Manchmal meinte Adler „man müsse doch wieder mal zum Stiebitz in die Weinstube gehen,“ wo es einen besonders guten österreichischen Wein gab. Da rief er immer früh an (ich wohnte damals erst eine Zeit lang bei meiner Schwester, dann in der „Pension Amerika,“ deren Besitzerin Frau Bertha Neudörfer war) und seine stereotype Wendung war: „Herr Kollege, es handelt sich um ein Ganserl!“

Leider ist dieser wunderbare Gelehrte und prachtvolle Mensch 1938, als die Nazis Wien eroberten, nicht ins Ausland gegangen, obwohl englische und amerikanische Freunde, vor allem Carl Engel ihm jede Hilfe hiezu anboten. Stattdessen sandte er seinen Sohn Achim Adler nach Amerika, der nun in den Vereinigten Staaten lebt und eine ärztliche Praxis ausübt. Guido Adler aber starb 1941, nachdem ihm seine Gattin Betty im Tode voran gegangen war.

Prof. Rietsch in Prag, der selbst ein Schüler Adlers gewesen war, stand nicht in den besten Beziehungen zu seinem einstigen Lehrer. Er wollte selbst nach Wien, um dort Professor zu werden. Das war auch mit der Grund, dass er mir so eifrig zuredete, nach Prag zu kommen, da er die dortige Lehrkanzel nicht verwaist lassen wollte. Er wünschte es, unter allen Umständen von Prag wegzukommen, da er streng deutsch-national eingestellt war und das neue czechische Regime geradezu hasste. Merkwürdig ist es, dass Rietsch eigentlich Halbjude war: sein Vater hiess Löwy. Aber gerade diese Tatsache scheint einer der Gründe für seinen übertriebenen Nationalismus gewesen zu sein, der sich später sogar zum Anti-Semitismus auswuchs.

Nach meiner Habilitation hielt ich regelmässig zwei Vorlesungen per Semester: eine Allgemeine über Musikgeschichte und eine Spezielle über ein jeweilig spezielles Thema.

Von 1925 angefangen konnte man leicht merken, dass die deutsche Universität in ein chauvinistisches Fahrwasser geriet. Als der jüdische Professor Samuel Steinherz Rektor der Universität werden sollte, gab es einen schweren Tumult unter der Studentenschaft, dem sich auch die Majorität der Professoren anschloss. Ich erinnere mich wohl, dass ich einmal mit Rietsch den Vorlesungssaal betrat, der bereits von nationalistischen Studenten besetzt war, die Rietsch daran verhinderten, seine Vorlesung zu halten, da die Strike-Parole gegen die Regierung ausgegeben worden war. Rietsch beugte sich nur allzu gern der Diktatur der Studenten während ich mich nicht daran binden liess, meiner Meinung über diese Attitude, die bereits an Hitler'schen Terrorismus gemahnte, Ausdruck zu geben. Seit jener Zeit trat eine Entfremdung zwischen Rietsch und mir ein. Rietsch's nationaler Paroxysmus nahm immer mehr pathologische Formen an, die endlich so weit gingen, dass er z. B. den Studenten verbot, das Wort Musik zu verwenden, da es doch ein Fremdwort wäre!

Woods! The main subjects of our conversations were not only purely academic, but also his relationship to Johannes Brahms, Hanslick, and Bruckner, and especially Gustav Mahler, to whom he was bound by close friendship from a young age.

Sometimes, Adler thought, “we have to go to the Stiebitz Wine Tavern once again,” where they served a particularly good Austrian wine. On those occasions he would call on me (I was at first living at my sister’s and then in the “Pension Amerika,” owned by Mrs. Bertha Neudorfer) and his typical phrase was: “Herr Kollege, es handelt sich um ein Ganserl!”

Unfortunately, this wonderful scholar and magnificent person did not emigrate in 1938, when the Nazis conquered Vienna, although he was offered help by English and American friends, especially Carl Engel [1883–1944]. Instead, he sent his son Achim Adler to America, where he still resides and practices his profession. Guido Adler, however, died in 1941, preceded by his wife Betty.

Prof. Rietsch in Prague, who had himself been a student of Adler, did not have the best relationship with his former teacher. He himself wanted to become the professor in Vienna. The reason why he urged me so avidly to come to Prague was that he did not want to leave the local position unfilled. He wished to leave Prague at any cost, because he had strong German-national views and virtually hated the new Czech regime. Curiously, Rietsch was actually a half-Jew: his father’s name was Löwy. But precisely this seems to be the reason for his exaggerated nationalism, which later intensified to anti-Semitism.

After my habilitation, I offered two classes each semester: one was on general music history and one focused on various special topics.

Starting in 1925, it was easy to see that the German University was becoming more and more chauvinistic. When the Jewish Professor Samuel Steinherz was to become the University Rector, there was a heavy commotion among the students, who were also joined by the majority of the professors. I remember well that one time Rietsch and I entered a lecture hall that was occupied by nationalistic students who prevented Rietsch from giving his lecture, because there was a call for a strike against the government. Rietsch gave in all too happily to the dictatorship of the students, whereas I did not hold back my opinion about such attitudes, which already smacked of Hitler’s terror. Ever since then, a sense of alienation separated me from Rietsch. Rietsch’s nationalistic paroxysms became more and more pathological, and eventually went so far as to prompt him, for example, to ban students from using the word “Musik,” because it was of foreign origin!

Ich wurde auf sein Bestreben nicht zum Privatdozenten für Musikgeschichte, sondern zum „Privatdozenten der Geschichte der Tonkunst“ habilitiert.

Das Ergebnis unserer verschlechterten Beziehungen war die Tatsache, dass ich bis 1938 Privatdozent blieb und nicht zum Professor befördert wurde.

Rietsch war ein ausgezeichneter Gelehrter, der auf dem Gebiete des älteren und neueren deutschen Liedes und auf vielen Spezialgebieten der mittelalterlichen und der neueren Musikgeschichte eine Autorität war. Seine schwache Seite aber war die nationalistische Querköpfigkeit, die ohne Zweifel auch mit seiner jüdischen Abstammung zusammenhängt,—und seine Leidenschaft zu komponieren. Er war ein recht mittelmässiger Epigone der Romantik und schrieb eine ganze Reihe von Liedern und Kammermusikwerken. Seine kompositorische Tätigkeit hinderte ihn aber nicht, sich der Forschung ganz und gar hinzugeben. Er hatte einen Minderwertigkeitskomplex und litt auch unter Selbstunzufriedenheit und machte manche seiner Kollegen und auch mich zu den Opfern seiner Launen. Als Lehrer war er nicht allzu stark, und seine Vorlesungen an der deutschen Universität nicht allzu belangvoll. Die Bibliothek war einseitig gebaut. Rietsch war ein Mensch ohne grosse Imagination und etwas trocken. Kein Wunder, dass die meisten seiner Schüler nach Wien oder Deutschland tendierten. Ich selbst brachte fast alle meine Ferien in Wien zu, wo ich an der Hofbibliothek und im Musikhistorischen Institut arbeitete. In Wahrheit habe ich niemand Anderen als Guido Adler als meinen Lehrer angesehen. Er war es, der mich in die Methode der Forschung einführte und mir das gesamte Material der „Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich“ zur Verfügung stellte.

Doch darf unter meinen späteren Lehrern Gerhardt von Keussler nicht vergessen werden. Er war eine bestrickende Persönlichkeit. Ich lernte ihn schon 1912 kennen und studierte mit ihm Musiktheorie und Partiturlesen. Man konnte ausser Musik sehr viel bei ihm lernen, vor Allem auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie, Naturwissenschaften und Theologie. Er war ein ganz eigenartiger, einmaliger Mensch. Mit seiner riesenhaften Figur, seiner Mischung baltischer und deutscher Kulturelemente war er der Typus eines „peripheren Deutschen.“ Seine Sprache liess die baltische Herkunft auch wohl erkennen und sein Interesse für alles Menschliche und sein hohes Ethos machten seine Abstammung von einer theologischen Familie glaubhaft genug. Als er eine Stellung als Direktor des „Mozarteums“ in Salzburg annehmen sollte, wollte er mich als seinen Assistenten mitnehmen. Es kam aber nicht dazu. In Prag war Keussler in der deutschen Musikwelt als ein Halbgott verehrt. Trotzdem er als Dirigent nicht hervorragend war, sind die Proben, die er vor Allem im „Deutschen Singverein“ abhielt, hoch interessant gewesen. Er hatte ein enormes Wissen, das er willig seinen Adepten mitteilte. Ich war dazu auserkoren, der Kommentator seiner Werke zu werden, und schrieb auch die Programmnoten zu den symphonischen Werken, die er in Berlin, Breslau und Prag aufführte. Zusammen mit dem Prager Rechtsanwalt Dr. Otto Adler, dem Archäologen Prof. Heinrich Swoboda und anderen musikalischen Interessanten des deutschen Prags gründete ich dann die „Gerhardt von Keussler Gesellschaft“, die es ihm ermöglichen

At [Rietsch's] instigation, I did not habilitate as a *Privatdozent* of "Musik" but as a "*Privatdozent* of the History of "Tonkunst."

The result of our deteriorating relationship was that I remained a *Privatdozent* until 1938 and was never promoted to professor.

Rietsch was an excellent scholar, who was an authority in the field of older and early modern German song and in the specialized field of medieval and early modern music history. His weaknesses were, however, his nationalistic intractability, which was, without doubt, linked to his Jewish origin—and his passion for composing. He was quite a mediocre epigone of romanticism and wrote a number of Lieder and chamber works. His compositional activities did not prevent him from devoting himself completely to his research. He had an inferiority complex, suffered from low self-esteem, and made many of his colleagues, and also me, the victims of his moods. As a teacher, he was not very strong, and his lectures at the German university were not very relevant. The library was built in a one-sided manner. Rietsch was a somewhat dry person without great imagination. No wonder that most of his students tended to leave for Vienna and Germany. I myself spent most of my vacations in Vienna, where I worked at the court library and in the musicological institute. The truth is that I have always viewed Guido Adler as my teacher. It was he who introduced me to the research methods and made all of the materials associated with the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* available to me.

And yet, among my later teachers I need to mention Gerhardt von Keussler [1874–1949]. He had a bewitching personality. I met with him already in 1912 and studied music theory and score reading with him. One could learn much more than music from him, particularly in the fields of philosophy, natural sciences, and theology. He was a unique and singular person. With his large figure, his mixture of Baltic and German cultural elements, he was the [stereo] type of a "peripheral German." His speech had traces of his Baltic origin and his interest in everything human and his high ethics made it immediately believable that he came from a theological family. When he was about to accept the position as director of the Mozarteum in Salzburg, he wanted to make me his assistant. But it did not happen. In Prague's musical circles, Keussler was adored as a demigod. Although he was not an excellent conductor, his rehearsals were highly interesting, particularly those at the "German Choral Society." He had enormous knowledge, which he willingly shared with his disciples. I was chosen to comment on his works, and I also wrote program notes about the symphonic works that he performed in Berlin, Breslau, and Prague. Together with Prague lawyer Dr. Otto Adler, the archeologist Prof. Heinrich Swoboda [1856–1926], and other musical enthusiasts of the German Prague, I founded the "Gerhardt Keussler Society," which was supposed to make it

sollte, eine Zeit lang nur seiner Kompositionstätigkeit zu leben. Aber er war eine diktatorische Natur und konnte es nicht verstehen, dass es unmöglich war, dass er selbst die „Gerhardt von Keussler Gesellschaft“ leite. Dies führte zu einer Entfremdung zwischen ihm und seinen Freunden. Er, der früher ein begeisterter Freimaurer war, dem Humanität Alles bedeutete, zog sich, besonders als Hitler kam, ganz von seinen einstigen Prager Freunden zurück. Das grauenhafte Schicksal vieler seiner intimen Freunde, die zum grossen Teil Juden waren, hat er wohl nur von der Ferne gesehen.

Eine neue Phase trat in mein Leben ein, als der Rundfunk grössere Bedeutung erlangte. Im Anfang war die deutsche Sendung nur ein Bestandteil des czechoslovakischen Rundfunks. Sie unterstand der „Urania“, die von Prof. Oskar Frankl geleitet wurde, der auch Chef des deutschen Programms war und mich mehr und mehr für den Rundfunk heranzog. Bald war ich der musikalische Leiter der deutschen Sendung, und als 1937 der berühmte „Melniker Sender“, die deutsche demokratische Radiostation in der Czechoslovakie, errichtet wurde, fiel die Wahl als Leiter der Musikabteilung auf mich. Die Sozialdemokraten, Christlich-Sozialen und Landwirte einigten sich deshalb auf mich, da ich völlig unpolitisch war und es ist merkwürdig, dass sogar die sudeten-deutsche Partei, unter der die Nazis sich verkappten, nichts gegen mich einzuwenden hatte! Meine Stelle war keine leichte! Man hatte auf die Czechen, die demokratischen Deutschen, und eben auch auf die Nazis Rücksicht zu nehmen. Später allerdings boykottierten die Nazis den deutschen Sender und kein deutsch-blütiger Künstler durfte es wagen, am „Melniker Sender“ aufzutreten. Ich wurde bei jeder Gelegenheit von den Naziblättern angegriffen und als Kulturschädling ersten Ranges bezeichnet. Auch an eine Karikatur aus jener Zeit erinnere ich mich. Sie erschien in der Zeitschrift „Die Zeit“ und verherrlichte mich gemeinsam mit [Leo] Kestenberg und einer ungeheuer grossen Nase. Noch vor der Hitlerinvasion waren so scharfe Angriffe auf mich in den Nazizeitungen zu lesen, dass ich eines Tages den Entschluss fasste, von der Leitung der Radiostation zurückzutreten. Da ich jedoch fühlte, dass ich das persönliche Interesse dem allgemeinen hintanstellen muss, ersuchte ich zuerst Max Brod um seine Meinung darüber. Er war es, der mich letzten Endes doch veranlasste, auszuharren. Ich habe das Empfinden, dass es hauptsächlich die Nazi-Schüler Prof. Beckings waren, die mich bei jeder Gelegenheit heruntersetzen wollten. Becking selbst, von dem ich gleich sprechen werde, hielt sich im Hintergrund und scheint später, als das „Protektorat“ errichtet worden war, eine Art von schützender Hand über mich gehalten zu haben.

Nachdem Rietsch gestorben war [1927], trat für etwa 3 Jahre ein Interregnum ein. Man wollte mich zwar unter keinen Umständen zum Ordinarius machen, ich erhielt aber doch einen Lehrauftrag und wurde verpflichtet, die systematisierten Vorlesungen zu halten. In Wirklichkeit war ich durch drei Jahre Vorstand des musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars in Prag, mit der Verpflichtung, nicht nur Vorlesungen zu halten, sondern auch die Dissertationen zu beurteilen und Prüfungen zu leiten. Eine Anzahl von Doktoranden haben

possible for him to live only for his compositional activities for a time. But he was of a dictatorial nature and could not understand that it was impossible for him to direct the “Gerhardt Keussler Society” on his own. This led to an alienation between him and his friends. Although he had been an avid freemason at one time, to whom humanity was everything, eventually, especially after Hitler came, he retreated from his former Prague friends. He observed the terrible fate of many of his intimate friends, who were mostly Jewish, merely from a distance.

A new phase entered my life when radio achieved greater importance. At first, German broadcasts were merely a subsection of the Czechoslovak radio. It was directed by the “Urania,” which was led by Prof. Oskar [Benjamin] Frankl [1881–1955], who was also the supervisor of the German programs and who brought me closer and closer to radio. Soon I was the musical director of the German broadcasts, and when the famous “Melniker Transmitter” [Vysílač Mělník-Chloumek], the German democratic radio station in Czechoslovakia, was founded in 1937, I was chosen as the director of the music department. The Social Democrats, the Christian-Socialists, and the Agrarians approved of my appointment, because I was completely apolitical, and it was remarkable that even the Sudeten-German Party, which disguised the Nazis, had nothing against me! My position was not easy! I had to take into consideration the Czechs, the German democrats, and the Nazis. Later, however, the Nazis boycotted the German transmitter and no German-blooded artist dared to be heard through the “Melniker Transmitter.” I was attacked on a number of occasions in the Nazi press and was referred to as first-rate cultural vermin. I also remember a caricature from that time. It appeared in the journal *Die Zeit* and glorified me, together with [Leo] Kestenberg [1882–1962], with a terribly long nose. Even before Hitler’s invasion, there were such strong attacks against me in the Nazi press, that one day I decided to step down from directing the radio station. Because I felt, nevertheless, that I had to put general in front of personal interests, I first asked Max Brod [1884–1968] for his view. It was he who persuaded me to persist in the end. I have the feeling, that it was mainly the Nazi students of Prof. Gustav Becking [1894–1945] who would belittle me. Becking himself, of whom I will speak soon, kept in the background and seems to have later, during the Protectorate, held a kind of protective arm over me.

After Rietsch’s death [in 1927], an interregnum set in for about 3 years. Although I was under no circumstances to become an *Ordinarius* [i.e., chair professor], I still received a teaching contract and was obliged to present systematic lectures. In reality, I became the head of the musicological department in Prague for three years and was required not only to present lectures, but also to evaluate dissertations and supervise exams. A number of doctoral students worked

auch tatsächlich bei mir ihre Dissertationen bearbeitet, unter denen ich den Neffen des Kardinals Skrbenski, Leo Skrbenski, erwähnen möchte, der später eine Monographie über Heinrich Rietsch schrieb. Eine meiner Schülerinnen, Edith Vogel, ging später nach Amerika, wo sie am New England Conservatory Musikgeschichte unterrichtete.

Inzwischen gab es ein „qui[d] pro quo“ um die Besetzung der musikwissenschaftlichen Lehrkanzel. Von den drei vorgeschlagenen Kandidaten: Robert Haas, Rudolf von Ficker und Gustav Becking erhielt der Letztere schliesslich die Professur. Besonders deswegen, weil er in der Fakultät in seinem ehemaligen Kollegen aus Erlangen, Gerhardt Gesemann, einen warmen Befürworter hatte. Als Becking aus Erlangen, wo er ausserordentlicher Professor gewesen war, nach Prag kam, hatte es den Anschein, dass er das gesamte Musikleben Prags revolutionieren wollte. Er war verhältnismässig jung, hatte eine glänzende Laufbahn vor sich, hatte brillante Erfolge mit seinen Publikationen und war sehr populär. Er brachte gleich etwa zehn Schüler aus Erlangen mit, mit denen er sich wie mit einer eisernen Garde umgab. Ich erinnere mich genau, dass er radikal-links-sozialistische Ansichten zum Ausdruck brachte, dass er die deutschen, etwas national eingestellten Professoren Prags belächelte, weil sie nicht in der Lage waren, sich mit den Czechen zu vertragen. Es ist auch richtig, dass es für einen eben frisch in Prag Ankommenden merkwürdig erscheinen musste, dass etwa Kollegen ein- und desselben Faches nebeneinander lebten und mit einander nicht das Geringste zu tun hatten. Eine Welt schied damals die Czechen von den Deutschen und so schien es mir und Andern, dass Becking der richtige Mann sei, solche Gegensätze zu überbrücken. Er war, wie ich bereits erwähnte, eine Art Genie. In der Schule von Sievers und von Riemann aufgewachsen, glaubte er ausschliesslich an die geisteswissenschaftliche Betrachtung der Musik, während wir, die wir bei Adler und Rietsch studiert hatten, von der Philologie der Musikwissenschaft nicht loskommen konnten. Ich muss gestehen, dass mich Becking, und vor Allem sein Buch „Der Rhythmus als historische Erkenntnisquelle“ sehr stark beeinflusst haben. Becking führte in Prag auch ein „Collegium musicum“ ein, das bald eines der besten musikalischen Institute der Stadt wurde. Ich erinnere mich, dass ich Henri Prunières, der sich in Prag aufhielt, zu einer solchen Veranstaltung mitnahm und dass dieser französische Musiker von der Aufführung tief beeindruckt war. Becking war in der Lage, von der Regierung finanzielle Mittel zu erlangen, die weder mir, noch Rietsch zugänglich gewesen waren. Er baute die Bibliothek aus, kaufte zwei Cembali und führte im „Collegium musicum“ hauptsächlich Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts auf, sowie Vokalmusik des 15., 16., bis 17. Jahrhunderts. Mit seinem vokalen Collegium bereiste er das Sudetengebiet, das damals unter dem totalen Einfluss Henleins und des

on their dissertations with me, including the nephew of Cardinal [Leo] Skrbensk[y] [1863–1938], Leo [Heinrich] Skrbensk[y] [1905–?], who later wrote a monograph about Heinrich Rietsch.⁴ One of my students, Edith [Vogl] [1904–1995], later went to America and taught at the New England Conservatory.

In the meantime, there was a “quid pro quo” surrounding the search for the musicological position. From among three proposed candidates: Robert Haas [1886–1960], Rudolf von Ficker [1886–1954], and Gustav Becking, it was Becking who eventually received the professorship, especially because he received a warm endorsement in the Faculty from Gerhard Gesemann [1888–1948], his former colleague in Erlangen. When Becking arrived in Prague from Erlangen, where he had been an associate [“ausserordentlicher”] professor, it seemed that he wanted to revolutionize the entire musical world of Prague. He was relatively young, had a brilliant career ahead of him, his publications were enormously successful, and was very popular. He brought ten students from Erlangen right away, who surrounded him like an iron guard. I remember clearly, that he expressed radically leftist-socialistic views, that he ridiculed the German, somewhat nationalistically inclined professors of Prague, because they were not in the position to get along with the Czechs. To someone who had just arrived in Prague recently it must have seemed strange, that colleagues in the same field lived side by side and had not the slightest in common. A whole world separated the Czechs from the Germans, and it seemed to me and others, that Becking was the right man to bridge the differences. He was, as I have already mentioned, a kind of genius. He grew up in the school of Sievers and Riemann and believed, that music should be considered exclusively from the perspective of the humanities, whereas those of us who studied with Adler and Rietsch could not abandon musicological philology. I must admit, that I was strongly influenced by Becking and especially by his book *Der Rhythmus als historische Erkenntnisquelle* [Rhythm as a Historical Source of Knowledge].⁵ Becking introduced his “Collegium musicum” to Prague, and it soon became one of the best musical institutions of the city. I remember, that I once took Henr[y] Prunières [1886–1942], who was then staying in the city, to one such event, and this French musician was deeply impressed by the performance. Becking was in the position to ask the government for financial resources that had been unavailable to Rietsch and myself. He built up the library, bought two harpsichords, and performed predominantly eighteenth-century instrumental music, as well as fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century vocal music with the “Collegium musicum.” With the vocal Collegium he travelled around the Sudeten regions, which were by then under complete influence of

4 This monograph could be [Anonymous], *Univ.-Professor Dr. Heinrich Rietsch: Rektor der Deutschen Universität zu Prag, Obmann des Vereines für Kammermusik* (Prague: Verein für Kammermusik, [1928]).

5 GUSTAV BECKING, *Der musikalische Rhythmus als Erkenntnisquelle* (Augsburg: Filser, 1928).

Nazismus war. Becking sah bald, dass die Zukunft der Czechoslovakei von Hitler bestimmt werden würde, und das war der Grund, dass aus dem „roten Gustav“ sehr bald ein „S.A.Mann“ wurde, der sich zum kulturellen Exponenten von Henlein machte. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass man mich von nun an an der Universität, die mehr und mehr nazistisch wurde und als eine Hochburg des Hitlertums galt, nicht mehr leiden wollte. Dennoch versuchte ich, die Vorlesungen so gut es ging, abzuhalten. Beckings Schüler machten sich aber ein Vergnügen daraus, zu Beginn derselben den Saal abzusperrten oder zu verrammeln, so dass meine Studenten eingeschüchtert wurden. Ich verlor beinahe alle, doch erschien mein Name noch im Vorlesungskatalog 1939, zu einer Zeit, da ich mich schriftlich verpflichten musste, meine akademische Stellung niederzulegen.

Vom 1922 bis 1937 habe ich eine Reihe von Büchern geschrieben und publiziert. Während mein Interesse sich im Anfang mehr auf Instrumentalmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts konzentriert hatte, wurde ich später mehr und mehr in den Bannkreis der Mozart'schen Musik gezogen. Ich verfasste zwei Bücher über diesen Meister. Das erste der beiden behandelt Mozart und die Freimaurerei. Durch meinen Cousin, Arthur Nettel, war ich in die Freimaurer Loge „Freilicht zur Eintracht“ gekommen und war seit jener Zeit ein sehr eifriger Freimaurer. Ich entdeckte sozusagen die Freimaurermusik des 18. Jahrhunderts und schrieb über dieses Thema in verschiedenen Zeitschriften. Die Quintessenz meiner musikalisch-freimaurerischen Forschungen ist in meinem Buche „Mozart und die königliche Kunst“ enthalten. Ich gab ausserdem im Rahmen der freimaurerisch-historischen Organisation „Quatuor Coronati Coetus Pragensis“ das Jahrbuch der Weltfreimaurerei heraus.

Ein anderes meiner Lieblingsgebiete waren Alt-Prag und Alt-Böhmen. Diese Interessen, zusammen mit meiner Mozartforschung, führten zu der Publikation meines Buches „Mozart in Böhmen“, das ursprünglich als eine Fortsetzung des Buches „Mozart in Prag“ von Rudolf Freiherrn von Prochaska gedacht war. Dieser, mit dem mich eine recht nette Freundschaft verband—trotzdem er mich wenig förderte—glaubte, dass ich der einzige in Betracht kommende Musikforscher sei, der sein Buch, den modernen Forschungen angepasst, neu herausgeben konnte. Als es 1938 publiziert wurde, lebte Prochaska nicht mehr.

Meine Beschäftigung mit Alt-Prag führte mich auch zu der Herausgabe der beiden Publikationen: „Alt-Prager Almanach“ und „Hundert Türme“, die in der Bücherstube Karl Steindler & Julius Bunzl-Federn erschienen. An dieser Firma hatte ich auch ein finanzielles Interesse. Leider wurde die an sich gute Buchhandlung in der Bredauergasse, die eine grosse Zukunft hätte haben können, durch die leichtsinnige und diletantische Leitung von ... [sic] zu Grunde gerichtet, und ich verlor einen grossen Betrag.

Henlein and the Nazis. Becking soon understood that the future of Czechoslovakia would be decided by Hitler, and that was the reason why he transformed from the “red Gustav” to the “S.A. Man,” who made himself into the cultural exponent of Henlein. It is understandable that from now on, I was even less welcomed at the university, which became more and more Nazi-oriented and was considered a stronghold of Hitlerism. I tried to continue to give lectures as long as it was possible. Becking’s students amused themselves by locking up and barricading the classroom in which [my lectures] took place, so that my students were intimidated. I lost nearly all of [the students], but my name still appeared in the class schedule for 1939, when I had to sign a written statement in which I committed to resign from my academic position.

Between 1927 and 1937, I wrote and published a number of books. Although I had originally been more interested in seventeenth-century instrumental music, later I became more and more enchanted with Mozart’s music. I wrote two books about this master. The first of the two deals with Mozart and Freemasonry.⁶ Through my cousin, Arthur Nettl [1881–1944], I came into the Freemasonic lounge “Freilicht zur Eintracht” and was an avid Freemason during that period. I discovered, so to speak, eighteenth-century Masonic music and wrote about this subject in various journals. The main substance of my musical-Masonic research appears in my book *Mozart und die königliche Kunst*. With support of the Masonic-historical organization “Quatuor Coronati Coetus Pragensis,” I also published the *Yearbook of World Freemasonry*.⁷

Another of my favorite subjects was old Prague and old Bohemia. This interest together with my Mozart research led to the publication of my book *Mozart in Böhmen*, which was originally envisaged as a sequel to Rudolf Freiherr von Prochaska’s book *Mozart in Prag*.⁸ [Prochaska], who was my dear friend, although he did not support me very much, believed, that I was the only musicologist who could be considered for a new edition of his book, which was to include new research. When it was published in 1938, Prochaska had died.

My work on old Prague led me to the publication of two further works: *Alt-Prager Almanach* and *Hundert Türme*, which were published by the Bookshop Karl Steindler & Julius Bunzl-Federn.⁹ Unfortunately, this generally good bookstore in the Bredauergasse [now Politických vězňů], which could have had a great future, was run to the ground under the amateurish and careless direction of ..., and I lost a fortune.

6 Paul NETTL, *Mozart und die königliche Kunst: die freimaurerische Grundlage der “Zauberflöte”* (Berlin, Wunder, 1932).

7 Paul NETTL, ed., *Das Jahrbuch der Freimaurerei* (Vienna: Saturn-Verlag, 1935).

8 Rudolph von PROCHÁZKA, *Mozart in Prag: zum hundertjährigen Gedächtniss seines Todes, neue billige Ausgabe* (Prague: G. Neugebauer, 1899); Paul NETTL, *Mozart in Böhmen* (Prague: Neumann, 1938).

9 Paul NETTL, ed., *Alt-Prager Almanach*, 2 vols. (Prague: Die Bücherstube, 1926–27); Paul NETTL, ed., *Hundert Türme: ein Buch vom alten Prag* (Prague: Die Bücherstube, 1929).

Ich habe schon erwähnt, dass meine Eltern nach der Liquidation der Firma „Brüder Nettel“ nach Prag übersiedelten. Es war die Zeit, da meine Stellung an der dortigen Universität bereits erschüttert war. Damals wurde ein Papierkartell durch meine beide Vettern: Otto Aron und Benno Nettel gegründet. Ich erhielt die Stelle eines administrativen Beraters mit dem Titel eines Direktors, ein schönes Jahreseinkommen ohne viel Arbeit, und so sah ich mich in die Lage versetzt, meine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit fortzusetzen, ohne auf das Wohlwollen der bereits nazistischen Universität angewiesen zu sein. In dieser Zeit war ich auch, wie schon gesagt, Leiter der Musikabteilung des deutschen Rundfunks von Prag.

Mit meinen Eltern lebte ich in einem sehr angenehmen Verhältnis.

Im Jahre 1929 lernte ich meine jetzige Frau, Gertrude Hutter kennen, die bedeutend jünger ist als ich. Sie war eine vielversprechende Pianistin und ihr Wesen und ihre künstlerischen Interessen zogen mich zu ihr hin und trotzdem ich an sich einer Eheschliessung nicht allzu geneigt gewesen war, fühlte ich doch, dass dieser Schritt im damaligen Zeitpunkt richtig war. Ich nahm eine grosse und teure Wohnung, gab oft grosse Gesellschaften und fühlte mich besonders in den wohlhabenden deutsch-jüdischen Kreisen Prags zu Hause. Nach zweijähriger Ehe kam unser Sohn Bruno zur Welt, der im Anfang ein recht kränkliches Kind war, sich aber später unter sehr günstigen Bedingungen zu einem ausgezeichneten Studenten und guten Menschen entwickelte.

Nach dem Münchner Übereinkommen im September 1938 fühlte ich, dass ich Alles daransetzen sollte, die Czechoslovakie zu verlassen. Ich schrieb an einige meiner Bekannten in Amerika, ohne jedoch befriedigende Antworten zu erhalten. Die Atmosphäre in der „Zweiten czechischen Republik“ war drückend und das Gespenst Hitlers tauchte drohend auf. Die Judenfrage war besonders beliebtes Thema in den Zeitungen und der Antisemitismus wuchs sich zu ungeheuren Dimensionen aus. Verdienstmöglichkeiten für Juden und Leute jüdischer Abstammung wurden immer geringer.

In jener Zeit erhielt ich den Brief eines englischen Freimaurers, Paul Waller, der mir mitteilte, er habe mein Buch „Mozart und die königliche Kunst“ ins Englische übersetzt und suche auch einen Verleger. Das gab mir die Anregung zu einem Versuch, nach England zu gehen. Es gab damals kein Visum zwischen England und der Czechoslovakie. Man musste natürlich durch deutsches Gebiet nur per Flugzeug reisen, um nicht etwa in die Hände der Behörden zu kommen und es war auch nicht leicht, sich englisches Geld zu verschaffen, um die Flugzeugkarte und die Aufenthaltskosten in London zu decken. Durch meine Freunde im Ministerium des Äusseren, das als einziges Ministerium noch unter demokratischem Einfluss stand und in dem viele Freimaurer zu finden waren, gelang es mir eine Bestätigung zu erhalten, wonach meine Reise nach England als im Interesse des czechischen Staates begründet und gebilligt wor-

I have already mentioned that my parents moved to Prague after the liquidation of the firm “Nettl Brothers.” This was at a time in which my position at the local university was already shattered. At that time, my two cousins, Otto Aron and Benno Nettel, founded a paper cartel. I received the position of an administrative advisor with the title of Director, a nice annual income without much work, and so I was put into a position in which I could prolong my scholarly activities without depending on the charity of the university, which was already controlled by the Nazis. In this period, as I have already mentioned, I also became the director of the music department of the German radio in Prague.

I lived in a pleasant relationship with my parents.

In 1929, I met my current wife, Gertrude Hutter [1905–1952], who is much younger than I. She was a promising pianist, and her presence and artistic interests attracted me to her, and although I was not particularly inclined to marriage, I still felt that this step was correct at that time. I rented a large and expensive apartment, organized large parties, and felt particularly at home in the wealthy German-Jewish circles of Prague. After two years of marriage, our son Bruno was born, who was initially a rather sickly child, but who later, under favorable conditions, developed into an excellent student and a good person.

After the Munich Treaty in September 1938, I felt that I should try anything I could to leave Czechoslovakia. I wrote to some of my acquaintances in America, without receiving satisfactory responses. The atmosphere of the “Second Republic” was oppressive, and the specter of Hitler was rising menacingly. The Jewish question was a particularly popular theme in the press, and anti-Semitism grew to horrific dimensions. Employment opportunities for Jews and people of Jewish origin were steadily declining.

During that time, I received a letter from English Freemason Paul Waller, who was telling me that he had translated my book *Mozart und die königliche Kunst* into English and was searching for a publisher. This provided me with an impetus to travel to England. There was no visa obligation between England and Czechoslovakia at that time. It was naturally necessary to cross the German territory in an airplane so as not to fall into the hands of the authorities, and it was also not easy to procure English money to cover the airfare and the living expenses in London. Through my friends in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was the only ministry that was still under democratic leadership and in which there were many Freemasons, I managed to obtain a permit, which presented and endorsed my trip to England as in the interest

den sei. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich die ausgezeichneten Männer Dr. Jindra und Dr. Hartl erwähnen, welche zu meinen besten freimaurerischen Freunden gehörten. [Hartl] war der Übersetzer meiner beiden Mozart Bücher ins Czechische. Der Arme starb später als ein Opfer der Nazibehandlung...

Als ich am 5. Januar 1939 per Flugzeug in London ankam, erwartete mich Mr. Waller am Flugfeld von Croyden. Ich dachte damals wirklich, dass ich mich in England niederlassen würde und wollte meine Familie tunlichst bald nachkommen lassen. Tatsächlich war der Abschied von meiner Frau und von meinem Kind, sowie von meiner Schwiegermutter, die Alle aufs Flugfeld gekommen waren, um mich zu begleiten, sehr schmerzlich gewesen. Durch einen unglücklichen Zufall überprüfte der britische Immigrationsbeamte aber meine Korrespondenz, die ausser der Einladung meines englischen Verlegers, zu Verhandlungen nach London zu kommen, auch einen Brief des englischen Musikologen Edward Dent (Professor in Cambridge) enthielt, aus dem meine Absicht in England zu bleiben, deutlich hervorging. Weder meine Bitten, noch die Interventionen Mr. Wallers halfen. Nachdem ich um 5 Uhr nachmittags in Croyden angekommen war, musste ich mit dem nächsten Flugzeug nach Rotterdam zurückfahren. In Prag hatte man mir von ähnlichen Fällen erzählt und es hatte sich damals bei mir die Überzeugung eingeschlichen, dass es mir nie gelingen werde, nach England zu kommen. Dies um so mehr, als der Astrologe Kopp, unter dessen Einfluss sowohl meine Frau als auch meine Schwägerin Franz Klein standen, auf Grund meines Horoskopes voraussagte, dass es mir nicht glücken würde, aus der Czechoslovakei heraus zu kommen.

In Rotterdam angekommen, entschloss ich mich in Holland zu bleiben und bekam auch eine temporäre Bewilligung, mich in Amsterdam aufzuhalten. Ich lernte dort einen deutschen Buchhändler, Hans Rotschild, den Bruder des Geigers Fritz Rotschild, kennen und erwog, mich in Holland anzusiedeln und meine Familie dorthin nachkommen zu lassen. Es stellte sich jedoch heraus, dass die Schwierigkeiten fast unüberwindbar waren. Die Idee, nach England zu gehen, hatte ich nicht völlig aufgegeben, verhandelte weiter mit dem Pen-Club in London, dessen Prager Mitglied ich war, und mit dem Hilfscommittee für czechische Flüchtlinge, an welches ich durch Prof. Dent empfohlen worden war. Eines Tages nun erhielt ich ein Telegramm jenes Comité's, welches mich aufforderte, per Schiff nach England zu kommen. Es hiess in jenem Telegramm, dass „der imigration officer verständigt worden sei“. Mit Hoffnung und Furcht gleichzeitig unternahm ich die Nachtfahrt von Vlissingen aus. Als ich jedoch der britischen Hafenbehörde meinen Pass zeigte, aus dem hervorging, dass ich bereits einmal nicht ins Land gelassen worden sei, wurde mir mitgeteilt, dass meine Einreise auch diesmal nicht bewilligt wurde. Man schickte mich auf mein Schiff zurück und gab mir eine Art von Gefangenenwächter an die Seite, der mich während der Überfahrt zu beobachten hatte. In Holland angekommen, musste ich die Entdeckung machen, dass meine dortige Aufenthaltsbewilligung, dadurch dass ich das Land verlassen hatte, nichtig geworden war. Von den vielen Widerlichkeiten zermürbt, beschloss ich nunmehr, mit dem

of the Czech state. In this context, I would like to mention the amazing men Dr. Jindra and Dr. [Antonín] Hartl [1885–1944], who were among my best Masonic friends. [Hartl] was the Czech translator of my two Mozart books.¹⁰ The poor man later became a victim of the Nazis...

When I arrived to London by plane on January 5, 1939, Mr. Waller was waiting for me at the Croydon Airport. I was really thinking at that time, that I would settle in England, and wanted my family to follow as soon as possible. The farewell from my wife and child, as well as from the mother-in-law, who all came to the airport with me, was truly painful. By an unfortunate coincidence, the British immigration officer checked my correspondence, which contained, besides the invitation to negotiations in London from my English publisher, the letter from the English musicologist Edward Dent (Professor in Cambridge) [1876–1957], which made it clear, that I intended to stay in England.¹¹ Neither my pleas, nor Mr. Waller's interventions helped. After I had arrived to Croydon at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, I had to fly back to Rotterdam on the next plane. In Prague, I had heard stories about similar cases, and I became convinced that I would never succeed in coming to England. This [conviction] became even stronger, when the astrologist Kopp, who had a strong influence on my wife and also my sister-in-law Franzi Klein, prophesied, on the basis of my horoscope, that I would not succeed in escaping Czechoslovakia.

After arriving in Rotterdam, I decided to stay in Holland and received a temporary permit to reside in Amsterdam. There I became acquainted with the German bookseller Hans Rot[h]schild, the brother of the violinist Fritz Rot[h]schild [1891–1975], and thought about settling in Holland and bringing my family as well. It became clear, however, that the difficulties were almost insurmountable. I did not completely give up on the idea to go to England, negotiated further with the Pen-Club in London, whose Prague member I was, and with the committee for assisting Czech refugees, to which I was recommended by Prof. Dent. One day I received a telegram from that committee, which ordered me to come to England by boat. The telegram stated that "the immigration officer will be notified." Equally full of hopes and fears, I took a night ferry from Vlissingen. When I showed my passport to the British port official, however, I was informed that my entry will not be authorized even this time, because I was already once refused entry. I was sent back on the ship and was accompanied by a type of prisoner's guard, who guarded me during the ferry trip back. Once in Holland, I had to find out, that my resident permit became void, because I left the country. Unnerved by so much adversity,

10 Paul NETTL, *Zednářská hudba a Mozart*, [trans. Antonín Hartl] (Prague: Karel Zink, 1936); Paul NETTL, *Mozart v Čechách*, [trans. Antonín Hartl] (Prague: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy, 1939).

11 Edward Dent was active in helping other German music scholars secure positions in England and America in the 1930s. The case of German musicologist Ernst Fritz Schmid is discussed in Manfred Hermann SCHMID, "Zu den Anfängen moderner Haydn-Forschung: Dokumente aus dem Nachlass von Ernst Fritz Schmid (1904–1960)," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 60 (2018): 183.

nächsten Flugzeug nach Prag zurückzukehren, trotzdem es mir klar war, dass die Okkupation der Czechoslovakei, rep. dessen, was noch von diesem Lande übriggeblieben war, unmittelbar bevorstand.

Am 8. Februar traf ich wieder in Prag ein und fand eine ausserordentlich schwüle Atmosphäre vor. Denunziationen waren an der Tagesordnung. Ein ehemaliger Kommunist, dem ich in meiner Eigenschaft als Vorsitzender der demokratischen Flüchtlingsfürsorge geholfen hatte seine Existenz in Prag aufzubauen, versuchte an mir tausende von Kronen zu erpressen, weil ich ihm sozusagen „am schwarzen Arbeitsmarkt“ Arbeit verschafft hatte. Als Ausländer hätte er offiziell niemals einen Posten bekommen können! Dieser „Kavalier“, früher ein radikaler Kommunist, erschien nach dem 15. März, nachdem die deutschen Truppen in Prag einmarschiert waren, mit einem grossen Hakenkreuz geschmückt in meiner Wohnung und erklärte, er sei ein Funktionär der Gestapo. Er versuchte grosse Beträge zu erpressen, was ihm zum Teile auch gelang. Nur der Intelligenz und Menschenkenntnis meiner Frau war es zu danken, dass der Mann „beruhigt“ wurde. Er hat später auch bei meinen Eltern in der gleichen Weise „interveniert“ und mit einer Anzeige gedroht, weil sie noch ein deutschblütiges Dienstmädchen beschäftigt. Dieser Mann namens Schmidt aus Dresden, der von allen Mitgliedern meiner Familie nur Gutes erfahren hatte, hatte sich den Jargon des „Stürmers“ zurecht gelegt und hielt stundenlang Vorträge über Rassenschande und das deutsche Herrenvolk.

Während meines Amsterdamer Aufenthaltes hatte ich eine Reihe von Briefen an Präsidenten amerikanischer Colleges und Universitäten geschrieben und angefragt, ob nicht eine Stelle für mich zu haben wäre, die es mir ermöglichen würde, die Czechoslovakei zu verlassen und in die Vereinigten Staaten einzureisen. Meine Sekretärin, Frl. Neubauer, der ich noch heute zu Dank verpflichtet bin, schrieb zahllose derartige Anfragen, die jedoch zum grossen Teil negativ oder gar nicht beantwortet wurden.

1927 hatte ich, in meiner Eigenschaft als Sekretär Guido Adler's, der das grosse Wiener Beethoven Fest und die Zentenarfeier organisierte, neben Romain Rolland und anderen internationalen Grossen, auch Carl Engel und Oskar Sonneck von der Firma G. Schirmer, New York (bezw. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.) kennengelernt. Ich hatte auch durch Carl Engel gelegentlich für das „Musical Quarterly“ Artikel geschrieben. An ihn wendete ich mich nun in meiner verzweifelten Lage und erhielt auch sofort von ihm eine Liste von Männern, an die ich schreiben sollte. Engel war ausserordentlich hilfsbereit in Gegensatz zu etwa Marcia Davenport, der ich vor Jahren meine Casanova- und Mozart-Studien bereitwillig überlassen hatte, die sie dann auch als Grundlagen für ihr Mozart-Buch verwendete. Sie hat, trotzdem sie in den „acknowledgements“ ihres Buches mir an erster Stelle Kredit gab, niemals geantwortet, so oft ich ihr auch schrieb. Sie hätte doch wissen müssen, dass mein Leben in Gefahr war und sich erinnern können, dass ich ihr meine Forschungsergebnisse ohne jedes Equivalent zur Verfügung gestellt hatte. Carl Engel jedoch meldete sich sogleich und durch ihn hörte ich zum ersten Male

I decided to return to Prague with the next flight, although it was clear to me, that the occupation of Czechoslovakia, or what was left of the country, was imminent.

On February 8, I returned to Prague and was greeted by an unusually oppressive atmosphere. Denunciations were common. A former communist, whom I, as the director of the committee for helping democratic refugees, assisted in setting up an existence in Prague, tried to extort thousands of crowns from me, because I helped him get a job on the, so to speak, “black market.” He would have never been able to get a job officially as a foreigner! This “gentleman,” who earlier was a radical communist, appeared, decorated with a large swastika, in my apartment on March 15, following the entry to the German troupes to Prague, and explained that he was a Gestapo official. He tried to extort large sums, and was partially successful. Only thanks to the intelligence and people skills of my wife did the man “calm down.” Later he also “intervened” with my parents in the same way and threatened to denounce that they still employed a German maid. This man, whose name was Schmidt, who came from Dresden, and whom my family treated only with kindness, appropriated the jargon of a “Stürmer” and presented hours-long lectures about racial disgrace and about the German master race.

During my stay in Amsterdam, I wrote a number of letters to the presidents of American colleges and universities, asking whether they could find a position for me, which would allow me to leave Czechoslovakia and enter the United States. My secretary, Frl. Neubauer, to whom I am thankful till the present day, wrote numerous similar inquiries, which for the most part received negative answers or were left unanswered.

In 1927, I, in my position as the secretary for Guido Adler, who organized the great Vienna Beethoven Festival and centennial celebrations, had met, besides Romain Rolland and other international greats, Carl Engel and Oscar Sonneck [1873–1928] from the New York firm G. Schirmer (as well as the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). Through Carl Engel, I had occasionally written an article for *The Musical Quarterly*. I turned to him now in my desperate situation and he immediately sent a list of men to whom I was to write. Engel was exceptionally helpful in contrast to, for example, Marcia Davenport [1903–1996], to whom I have years earlier ceded my studies about Casanova and Mozart and who used them as the basis for her own Mozart book.¹² Although in the “Acknowledgements” of her book she credited me in the first place, she never responded to me, no matter how often I wrote to her. She must have known that my life was in danger, and could remember that I made my research available to her in an unprecedented way. Carl Engel, however, responded immediately and because of him I first heard about

12 Marcia DAVENPORT, *Mozart* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1932).

den Namen Dr. John Finley Williamson, des Präsidenten des Westminster Choir College in Princeton, N. J.

Meine Sekretärin schrieb sofort an ihn und am 16. März, einen Tag nach der Hitlerinvasion, kam ein Kabel an, das man mir in das Sanatorium Dr. Fischer in Velleslavin, wohin ich mich zurückgezogen hatte, telefonisch weitergab: „I hope to help you, Dr. John F. Williamson, Princeton, N. J.“

Ich konnte es gar nicht fassen, dass es mir wirklich glücken werde, der Nazihölle zu entkommen und das gelobte Land Amerika zu erreichen. Ich war umso skeptischer, als ich von dem Horoskop des Herrn Kopp infiziert war!

Es hatte sich eine Gelegenheit geboten, auf einem elenden griechischen Schiff mit 200 jüdischen Flüchtlingen illegal nach Palestina zu gehen. Ich hatte auch tatsächlich für uns drei die Passage bezahlt, doch bevor ich die Ausreisewilligung von der Gestapo bekam, musste ich zusammen mit dreissig anderen, politisch schwerbelasteten Flüchtlingen, ins Petschek-Palais, um sich dort, wie alle andern einem Verhör zu unterziehen. Die sechs Stunden, die ich dort wartete und im Verlauf welcher man mich in den Keller befahl, in dem die bekannten Erschiessungen stattfanden, werde ich niemals vergessen. Meine Frau wartete im strömenden Regen vor dem Palais und glaubte nicht, mich wieder zu sehen. Zum Glück fiel jedoch das Verhör günstig für mich aus und wir machten uns für die Reise nach Palestina zurecht, die in den nächsten Tagen angetreten werden sollte. Jeder hatte einen Rucksack bereit mit 30–40 Kilo an Habseligkeiten. Geld durfte keines mitgenommen werden und die Pässe hatte man uns abgenommen. So stand es mit unseren Plänen nach Palestina zu gehen. Auf der anderen Seite winkte Amerika, aber trotzdem hielt ich es für besser nach Palestina auszuwandern, da ich fühlte es sei günstiger, so rasch als nur möglich das Land zu verlassen, denn meine Verhaftung schien eine Frage von Tagen—vielleicht Stunden! Die amerikanische Chance war aber so verlockend und ich selbst absolut nicht mehr in der Lage, klar zu sehen und Entscheidungen zu treffen. Ich legte also damals unser Leben, d. h. die Entscheidung über unsere Flucht, in die Hände meines Freundes, Prof. Dr. Fischer, des bekannten Psychiaters, der später von den Nazis umgebracht wurde.

Dr. Fischer entschied sich für Amerika.

[Extra paragraph replacing the previous sentence on an inserted page:
 Unterdessen tat meine Frau, was ihr gesunder Instinkt ihr eingab. Sie ging sofort zum Generalkonsul und erlangte auch von dem zuerst recht schwierigen und abgeneigten amerikanischen Beamten das Visum, nicht nur für mich, sondern auch für sich selbst und für unseren Sohn. Gleichzeitig hielt sie aber auch an dem Plan, nach Palestina zu gehen, fest, da sie meinte, man müsste möglicherweise diesen Umweg benützen, um nicht noch einmal eine Pass-Untersuchung der Nazis zu riskieren. Ich hatte meinen Pass ja eben von den „Herren“ zurückbekommen, mit dem Befehl, auf jenem Schiff nach Palestina auszuwandern. Diese „schwere“ Einreise auf einem viel zu kleinen Frachtdampfer, von den Arabern schwer bedroht, hinter dem Rücken der Engländer, war nun auch sehr gefahrvoll und so wählten wir in

Dr. John Finley Williamson [1887–1964], the President of Westminster Choir College in Princeton, NJ.

My secretary wrote to him immediately and on March 16, the day after the Hitler invasion, a telegram came, about which I was informed by telephone in Dr. [Oskar] Fischer's [1876–1942] sanatorium in Velleslavin [Veleslavín], where I was hiding: "I hope to help you, Dr. John F. Williamson, Princeton, NJ."

I could not believe that I could be so lucky as to escape the Nazi hell and reach the promised land of America. I was even more skeptical because I was obsessed with the horoscope of Herr Kopp!

An opportunity had materialized to illegally travel to Palestine on a miserable Greek boat with 200 Jewish refugees. I had in fact paid for the trip for the three of us, but before I received the exit permit from the Gestapo, I had to present myself, together with thirty other heavily incriminated political refugees, in the Petschek Palace, where I was to be interrogated with the others. I will never forget the six hours, during which I had to wait there, in the course of which I was ordered to the basement, in which the notorious shootings took place. My wife waited in pouring rain outside of the palace and thought she would never see me again. Fortunately, the interrogation went well, and we prepared for the trip to Palestine, which we were supposed to embark on in the next few days. Each of us prepared a bag-pack with 30–40 kilograms of belongings. We could not take any money and our passports had been taken away. Those were our plans for the trip to Palestine. On the other side, America was beckoning, but I still thought it better to emigrate to Palestine, because I felt it was more favorable to leave the land as quickly as possible, because my arrest seemed to be a matter of days—hours, perhaps! The American opportunity, however, was so tempting, and I myself was absolutely no longer in the position to see clearly and make decisions. I therefore laid our life, i.e., the decision about our escape, in the hands of my friend, Prof. Dr. Fischer, the famous psychiatrist, who was later murdered by the Nazis.

Dr. Fischer decided for America.

[Extra paragraph replacing the previous sentence on an inserted page: In the meantime, my wife did what her healthy instincts told her to do. She went immediately to the consul general and demanded a visa not only for me but also for herself and our son from the American official, who was quite difficult and reluctant. At the same time, she also pursued the plan to go to Palestine, because she thought, we would possibly have to use this detour, so as not to risk another passport control by the Nazis. I also received my passport back from the "gentlemen," who ordered me to emigrate to Palestine on that boat. This "difficult" trip by a cargo steamer, which was too small, threatened by the Arabs, behind the back of the English, was also

Gottes Namen doch den direkten Weg, der uns vorgezeichnet schien, vom Augenblick an, da wir das berühmte, seltene, blaue Non-Quote-Visum in der Hand hielten.]

Und nun begann eine Kette von Laufereien, Hoffnungen und Enttäuschungen. Meine Vermögensangelegenheiten mussten bereinigt werden, meine Beteiligung an dem Geschäft meines Vaters und Bruders musste einwandfrei liquidiert sein, und zwar in der Weise, dass nichts von meinem ehemaligen Vermögen übrigbleiben sollte.

Es dauerte Monate, ehe wir Pässe und Ausreisebewilligung beisammenhatten. Inzwischen wurde ich zweimal von der Gestapo, bzw. von der Finanzbehörde zur Rechenschaft gezogen und es hing nur an einem Haar, dass ich in ein Konzentrationslager gebracht worden wäre. Ein czechischer Diener meines Vaters hatte mich, um Kč. 30. von der Gestapo zu bekommen, denunziert und ausgesagt, dass ich einen grösseren Betrag czechischen Geldes nach Holland geschmuggelt hätte. Meine psychische Verfassung war zu jener Zeit recht bedenklich und nur der Geistesgegenwart meiner Frau ist es zu danken, dass die Nazis einsahen, es habe sich in meinem Falle um eine ungerechtfertigte Denunziation gehandelt. Es sah fast so aus, als habe sich der an sich korrekte Gestapo-Beamte ein Vergnügen daraus gemacht, den czechischen Denunzianten blosszustellen.

Im Ganzen und Grossen muss ich sagen, dass sich die czechischen Beamten im Allgemeinen gut benahmen. Dies drückte sich auch günstig darin aus, dass man mir bewilligte, einen grossen Teil meiner Bibliothek und einige meiner Bilder auszuführen.

Durch den Ausbruch des Krieges wurde dann unsere Auswanderung weiterhin verschoben, auch durch den Umstand, dass die Hamburg-Amerika Linie ihre Überseefahrten einstellte. Es kamen deshalb nur mehr ausländische Schiffahrtsgesellschaften in Frage. Damals telegrafierte ich meinem Freund, Dr. Alfred Einstein, ferner Frau Helene Karst und Rudolf Goldschmidt und bat sie, mit bei der Beschaffung unserer Fahrkarten zu helfen. Als Erster antwortete Einstein, welcher die drei Übersee-Fahrkarten im Betrage von \$400 sofort für uns versorgte [sic]. Auch die beiden anderen Freunde antworteten hilfsbereit. Als der Krieg dann ausgebrochen war, gab es natürlich schwierige Verordnungen und man musste neuerlich um die Ausreise ansuchen. Wir Alle standen vielleicht 20 Stunden angestellt, um die Pässe zu erhalten. Dass man hiebei „Habt-Acht“ zu stehen hatte, ohne sich zu rühren und dass man von den Nazi-bestien unentwegt angeschrien und gepufft wurde, sei nur nebenbei erwähnt.

Als wir dann endlich unsere Pässe erhalten hatten und am folgenden Tag Prag verlassen sollten, entdeckte ich dass die Gestapo mir wieder einen Besuch abgestattet hatte, um mich zu verhaften, weil ich eine Radiosendung des Präsidenten Benes aus London gehört hatte,—eine Sünde auf die Todesstrafe gesetzt war. Ich beschloss deshalb, nicht zu Hause, sondern bei meinem Freunde Schablin zu übernachten, war aber doch jeden Moment meiner Verhaftung gewärtig.

quite dangerous, and so we decided, in God's name, for the direct route, which seemed predestined to us from the moment when we received the famous, rare, blue Non-Quota Visa.]

And now began a long series of running about, hoping, and being disappointed. My financial matters needed to be cleared up, my partnership in the company of my father and brother had to be liquidated unobjectionably, in a way so that nothing would be left from my former fortune.

It lasted months before we gathered our passports and exit permits. In the meantime, I was twice summoned by the Gestapo, or rather the financial tax office, and the possibility that I would be taken to a concentration camp hung upon a thread. A Czech servant of my father denounced me to the Gestapo for 30 crowns, he testified that I smuggled a large amount of Czech money to Holland. My physical state was quite alarming in those days, and it was only thanks to my wife's presence of mind that the Nazis came to see that my case was an unjustified denouncement. To some extent, it seemed that the proper Gestapo official found amusement in exposing the Czech informer.

All things considered, I have to say that the Czech officials generally treated us well. This [good treatment] fortunately also resulted in the decision that allowed me to export a large part of my library and some of my paintings.

After the beginning of the war, our departure was postponed even further, also due to the fact that the Hamburg-America line cancelled ocean crossings. We could now only use foreign shipping companies. At that time, I sent a telegram to my friend Dr. Alfred Einstein, as well as to Frau Helene Karst and Rudolf Goldschmidt and asked them whether they could help me obtain the tickets. Einstein answered first and immediately paid three ocean-transit tickets at the price of \$400 for us. Also, the other two friends offered help. When the war broke out, there were naturally stringent regulations, and we had to apply for the exit permit once again. All of us waited in line for about 20 hours to get the passports. Incidentally, [during the waiting period] we had to stand to attention without stirring and were constantly yelled at and hit by the Nazi animals.

When we finally received our passports and were about to leave Prague the following day, I found out that the Gestapo had paid me another visit in order to arrest me, because I had listened to a radio broadcast of president Benes [Beneš] from London,—a crime punishable by death. I decided not to go home but to spend the night at my friend's Schablin, and I still expected to be arrested any moment.

Den letzten Tag unseres Aufenthaltes in der Heimat verbrachte ich teils bei meinen Eltern, teils bei der Schifffahrtsgesellschaft. Ich werde es nie vergessen, wie erschüttert meine Eltern waren, als ich ihnen mitteilte, dass ich am gleichen Tage abreisen werde! Sie hatten die Tatsache bis zum letzten Moment nicht glauben wollen und können, denn innerhalb von vier Wochen waren drei ihrer Kinder emigriert ... Ich sagte ihnen, dass ich mich nicht förmlich von ihnen verabschieden werde, sondern, so bald eben die Zeit gekommen sein werde, einfach aus dem Zimmer zu gehen beabsichtige.

[Extra paragraph on an inserted page: Unvergesslich das letzte Beisammensein mit meinem sehr guten Freund Dr. Paul Eisner und seiner Frau, mit denen mich seit vielen Jahren enge Beziehungen verbanden, unvergesslich auch der letzte Abend, nachdem ich meine Eltern verlassen hatte, mit meiner Familie, der Schwester meiner Frau und deren Mann, bei unseren lieben Freunden Sommer! Unser Zug ging um zwölf Uhr nachts.]

Als ich dann von meiner Schwiegermutter, meiner Schwägerin und meinem Schwager, sowie von einigen Freunden, und natürlich von Trude und Bruno abgeholt wurde, um zum Franz-Josephs-Bahnhof zu gehen, war ich der Einzige, der sich nicht von meinen Eltern verabschiedete...

Am Bahnhof erwartete ich jede Minute meine Verhaftung und dasselbe war der Fall, als wir die Protektoratsgrenze überschritten. Doch nichts dergleichen geschah, und wir wollten schon erleichtert aufatmen, aber nein: An der holländischen Grenze angekommen, erfuhren wir, dass wir erst 24 Stunden vor Abgang des Schiffes holländisches Gebiet betreten durften. Da aber die Abfahrt des Schiffes völlig ungewiss war und die Engländer alle Schiffe untersuchten und viele zurückwiesen, wurden wir zu unserer allergrößten Aufregung gezwungen nochmals nach Deutschland zurückzufahren. Zuerst ging es nach Reine [sic], wo man uns mit sehr scheelen Augen ansah und wo wir jeden Augenblick unsere Verhaftung und Abführung ins Konzentrationslager fürchten mussten. Dann ging es nach Münster, wo wir stundenlang im verdunkelten Bahnhof sassen. Hotels waren nämlich für Juden nicht zugänglich! Endlich erfuhr meine Frau von einem jüdischen Rechtsanwalt, Dr. Simon, den ich telefonisch anrief und der gleich sieben Personen unserer Reisegesellschaft (dazu gehörte die Familie Löwy aus Eger) bei sich aufnahm. Die Generosität der Familie Dr. Simon werden wir niemals vergessen! Von ihren rationierten Lebensmitteln teilten sie Alles redlich mit uns. Inzwischen rief ich bei der holländischen Behörde an und so gelang es uns, nach drei Tagen die holländische Grenze zu passieren. Es fiel mir wirklich ein schwerer Stein vom Herzen, als wir nun tatsächlich freies Land betraten!

[Alternative version of the previous two paragraphs on inserted pages: Als wir dann von meiner Schwiegermutter, meiner Schwägerin und meinem Schwager, sowie von Alice und Poldi Sommer zum Wilson-Bahnhof begleitet wurden, war mir das Herz doch recht schwer. Noch am Bahnhof erwarteten wir jeden Augenblick meine Verhaftung, und das Gleiche war der Fall, als wir die Protektoratsgrenze überschritten. Doch nichts der-

I spent the last day of our stay in the homeland partially at my parents', partially at the shipping company. I will never forget how shaken my parents were when I told them, that I was leaving that very day! They did not want to and could not believe it until the last moment, since within four weeks three of their children emigrated ... I told them that I did not intend to say an official goodbye to them but to simply walk out of the room when the time came.

[Extra paragraph on an inserted page: {Also} unforgettable {was} the last meeting with my very good friend Dr. Paul Eisner {1889–1958} and his wife, who had been my close friends for years, {equally} unforgettable {was} the last evening, after I left my parents, with my family, the sister of my wife and her husband, at our friends the Sommers! Our trains departed at midnight.]

When I was later picked up to go to Franz Joseph train station by my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law and my brother-in-law, as well as by some friends, and naturally by Trude and Bruno, I was the only one who did not say goodbye to my parents...

I expected to be arrested any minute both at the train station and when we were crossing the border of the Protectorate. But nothing like that happened, and we already wanted to breathe more easily, but no: at the Dutch border we found out that we could enter the Dutch territory only 24 hours before the departure of the ship. Since the departure of the ship was not known and since the English searched all ships and turned many of them back, we were forced to return to Germany, which made us extremely uneasy. At first, we went to R[h]eine, where we got evil looks and feared to be arrested at any moment and deported to a concentration camp. Then we went to Münster, where we sat for hours in a dark train station. The hotels were at that point no longer accessible for Jews! Eventually, my wife found out about a Jewish attorney, Dr. Simon, whom she telephoned and who immediately took up seven people from our travelling company (this included the Löwy family from Eger [Cheb]). We will never forget the generosity of Dr. Simon's family! They generously shared all of their rationed provisions with us. In the meantime, I called the Dutch authorities, and we managed to cross the Dutch border three days later. I was extremely relieved when we finally entered a free land!

[Alternative version of the previous two paragraphs on inserted pages: I felt quite uneasy when we were later picked up by my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law, and my brother-in-law, together with Alice {Herz Sommer, 1903-2014} and Poldi {Leopold} Sommer {1905-1945}, who accompanied us to the Wilson train station. We still expected I would be arrested any moment both at the station and when we were crossing the border of the Protectorate. But nothing like that happened, and we were ready to breathe

gleichen geschah und wir wollten schon erleichtert aufatmen,—aber nein: an der holländischen Grenze angekommen, erfuhren wir, dass wir erst 24 Stunden vor Abgang des Schiffes holländisches Gebiet betreten dürfen. Da aber die Abfahrt des Schiffes völlig ungewiss war, und da die Engländer alle Schiffe untersuchten und viele zurückhielten, wurden wir zu unserer grössten Aufregung gezwungen, nochmals nach Deutschland zurück zu fahren. Zuerst ging es nach Reine [sic], wo man uns mit sehr scheelen Augen ansah und wo wir auch jeden Augenblick unsere Verhaftung und Abführung in ein Konzentrationslager fürchten mussten. Man riet uns, die Auswanderungsgruppe zu teilen, um weniger aufzufallen und so führte man acht von uns nach Münster, wo wir stundenlang vor dem verdunkelten Bahnhof sassen. Hotels waren für Juden nicht zugänglich! Der einzige noch erleuchtete Platz war das Restaurant des Bahnhofs, wo man etwas Tee und trockenes Brot kaufen konnte. Die Kinder waren völlig erschöpft, wir betteten sie auf ein paar zusammengestellte Sessel nächst zu unserem Tisch. Ausser uns Dreien waren noch die Anderen aus der Auswanderergruppe da, und zwei Gäste, bedrohlich aussehende Männer, die ständig zu uns hinüber starrten. Kurz entschlossen stand ich auf, in dem unerträglichen Gefühl auch hier nicht bleiben können. Die Frauen weckten die bereits schlafenden Kinder, und so, halb trunken vor Überanstrengung, zog unsere kleine Gruppe durch den Wartesaal und die lange Halle des Bahnhofs. Meine Frau blieb etwas zurück; sie überlegte, was zu tun wäre, und da sah sie, was sie sofort für das Gesicht eines Schutzengels erkannte,—es war das schnauzbärtige, rotnasige, und rot bekappte Antlitz eines alten Bahnhofwärters. Sie fasste sofort Vertrauen zu ihm und fragte ihn um Rat, da wir nirgends Obdach finden konnten, weil wir das „Unglück“ hatten, Nicht-Arier zu sein. Er gab ihr die Adresse eines jüdischen Rechtsanwaltes, bei dem er früher jahrelang Chauffeur gewesen war. „Ein sehr feiner Mann“, bemerkte er dazu.

Dr. Simon war der einzige, noch aktive Anwalt im Ort für „jüdische Rechtsfragen“. Er hatte dadurch das, was man gute Beziehungen zur Gestapo nannte, und auch noch eine grössere Amtswohnung. Ich rief ihn noch um halb eins Uhr nachts an und die Familie Simon nahm uns sogleich auf. Acht fremde Menschen in jener Zeit! Die Generosität der Familie Dr. Simon werden wir niemals vergessen! Von ihren rationierten Lebensmitteln teilten sie Alles redlich mit uns.]

Man durfte nur 10 Mark über die Grenze mitnehmen, aber zum Glück hatte ich ein paar holl. Gulden in Holland [the inserted page variant: in Amsterdam] stehen, die sich aus Honoraren für Artikel, welche ich für die Amsterdamer Zeitung „Der Telegraaf“ und anderen, und aus dem Erlös für Bücherverkäufe (durch Herrn Rothschild) zusammensetzten. So konnten wir ein paar Wochen ungestört in Holland verbringen. Übrigens halfen auch die Flüchtlingscomités in Rotterdam und Amsterdam, sowie meine Freimaurer Freunde, unter denen ich die Herren deVries und Bankier Fränkel nennen möchte. Ich wüsste gern, was mit diesen beiden wirklichen Brüdern geschehen ist...

more easily—but no: at the Dutch border we found out that we could enter the Dutch territory only 24 hours before the departure of the ship. Since the departure of the ship was not known and since the English searched all ships and turned many of them back, we were forced to return to Germany, which made us extremely concerned. At first, we went to R[h]eine, where we got evil looks and feared to be arrested at any moment and deported to a concentration camp. Someone told us to split our refugee group to be less conspicuous, and eight of us were taken to Münster, where we sat for hours in a dark station. The hotels were not accessible for Jews! The only lit space was the station restaurant, where we could buy tea and some dry bread. The children were completely exhausted, we put them to sleep on a few chairs that we brought together next to our table. Besides the three of us, there were other members of our refugee group there, as well as two scary looking men, who were constantly staring at us. I stood up impulsively, unable to stay there in the unbearable situation. The women woke up the sleeping children, and our small group, half-drunk with over-exhaustion, started moving through the waiting room and station hall. My wife stayed behind a little; she thought about what to do, and at that point she saw someone whom she immediately took for a guardian angel—it was the mustachioed, red-nosed face of an old station guard wearing a red cap. She immediately found him trustworthy and asked him for advice, [explaining] that we could not find accommodation, because we were so “unlucky” as to be non-Aryans. He gave her the address of a Jewish attorney, for whom he had earlier worked as a driver. “A very fine man,” he remarked.

Dr. Simon was the only still-active attorney for “Jewish legal matters” in that place. That is why he had what could be called good relations with the Gestapo and also still a larger apartment. I called him at half past midnight and the Simon family took us up immediately. Eight strangers in that time! We will never forget the generosity of Dr. Simon’s family! They shared all of their rationed provisions with us.]

We could only take 10 marks across the border, but fortunately I had at my disposal a few Dutch guildens in Holland [inserted page variant: in Amsterdam], which I put together from the honoraria for the articles that I wrote for the Amsterdam newspaper *Det Telegraaf* and others, and from the proceeds of the sale of books (through Herr Rothschild). Thus, we could spend a few undisturbed weeks in Holland. Also, the committees for refugees in Rotterdam and Amsterdam were able to help, together with my Masonic friends, among which I would like to name Herr DeVries and the banker Fraenkel. I would like to know what has happened with these true brothers...

In Rotterdam wohnten wir bei einer Familie Seckbach, die sich ausserordentlich freundlich zu uns benahm.

Der „Pass-Teufel“ trieb auch in Holland weiter sein Spiel mit uns: Da das amerikanische „Non Quota Visum“, das mit so grosser Mühe in Prag,—vor Allem durch die Hartnäckigkeit Trudes—erreicht worden war, ablief, noch ehe wir ein Schiff zur Abreise hatten, so war unsere Amerikareise neuerlich in Frage gestellt. Das Visum wurde jedoch glücklicherweise erneuert, nachdem Dr. Williamson meine Anstellung am Princeton Choir College telegraphisch bestätigt hatte. Und so verliessen wir Rotterdam am 22. Oktober an Bord des Schiffes „Staatendam“. Die vielen Wracks im Kanal machten besonders auf Bruno einen grossen und furchterregenden Eindruck, ebenso die Rettungsübungen an Bord des Schiffes. Von Southhampton an ging aber unsere Reise glatt von Statten und wir erreichten Hoboken am 31. Oktober 1939. Ein Angestellter des „Westminster Choir College“ erwartete uns dort, Mr. Baldini, auch der Cellist Barati und beide brachten uns per Auto gleich nach Princeton. Wir wohnten während der ersten Tage im Hause Dr. Williamson's und genossen die Gastfreundschaft im Kreise seiner Familie. Ein paar Tage später fuhr ich zum ersten Male nach New York und sah die Wolkenkratzer und das verwirrende Leben am Times Square.

Wir bekamen nun eine neue Wohnung im Hause eines Klavierstimmers, wo wir 1 Jahr lang ein kleines „two room apartment“ innehatten. Von dort zogen wir in eine etwas grössere Wohnung, 80 Nassau Street, und dann in ein schönes Haus in derselben Strasse. Ich hatte ein ganz kleines Einkommen und wir mussten uns auf das Allerbescheidenste einrichten. Das Einkommen bestand aus einem Fond, den die Studenten und Professoren des „Westminster Choir College“ für uns gebildet hatten. Sehr hilfreich waren zu jener Zeit auch Dr. Carlton Sprague Smith und Mr. Mark Brunswick. Dr. Sprague Smith war seiner Zeit durch Guido Adler, seinen Lehrer, an mich nach Prag empfohlen worden. Er machte mich mit Mark Brunswick bekannt, der mir zwei „grants“, den einen vom „Musicians' Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Scholars“, den Andern vom „Oberländer Trust Fund“ verschaffte. Dies erleichterte mir den Anfang beträchtlich, besonders dann, als ich im kommenden Schuljahr bereits am College unterrichtete und Trude aushilfsweise Klavierinstruktorin wurde, wofür sie allerdings zunächst keine Bezahlung erhielt. Sie hatte aber schon im 2. Jahr ein Gehalt von 40 Privat Schülern.

Dr. Rice, einer der einflussreichsten Männer im Leben New Yorks, den ich durch die Williamsons kennenlernte, vermittelte mir die Bekanntschaft von Olin Downes, dem ersten Musikkritiker der „New York Times“ und durch ihn kam ich in die sehr vorteilhafte Lage, eine grössere Anzahl von Artikeln für die oben genannte Zeitung zu schreiben. Dadurch wurde mein Name bald mehr und mehr bekannt und ich bekam Aufträge für andere Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, z. B. für „Musical America“, „Musical Courier“, „Christian Science Monitor“, etc. und diese Tätigkeit, in der ich vor Allem durch meinen Freund

In Rotterdam, we lived with a family Seckbach, who treated us with unusual kindness.

The passport-devil was playing further tricks on us in Holland: the American “Non-Quota Visa,” which was obtained with so much effort in Prague—especially thanks to Trude’s persistence, expired before we even had an exit ship, and our American journey was once again in question. The visa was, however, fortunately renewed when Dr. Williamson sent a telegram confirming my position at the Princeton Choir College. And thus, we left Rotterdam on October 22 on board of the ship “Staatendam.” There were numerous boat accidents in the Canal, which made a great and terrifying impression, especially on Bruno, as did the rescue practices on board of the ship. From Southampton, our journey continued smoothly, and we arrived in Hoboken on October 31, 1939. Mr. Baldini, an employee of Westminster Choir College was waiting for us there together with the cellist [George] Barati [1913–1996], and they took us to Princeton by car. During the first few days, we lived in Dr. Williamson’s house and enjoyed his family’s hospitality. A few days later, I went to New York for the first time and saw skyscrapers and the confusing life on Times Square.

We moved to a new place in the house of a piano tuner, in which we rented a small “two-room apartment” for one year. From there, we moved into a larger apartment, 80 Nassau Street, and then into a nice house on the same street. I had a very small income and we had to get by in the most modest way. The income was based on a fund that was created for us by the students and professors of Westminster Choir College. During that time, Dr. Carlton Sprague Smith [1905–1994] and Mr. Mark Brunswick [1902–1971] were very helpful. Dr. Sprague Smith was once recommended to me in Prague by Guido Adler, his teacher. He introduced me to Mark Brunswick, who provided me with two grants, one from the Musicians’ Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Scholars, one from the Oberlaender Trust Fund. This made our beginnings a lot easier, particularly in the following school year, when I was already teaching at the College and Trude became a temporary piano instructor, for which she was not paid, however.

Dr. Rice, one of the most influential men in New York, whom I met through the Williamsons, introduced me to Olin Downes [1886–1955], the first music critic of the *New York Times*, and thanks to him I got into the very favorable position to write a larger number of articles for the above-mentioned newspaper. Thanks to this, my name soon became more and more well-known and I received commissions from other newspapers and journals, for example from *Musical America*, *Musical Courier*, *Christian Science Monitor*, etc. These

Dr. Ralph Wood (damals Instruktor für Deutsch an der Princeton University) unterstützt wurde, der meine Arbeiten übersetzte. Auch die Malerin Carola Hauschka, die einer alten deutschen Familie entstammt, hat eine ganze Reihe meiner Artikel übersetzt und in der ersten Zeit meines Aufenthaltes in Amerika sich als wahre Freundin bewährt.

Von meinen Eltern hörte ich noch bis zum Jahre 1941, und sogar als der Krieg schon begonnen hatte, kamen hie und da durch das „Rote Kreuz“ Nachrichten von drüben. Später, im Herbst 1942, erhielt ich eine Nachricht durch das „Rote Kreuz“, in welcher mir meine Schwägerin Franzl Klein mitteilte, dass meine beiden Eltern in Theresienstadt gestorben seien. Mein Vater wurde, da er schwer herzkrank war, mit einer Bahre in den Zug, der für Theresienstadt bestimmt war, gehoben und so auch in dem Bestimmungsort in seine Behausung praktiziert. Er starb dort acht Tage später. Meine Mutter überlebte ihn um ein halbes Jahr und starb in ihrem Zimmer, das sie mit meiner Tante Judith Nettel teilte. Ich habe keinen Brief und auch keine Erinnerung mehr von ihnen erhalten.

Der Eintritt Amerikas in den Weltkrieg hatte zwei schwerwiegende Auswirkungen für mich persönlich: der New Yorker Verleger „Greystone Press“, der durch die Vermittlung meines Freundes Paul Stefan (der 1941 mit seiner Frau Yella in den Vereinigten Staaten eingewandert war) ein Buch bei mir bestellt hatte, das die Geschichte der Tanzmusik behandeln sollte, brach gerade damals zusammen, als ich, nachdem ich an dem Buche ein ganzes Jahr gearbeitet hatte, dasselbe fertig zur Übergabe hatte. Die Übersetzerin des Buches war Frau Judith Heller, der ich auch an dieser Stelle für ihre Bemühungen meinen wärmsten Dank aussprechen möchte. Ich musste nun sehen, das Buch anderweitig unterzubringen. Es war nicht leicht! Verschiedene Verleger kamen in Frage, aber widrige Umstände verhinderten ein Zustandekommen des Vertrages immer wieder. Ich machte eine ganze Menge unangenehme Erfahrungen. Zudem wurde ich damals von Dr. Williamson dreimonatlich gekündigt, da die Studentenschaft auf weniger als 50% zusammengeschrumpft war (durch Einrückungen). Ich erhielt aber bald darauf eine kleine Entschädigung dadurch, dass ich eine Anstellung an der „Settlement Music School“ in Philadelphia bekam, wohin ich einmal per Woche fuhr, um 2 oder 3 Stunden lang Unterricht zu erteilen. Es war Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas, der Sekretär der „Carl Schurz Foundation“, der mir jene Stelle vermittelte. Mr. Johan Grolle, der Direktor der Schule, stellte auch meine Frau als Klavierlehrerin an und sie wirkte dort drei Jahre lang zugleich mit der Anstellung in Princeton. Da meine Lehrtätigkeit nunmehr eine recht beschränkte war, warf ich mich umso mehr auf das Schreiben von Artikeln und Büchern. Es war dies etwa 1942, in welchem Jahr ich auch meine Freundin Margaret Bush kennenlernte, die später meine ausgezeichnete Helferin und Mitarbeiterin wurde. Sie hat vor allem alle Schwierigkeiten und endlichen Erfolge mit meinen Büchern miterlebt. Das „Tanzbuch“ fand endlich einen Verleger in Dr. Dagobert Runes, dem Leiter der „Philosophical Library, New York“, bei dem es endlich 1947 erschien, nachdem es etwa

activities were supported by Dr. Ralph Wood (who was then an instructor of German at Princeton University), who translated my work. The painter Carola Hauschka [1883–1948], who came from one of the oldest German families, translated a number of my articles as well, and proved herself to be a true friend during the first period of my stay in America.

I heard from my parents until 1941, and even after the war started, bits of news would arrive here and there through the Red Cross. Later, in the fall 1942, I received a message through the Red Cross, in which my sister-in-law Franz Klein wrote that both of my parents had died in Theresienstadt. My father, who was severely ill, was brought and lifted to the train bound for Theresienstadt on a stretcher, and this also happened at the destination. He died there eight days later. My mother lived for another half a year and died in her room, which she shared with my aunt Judith Nettl. I received no more letters and mementos from them.

The entry of the United States into the world war had a serious impact on me personally: the New York publisher Greystone Press, which commissioned a book about the history of dance music from me, thanks to the mediation of my friend Paul Stefan [1879–1943] (who immigrated to the United State in 1941 with his wife Yella), collapsed just at the time when I was ready to hand in the finished manuscript after a whole year of work on the book. The translator of the book was Frau Judith Heller, to whom I want to express my deepest gratitude for her efforts. I had to look for other ways of having the book published. It was not easy! Various publishers came to mind, but adverse circumstances repeatedly precluded the completion of a contract. I had a number of unpleasant experiences. On top of that, I received a three-month termination notice from Dr. Williamson, because the student body was reduced by 50 percent (due to the draft). I was soon somewhat compensated, nevertheless, because I was hired by the Settlement Music School in Philadelphia, where I commuted once a week, to give 2 to 3 hours of instruction. It was Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas [1882–1953], the secretary of the Carl Schurz Foundation, who arranged that position. Mr. Johan Grolle, the director of the school, also hired my wife as a piano instructor, and she worked there for three years in conjunction with her position in Princeton. Because my teaching activities were now quite limited, I focused even more on writing articles and books. This might have been in 1942, the year in which I also met my friend Margaret Bush, who later became an excellent assistant and collaborator. She lived through all the disappointments and eventual triumphs connected to my books. The “Dance Book” finally found its publisher in Dr. Dagobert Runes [1902–1982], the director of the Philosophical Library, New York, where it was published in 1947, after it

zwei Jahre vorher bei Espasa Calpe in Buenos Aires in spanischer Übersetzung erschienen war. Andere Bücher, wie „Luther and Music“, das Buch der „Musical Documents“, „Casanova“, „The National Anthems of the World“, etc. entstanden und wurden zum grössten Teil hier und in Südamerika zur Publikation angekommen. In Mrs. Frida Best fand ich eine verständnisvolle Übersetzerin.

1945 erhielt ich einen Antrag als Professor für Musikgeschichte an die „Indiana University“ zu gehen. Ich lehnte damals ab, als jedoch im Jahre darauf die Aufforderung wiederholt wurde, nahm ich die Anstellung an und übersiedelte mit meiner Familie 1947 nach Bloomington, Indiana. Ich verbringe seither alle meine Ferientage in New York, das ich sehr liebe und wohin mich stets, neben persönlichen, eine ganze Anzahl beruflicher Gründe führen. Seit dem 1. Juli 1946 ist meine Schwiegermutter, die glücklich aus der Theresienstädter Hölle gerettet wurde, bei uns.

Die Unsicherheit des Lebens in Amerika bringt es mit sich, dass man beruflich sozusagen jeden Augenblick auf dem „qui vive“ ist. Nerven und Muskeln müssen daher immer gestrafft sein und es darf kaum einen Moment geben, in dem man mit ruhigem Gewissen „verschnauften“ könnte. Das Leben ist hier in vieler Hinsicht angenehmer und bequemer als in Europa, in anderer Hinsicht aber ist es nicht nur schwieriger, sondern sogar gefährvoller. Das, was ich am schwersten zu ertragen finde, ist der Mangel an beruflicher Sicherheit. Der Gehalt ist so, dass man recht gut davon leben kann, aber nur sehr wenig erspart. In meinem Alter gibt es auch weiter keine Pensionsversicherung und mit Sorgen muss man daran denken, dass man etwa seinem Kind oder Freunden zur Last fallen könnte, wenn man erkrankte oder aus einem anderen Grunde keine Arbeit fände. Nach fast zehnjährigem Aufenthalt in Amerika verliert man allerdings fast die Möglichkeit, das alte europäische Leben mit dem in der „Neuen Welt“ zu vergleichen. Man weiss, dass man eine schöne Jugend in einer sicher glücklicheren Zeit hinter sich hat, man ist aber auch dankbar dafür, dass man in einem Lande lebt, in dem man sich frei bewegen und frei leben kann, obwohl man sich dessen bewusst ist, dass alle Vorteile dieses Landes mehr den wirklichen Begüterten als den mehr oder minder Mittellosen vorbehalten sind. Die Jugend hat tatsächlich grosse Chancen, wenn sie auch heute lange nicht mehr in dem gleichen Masse jedermann zugänglich sind, wie noch vor etwa dreissig oder vierzig Jahren. Meines Sohnes wegen bin ich besonders glücklich, hier in Amerika zu sein! Ich selbst fand Arbeit, Anerkennung, ein nicht allzu unbequemes Leben, Freunde, und Stabilität meiner Gesundheit. Amerika ist ein Land mit grossen Möglichkeiten, und wann man es versteht, Kleinigkeiten die einen oft stören mögen, zu übersehen und die Menschen zu nehmen, wie sie eben sind, den Verhältnissen Rechnung zu tragen,—dann kann, wenn auch nicht glücklich, so doch „happy“,—halbwegs zufrieden sein! Ich habe es noch nicht einen Augenblick bedauert, die „Alte Welt“ verlassen zu haben.

had already appeared two years earlier in Spanish translation in Espasa Calpe in Buenos Aires.¹³ Other books, such as “Luther and Music,” the book of “Musical Documents,” “Casanova,” “The National Anthems of the World,” etc., were created and were published mostly here and in South America.¹⁴ In Mrs. Frida Best I found an understanding translator.

In 1945, I was offered a position as Professor of Music History at Indiana University. I turned it down at first, but when the offer was repeated in the following year, I accepted it and relocated to Bloomington, Indiana, in 1946 with my family. Since then, I spend all my vacations in New York, where I love it and where I have a number of personal and professional ties. Since July 1, 1946, my mother-in-law, who was fortunately rescued from the Theresienstadt hell, lives with us.

The uncertainty of life in America is connected to the fact that one needs to be constantly on the lookout professionally. Nerves and muscles must be constantly tightened, and it is impossible to have a single moment in which one can have a breather without feeling guilty about it. Life here is in many ways more pleasant and comfortable than in Europe, but in other aspects it is not only more difficult, but also more dangerous. What I find the most difficult to bear is the lack of professional security. From the income it is possible to live comfortably, but not save up a lot. In my age, there is no retirement insurance, and one has to worry about becoming a burden to one’s children and friends in case one cannot find work due to illness or some other reason. After nearly ten years in America, I nearly lose the ability to compare the old European life with that in the “new world.” I am aware of the nice youth in a certainly happier time but also grateful for the life in a land where everyone can move and live freely, although I realize that all the advantages of this land are available more to the wealthy than to the poor. The youth has certainly enormous opportunities, although they are no longer available in the same measure to everyone, unlike thirty or forty years ago. I am particularly happy to be in America for the sake of my son! I myself found work and recognition, a not-completely comfortable life, friends, and stable health. America is a land of great opportunities, and when one knows how to overlook the small things that tend to annoy us and to accept the people as they are, one can be halfway satisfied, “happy,” even if one is not exactly “glücklich”! I have never for a moment regretted leaving the “old world.”

13 Paul NETTL, *La música en la danza* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1945); Paul NETTL, *The Story of Dance Music* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947).

14 Paul NETTL, *The Book of Musical Documents* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948); Paul NETTL, *De Lutero a Bach* [trans. Adam F. Sosa] (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1948); Paul NETTL, *Luther and Music*, trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948); Paul NETTL, *Casanova und seine Zeit: zur Kultur und Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 1949); Paul NETTL, *The Other Casanova: A Contribution to Eighteenth-Century Music and Manners* ([New York:] Philosophical Library, 1950); Paul NETTL, *National Anthems*, trans. Alexander Gode (New York: Storm Publishers, 1952).

Amerika ist heute ein Brennpunkt des Weltgeschehens und der modernen Zivilisation. In New York, wie in San Francisco findet man seine alten Freunde wieder, man trifft neue wertvolle Menschen aus aller Welt und wenn man etwas Imagination hat, dann kann man etwas erreichen, auch wenn man schon sechzig Jahre alt ist. In meinem Berufe habe ich im Grunde genommen das erreicht, was in Europa zu erreichen ausserordentlich schwierig war. Ich bin Voll-Professor (Ordinarius) an einer der grössten amerikanischen Universitäten und darf sagen, dass ich unter den Kollegen und Studenten sehr angesehen bin. Der Unterricht (etwa 10 Stunden in der Woche) drückt mich nicht allzu hart. Die Studenten sind im Ganzen und Grossen ausserordentlich aufnahmefähig. Sie bewundern die europäische Kultur, die ihnen ein wenig fremd ist und sind überaus ambitioniert. Gewiss spielt das Materielle eine grosse Rolle. Jeder trachtet einen „degree“ zu erhalten, um einen „job“, der das Leben gewährleisten würde, zu finden. Dass heute Musikologie auch ein Erwerbsgegenstand geworden ist, muss als eines der vielen Wunder Amerikas bezeichnet werden. Mit meinen Büchern und Artikeln hatte ich auch recht gute Erfolge. An die hundert Kritiken über mein Buch „The Story of Dance Music“ haben mich erreicht und der grösste Teil derselben anerkennt die grosse Information, welche das Publikum durch mein Buch erhält. Es ist sicherlich nicht in meisterhaftem Englisch geschrieben, aber der Grossteil der Buchreferenten ist grosszügig genug, um über dem Inhalt die sprachlichen Unebenheiten zu vergessen. Ich erwähne das, weil es für den Amerikaner charakteristisch ist. Mit meinem Buch „Luther and Music“ bin ich in ein völlig neues geistiges Fahrwasser gekommen. Ich hatte mich für Protestantismus schon seit langem interessiert und gehöre seit Jahren der lutheranischen Kirche an. In Amerika, und hauptsächlich durch meine Anstellung am „Westminster Choir College“ habe ich mich mit religiösen Fragen wieder beschäftigt und versuchte eine Darstellung der Beziehungen zwischen Lutherantertum und deutscher Musikgeschichte zu geben, wobei ich mich auf die philosophischen Ideen Wilhelm Diltheys stützte. Ich bin stolz darauf, dass Prof. Otto Piper, einer der führenden Theologen Amerikas und der ganzen Welt, in seiner Buchbesprechung erklärte, dass das Buch auch der Theologie einen Impuls geben werde.

In den letzten Monaten habe ich mich wieder mehr mit Mozart beschäftigt. Ein grösseres Essay über Mozarts „Veilchen“ erscheint als Einleitung einer Faksimile Ausgabe dieses schönsten Liedes im Verlag „Storm Publishers“.

Ein anderes kleines Buch beschäftigt sich mit Melchior Grimm und in etwa einem Jahr soll in der „Philosophical Library“ mein Buch „Book of the Forgotten Musicians“ erscheinen. Meine Arbeiten an einer „Encyclopedia of Music“ und an einem „Beethoven Dictionary“ gehen leider nur langsam vor-

Today, America is the focus point for world events and [the center] of modern civilization. In New York as well as in San Francisco, it is possible to meet old friends, meet new valuable people from all over the world, and with a little bit of imagination, it is possible to achieve something even at the age of sixty. In my profession I have basically achieved what in Europe was enormously difficult. I am a full professor (Ordinarius) at one of the largest American universities, and I can say that I am esteemed among my colleagues and students. The teaching responsibilities (about 10 hours a week) do not strain me too much. The students are mostly quite receptive. They admire European culture, which is somewhat alien to them, and they are exceedingly ambitious. The material side of things plays certainly a large role. Everyone wants to receive a “degree” in order to find a “job” that would guarantee life support. I view the fact that musicology has become a means to make a living as one of the many wonders of America. I have also achieved a lot of success with my books and articles. About one hundred critiques of my book *The Story of Dance Music* have reached me, and the larger portion of these acknowledges the large amount of information that the book presents to its readers. It is certainly not written in perfect English, but the reviewers are for the most part generous enough to forget the language idiosyncrasies and focus on the content. I mention this because it is characteristic of Americans. With my book *Luther and Music*, I entered a completely new spiritual realm. I have been interested in Protestantism for a long time and have for years belonged to the Lutheran church. In America, I started to pay attention to religious questions once again, mainly because of my position at Westminster Choir College, and I attempted to provide a depiction of the relationship between Lutheranism and German music history, and in this endeavor, I followed the philosophical ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey [1833–1911]. I am proud that in his review, Prof. Otto Piper, one of the leading theologians in America and in the whole world, claimed that the book has also provided an important incentive to theology.¹⁵

In recent months, I have also started to deal with Mozart once again. A lengthy essay on Mozart’s *Veilchen* will appear as an introduction to a facsimile edition of this beautiful Lied, published by Storm Publishers.¹⁶

Another short book focuses on Melchior Grimm, and in about a year the Philosophical Library should publish my *Book of Forgotten Musicians*.¹⁷ My work on an *Encyclopedia of Music* and a *Beethoven Dictionary* are unfortunate-

15 Otto Piper, “Luther and Church Music, by Paul NETTL. Translated by Frida Best and Ralph Wood. Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia (1948). IX, 174 pp. \$2.25,” *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 42, no. 3 (Winter 1949): 45–6.

16 Paul NETTL, *Das Veilchen: The History of a Song* (New York: Storm Publishers, 1949).

17 Paul NETTL, *Der kleine Prophet von Böhmisches-Brod: Mozart und Grimm* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 1953); Paul NETTL, *Book of Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951).

wärts. Der Tag ist leider zu kurz für Alles, was man tun möchte und man ist selbst oftmals ein wenig zersplittert.

Was ich hier wirklich vermisse ist die Möglichkeit, an den Urquellen Forschungsarbeit zu leisten. Mit Wehmut erinnere ich mich daran, wie ich im Schloss Raudnitz in Böhmen, im erzbischöflichen Archiv zu Kremsier, am Staatsarchiv in Wien, usw. an den Quellen direkt studieren konnte! Die amerikanischen Bibliotheken sind ohne jeden Zweifel wunderbar. Man kann sagen, dass fast Alles, was in den letzten hundert-fünfzig Jahren in Europa erschienen ist, in allen grösseren Bibliotheken dieses Landes zu finden ist und eingesehen werden kann. Der Entlehnungsdienst ist auf das Beste organisiert. Und doch, die Forscherfreunde und die gespannte Erwartung, mit der man an einer der grossen Bibliotheken in Prag (Strahov), oder in Osseg oder Tepl sass und auf eine grosse Entdeckung wartete, – die oft gar nicht kam – ist durch nichts zu ersetzen!

Man trifft Hunderte von neuen „friends“, aber diese Freundschaft ist mehr oder weniger nur an der Oberfläche. Man ist immer freundlich, zuvorkommend, man hört selten etwas Unangenehmes, aber man darf nicht über-rascht sein, wenn man auf die harte Wirklichkeit stösst, die man auch lächelnd serviert bekommt und lächelnd akzeptieren muss! Das ist eben auch Amerika ... Wo sind die Stammtische der Freunde im „Café Lloyd“ oder im Wiener „Heinrichshof“? Wo ist das gemütliche Beisammensein und die anregende Unterhaltung in der Freimaurerloge? Die Freimaurerei spielt hier eine grosse Rolle, aber sie lässt sich mit jener in Europa doch nicht vergleichen. Tausende von Logen sind über das ganze Land verteilt und alle haben eine einheitliche Mitgliedschaft, bestehend aus Kleinbürgern, denen das freimaurerische Erlebnis und die Mystik der Initiation völlig fremd sind. Dafür wird sehr viel charitas geleistet, doch auch Wohltätigkeit ist wiederum völlig unpersönlich, da sie nur im Grossen geübt wird.

Ich fasse es als meine Aufgabe, die alte europäische Kultur hier weiter zu pflegen und sie in Büchern, Aufsätzen, Vorlesungen, weiter zu geben. In dieser Hinsicht fühle ich mich als Pionier mit allen Freunden und Leiden des Pioniertums...

Paul Netti

ly progressing slowly.¹⁸ The days are unfortunately too short for everything one would like to do and I am also often a little scattered.

What I truly miss [in America] is the ability to study primary sources. With sadness do I remember my work with such sources in the Raudnitz Castle in Bohemia, in the archbishopric archive in Kremsier, in the state archive in Vienna, etc.! American libraries are without doubt amazing. I can say that nearly anything that was published in Europe in the last 150 years can be found and studied in all the largest libraries in this country. The interlibrary loan is organized in the best possible way. And yet, it is impossible to replace the research pleasure and excited expectation, with which I sat in the great libraries in Prague (Strahov) or in Osseg or Tepl [Teplá] and awaited a great discovery—which often did not happen!

One meets hundreds of new “friends,” but these friendships are more or less superficial. People are always friendly, approachable, seldom do they say anything unpleasant, but no one is surprised to be confronted with the harsh reality, which is often served with a smile and which has to be accepted with a laugh! That, too, is America... Where are the meetings with friends in Café Lloyd or in the Viennese Heinrichshof? Where is the comfortable get-together and the exciting conversations in the Masonic lodge? Masonry plays an important role in America, but it cannot be compared to what it meant in Europe. There are thousands of lodges sprinkled around the country and all of them have a steady membership, consisting of *petits bourgeois*, to whom the Masonic experience and the mysticism of the initiation remain completely alien. At the same time, they do a lot of charity work, yet this charity is completely impersonal, because it is practiced only at large.

I see it as my task to further the practice of the old European culture in America and to pass it on in books, lectures, [and] presentations. In this respect, I feel like a pioneer, with all the joys and sufferings of pioneering...

Paul Nettl

Transcribed and Translated by Martin Nedbal

18 Paul NETTL, *Beethoven Encyclopedia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956).

Bruno Nettel (1930–2020)

■ Martin Nedbal

Bruno Nettel, a celebrated American ethnomusicologist, was an honored native of Prague. His mother, Gertrud Nettel (née Hutter), was a prominent Prague pianist, and his father, Paul Nettel, was a prolific musicologist at Prague's German University. The Nettels escaped to the United States in 1939, several months after the Nazi occupation, during which many of their relatives perished.

In 1946 Bruno Nettel moved with his parents and his maternal grandmother, a Theresienstadt survivor, to Bloomington, Indiana. He received his PhD from Indiana University in 1953. In 1964, Nettel became a professor at the University of Illinois, where he eventually became Professor Emeritus of Music and Anthropology.

Nettel's ethnomusicological field research focused on the musical cultures of Native Americans, Iran, and India. Nettel's writings continue to shape the methods of American ethnomusicology and serve as a foundation for the discipline's history. His most influential books are the three editions of *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, *Heartland Excursions* (1995), and *Nettel's Elephant* (2010).

Nettel always embraced his Bohemian heritage. He taught classes on Czech music and took Czech language courses in his retirement. A number of his autobiographical essays discuss his childhood experiences in pre-WWII Prague. His last book, *Becoming an Ethnomusicologist* (2013), devotes two of five chapters to his parents and is a treasure trove of information about Prague's German-Jewish community. Nettel visited Prague several times after the fall of communism, and was awarded the Jan Patočka Memorial Medal in 2008.

I first contacted Bruno Nettel in May 2018, before my trip to Indiana University to study the estate of Paul Nettel. Bruno Nettel did not know what exactly was in that estate; he hinted that his relationship with Paul Nettel and his second wife was estranged toward the end of his father's life. I also visited Nettel in Illinois on March 13, 2019, one day before his eighty-ninth birthday and two days before the eightieth anniversary of the Nazi occupation of Prague. We kept in touch in the following months, and he looked forward to seeing his father's autobiographical essay in print.

HUDEBNÍ HISTORIE A ETNICKÁ PŘÍSLUŠNOST MEZI PRAHOU A INDIANOU: PAUL NETTL, ČECHY 18. STOLETÍ A NĚMECTVÍ

■ Martin Nedbal

Česko-americký muzikolog Paul Nettle prožil začátek kariéry v Praze, v roce 1939, po nacistické okupaci Československa, však emigroval do Spojených států. Článek se zabývá Nettlovými spisy o české historii a kultuře, přičemž do výzkumu zahrnuje jeho vědecké články, přednášky pro širokou veřejnost a autobiografické studie. Uváděné materiály zahrnují anglické a německé texty, publikované články, nepublikované rukopisy a strojopisné texty uchované v Nettlově pozůstalosti na Indiana University, ale i strojopisné záznamy rozhlasových pořadů z archivu Československého rozhlasu. Tyto materiály ozřejmují komplikované problémy národní a národnostní identity v Československu v období před 2. světovou válkou i uvnitř evropské vystěhovalecké komunity ve Spojených státech po válce. Z výzkumu vyplývá, že Nettle navzdory, nebo snad právě díky svým českým a židovským kořenům, projevoval celoživotní příklon k doktríně německé kulturní nadřazenosti, že toto jeho ideové nastavení vlastně souznělo s jeho příklonem k multikulturalismu, a že jeho postoje vůči specificky české kultuře kolísaly v závislosti na politické situaci ve střední Evropě mezi odmítáním a váhavým přitakáním. Některé z těchto proměnlivých postojů souvisely i s Nettlovým židovským původem i s dalšími faktory, jež z něho činily celoživotního outsidera, jakožto Němce žijícího v předválečném Československu, Žida v německojazyčném českém prostředí, a střeoevropského emigranta v Americe. Autor článku v této souvislosti dospívá k závěru, že v kontextu společenských a politických zvrátů zasahujících do Nettlova života i života jeho rodiny představovalo ideové východisko hlásající německou kulturní nadřazenost stabilizující prvek a zároveň i jakousi absolutní, nezpochybnitelnou hodnotu.

Součástí článku je i anotovaná edice Nettlových dosud nepublikovaných pamětí. Sepsal je koncem 40. let 20. století v Indianě a obsahují řadu dříve neznámých podrobných údajů týkajících se nejen Nettlova životopisu, ale i dějin střeoevropské muzikologie a kulturního života pražské německojazyčné komunity před druhou světovou válkou.

Klíčová slova: Paul Nettle; Bruno Nettle; Gustav Becking; Heinrich Rietsch; Československá hudební věda; sudetoněmecká hudba; němectví; Stamic; Biber; Československý rozhlas

Přeložil Ivan Vomáčka

MUSIC HISTORY AND ETHNICITY FROM PRAGUE TO INDIANA: PAUL NETTL, EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA, AND GERMANNESS

■ Martin Nedbal

Bohemian-American musicologist Paul Nettl spent an early part of his career in Prague but emigrated to the United States in 1939, after the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. This article examines Nettl's writings on Bohemian history and culture, including his scholarly articles, lectures for the general public, and autobiographical essays. These materials include both English and German sources, published articles, unpublished manuscripts and typescripts preserved in Nettl's estate at Indiana University, and typescripts of radio programs from the Czech Radio Archive. These materials illuminate the complex issues of national and ethnic identity in pre-WWII Czechoslovakia and within the post-WWII Central European migrant community in the United States. The examination shows that despite, or perhaps because of, his Bohemian and Jewish roots, Nettl exhibited a life-long commitment to the doctrine of German cultural superiority, that this ideology was in fact compatible with his commitment to multiculturalism, and that his attitudes to specifically Czech culture fluctuated, depending on the political situation in Central Europe, between a rejection and a hesitant acknowledgment. Some of these fluctuating attitudes were also connected to Nettl's Jewishness and other elements that made him a life-long outsider—as a German in pre-WWII Czechoslovakia, a Jew in the German-Bohemian community, and a Central European emigrant in America. This article argues that within the social and political upheavals affecting Nettl and his family, the ideology of German cultural superiority represented a stabilizing element and an absolute, unquestionable value.

The article also includes an annotated edition of a previously unpublished memoir by Nettl. The memoir was written in Indiana in the late 1940s and contains a number of previously unknown details not only about Nettl's biography, but also about the history of Central European musicology and the cultural life of Prague's German community before WWII.

Key words: Paul Nettl; Bruno Nettl; Gustav Becking; Heinrich Rietsch; Czechoslovak musicology; Sudeten-German music; Germanness; Stamitz; Biber; Czechoslovak Radio

Paul Nettl, geboren am 10. Januar 1889 in Hohenelbe in Boehmen.

Vater Karl Nettl aus Grossbok in Boehmen stammend.

Mutter Jenny Nettl, czechischer Abkunft,

geborene Beckova aus Horice in Boehmen.
Ihr Vater hatte eine Landwirtschaft, waeh-
rend die Eltern des Vaters von Paul Nettl
kleine Kaufleute waren.

Vater Nettl stammte aus einer kinderreichen Familie. Er
und seine Brueder waren anfaenglich im Papierhandel taetig
und gruendeten spaeter Papierfabriken, so dass der Name Nettl
noch heute stets im Zusammenhang mit der Papierindustrie ge-
nannt wird. Vor dem Hitler-Umsturz waren acht Papierfabriken
in der Czechoslovakiei in den Haenden der Familie Nettl.

In der Depressionszeit 1931 und 1932 wurde die Firma "Brueder
Nettl", deren Inhaber Karl Nettl war, liquidiert und die Fir-
ma "Nettl & Co.", der urspruenglich auch Paul Nettl als stil-
ler Teilhaber angehoerte, ging in den Besitz seines Bruders
Anton Nettl ueber. Die Eltern Paul Nettl's uebersiedelten
damals nach Prag, wo sie bis 1941 lebten, und dann nach The-
resienstadt deportiert wurden.

Ich hatte drei Geschwister: zwei Schwestern und einen Bruder. Der Letztere,
Anton Nettl, ging nach der Hitler-Invasion nach Australien, wo er eine
Papierfabrik gruendete. Meine juengere Schwester Martha, verhehelichte
Neumann, starb 1941 in Prag, waehrend meine Schwester Margarete Neufeld,
die Aeltere unter den Beiden und Witwe nach dem Wiener Advokaten Dr. Otto
Neufeld, mit ihrem Sohne Otto in Palestina lebt.

Ich war der Aelteste unter meinen Geschwistern. Schon fruehzeitig machte
sich meine musikalische Begabung bemerkbar, die hauptsaechlich durch eine
Erzieherin (Hanna Koechlin), die aus dem Elsass stammte und mit dem fran-
zoesischen Komponisten Charles Koechlin verwandt war, gefoerdert wurde.
Frl. Koechlin war eine ausgezeichnete Pianistin und ihr verdanke ich
auch die ersten massgebenden musikalischen Eindruecke. Violin und Klavier
wurden gleichmaessig gepflegt. Mit 11 und 12 Jahren spielte ich schon
vierhaendig mit Frl. Koechlin einfachere Symphonien und fiedelte auf mei-
ner kleinen Geige Sonaten von Haydn, Mozart und Beethoven. Ich schreckte