

A Place to Ply Their Wares with Dignity: American Composer-Performers in West Germany, 1972

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Reflecting on their careers at home and abroad, several American composers (including Earle Brown, Alvin Curran, Gordon Mumma, Frederic Rzewski, David Tudor, and Christian Wolff) cite German support that rewarded them generously for their work, kept them “in business,” and allowed them to “survive” professionally.¹ In fact, West German individuals and institutions have played a leading role in the production and dissemination of postwar American experimental music—a tradition rooted in the music of Charles Ives, Henry Cowell, and John Cage. Especially since the 1950s, German engagements helped shape much of the history of that branch of composition and performance. The German reception of American music was not free of tension: in the 1950s German audiences came to know Cage’s ideas only cautiously, and sometimes with great hostility; in the 1960s the West German new-music community polarized in vigorous acceptance or bitter rejection of those ideas. Despite years of official ambivalence about radical new compositions from the United States, performances of experimental music increased dramatically during the early 1970s.² West German interaction with American experimental music between the end of World War II in 1945 and reunification in 1990 peaked, in a series of new-music festivals, in 1972.

A handful of influential West German cultural administrators, music critics, composers, and performers deserve credit as champions of American experimentalism (see Table 1). Some wrote often about new American music for print media and radio. Others performed and recorded that music, making it widely available in Germany and elsewhere. Producers and directors of radio and festival programs often commissioned, recorded, and broadcast experimental compositions from the United States. Between the 1950s and the early 1990s, these supporters (and others, including Mary Bauermeister, Wolfgang Becker, Eberhard Blum, Erhard Grosskopf, Werner Heider, and Rainer Riehn) maintained

Table 1. Primary supporters of American experimental music in West Germany

Supporters	Location	Main areas of contribution	Mainly active
Wolfgang Steinecke	Darmstadt	New music festival	1946–1961
Heinz-Klaus Metzger	many	Broadcasts, publication	mid-50s–present
Dieter Schnebel	many	Performance, publication	mid-50s–present
Hans Otte	Bremen	Radio, recording, festival	1959–1984
Josef Anton Riedl	Munich/Bonn	Festivals, performances	early-60s–present
Reinhard Oehlschlägel	Cologne	Radio, recording, publication	1970–present
Ernstalbrecht Stiebler	Frankfurt	Radio, recording, festivals	1970–1995
Walter Bachauer	Berlin	Radio, recording, festivals	1972–1978
Walter Zimmermann	many	Performance, publication	1974–present

a contemporary music network that directly advanced the professional situations of many American composers. Their steady support might be framed as a historical phenomenon that resulted from lavish cultural budgets and the constant presence of American culture in Europe during the cold war. Even today, however, some of these supporters continue performing, programming, and disseminating information about American experimental music, music that still finds limited distribution and reception in the United States.³ Though these people boosted the overseas careers of several American composers, none are well known in the United States as contributors to the history of some of this country's most imaginative and internationally influential music.

Several of these individuals played the part of patrons—people with abundant monetary resources who supplied compensation for composing, offered opportunities for performance, and provided means of distribution. This article describes the German patronage of American experimental music through the work of Hans Otte (b. 1926), Walter Bachauer (1943–1989), and Josef Anton Riedl (b. 1929), men who assured American experimental music's powerful presence at three celebrated new-music festivals in 1972. That year provides paradigmatic examples of West German circulation and dissemination of this music during the cold war. In Germany at the time, dissatisfaction with the state of new music dominated musicological discourse. For example, Hans G. Helms, increasingly disturbed by the capitalist consumer culture ruling the production, performance, and dissemination of avant-garde composition by the early 1970s, wrote a penetrating critique of the myriad—and in his view, unfortunate and ultimately destructive—ideological, social, economic, and creative ramifications of the explosion

of festival culture.⁴ Nevertheless, American composers who were in the spotlight in 1972 eagerly embraced German support and have since acknowledged its importance for their professional health. And while experimental music dominated new-music festivals in Bremen, Berlin, and Munich, an American composer speaking in Darmstadt that summer indirectly suggested why some composers and performers gratefully welcomed these engagements abroad.

The Price of Freedom

When Christian Wolff accepted an invitation to Darmstadt in the summer of 1972, he became the first American composer to give a series of composition seminars there since Milton Babbitt in 1964. Wolff reestablished the presence of American experimentalism at the international courses for new music after a period of partial neglect following the death of Wolfgang Steinecke, the first director, in late 1961. The new director, Ernst Thomas, snubbed the path of increasing radicalism that had grown since John Cage's catalytic visit to Darmstadt in 1958. As a result, much of the American music Thomas brought to Darmstadt during the 1960s included music that some Darmstadt participants considered academic and therefore uninteresting.⁵ From 1970 on the Darmstadt courses suffered significant growing pains linked to some participants' frustration with the aesthetic proclivity of the artistic advisory board. The situation in Darmstadt constituted a local reaction to a climate of social protest that had afflicted western Europe since the 1968 student uprisings against elite culture, capitalist systems, and conservative institutions. By the early 1970s, contemporary composition and the established venues supporting it had weathered a storm of vehement criticism throughout West Germany. Wolff arrived in Darmstadt amidst the "pamphlets and protests" circulating in response to the tense atmosphere.⁶

At the beginning of his first seminar, before discussing his recent composition *Burdocks*, Wolff spoke about the context for avant-garde music in the United States and introduced themes often associated with American experimentalism, including isolation, nonconformism, and a lack of patronage. He connected personal freedom with an image known—metaphorically, at least—to his German listeners: the vast North American landscape. For Wolff, the geographical traits of the land added to "the myth of a tradition of individual self-sufficiency and independence." He suggested that some avant-garde composers were isolated yet free, and that the freedom associated with a lack of patronage amounted to a principal difference between experimental composers and

other composers in the United States. Wolff stated that “the freedom has also come about by virtue of the fact that the avant-garde has, until fairly recently, existed in a kind of social vacuum” and that this group had “not been taken up or supported by any of the normal social agencies.” In addition, he pointed out that though artistic freedom did not dull the pain of chronic economic pressures, the situation clearly had advantages for young composers searching for their own musical voice. “But on the other hand,” he concluded, “you pay a very great price for this sense of isolation.”⁷

Wolff’s introductory remarks exposed to his mostly European audience some American composers’ need for support. From a historical distance of thirty years, his characterization of the situation in the United States might seem like an exaggeration. If the music establishment he cites included academies of higher education and private foundations, then he and his colleagues had been taken up by some of the “normal social agencies.” But, as had been suggested by the writer and impresario Peter Yates nearly ten years before Wolff’s lecture, a powerful trait of some American composers included a reputation as outsiders, even though many of them (especially those born during the 1930s) studied at universities or conservatories, received national grants and international fellowships, and eventually became effective college teachers themselves.⁸ More important, however, Yates pointed to the basic struggle for professional support in the United States, especially for composers pushing the established limits of musical conventions: “Our concentration camp for the nonconforming artist is silence, a polite exclusion, no jobs, no grants, no performance, no distribution, therefore no reputation and no income, modified by the saving intervention of a minority who provide occasional jobs, occasional grants or gifts, occasional performance, but can’t overcome the largest problem, distribution.”⁹ Foreshadowing the situation for composers in the early 1970s as well, Yates’s provocative statement exposed the crux of Wolff’s remarks: How does a “nonconforming artist” in the United States best disseminate his or her music? One fertile answer to that question transcended national boundaries. Wolff, for example, understood the distinction between private funding for new music in the United States and state-subsidized funding for new music in West Germany.¹⁰ He was well aware that the amount of publicity, critical reception, and payment for commissions and performances provided by West German venues far surpassed what he might be offered for a campus engagement in the United States. (Such engagements, moreover, were rarely reviewed or recorded.) He knew that the legal situation in Germany required radio stations to pay royalties to composers every time a recording of one of their compositions or concerts received

airplay. Finally, Wolff could be sure that a handful of supporters in Germany maintained an influential combination of healthy budgets and professional autonomy, more so than nearly any possible patron for new music in the United States. In 1972, in the north German city-state of Bremen, Hans Otte led the group.

“Otte Was the First”

The first widely influential new-music festival of 1972 took place in Bremen, where the local radio station sponsored Pro Musica Nova in early May. Radio Bremen’s music director, Hans Otte, had initiated the festivals in 1961. Even though he had been threatened with dismissal from the station early in his career if he continued to broadcast Cage’s music, he hoped Cage would be among the festival performers and invited him on many occasions.¹¹ Early in 1971 the European Broadcasting Union granted Radio Bremen several thousand marks for sponsoring a Cage concert at the 1972 festival.¹² Otte immediately invited Cage and Tudor to the 1972 Pro Musica Nova. “Europe needs Cage,” he pleaded in a telegram to the composer.¹³ After lengthy negotiations about repertory, Cage and Tudor accepted Otte’s offer and agreed to give two simultaneous performances of new works by each composer. Otte complemented the rest of the festival with concerts by the Sonic Arts Union (Robert Ashley, David Behrman, Alvin Lucier, and Gordon Mumma, with Katherine Morton), the Steve Reich Ensemble (performing with the Laura Dean Dance Company), an evening of new string quartets (including a commissioned work by Christian Wolff), and music by La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela. Otte also included works by several non-Americans: Carlos Farinas, Helmut Lachenmann, and Nam June Paik (see Table 2). Otte spent well over half of his budget for the four-day festival on commissions and fees for the Americans alone; the largest honoraria went to Cage and Tudor, Otte’s leading attractions.¹⁴

News about the ambitious program spread quickly. Before the festival began, Otte contacted radio producers and invited music critics. He also received a large volume of enthusiastic mail requesting programs and tickets. All the West German network radio stations ordered tapes of the festival, as did European city stations in Belgrade, Bern, Brussels, Hilversum, Lausanne, Madrid, Prague, Vienna, Zagreb, and Zurich, and the national stations of Denmark, Italy, Norway, and Portugal.¹⁷ Immediately following the success of the festival, Otte also took orders for tapes of the concerts for radio distribution worldwide. Radio Tokyo, for example, asked for recordings for its “serious music division,” and the

Table 2. Pro Musica Nova program, 1972

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- 5 May: John Cage, Mueau [Mureau], and David Tudor, *Rainforest*¹⁵
- 6 May: Exhibition opening: "Hearing and Seeing: Texts—Pictures—Environments," including works by Cage, Dick Higgins, La Monte Young, Mauricio Kagel, Hans Otte, Nam June Paik, Dieter Schnebel, and Karlheinz Stockhausen; opening accompanied by performance of Cage's *Music for Marcel Duchamp*
- 3:30 P.M.: Christian Wolff, *Lines*, for String Quartet (premiere); Helmut Lachenmann, *Gran Torso*; and Carlos Farinas, *Tatomaité* (performance by Società Cameristica Italiana)
- 6:00 P.M.: Hans Otte, "Apropos" [commentary]; Sonic Arts Union: Robert Ashley, *In Sara Mencken Christ and Beethoven There Were Men and Women*; Alvin Lucier, *The Bird of Bremen Flies through the Houses of the Burghers*; Gordon Mumma, *Ambivex* (for pairs of performing appendages); and David Behrman and Katherine Morton, *Pools of Phase Locked Loops*
- 9:00 P.M.: Nam June Paik, *Reading*, *Experimental Television*, and *Sonata for Piano, Candle, and TV*
- 7 May: 11:00 A.M.: La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela, "tape concert": *Map of 49's Dream the Two Systems of Eleven*, *Dorian Blues*, *Sunday Morning Blues*, and *The Well-Tuned Piano*
- 4:00 P.M.: Steve Reich and Musicians, *Drumming* (with Laura Dean Dance Company)
- 8 May: 4:30 P.M.: "New Music and Radio," discussion by West German radio program directors
- 9:00 P.M.: John Cage, *Mesostics Re Merce Cunningham*, and David Tudor, *Untitled* (New Electronic Piece)¹⁶
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South African Broadcasting Corporation expressed interest in tapes as well.¹⁸ Additional broadcasts on radio stations as far away as Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Reykjavik, and Toronto brought the Americans international exposure far beyond central Europe. Otte later told Cage that no fewer than twenty-four stations from around the world had ordered tapes of his concerts with Tudor.¹⁹

Radio Bremen had a wide impact through international distribution. Still, in the network of West German radio, Otte's station was one of the smallest, with a limited budget and no ensembles of its own. By comparison, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) in Cologne and Südwestfunk (SWF) in Baden-Baden had enormous financial means for promot-

ing new music. Yet despite his modest resources, Otte did more than just offer commissions, schedule concerts, and create publicity for Pro Musica Nova, and even many months before the 1972 festival his reputation had spread across the Atlantic. Between 1959 and 1972 at Radio Bremen, Otte made studio recordings of music by Cage, Curran, Morton Feldman, Rzewski, Musica Elettronica Viva, and the Sonic Arts Union. One month after his 1972 festival, when Philip Glass was still fairly unknown in Germany, Otte recorded that composer's still unpublished *Music in Twelve Parts*. Otte shared these recordings with other radio stations, and they provided an ongoing source of royalties and exposure abroad for the composers. Increasingly aware of these benefits, many American composers sought and received Otte's support after 1972, and he soon offered similar opportunities to Joan La Barbara, Meredith Monk, Conlon Nancarrow, Terry Riley, La Monte Young, and many others.²⁰ As early as October 1971, Steve Reich had praised Otte's work, writing that Radio Bremen "was doing more for new American music than any other single organization in Europe."²¹ More recently, Reich has recalled that he was not "actually able to pay the rent" from his music alone until chances for playing in Europe arose in 1972.²² Some consequential overseas tours for Reich and other Americans came about with help from Otte, who also advocated the exploration of live electronic music. Gordon Mumma, a beneficiary of Otte's support in this area, called him, simply, "a hero."²³

The 1972 Pro Musica Nova festival offered a large European audience fresh exposure to American composers who had reached maturity since the 1950s and provided listeners—including music critics, who did their part to disseminate both criticism and applause—an introduction to the uncharted terrain those composers had conquered in recent years. Never before in Germany had Cage been publicized so prominently, and the composers associated with him also gained from this fundamental change in attitude.²⁴ Furthermore, though Otte and others had invited Cage to Germany throughout the 1960s, Cage's arrival at Pro Musica Nova firmly established his star status in Germany, a status that steadily gained intensity over the next two decades.²⁵ In the early 1970s curiosity about new American music emerged from hibernation, and Otte's festival warmed the aesthetic soil at a time when, in many minds, European new music suffered from a creative winter. For some young Germans, the musical innovations of Cage, Tudor, Reich, Wolff, and Young offered an alternative path.²⁶ In retrospect, Otte's untiring enthusiasm for American experimental music recalls Wolfgang Steinecke's success in bringing Cage (once) and Tudor (four times) to Darmstadt between 1956 and 1961. Like Steinecke, Otte avoided ideological and aesthetic debates,

supporting unconventional American music despite substantial conflicts surrounding it in other parts of West Germany. Today Otte's colleagues and friends laud him for bringing the new American music to Germany. In the words of one admirer, "Otte was the first."²⁷

A Week of Avant-Garde Music in Berlin

A Berlin radio employee named Walter Bachauer sat captive in the audience at Otte's Pro Musica Nova in May 1972. In July 1972 Bachauer organized a similar festival on a much larger scale, an eight-day celebration of avant-garde music at several West Berlin venues. For this unprecedented event, Bachauer took advantage of the European tours of Cage, Tudor, Reich, and other Americans, such as Feldman and Rzewski, who traveled or lived in Europe that summer. Following the Pro Musica Nova model, Bachauer presented daily concerts (see Table 3), as well as exhibitions, tape demonstrations from three continents, and three different seminar series. Like Otte, Bachauer framed his festival with Cage and Tudor, who gave the first concert (Cage's *Mureau* and Tudor's *Rainforest*, listed in the program as "An Event") as well as the last (Cage's and Lejaren Hiller's enormous multimedia installation piece *HPSCHD* in West Berlin's Philharmonic concert hall). Three concerts featured works by Feldman. Steve Reich's *Drumming* astonished the music critics. Typically for the time, unruly audiences disturbed some of the performances, many of which lasted five hours or more and late into Berlin's hot summer nights.²⁸

Several West Berlin institutions sponsored Bachauer's eleven concerts. These included the Academy of the Arts, the Berlin radio stations Radio im amerikanischen Sektor (RIAS) and Sender Freies Berlin, and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Berlin Artist-in-Residence program, which served to bring culture (especially American culture) to West Berlin during the cold war. From the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 until its fall in 1989, West Berlin enjoyed a huge cultural budget. Luckily, Bachauer's festival was held when the postwar economic boom in West Germany was cresting (in 1972 the average unemployment rate there was 1.1 percent) and before the international oil crisis and rising inflation that began in 1973.²⁹ According to one published source, Bachauer had approximately \$65,000 at his disposal for the festival, including funds to commission five new works.³⁰ That sum equaled more than half the amount distributed by the National Endowment for the Arts for contemporary music projects in the entire United States for the whole year of 1972 and nearly two-thirds the amount the

Table 3. Week of Avant-Garde Music in Berlin, 1972: American music performances

11 July:	John Cage, <i>Mureau</i> , and David Tudor, <i>Rainforest</i>
12 July:	Morton Feldman, <i>Vertical Thoughts for Two Pianos</i> ; Christian Wolff, <i>Burdocks</i> ; Alvin Lucier, <i>Chambers</i> ; Feldman, <i>Durations 2</i> ; Terry Riley, <i>Dorian Mix</i> (Gentle Fire Group, London)
13 July:	Steve Reich, <i>Drumming</i> , <i>Four Organs</i> , <i>Stamping Dance</i> , <i>Piano Phase</i> , and <i>Phase Patterns</i> (with Laura Dean)
14 July:	Feldman, <i>Vertical Thoughts no. 11</i> , and Wolff, <i>Duo for Violinist and Pianist</i>
15 July:	Frederic Rzewski, <i>Falling Music</i> , <i>Coming Together</i> , <i>Last Judgment</i> , <i>Attica</i> , <i>Two Poems</i> , and <i>Les Moutons De Panurge</i> (Rzewski and Ensemble)
16 July:	Feldman, <i>Pianos and Voices</i> (Cage, Feldman, Rzewski, Tudor, and Cardew)
18 July:	Cage and Lejaren Hiller, <i>HPSCHD</i> (Cage, Cornelius Cardew, Lejaren Hiller, Riedl, Rzewski, Tudor, and others)

NEA gave as direct aid to individuals in music for the same year—state-subsidized aid that included support for American composers.³¹

With a generous budget at his discretion, Bachauer, like Otte, offered a large stage, a diverse audience, and top billing to many American experimental composers.³² An Austrian-born music critic, Bachauer had moved to Berlin in 1963 to study musicology at the Free University. RIAS hired him a year later, and he worked simultaneously as a West Berlin music correspondent for several newspapers. In 1970 he became a music editor at RIAS. Bachauer traveled extensively, especially in the United States and Asia, and engaged more with popular and non-Western music than nearly any other established German new-music specialist at the time.³³ After a trip to the United States in the early 1970s, he wrote a detailed report for radio about the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia and about several music schools on the East Coast. In particular, he felt that Europe could learn from progressive American schools how to incorporate technology, multimedia projects, and non-Western music into music curricula (and composition).³⁴ After the success of the Week of Avant-Garde Music in Berlin in 1972, Bachauer produced the unprecedented international *Metamusik* festivals in 1974, 1976, and 1978. Most important, Bachauer pioneered the creative coexistence and synthesis of avant-garde, popular, and non-Western music.

Despite his connection to the radio establishment in West Germany, Bachauer opposed what he called the “temples of serialism,”

including those institutions that had been under fire since the student rebellions began in 1968.³⁵ His unprejudiced musical frame of reference and his overtly leftist agenda set him apart from festival organizers such as Ernst Thomas in Darmstadt, or even Otte. By revolutionizing the concert world through musical pluralism, he hoped to win back an audience for avant-garde music. The growing appeal of group improvisation, electroacoustics, alternative tuning systems, heavy amplification, and pulse-and-pattern-based tonal “minimal” music suited his cause. Many critics doubted that the solution could be found in the United States, the home of most performers he invited to the 1972 festival, and some journalists interpreted his agenda as a subversive wish to introduce heterogeneous, egalitarian American attitudes as alternatives to more dogmatic, stylistically pure European compositional methods.³⁶ In this way, opponents and supporters alike wielded radical American music as a weapon in an internal aesthetic conflict increasingly divided along generational lines.³⁷

Despite anti-American sentiments in Germany during the Vietnam War, American music shifted to a prominent position in new-music discourse, owing in part to Bachauer’s visionary instincts. To be sure, the generational, ideological, and aesthetic battles being fought on the stages of western Europe also affected performances of American music: audiences aiming to challenge outmoded hierarchical social systems and the elite nature of new-music concerts disrupted all types of contemporary performance.³⁸ At the same time, American experimental music itself challenged musical hierarchies and concert conventions. In this politically charged climate, it helped that some of the Americans—especially Cage, Rzewski, and Wolff—and their European friends Cornelius Cardew and Erhard Grosskopf embraced revolutionary ideology and allowed it to inspire their compositions and performance practice at the time.

The Cultural Olympics in Munich

On 30 August, six weeks after Bachauer’s festival, Morton Feldman, Gordon Mumma, and Frederic Rzewski met at a Munich street café for some Bavarian beer.³⁹ Their conversation occurred the day before a performance in Munich of Feldman’s *Pianos and Voices 2*. Feldman lived in West Berlin from 1971 to 1972 as a guest of the DAAD Artist-in-Residence Program, and he traveled widely in Germany that year, enjoying many performances of his work; several commissions gave him the

opportunity to expand the time scale of his music and to write for full orchestra, and for Feldman's own compositional output, 1972 was a clear turning point.⁴⁰ At the time of their meeting in the Munich café, Mumma had toured extensively with both the Merce Cunningham Dance Company and the Sonic Arts Union. Rzewski, who first met Mumma in West Berlin in 1964, had been in Europe for much of the past decade.

In the summer of 1972, the three Americans came together in the Bavarian capital because it was the host of the Summer Olympic Games, the first to be held in Germany since the 1936 games in Hitler's Berlin. The Munich Olympics gave postwar West Germany a chance to show the world that it was a place of peace, tolerance, and culture (though its efforts were tragically overshadowed by a terrorist attack on the Israeli national team). In planning the Olympics, West Germany made a serious effort to appear both sophisticated and international, a goal that resulted in an impressive cultural agenda. The events of this program took place between May and September in several cities and included exhibitions, plays, and many concerts. The Munich composer Josef Anton Riedl, who had collaborated with Cage in *HPSCHD* at Bachauer's Berlin festival several weeks prior, directed the avant-garde music program. Riedl had admired and supported the work of Cage and other American composers for more than a decade, and he saw his cultural Olympics as a chance to introduce experimental music to a large audience.

Riedl's background as a composer was unconventional. He explored environmental sounds, percussion music, and electronic composition before encountering radical new compositional methods during the 1950s. His earliest musical experiments involved spontaneous comparisons of the sonorities and pitches of various kitchen dishes and utensils. In 1951 he wrote possibly the first European composition for percussion alone, *Stück für Schlagzeug*. As a young man, Riedl first discovered works by avant-garde American composers by borrowing scores and recordings from Munich's America House; he was also allowed to use the electronic equipment and space there for concerts he organized himself.⁴¹ But when he first saw Cage and Tudor perform, in Donaueschingen in 1954, he dismissed their techniques of deriving unconventional sounds from a conventional instrument such as the piano. With the advent of electronic sound production, Riedl found such exploitation of acoustic instruments unnecessarily theatrical.⁴² From 1959 until 1966 he directed one of the most advanced electronic music facilities in Western Europe, the Siemens Studio for Electronic Music in Munich, sponsored by the West German-based electronics corporation.⁴³ Around 1960 he met

Cage and Tudor when they passed through Munich on their way to Zagreb; soon he arranged a concert for them that included Cage's *Theater Piece*, with Merce Cunningham and Carolyn Brown.⁴⁴ Riedl had enjoyed steady contact with Cage since the early 1960s, and he became an important organizer of experimental music performances in Munich and in the capital city of Bonn.

In 1960 Riedl had established an alternative to Munich's most renowned new-music festival (*Musica Viva*), offering a parallel series that would feature music absent from the official concerts. Riedl's venue was specifically intended for the performance of music neglected by major concert series. Several other venues, as well as special events and ensembles, kept experimental music alive in parts of West Germany's new-music circles after a conservative turn in the well-established festivals in Darmstadt and Donaueschingen.⁴⁵ Such alternatives included Mary Bauermeister's studio series in Cologne, the ensemble *Gruppe Neue Musik Berlin*, composer Werner Heider's *Ars Nova Ensemble* in Nürnberg, Rainer Riehn's *Ensemble Musica Negativa*, and the *Feedback Studio* in Cologne—all established between 1960 and 1970. Riedl later remarked that his new-music series (*Neue Musik München*)—which was partly funded through Munich's cultural budget—"had the goal of introducing lesser or unknown music in Munich, new music that was ignored or hardly acknowledged by other Munich concert programmers and that included border-crossing genres (multimedia installations, new instruments, visual art, and literature) and represented international trends of more experimental directions."⁴⁶ In 1967 he established a performing ensemble and venue (called *Musik/Film/Dia/Licht-Galerie*) for similar reasons. When listing American composers who fell into the category of "more experimental directions," Riedl mentioned Cage, Cowell, Feldman, Lou Harrison, Pauline Oliveros, Harry Partch, Reich, Terry Riley, Tudor, Wolff, and Young.⁴⁷

The international showcase Riedl offered during the Munich Olympics—called a "monstrous show of experiments" by the new-music journal *Melos*—extended to several of these American composers, by then familiar names in West Germany: Cage, Feldman, Riley, Tudor, Wolff, and Young (see Table 4).⁴⁸ In a program booklet for the new music events, Riedl published the first complete text of Cage's *Mureau*, which had been performed earlier that year in both Bremen and Berlin.⁴⁹ Like his colleagues elsewhere, Riedl offered Cage and his friends not only opportunities to have their works performed in the highly publicized festival, but international exposure for their compositions as well: according to an official Olympic publication, over 300,000 visitors from around the world attended the Olympic concerts.⁵⁰

Table 4. Munich Olympics, 1972: American music in the avant-garde music program

29 August:	La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela, <i>Dream House</i> and <i>The Theater of Eternal Music</i>
30 August:	John Cage and David Tudor, <i>Birdcage/Monobird</i> 1970/1972
31 August:	Morton Feldman, <i>Pianos and Voices 2</i> for Five Pianos and Five Sopranos (performed by Simone Rist, soprano, members of the Schola Cantorum Stuttgart, Cardew, Feldman, Nicolaus A. Huber, John Tilbury, and Wolff); and Christian Wolff, <i>Burdocks</i>
1 September:	Philip Glass, compositions (unspecified in program)
2 September:	Terry Riley, <i>The Phantom Band</i>

1972 and Beyond: An Alternative Canon?

In addition to concerts at Pro Musica Nova in Bremen, the Week of Avant-Garde Music in Berlin, and the Olympic cultural program in Munich, programming at other 1972 festivals led to an indisputable preeminence of American experimental music in West Germany that year and in years to follow. In 1972 these festivals included: in January, Westdeutscher Rundfunk's contemporary music festival in Cologne (including performances by Cage, Reich, and Young); in April, the series of new chamber music in Witten (with music by Cage, Feldman, and Riley); in June, WDR's week of electronic music in Cologne (including music by Brown, Cage, Lucier, Riley, Rzewski, Wolff, and Young); and, in late July and early August, the Darmstadt courses for new music (including music by William Albright, Lukas Foss, Rzewski, and Wolff). Additional festivals and concerts in Baden-Baden, West Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Kiel, Mannheim, Nürnberg, Rottweil, and Saarbrücken included compositions by Brown, Cage, Feldman, Ives, Roger Reynolds, Rzewski, Gunther Schuller, Edgard Varèse, and Young. John Cage's sixtieth birthday that year also provided an opportunity to honor his oeuvre and his influence in many contexts, including an ambitious eighteen-day January project with performances at the Kleber Gallery in West Berlin and two showings of Hans G. Helms's documentary film on Cage, titled *Birdcage—73'20.958 for a Composer*, at the Donaueschingen festival in October.⁵¹ In retrospect, all these performances provided direct access to a distinct species of American music. In a broader context, West German interest constituted a first breakthrough in the reception of Cage's music. In the reception of American experimental music, it was nothing short

of a second *Nachholbedürfnis* (the desire to “catch up” or to make up for lost time), outrun only by the race for information about new music after the end of World War II in 1945.⁵² Barely a concert series or new-music festival occurred during 1972 in Germany that did not include several of the names mentioned here.

The critical reception and support of experimentalism in 1972 stand out in the history of German-American musical interaction after the war.⁵³ By then several West German composers interested in experimental music had entered into a powerful institutional space as patrons. At times generous cultural budgets were in their hands, and their decisions to channel large sums of money toward American experimental composers went almost completely unchallenged. Owing to the deliberate actions of individuals such as Otte, Bachauer, and Riedl, some comparatively wealthy festivals and institutions began to gravitate strongly toward experimental music, and they celebrated composer-performers and their ensembles as representatives of an American musical tradition worth cultivating. To be sure, stereotypes of the United States as a land of unlimited possibilities contributed to this pull. Some composers seemed conveniently to fit the image of Americans as revolutionary individualists, radical eccentrics, and self-reliant inventors. In Germany, however, few people contemplated the context of experimental music within the complex web of America’s musical history. Since detailed knowledge of American music was limited, some German historians, critics, and composers came to believe that the tradition stemming from Ives, Cowell, and Cage alone represented the vast terrain of contemporary concert music in the United States. One consequence of the 1972 festivals and the particular taste for American music cultivated during that year has been the construction in West Germany of a canon of American music—a canon comprising composers and collaborators, if not works. German scholarly writing has tended to perpetuate a distorted history of American music. For example, in 1998 the new edition of *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* included a new article on music in the United States. The section on American art music between 1950 and 1980 surveys the New York School, Black Mountain College, Fluxus, studios for electronic music (including the San Francisco Tape Music Center), the serial publication of *Source: Music of the Avant-Garde*, the ONCE group, the Merce Cunningham Dance Company, the Sonic Arts Union, and live electronic music, minimalist music, interactive environments, and mixed-media installations (such as Tudor’s *Rainforest*). In other words, the essay outlines a thirty-year history of experimental music in the United States. Out of a total of eleven, one paragraph describes the “elite climate of American universities,” naming but not discussing Milton Babbitt, Elliott Carter, George Crumb, Jacob

Druckman, Ross Lee Finney, George Perle, and Charles Wuorinen—composers considered far more than minor figures in their home country.⁵⁴ In Germany, in part because of the continuing consequences of the events of 1972, an idiosyncratic historical account of American music is now firmly in place.⁵⁵

In exchange for their physical presence at West German festivals, composers such as Cage, Feldman, Reich, Riley, Rzewski, Tudor, Wolff, and Young (and, later, Alvin Curran, Alvin Lucier, Pauline Oliveros, James Tenney, and many others) could expect unparalleled exposure, recording opportunities, and ongoing royalties. As Wolff implied in Darmstadt that July, support and recognition of this nature carried vital consequences for American composers making a living as performers of their own work, work they perceived as existing in the United States in a “social vacuum” or, in Yates’s impassioned words, in a “concentration camp of silence.” In 1972 and after, some nonconforming composers found in West Germany what they lacked at home: performance, distribution, reputation, and income. In short, they found a place to ply their wares with dignity.⁵⁶

Notes

An earlier version of this text was read at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society for American Music in Charleston, South Carolina, March 2000. I am grateful to Ralf Dietrich, John Holzaepfel, Gayle Sherwood, and Christopher Shultis for reading drafts and suggesting improvements. For research assistance the author thanks Marita Emigholz at Radio Bremen, Wilhelm Schlüter at the International Music Institute in Darmstadt, and especially Earle Brown, Alvin Curran, Erhard Grosskopf, Gordon Mumma, Reinhard Oehlschlägel, Hans Otte, Steve Reich, Josef Anton Riedl, Frederic Rzewski, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Christian Wolff, and Walter Zimmermann. This article is dedicated to Hans Otte and to the memory of Pro Musica Nova.

1. Gordon Mumma: “When we were paid well, it was usually in Germany”; communication with the author, 13 Nov. 2001. Frederic Rzewski: “If I’m honest with myself, I have to admit that I have been able to survive largely through German radio, and a forty-person network”; interview by the author, Brussels, 2 Apr. 1998. David Tudor: “In Germany, the avant-garde has a great appeal, and [they] wouldn’t dream of having a festival without including an avant-garde concert—at least one. That kept us in business”; interview by Jack Veas and Christian Wolff, 11 Oct. 1995, as part of Oral History, American Music Project, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

2. My research suggests that performances of American experimental music nearly tripled in 1972. See Amy Beal, “Patronage and Reception History of American Experimental Music in West Germany, 1945–1986” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 232–80, 344–84.

3. The Cologne-based new-music journal and press *MusikTexte* and its editors, Gisela Gronemeyer and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, are valuable examples of the continuation of this work in publishing; in the last ten years they have released previously unavailable or uncollected texts (most in bilingual editions) by several prolific American composers.

See John Cage and Morton Feldman, *Radio Happenings I–V* (1993); Alvin Lucier, *Reflections, Interviews, Scores, Writings* (1995); Christian Wolff, *Cues, Writings, and Conversations* (1998); and Robert Ashley, *Music with Roots in the Aether: Interviews with and Essays about Seven American Composers* (2000 [English edition]; 2001 [German edition]).

4. Hans G. Helms, “Festivals für neue Musik: Ihre sozialökonomischen Bedingungen, Funktionen und Perspektiven.” First published in: Otto Kolleritsch, ed., *Studien zur Wertforschung VI* (Graz, 1973), 90–109; reprinted in: Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Reiner Riehn, eds. *Musik-Konzepte 111: Musik zwischen Geschäft und Unwahrheit* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2001), 83–100.

5. Exceptions to this charge include lectures by Earle Brown in 1964, 1965, and 1967 (and performances of his music in 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1969) and a concert including Lukas Foss’s *Baroque Variations* and Terry Riley’s *In C* (and other works) in 1969.

6. Christoph Caskel, “Die Arbeit des Programmbeirats,” in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse*, ed. Rudolf Stephan et al. (Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996), 411. All translations are by the author.

7. Christian Wolff, speaking at the Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt, West Germany, 28 July 1972. Transcribed from tape by the author; tape held at the Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt.

8. It is worth noting, however, that academic appointments for these composers tended to be offered by institutions especially tolerant of experimentation, such as the State University of New York–Buffalo; Mills College in Oakland, Calif.; the California Institute for the Arts in Valencia; and the University of California, San Diego. As in Germany, such appointments often came about through the efforts of one person who contributed to an institution’s progressive reputation by bringing in friends, colleagues, and collaborators from the informal experimental music network in the United States. For example, William Brooks invited Gordon Mumma to take up an appointment at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in the fall of 1973, for the purpose of setting up an electronic music facility. Mumma recalled that Brooks showed interest in potential faculty members who “did real stuff,” not just those with prestigious educations. Mumma, interview by Ralf Dietrich, tape recording, Oakland, Calif., 9 Mar. 1999.

9. Peter Yates, “An Open Letter to the Foundations,” *Arts and Architecture* (Aug. 1963): 32.

10. Wolff remarked: “Germany is where the money is. There are practically no opportunities at all in this country—you are happy just to have your music played . . . but you didn’t get any money for having it played.” Taped telephone interview by the author, 26 June 1997. Earle Brown had similar experiences: “I can’t imagine my music without Europe! I would conduct a piece for WDR [the radio station in Cologne] and they would pay me! I didn’t get a nickel when *Available Forms 2* was conducted by Lennie [Bernstein] and myself with the NY Philharmonic.” Taped telephone interview by the author, 23 June 1997.

11. Otte, interview by the author, tape recording, Bremen, 7 Feb. 1998.

12. Letter from Otte to Cage (in English), 1 Feb. 1971, Radio Bremen Archives.

13. Telegram from Otte to Cage, 3 May 1971; reprinted in program booklet for Pro Musica Nova, May 1972 (Radio Bremen, 1972).

14. Otte estimated a total budget of over \$20,000. Listed in document labeled “Nova—Finanzierung,” dated 5 Nov. 1971 and signed by Otte, for the 1972 Pro Musica Nova; Radio Bremen Archives.

15. In 2001 New World Records released a recording of the first of Cage and Tudor's 1972 Bremen performances (NW 80540). According to Matt Rogalsky, however, Tudor's composition is misnamed in the release, and the liner notes include erroneous information about the content of the piece. See Matt Rogalsky, "Tudor, Cage, and *Rainforest*, Too (Er . . . Three?)," *Musicworks* 82 (Winter 2002): 59.

16. This concert was billed in the program as "European Broadcasting Union Concert under the auspices of the series Music of the Twentieth Century" ("UER/EBU-Konzert im Rahmen der Sendereihe Musik des XX. Jahrhunderts"), indicating that it had been sponsored by, and would be broadcast on, European Broadcasting Union member stations.

17. Lists held at Radio Bremen.

18. Letter from Radio Tokyo to Radio Bremen, 4 May 1972; letter from South African Broadcasting Corporation to Radio Bremen, 2 May 1972; Radio Bremen Archives. Other requests were reproduced in the program booklet for the 1972 Pro Musica Nova.

19. Letter from Otte to Cage, 6 Dec. 1972; Radio Bremen Archives (radio distribution lists held at Radio Bremen corroborate Otte's sum). Publicity about Cage's music (and political ideas) spread in print media as well. For example, see Nikša Gligo, "Ich traf John Cage in Bremen," *Melos* 1 (Jan. 1973): 23–29.

20. Extensive correspondence between Otte and these (and other) American composers is held at Radio Bremen.

21. Letter from Reich to Otte, 17 Oct. 1971; Radio Bremen Archives. In January 1972, months before the festival, Otte had recorded Reich's *Four Organs* and *Phase Patterns*.

22. Steve Reich, speaking at the University Musical Society Master of Arts Interview Series, Ann Arbor, Mich., 9 Apr. 1999.

23. Gordon Mumma, "Live Electronic Music," in *The Development and Practice of Electronic Music*, ed. Jon H. Appleton and Ronald C. Perera (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1975), 318.

24. In a radio broadcast review of Pro Musica Nova for WDR in 1972, Reinhard Oehlschlägel remarked that the amount of publicity for Otte's small festival nearly equaled that of the more established and internationally renowned festival in Donaueschingen. Reinhard Oehlschlägel, "Neue Musik: Bericht-Informationen-Kommentare," radio broadcast, 15 May 1972, Historical Archive, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne.

25. Cage was not invited back to Donaueschingen for many years, after his 1954 performance, or to Darmstadt after his 1958 debut. However, his music was played frequently over the radio in Germany during the 1960s, and his music was performed at festivals throughout Germany during that decade. Cage himself also performed in Germany on several occasions. See Beal, 395–98. Furthermore, the DAAD Artist-in-Residence program invited Cage for an all-expense-paid Berlin residency during 1971. Correspondence outlining the invitation in 1970 is held at the Historical Archive, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne.

26. During the early 1970s, for example, the young German composer Walter Zimmermann (b. 1949) felt that European music was in a state of "crisis," and his encounter with new American music in Bremen in 1972 gave him "unbelievable hope" in the face of that crisis; interview by Reinhard Oehlschlägel, in Walter Zimmermann, *Insel Musik* (Cologne: Beginner Press, 1981), 527. Zimmermann's presence at this festival also might have had significant consequences for the canonization of American experimental music

in West Germany. In 1975 he traveled to the United States and conducted a series of interviews with American composers. The journey resulted in Zimmermann's unprecedented interview collection *Desert Plants: Conversations with Twenty-Three American Musicians* (Vancouver: Aesthetic Research Center Publications, 1976).

27. "Otte war der Erste"; Oehlschlägel, interview by author, tape recording, Cologne, 2 June 1998. Alvin Curran, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, Christian Wolff, and Walter Zimmermann also affirm that Otte was the most important supporter of American music in Germany during this period.

28. Wolfgang Burde, "Berlin: Woche der avantgardistischen Musik 1972," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 133, no. 9 (1972): 518.

29. Irmgard Wilharm, ed., *Deutsche Geschichte, 1962–1983* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1990), 104.

30. According to Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (in "HPSCHD und Anderes," *Neue Züricher Zeitung* [17 Aug. 1972]), Bachauer's budget was DM 200,000.

31. The National Endowment for the Arts allocated \$123,000 for contemporary music projects (commissions, production, and research awards) in 1972. See *New Dimensions in the Arts, 1971–1972: National Endowment for the Arts* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 87. In 1972, direct aid to individuals in music equaled \$95,000. See Dick Netzer, *The Subsidized Muse: Public Support for the Arts in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 220.

32. Much of the biographical information presented here comes from Bachauer's undated résumé typescript (c. 1972), held at the German Radio Archive Historical Branch in Berlin-Adlershof, and from *RIAS Berlin: Eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1994), 402. In 1980 Bachauer moved to Hollywood to work with Francis Ford Coppola; he collaborated with Coppola and Philip Glass on the film *Koyaanisqatsi*, and soon after returned to Berlin.

33. The DAAD program in Berlin financed several of Bachauer's trips to the United States specifically for the purpose of making contact with American composers who might participate in the Metamusik festivals; these duties are documented in contracts held at the German Radio Archive Historical Branch, Berlin-Adlershof. The first Metamusik festival, in 1974, included Alvin Curran, Philip Glass, Robert Moran, Pauline Oliveros, Steve Reich, Terry Riley, Christian Wolff, and Musica Elettronica Viva, as well as musicians from England, Holland, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, and Switzerland.

34. Bachauer, "Wie man *Fantasia* unterrichtet: Walt Disneys Traumschule in Kalifornien," undated manuscript held at German Radio Archive Historical Branch, Berlin-Adlershof.

35. Bachauer, quoted in Wolfgang Burde, "Gelächter als Begleitung: Woche der Avantgardistischen Musik eröffnet," *Tagesspiegel*, 13 July 1972.

36. Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, "Cage, Computer, Kommunikation: Acht Tage avantgardistischer Musik in Berlin," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 July 1972; Rudolph Ganz, "Sinnenorgie und Zwang zur Versenkung: Woche der avantgardistischen Musik in Berlin stellte Amerikaner vor," *Bremen Weser-Kurier*, 23 July 1972.

37. Ensemble Musica Negativa's 1972 recording *Music Before Revolution* (EMI-Electrola 1 C 165-28954/57Y) is a case in point: the major record label EMI marketed the idea of

American music's central role in the onslaught of an inevitable cultural revolution. The ensemble, led by Rainer Riehn, recorded Feldman's *The Straits of Magellan*, *For Franz Kline*, and *Between Categories*, and Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (with *Solo for Voice 1* and *Solo for Voice 2*). The liner notes reproduced a conversation between Brown, Feldman, and Heinz-Klaus Metzger on music and politics (an excerpt was published in "Aus einer Diskussion," in *Morton Feldman*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, *Musik-Konzepte* 48/49 [Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1986]: 148–54), as well as Metzger's politically loaded essay "Attempt at a Pre-Revolutionary Music."

38. One dramatic disruption occurred during a performance given by the Merce Cunningham Dance Company (with Cage, Tudor, and Mumma providing live music) in Cologne on 2 Oct. 1972. Mumma recounts the situation in an interview with Matt Rogalsky. See Rogalsky, "—In Rehearsals, or Preparation, or Setup, or from One Performance to Another: Live Electronic Music Practice and Musicians of the Merce Cunningham Dance Company" (master's thesis, Wesleyan University, 1995). An eyewitness description of the same event describes Cage's unhappy reaction to the extremely hostile Cologne audience (documented in a letter from Howie Konovitz to Morton Feldman, 23 Dec. 1972; Paul Sacher Stiftung, Morton Feldman Papers, Basel). A performance of the same program a few days later in Düsseldorf was more successful, however, suggesting that the disruptions had less to do with the music and dance itself, or with a reaction to the American music performed, and more to do with the polarization of audiences during the early 1970s. See Melissa Harris, ed., *Merce Cunningham: Fifty Years* (New York: Aperture, 1997), 171, 186.

39. Mumma recorded and later transcribed the conversation, which also included Agathe Kaehr.

40. See Sebastian Claren, *Neither: Die Musik Morton Feldmans* (Hofheim: Wolke, 1996), 537. When asked to sum up his year in Berlin, Feldman remarked that he had begun to write "masterpieces" in Germany, because life there was so "boring." In Richard Bernas and Jack Adrian, "Counterpoint: The Brink of Silence," *Music and Musicians* 20, no. 10 (June 1972): 7. The composer Erhard Grosskopf also commented on his friend's new motivation: "Feldman began to see a real possibility [that his] orchestral works could be performed; only then did he actually begin writing orchestral works in the first place." Interview by author, tape recording, Berlin, 10 Dec. 1997.

41. Josef Anton Riedl, interview by author, tape recording, Munich, 10 July 1998.

42. Riedl, interview. Riedl realized later that theatrical action was an integral part of Cage's whole performance concept and not just a physical means to an aural end.

43. In 1963 Cage and Tudor recorded brief punched-tape "Sound Experiments" at the Siemens studio (available on the CD "Siemens-Studio für elektronische Musik," Siemens Kulturprogramm, audiocom multimedia, 1998). I am grateful to Mr. Riedl for bringing this recording to my attention.

44. The performance probably took place during Munich's Week for Modern Dance on 2–3 October (for which Cage and Tudor accompanied Merce Cunningham to Munich).

45. See Martin Thrun, ed., *Neue Musik seit den achtziger Jahren: Eine Dokumentation zum deutschen Musikleben* (Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994), 179.

46. Riedl, "Neue Musik München, Siemens-Studio für elektronische Musik und Musica Viva (1953–63)," in *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart: Musica Viva, 1945–1995*, ed. Renate Ulm (Mainz: Schott, 1995), 71.

47. Riedl, "Neue Musik München," 71.
48. Salomo Fränkel, "Melos berichtet: Monsterschau der Experimente in München," *Melos* 6 (Nov.–Dec. 1972): 349–55.
49. The first complete publication appeared in Josef Anton Riedl, ed., *Neue Musik* Sondernummer (zum Kunstprogramm der Olympischen Spiele München 1972), 13–33. *Mureau* was later published in John Cage, *M: Writings '67–'72* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 35–56.
50. *Olympischer Sommer, München 1972; Das offizielle Kunstprogramm für die Spiele der XX. Olympiade München 1972* (Munich: Atlas, 1972), 236.
51. Some of the material used in the film is preserved on a recording of an interview conducted by Helms with Cage in his Bank Street apartment in New York on 7 Apr. 1972; produced by S Press Tonbandverlag, nos. 27–29, Düsseldorf/Munich, 1975. In the interview Cage discusses his current political and social interests, in particular his engagement with Maoism.
52. See Gisela Gronemeyer, "Anything I Say Will Be Misunderstood: Wie John Cage rezipiert wurde," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 9 (1992): 8; Reinhard Oehlschlägel, "Neue Musik: Bericht-Informationen-Kommentare," radio broadcast, 15 May 1972; Historical Archive, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne.
53. The strong showing of American experimentalism in West Germany during 1972 resonated in that country and in other parts of western Europe as well and may have contributed to several publications codifying this music as part of a unique American tradition. See, e.g., Zimmermann, *Desert Plants*, and Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (London: Studio Vista, Cassell, and Collier Macmillan, 1974).
54. Volker Straebel, "Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, 1950–1980," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 9, 2d rev. ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 1375–79.
55. Some German music historians are working to offer a more balanced view. Hermann Danuser, for example, has written on the rather one-sided view of American music in German historical writing. See Danuser, "Plädoyer für die Moderne: Über die amerikanische Musik der fünfziger Jahre," *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 22 Nov. 1985, 41–42. This essay was also published under a slightly different title in *Die Musik der fünfziger Jahre*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: Schott, 1985), 21–38.
56. Alvin Curran's comments on support in Germany inspired the title for this article: "A serious place was made for this music, and that place was given to us, to ply our wares, to show ourselves and our work. It was given with the encouragement to go way beyond our imagination. These systems are in place and they give a minimum of recognition and dignity to the profession for a young person going ahead in music. They know at least that they aren't walking on eggshells. They are walking on something a little more solid, and they can turn to the radio stations or other festival producers to find places and money to produce their work." Interview by author, tape recording, Oakland, Calif., 8 Mar. 1999.