

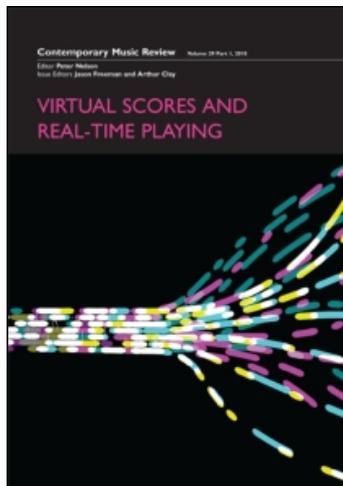
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Amy C. Beal

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David Tudor in Darmstadt¹

Amy C. Beal

Historians have long recognized David Tudor's importance to the development of the New York School's early piano music, but close attention has yet to be paid to his almost single-handed dissemination of that music, and other new American music, abroad. Correspondence between Tudor and German patrons and composers, as well as reviews of Tudor's performances in West Germany, show that he transcended his role as John Cage's right- (and left-)hand man, both as a performer and as a composer in his own right. Moreover, far from being shadowed by Cage's controversial reception in West Germany, Tudor stood at the center of new music activities in that country during a key period of change. Tudor was an ambassador of American music abroad, and as such, his presence at key music venues like the Darmstädter Ferienkurse between 1956 and 1961 helped establish a support network for American experimentalism and contributed significantly to Europeans' acceptance of unconventional music from the United States.

Keywords: David Tudor; Darmstadt; Ferienkurse; Stefan Wolpe; John Cage; Wolfgang Steinecke

In early 1999 I attended a 'Week of Events Honoring David Tudor' sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Music at Mills College in Oakland, California. On the evening of 1 March, in a public 'Conversation on Collaboration', the composers Gordon Mumma and David Behrman discussed their extensive experience working with Tudor. I was struck by Mumma's remark that Cage and Tudor were better appreciated in Europe. Furthermore, he claimed, in the past, young American composers often had to go all the way to Europe to learn what was happening in their own backyard. Behrman agreed with Mumma, recalling that he first met many of his closest American colleagues in West Germany during the late fifties. (In response to Mumma's question: 'You had to go to Europe to work with American virtuosos, right?' Behrman simply exclaimed: 'Yes!') Statements like these, made by many American composers born during the 1920s and 1930s, motivated my ongoing study of American music in West Germany in the decades after World War Two. But Mumma's and Behrman's reminiscences, within a symposium on Tudor,

also pointed to the fact that close attention had yet to be paid to Tudor's almost single-handed dissemination of indeterminate American music abroad during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Over a brief but fertile period of unprecedented international exchange, Tudor operated as an ambassador of that music, and his diplomatic presence at key new music venues in West Germany—especially at the *Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik* (International Holiday Courses for New Music) in Darmstadt between 1956 and 1961—established American experimentalism's controversial yet ultimately stimulating presence in conversations about new music. In describing Tudor's role in Darmstadt I use the word *ambassador* in the standard sense one might find in any dictionary: a high-ranking agent of diplomacy; an official or unofficial messenger; a respected representative of national interests abroad. (A Webster's dictionary explanation of diplomacy is also particularly apt in Tudor's case: 'Skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility' (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1974, p. 322).) This article offers a brief overview of Tudor's activities in Darmstadt and his introduction of a variety of American music to Ferienkurse audiences, revealing why he is a leading protagonist in the complicated story of international avant-garde alliances.

During the post-war occupation of West Germany and the era of re-education, the presence of new American music in Darmstadt had been established through American military government involvement (most notably through the support and advocacy of civilian 'Music Officers' like John Evarts and Everett B. Helm) and through a series of lectures on music from the United States and several performances of recent American music during the first ten years of the Ferienkurse (see Beal, 2000). The lectures included topics such as twelve-tone composition or Charles Ives; the concerts featured composers like Samuel Barber, Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, Walter Piston, Quincy Porter, Gunther Schuller, and others. One lecture in particular, titled 'Amerikanische Experimentalmusik' and delivered by the German-born Los Angeles resident Wolfgang Edward Rebner on 13 August 1954, set the stage for Tudor's arrival two years later. Rebner's uncharacteristically narrow focus on radical innovators such as Charles Ives, Henry Cowell, Edgard Varèse (who had lectured at the Ferienkurse in 1950 under the auspices of the US State Department and the US High Commissioner for Germany), and John Cage helped establish in the Darmstadt community's collective consciousness the existence of an American experimental 'tradition', for which Tudor would become, as mentioned above, the most consequential diplomatic ambassador.

Prior to his first Darmstadt engagement, Tudor visited West Germany in October 1954 (shortly after Rebner's Darmstadt lecture on American experimentalism), when he and John Cage performed at the Donaueschinger Musiktage (see Beal, 2003). The event was controversial, and resulted in a flurry of critical response. Critics wondered if the pair had a future in music at all. Cage was seen as both clown and prophet, but most recognized Tudor as a musician possessing rare talents. Two days later (on 19 October), Cage and Tudor performed a similar program at WDR's *Musik der Zeit* festival in Cologne. The connection to Cologne, in addition to ties to Darmstadt,

would help Tudor become (in his words) ‘a messenger between the States and Europe’.² In Cologne, Cage and Tudor met the twenty-six-year-old Karlheinz Stockhausen, who would soon become an important figure for Tudor in both Darmstadt and Cologne.³ They also met Wolfgang Steinecke, the director of the Darmstadt summer courses. Steinecke had published a marginally positive review of the Donaueschingen matinee, and two years later he would bring Tudor to Darmstadt (Steinecke, 1954).

Tudor participated in the Darmstadt Holiday Courses for New Music just four times: in 1956, 1958, 1959 and 1961. (He was also scheduled to attend in 1957 but cancelled his plans very shortly before the beginning of the courses in July.) This continuity was due almost entirely to Steinecke’s invitations, but Stockhausen (and others) worked hard to arrange additional performances and recording opportunities for the pianist throughout West Germany as well. During his four residencies, in addition to his piano seminars, his workshops, and his notorious collaboration with Cage in 1958, Tudor participated in composition and ‘interpretation’ events with Pierre Boulez, Bruno Maderna and Karlheinz Stockhausen, and performed in many concerts of new European and American works. Though spanning just five years, each of Tudor’s Darmstadt residencies took on a distinct historical significance and a new critical reception. Furthermore, during these years Tudor was the only American invited to teach performance seminars. This national responsibility carried lasting international consequences, and his contributions sent shockwaves through the west European new music community. Tudor later remembered Darmstadt in the 1950s as ‘fun’ and ‘interesting’, a period during which ‘a lot of people who were vitally interested in composition were present at the same time, and so there was a lot of exchange of ideas and feelings... I don’t think there has been anything like it since that time because it was very intense’.⁴

Tudor’s first opportunity to join the Darmstadt community came in connection with Stefan Wolpe’s visit there in 1956. When Steinecke wrote to Wolpe in January of that year inviting him to lecture in Darmstadt, he asked him to bring along Tudor (Wolpe’s former composition student). Steinecke offered to pay Tudor about \$200 (DM 800) for the engagement, which would also include working with Boulez and Maderna during their composition seminars. Steinecke scheduled Tudor for an additional ten piano seminars. (Darmstadt records reveal that these initial seminars attracted only two registered participants, and six auditors.) On 19 July Wolpe delivered an overview-type lecture called ‘On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America’ which portrayed the spectrum of composition in the United States and included recorded and live (played by Tudor) musical examples of works by Milton Babbitt, Aaron Copland, George Perle, Wallingford Riegger, George Rochberg, Roger Sessions, Ben Weber—and also the ‘New York School’, Cage, Brown, Feldman and Wolff.⁵ During the lecture Tudor played brief excerpts from new piano works; Christian Wolff has described how Tudor was unhappy about having to play short, out-of-context excerpts (and as a result, in a bold act of subversion, after Wolpe had described Wolff’s music as calm and thinly textured, Tudor reportedly played the

most active and complex section he could find in the score) (Wolff, 1997).⁶ Tudor also presented examples from Cage's first major work employing chance operations, *Music of Changes* (1951), during Wolpe's lecture, and discussed and analyzed several sections of the work during his own 'interpretation seminars' (Tudor had written to Steinecke that he wished to give a first performance of *Music of Changes* that year in Darmstadt: 'The *Music of Changes* I consider an important work and will be much in the foreground in my seminars, and it has not yet been heard in Europe').⁷ Such examples developed the historically constructed narrative presented by Rebner in 1954, and showed America, musically at least, as a land of unlimited possibilities. For the nonetheless ambivalent audience, which remained deeply skeptical about the quality of cultural products from the United States despite various American government agencies' efforts to the contrary, Tudor embodied an American musician of peerless gifts. A Darmstadt critic wrote that the most passionate discussions that year took place during his classes, which, in addition to his work with Wolpe and other composers in Darmstadt that year, and alongside his piano courses, included Tudor's workshop (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) called 'Pianistische Realisation'. The critic, one of the few to focus on the unique figure of Tudor, described his presence this way:

Tudor, a twentieth-century piano phenomenon, showed all ways of coaxing unbelievable sounds out of the instrument. He performed these actions with a straight face. During it all he even had time to run his fingers through his hair, to lean on the piano with a far away look in his eyes, and to sink into a profound silence. As the pied piper from New York he captured his eager audience on the last day not with a flute, but with a prepared piano, which had to be moved from a room of inadequate size to a larger space in the next building. (Schlösser, 1956a, b)

Tudor quickly established himself as part of the European scene, having gained devotion and respect there from a handful of composers, musicians and critics. Some believed that he was simply the greatest pianist of the twentieth century; others, like his piano student Gertrud Meyer-Denkman (one of the two enrolled students in his piano course that year), noted his subtle power as a figure who hovered 'quietly and almost anonymously in the background' while demonstrating tremendous influence on the musical thinking of the people he encountered (Metzger, 1997 [1996]; Denkman, 1997). His stoic yet virtuosic performances helped boost Cage's position in Germany, and, by association, the reputations of a whole generation of young American composers. It is not an exaggeration to claim that many of them eventually got their foot in the door of the European new music market because of Tudor's work, reputation, influence and advocacy. Furthermore, several American musicians went to Darmstadt in 1956 largely because of Tudor's presence there. Earle Brown proclaimed Tudor's first appearance in Darmstadt as a 'key event', since he introduced open form to an international audience, while Christian Wolff recalled that he first traveled to Darmstadt in 1956 'just to see what David was up to'.⁸ The Harvard undergraduate, pianist and composer Frederic Rzewski also visited Darmstadt for the first time in 1956. Tudor's expanding recognition in Europe

instilled a vital (and perhaps otherwise lacking, in a global sense) self-confidence in young American composers searching for a sympathetic place for their work.

Following the sudden withdrawal from his Ferienkurse obligations in July 1957, Tudor returned to Darmstadt in 1958 with John Cage. Darmstadt 1958, nearly exhausted in its discussion of serial and electronic approaches to parametric composition, has been well documented, and Cage's role as provocateur much discussed. Cage himself viewed 1958 as a turning point in his European reception: 'As late as [1954], David Tudor and I were thought to be idiots', he said, but added, 'in 1958 there was a marked change' since that year 'we were taken quite seriously—for the most part'.⁹ Tudor and Cage gave a two-piano performance with music by Brown, Cage, Feldman, and Wolff on 3 September. They also collaborated in the performance of Cage's three lectures ('Changes', 'Indeterminacy' and 'Communication', later published by Wesleyan University Press in *Silence: Lectures and Writings by John Cage* [1961]). While Cage delivered his lectures, Tudor played from Cage's *Music of Changes*, Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI*, and several other works by Cage, Bo Nilsson and Christian Wolff. The Darmstadt audience that year, many members of which witnessed these unconventional lecture-recitals, included dozens of established or up-and-coming composers (Berio, Bussotti, Cardew, Davies, Kagel, Lachenmann, Ligeti, Maderna, Misha Mengelberg, Nono, Paik, Penderecki, Pousseur, Stockhausen, Xenakis, Isang Yun, and Bernd Alois Zimmermann, to name just a few), musicians (Caskel, Paul Jacobs, the Kontarskys), and writers (Daniel Charles, Ulrich Dibelius, Hans G. Helms, Heinz-Klaus Jungheinrich, Heinz-Klaus Metzger, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt), who would come to steer the direction of new music— aesthetically, critically and institutionally—in central Europe for decades to come.¹⁰ Though much has been made of the deep fissures caused by Cage's unconventional (and often, both in Europe and in the United States, grossly misunderstood) methods, Earle Brown remembered Darmstadt 1958 as 'a high time of collision between a kind of American iconoclastic attitude and the European elitist intellectual organization thing, and it was really very exciting... we were really friendly, but coming from opposite points of view... , but we tended to modify each other and that's artistically very important, a very significant thing'.¹¹

One year later, Tudor returned to Darmstadt, and played in no fewer than five concerts, including the opening event on 25 August 1959 with flutist Severino Gazzelloni and the percussionist Christoph Caskel (a concert that also included Tudor playing Stockhausen's *Klavierstück VI* and Boulez's First Piano Sonata), as well as the premiere of Earle Brown's *Hodograph*. That summer Tudor was also available for 'advice' during Stockhausen's seminars. The composition courses Stockhausen gave that year were his first, and among his students were several first-time Ferienkurse participants, including David Behrman (who visited in 1957, but had not taken classes), Rudolf Frisius, Ernstalbrecht Stiebler, and La Monte Young. During Stockhausen's legendary lectures on 'Musik und Graphik', Tudor played a realization of a piece from Sylvano Bussotti's conventionally and graphically notated *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*. After the performance someone in the audience asked

Tudor to repeat the piece, apparently to see if he was capable of playing the same realization twice (Stockhausen refused to allow a second performance). Ernst Thomas, the future director of the Ferienkurse who witnessed Tudor's performance of this and other graphically notated compositions, found the whole idea of indeterminacy an unnecessary offense to the integrity of a musical score.¹² Tudor also gave a concert of Cage's *Aria* and *Fontana Mix* with the American singer Cathy Berberian. In a personal letter that candidly reveals the widening gulf between young composers, critics and audiences in Darmstadt, Tudor described the performance to Cage:

Fontana Mix was a great success in Darmstadt! Cathy was perfectly incredible (in purple!) and entertained royally. This in spite of Nono's outburst, which everyone knew was directed against Karlheinz, except critics, there in force . . . P.S. No disturbance beyond general flutter of excitement . . . during *Fontana Mix* except in back of hall where a lady stood up crying 'Stop the music—I'll have heart failure'. She was quieted by a gentleman who remarked 'Ah! It's natural selection'.¹³

Though the aftermath of the 1958 events centered on a discussion of the validity of Cage's ideas (Steinecke even told Tudor, in April 1959, that he planned for an upcoming issue of the *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* to be devoted solely to Cage), Tudor's presence at the Ferienkurse in 1959 reinforced the view of the pianist as a welcome contributor to the Darmstadt community. The Cage controversy, which polarized that community, did not afflict Tudor's reputation as a highly regarded performer. And the continuing presentation of Cage's new work, like his *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* which Stockhausen discussed in his classes, caused American visitors such as La Monte Young (who claimed 'I had to go to Europe to really discover Cage') to foreshadow what Mumma and Behrman asserted at Mills College nearly forty years later—namely, that a generation of American composers believed that they gained access to the *American* avant-garde primarily through exposure to events in distant foreign locations like Darmstadt.¹⁴

Steinecke invited Tudor back to Darmstadt in 1960, promising not to exhaust him this time. Steinecke added: 'You told me that you are planning for next summer a Europe-Tour with Merce Cunningham and Carolyn Brown. Naturally I would be very interested in such a performance for an evening in Darmstadt'. Tudor responded that Cunningham would travel to Europe only in the fall. He wrote: 'This being the case, I do not wish to come to [Darmstadt] this year. As you know, what is most important to me is the possibility of a real exchange and interpenetration between the artistic life and products here and those in Europe. Since this cannot be brought about, I prefer to use the time for a much needed rest (I have not had one for almost five years)—and the month of July will afford me the only opportunity for this in 1960'.¹⁵ In fact, Tudor ended up traveling to Germany in June—specifically, to the International Society for Contemporary Music's annual festival and to Mary Bauermeister's newly initiated studio concerts, both in Cologne—but not to Darmstadt.

During this interim, Steinecke published a new issue of the *Darmstädter Beiträge* that illustrated how, by 1960, a deep rift had grown between key Darmstadt figures such as Stockhausen, Boulez, Nono, and Heinz-Klaus Metzger, and to what degree that rift had been initiated by differing interpretations of Cage's work as presented since 1956 to a large degree by Tudor alone. Picking up where Boulez had left off in his polemical essay 'Aléa' (delivered, in Boulez's absence, at the 1957 Ferienkurse by Metzger), Luigi Nono, in his 1959 Darmstadt address titled 'Past and Present in the Music of Today', attacked Cage head-on, as well as what he saw as dangerous misinterpretations of indeterminacy and chance operations by certain European composers (see Boulez, 1958; Nono, 1960). At the same time, Tudor was negotiating a place between an established venue like Darmstadt and the radical experiments in indeterminate performance practice taking place in a series of institutionally independent events at Mary Bauermeister's Cologne studio beginning in June 1960. As definitions of art music as a structured balance between form and content came under question in central European circles around 1960, as the tried and true relationship between composer, score, performer and audience crumbled, and as the Fluxus movement, which questioned the hermeticism of 'music', gained momentum the following year, a collective crisis of faith challenged the direction (indeed the survival) of new music. In Germany, Hegelian dialectical thinking shaped the way composers, musicologists, and critics thought about oppositional trends in new music. In the United States, however, it did not. Tudor was continually confronted with philosophical and ideological interpretations of the work he played. But American experimental composers and musicians, who indirectly contributed to the aesthetic crisis gripping West Germany's new music community, avoided such debates. They refused to let a crisis in theory equal a crisis in sound.

This contrast between American composers' intuitive and adventurous interest in sound or process and German critical theorists' interest in method and philosophy (or, increasingly in the later 1960s, ideology) sometimes became explicit during encounters in Darmstadt. During his first Darmstadt visit in 1961, for example, Alvin Lucier witnessed a performance of Cage's *Cartridge Music* by Christian Wolff and others during Tudor's class, after which a clash of cultures made a significant impression on all those present (Lucier, 1995, p. 28; 1997, p. 86). Wolff recalls this significant scene as well, during which he and others 'did our shenanigans with these tubes and stuff' (since they had no electronic equipment available for the performance) while the 'resident guru' Theodor W. Adorno sat baffled in the front row. Wolff remembers that after the performance Adorno lectured for ten or fifteen minutes before looking to Tudor for a response. Wolff recalled that this moment illustrated the constant contrast between a European 'mode and mentality' and an American one:

Adorno [was] somehow trying to latch onto something that he could make an idea out of and an idea which would fit—which somehow could be derived from, needn't repeat but could be derived from—the European intellectual heritage, in his case, primarily Hegelian and Marxist. And David Tudor was constantly sort of

evading or, as it were, thwarting every effort on Adorno's part to do this. I mean, they discussed the score and everything like that, and finally Adorno thought he had it and made this rather long disquisition, a very complicated, abstruse—you know, interesting in some respects as far as I remember it, but complicated. And at the end of it—it was a good long thing, a fifteen-minute lecture perhaps, and when he was finished, David Tudor turned to him and said: 'You haven't understood a thing'. And we all just sort of figuratively dropped through the floor. I mean, here was this eminent figure, who had just delivered himself of his most considered opinions, and David Tudor just . . . but that was his objective view of the situation.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Tudor thought fondly of his interaction with Adorno during his Ferienkurse years:

I enjoyed talking to him very much, he was like a familiar spirit to me, for he had been a great friend of my teacher Stefan Wolpe, and I have experience with different musical worlds, so I understood Adorno. I admired his books for as far as he was willing to go. At the same time I understood why he couldn't accept the ideas Cage and the American school were bringing that were really going to change the face of music, because either you can live with it or you can't. But that didn't change my admiration for him at all.¹⁷

Such aesthetic misunderstandings as the one described above, and the increasing anarchism of new music presented by Tudor and others in Cologne (like *Cartridge Music*, or La Monte Young's *Poem for Chairs, Tables, Benches*, for a variety of these materials and other unspecified sound sources), provided a backdrop for Darmstadt 1961, the year of Tudor's last residency. That summer Tudor's piano seminars attracted six participants (including Cornelius Cardew) and four auditors (including Metzger and Gottfried Michael Koenig), while his 'workshop' accommodated over thirty students (including Cardew, Friedrich Cerha, Koenig, Richard Maxfield, Gunther Schuller, Otto Tomek, and B. A. Zimmermann). Tudor also continued to work in Stockhausen's favor, performing *Kontakte* in the first 'night program' concert on 30 August. In addition to his teaching and other performing obligations, Steinecke wanted Tudor to play pieces by Cage, George Brecht, La Monte Young, and Toshi Ichiyanagi—radical works similar to music Tudor had recently presented in both New York and Cologne. On the evening of 6 September, Steinecke got his wish, in the form of a second 'night program' presented by Tudor, Christoph Caskel (percussion), Carla Henius (mezzo-soprano), and Kenji Kobayashi (violin). For Young's piece *For Henry Flynt* (1960), Tudor sat cross-legged on the floor and hit a gong 566 times with a stick at the rate of about one per second. This action allegedly drove someone to call an ambulance. An emergency squad came, observed the bizarre performance situation, and departed, understandably bewildered. According to an eyewitness, Tudor just kept playing.¹⁸ Though performances like these were peripheral to the Darmstadt program, they had a big impact for a growing alternative scene, and forced the institution of Darmstadt to acknowledge the radical course of the international avant-garde.¹⁹ For Americans in Europe, Tudor continued to be a magnet. Rzewski and Alvin Lucier had driven from Rome to Darmstadt to

participate in Tudor's courses, and Lucier, who first met Tudor that year, has said that the late-night concert during which Tudor played La Monte Young's piece changed his life (Lucier, 1997, pp. 86ff.). Tudor's introduction of music by relatively unknown composers like Young and Terry Riley, composers who would soon come to be recognized as pioneers of the 'minimalist' movement, reflected Tudor's belief that 'the whole endeavor of these young people is now a clear and separate thing'.²⁰

By the end of 1961, compositional developments in the post-serial music of European-based composers like Berio, Cardew, Kagel, Lachenmann, Ligeti, Lutosławski, Paik, Penderecki, Schnebel and Yun strongly suggest that many felt liberated by the music Tudor brought from the States. Rather than rows and charts they now explored open form, instrumental theater, sound mass, live electronics, improvisation, and extended techniques. Suggesting something of a sea change in composition, the conservative Europe-based American critic Everett Helm proclaimed, 'Chance music is in, serialism out', in a review of the Donaueschingen festival published in the *New York Times* on 5 November 1961. In this climate of upheaval and change, Steinecke made plans for the 1962 Darmstadt program—his seventeenth effort since the Ferienkurse were born into the postwar rubble of 1946. He invited Tudor for a fifth residency, but several weeks later Tudor received notice of Steinecke's fatal accident from Darmstadt's city council. Without Steinecke's eager support, Tudor did not go to Darmstadt in 1962, and he was never again invited back to Darmstadt after Steinecke's death. Echoing the disappointment of many who appreciated the pianist's guidance and his musical influence in Darmstadt, the young German composer Michael von Biel wrote to Tudor in the summer of 1962 that the Ferienkurse would simply not be the same experience without Tudor's presence.²¹ In the decade to follow, composition seminars taught by prominent American composers in Darmstadt would be few and far between—most notably, Milton Babbitt in 1964 and Christian Wolff in 1972 and 1974.

On Thursday, 27 December 1962, just one year after Steinecke's death, a year during which the new music community in West Germany noted the absence of its beloved 'pied piper from New York', Cornelius Cardew gave a WDR radio broadcast on American experimental music titled 'Die amerikanische Schule von John Cage'. Cardew had this to say about Tudor's influence:

How did I begin to enjoy this music, and to some degree, to understand it? I was very lucky that I knew David Tudor personally. I first heard him play this music, his music, and it was easier for me to perceive, through the way he played it . . . Tudor's attitude alone toward this music convinced me of its sincerity. (Cardew, 1962)

Cardew's compelling statement is symptomatic of how Europeans tended to view Tudor's influence, how they valued it, and how they trusted his taste. His sincere efforts toward the cause of new music, especially new American music, were unprecedented, and in the United States, certainly, under-appreciated. Almost single-handedly and within a remarkably short amount of time, Tudor contributed to

West Germany's gradual acceptance of unconventional music from the United States through his authoritative and highly respected presence at key new music venues as well as through his active recording career. (As he put it later in life: 'I was like an emissary, going back and forth . . . however, my first purpose in going to Europe was to play American music'.)²² As a principal character in the story of an emerging international avant-garde, Tudor's presence had an enduring impact on the history of new music in West Germany—one that went beyond the reception of American music alone. Central to that narrative is his starring role in the dramatic spectacle that was early Darmstadt.

Notes

- [1] Portions of this text were first presented in papers given at the symposium 'The Art of David Tudor: Indeterminacy and Performance in Postwar Culture' at the Getty Research Institute in Santa Monica, California (May 2001) and at the sixty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Atlanta, Georgia (November 2001). Some sections have been previously published in Beal, 2000 and Beal, 2003 and in Chapters 2–4 of Beal, 2006. The archival research presented here was supported in part by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), Bates College, and the University of California, Santa Cruz. All translations are by the author.
- [2] Tudor quoted in Kurtz, 1988, p. 75.
- [3] Back in New York, Cage wrote Donaueschingen director Heinrich Strobel a warm letter telling of new music activities in the city: 'We are on the point of presenting a concert here which will be the first performance in America of music by Stockhausen. Stockhausen was delighted with Tudor's playing and said that ideas which he had refrained from writing, thinking they would be unplayable, he will now write'. Letter from Cage to Strobel, 3 December 1954, Südwestrundfunk (SWR).
- [4] Tudor, interview with Teddy Hultberg, Düsseldorf, 17–18 May 1988 (www.emf.org/tudor/Articles/hultberg.html).
- [5] For a detailed discussion of Wolpe's lecture, see Wolpe, 1984 (1956). Wolpe's lecture was also published in Vogt, 1988, pp. 88–103. Sections of Wolpe's lecture have also been published in *MusikTexte*, 5(57) (July 1984), 30–32.
- [6] During Wolpe's lecture Tudor played excerpts from the following works: Keith Robinson, *Twelve Pieces for Piano* (1951); Earle Brown, *Perspectives for Piano* (1952); Christian Wolff, *Piece for Piano*; Morton Feldman, *Piano Piece*; John Cage, *Music of Changes* (1951); and Wolpe, *Two Studies for Piano* (1948) and *Battle Piece* (1943).
- [7] Letter from Tudor to Steinecke, 8 March 1956, International Music Institute, Darmstadt.
- [8] Earle Brown, interview with the author, 23 June 1997; Christian Wolff, interview with the author, 26 June 1997.
- [9] Cage, interview with Richard Kostelanetz, in Kostelanetz, 1970, p. 17.
- [10] A partial list of 1958 Ferienkurse instructors, participants, and registered guests can be found in Beal, 2006, pp. 96–97.
- [11] Earle Brown, interview with Ev Grimes, 21 January 1987; Oral History, American Music Series, Yale University.
- [12] Ernst Thomas, quoted in Borio & Danuser, 1997, pp. 181–182.
- [13] Letter from Tudor to Cage, 8 October 1959, Northwestern University Music Library, John Cage Collection, Notations Correspondence, file 'Tudor'.
- [14] La Monte Young, quoted in Potter, 2000, p. 44.

- [15] Letter from Tudor to Steinecke, 9 February 1960, International Music Institute, Darmstadt.
- [16] Wolff, interview with Ev Grimes, undated, Oral History, American Music Series, Yale University; and Wolff, 1998, p. 380.
- [17] Tudor, interview with Teddy Hultberg, Düsseldorf, 17–18 May 1988 (www.emf.org/tudor/Articles/hultberg.html).
- [18] Dieter Schnebel, interview with the author, 4 February 1998.
- [19] Some Darmstadt visitors considered Tudor's performances mere 'happenings'. See, for example, Tomek, 1996, p. 304.
- [20] Letter from Tudor to Stockhausen, 14 April 1961, in Misch & Bandur, 2001, p. 293.
- [21] Letter from Michael von Biel to Tudor, 3 July 1962, David Tudor Papers, Getty Research Institute, Santa Monica, California.
- [22] Tudor, interview with Teddy Hultberg, Düsseldorf, 17–18 May 1988 (www.emf.org/tudor/Articles/hultberg.html).

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